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COMPOSITIONE

DI MESER

VINCENZO CAPIROLA

LUTE-BOOK (circa 1517)

edited by

OTTO GOMBOSI

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PREFACE

TO THE MEMORY OF
GEORGE GOMBOSI

This transcription of the Capirola Lute Manuscript was completed in the Spring of 1948 and the introductory study was finished in the Summer of 1949. Since then three items have been published that have some bearing on the subject, yet for reasons of expediency they could not been fully taken into account in the body of this book.

The first of these studies is Manfred F. Bukofzer's discussion of " A Polyphonic Basse Danse of the Renaissance ", chapter VI of his Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music, *New York, 1950, 190-216. Professor Bukofzer has liberally credited me with whatever I have been able to contribute, in writing and conversation, to the question under discussion. Some differences between our views have been clarified in my review of that splendid volume in* JAMS *4, 1951, 139-147, to which some pertinent new material has been added in the present book.*

The second study, Dragan Plamenac's " A Reconstruction of the French Chansonnier in the Biblioteca Colombina, Seville ", in The Musical Quarterly, *37, 1951, pp. 501-542 ; 38, 1952, pp. 85-277 and 245-247, offers one point of contact inasmuch as it publishes in an exemplary fashion the anonymous French chanson " Fillez a marier " (37, 532-533) which is also included in the present volume. Needless to say, my version is an abbreviated essay in rhythmic-metric form analysis rather than an attempt at diplomatic faithfulness. In view of this unorthodoxy it is rather convenient to have Dr. Plamenac's correct edition as a* tertium comparationis.

The third article is John Ward's delightful study of " The ' Dolfull Domps ' ", JAMS *4, 1951, 111-121. For many years, I have had the pleasure of exchanging ideas and material with my former student and dear friend, until by now I confess to be unable to separate the goats from the sheep. In this atmosphere of reassuring agreements and stimulating disagreements questions of priority have become meaningless.*

For help and advice I am especially indebted to my distinguished colleagues, Prof. Alfred Einstein †, Prof. Knud Jeppesen (Aarhus), and Prof. Joseph G. Fucilla (Northwestern University).

A word of sincere gratitude is due to the following persons and to the institutions they represent :

to the Board of Trustees, to Dr. Stanley Pargellis, Librarian, and to Mrs. Gertrude L. Woodward of the Rare Book Room, of the Newberry Library in Chicago ;

to Monsignore Paolo Guerini, Director, and Dott. Pietro Bossoni, of the Archivio Storico Civico in Brescia ;

to Dott. Gaetano Garretti, Director of the Archivio di Stato in Brescia ;

to Signor Emilio Mancini, Sindaco of the community of Leno, and to the excellent members of his staff, Signori Franco Bartazzi, Italo Lanti, and Vito Olivetti, and

to the staff of the study room of the Archivio di Stato in Venice.

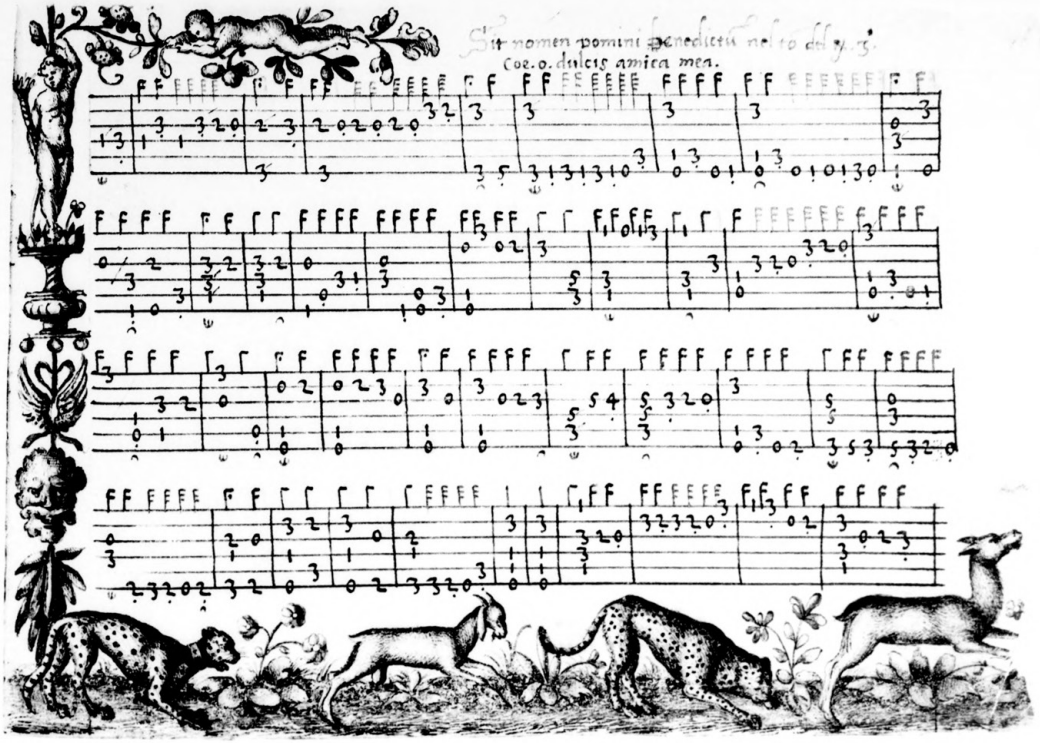
Work in the above mentioned Italian archives was made possible by the grant of a Fellowship, for 1948-49, by the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation.

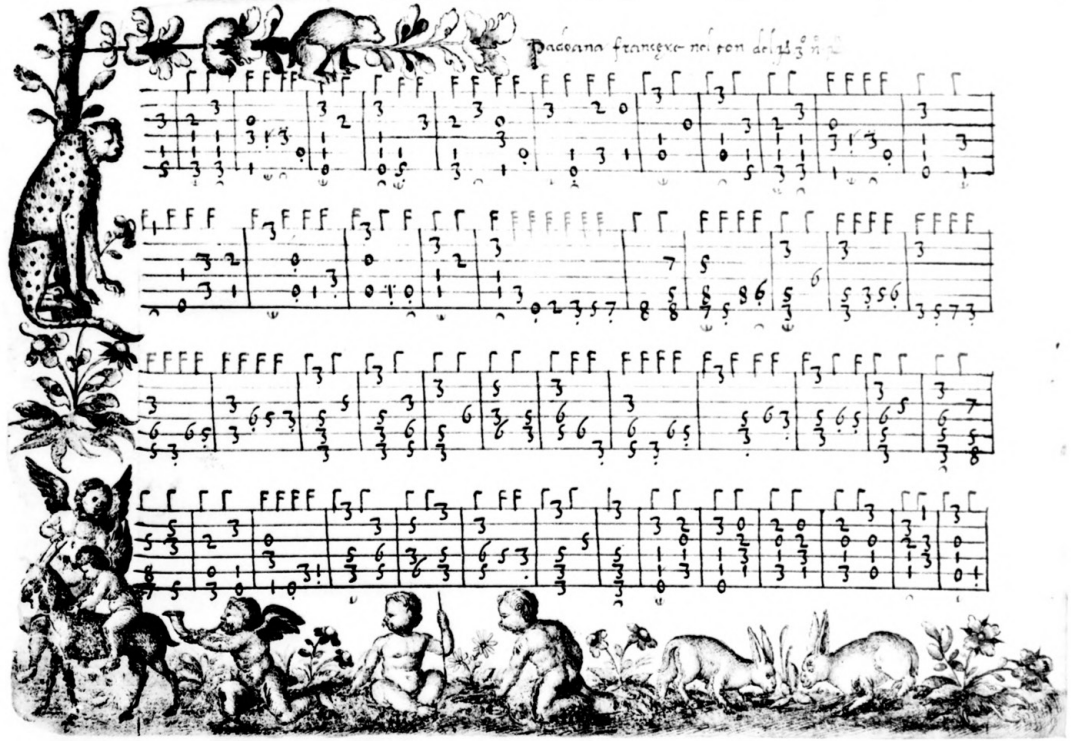
Otto J. GOMBOSI.

Autumn 1952.
Harvard University.

We learn with sorrow, on the eve of publication of this volume, of the death of its editor, Otto Gombosi, who had spent much time and care during several years in its preparation, and had completed the correction of final proofs. Brilliant in all that he touched, one of the most creative minds in musicology, he was particularly devoted to the music of the Renaissance. This volume appears as witness both to his interest and his genius.

N. D. L. R.





Pl. I. Fol. 16 and 17′.

I

THE MANUSCRIPT

The Newberry Library in Chicago counts among its treasures an Italian lute manuscript of the early 16th century, containing compositions of a Brescian nobleman, Vincenzo Capirola.

The manuscript is of exceptional beauty. Its notation is of classical clarity and about one-third of its pages, a total of 45, are lavishly ornamented with marginal pictures of a lively and spirited character. Highly important as an example of early 16th century Venetian book ornamentation, the manuscript is of no lesser importance from the musical point of view. It is far the oldest of all extant specimens of manuscript lute music and it offers compositions of a truly important master, Vincenzo Capirola.

While time and place of origin of the manuscript are pretty well established, its further history is not known. There is no trace of it until November 3, 1883 when J. P. N. Land, the excellent Dutch expert on lute music, saw the manuscript in Leyden and wrote an expertise of eight pages which now is attached to the manuscript in a pocket on the inside back cover. Land dated the manuscript about 1530. It was then in the possession of the book dealer N. Trubner in London.

Land made use of his knowledge of the manuscript in his book *Het Luitboek van Thysius*, Amsterdam 1889 (first published in *Tijdschrift der Vereeniging voor Noord-Nederlands Muziekgeschiedenis* I-III), although he passes over in silence the more exciting features. In a brief description, with quotations from the Preface, No. 14, 20, 24, 32, and 42 (besides some wrong attributions) are tentatively identified and his judgement of dating the manuscript c. 1530 is repeated (p. 130 f.). He also uses the contents for comparison with similar compositions of the Thysius lute book; p. 147, « La Villanella » (No. 1) and p. 233 ff., Ricercar XIII (No. 41) are printed in modern notation. On p. 259 reference is made to « Bassadanza » (No. 37), on p. 289 to the *Paduane*; here the first eight measures of « Paduana » (No. 17) are given. Finally, on p. 294 f. the two « Spagna » arrangements are referred to and measures 1-7 of No. 6 and measures 1-16 of No. 24 given in transcription. All examples are transcribed a fifth too high. In speaking of the Ricercars, the three persons to whom such works were dedicated, are mentioned but their identity is not well established.

There is no trace of the manuscript after 1883 until it eventually became the property of the dealer B. Quaritch [1], in London, from whom the Florentine dealer Leo Olschki [2] acquired it January 28, 1902. The latter offered it for sale in his catalogue of 1904 (No. 24919). It was acquired by the Newberry Library (Acq. No. 107501) for Lire 1500, in May 1904.

1. Nothing about the earlier history of the manuscript is known to the present owners of the firm B. Quaritch. I am indebted to them for this information.

2. Mr. Cesare Olschki obliged me by checking the archives of the firm and copying the respective passages of the sales catalogue of 1904.

Olschki's catalogue contains a brief description of the exterior, with ample quotations from the Preface (fol. 1v). Olschki also states that careful researches in the archives of Brescia failed to throw any light on the mysterious composer.

Since 1904 the manuscript has led a quiet existence in the rare book room of the Newberry Library. Seymour de Ricci's *Census* seems to be the only place where it has found any mention. Here Land's dating has been accepted.

The manuscript is an oblong paper book in 16th century binding of gold-ornamented calf leather, 14.9 by 21.5 cm, — the usual size of music part books and lute tablatures of the time — and contains besides twice 2 folios of protective paper of more recent origin in front and in back of the original book, a single leaf pasted into the inner front cover, and 74 leaves arranged in ten fascicles as follows : $*^4$, a-h^8, i^6. The water mark corresponds to Briquet No. 3461 [1] which occurs in paper used in Bergamo, 1515, Treviso, 1516, Udine, 1521, etc.

A carefully prepared table of contents occupies the single leaf. Not counting the two fly-leaves, fol. 1r is blank, fol. 1v contains a short Preface in which the writer-owner of the manuscript, by the Christian name Vidal (Vitale), sets forth his aim of preserving these compositions of his master Vincenzo Capirola. In order to make this " quasi divine " book valuable to future owners, some of whom might be ignorant of music, he decorated it with " noble pictures ". He was right. Our manuscript has been preserved and has been added to the treasures of the Newberry Library primarily because of its exquisite appearance.

On the following pages, fol. 2r-4r the writer explains the notation and its special devices and gives some technical advice as to the manner of playing some difficult chords and some ornaments. He emphasizes the importance of strict legato playing and argues that correct voice leading is " more musical ", than the dropping of tones and parts. Then he divulges a " secret " of this master relating to the selection of the right strings and fastening them in the right way. Finally, the importance of the proper height of the frets is emphasized. All in all this informal little treatise makes a valuable addition to the meagre literature on technical aspects of lute playing, especially since it pays attention to matters not taken into consideration by the prefaces of the Petrucci, Judenkunig, or Attaingnant prints.

Fol. 4v being blank, the musical part of the manuscript starts with the second fascicle on fol. 5r. While there is no pagination or foliation, the table of contents refers to folios by numbers, hereby counting only the leaves of the musical part and not taking into account the introduction. Thus our fol. 5r is refered to as fol. 1, and so forth. The notation is that of the early Italian lute tablature as known from Ottaviano dei Petrucci's lute prints of 1507-09. The instrument for which the book was written was a lute of 11 strings arranged in six couses : the highest string is single, while the others are doubled. A six-line staff marks the six courses of the lute, whereby, corresponding to the actual playing position of the instrument, the lowest line represents the *canto*, the highest course, and the highest line represent the *contrabasso*. There are four staves to the page.

The notation makes use of twelve frets. The first to ninth frets are marked by Arabic numerals, the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth, by the signs X, Ẋ, and Ẍ, as in Petrucci's publications. Upward strokes of the right hand are carefully marked by a dot underneath the corresponding numeral. Diagonal lines mark the holding of certain frets while other parts move on. Special signs indicate the beginning (ω) and end (⌒) of tenuto passages. A unique feature of this tablature is the use of symbols for certain ornaments and the dividing of the middle course *(mezzana)* into two separately played strings. The former involves two signs : one for " tremolo ", a trill-like alternation of main tone and its upper auxiliary, the other for " tremolo on

1. E. BRIQUET, *Les filigranes*, Genève, 1907.

one tone " obviously meaning an alternation of the first fret with the open string, and so on, a mordant-like effect. The first is symbolized by adding after the number of the fret of the main tone that of the auxiliary tone written in red dots, e. g. 3 ; the second ornament is marked by putting two red dots above the number. For the divided *mezzana*-course the corresponding line of the tablature is split up into two. Both the ornament signs and the divided *mezzana* notation are unique features. No other 16th century tablature contains, to my knowledge, symbols for trills or similar ornaments. As to the split *mezzana*, Fuenllana uses this technique and notates it by writing two figures on the same line for the simultaneously played tones of the two *mezzana* strings, and boxing them in [1]. The only other instance of such divided courses I know of occurs in Valentin Bakfark's second publication, *Harmoniarum musicarum in usum testudinis factarum tomus primus*, Cracow, 1565, where the higher of the two strings is fretted and designated by the corresponding number while the lower one remains open ; this is marked by a minute circle above the other numeral [2]. Both authors use this effect for making single chords more sonorous, by playing e. g. *d'* and *f'* or *d'* and *f'*♯ on the *d'* string, *a* and *c'*, or *a* and *c'*♯, respectively on the *a* string, — never for longer passages.

The rhythm is notated in our manuscript the same way as in Petrucci's lute publications [3] ; yet while in the latter the rhythm signs are often printed on the staff if the fret signs are placed on the lower lines (higher strings), in our manuscript all signs stand in one line above the staff. As in Petrucci's prints, the dot signifies the breve of mensural notation, the vertical line stands for the semibreve (quarter-note in our transcription), the line with one flag marks the minim (eighth-note in our transcription) that with two flags the semiminim, with three flags the fusa, with four, the semifusa. For minims in triplets the sign ꝑ is employed. Fermatas are used for marking holds, the value of which is not strictly measured. It seems, however, that the fermata above certain notes requires a doubling of the respective value. The rhythmic signs are carefully written out and are often repeated for each stroke in consecutive series of identical values. The rhythmic signs are also used to add a little more color to the picture. Fermatas are blue or red, the signs for breve and semibreve, dark red (brown), those for minim, bright red, for semiminim, violet, for fusa, yellow, for semifusa, again red. Dotted minims are in blue line and yellow dot or brown line and red dot, triplets in violet. Oxidation has changed the original bright red hue to black or greenish, and the yellow to grey. The colors are, of course, purely decorative and have no notational significance.

The sign for rest — a minim sign set across the staff — occurs only once in the whole manuscript. Time signatures at the beginning of compositions are absent. Only in case of a change from *tempus imperfectum diminutum* to *tempus perfectum diminutum* and back are the corresponding signs, 3 or ₵, respectively, written across the staff. The notation is articulated by division bars, usually after every semibreve-value, thus such a " measure " contains two, and occasionally three, minims. In three cases only is this norm abandoned ; once (No. 24) [4] twelve semiminims are included into every " measure ", the unit of which is the perfect breve ; in another case (No. 32) the division bars are set after every eight semiminims (imperfect breve), but the values of the vocal original are doubled. Finally, in No. 29 the unit of barring is the imperfect breve.

The manuscript uses the *G* - tuning ; the six open courses are *G-c-f-a-d'-g'*. At least

1. Bermudo describes this practice and notates it the same way. I am indebted for this information to Mr. John Ward.

2. O. Gombosi, *Valentin Bakfark, Leben und Werke* (*Musicologia Hungarica* II), Budapest, 1935, 100. The interpretation of the divided *mezzana*, as given at that place, should be corrected in the light of Capirola's practice.

3. *Intabulatura de lauto*, lib. I, II, IV, Venice, 1507-8.

4. The numbering is that of our table of contents.

the comparison of the intabulations with the vocal models shows that of twenty pieces to which such models can be found, ten remain in the same key if read in *G* - tuning. Of the remaining ten, one piece is transposed a major third down, three a whole-tone down, one a fourth up, while four *frottole* and one motet are transposed a minor third upwards. This last group of compositions would remain in the original key if transcribed according to the modern *E* - tuning. Three compositions (Nos. 14, 16, and 17) require the lowest string of the lute to be tuned to *F (liuto discordato)*.

The content of the volume is greatly varied. There are 42 numbers, one of which (No. 5) consists of two separate compositions (5a and 5b). There are 6 pieces taken from masses (Nos. 20, 22, 33, 36, 38, 39), 5 motets (Nos. 8, 14, 34, 35, 42), 5 chansons (Nos. 3, 13, 15, 21, 31), 1 villancico (No. 32), 5 *frottole* (Nos. 1, 5a, 5b, 10, 11), 3 dances built on a cantus firmus (Nos. 6, 24, 37), one *balletto* (No. 12), 3 *paduane* (Nos. 9, 17, 28), 1 unidentified piece with Italian title called " moteto " in the index (No. 30), and 13 *ricercari* (Nos 2, 4, 7, 16, 18, 19, 23, 25, 26, 27, 29, 40, 41), a total of 43 compositions following each other in an arbitrary sequence. There is occasionally a tendency toward grouping together compositions according to their key. Nos. 1-3 are in *G*, Nos. 4, 5a, 5b, and 6 in *f*, Nos. 7-9 in E♭, Nos. 18-20 in *G* ; we shall try presently to interpret the writer's intentions. Occasionally there is reference made to the " tone " of a " vocal " piece in the title of a ricercar, or vice versa, e. g. No. 3 " seguita nell ton del primo ricerchar ", or No. 8 and No. 9 " nel ton del ricercar terzo ", which is the preceding No. 7, or No. 13 " nel ton del primo recercar ", or No. 16 (Ricercar IV) " nel ton de sancta trinitas " (No. 14), to which also the following No. 17 refers. Similarly both Ricercar V, No. 18 and the Christe, No. 20 refer to No. 19, " nel ton del ricercar sesto ".

While the content itself is varied and without clearly visible grouping, the Table of Contents is neatly arranged according to musical forms. Its first column lists the six excerpts from masses followed by four motets. Among these is " Non ti spiaqua l'ascoltar ", an Italian piece not identified up to now.

The last of the motets, Agricola's " Si dedero ", is called, on the other hand, " canto ", a term used for the following group of French chansons. Probably the piece is misnamed because it occurs in Petrucci's *Odhecaton*, essentially a collection of French chansons. After the four works of this category to which the only villancico — another piece from the *Odhecaton* — is added, a stray motet follows. The three cantus firmus dances, the unidentified chansonesque piece without title (No. 15, " canto bello ") and the last number, Craen's motet, " Tota pulchra es ", close the first column. The second column lists Ricercars 1-12, the four dances without cantus firmus, the 5 frottole, and as a closing piece of the list, Ricercar XIII. Occasional stray numbers notwithstanding, the tendency toward articulate grouping is clearly recognizable.

The Preface carries the title of the book, *Compositions of messer Vincenzo Capirola, gentleman of Brescia.* Indeed, the ricercari seem all to be one and the same man's works, and certain technical features point to the same hand in the remaining pieces, too. In twenty-three cases the compositions are lute arrangements of originally " vocal " pieces, twenty of which could be identified. No authors are named in the manuscript, except in the case of two compositions, Nos. 22 and 36, both by Anthoine Brumel.

Let us include here a list of these lute arrangements with indication of the composers' name :

No.	1 (La Villanella)	unicum ?
No.	3 Oublier vueil tristesse	by Alexander Agricola
No.	5a O mia cieca e dura sorte	by Marchetto Cara
No.	5b Che farala, che dirala	by Don Michele Vicentino

No. 8	Sit nomen Domini	anon.
No. 10	Stavasi Amor dormendo	by Bartolomeo Tromboncino
No. 11	Voi che passate qui	by Bartolomeo Tromboncino
No. 13	De tous biens plaine	by Hayne van Ghizeghem
No. 14	Sancta Trinitas	by Anthoine de Fevin
No. 15	? (Canto bello)	unicum ?
No. 20	Christe « Si dedero »	by Jacob Obrecht
No. 21	Allez regrets	by Hayne van Ghizeghem
No. 22	Agnus Dei (III) « Ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la ».	by Anthoine Brumel
No. 30	Non ti spiaqua l'ascoltar.	unicum ?
No. 31	Gentil prince	anon.
No. 32	Nunqua fue pena major	by Juan Urrede
No. 33	Et resurrexit « L'homme armé » sexti toni	by Josquin des Prez
No. 34	O florens rosa	by Johannes Ghiselin
No. 35	Si dedero	by Alexander Agricola
No. 36	Benedictus « Ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la ».	by Anthoine Brumel
No. 38	Et in terra « Pange lingua »	by Josquin des Prez
No. 39	Qui tollis « Pange lingua »	by Josquin des Prez
No. 42	Tota pulchra es	by Nicolas Craen

There are three pieces by Josquin des Prez, two each by Alexander Agricola, Anthoine Brumel, Hayne van Ghizeghem, and Bartolomeo Tromboncino, and one each by Marchetto Cara, Nicolas Craen, Anthoine de Fevin, Johannes Ghiselin, Don Michele Vicentino, Jacob Obrecht, and Juan Urrede. Two pieces are anonymous in all sources, and three seem to be unique and unidentifiable. A detailed account of the sources is given in the critical apparatus.

A majority of these twenty-three pieces, a total of sixteen, occur also in Petrucci's publications. Five (Nos. 13, 21, 31, 32, 35) are to be found in the *Odhecaton*, 1501, one in *Misse Josquin* lib. I, 1502 (No. 33), two in *Misse Brumel* 1503 (Nos 22, 36), one in *Misse diversorum auctorum*, 1508 (No. 20). This latter piece together with No. 22 and four of the *Odhecaton* pieces (except No. 31) occur also in Spinacino's two lute books published by Petrucci in 1507. No. 5a is in *Frottole* lib. I, 1504, No. 11 in lib. VII, 1507, and both No. 5b and No. 10 in lib. XI, 1514. Nos. 5a and 11 were also intabulated for voice and lute by Francesco Bossinensis in lib. I, a Petrucci print of 1509. Ghiselin's motet (No. 34) occurs in *Moteti A*, 1502, Craen's (No. 42) in *Moteti C*, 1504. Finally, Fevin's Sancta Trinitas was first printed in *Moteti della Corona*, lib. I, 1514. It may be added that No. 37, " Bassadanza ", and also the two pieces called " Spagna ", are built upon the same C. f. as the corresponding pieces in *Moteti A*, in *Canti C* 1503-4 and in Spinacino's two books. In other words, of the twenty-three pieces with vocal models only Nos. 1, 15, and 30 (the unidentified pieces), then No. 3, No. 8 and the continuous Nos. 38-39 are not represented in any of the Petrucci collections dating from between 1501 and 1514.

This close reliance on publications of the Venetian printer is not surprising in a Venetian manuscript of the time. The writer, Vitale, an unidentified dilettante on the lute, was obviously a professional painter of clearly Venetian schooling. The paper on which he wrote comes from Venetian territory, and was used in the Venetian cities Bergamo, Treviso, Udine. Material and exterior of the manuscript, its decoration, writing, and repertoire are all Venetian. The dialect is that of the city of the lagoons ; word-forms like *buelo* for *budello*, *drio* for *dietro*, *do* for *due*, *fruo* for *frusto*, *cao* for *capo*, *coa* for *coda*, *iaueta* for *chiavetta*, *mudare* for *mutare*, *manego* for *manecchio*, *mior* for *meglio*, *piare* for *pigliare*, *za* for *già*, *zo and suzo* for *giu*, *pezorar* for *pegliorar*, *zoe* for *cioè*, *voze* for *voce*, *lazar* for *lasciar*, *ganzer*, *fregolin*, etc. are purely Venetian. Vidal for Vitale might be added to this list. The peculiar use of words like *forzo (sforzo)* and *manco*, etc. is also characteristic. Some of the names mentioned speak a clear language : Ricercar VI was in the possession of " Zanna dal Contarini " and was presumably written for her. It is not

easy to identify this member of the great Venetian family. One Giovanna de Contarini, daughter of Francesco, made her last will July 2, 1569 [1] ; another, daughter of Antonio, February 3, 1554 [2]. Either one could have been in her youth the addressee of the work. Ricercar VII " ave Alvise di Garzoni " ; it is even more difficult to decide which one of the persons of this name was meant. One of them, son of Marino, was Captain of Bergamo in 1508 and member of the Consiglio di S. Polo in 1514 and died in 1526 [3]. He may have been too old for such light pleasures as active lute playing at the time the work was written. Then there was Alvise, son of Natale, whose daughter married in 1559, and his son in 1568 [4]. His last will is dated Dec. 2, 1574 [5]. Another Alvise de Garzoni, son of Giovanni, who first married in 1545, and a second time in 1566, made his last will Feb. 14, 1569 and died in 1576 [6]. Both may have been too young to be the receiver of the gift. We can be more definite in determining the identity of " lalcier ", who, together with an unnamed apothecary, possessed Ricercar VIII : he was Alvise Arcieri, singer and since Feb. 6, 1503-4 substitute organist at Saint Marc, who after the death of Bartolomeo de Vielmis became regular organist of the second organ, Feb. 20, 1518/9 [7]. His successor, Giulio Segni of Modena, another organist who acquired fame as a lute player, was named Nov. 10, 1530 [8]. Since the post of organist of San Marco was a lifetime position, the date last mentioned obviously marks a terminus ante quem for Arcieri's death.

While the evidence of names contained in the manuscript bears out the Venetian origin, it does not contribute much to the dating. As said before, other evidence points to the years immediately after 1515, and Arcieri's date of death, 1530, sets the upper limit. The inner evidence forbids us to go this far. The repertoire is that of the second decade of the 16th century, and to this time point also the script and the pictorial decor. Anticipatingly we may add that Vincenzo Capirola can be found in Venice in 1517.

1. Venice, Archivio di Stato, Atti Notarili, Testamenti, Bianco, Carlo, busta 79, No. 456.
2. *Ibid.*, No. 497.
3. M. BARBARI, *Arbori de Patritij Veneti.* Ms. Venice, Archivio di Stato.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Venice, Archivio di Stato, Atti Notarili, Testamenti, Benzoni, G. B., busta 163, No. 104.
6. M. BARBARI, *l. c.*
Venice, Archivio di Stato, Atti Notarili, Testamenti, Crivelli, Giov., busta 219, No. 15.
7. Giacomo BENVENUTI, *Origini e prima fase della cappella musicale di San Marco*, in : *Istituzioni e Monumenti della musica Italiana*, I, 1931, XXIV sqq.
8. Gino RONCAGLIA, in *Rivista Musicale Italiana*, 46, 1942, 294 sqq. Some fantasies edited by Giacomo BENVENUTI in : *I Classici Musicali Italiani*, 2, Milano, 1942, and by Higini ANGLÈS, *La Música en la corte de Carlos V*, Madrid, 1944 (Luys VENEGAS DE HENESTROSA, *Libro de cifra nueva...*, 1557).

II

THE COMPOSER

The Capirola family, noblemen of Brescia, descended from one Ghidino detto Capirola who immigrated to the city from Onore, above Clusone in Valle Seriana, 37 km. North-East from Bergamo. He is first mentioned in the census of 1388 [1] and was a " brazentus ", i. e., " bracciante ", the word designating at that time a tenant-farmer, rather than a farm laborer. Ghidino became rather prosperous. According to the census and tax register of 1416/21 [2] he was one of the larger tax payers of the city. The next census, of 1430 [3], refers to him as deceased. Whether the Bartolomeo Capirola, whose widow Veronica was still alive in 1459 [4], was a son of Ghidino, is not known. At any rate the brothers Marcus, Aloisius, and Venturinus (II) Capirola, living in the Castel Vecchio district in 1469 [5] where Aloisius was still residing in 1475 [6], were children of Bartolomeo and Veronica. The further history of this branch of the family is not known.

Another possible offspring (grandson ?) of Ghidino may have been that Gherardo, already dead in 1475 [7], whose children Leonardo (I) [8] and Francesco (II) [9] — a daughter Magdalena married into the noble family de Schilinj, and was a widow in 1517 [10] — founded one of the most prosperous branches of the family. Leonardo became " factor " (business manager) of the abbey of Leno ; Francesco and his children, goldsmiths in Brescia [11].

The census and tax estimates of 1430, 1434, and 1442 mention only two sons and heirs of Ghidino : Giovanni (I) " quondam Capiroli del honore ", and Venturino (I) " dictus Capirola " [12]. Both were dead by 1459 [13]. They lived together in the parental house in the 5th ward of S. Giovanni where for a while also all their children resided. Venturino had at least five sons. Three

1. 434 ½, 69^{r} (1388).

In the following, documents (tax registers, estimi civici) of the city of Brescia will be quoted. They are to be found in the Archivio Storico Civico ; C. II, 434 and 434 1/2 for the years 1388-1442 ; C. IV. 444 for 1430-1442 ; C. IV. 445 for 1459-75 ; C. IV. 446 for 1486-1498 ; C. IV. 450 for 1517-1534 ; C. IV. 456 for 1548. To each of these registers, arranged according to city wards, belongs an alphabetical index : C. IV. 434 ½ (1430-1475), 469 (1475), 447 (1486), 449 (1498), 451 (1517), 453 (1534), 457 (1548). Some exist also in duplicate. In the following, the simplified call number, the folio, and the year will be given ; in some manuscripts a new foliation starts with each census year.

2. 434 ½, 110^{r} (1416-21).
3. 434, 45^{r} ; 444, 18^{r} (1430).
4. 445, 28^{r} (1459).
5. 445, 54^{v} (1469).
6. 445, 47^{v} (1475).
7. Early documents are entirely lacking. He is just refered to as the deceased father of his children.
8. Cfr. note 11.
9. 445, 1^{v} (1475).
10. She is mentioned in the tax report of Madonna Caterina, Leonardo's vidow, of 1517.
11. 446, 22^{r} (1486) ; 446, 111^{r} (1498) ; 450, 4^{v} ((1517) ; Polizza d'estimo of Hieronimo (I), son of Francesco (II), of 1517, of Giovanni Battista and Antonio, sons of Silvestro (I), of 1534, of Antonio, son of Silvestro of 1548, of Silvestro (II), Leonardo (III) and Daniel, sons of Giovanni Battista, of 1548.
12. 434, 45^{r} (1430) ; 434, 130^{v} (1434) ; 434, 231^{r} (1442),
13. 445, 27^{r} (1459) : « heredes Johannis... » and « heredes Venturini... »

of them were registered in the community of Leno, 19 km. South-East of Brescia, in 1469 (Francesco (I), Comino, Domenico) [1] ; afterwards their tracks are lost. The remaining two brothers, Jacopo (I) [2] and Giovanni (II) [3] maintained two residences : one in the paternal district, the other in Leno. Jacopo was registered in Leno in 1486, and was dead by 1498 [4]. Giovanni died before 1475 [5]. Their children settled in Leno, although some of them also had a city residence [6]. Gradually, the inherited wealth melted away and some of the grandchildren had to learn a trade or till the earth. Thus, Jacopo's grandson Agostino was a painter [7], Giovanni's grandson Vincenzo (III) an apothecary, or grocer [8] ; another Vincenzo (IV), possibly a nephew or brother of Agostino, also learned the painter's trade [9]. Agostino's uncle (Jacopo's son) Alessandro was a furrier [10], while Evangelista, possibly a brother of the painter Vincenzo, became a tailor [11]. Otherwise, however, the members of the family lived the carefree life of the absentee landowner " senza esercizio " as long as the money lasted.

Like his brother, Venturino, Ghidino's older son Giovanni (I), was blest with numerous male offspring. Four brothers shared in the wealth of their father, which was formed into a kind of *fideicommis* ; there were some quarrels and court proceedings resulting from this arrangement by the time of Giovanni's grandchildren.

The four brothers, Pietro, Albertino, Antonio, and Bartolomeo (II) seem, however, to have gotten along fine. Pietro acts for all of them in dealing with the Abbot of Leno and the community in certain rather complicated exchanges of waterrights and property, until at least 1469 [12]. Before 1475 Albertino died and his widow Agnesina with her six sons seems to have been bought out by the others [13]. Possibly by this transaction the possessions of the family were divided up, and we do not hear of joint business actions any more. Antonio retired to Leno, where he was still alive in 1486 [14], and where his son Theodoro lived in 1498/1502 [15]. At this time he is listed among the noblemen of the community. Albertino's children were the priest (presbyter) Giorgio [16], then Giovanni (III), the black sheep of the family, to whom numerous court acts refer in the years 1475/78 [17] ; then Gratiadio [18], Apollonio [19], Jacopo (II) [20], and Michael [21].

1. 445, 40^{v} and 81^{r} (1469).
2. 445, 40^{v} and 81^{r} (1469) ; 445, 84^{r} (1475).
3. 445, 40^{v} and 81^{r} (1469).
4. 446, 97^{r} (1486) : 446, 224^{r} (1498) : « heredes... »
5. His children were registered in Leno, cfr. 445, 84^{r} (1475). Cfr. also 446, 19^{v} and 97^{r} (1486) : « heredes Johannis... » ; 446, 22^{v} (1486) : « Jacobina uxor quondam Johannis... »
6. Jacopo's children were Giovanni Battista (I) and Alessandro ; Giovanni's children, Taddeo, Venturino (II), and Bernardo (I). The latter's children were Vincenzo (III), cfr. note 8 below, Jacopo-Filippo « grand spendidor », and Veronica.
7. Designated as such in the tax report of 1517 of his sons Giovanni Francesco and Giovanni Andrea.
8. Tax report of 1534 : « Vincentio filius quondam domini Bernardi Capirola spicial in Leno ».
9. Tax report of 1534 : « Vincentio filius quondam de messer Jo. Baptista de Capirolis depenter ».
10. Tax report of 1517.
11. Tax report of 1548.
12. 445, 40^{v} (1469).
13. 445, 30^{v} (1475).
14. 445, 40^{v} (1469) ; 445, 36^{r} (1475) ; 446, 97^{r} (1486).
15. 446, 224^{r} (1498) ; Brescia, Archivio di Stato, Ms. 256, *Nobiles Habitantes in terris brixiane... Cives Agrestes Habitantes in Villis Brixiane Qui Appelantur Nobiles*, 45^{v}.
16. 445, 84^{v} (1475).
17. 445, 31^{r} (1475) ; 446, 39^{v} (1486) ; Brescia, Archivio di Stato, Cancelleria Pretoria, Atti dal 1474 al 1476, Reg. vol. 18, 202^{r}, 204^{r}, 213^{r}, 216^{r}, 217^{r}, 218^{v}, 267^{r} ; vol. 19, 226^{v}.
18. 445. 34^{r} (1475) ; 446, 2^{r} (1486) ; 446, 177^{v} (1498) ; his widow Afra Carpano files a tax report in 1517.
19. 445, 34^{r} (1475) ; 446, 32^{v} (1486) ; 446, 130^{v} (1498) ; tax report of 1517.
20. 445, 34^{r} (1475) ; 446, 33^{r} (1486) ; 446, 166^{r} (1498).
21. 445, 34^{r} (1475) ; 446, 2^{r} (1486) ; 446, 179^{v} (1498) ; Leno, Archivio Comunale, filza 2, fol. 64 (August 18, 1947 : witness, together with Taddeo's son Giovanni Pietro).

As late as 1546 their children disputed with their second cousins the grandparental spoils.

The wealthiest of the four sons of Giovanni (I) was Bartolomeo (II), for a while the biggest tax payer of the city, who moved to new quarters in the first ward of S. Giovanni before 1475 and was still alive in 1498 [1]. However, in 1516 he was dead. He married from the noble family de Moncelosa and had an only daughter, Bianca, to whom we have to return later.

The most active, and probably oldest, of the brothers was Pietro [2], an industrious and shrewd businessman, who with his brothers entered into close dealings with the monastery and the community of Leno, and acquired much land and valuable waterrights [3]. His death, before February 26, 1576, came at a critical time of these transactions and the heirs had to suffer [4]. There was a married son — from an earlier marriage ? — by the name of Giovanni Antonio, who also died shortly after his father, between 1477 and 1480, leaving his wife Giovanna with at least three little children, Annibale, born 1473, Ercole, born 1475, and Marcantonio [5]. The

1. 445, 40^{v} (1469) ; 445, 21^{v} (1475) ; 446, 97^{r} (1486) ; 446, 136^{r} (1498).

2. 445, 40^{v} (1459) ; 445, 84^{r} (1475).

3. Leno, Archivio Comunale, mazzo 3, fasc. 2, fols. 110 and 116 (jan. 18 and 31, 1464) : Pietro Capirola produces witnesses in the litigation of the four brothers against Bartolomeo de Averoldis, Abbot of Leno ; *ibid.*, mazzo 4, fasc. 19, fols. 51-58 (April 26, 1464) : judgement in favor of the Abbey of Leno and the brothers Capirola, « Petrus de Capirolis interveniens pro se conjunctorio et procuratoris nomine Antonii, Albertini, et Bartolomei fratrum suorum de Capirolis » ; *ibid.*, filza 2, fol. 10 (June 7, 1464) : Pietro mentioned in a release of the Community from certain obligations toward the Monastery ; *ibid.*, filza 2, fol. 15 (May 6, 1466) : agreement between the abbot of Leno and the Community of Leno on the one side, and the brothers Pietro, Antonio, Albertino, and Bartolomeo Capirola on the other, about the waters coming through the communities of Ghedi, Bagnola, and Porzano ; *ibid.*, filza 2, fol. 16 = mazzo 8, fasc. 35 (June 7, 1466) : exchange of water-rights between the Abbot and the Community of Leno and Pietro Capirola on the one side, Antonio Scovolo and his father-in-law Giovita Scalvini on the other, whereby enough water for three mills is assigned to the first party in exchange of 160 acres of land ; *ibid.*, filza 2, fol. 18 (February 12, 1467) : the Community of Leno, to three-quarters, and the brothers Capirola, to one-quarter, acquire from the Community of Ghedi all the waters coming from the river Riolo ; *ibid.*, mazzo 7, fasc. 17 (1467) : agreement about water-rights between Pietro Capirola and Antonio Scovolo ; *ibid.*, filza 2, fol. 12 (Jan. 7, 1469) ; Pietro Capirola having violated the agreement according to which none of the parties involved — the Abbot, the Community, and the brothers Capirola — will sell or exchange water-rights without the consent of the others, by his exchange of land for waters with Antonio Scovolo, a new agreement has been negotiated upon complaint of the Community in the Palazzo Vecchio of Brescia, and the *status quo* established.

4. Brescia, Archivio di Stato, Canc. Pret. 18, 247^{v} :

Die XXVI Februarij 1476

Prospectabili Domino Jacobo Pollani. Retulit probus vit Joannes Macachio commissariae vigore et in executione comissionis sic sibi date et facte per officium Cancellarie Intromissione primam petiam terre infrascriptam ut de bonis Joannis Antonii filij et heredis pro parte sua quandam petri de Capirolis ita contentantis et assignantis ipsam terram pro parte debiti ducatorum centum duos grossorum XV auri et pro comisis (?) ducatorum trium grossorum XX : Item aliam et secundam infrascriptam petia*m* terre pro parte debiti predicti tangentis Vincentium fratrem ipsius Joannis Antonÿ.

Prima unam petiam terre — positam in territorio de Leno, in contrada Brayde dellalio plodiorum duodecim. Cui coheret de monte franciscus capirola, a mane heredes Joannis turi, a meridie strata, a sero strata.

Item unam petiam terre in contrata albaroti plodiorum quinque. Cui coheret a mane flora vxor quondam suprascripti petri eorum patris, a monte heredes petri loneti, a sero suprascriptus Joannes Antonius, a monte strata.

Leno, Arch. Com., filza 2, fol. 29 (October 27, 1477) : Flora widow of Pietro Capirola sells, also in the name of her minor son Vincenzo, half of the waters of the canals Lavaculo, Riolo, and Bonaga... etc., etc., to the *sindaci* of the community of Leno.

Ibid., filza 2, fol. 30 (December 16, 1477) : Receipt of Flora... etc., for ducats 15 for waters sold to the community of Leno (reference is made to the instrument of guardianship by the notary Gottardo dell'Acquavita. The original document could not be found).

Ibid., filza 2, fol. 31 (December 20, 1477) : Giovanni Antonio, son of Pietro, sells his half of the same waters to the community of Leno for Lire 480½ planet.

Ibid., filza 2, fol. 30 *bis* and fol. 33 (January 28, 1478) : Another receipt by Flora, living « in contrada delle Pescherie nuove » (now Via Dieci Giornate) by the wooden bridge... for Ducats 27...

5. Leno, Arch. Com., filza 2, fol. 34 (December 2, 1480) : Liberatio Communis et hominum de Leno a d*omina* Joanna uxor quondam Joannis Antonii a capirolis... d. Joanna decreta fuit tutrix Herculis, Annibalis et Marci Antonii filiorum suorum ac filiorum et heredum dicti q*uondam* Johannis *Antonii*... (reference made to instrument of guardianship written by the notary Giovanni del Monte, November 16, 1480. The original document could not be found).

latter drops out of the picture in 1498, but the two other brothers lived together in Leno and in their city house. Annibale, " senza esercizio ", took over the management of the possessions, while Ercole went into military service and became " capo de squadra " (captain) of the Venetian guard [1]. Annibale never married. But Ercole and his wife Stefanina had a flock of children (at least 9), three of whom were still alive in 1548 [2].

At the time of his death Pietro left his (second ?) wife Flora with two small children. The older of these, Aloisia, is not mentioned in the early documents although she must have been born around 1471 [3]. Obviously her part of the inheritance was secured in some way. She or rather her husband received the payment made to Vincenzo in settling their claims againts the community of Leno in 1489 [4]. She was married to Simon de Morattis de Soncino, son of the " tubeta ", the city-trumpeter, Giovannino de Morattis of Soncino, and subsequently himself trumpeter of the city [5]. By 1517 Aloisia was a widow with five children between 12 and 6 years of age [6]. After three girls came Vincenzo, named after his uncle, born 1508, then the youngest, Alberto, three years younger. Aloisia lived in one of the houses of her cousin Bianca, " amore dei ". She and her children owed money to Vincenzo who says, in his own tax declaration of 1517, that there is little hope of ever getting it from them.

The youngest of Pietro Capirola's children was Vincenzo, born 1474 [7], and a small child at the time his father died. The mother became his legal guardian ; the respective document could not be found but is referred to in another from 1477 [8]. Since both mother and brother died before Vincenzo became of legal age, a new guardian was named in the person of Maestro

1. The erlier tax registers list the family in a summary fashion. In 1486 the listing « Capirole Heredes Joannis » (Ms. 434½, fol. 20 and 97, Ms. 446, fol. 19^{v} and 97) may refer to them; definitely so the listing of 1498, Ms. 446, fol. 157^{v} « De Capirolis Hercules et fratres q*uondam* Jo*annis* Antonii », and of 1517, ms. 450, 103^{r} « De Capirolis, Anibal et fratres (also, for 1534. Ms. 450, 128^{r}, and, for 1548, Ms. 456, 139^{r} « Pietro et fratres... »). The joint Polizza d'estimo of 1517 of Annibale and Ercole, sons of q*uondam* domino Giovanni Antonio dj Capiroli, living in Leno, lists as members of the household Annibale, 45, Ercole, capo de squadra della ill^{ma} Signoria di Venezia, 46, the latter's wife, 35, and the following children : Giovanni Antonio, 14, Antonia, of marrying age, Pietro, 10, Lodovica, 8, Giovanni Maria, 3, — the latter ones going to school, — and Caterina, 1 month old. In 1534 Ercole was dead ; his wife Stefanina is listed as 50, Piero is 26, Geronimo, 18 (the latter obviously identical with Giovanni Maria), Ercules, 13, and two girls, Zoanna and Biancha, 15.

2. In 1548 Piero, son of Hercule Capirola, makes the report for the family. Madonna Stefanina, 73, is still alive. Piero, a soldier under the command of Piero Martinengo, is 40, Hieronimo 32, Hercule 28. Piero's wife Jacomina is 30; « Laura mia sorela » 4, and « Hercule mio nipote » 5 ; these seem to be his brother's children.

3. The tax estimate of 1517 gives her age as 46. Cfr. also note 6.

4. Leno, Arch. Com., filza 2, fol. 48, fragm. (March. 27, 1489). Cfr. note 1, next page.

5. Janninus de Sonzino tubeta is mentioned January 10, 1474 (Archivio di Stato, Canc. Pret. Ms. vol. 18, fol. 9^{v} and 40^{v}) and in the document of 1489, cfr. notes 4, above and 1, next page ; Simon de Morattis de Soncino tubicen is listed in the 5th ward of S. Giovanni in 1486 (C. IV. 447) and in the first ward of S. Giovanni in 1498 (C. IV. 449).

6. Polizza d'estimo 1517 « Per li figlij de simon da Sonzino In prima Alexandri.

primo Vincentio de eta di anni 9) fratelli figlij del q*uondam* Simon
Alberto di anni 6) da Sonzino
Madonna Aloysia sua madre de eta di anni 46
Julia Susanna excede anni 12)
Ludovica di anni 11) soy sorelle
Magdalena di anni 10)
.....
et stanno in casa di madonna Biancha da Provalio amore deij
.....
Item... [debt to] messer Vincencio Capirola L 600
..... »

7. He declares himself 43 years of age in the tax declaration of 1517. Cfr. p. 75.

8. Cfr. note 4, previous page, document of December 16, 1477.

Stefano, son of Betino de Caravatiis (Caravazzo) of Soncino, a goldsmith by trade, and possibly a relative (maternal uncle ?) [1].

About the early life of Vincenzo, his schooling and conditions of life we do not know anything. In 1486 [2] and 1498 [3] he is listed among the tax-payers of the first ward of S. Giovanni in which both his former guardian and his uncle Bartolomeo lived. From this time on his traces become even rarer. Three times more there was a census taken during his life and a tax declaration requested from all who wanted to maintain their Brescian citizenship. In 1517 [4] and 1548 [5] Vincenzo fulfilled his civic duty, but among the documents of the 1534 census his declaration cannot be found and he is not listed in the register. In 1517 he lived in Venice in a rented house, but listed himself in Brescia as belonging to the first ward of S. Alessandro where his cousin Bianca had a house in which Vincenzo's sister Aloisia lived with her children. He did not mention any trade or profession and — if we may trust a tax declaration — his earthly goods consisted for the most part of dubious claims. Thus the heirs of Leonardo Capirola owed him 1,000 lire and back interest for four years which he listed twice. Furthermore the heirs of Alessandro de Provaglio owed him 400 lire and his own cousin, Bianca, widow of Alessandro de Provaglio, an unspecified amount, which he did not hope to get, because others were not successful either with their claims against the lady. Possibly this amount was coming to him from the family fortune about which there was plenty of litigation in the family. Finally, Vincenzo listed the 600 lire owed to him by his sister and her children ; this is a dubious item, " non esserli in bonis ".

Yet money and claims do not seem to have bothered Vincenzo too much, or to have interfered with the good relations he always maintained with his cousin Bianca.

The tax report (polizza d'estimo) of 1517, corroborated by the tax declarations of the other parties involved, shows that Vincenzo invested his fortune with some of his rich relatives. Leonardo, son of Gerardo, was a successful operator who became " factor " of the abbey of Leno [6]. His widow Caterina declares in 1517 [7] and again in 1534 [8] a sizeable fortune in her own name and in that of her family : an illegitimate son of Leonardo's, a daughter Samaritana, married to Galeazzo de Madijs, a daughter Andronica married to Giovanni Francesco de Federicis, and a daughter

1. Leno, Arch. Com., filza 2, fol. 48, fragm. (March 27, 1489) : In the house of Giovanni da Soncino, district o the Palazzo Vecchio, near Sta Agatha.

Messer Stefano q*uondam* Betini de Caravatis de Soncino goldsmith, guardian and in name of the ward Vincentius q*uondam* petri de Capirolis receives from the Community of Leno in the name of the said Vincenzo the sum of lire 200 planet, which is passed on to ser Joannino de Morattis de Soncino, trumpeter of the Community of Brescia, and to Simon, his son, husband and « juncta persona » of Domina Aluisia, sister of the abovesaid Vincentius and daughter of q*uondam* Petri de Capirolis, and legitimate wife of the said Symon, as part of the dowry of the said Aloysia, who, also in the name of her husband, gives receipt.

2. 446, 20^r^.
3. 446, 137^r^.
4. Cfr. the text on p. 75.
5. Cfr. the text on p. 75.
6. 446, 45^r^ (1486): De Capirolis, Leonardus quondam Girardi.
446, 178^r^ (1498): » » » Ghirardi.
Leno, Arch. Com., mazzo 4, fol. 43 (March 13, 1491).
45 (March 17, 1496).
55 (March 31, 1497).
71 (November 14, 1500).
77 (November 4, 1500).
67 (May 5, 1509).
filza 2. fol. 61 (May 5, 1495).
63 (May 17, 1496).
mazzo 1, fasc. 6. fol. 10 (11^v^) 1505 ; Giovanni Battista, son of Jacopo (I) also mentioned. He is a witness in a case of 1503 (mazzo 4, fol. 42).
7. Polizza d'estimo of 1517, in Cittadella Vecchia.
8. Polizza d'estimo of 1534.

Maria, born 1505. In the first declaration the debt to Vincenzo of 1,000 lire and the accumulated interests of lire 273, scudi 5 is acknowledged. In the second tax report Vincenzo is not mentioned.

Vincenzo kept in closer touch with cousin Bianca. She was one year his junior and it may be assumed that the close friendship of the cousins reached back to early childhood. Bianca married a rich and influential nobleman of Brescia, Alessandro de Provaglio, and became, well before 1516, a widow with two children, Ippolita and Teodora [1]. In second marriage she became the wife of a Venetian patrician, Stefano, son of Pietro Magno, before 1516 [2]. From her father and her first husband she inherited several houses in the city and extended land holdings, country houses and valuable rights around Brescia. The litigation with the remainder of the Capirola family involved 136 parcels of land and different houses in value of "several thousand" ducats. The administration of her fortune occupied her mind very much; at least she made efforts to leave everything in good order and signed her will as early as October 23, 1516 at the age of 41 [3]. At that time her residence was in " confine di S^{a} Margarita " in Venice. In this will she remembered Vincenzo with 100 ducats and left the same sum to Alberto Capirola, most likely a son of Bianca's cousin Giovanni (III). Cousin Apollonio had to be satisfied with what he got when the family litigation was settled. Except for some pious donations, the remainder of her fortune was to be divided between her two daughters.

In the course of time her trust in Vincenzo only increased. As we have seen, Vincenzo lived in Venice about this time, — for how long, we do not know. If Bianca's other wills in which Vincenzo is made an executor of the fortune, allow such interpretation, Vincenzo must eventually have moved back to Brescia, because the disposal and administration of all the real estate would have required his presence there. The other executors of the wills were all residents of Brescia.

Bianca's second will is dated July 18, 1542, from her house in " confine di S^{a} Barbara " in Venice [4]. In this she makes the prior of the Dominican monastery in Brescia and her cousin Vincenzo the executors of her testament. She wants to be buried in S^{a} Maria dei Carmeni and makes a donation to that church and monastery for a perpetual mass. Her husband inherits the income of her property for his lifetime, but after his death her possessions including all the silverware shall return to the estate. Out of this her grandson Lodovico de Marioto de Martinengo, son of her daughter Ippolita, is to get 3,000 ducats plus the sum of 500 ducats which are owed to her by her nephews, sons of Hieronimo de Provaglio. Antonio Capirola, son of

1. Polizza d'estimo of 1517. Prima sancti Alexandri.

Politia de la Magn*ifica* e M*adonn*a Biancha: donna fu dil Magn*ifico* Misser Alexandro de provalio et f*ilia* q*uondam* et herede de misser Bartholamio di Capirola... de etade de anni quaranta doj vel circa...

Item alias conventum fuit inter ser Gratiadeum de Capirolis ex una et dictum Bartholomeum patrem prefatae Magnificenciae D. Blanchae ex altera intre caetera quod dictus Gratiadeus teneatur reservare ipsum d. Bartholomeum et eius bona sub onere livelli seu livellorum infrascriptorum librarum triginta planet...

Item alias gli fo mosso lite per alcuni di Capirole sopra piova cento e trentasei de terra de le possessioni sopra scritte affittate ut supra et curtivi et case in Castello di Leno et sopra una casa in la città de Bressa, dicendo ad loro spectare per il fidei commisso dal avo paterno de la ditta M*adon*a Biancha, quali obteneteno tre sentenzie contrarie gli aspettasse a loro quattro porte de li sette parte cum dicta taxatione de usufructu de ditti beni; la qual lite anchora pende et e anchora in controversia, quello che sera non lo sa, ma quando fosse astretta a subiacere a questo saria danno a detrimento non solum de meijara de libre ma de meyara de ducatti.

2. Cfr. next note. However, the tax declaration, cfr. note 9 above, does not say anything about her second marriage. In M. Barbari's *Arbori de patritij Veneti* (Ms. Venezia, Archivio di Stato), p. 378, Stefano di Piero di Bartolo Magno is said to have been born in 1492 and to have married Bianca Capirola de quondam B*artolomeo* Patritio Bresciano, V*edova* di Alessandro de Provaglio in 1518.

3. Venezia, Archivio di Stato, Atti notarili, Testamenti, Bossis, de, Girolamo, busta 51, no. 87. In this, she calls herself the wife of Stefano di Pietro Magno.

4. Venezia, Archivio di Stato, Atti notarili, Testamenti, Brochetto, Franc., busta 42, no. 184. In this document both marriages are mentioned.

Sylvestro (I) and grandson of the goldsmith Francesco (II), is going to inherit the land which he is at present renting from her in the territory of Leno. A cousin on her mother's side is given her house in Brescia for his lifetime. After several smaller donations to monasteries and servants the remainder is made into a trust fund, out of which male members of the Capirola family shall be sent to study and female members given funds to marry or to enter a nunnery. Vincenzo is going to get his part of the family trust fund and has the right to name another administrator after his death. Otherwise the male members of the Capirola family shall elect another administrator by ballot.

By the 25th of September Bianca changed her mind, " essendo la volunta humana ambulatoria fin ala morte ". In a codicil to the testament [1] she makes Antonio Capirola the third executor of her will " per haver gran cognition de le cose mie ". Special care is taken that Stefano Magno, should he survive his wife, shall give account of every item of her property and that the villa in Roncada (near Treviso) shall be returned after his death to the estate in order to be sold and the money invested in real estate in the territory of Brescia. All legacies should be paid out of the interest rather than of the capital of the trust. Antonio's young son Bartolomeo (III) gets a special donation of 300 ducats.

Four years later, September 26, 1546 she revokes all prior testaments and codicils [2]. The situation has changed. Stefano Magno died while commanding a Venetian man-of-war, in 1544 [3], and Bianca, now living in " confine di S. Angolo ", leaves the question of the disposal of her estate wide open. For good measure this revocation of all former wills is repeated in another testament of November 17, 1546 [4]. But by March 24, 1547, she makes up her mind [5]. As executors of her will the prior of S. Domenico, the magnifico Zuanbaptista di Maz(z)i, and the magnifico Vincenzo Capirolla, Brescian noblemen, are installed. Her body should be placed in a depository in the church of the Carmelites in Venice, and transferred to S. Domenico in Brescia where she has had prepared a burial place. Her servant Andriola gets 300 ducats, her gardener 60 ducats and a house for a year. Vincenzo is remembered with a life rent of 60 ducats yearly, payable in two installments at mid-May and at Christmas. 200 ducats invested in acreage go to Nicolo Capirola, son of her cousin Michele, and his heirs, without the right of ever selling any of this property. After several smaller items a trust fund of 600 ducats is set up to provide a dowry for the daughters of Antonio and Zuanbaptista Capirola, sons of Syivestro (I), according to the wisdom of the executors of the will. The rest of the fortune goes to the grandson Lodovico de Martinengo. This includes real estate in Brescia and territory, in Treviso and territory, and in Venice. Lodovico is entitled to free action after having paid out the other claims. If, however, he is not satisfied with this arrangement or if he dies without legitimate offspring, the estate must be established as a trust fund for the male line of the Capirola family and if this dies out the female line is to be considered.

According to this last document the cordial relationship of the cousins was unchanged and, as a matter of fact, Vincenzo was getting more consideration than ever before. Evidently he was still in good health and in possession of his mental powers, otherwise the difficult task of supervising the financial transactions would not have been entrusted to him. Bianca, prepared to leave this world for years, seems to have been ailing by now. She died within a year. In Vincenzo's tax declaration of 1548 [6] — the last document referring to him — mention is made of the yearly rent of 60 ducats.

1. The codicil is attached to the will mentioned in the previous note.
2. Attached codicil. Cfr. note 4, page 20.
3. M. BARBARI, *op. cit.*, p. 378 : « 1544 † annegato in Cipro essendo P*ad*ron di Gallia, nell Viaggio d'Alessandria. »
4. Attached to the document indicated in the following note.
5. Venezia, Archivio di Stato, Atti notarili, Testamenti, Canal, A., busta 209, no. 66.
6. Cfr. p. 75.

This document is of great interest. Vincenzo, living in the second ward of S. Giovanni, professes to be " senza exercizio alchuno " and of 80 years of age " vel circa ". In truth, he was only 74, but nobody took matters of age too strictly. He lists first his expenses, 8 ducats or lire 24 for a place to live plus the services of a girl servant, lire 40. On the other side of the ledger are his credits. He was forced through malicious intrigues to invest 1,200 lire with a grocer, Baldesar Rumano, in Borgo S. Giovanni, and since because of age and poverty he was not able to contest the action, he had to leave things as they were, getting only the interest of 5 per cent or lire 60 per annum. He also gets lire 36 worth of food per year according to promise. Signor Baldesar also pays him lire 50 per annum which can be paid up with lire 1,000 at once. In toto his income from this investment makes lire 146 per annum — not a bad investment, at that. Furthermore, he was promised a yearly rent of 60 ducats (lire 180) left to him by Signora Biancha Magno Capirola, but he has not received anything yet, since it will be paid only at the pleasure of Signor Ludovico Martinengo. Finally, a trusted person has in custody an emergency fund of lire 250.

This is not too much, but not too little either. In his declining years, Vincenzo had food and shelter, a bit of spending money, and the prospect of more of it soon. How long he was able to enjoy this quiet and safe old age, we do not know. With this document his traces disappear. Who were his friends, his pupils, if any, is not known. He lived in the city of the Antegnati, and was a contemporary of Moretto da Brescia, another local boy who made good in Venice only to return to his home town. The records are strangely incomplete ; not even the register of out-of-town people in Venice contains his name. There are long lacunae between the documents ; nine years between 1489 and 1498, the years of study and first start in life ; 18 years between 1498 and 1516, the most productive period of life between 24 and 42 ; and again a long 25 years between 1517 and 1548, the years of maturity and of old age. This last long lacuna is the more peculiar since the census and tax declaration year 1534 should have brought him to the fore. Was he abroad ? Or had he spent other years of his life, earlier, in some foreign country ? There was a phenomenal Brescian lutenist at Henry VIII's court in 1515[1] : his name is not known unless he is identical with Zuan Pietro mentioned in 1517[2]. Was Vincenzo in England ? This is just a wild guess. The household books of the English court do not mention his name[3], nor does it occur at any other court or city or in any print or manuscript except in the present one. Yet Vidal was right. This book contains " as much harmony as the musical art is able to express " ; Vincenzo Capirola was the foremost lute composer of his time, an artist of great originality and of an uncanny sense of sound.

Let us sum up. Here we have a manuscript written on paper that was manufactured in or before 1515, with a musical notation, handwriting, and pictorial ornamentation typical of the second decade of the 16th century. It contains material that was popular in Venice about the same time. As a matter of fact, the cantus firmus dances and some of the *Odhecaton* pieces were already on their way to oblivion. The composer of the pieces lived in Venice in the years 1516/17. The writer of the manuscript took lute instruction from him and incorporated some of the pieces he got from his master at the outset. As witnessed by the technical difficulty of

1. Cfr. the often quoted letter of Nicolo Sagudino to Alvise Foscari, of May 3, 1515, in : Mario Sanudo, *Diarii*, vol. 20, p. 266 ff. « Era in dicto loco [in the antichamber of the king] uno brexan, al qual questo Re li dà provisione de ducati 300 a l'anno per sonar de lauto, qual bressano, pigliato in mano uno lauto, sono insieme con mi alcune cose ».

2. *Idem*, of May 19, 1517 (*ibid.*, vol. 24, 391 f.) : « Eravi [at the Court in Richmond] monsignor missier Dionisio Memo (about whom cfr. Moser, Hofhaymer), e a sua instantia il Re li fece udir uno putino che sonò di lauto meglio che mai sentisse sonar. Sua Maestà obstupisse udendolo, nè mai si sazia. Zuan Piero, poi la venuta di questo puto, non è in quella gratia che l'era, et si lamenta ; a terminato al tuto andarsene in Italia *sane bene peculatus*, et fa da savio ».

3. My thanks are due to Mr. B. Schofield of the British Museum for again checking the available records of the English Court.

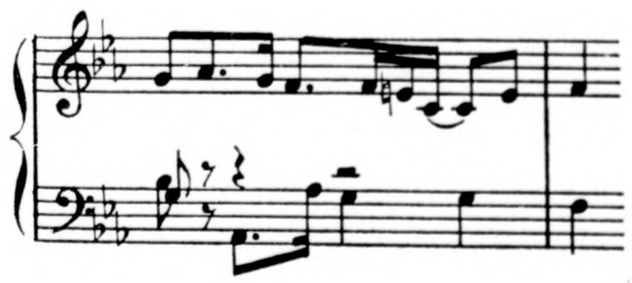
some of the pieces he learned to play the lute well. This must have taken several years. The manuscript was obviously written within a short time : the writer copied earlier notations in a neatly planned and systematically ornamented manuscript. If we assume that Fevin's motet became known in Venice through Petrucci's publication of 1514, the year 1515 is the terminus post quem for our source. As terminus ante quem it is difficult to select any definite date, since Arcieri's death-year 1530 is definitely too late. By that time the repertoire of our manuscript became much outdated in progressive Venice. The circumstantial evidence points to the years between 1515 and 1520 ; the years immediately preceeding the first date might be considered the time of the actual composition of the main body of the manuscript. Vincenzo Capirola was at that time about 40 years of age.

III

EDITORIAL PRINCIPLES

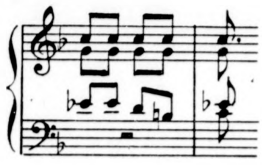
Before entering into the discussion of the music contained in this volume it will be necessary to account for the editorial procedures. In more than one respect this edition deviates from accepted current practice. Thus the note values have been reduced in the ratio of 1:4. Although the original shows division lines after every semibreve [1], it proved to be impractical and superfluous to put these lines after every quarter-note of the transcription. In the 20 compositions with known vocal models transcription according to the tempus would have been possible, but such miniature measures of 2/4 and 3/4 do not do justice to the music. The present barring is offered as a suggestion. The reader who prefers the traditional way of transcribing may easily imagine a bar line either after each quarter-note or dotted quarter-note value, respectively, and be in accord with the tablature, or, in the compositions with vocal models, after every two or three quarter note values, as the case may be, and thus conform to the tactus. The unorthodox metric changes, the unusual 5/4 and 7/4 measures of our transcriptions may be bewildering at first and in some cases others may arrive at different solutions. But by and large, I believe, the transcriptions mirror the natural movement of the music [2].

In one more respect the editor of a lute tablature is on his own. That is with reference to voice leading. Since tablatures do not indicate the length of the notes, but only the point in time when a new tone or chord is plucked, a reconstruction of contrapuntal logic is the editor's chief responsibility. Of course, " griffmässig " transcription is feasible and has often been the chosen procedure. Capirola's point of view is admirably summed up in the introduction of our codex [3]: it is " more musical " to hold the tones and reconstruct the parts than to drop them and let parts disappear. I have tried to follow the advice as far as feasible, i. e. to hold all tones until (*a*) another tone comes up in the same part or (*b*) the musical context forbids the holding of the tone. In this respect opinions may differ to a certain extent. Places as e. g. (Ricercar II, meas. 25-26)

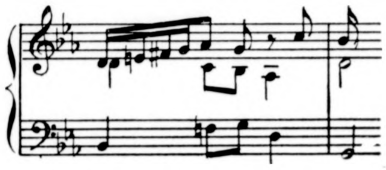


1. Deviations from this norm have been accounted for above, p. 11.
2. In no other way could, for instance, the delightfully French metric organization of *Gentil prince* (No 31) be made clear.
3. Fol. 3[r].

may be somewhat objectionable from the theoretical point of view, yet they do occur in lute music. Especially in consideration of many a radical effect in Capirola's music, e. g. pedal-effects, such as : (Ricercar XII, meas. 46-47)

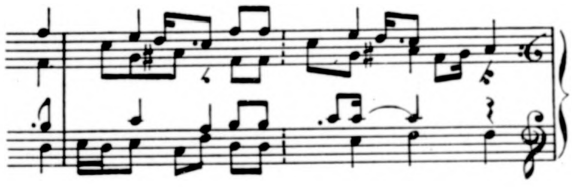


or a freely entering dominant seventh : (Ricercar XI, meas. 15-16)



it was not found necessary to cover up less harsh, less daring details by inserting rests. The critical reader may adjust matters to his taste by replacing some ties by corresponding rests.

Capirola's lute music is not yet under the spell of vocal polyphony. Certain instrumental characteristics remain prominent. Thus open fifths are not anathema. Instrumental in nature also are certain rather bold cross relations ; at any rate, the chordal logic plays a much more important role than the linear logic of " vocal " compositions. Thus, in transcribing, Capirola arrives at solutions which do not conform to the standards worked out by our scholars. Who, among us, would recommend, in Josquin's " Pange lingua " mass, a tritone progression in the Tenor, such as (No. 38, meas. 14-15) :



The tritone *f♯-c* exposed twice is neither a mistake, nor the result of mechanical transcribing. Such augmented fourths also occur in original lute compositions. Cfr. Ricercar I, meas. 9, or Ricercar IV, meas. 24. Perhaps even more shocking are imitative passages, in which one part uses alteration while the other does not. Let us quote only Ghiselin's " O florens rosa ", no. 34, meas. 25.

It has been, consequently, our policy not to tamper with the text except where an obvious mistake occurs, either in notating the wrong fret or by omitting certain structurally, contrapuntally important and technically feasible tones. These places are accounted for in the critical notes.

In some cases, notes were omitted in our manuscript because they were found not playable. I inserted such notes in square brackets. Sometimes Capirola replaces such tones by their octave ; he also uses the octave to reinforce certain tones on which two melodic lines meet. In these cases the higher note is placed within parentheses and the two notes are connected by a common stem and a long bracket.

Occasionally two successive notes of a vocal model are transcribed as simultaneous sounds,

especially if they are constituent tones of the same chord. Sometimes tones of such character are added, in which case there are two tones present for one part. Such places are marked, in this edition, by a bracket in front of the two notes.

The original indication of upward strokes of the right hand, — a dot below the note or chord — has been omitted. Similarly, the legato and non legato signs have been omitted, because their use in the manuscript seems to be rather arbitrary.

Another point, my interpretation of the ornament signs, also needs clarification.

As stated before, the manuscript shows two kinds of ornament. The one is marked by a figure made of red dots after the one representing the main note. According to the Preface this sign marks a trill starting with the main note and using an upper auxiliary. This ornament may occur on any fret and it does occur correctly on the first, second, fourth, and fifth. Altogether the sign is used 83 times. Of these, in six cases, the figure for the auxiliary tone is the same as that for the main tone, the third fret. This is an obvious mistake, about which we shall speak presently. Of the other 77 cases, 16 use the upper whole-tone for auxiliary ; two of these occur on the second fret (trill *d'-e'* and *g-a*), the others on the first fret (*e'* ♭ : 12 times, *a'* ♭ : twice). In all other cases (61) the auxiliary tone is a half-tone interval above the main tone.

The other ornament, marked by two red dots above the figure, signifies a sort of tremolo on one note, or rather a mordant-like movement between a tone and its lower auxiliary. Twenty-eight out of forty-three mordants occur on the first fret and consequently use the open string, half-tone lower, as an auxiliary. Once each the second and the fifth fret carry this ornament, the former with whole-tone auxiliary (the open string). The remaining 13 mordants are on the third fret (♭ *b'*, *f'*, *c'*) ; the auxiliary note is in two cases a whole-tone below the main note (*c'-b* ♭), otherwise the lower half-tone is used.

Obviously, the 6 cases referred to above in which the auxiliary of a trill is indicated on the same pitch as the main note, are marked erroneously with the sign of the trill instead of that of the mordant. Otherwise trills are not used on the third fret, — this often being the minor third of the chord — ; secondly, the signs mark in these six cases the high point of a musical figure where otherwise only the mordant is used ; thirdly, all six of these cases occur in the two compositions Nos. 13 & 14 in both of which the trill sign alone is used and the mordant is absent. And lastly, it is impossible to make a trill on one note. Considering all this there can hardly be any doubt that in these 6 cases the trill has to be changed to mordant. This we have done.

The indicated ornaments are, however, not the only ones possible ; such ornaments, says the Preface, may be used at the discretion of the player. They are indicated to mark, as examples, some places suitable for ornaments. Thus some compositions, e. g. Nos. 7, 13-16, and especially 37, are richly ornamented ; in others only the beginning measures carry ornaments, and the application of such to the rest of the composition is left to the skill of the player. Finally, more than half of the compositions (29 out of 43) do not carry any ornaments. Among these are all Italian pieces including the " Balletto " (i.e. Nos. 1, 5*a*, 5*b*, 10, 11, 12, 13), but not the " Paduana " No. 17, and the Nos. from 19-25, from 30-36, from 38-42.

A close study of the indicated ornaments will enable the player to put others, with taste and moderation, at the right spots. Here is another of those widely used but otherwise never marked practices of 16th century lute music. Outside our manuscript conventional ornaments were not indicated by the sources. They were left to the discretion of the player. Tomas de Santa Maria [1] describes *redobles* — among them both the trill and the mordant — and *quie-*

1. *Libro llamando Arte de tañer Fantasia*, Valladolid 1565, chapter 23. Of course, mordants and symbols for mordants were used in the keyboard literature. Bermudo also reserves a chapter for the " redobles ". Cfr. O. KINKELDEY, *Orgel and Klavier in der Musik des* 16. *Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1910, 12, 40 ff., and 114 ff.

bros, but has no symbols for them. It is still entirely up to the performer to apply them according to his taste and ability. Capirola, some 50 years earlier, uses two signs and teaches where and how to apply the ornaments indicated by them.

In doing this, Capirola does not display the pedagogical fervor that makes so many of the sources of 16th century instrumental music appear in a false light. We forget only too often how much of the music that has come down to us represents the teaching or self-teaching material, the studies and exercices, the "simplified editions" of the time. This didactic element is uppermost in Petrucci's prints, it also permeates the publications of Schlick, Judenkünig, Attaingnant, Gerle, or Newsidler — let us not go beyond 1536 — i.e. the whole early lute literature.

There are easy pieces in the Capirola manuscript. But the manuscript did not serve didactic purposes. The easy pieces, given at his request to our writer at the beginning of his instruction, were taken into the collection because they were found good. Good, not from the didactic but from the musical point of view. They are small in number. The second "Spagna" (No. 24), the first Ricercar (No. 2), Ricercar XI (No. 29) marked *facile* and obviously also Ricercar X (No. 27) belong to this group ; also No. 1, "Villanella", Ricercar VIII (No. 25) and possibly the "Balletto" (No. 12). None of these compositions use smaller values than the sixteenth-note ; none of them use the higher frets. Some remain entirely in the first position. From the musical point of view, however, they are not less satisfactory than the average of the volume. The content of the manuscript is keyed to the highest standards.

IV

THE INTABULATIONS OF VOCAL COMPOSITIONS

Lute music of the early 16th century is still a very little known territory on the map of history of music. Much as we hear about the instrument and its use before and around 1500, the musical documentation is lacking. In England sources of any size, written or printed, do not appear before the sixth decade of the 16th century. In the Netherlands, Pierre Phalèse's publications of 1545/47 mark the beginning of lute music. In Spain, the vihuela-literature starts in 1536 with Luis Milan's *El Maestro* and manuscript collections are entirely absent. In France, Attaingnant's prints of 1529 mark the beginning. Here, too, manuscript collections are late. There is, in France, no printed lute music preserved between Attaignant's 1529-30 and Le Roy et Ballard's 1551. In Germany, printing of lute music gets an early start with Schlick 1511, Virdung 1512, Judenkunig 1515/19 and 1523, but manuscript sources are absent up to the fifth decade of the century.

The situation in Italy is even more extreme. Petrucci's lute books of 1507/11 are the oldest known specimens of lute music, followed by the Florentine print of Frottole by Tromboncino and Cara (before 1521). Then, after a long pause, the three lute tablatures of the year 1536 follow ; only after another ten years of silence does the flood begin, in 1546. No manuscript of lute music has hitherto been known from the first four decades of the 16th century.

The Capirola manuscript, consequently, is not only the earliest known specimen of manuscript lute music, but it also fills the gap between Petrucci's publications and the lute books published by Antonio Casteliono (Milano, 1536) and Francesco Marcolini (Venice, 1536). In these we find the first printed specimens of Italian lute music after Petrucci's publications.

Petrucci was granted the privilege for twenty years to print lute and organ tablatures in 1498. While he does not seem to have made use of the latter, and another privilege was given by Leo X to Andrea Antico in 1516, he did put out, as mentioned before, six volumes of lute music between 1507 and 1511. Of these, the third book is missing, the fifth and sixth contain intabulated frottole for voice and lute, but also some ricercari : 26 in Francesco Bossinensis' *Tenori e Contrabassi intabulati* lib. I, and 20 in lib. II. The remaining three volumes are for lute solo. Spinacino's lib. I (1507) contains 21 transcriptions for the lute and 17 ricercari, his lib. II (1507), 33 transcriptions and 10 ricercari. Book IV of Petrucci's lute publications, Joanambrosio Dalza's *Intabolatura* (1508) contains chiefly dance music, e.g. *Calate* (13), *Pavane alla Venetiana* (5) and *alla Ferrarese* (4) with their *Saltarelli* and *Pive* ; a *Saltarello* for two lutes, but also 4 ricercari and 5 " *Tastar de corde* ", besides a piece with the title " *Caldibi castigliano* ", and 3 intabulated *frottole* [1].

1. Let us correct one oversight in C. Sartori's excellent article, " A little known Petrucci publication ", *MQ*, 34, 1948, 234 ff. Cara's *Udite voi finestre*, for which no other Petrucci source is given in the table, p. 243, does occur in the first book of *Frottole*.

Petrucci's privilege was challenged in 1505, when Marco d'Aquila applied for and first was granted a similar privilege of printing lute music. Subsequently this privilege which collided with the one given to Petrucci, was modified to the fatherly advice that the two contestants should get together on the project. We are not informed about the negotiations, but they evidently came to naught, and Petrucci commissioned his compatriot Francesco Spinacino to put together his lute books. At least this seems to be likely in the light of the contents which leans heavily on Petrucci's previous publications. Of the 54 transcriptions contained in Spinacino's two books not less than 44 are taken from them, mostly from the *Odhecaton* (29) and *Canti C* (10).

While Dalza's book, with its dances, is more independent, Bossinensis' intabulations of frottole lean again heavily on Petrucci's books of frottole. In libro primo, only 4 of the 70 frottole are not to be found in any of Petrucci's books ; in libro secondo 12 of 56 frottole are of unknown origin, but they may have been contained in Petrucci's lost tenth book. As Sartori points out, either Bossinensis had access to the 10th and 11th books before they were printed or he had other printed sources at his disposal, like Andrea Antico's *Canzoni nuove*, Rome, 1510, to which he took recourse in one case [1].

Intabulated vocal compositions in Petrucci's prints are limited by considerations for the dilettante. Most of the works are set for three parts. While in the publications for ensemble (to avoid the disputed issue of " vocal " originals) in many cases a fourth voice, Alto, had been added to the original three, in lute publications even four-part compositions are reduced to three parts by omitting the Alto. Bossinensis goes as far as to give one part (Discant) to the voice and limit the lute to two parts, Tenor and Bass.

Capirola goes far beyond the standards of Spinacino or Bossinensis. The 20 compositions intabulated by him are evenly divided ; 10 of them are originally in three parts, 10 in four. The three-part compositions are kept intact. In one case, Brumel's " Benedictus " (No. 36) a four-part coda is added to the original composition. Among the four-part compositions the ones in a lighter vein, like the frottole, are thinned out : Don Michele Vicentino's " Che farala " (No. 5b) is reduced to three real parts except in a coda of sonorous four parts, added to the original version. Similarly, Tromboncino's two frottole (Nos. 10, 11) omit the Alto most of the time. In compositions of more specific weight, however, the original part-writing is preserved, even in four-part compositions, to an extent otherwise unknown of in early lute literature. Little liberty is taken with the originals. Some metric alterations are made in No. 14 and No. 31. In the former, the repetition of the closing phrase is omitted in Capirola's version. In some cases (Nos. 3, 5a, 5b, 32, 36) the final chord of the original composition is elaborated into a fine cadence of one-two measures ; it can be said in Capirola's honor that he at least did not detract from the beauty of his models by these additions. In No. 32 the coda consists of a downward running F-major scale ; it is more extended in Agricola's " Oublier vueil ", No 3 ; it adds harmonic enrichment to No. 5b, and, beyond this, a fine instrumental passage to No. 5a. In doing so, Capirola remains within the limits set up by his own transcriptions. Cadential scale-runs, trill-like ornamentation of cadences and of phrase-openings belong, by nature, to the arsenal of the intabulator.

Capirola's transcriptions offer highly interesting cases of controversial accidentals. Even in imitations, false cross-relations are not lacking. Such things do occur in more carelessly transcribed versions, where the notes of the original are quite mechanically translated into the figures of lute tablature. Yet the cases we have mentioned above, while daringly nonconforming to theoretical standards as we understand them, are hardly the results of careless intabulation.

1. Cfr. C. SARTORI, *l. c.*

They show a feeling for chord and harmony that is not commonly recognized as property of the early 16th century, although in this respect our notions may be in need of revision.

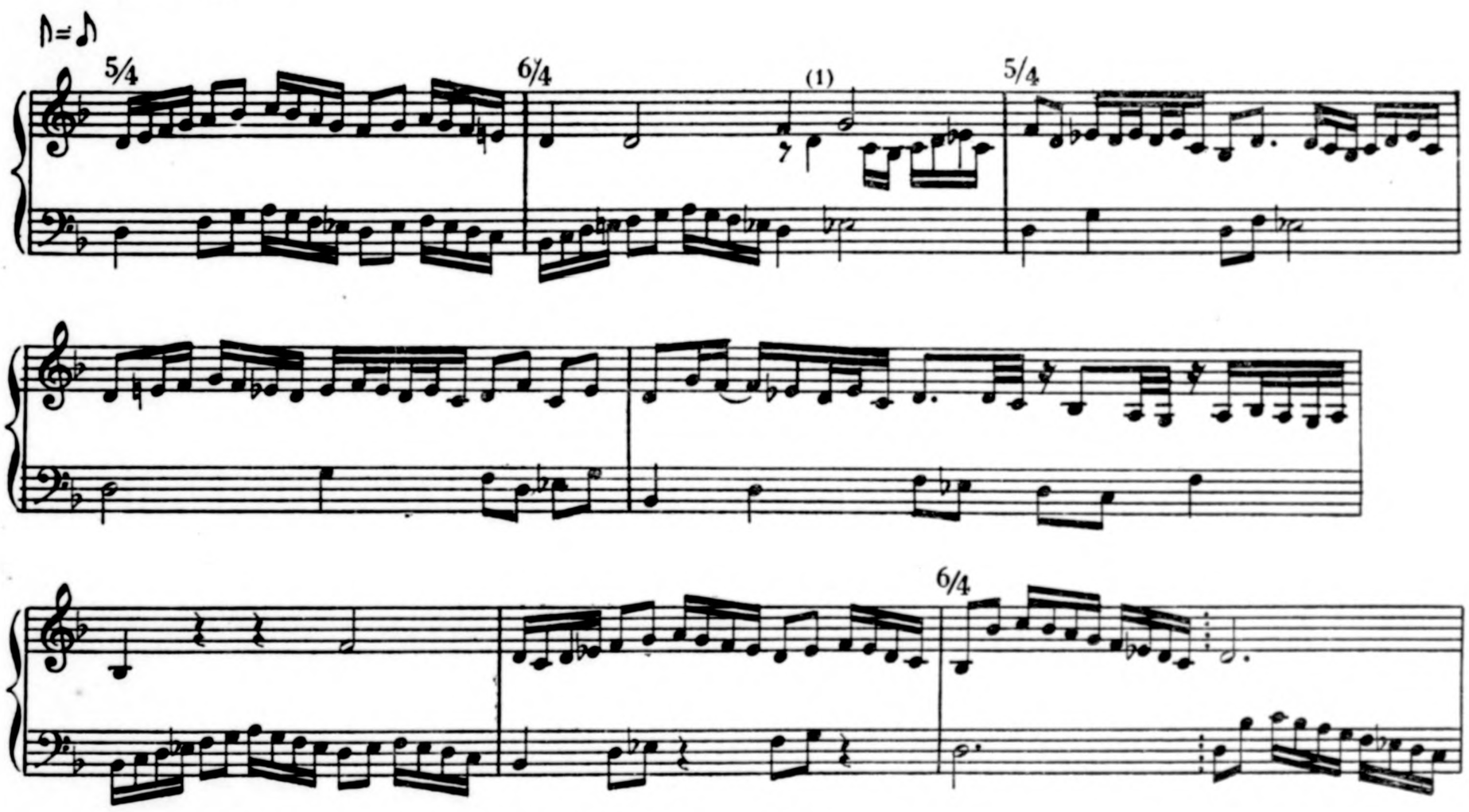
While a great deal of Capirola's repertoire is rather retrospective in character, he certainly was not deaf to modern tendencies. Agricola, Ghizeghem, Urrede, — even Ghiselin's motet, — were *vieux jeu* at the time our manuscript was written. The writer cannot help remarking that Urrede's famous Villancico is " vecchio " and " da si ", i.e. without the lutenist's " make-up ", it is not beautiful. On the other hand Ghiselin's motet is still rated " beletissimo " and Agricola's " Si dedero ", " bellissimo ; mai esta sona estafoza ". However, Capirola's heart beats with Obrecht, Brumel, Josquin, and Fevin, not to forget Craen's exceptionally beautiful " Tota pulchra es ". It is interesting to see in this list the names of the two great masters of sequence-construction, Obrecht and Brumel, whose works, as we shall see presently, served Capirola so well in writing his own ricercari. The others, with Obrecht, are masters of the *dialogue*. Craen, Josquin, Fevin break up the full four-part texture into contrasting registration of repeated phrases. One couple of parts pronounces the thesis, the other reaffirms it either alone, or supported by the former. This is another structural device used by Capirola to some extent in the ricercari and quite extensively in other compositions. The root of the idea is laid bare in these works of the leading masters of the time. Capirola was, however, more than a simple and eclectic disciple. He was also an original composer and a virtuoso on his instrument who translated what he had learnt into his own medium and enriched it by revolutionary means.

V

THE RICERCARI

The true stature of the man is mirrored in his original compositions for lute, in ricercari and dances.

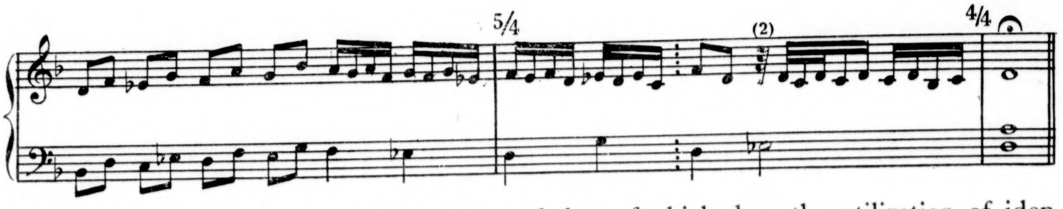
The ricercari of Petrucci's composers, Capirola's only predecessors in this field, show a rather uniform picture [1]. They are, with a few exceptions, short and rudimentary compositions without any recognizable form-idea : pieces of improvisatory character and rather light weight. Generally, fast runs alternate with somewhat more quiet and more chordal structures. Motivic work is almost negligible ; yet occasionally germinal sequences and even modest attempts at imitation do occur. Quite exceptional is a piece like Ricercar No. 10 from Spinacino's second book, folio 55 b :



1. New editions of some of these ricercari are to be found in :

J. Wasielewski, *Geschichte der Instrumentalmusik im* 16. *Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 1878.
O. Körte, *Laute und Lautenmusik bis zur Mitte des* 16 *Jahrhunderts (Beihefte der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft)*, Leipzig, 1901.
E. Engel, *Die Instrumentalformen in der Lautenmusik des* 16. *Jahrhunderts*, Diss., Berlin, 1915.
H. D. Bruger, *Alte Lautenmusik aus drei Jahrhunderten*, 1923.
H. Neemann, *Alte Meister der Laute*, Berlin, 1937.
Davison-Apel, *Historical Anthology of Music*, revised edition, Cambridge, 1949.

A fascimile of Spinacino, Book, I, No 10 is in J. Wolf, *Handbuch der Notationskunde* 2, 1919, 55.



a rather regularly built little composition, the two halves of which show the utilization of identical material, in itself more than usually subject to motivic work.

Generally speaking, these firstlings of the literature are thin of texture and rather slight from both the musical and the technical point of view.

The ricercar remained a work of this character for a considerable time. Even some of Francesco da Milano's ricercari show similar texture, of course on a much higher artistic level. The instrumental form of heavier specific weight is the fantasia, appearing first in Luis Milan's and Francesco da Milano's publications of 1536 until the two forms are fused through the remodeling of the ricercar along the lines of vocal imitative polyphony. Yet already one older lutenist wrote Fantasias of imitative texture : the same Marco d'Aquila who contested Petrucci's privilege in 1505. Our knowledge of the man and his work is rather scanty. We know that he was working in Venice and there is a curious reference to him in a letter from Spataro to Marcantonio Cavazzoni from November 10, 1524, in which the famous theoretician expresses his amazed disapproval over Marcantonio's asking Marco d'Aquila's opinion of certain musical questions, " perche el me pare strano che el Musico cerchi havere el lume de la inteligentia da uno pulsatore de istrumento ", " because it seems to me strange that the musician should seek to have the light of intelligence from a player of an instrument " [1]. Yet Marco d'Aquila, while certainly a player of an instrument, was obviously an excellent one, and had been mentioned as such in Marcolini's foreword to his lute book in one breath with Francesco da Milano and Alberto de Ripa, as worthy followers of Josquin, Gian Maria (Leo X's famous Jewish lutenist) and other great players of the time. His Fantasia from Casteliono's volume [2] is an exceptionally mature piece of imitative writing.

Between Spinacino's, Dalza's, and Bossinensis' rather crude efforts on the one hand, the imitative ricercar of the mid-century on the other, Capirola's style occupies an interesting middle position. While he was thoroughly cognizant of the imitative polyphonic style of the late Josquin and his circle, the ricercar, in his hands, remains an instrumental piece with largely instrumental ancestry. It is not an instrumental motet but a genuine ricercar.

What is a ricercar ? Like other forms, the ricercar, too, has a long history in the course of which its function and appearance has changed continually. A satisfactory explanation of the term is still on the want-list. Certainly, the early ricercar did not get its name from " ricercare " the motif to be imitated. There are hardly any imitations in the ricercari of Petrucci's authors, or in Marcantonio Cavazzoni's works, or for that matter, in Capirola's compositions. A recent attempt at explaining the term, by Willi Apel [3], according to which " ricercar " equals English " research " and signifies a " Study ", is hardly acceptable.

I think matters are much simpler. The writer of a ricercar wants to " look up again " something he had before. This something obviously is the beginning of some musical piece played before. The ricercar is played after a composition — also before a composition, in which case it could be prefaced with a " tastar de corde ", — and its function is to serve as a kind of

1. K. JEPPESEN, *Die italienische Orgelmusik am Anfang des Cinquecento*, Copenhagen, 1943, 84 (after Ms. Vatic. Lat. 5318, fol. 213-214 v).
2. Cfr. A. SCHERING, *Geschichte der Musik in Beispielen*, No 94, p. 89.
3. W. APEL, " The early development of the organ ricercar ", *MD* 3, 139-150, esp. 140.

ritornelle, to lead back to the beginning of the second, etc. stanza. Thus, Dalza ends his second *Calata spagnola* (fol. 48v) with a *Recercar detto Coda.* What the player is " looking for " is the beginning of his dance or frottola or what have you. Clearly, Bossinensis indicates by letter-symbols which ricercar may serve, for reasons of its tonality, to which frottola [1]. This is also the reason why Capirola indicates the " tone ", referring in doing so to particular pieces of vocal origin or referring to the " tone " of a previous or subsequent ricercar [2]. In the second half of the manuscript there are no such indications to be found. By then, the owner of the manuscript became sufficiently versed in music to select his ricercars according to the music he wanted to play. This coupling of " composed " pieces and " improvised " ritornelle-ricercar is the only reason for Spinacino's calling one of his ricercars " de tous bien " and another " Juli amours " [3]. Neither of them has any direct musical reference to the piece named in its title ; but both of them serve as introductory pieces and ritornelles to the compositions indicated [4].

As introductory or episodic pieces of improvisatory character the ricercari became the proper vehicles for display of virtuosity. They usually start with some fireworks. But in Capirola's hands the ricercar became more strictly organized. It remained a highly sectionalized composition, but the sections follow each other as contrasting elements and gradually build up to greater density and richer sonority. With some variation, his ricercari consist of 5 sections of various length. The first of these is a brilliant passage, in itself often subdivided into contrasting registers. The duration of this display varies between 10 and 22 semibreves (our quarter-notes). The second section might be called Duo-or Trio-Fantasia : the movement consolidates into strict two-part or three-part writing of quietly contemplative character. Its length varies between 23 and 56 semibreves, although Ricercar XII extends this section to 95 semibreves in three periods. The center part (section III) is sequential. For from 17 to 55 semibreves these sequences of one-measure units are rolling up and down mostly in strict three-part writing. The sequence-motiv and its rolling-by are, of course, not original ideas but outright borrowings from such great masters of sequential writing as Obrecht, Brumel, and Isaac. Section IV either returns to the Fantasia type of section II, or introduces imitations in two- and rarely three-part writing, or revert to outright homophony. Its length varies between 10 and 50 semibreves. The closing section V uses such cadential devices as pedalpoint-effects ; the tonic is reinforced by an extended cadence. This closing section takes between 18 and 33 semibreves plus final note.

Of these 5 sections three have a stable place and they represent the skeleton ; section I, the " fireworks ", section III, the sequences, and section V, the cadence, are present in every case. Section II, however, can be combined with Section I (cfr. Ricercar VIII). Section IV can be interrupted by the returning sequence-complex, etc. Thus in Ricercars II, VIII, IX and XIII the fireworks are reduced to a minimum, the monodic display of virtuoso passage-work is lacking, or rather, is reduced to a Trio-Fantasia. In Ricercar VII the second section is split, and the third interpolated between its two halves. In Ricercar VI, section IV precedes the sequential section III. In Ricercar V, phrases of fantasy-character and others of sequence-construction alternate three times, until the fourth sequence-period brings this combined section II-III to an end. In a similar fashion, sections IV and V grow into each other in Ricercars II and III.

Two more ricercars have to be set apart. No. 10, a piece marked " facile ", is obviously

1. Index : " Recercar li quali seruono alle frottole secondo lordino de le littere sotto scripte. "
2. Cfr. Ch. 1, p. 12.
3. Lib. I, No 1, fol. 37v and Lib. I, No 2, fol. 38r.
4. BENVENUTI (cfr. ch. 5, note 18) noticed the relationship between Marcantonio Cavazzoni's two Ricercari and the motets following each ricercar. He failed to make use of this fact for an explanation and definition of the term.

an instructive piece for beginners. It is exceptionally short. The other is Ricercar XI, " in the Spanish manner ". What this Spanish manner could be, is, of course, more than problematic. There are none of the delightful Iberian formulas, still recognizable as such, in some of Dalza's " Calate alla spagnola ". The Spanish fantasy of Milan or Narvaez offers hardly any point of comparison. The characteristic things about Ricercar XI are more easily formulated in a negative way ; no fireworks, no sequences, no division into contrasting sections. The composition is one of the shortest of the ricercars. It is an easy piece, in the first position throughout. Its musical vocabulary, however, does not differ appreciably from that of the other ricercars [1] and the work must be considered a composition of Capirola's.

This musical vocabulary connects stylistically all the pieces. Especially significant are, in this respect, the sequence motives. Essentially, almost all descending sequences are related to each other. The measure-long tones of the two outer parts are opposed by scale motives, or motives anchored on the third, fifth, and sixth of the chord in the middle part [2]. Occasionally the moving part is the lowest of the three [3], or the movement is divided between two parts [4]. In some cases the sequential passage is reduced to two parts [5], or amplified to four [6].

The family-resemblance or even identity of some of these sequences is obvious. It becomes even more pronounced in upward sequences [7]. The initial firework passages also show decided similarities between themselves, e.g. Ricercars I and VII and, on the other hand, Ricercars III and VII ; even more outspoken is the proximity of Ricercars IV and VI by their pointed rhythmic design. Similar family features come up in the cadential sections of Ricercars I and VI, I and II, II and III, and develop into identity in Ricercars VI and VIII. Homophonic passages of section IV also go back to one type, and the dialogue intermezzi e.g. in Ricercars VII and IX are also closely related. This list of patterns could be continued. Patterns they are, of course, and their origin is pretty clear. Obrecht's and Isaac's works abound in such sequences. The three-part " Fantasy " sections also remind one of the tenth-parallel constructions of a Busnois and Obrecht. The latter, with Josquin, is the godfather of another prominent stylistic feature, of the register-contrast in repeating phrases [8]. We shall see presently how extensively this last device is made use of in other forms, especially in dance music. In some cases this register-contrast reaches the clarity and intensity of regular echo effects.

Imitation, on the other hand, does not play a prominent role. Occasional imitations do occur, especially in two-part " Fantasia " passages or in lace-work with short motives or in secondary elaboration of sequences [9]. But the structure is either more monodic or more blockwise than imitative combinations would allow. The instrumental character of the style has, of course, something to do with this.

The type of ricercar encountered in the Capirola manuscript is unique in many respects. Closest to this type, among all ricercars of the 16th century, are the organ ricercari by Marcantonio Cavazzoni. They have been dealt with recently by three eminent musicologists.

1. Ricercar XI, meas. 21-22 and Ricercar I, meas. 7-8.
   Ricercar XI, meas. 18-19 and Ricercar II, meas. 12-12.
   Ricercar XI, meas. 13-15 and Ricercar IX, meas. 18-19.
2. Ricercar I, 13 ; Ricercar V, 16 and 31 ; Ricercar II, 44 ; Ricercar VI, 47 ; Ricercar VII, 9 ; Ricercar XIII, 11.
3. Ricercar II, 44.
4. Ricercar IV, 27 ; Ricercar XII, 47 and 79.
5. Ricercar VII, 9 and 22.
6. Ricercar VI, 11 ; Ricercar XII, 67.
7. Ricercar II, 15 and 25 ; Ricercar III, 15 ; Ricercar IV, 23 ; Ricercar V, 21, 26, 52 ; Ricercar VI, 43 ; Ricercar VIII, Ricercar IX, 11 and 17 ; Ricercar XII, 56 and 60.
8. Ricercar I, 23 ; Ricercar III, 1 and 32 ; Ricercar IV, 1 and 3 ; Ricercar V, 35, 37, 41 ; Ricercar IX, 15 and 18 ; Ricercar XII, 23, 44, 46-47 ; Ricercar XIII, 1, 5, 26, 28, etc.
9. Ricercar III, 39 ; Ricercar IV, 20 ; Ricercar VI, 41 ; Ricercar XII, 20, 23, 30 ; Ricercar XIII, 18.

Within a couple of years both Giacomo Benvenuti and Knud Jeppesen edited them, the former in a volume that also contains ricercari by Jacobo Fogliano, Giulio Segni, and Anonymi [1]; the latter with an extensive study [2]. Willi Apel returned to them in an article on the early organ ricercar [3]. I find myself unable to join my illustrious colleagues in their method of transcription, analysis and appraisal of these works and shall present my views at another place. May it suffice here to emphasize the connection between these ricercars and those of Capirola. There is a quality in Marcantonio's ricercars which brings them, on a higher artistic level, near enough to the early lute ricercar of Spinacino and Bossinensis to make Benvenuti call them " lutenistic " in contradistinction to the " organistic " ricercari of Jachet Buus and especially of Jacobo Fogliano. Benvenuti also attempts to distinguish between the *recercare* and the *recercada*. This is in my opinion without any foundation. The " vocalization ", the modeling of the instrumental ricercar after the imitative motet, is a gradual process which takes hold of the organ ricercar first, but before long of the lute ricercar as well. In view of the give and take between organ books and lute books the distinction between lute ricercar and organ ricercar becomes illusory. With the process of making the ricercar approach the motet, the difference between fantasy and ricercar also vanishes.

The key figure in this development seems to be Jacobo Fogliano of Modena. Like his brother, Lodovico, he was a composer of both sacred and secular vocal music and is represented as early as 1502 [4]. Born 1473, he was one year older than Capirola and he died April 4, 1548, the year of the latest document refering to Capirola. Jacobo's four existing ricercari are shorter and more concise in form than those of Capirola. They are well on the way toward the motetic ricercar. They show imitation of sharply designed motives, repetitions of well-defined form-elements, rather modest use of sequences, and the reduction of purely instrumental effects to cadential trills and a few scale-runs. With these qualities Fogliano's ricercari represent the pole opposite to those of Capirola. Their date is not established and may cause some difficulty in their proper evaluation. It may well be that they belong to Jacopo's late years as an active composer, perhaps in the thirties. Yet whatever their date and their merit in bringing about the motetization of the ricercar, they are definitely less interesting in their form-concept than Capirola's works. The ricercar with contrasting sections that preserves all the virtues of a virtuoso showpiece, but at the same time incorporates the structural devices of high art, is Capirola's rather unique solution of the imminent problem of composed " improvisatory " form.

The two-faced nature that characterizes these ricercari — the one looking forward to an instrumental style of high standards, the other backward to Obrecht and his contemporaries, — also dominates Capirola's approach to the other great field of lute music, to the dance. On the one hand, the 15th century *Bassadanza* occurs in three examples, on the other, the new *Paduana* makes its second appearance, after Dalza's lute book, in our manuscript, also in three numbers. Besides, a *Balletto* represents an even more progressive type. Let us look first at the oldest stratum.

1. Marco-Antonio Cavazzoni, *Ricercari, Mottetti, Canzoni*, Jacobo Fogliano, Julio Segni ed Anonimi *Ricercari e Ricercate, (I Classici Musicali Italiani I)*, ed. Giacomo Benvenuti, Milano 1941.
2. Cfr. above, note 1, p. 32.
3. Cfr. above, note 3, p. 32.
4. Paris, B. N., Rés. Vm^7, 676; cfr. also Gino Roncaglia, " Giulio Segni detto il Biondino ", *RMI* 46, 1942, 294 ff.

THE CANTUS FIRMUS DANCES

The *Bassadanza* is a cantus firmus dance [1]. The cantus firmus, occupying, in most cases, and surely in the original form, the lowest structural part or Tenor of a realization of dance music, was a skeleton tune either taken from a polyphonic composition or from a monodic source, — in which case the original melody was smoothed out to an isometric tune of long note-values, — or was " composed " for the occasion. Several cases of borrowing a dance tune from an art-musical composition are known. Especially Gurlitt [2] and Hertzmann [3] offered such proofs. In order to illustrate the case, another, up to now unobserved, parallel may be inserted here, the French *Bassedanse* " Filles à marier " which became popular all over Western Europe [4]. Unquestionably a tune of popular character, it has been preserved in the form of a four-part chanson in Sevilla, Bibl. Colomb. 6. 5-1-43, 71^{v}-72^{v} (anon.) with the cantus firmus in the Tenor. Here is the Sevilla version and, inserted underneath, the *Bassedanse*-tune according to Brussels (17) and Toulouze (2).

Such a tune had to be realized by the musicians according to the dance to which it was going to be played. *Bassadanza* was a general term for different dances with quite different choreographic qualities ; it was a " famiglia di bassadanza ", whereby the connecting link between the members of the family was the music. The theoreticians of the Italian dance [5] distinguish between four metric possibilities in the realization of the music : (1) the *Piva* in 6/8 and (2) the *Quaternaria* in 4/4 may be just mentioned briefly. The other two, namely (3) the *Saltarello* in $3/4 = 6/8$ and (4) the *Bassadanza* proper in $2 \times (3/4 = 6/8)$ were more important. In the former, each tone of the cantus firmus fills one perfect Breve-measure : the unit of step and of musical barring is the Breve. In the *Bassadanza* proper this Breve has to be augmented to the double. The unit of step and of musical barring is the Long. Since by augmentation the perfect Breve becomes an imperfect Long (consisting of two perfect Breves), the notation of the French

1. O. Gombosi, " About Dance and Dance Music in the Late Middle Ages ", *MQ* 27, 1941, 289 ff.
2. W. Gurlitt, " Burgundische Chanson und deutsche Liedkunst ", in *Bericht über den musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress in Basel*, Leipzig, 1925, 153 ff.
3. Erich Hertzmann. " Studien zur Basse Danse im 15. Jahrhundert ", *ZfMw* 11, 1928-29, 401 ff.
4. See Preface, p. 7.
   It is preserved in Brussels (no. 17), cfr. Note 15) music and choreography
   Toulouze (no. 2), cfr. Note 16)
   Cervera, cfr. Note 17)
   R. Coplande, *Manner to dance bace dances*, ed. Furnivall, *Captain Cox*, London, 1871, facsimile : Flansham, Bognor Regis, 1937.) choreography only
5. Domenico da Piacenza, Paris, B. N., it. 972.
   Guglielmo Ebreo, Firenze, B. N., XIX, 9.88, ed. Zambrini, Bologna, 1873
   Siena, L. V. 29, ed. Mazzi, *La Bibliofilia* 16, 1914-15, 185 ff.
   Paris, B. N., it. 973.
   Giovanni Ambrosio, Paris, B. N., it. 476.
   Cornazano, Rome, Vatic. Capp. 203, ed. Mazzi, *La Bibliofilia*, 17, 1915-16, 1 ff.

[C 3]

Fil_les a ma_ri_er ne vous marî . ez ja Se bien ne vous sca-

Fil_les a ma_ri_er ne vous ma . ri . ez ja

Fil . les a ma_ri . er ne vous ma_ri . ez ja Se

Fil . les a ma_ri . er ne vous ma_rî . ez ja Se bien ne vous scavez quel

. vez quel ma . ry vous prendra Car se ja . lousi a jamez ne

Se bien ne vous scavez quel mary vous prendra Car se ja . lou.si a

bien ne vous scavez quel ma . ry vous prendra Car se ja.lou si a ja.

ma . ry vous prendra Car se ja.lou.si a (ja) [ja.]

vous ne luy A cueur joye n'a . rez et pour ce penses y

jamez ne vous ne luy Au cueur jo . ye n'a . ra et pour ce pensesy.

mez ne vous ne luy Au cueur joye n'a ra et pour ce penses y.

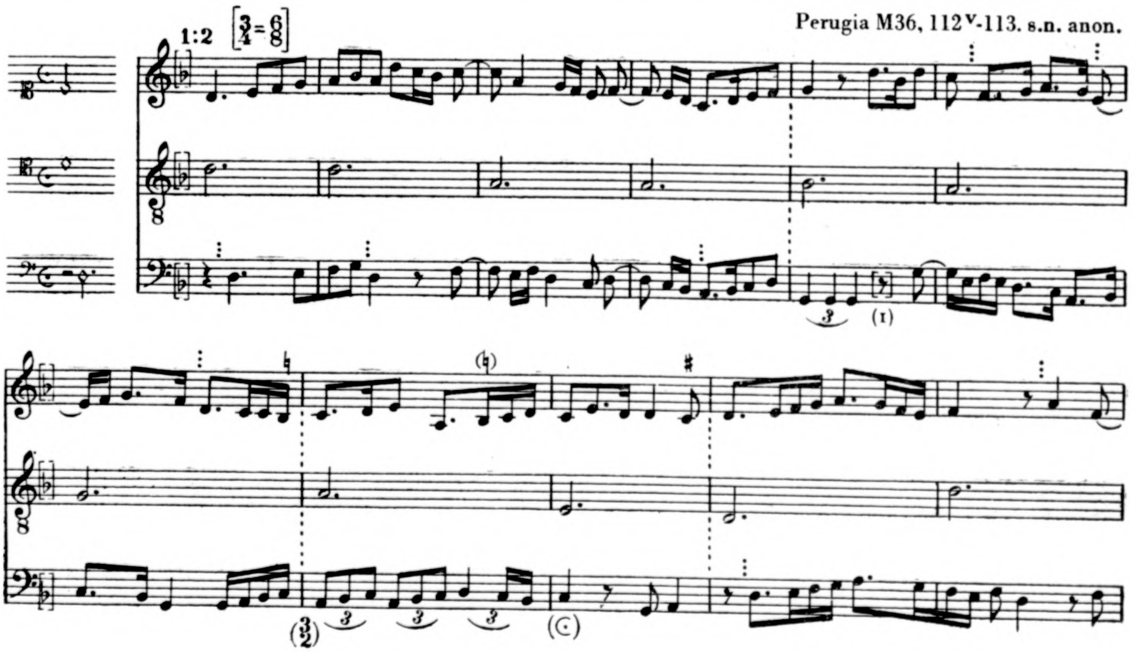
. mez ne vous ne luy Au cueur jo . ye n'a ra et pour cepen . ses y.

1) *Ms:* g'
2) *Ms;* e

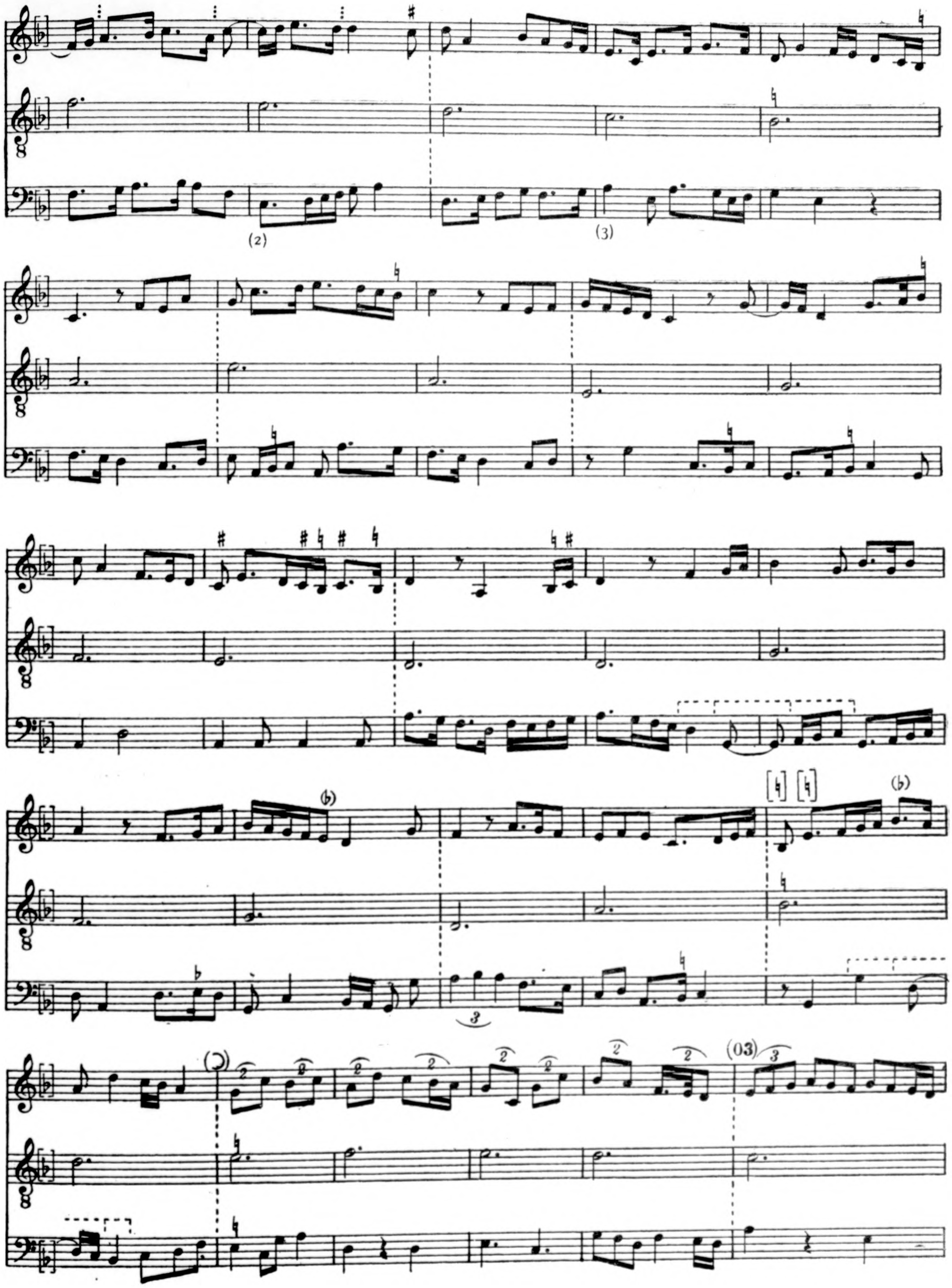
sources properly shows blackening of the notes. In Italy, Cornazano, our only source, uses Semibreves instead of Breves as basic values, but the time signature clearly indicates that the Semibreves have to be read as perfect Breves.

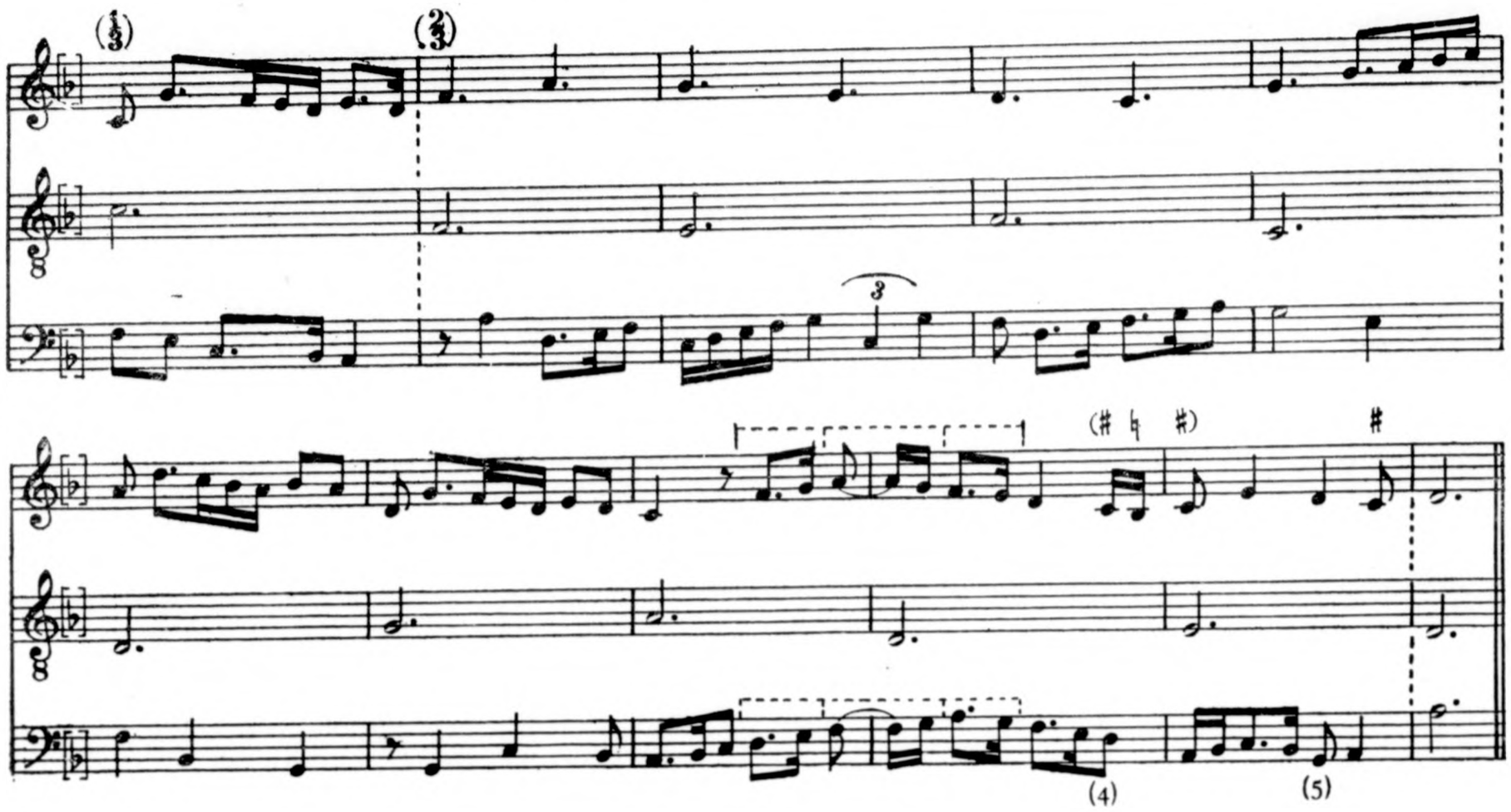
While a goodly number of tunes for *Bassesdanses* has been preserved from France and Burgundy, there are only three *Bassadanza* tunes transmitted from Italy, although there exists a large number of choreographies. One of these tunes occupies a special place of honor, being the only 15th century *Bassadanza-Bassedanse* tune that occurs in polyphonic setting. This is the tune " La Spagna " or " Il Re di Spagna " that forms also the cantus firmus of Capirola's three dances.

Of course, compositions on a stretched isometric Tenor are fairly common, especially in organ tablatures, and occasionally include all " misure " of the Italian dance theory. Notable examples are to be found, for instance, in Adam Ileborgh's organ book [1], or in a Breslau fragment ably treated by Fritz Feldmann [2]. The role and origin of such canti firmi, when they are not Gregorian, have not yet been sufficiently explored. They evidently filled a didactic need, — and are still used to the same end in our counterpoint exercises. Such is also the background of a three-part anonymous composition without text in a Perugia manuscript [3]. This remarkable piece notates the Tenor in Semibreves under the signature of *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione maiori*, — just as Cornazano notated his *Bassadanza* tunes, — and the melodic outline of the Tenor is, beyond doubt, of the character of such tunes. While this Tenor does not occur in the known repertoire of *Bassadanza* tunes, it seems to conform to all of their requirements. Thus this nameless tune of unknown origin may claim the distinction of being, besides " La Spagna ", the only 15th century *Bassadanza* tune to be used as a cantus firmus for polyphonic elaboration in isometric form. For completeness' sake, it shall be included here :



1. Cfr. Willi APEL in *ZfMw.* 16, 1934, 193 ff.
2. Cfr. Fritz FELDMANN in *ZfMw.* 15, 1933, 24 ff.
3. Perugia, Bibl. Com., Ms. M 36, fol. 112v-113.


(2)
(3)
(♭)
(♭)
(03)



(1) 𝄾 rest missing
(2) dot missing
(3) 𝅗𝅥 [for 𝅗𝅥] (4) ♦ [for 𝅘𝅥] (5) 𝅘𝅥 [for 𝅘𝅥]

Before we go into further details, let us add another corrective in order to avoid misunderstandings. There is one more *Bassedanse* tune, known only as the Tenor cantus firmus of Faugues' " Missa Bassedanse " [1]. There are, furthermore, mid-16th century examples of the *Baja* used in vihuela compositions. Narvaez' " Une baxa de contrapunto ",[2] and Valderrabano's " Sobre el tenor de la baxa " [3] seem to be based on the same, otherwise unknown, Tenor ; the latter's " Fantasia va sobre entrada de una baxa " [4] might be added as somewhat farther related to our question. Caroso's " Bassa & Alta " [5] (that occurs, in another version, already in the Ms Appendix to the Madrid copy of Mudarra) belongs in another context and can safely be omitted here. All other compositions built on a *Bassadanza* tune use " La Spagna ". Since a recent contribution to our subject [6] enumerated seven of these in what was termed " a fairly complete list ", a somewhat more complete one shall be inserted here.

The tune itself occurs first in Cornazano's dance treatise. Here it is notated in Semibreves, with one slight melismatic deviation. The tune was also included in the archetype of the Brussels dance manuscript [7], but by some awkward incident the title is associated with another tune and the right tune is missing. The Toulouze print [8], however, stemming from the

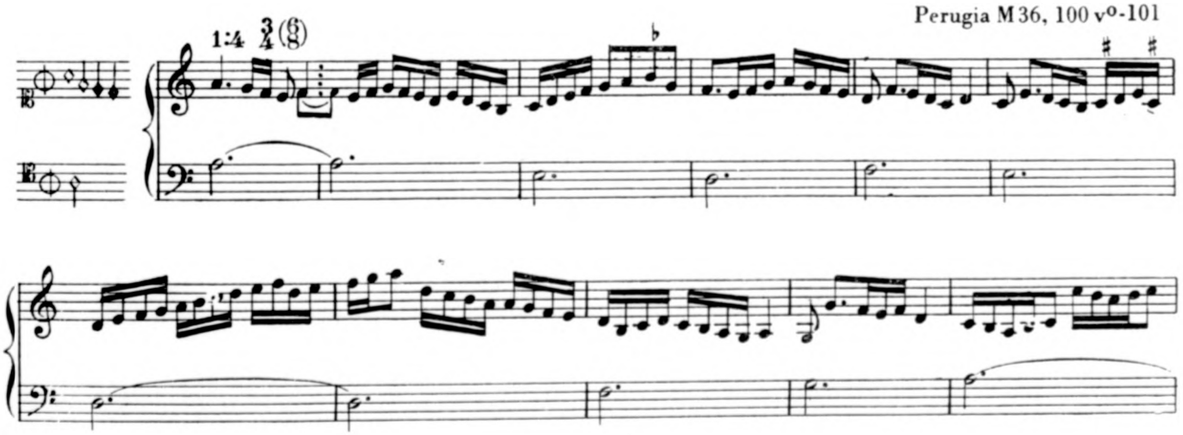
1. Rome, Vatic. Sist. 15, fols. 56-58 ; also Trient 1151-1155.
2. *Delphin de Musica*, Valladolid, 1538, fol. 86v, No 52, ed. Pujol (Monumentos de la Musica Española III), Barcelona, 1945, 89.
3. *Silva de Sirenas*, Valladolid, 1547, lib. 4, fol. LVIII.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Fabrizio CAROSO DA SERMONETA, *Il Ballarino*, Venetia, 1581 (no. 66) and *Nobilità di Dame*, Venetia, 1600 (no 11).
6. W. APEL, " A Remark about the Basse Dance ", *Journal of Renaissance and Baroque Music* 1, 1946, 139 ff.—For some additions cfr. Manfred F. BUKOFZER, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music*, New York, 1950, 190 ff.
7. Brussels, Bibl. Royale, Ms. 9085, facsimile ed. E. Closson, *Le manuscrit dit de Basses Danses*, Bruxelles, 1912.
8. Michel TOULOUZE, *L'art et instruction de bien danser*, Paris (1488 ?), facsimile ed. Victor Scholderer, London, 1936.

same archetype, includes it (as no. 10) under the title " Casulle la nouele " which is, of course, a misprint for " Castille... ". In this source the notation is in black Breves. The tune served not only the Italian choreography and the French version, but also the " Baixa de Castilla " mentioned in a Catalonian source [1]. Isaac's " Missa de Spagna " [2] which uses the tune for its cantus firmus, is also known, from a Spanish source, as " Missa de Castilla " [3].

The first polyphonic setting preserved is a two-part piece known from two sources. Perugia Ms G 20 (431), 95v, calls it " Falla con misuras " and ascribes it to the dancing master Guglielmo [Ebreo] ; Bologna, Liceo Musicale Ms Q 16, 59v is anonymous and the title is, significantly, " La Basa Castiglya " [4]. Whether Guglielmo actually wrote this two-part composition, is, of course, not quite sure. The indication may be a mere reference to the choreographer. The piece is, in spite of its title in Bologna, in the *misura* of the *Saltarello*. (For the sake of just comparison with our following examples the values used in Bukofzer's version should be cut once more in the ratio 1:2.)

Of later date, and now clearly of didactic character, are two anonymous pieces without text or title from a series of highly interesting 2-4-part compositions that serve to illustrate the intricacies of proportional notation. They are appended to a treatise " Regule figuratus Cantus " [*sic* !], written in Venice, 1509, and preserved in a hitherto unnoticed manuscript (referred to above) of the Bibl. Comunale in Perugia [5]. Both pieces are in two parts ; the lower part carries the cantus firmus in Breves and, contracting the reiterated Breves into Longs, in *tempus perfectum diminutum*. In both cases the upper part is a highly florid counterpoint starting out under the same time signature, but employing a great number of proportional signs in the course of the piece. The first uses $\frac{4}{3} — \frac{3}{4}$; and $\frac{3}{1} — \frac{1}{3}$; the second, $\frac{4}{3}, \frac{5}{4}, \frac{3}{5}, \frac{9}{3}, \frac{1}{9}, \frac{2}{1}, \frac{5}{3}, \frac{3}{5}, \frac{2}{3}, \frac{6}{2}$, and $\frac{4}{6}$. Additional instructions facilitate the solving of proportional equations. In both pieces the basic " misura " is that of the *Saltarello* :

Perugia M 36, 100 vo-101



1. Cervera, Arxiu Historic 3, 3. Cfr. Aurelio CAPMANY, " El Bayle y la Danza " in : Fr. CARRERAS Y CANDI, *Folklore y costumbres de españa* Barcelona, 1931, vol. 2, 302 ff.

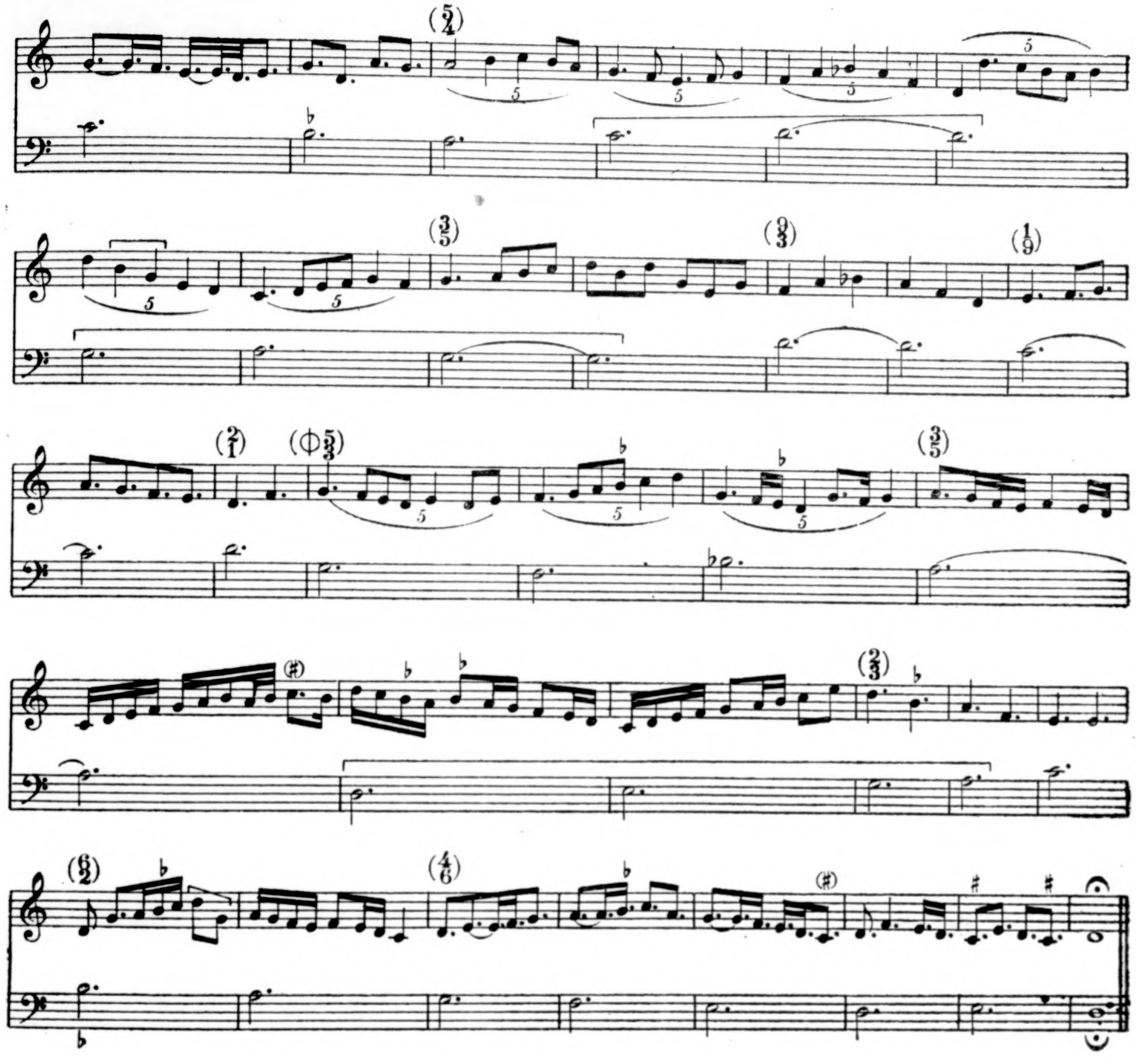
2. PETRUCCI, ed., *Misse Isaac*, Venetia, 1506, no. 4.

3. Barcelona, Orfeo Català, Ms. V, 33v.

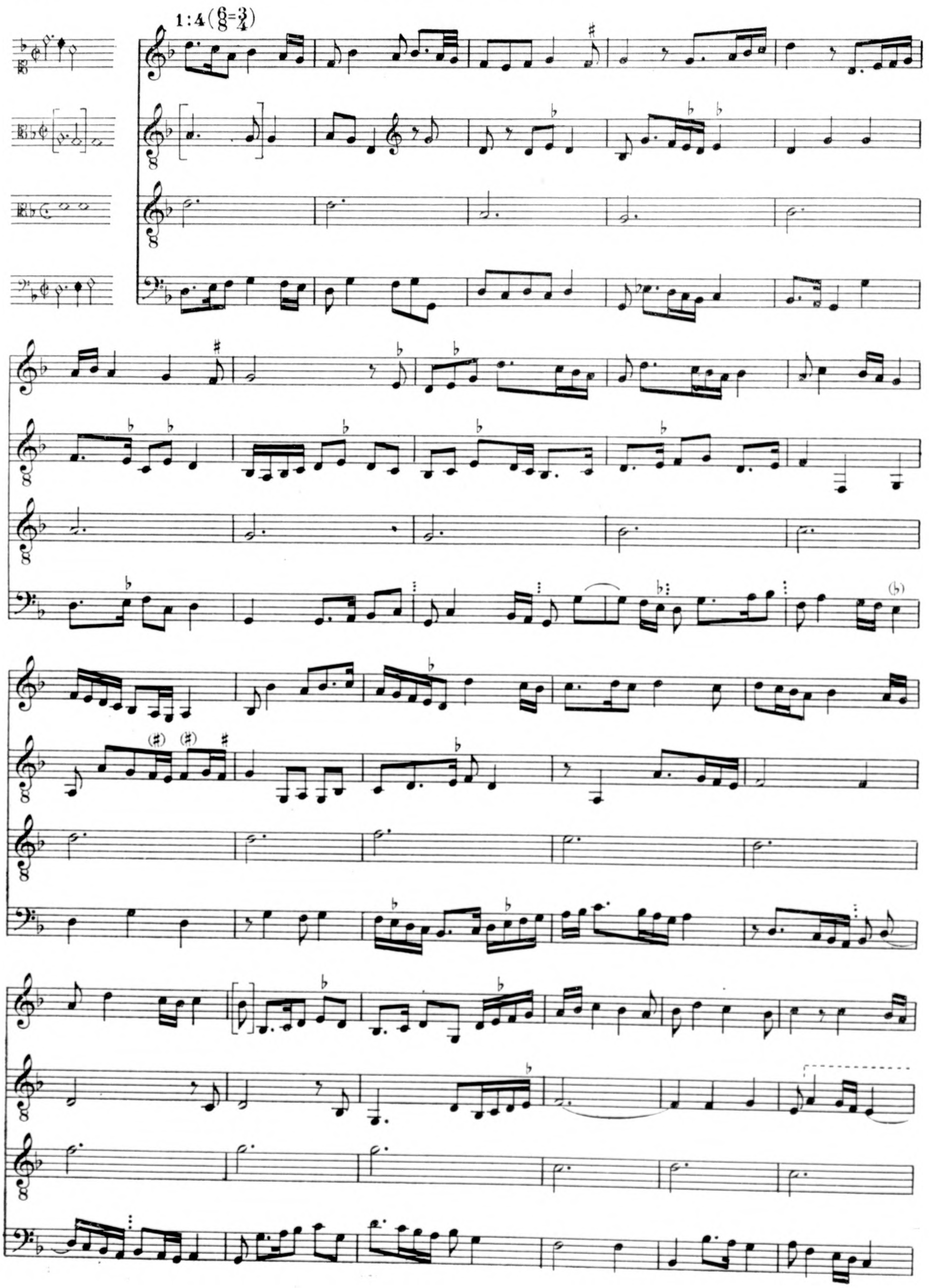
4. Erroneously listed as three-part composition by Higini Anglès, *La música en la Corte de los Reyes Católicos*, Madrid 1941, 119. The piece is published in BUKOFZER, *Studies*, 199. As to the mensuration cfr. my review in *JAMS* 4, 1950, 139 ff., esp. 144-145.

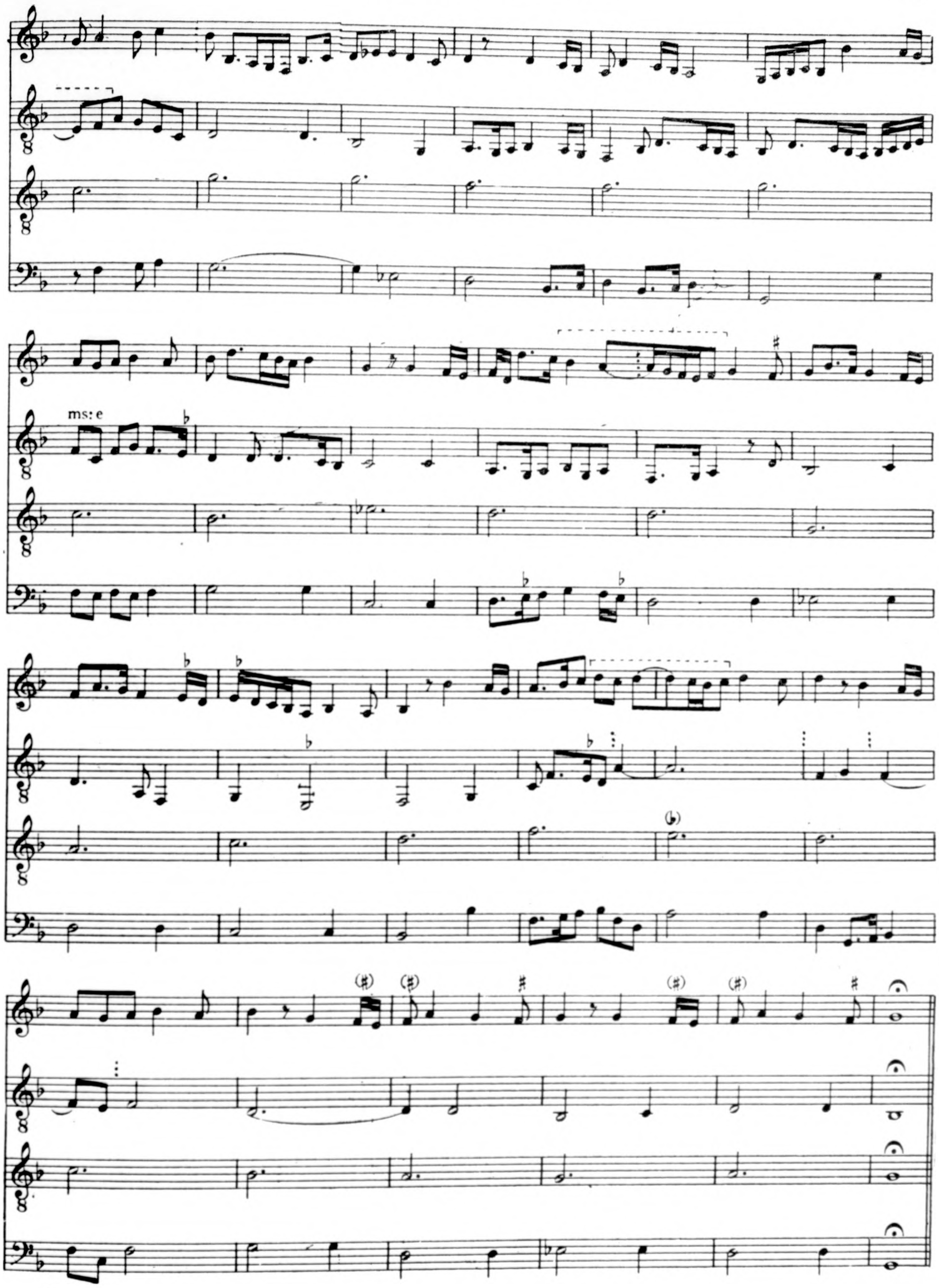
5. Perugia, Bibl. Com. M. 36, fol. 100v-101 and fol. 102v-103.

Perugia M36, 102v-103

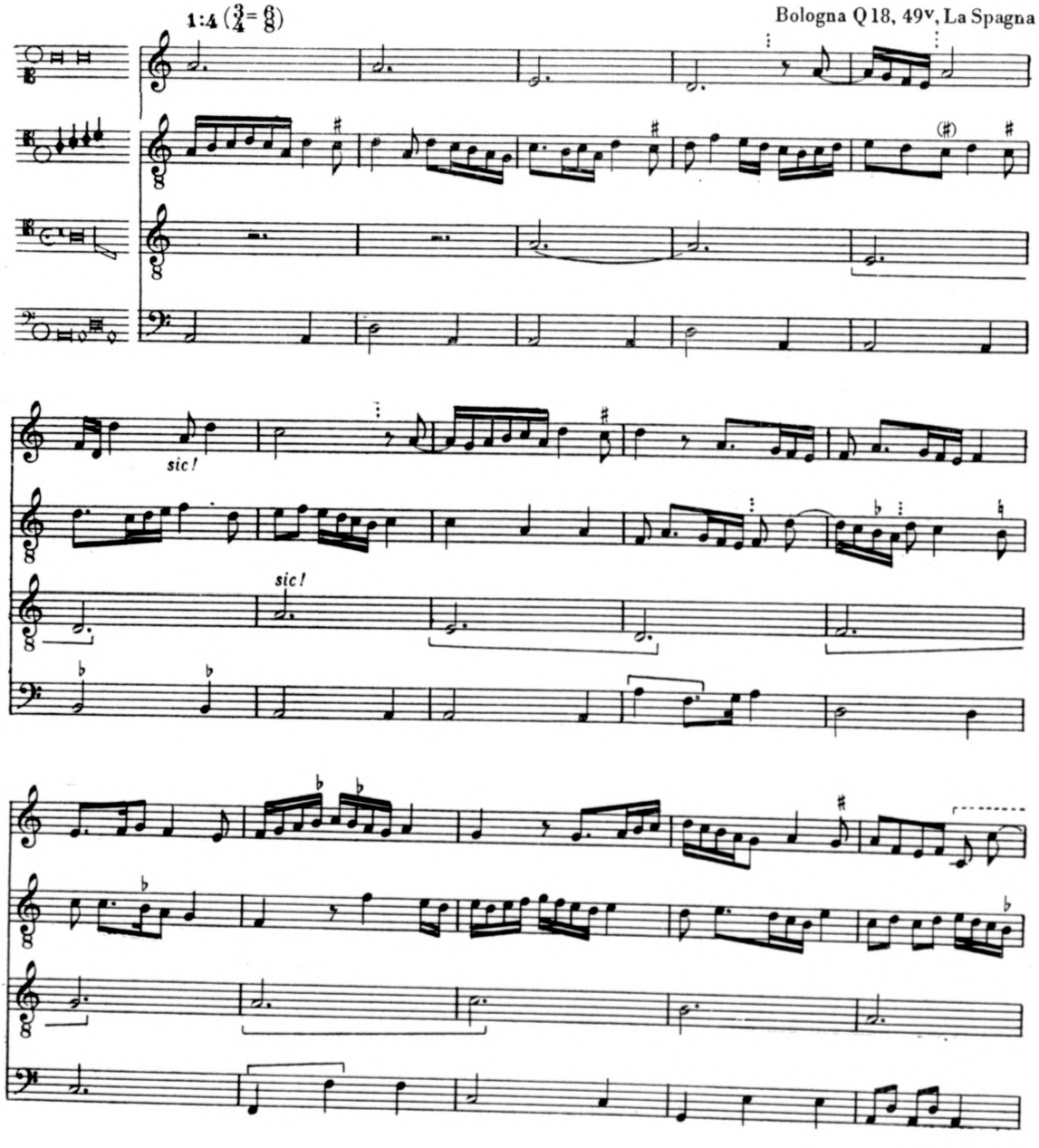


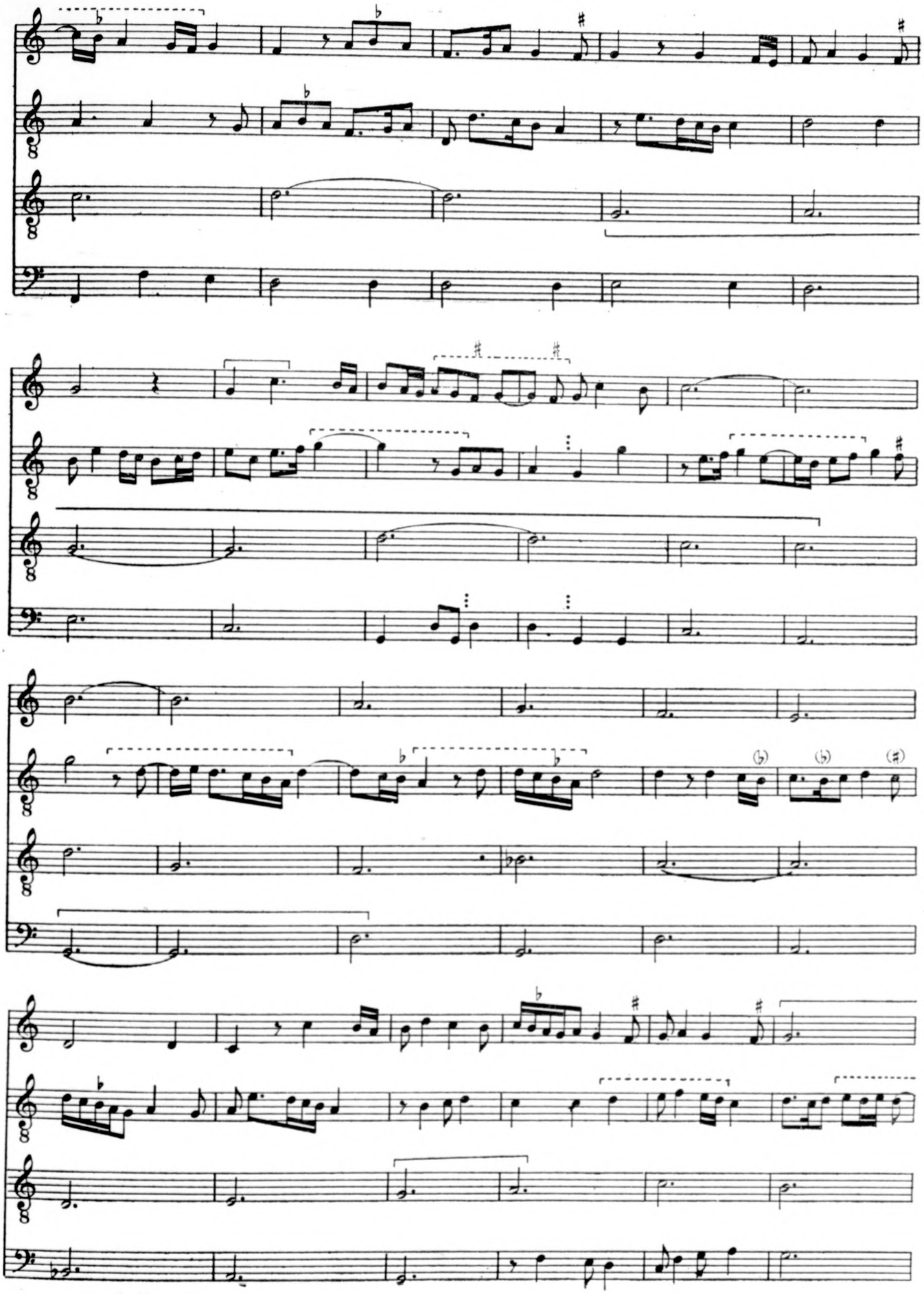
The high-point of the early art-musical career of the tune is reached in a group of compositions dating from the end of the 15th century. There are two anonymous four-part compositions with the title " La Spagna " preserved in Bologna, Liceo Musicale, Ms Q 18. The first, on fol. 48v-49, has the cantus firmus in the Tenor in Semibreves under *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione maiori*, thus indicating the augmentation. The *misura* itself is, however, in spite of the *tempus imperfectum diminutum* indicated, that of the *Saltarello* : there is one tone of the cantus firmus for every *tempus* (perfect Breve).

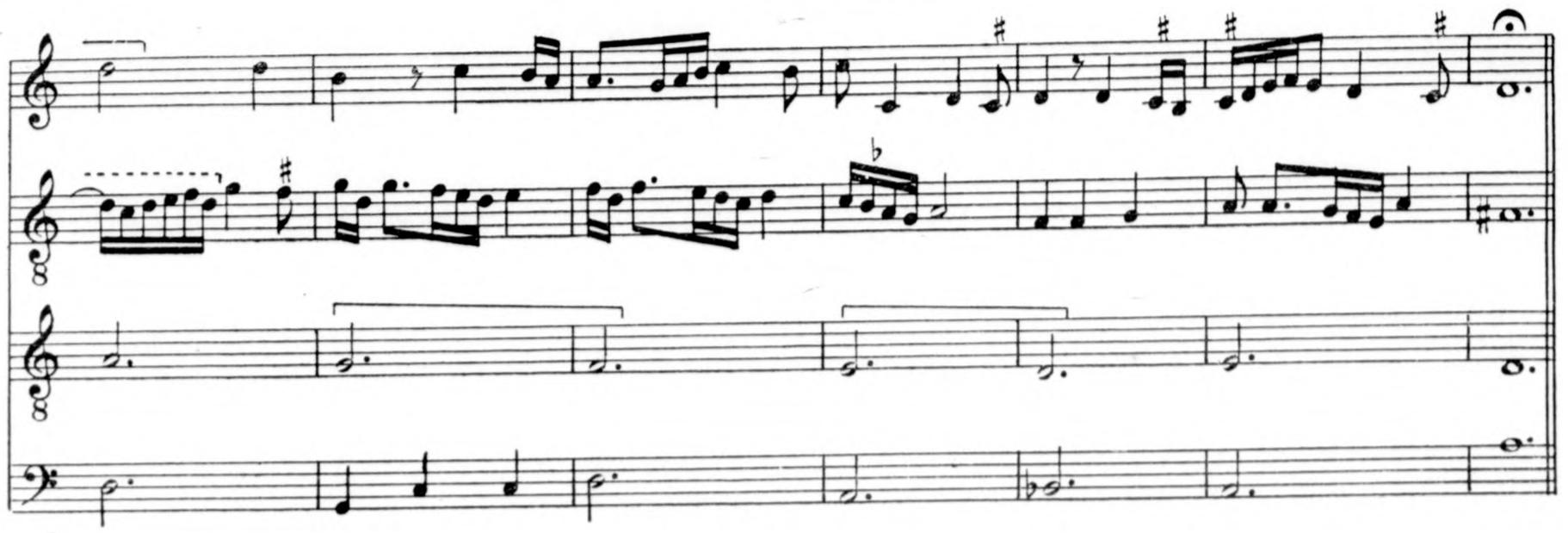

1:4 (6/8 = 3/4)


ms: e

The other composition, on fol. 49v-50, paraphrases the beginning of the " Spagna " tune in the Discant, in perfect Breves. Because of this pre-imitation the Tenor starts two measures later and makes up for this delay by omitting two repeated tones. Otherwise the Tenor is intact and is written in Semibreves under *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione maiori*. The " misura " *tempus perfectum* is that of the *Saltarello*.

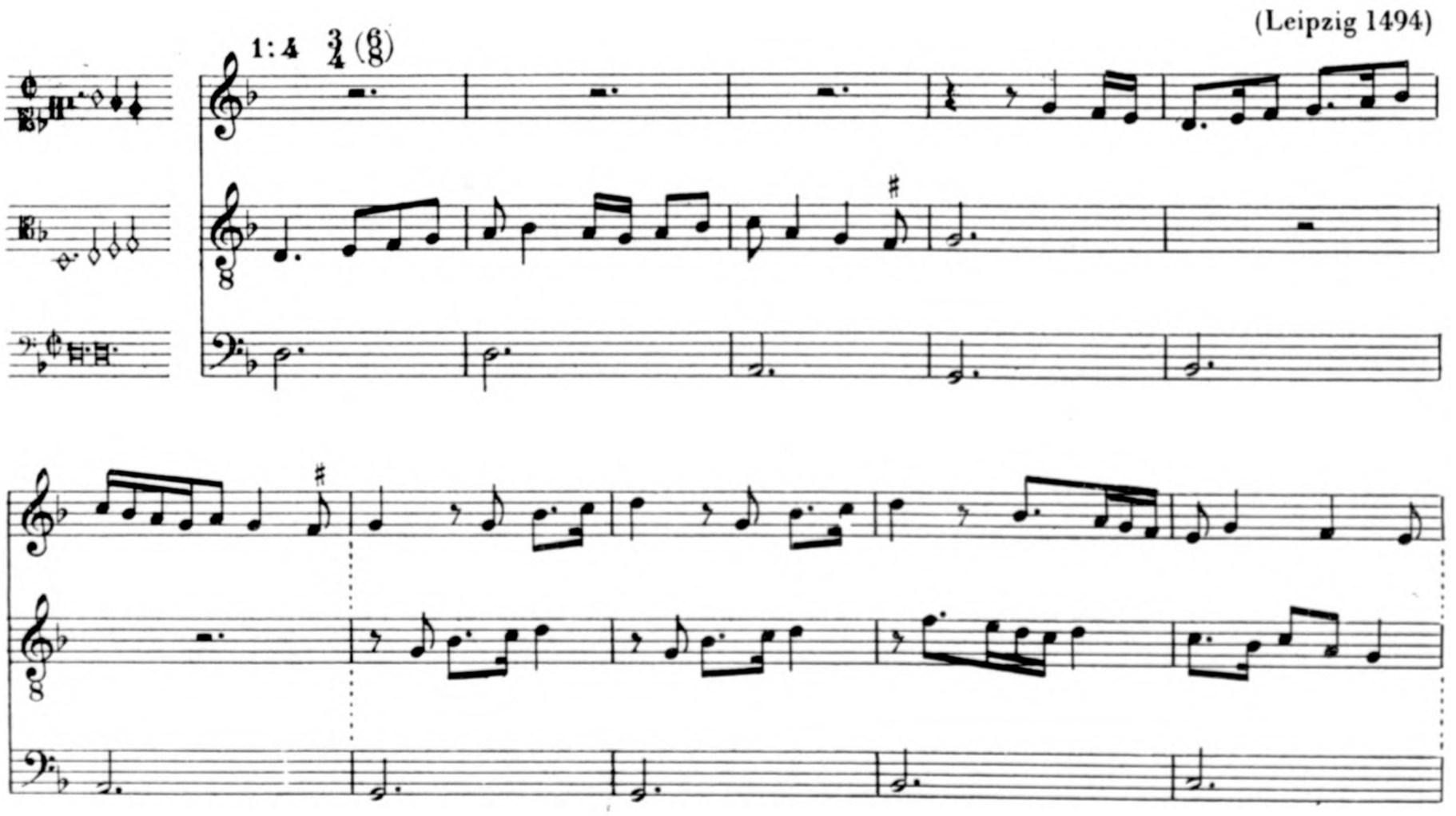






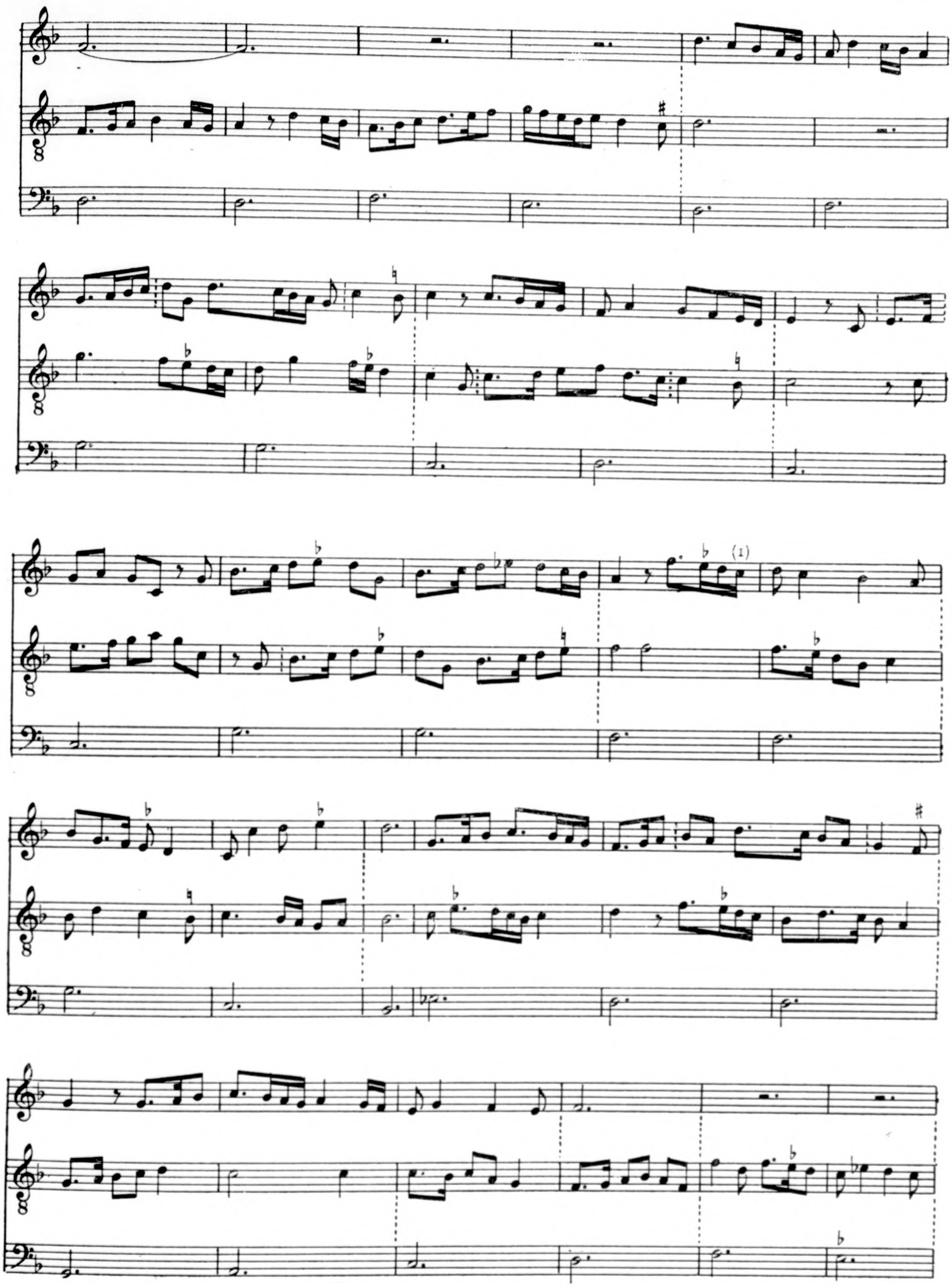
The same dance-measure is observed in a three-part composition stylistically closely related to the Bologna Q18 dances. It is preserved in two manuscripts of German origin — Leipzig, UB Ms. 1494, 63^{v} and Breslau, Mus. Inst. Mf. 2016, 38^{v} [1], — and in the Verona chansonnier [2]. In all sources, the composition lacks any title or indication of authorship. The piece is notated in *tempus imperfectum diminutum*, but actually the *tempus perfectum* prevails. The notes of the cantus firmus are dotted Breves. The Spagna tune is located in the lowest part, and the two higher parts indulge in highly figurative counterpoints with ample imitations.

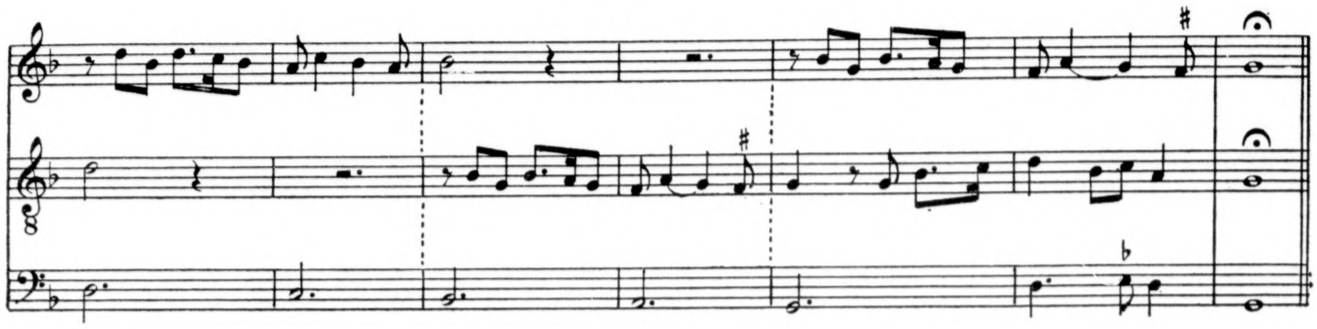
(Leipzig 1494)



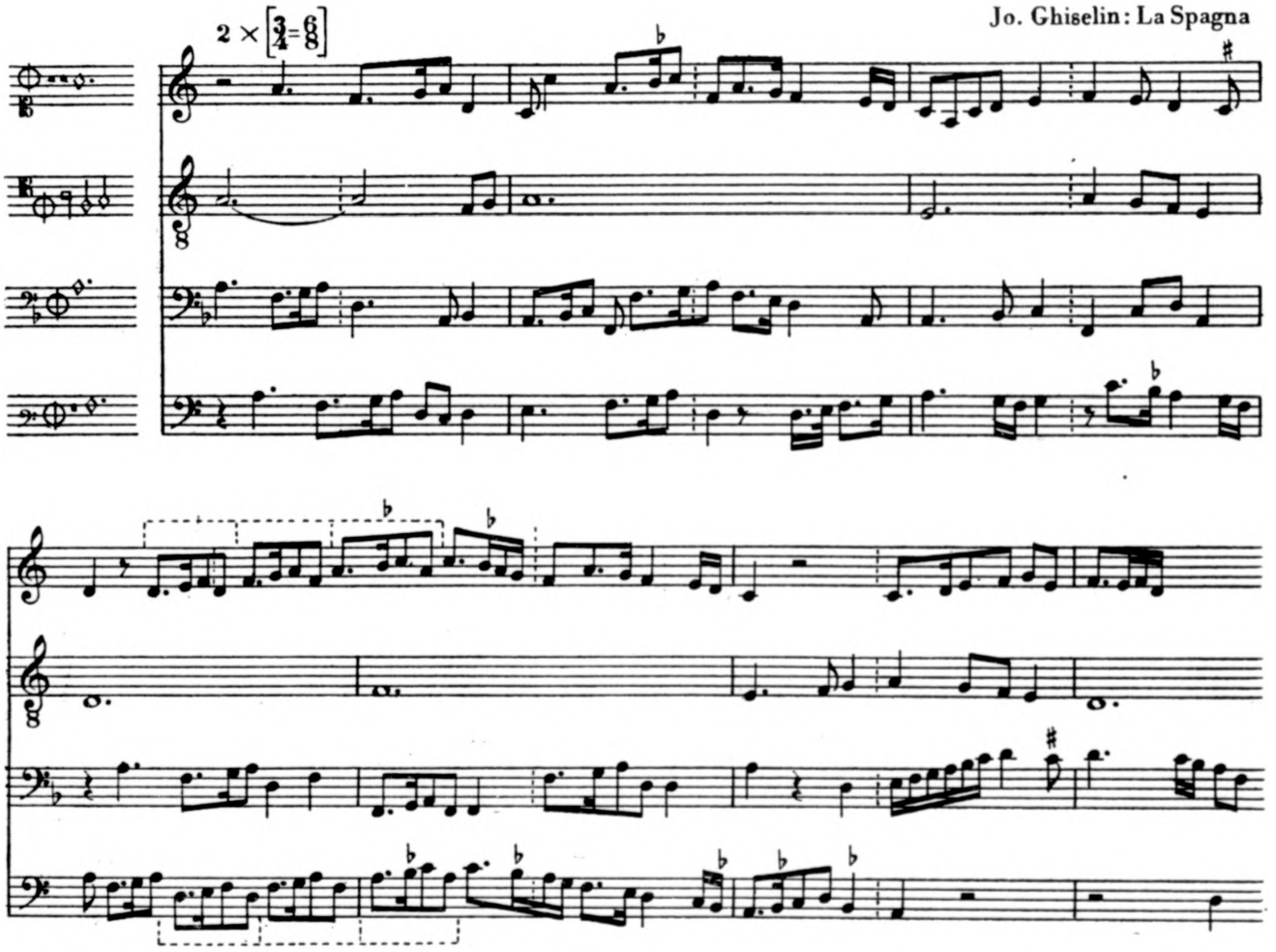
1. The Leipzig Ms in described by Hugo Riemann, " Der Mensuralcodex des Magister Apel ", *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, 1897. Cfr. also *MGG* s. v. Apel (R. Gerber). — The Breslau Ms in described by Fritz FELDMANN, *Der Codex Mf* 2016 *des musikalischen Instituts bei der Universität Breslau*, 2 vols., Breslau, 1932. — I am indebted to Prof. Rudolf Gerber (Göttingen) for the friendly loan of a photostat of the page of the Leipzig Ms that has been " misplaced " and is, at present, inaccessible.

2. Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, Cod. DCCLV, fol. 4^{v}-5.


(1)



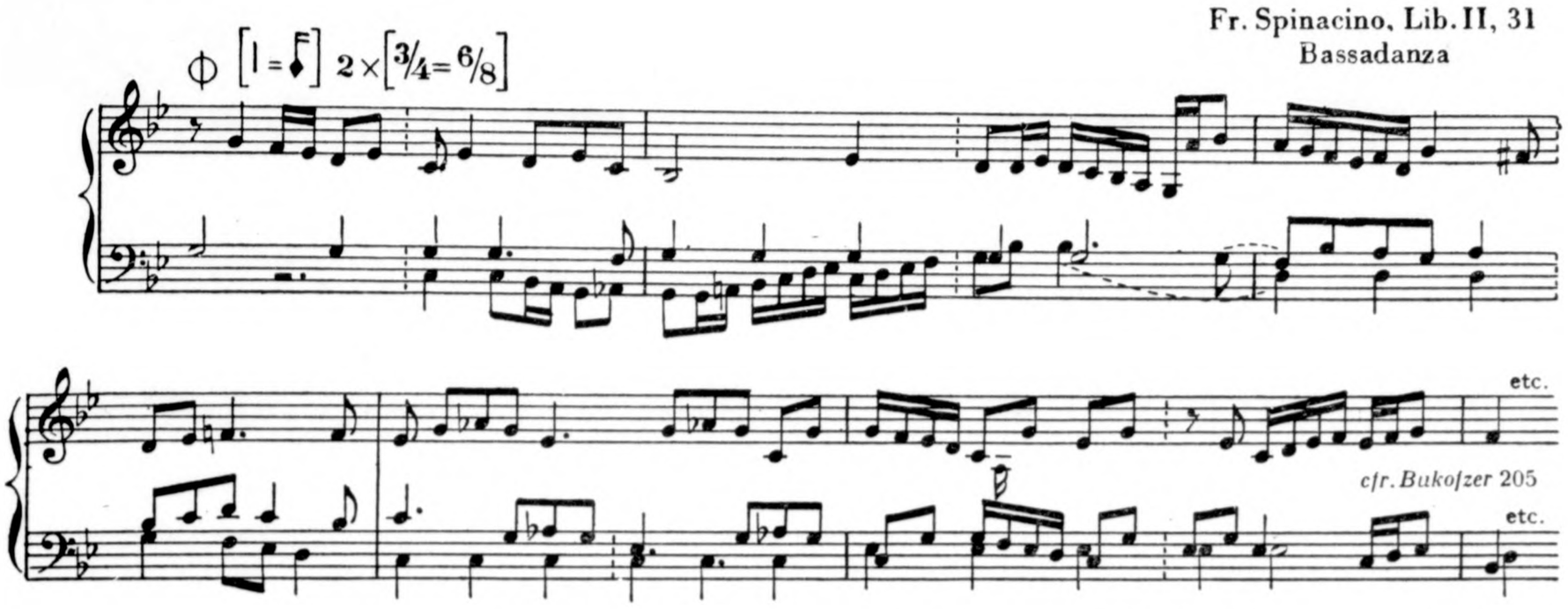
Two other compositions of the same time are regular *Bassedanze*. One, in four parts, is by Joannes Ghiselin [1] :



the other, in three parts, is anonymous [2]. This latter composition has been intabulated for the lute by Francesco Spinacino, Lib. II, fol. 31 :

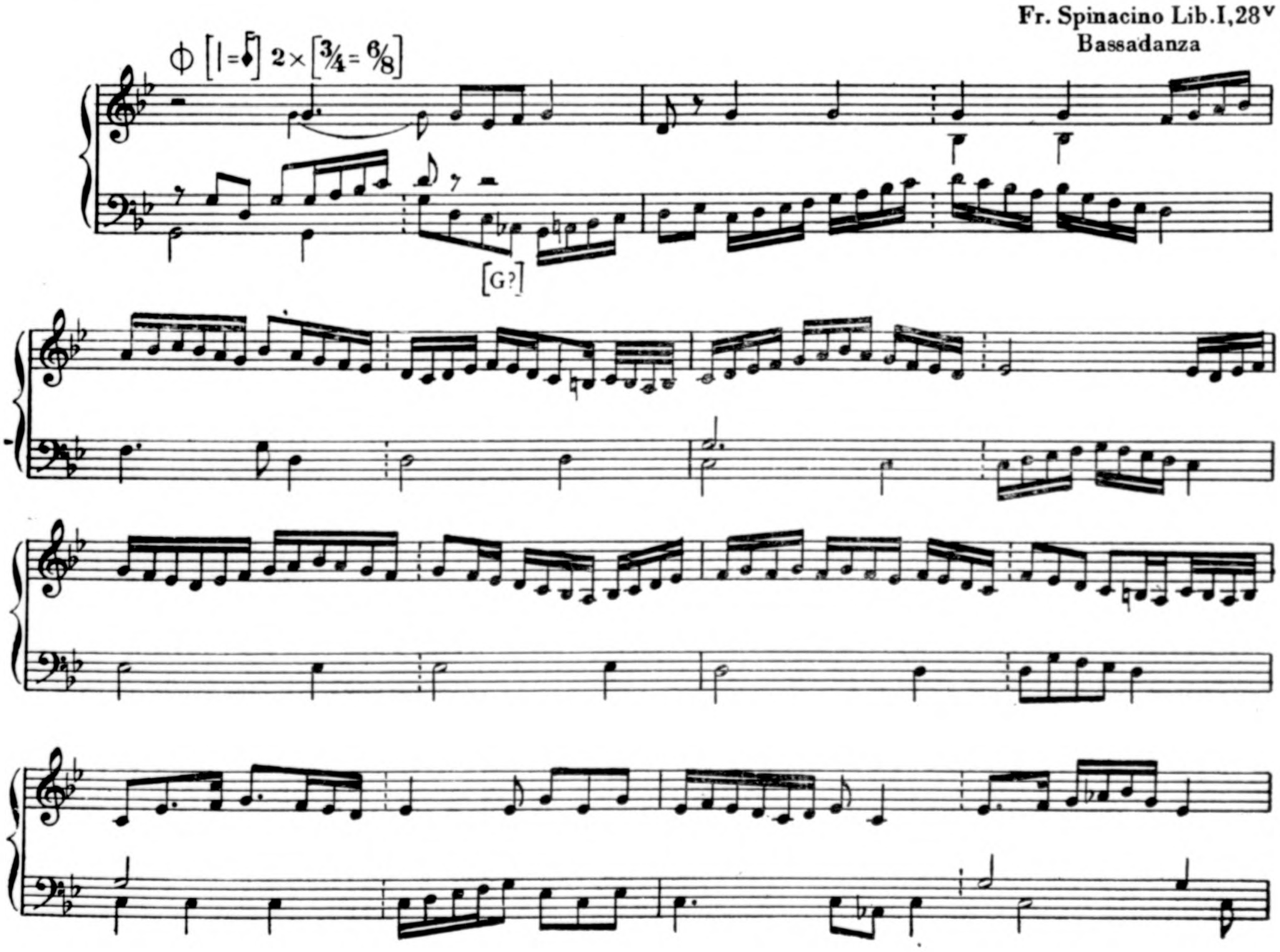
1. Firenze, B. N. Panc. 27, fol. 95*f*, and PETRUCCI, *Motetti A*, fol. 32.
2. PETRUCCI, *Canti C*, fol. 148. — The beginning of the piece is given by BUKOFZER, *Studies*, 205.

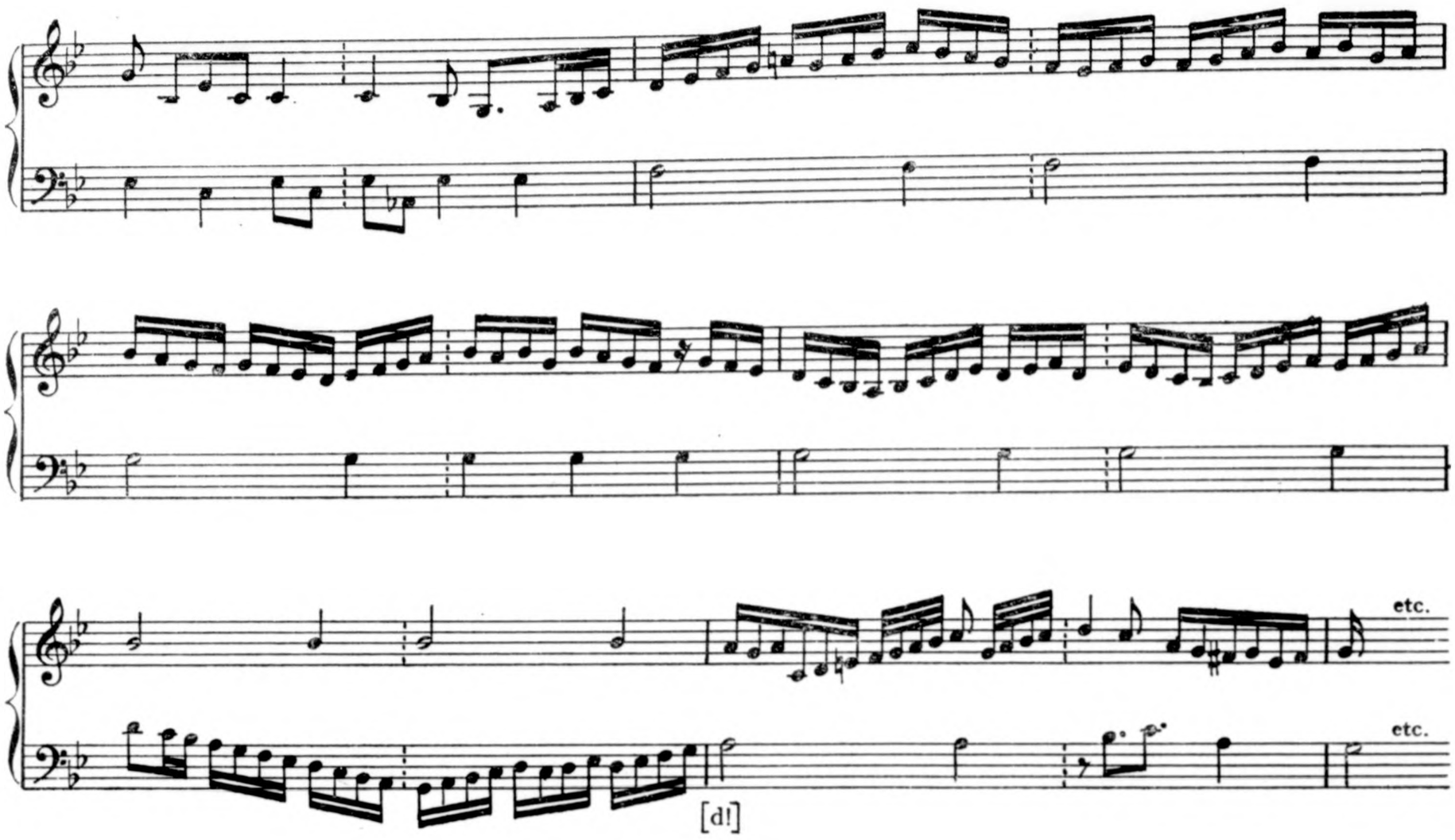
Fr. Spinacino, Lib. II, 31
Bassadanza



Another Spagna arrangement for the lute is contained in Spinacino's Lib. I, fol. 28v, and from there copied in Vienna Ms 18688, fol. 1v. This composition is also in the *misura* of the *bassadanza*, having one note of the cantus firmus for every imperfect Long (of two perfect Breves each). The time signature is, of course, *(modus minor imperfectus)*, *tempus perfectum diminutum (cum prolatione minori)*, — just as with Ghiselin, or with the anonymous composer of the Canti C " Spagna ".

Fr. Spinacino Lib.I,28v
Bassadanza

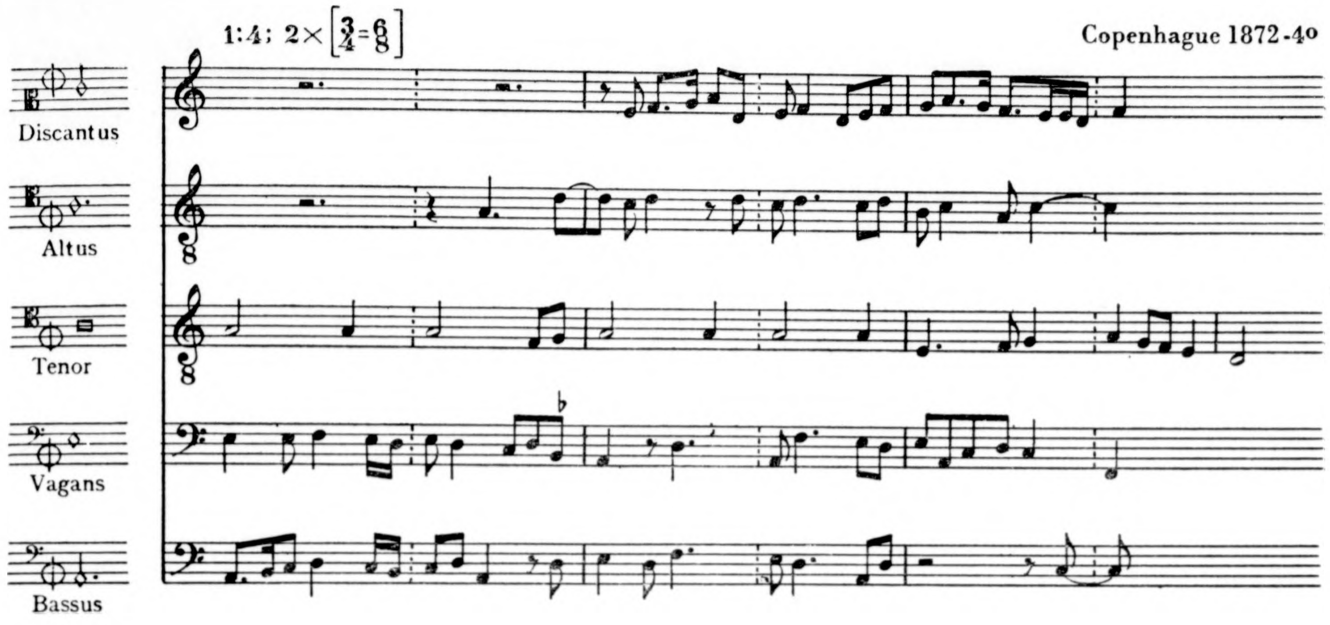




The crowning piece of the 15th century " Spagna " tradition is a five-part composition by Josquin des Prez, preserved in the form of the motet *Propter peccata peccastis* in Ott's *Novum et insigne opus musicum*, 1537, No. 14, and in Montanus' *Secunda pars magni operis musici*, 1559, No. 6. Yet, as Helmuth Osthoff pointed out recently (*Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 9, 1952, 192f), the text had been adapted to an originally instrumental composition. The identification of the cantus firmus bears out this view. Furthermore, the original instrumental version is preserved, anonymously, in a highly important and much too little known set of seven partbooks in Copenhagen [1] containing some rare pieces of great significance. Josquin's " Spagna " is designated in the several parts as *La spagne tantz* (Discantus), *Spanier tantz* (Altus), *Laspange tantz* (Tenor), *La passa tantz* (Vagans), and *La passetantz* (Bassus), respectively. These indications offer valuable data in connecting the *bassadanza* of the 15th century with the *passamezzo* of the 16th.

In Josquin's composition the slightly colored cantus firmus forms the center part (Tenor) of the non-imitative contrapuntal texture in which the Alto alone acts up, in the way of occasional syncopation, against the uniform *tempus perfectum diminutum* (6/8). The true measure is, however, that of the *bassadanza* : two perfections are covered by each tone of the cantus firmus. The first six perfections are given in score in *Archiv f. Mw.*, IX, 193.

1. Copenhagen, Kgl. Bibl. Ms. Gl. Kgl. Sml. 1872-4°, I-VII. Cfr. Aarbog for Music 1923, 23-40. The Ms. was written in Königsberg for the famous wind-players of Duke Albrecht of Prussia. — Although I knew of this piece, Professor Thurston Dart (Cambridge) was kind enough to make sure of this fact and to send me the incipits.



In Spain, the tune is represented in Francisco de la Torre's " Alta " [1] — the term is the Spanish equivalent of the Italian *Saltarello* — whereby repeated tones of the tune are eliminated. This simplified form of the tune becomes standard for all Spanish and late Italian versions. In de la Torre's " Alta ", a Contra, in rhythmic character adapting itself to the cantus firmus, and a Discant in lively motion, frame the " Spagna " tune.

The old, dance-bound tradition survived, for a while, in Germany. Both Hans Kotter [2] and Leonhard Kleber [3] have incorporated several compositions based upon the " Spagna " tune into their manuscript collections of keyboard music, thus bridging the gap between the Petrucci sources and those of the mid-century.

In Kotter's books we find a composition by Hans von Constanz [4], and another by Kotter himself [5]. Both enclose the cantus firmus within more agitated outer parts which often move in parallel tenths. Hereby, Kotter develops the initial motive from the first tones of the cantus firmus. The anonymous " Spaniol Kochersperg ", from the same source [6], puts the cantus firmus in the Bass and adds two richly ornamented parts which move in parallel fifths and octaves with the cantus firmus. This heterophonous organum may, as Merian, Schrade, and Apel think, reflect an improvised instrumental technique that descended from the early Middle Ages.

In Kleber's organ-book we find two compositions built on the " Spagna " tune. The first [7],

1. Cancionero del Palacio, ed. F. A. BARBIERI, *Cancionero Musical*, Madrid, 1890, no. 439. — An alleged transcription of this piece by Diego Pisador (cfr. BUKOFZER, *Studies*, 204) is, in fact, the same composition. Pisador's name appears by mistake in Pedrell's edition, *Cancionero Musical Popular Espagnol* 3, 1918, 140. — Recently, Heinrich Besseler has made the piece the center of highly interesting investigations. Cfr. " Katalanische Cobla und Alta-Tanzkapelle ", *Report of the Fourth Congress, International Musicological Society*, Basel, 1949, and *MGG* s. v. " Alta ". Needless to say, I do not agree with all points made by Prof. Besseler.

2. Basel, UB Mss Fr. IX, 22 and F. IX, 58. Cfr. W. MERIAN, *Die Tabulaturen des Organisten Hans Kotter* (Diss. Basel, 1916), Leipzig, 1916.

3. Berlin Stn. Mus. Ms. 40026. Cfr. Hans LOEWENFELD, *Leonhard Kleber und sein Orgeltabulaturbuch*, Diss. Berlin, 1897.

4. Published by W. Merian, *Der Tanz in den deutschen Tabulaturen*, Leipzig, 1928, 50.

5. *Ibid.*, 44.

6. *Ibid.*, 46. — Cfr. A. PIRRO, " Deux Danses Anciennes ", *Revue de Musicologie* 5, 1923-24, 7 ff.

7. Fol. 29v.

perhaps by Kleber himself, uses the cantus firmus in a slightly ornamented version as the middle part of the three-part composition, while the Discant moves along in almost uninterrupted eighth-note values. The other composition [1] is a work by H[ans] B[uchner] and is dated 1520. The cantus firmus is in the Tenor and the composition shows, with exception of the imitative beginning, the traditional technique of what Moser called " organal trio ".

Somewhat outside the traditional pattern stands the " Spagna " arrangement of Hans Weck, in Kotter's book [2]. Here, the cantus firmus, transformed into a lively melody, occupies the part of the Discant and the accompaniment assumes a chordal, clavieristic manner. For this reason Merian considers Weck's " Spanyoler " and some related works the first monuments of a truly clavieristic texture.

All these German " Spagna " compositions have a notable feature in common : they take two tones of the cantus firmus for each Long. Yet some of them, notably Buchner's, Weck's, and the anonymous " Kochersperger Spaniol ", are not *Saltarelli*, because the two tones are in the ratio 2:1. Thus the cantus firmus has a trochaeic rather than a spondaeic ryhthm. Through this rhythmic distortion these compositions leave the domain of the *Bassadanza* and approach the bailiwick of the German *Hoftanz* [3].

While there was, thus, a flourishing of " Spagna " compositions in Germany, Northern Italy did not remain entirely barren. From the early part of the second half of the 16th century is to be dated a rather provincial Italian lute composition, preserved anonymously under the title " *Bassadanza* ", in Pesaro, Bibl. Oliveriana, Ms 1144, 35[r] ff. [4] The notation is, especially as far as the rhythm is concerned, extremely sketchy and inaccurate. But the piece is built on the old " Spagna " tune.

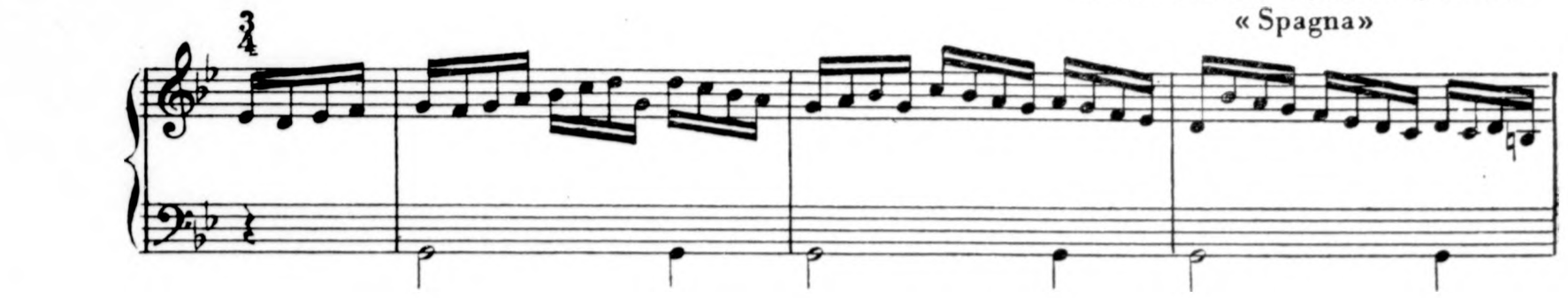
More important, but unfortunately only partially preserved, is a lute composition attributed to Francesco da Milano. The piece, contained in a Florentine manuscript [5], was written for two lutes. Obviously, the lower instrument carried the cantus firmus, presumably with either an added counterpoint or invested with a chordal cloak, while the higher instrument is restricted to a lively counterpoint in fast note values. Only the part of the higher lute remains. The tune — which can easily be adapted to the surviving counterpoint — avoids tone repetitions and is cast in *tempus imperfectum*. It may well be the first of the " Spagna " pieces in this mensuration. The signs of a master's hand are numerous. Repetitions of phrases, efficiently used sequences, etc., show the exceptional skill or the composer. It is a pity, indeed, that of all " Spagna " arrangements precisely this one had to come down in such imperfect state of preservation.

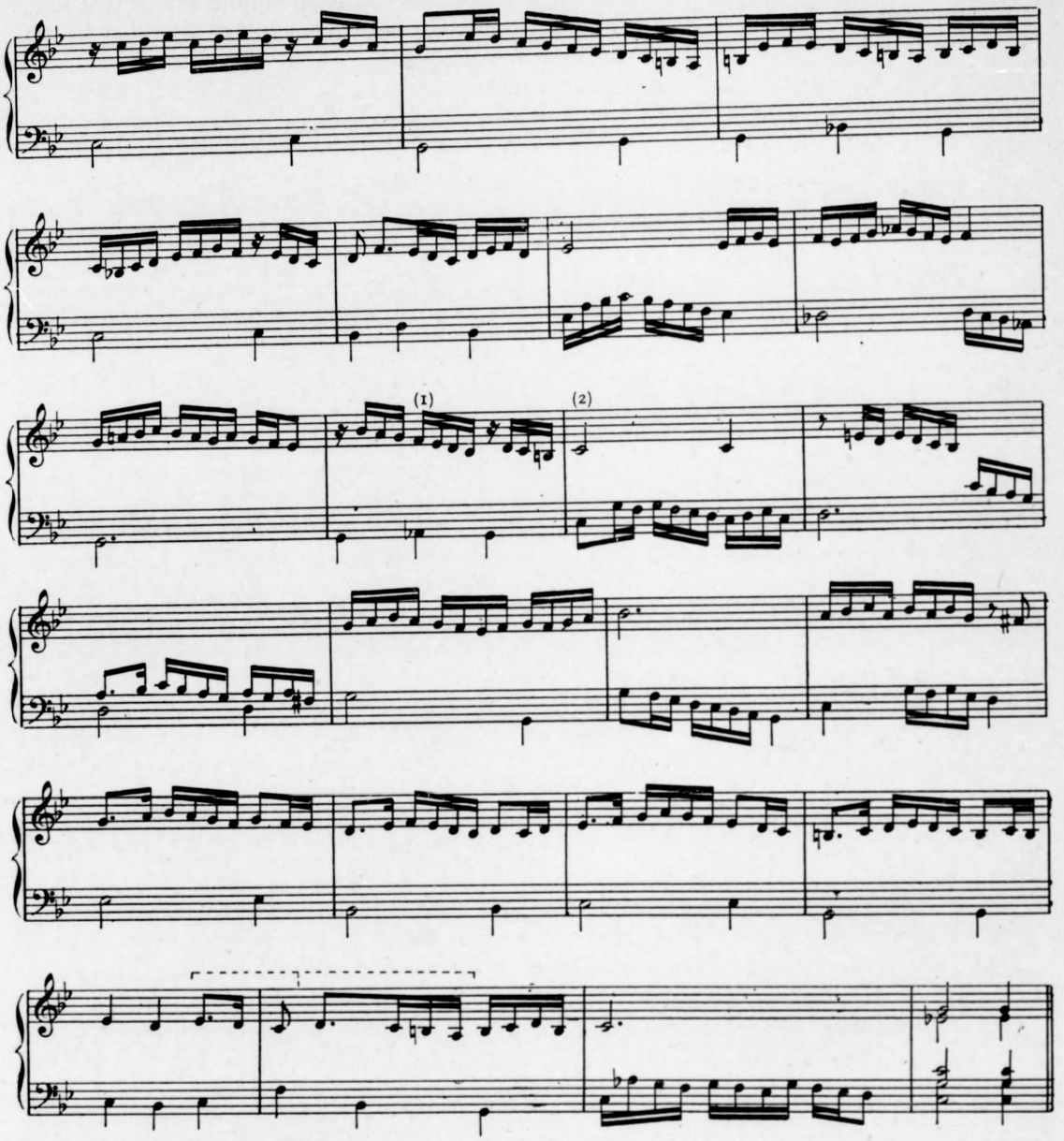
Another lute composition with the title " Spagna " has been called to my attention by the owner of the Ms who graciously obliged me with a photograph of the piece [6]. The Ms, presumably written in the first half of the 16th century, and probably of Venetian origin, contains no rhythmic signs on the pages accessible to me, but the placement of the tones of the cantus firmus, — one to every measure of 3/4, — allowes a fairly unambiguous transcription. This anonymous piece, cast in the " misura " of the *Saltarello*, shares its didactic character and its thin two-part texture with Capirola's second " Spagna " (No. 24). But the cantus firmus appears in the highly colored upper part, hidden away in lutenistic runs, while Capirola adds

1. Fol. 60[v].
2. MERIAN, *Der Tanz...*, 48 ; also DAVISON-APEL, *Historical Anthology* 1, 104, n°. 102b.
3. O. GOMBOSI, " Der Hoftanz ", *Acta Musicologica* 7, 1935, 50 ff.
4. Cfr. E. PAOLONE, in *RMI* 46, 1942, 186 ff.
5. Firenze, B. N. Magl. XIX, 168 [8[v]-9], " Spagna di Francesco Milanese, a due Liutj ". I am indebted to Mr. John Ward for this information and for an accurate transcription.
6. Paris, Bibl. G. Thibault, Ms. Tl. 1, fol. 19[v]-20[v].

his upper part of strikingly similar character as a counterpoint to the cantus firmus that forms the lowest melodic line. For its exceptional texture, the anonymous lute composition deserves to be inserted here.

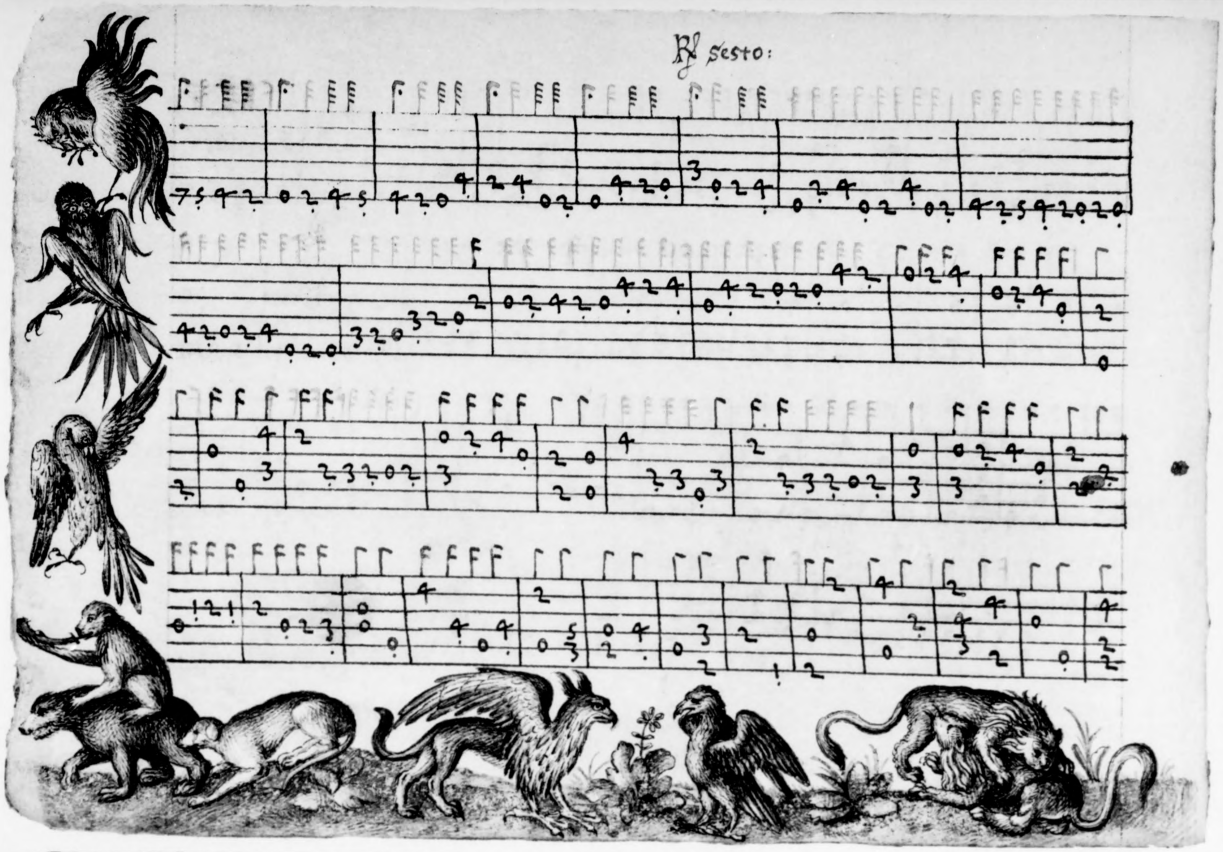
Bibl. G. Thibault, Ms Tl. I, 19v-20
« Spagna »

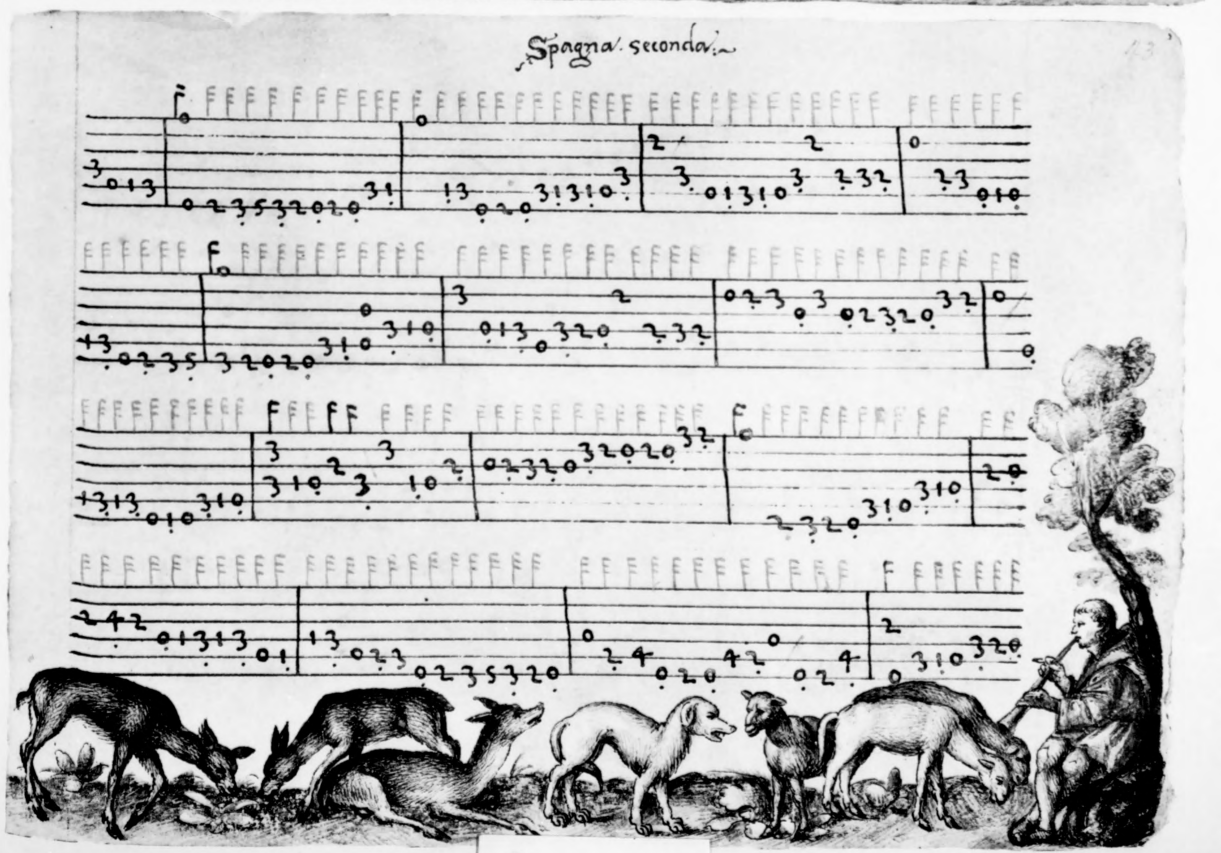




(1) ♭A and f' follow each other in the Ms.
(2) f' in Ms.

It is difficult to say when and under what circumstances the tune lost its original habitat : the dance. The transformation of the *Bassadanza-Bassedanse*, early in the 16th century, did away with the long, evenly stretched cantus firmi ; the choreographies became normalized and standardized. Antonius de Arena's choreography to " Lo Bas de Spagna " does not fit the Spagna tune any more. Whether the " Bassa di Spagna ", danced at the festivities arranged





Pl. II. Fol. 32′ and 43.

Intentional

by Ippolito d'Este in honor of his brother Ercole and the latter's bride Renée of France in 1529 [1], was danced to music based on the " Spagna " tune, or was one of the petrified Spanish versions of the " Baxa ", cannot be determined.

Yet the tune itself continued its vigorous life throughout the 16th century in the smoothed-out version first to be found in Francesco de la Torre's " Alta ". Thus, Antonio Cabezon's " Tres sobre el canto llano de la Alta " in Luys Venegas de Henestrosa's *Libro de cifra nueva* [2] uses the same " misura " with the same elimination of tone repetitions. Before him, presumably, another Spaniard, Diego Ortiz, used the tune for his six " Ricercari " 1553 [3]. For these late authors, the tune was a " canto llano ", a plainchant-like, even melody ; for them, it had no dance-connotations any more. The last memory of the original destination had faded away.

The man chiefly instrumental in transforming " La Spagna " — which he still calls " Bascia " — into a cantus firmus of contrapuntal exercises and canonic constructions, seems to have been Constanzo Festa (d. 1545). Later authors (cfr. below) refer to the tune as " il canto fermo di Costanzo Festa ". Zacconi [4] was told that Festa once had written 120 contrapuntal studies on this cantus firmus, and this claim appears to be not without justification.

Among Festa's Roman followers Giovanni Maria Nanini became interested in a similar feat. Whether the anecdote of Nanini having been challenged, together with Francesco Soriano, by the Spaniard Sebastian Raval, is entirely true or not, — Raval's contest wich Achille Falconi is better substantiated [5] — Soriano's contribution in the form of 110 counterpoints on " Ave Maris Stella ", printed in 1610, survives also in manuscript form attached to a collection of 157 counterpoints and canons by Nanini on the " canto fermo intitolato La Base di Costanzo Festa ". The Bologna copy of this work [6] is dated from Mantua, 23 October 1602. There is, however, evidence that it was composed before 1586, since in this year Nanini published through Angelo Gardano in Venice his only collection of motets, " Motecta ut vulgo appellantur ", containing 28 (or, since one of the motets is given in two versions, 29) canonic compositions for three and five parts over the cantus firmus " La Spagna " (plus two canons à 4 without a cantus firmus) [7]. The dedication to Guglielmo Gonzaga contains a reference to Festa and also to Nanini's own efforts in a similar vein, — an obvious allusion to the 157 counterpoints. The cantus firmus pieces of the motet collection are identical with Nos 126-153 of the 157 " contrappunti e canoni ".

It may be of interest to include here a summary table of contents of this monumental collection, called by Banchieri [8] " opera degna di essere in mano di qualsisia musico e compositore ".

Nos 1-2 : two-part counterpoints
Nos 3-20 : three-part counterpoints
Nos 21-101 : four-part counterpoints
Nos 102-121 : five-part counterpoints
No 122 : seven-part counterpoint
Nos 123-124 : eight-part counterpoints

1. Cristoforo DI MESSISBURGO, *Banchetti, composition di vivande et apparecchio generale*, Ferrara, 1549, fol. c 2r.
2. Luys VENEGAS DE HENESTROSA, *Libro de cifra nueva*, Alcalà, 1557, ed. H. ANGLÉS, *La música en la Corte de Carlos V*, Madrid, 1944, 7. — The piece is also preserved in Coimbra, Bibl. Univ., Ms 242, fol. 104v, no. 102. This Ms has recently been described by Santiago Kastner.
3. Diego ORTIZ, *Tratado de glosas sobre clausulas*, Roma, 1553, ed. M. Schneider, Berlin, 1913, pp. 15-68.
4. Lodovico ZACCONI, *Prattica di Musica* II, Venezia, 1622, 169. — I wish to express my thanks to Professor Napoleone Fanti and to Mr. Lawrence Moe for friendly help in getting hold — on short notice — of items preserved in the library of the Liceo Musicale of Bologna and mentioned here and in the following footnotes.
5. The contest is referred to in the Ms mentioned in the next note. Cfr. Gaspari's Catalogue of the Bologna library, 1, 79/80 and 111, 68.
6. Bologna, Liceo Musicale, Ms. C 36.
7. *Motecta ut vulgo appellantur*, Venezia, 1586.
8. Adriano BANCHIERI, *Cartella musicale nel canto figurato*, Venezia, 1614, 234.

No 125 : eleven-part counterpoint [1]

Nos 126-149 are in three parts. The cantus firmus is joined by two canonic voices. These pieces form the first 24 motets of the print of 1586. Here is the detailed list :

N°	Motet page	Contrapp. N°	Description :	Cantus firmus :	Text :
1	1	126	canon ad unum (D in sbr.)		Laetamini in Domino (cfr. Proske, Mus. Div. 2, 473)
2	1	127	canon in subsecundam (B, br.)		Hi sunt qui cum mulieribus
3	2	128	canon ad ditonum (B, br.)		Decantabat populus Israel (no text or incipit in Ms)
4	2	129	canon ad subditonum (D, sbr.)		Benedicam Dominum
5	3	130	canon in diatessaron remissum (B, br.)		Miserere mihi Domine
6	4	131	canon in subdiatessaron (D, sbr.)		Gaude Maria virgo
7	4	132	canon in subdiapente (D, sbr.)		Videte manus meas
8	5	133	canon in diapente intesum (B, br.)		Lapidabant Stephanum (cfr. Proske, Mus. Div. 2, 52)
9	6	134	canon ad subsextam (B, br.)		Exultent et laetentur (cfr. Torchi, Arte mus., 2, 15)
10	6	135	canon ad eptacordam (T, br.)		Ecce ego mitto vos
11	7	136	canon in diapason intesum (T, sbr.)		Laudate Dominum
12	8	137	canon in diapason remissum (T, br.)		Hic est beatissimus (cfr. Proske, Mus. Div. 2, 57 and HAM, No 167, 1, 152).
13	8	138	canon ad nonam (T, br.)		Fuit homo
14	9	139	canon ad unisonum (B, br.)		Venite filii
15	10	140	canon ad tonum per oppositum (T, sbr.)		Cantate Domino (cfr. Torchi, Arte mus. 2, 18)
16	10	141	canon ad ditonum (B, br.)		Versa est in luctum ei
17	11	142	canon in subdiatessaron (D, br.)		Surge illuminare (no text or incipit in Ms)
19	12	143	canon principium et finis (D, br.)		Misericordia et veritas
20	13	—	(second version, cancrizans, not in Ms)		Misericordia et veritas
21	13	144	canon ad eptacordum vel tonum (B, br.)		Sancta et immaculata
18	12	145	canon in diapente (B, sbr)		Gustate et videte
22	14	146	canon in subdiapason (T, br)		Isti sunt agni novelli
23	15	147	canon in subdiapason (T, 2 sbr.)		Me oporter minui illum
24	16	148	canon ad unisonum (B, br)		Surge prōpera
25	17	149	canon ad unisonum alio modo (mirror of the previous number)		Surge propera

Nos 150-157 have four canonic parts added to the cantus firmus. The first four are included in the motet collection :

26	18	150	canon ad unisonum (double canon a 2) (T, br.)		Verbum caro factum est
27	19	151	canon ad unisonum *(idem)*		Gavisi sunt discipuli
28	20	152	canon ad unisonum *(idem)*		Monstra te esse matrem
29	21	153	canon in diapente et in diatessaron (canon a 3, Quinta si placet (D, br)		Qui vult venire post me (cfr. Torchi, Arte mus., 2, 20)

While the dating of Nanini's 157 contrappunti becomes possible, at least as to *ad terminum ante*, by the date of the book of motets, 1586, another work existing in Ms form offers complications of still another nature. There are several manuscript copies of a " Regole di Giov. Maria e di Bernardino Nanino per fare contrappunto a mente sopra il canto fermo ". The earliest known copy, written by the hand of Orazio Griffi in 1619, had been in the Bibl. Corsini in Rome ;

1. Of these pieces, No 82 carries the instruction " bis dicitur, primo ut iacet, secondo quinta supra ". No 94 has the text incipit in one voice " Ave Regina Coelorum mater Regis etc. ", No 95 : " Da pacem Domine ", No 96 : " Victoria sola columna etc. ", no 97 : " Te hodie celebramus ", and No 98 indicates by the following incipits the use of motifs of well-known madrigals : " Raggion e ben — Vostra fui — O felici occhi miei — Se per colpa — Uso pieno sdegna — Il bianco e dolce cigno — Felici son — Che piu foc' al mio foco — Oi me dov'e'l bel viso ", No 99 is marked " Canon ", No 100 : " Canon tres in unum ", No 101 : " Ah ! dispietato tempo ". Among the 5-part contrappunti, No 104 is marked " Rosa bella — Ferdinandus " and No 115 " Ut quaeant laxis ".

there are other copies in the Casanatense, in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek, in the British Museum [1]. I used one of the two copies of the Liceo Musicale of Bologna which was copied from the Roman Ms of Griffi [2].

To complicate matters, several authors — among them Ambros — mention a work by Rocco Rodio with the same title given in Griffi's manuscript, " Regole per far contrappunto ", and refer to a printed edition of 1600-1601 [3]. The one copy of Rodio's treatise I have been able to see [4] carries the title " Regole di musica di Rocco Rodio... ristampato Napoli per Giacomo Carlino e Constantio Vitale MDCVIIII ", yet the colophon is dated 1611. This reprint was edited, with some additions, by Rodio's pupil, Don Gio. Battista Olifante. The dedication to Federigo Westphall Alemano is dated 15 January 1609.

The manuscript work attributed to the brothers Nanini and the print carrying the name of Rocco Rodio are absolutely identical. Since Rodio had used the " Spagna " tune earlier, for his " Fantasia sopra La mi re fa mi re ", in 1575 [5], the presence of the tune as the principal cantus firmus of canonic exercises, but without any designation as to its name or origin, seems to indicate that Rodio was the real author of the treatise. He was still alive in Naples when the first, or even the second edition was issued in that city, while the manuscripts naming Nanini as author were all written after his death in 1607. Besides, Nanini would have referred to the tune, " La Bassa di Costanzo Festa ", as he did in the 157 counterpoints. Be this as it may, the " Regole di Musica " is almost entirely based on the " Spagna " tune as cantus firmus upon which different contrapuntal and canonic devices are illustrated. The " Spagna " series opens with a Canone all'Unisono, i. e. the cantus firmus is framed by a two-part canon, the parts following each other after one minim (print : p. 6, ms : fol. 62a) The same counterpoint is used for a three-part canon, and the addition of a fourth and fifth part is foreseen. The rhythm is, of course, changed from even minims to dotted minims and semiminims, and the canonic distance is narrowed to one semiminim (p. 7, fol. 62b). Canons similar to the first follow on the higher and lower second (pp. 8-9, fol. 63a), the higher and lower third (pp. 10-11, fol. 63b), the higher and lower fourth (12-13, 64a), the higher and lower fifth (14-15, 64b), sixth (16-17, 65a), seventh (18-19, 65b) and octave (20-21, 66a). Now a new series is started : Canon all'unisono per li bassi (22, 66a), on the higher and lower second (23-24, 66b-67a) on the upper third (25, 67a, with the cantus firmus in breves), fourth (26, 67b), fifth (28) and sixth (30, 68a), on the seventh (31) and octave (32, 68b), and on the ninth (33, 69a).

Another series, using only the first six notes of the cantus firmus, illustrates invertible two-part counterpoint :

p. 40, fol 57b : contrappunto rivoltato, per doudecima et per decima
p. 45, fol. 59a : canto rivoltato per terza piu a basso
ibid. : canto rivolvato per quarta bassa
p. 46, fol. 59b : canto rivoltato per quinta bassa
ibid : canto rivoltato sesta bassa
p. 47, fol. 59b : canto rivoltato per ottava bassa

1. The sources are listed in Eitner, *QL*, sub Nanini, G. M., and in Gaspari's Catalogue I, 301 f.

2. Gaspari's indication that these Mss were in Padre Martini's hand is erroneous. I owe thanks for confirmation of my suspicion to Prof. Napoleone Fanti.

3. A. W. Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik* (third edition), 4, 1909, p. 91.

4. Rocco Rodio, *Regole di Musica*, Napoli, G. G. Carlino e C. Vitale, 1609, Brit. Mus. 785 A 6. Microfilm copy in the New York Public Library. (I am indebted to Dr. Joseph A. Burns for help in locating this copy).

5. Rocco Rodio, *Libro di Recercate a quattro voci...*, Napoli, Gioseppe Cachio dall' Aquila, MDLXXV, pp. 90-98. (Firenze, Istituto Musicale).

resulting in six times two compositions (one each with untransposed and with transposed counterpoint).

The work is crowned by a piece that utilizes the whole cantus firmus for a contrappunto rivoltato per opposito, i. e. a two-part composition and its mirror (p. 51, fol. 61a-b).

Counting the inversions and double counterpoints as individual items, the work contains not less than forty compositions (28 with full cantus firmus, 12 with only 6 cantus firmus tones) over " La Spagna ". With one exception, mentioned above, the tune is written in even semibreves and remains unnamed throughout.

With Ortiz and Rodio the " Spagna " tenor became known in Naples. Continued interest in it, especially after Rodio's treatise was published and Nanini's 157 Contrappunti became famous, is noticeable after the turn of the century. In this respect, reference to Nanini seems to be called for because the Neapolitan keyboard composers of the early Seicento, Mayone and Trabaci, consider the tune the " Canto fermo di Costanzo Festa ", and according to our present knowledge this information may have reached them either by Festa's now lost collection or by Nanini's work.

Giovanni Trabaci first used the Cantus firmus in 1603 when he included four " cantus firmi ", as he called them, in his Ricercate... Lib. I [1]. They are in the first, second, ninth, and again the first tone, respectively. All four are built on the now sanctified version of the Spagna tune that excludes tone repetitions. The cantus firmus is located in the Tenor, Bass, Tenor, and Discant, respectively, of these four-part, ricercar-like compositions. The tune is not named and no reference is made to Festa.

This happens, however, in Ascanio Mayone's " Secondo Libro di diversi Capricci da Sonare ", ... 1609 [2] Two " Ricercari " on " La Spagna " are to be found here. The first (p. 24) is simply designated " Ricercar sopra il canto fermo di Constantio Festa ", while the second (p. 27) carries the added instruction " per sonare all'Arpa ". In both, the cantus firmus is in the Tenor, in imperfect mensuration.

In his second book, published in 1615 [3], Trabaci also gave credit to the venerable old madrigalist. Two compositions on " La Spagna " appear, now designated as " Ricercari ". The first (p. 96) is a " Ricercar sopra il Tenor de Costantio Festa à 4 con due parte in Canone senza regola " i. e. in free canon ; the second (p. 97) is " sopra il stesso canto fermo à 5 con tre parte in Canone senza regola, ma per sforza di contrapunto ". Both Ricercari preserve the imperfect mensuration.

The last reference to Festa — and the last two compositions on " La Spagna " known to

1. *Ricercate, Canzone francese, Capricci, canti fermi, Gagliarde, Partite diverse, toccate, durezze, ligature, cansonanze stravaganti, et un madrigale passeggiato nel fine... Di Gio. Maria Trabaci Organista nella Regia Cappella di Palazzo in Napoli... Libro Primo.* Napoli, 1603. The book contains, *inter alia*,

pp. 66-69 Canta fermo del primo tono (" Spagna " in Tenor).
pp. 69-72 Canto fermo secondo del secondo tono (" Spagna " in Bass).
pp. 72-75 Terzo canto fermo del nono tono (" Spagna " : Tenor).
pp. 75-77 Canto fermo quarto del primo tono (" Spagna " in Discant).

2. *Secondo Libro di Diversi Capricci per sonare di Ascanio Mayone Napolitano, Organista*, Napoli, 1609. It contains, i. a. :

pp. 24-26 Recercar sopra il Canto Fermo di Constantio Festa.
pp. 27-32 Recercar sopra il Canto Fermo di Constantio Festa, & per sonar All'Arpa.

3. *Di Gio. Maria Trabaci Maestro della real cappella di sua maestá cattolica in Napoli, Il secondo Libro de Ricercate, & altri varij Capricci...*, Napoli, 1615. It contains, *i. a.* :

pp. 96-97 Ricercar sopra il Tenor di Constantio Festa a 4 Con due parte in Canone senza regola.
pp. 97-99 Sopra il stesso Canto fermo a 5 con tre Parte, in Canone senza Regola, ma per forza di Contrapunto.

this writer — are contained in Lodovico Zacconi's *Prattica di Musica*, part II [1]. They are two realizations of the same composition in double counterpoint at the lower sixth. In his accompanying remarks Zacconi refers to the 120 counterpoints on " Spagna " allegedly composed by Festa.

The obbligo of cantus firmus work and canonic construction does not become these last, pale reflections of the glorious sunset of Nanini's collection of motets.

Within the rich tradition of the " Spagna " tune, Capirola's three dances occupy a central position. The dance character is preserved intact. Two of the dances, — those simply called " Spagna ", — are *Saltarelli* : the step-and measure-unit is the perfect Breve. The third dance is a genuine *Bassadanza* in which every note of the cantus firmus is augmented to an imperfect Long, which, consisting of two perfect Breves, becomes step-and measure-unit. Tone repetitions are carefully observed. All three dances belong into the tradition of the late 15th century and show, — especially the " Bassadanza " —, the same characteristics as, for instance, Ghiselin's piece or as those intabulated by Spinacino.

A word about the background of the tune may be permissible here. Both Pirro [2] and Anglès [3] think that the tune was of Spanish origin. Yet the *Bassadanza-Bassedanse* was a French dance that developed into a local variant in Northern Italy. The free choreography of the 15th century *Bassadanza* and *Bassedanse*, gradually jelling into the *Bassedanse commune* of the 16th century, was abandoned in Spain much earlier than in other countries. A description of the *Baja* and *Alta* [4] shows patterns (" mesures ") of the Brussels manuscript in a petrified form. The same choreography is indicated in a curious description of a court dance in " La crianza e virtuosa dotrina " by Grazia Dei [5], dedicated to the Infanta Isabella, presumably before her wedding, April 18, 1490. The same choreography [6] returns in three *Bassesdanses* of the Cervera manuscript : " La baixa de Castilia ", " La baixa morisqua ", and " La terryblle ", while all the other three *Bassesdanses* of the same source show another combination [7] of known French-Burgundian " mesures ". The Spanish material is of relatively late date and its repertoire is very much under the influence of Italian and especially of French-Burgundian dances. The " Spagna " tune, specifically, seems to have come from a lost ballad- or romance-type song, " Il re di Spagna " (as Cornazano has it) or " Le roi d'Espagne " (according to the Brussels version). " Spagna " is an abbreviation, and " Castille " a possibly Spanish translation of this abbreviation. To localize the tune in Spain is just as unnecessary as to localize the lost tune of the *Bassedanse* " Egipciana " in Egypt.

Characteristically, in most of the extant compositions the cantus firmus is put into the

1. Lodovico ZACCONI, *Prattica di Musica* 2, 1622, 198-199 :

(1) Canto fermo di Costanzo Festa che si canta alla battuta di breue [Music]. Contrapunto fatto sopra il prenotato canto fermo [Music].

(2) Tutto il sudetto canto fermo transportato secondo che fu detto di sopra. Canto fermo trasportato all'ottaua [Music]. Contrapunto sopra il sudetto canto fermo transportato alla decima [Music).

Nota che il superior canto fermo fatto di breue chiamandosi Bascia, non ho potuto investigare per che lo chiami cosi, ad habbia tal denominatione, se non che ; un di ragionando io con un professore di musica mi disse, auertite, che debb'essere un certo canto formo, sopra il quale il predetto Costanzo Festa fece una volta cento e venti contrapunti. Cosa che li scolari li potessero hauere, utilissimo li farebbe a partirli per imparari sopra molte belle cose che dentro vi debbano esser contessute e nascoste come anco quelli del Sig. Francesco Surian : ch'io dissi nel cap. del primo libro.

2. Cfr. p. 53.

3. Higini ANGLÈS, *La música en la Corte de los Reyes Católicos*, Madrid, 1944, 62 ff.

4. Madrid, Academia de la Historia, Ms. Misc. in fol., t. 25, fol. 429^{v}. Cfr. Emilio COTARELO Y MORI, *Colección de Entremeses*, Madrid, 1911, p. CCXXXIII.

5. *Opusculos literarios de los siglos XIV a XVI*, ed. Antonio Paz y Melia, Soc. de Bibliofilos Espagnoles 29, Madrid, 1892, 420-424.

6. The choreography consists of alternating " grande mesure " and " petite mesure très parfaite ".

7. The alternation of " moyenne " and " petite mesure très parfaite ".

Tenor or Bass. In two-part compositions the cantus firmus is in the low *(bassa)* part, in three-part works, in the lower one of the structural duo. This fact may have had something to do with the name of the dance. Capirola's three compositions conform to the rule. Of the two *Saltarelli* (Nos. 6 and 24) the first is a strictly three-part composition, with the cantus firmus in the Tenor (middle part, but often crossing with the generally lower-situated Contra). The last note of the cantus firmus is emphatically stretched and an elaborate reinforced cadence closes the piece. The second *Saltarello* is written mostly in two parts, with occasional appearances of a second counterpoint (thus in measures 20, 22-30, 32, 43-45) ; on the other hand, the texture is thinned out to monophonic runs in measures 29-42. The cantus firmus is in the lowest part throughout the piece. The " Bassadanza " (No. 37) is in three parts, with occasional reinforcements, and the cantus firmus is in the Tenor which, here too, crosses the Contra now and then. The last tone of the cantus firmus again shows an elaborate cadence. Our interpretation of this as *prima* and *seconda volta* seems to be justified by a division-line and fermata above the first beat of the closing cantus firmus tone.

For convenience sake let us include a list of the existing " Spagna " compositions known to this writer :

1. (*a*) Cornazano	Il re di Spagna	
(*b*) Brussels No. 9	Le roy d'Espagne *(lost)*	
(*c*) Toulouze No. 10	(Casulle) [Castille] la nouele	
2. (*a*) Perugia G 20 (431) 95^{v}	Falla con misuras	M.Guglielmus
(*b*) Bologna Q 16, 59^{v}	La Basa Castiglya	anon.
3. (*a*) Leipzig UB 1494, 38^{r}		anon.
(*b*) Breslau, Inst. Mf 2016, 63^{v}		anon.
(*c*) Verona, B Cap. DCCLV, 4^{r}		anon.
4. Perugia M 36, 100^{v}		anon.
5. Perugia M 36, 102^{v}		anon.
6. Bologna Q18, 48^{v}	La Spagna	anon.
7. Bologna Q18, 49^{v}	La Spagna	anon.
8. (*a*) Firenze, Panc. 27, 91^{v}	La Spagna	Ghiselin
(*b*) Petrucci, Motetti A, 32	La Spagna	Ghiselin
9. (*a*) Petrucci, Canti C, 148	La Spagna	anon.
(*b*) Spinacino, lib. II, 31^{r}	Bassadanza	anon.
10. (*a*) Spinacino, lib. I, 28^{v}	Bassadanza	anon.
(*b*) Wien 18688, 1^{v}	Bassa Tantz	anon.
11. (*a*) Copenhagen, Ms. 1872-4°, I-VII		anon.
	La spagne tantz, etc. 5 voc.	
(*b*) Ott, Novum et insigne opus, 1537, No. 14		Josquin des Prez
	Propter peccata peccastis 5 voc.	
(*c*) Montanus, Secunda pars magni operis musici, 1559, No. 6		Josquin des Prez.
	Propter peccata peccastis 5 voc.	
12. Cancionero del Palacio. Barbieri No. 439	Alta	F. de la Torre
13. Basel F. IX. 22, No. 23	Spanieler	Jo. Kotter
14. Basel F. IX. 58, No. 5	Spaniol	H. v. Constanz
15. Basel F. IX. 58, No. 1-2	Spanyoler Tancz	H. Weck
16. (*a*) Basel F. IX. 22, No. 55	Spaniol Kochersperg	anon.
(*b*) Basel F. IX. 58, No. 9	Der Kochersperger Spanieler	anon.
17. Chicago, Newberry Library. Capirola lute book, No. 6	Spagna prima	Capirola
18. *Ibid.*, No. 24	Spagna seconda	Capirola
19. *Ibid.*, No. 37	Basadanza	Capirola
20. Berlin 40026, 60^{v}	La Spania	H. B[uchner]
21. Berlin, 40026, 29^{v}	Spaniöler	[L. Kleber]
22. Pesaro, Bibl. Oliv. 1144, p. 35	Bassadanza	anon.
23. Firenze, Bibl. Naz. Magl. XIX. 168, [8^{r}]	Spagna	Francesco da Milano
24. Paris, Bibl. G. Thibault Ms. Tl. 1, 19^{v}-20^{v}	Spagna	anon.
25-31 Diego Ortiz, Tratado, 1553, 55-68	Ricercar 1-6	[Ortiz]

32. (*a*) Venegas, Libro de cifra, 1557, No. 5	Tres sobra el canto llano de la Alta	Antonio [Cabezon]
(*b*) Coimbra Ms. 242, No. 102, fol. 104^{v}	Tres sobra el canto llano de la Alta	anon.
33. Rocco Rodio, Ricercate, 1575, p. 90	Fantasia sopra la mi re fa mi re	Rodio
34-73. Rocco Rodio, Regole di Musica [1600] 1609-11	" contrapunti sopra il canto fermo "	Rodio
74-231 G. M. Nanini, Centocinquantasette Contrapunti e Canoni sopra del canto fermo intitolato la Base di Costanzo Festa (Bologna, Liceo Musicale C36) — G. M. Nanini, Motecta ut vulgo appellantur, Venezia 1586	157 compositions	G. M. Nanini
	28 (29) compositions identical with Nos 125-153 of the previously listed ms. collection.	
232-235 Trabaci, Libro I, 1603, 66-77	Canto fermo primo... quarto	Trabaci
236-237 Mayone, Libro II, 1609, 24-32	Recercari sopra il canto fermo di Constantino Festa	Mayone
238-239 Trabaci, Libro II, 1615, 96-99	Recercari...	Trabaci
240-241 Zacconi, Pratt. di Mus. II, 1622, 199	Contrapunti	[Zacconi ?]
(242-361) C. Festa	120 contrapunti (lost)	Festa

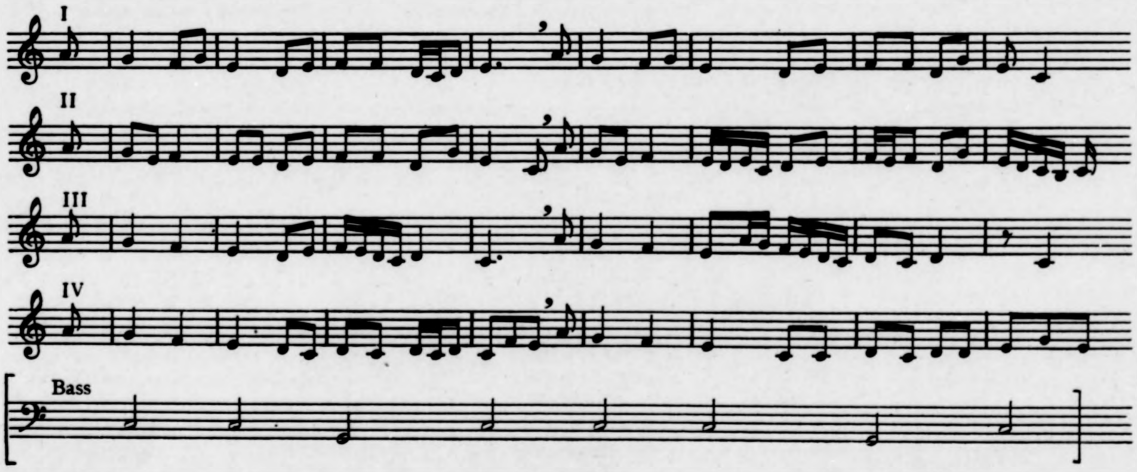
VII

THE PADUANE AND OTHER DANCE FORMS

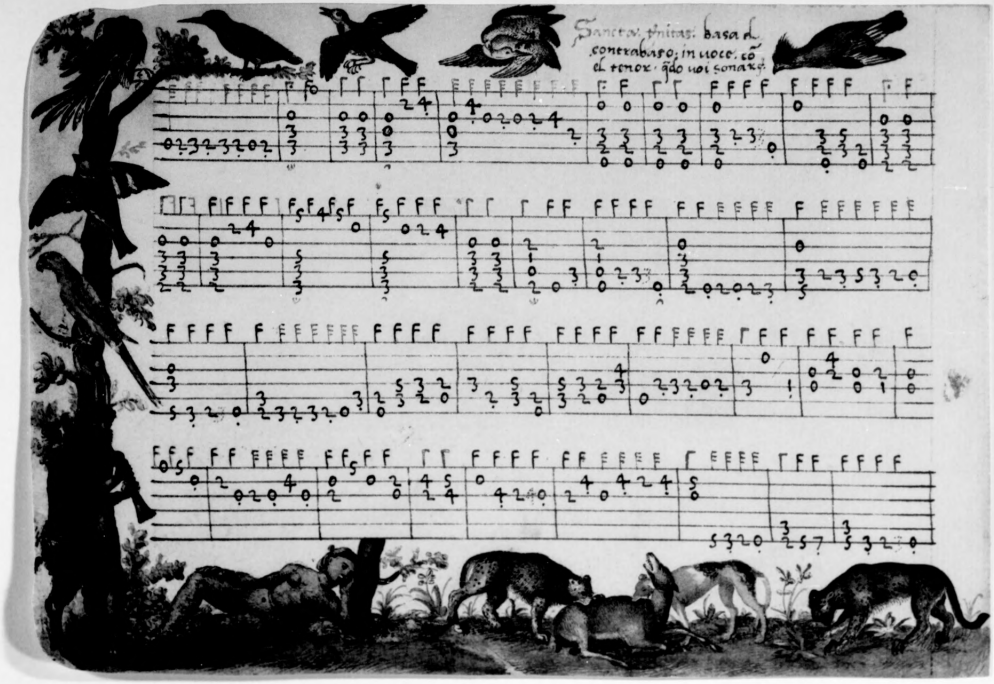
While the three cantus firmus dances are retrospective in character and altogether in the tradition of the late 15th century, the other dances show rather progressive features. There are three *Paduane* and one *Balletto* in the volume. Two of the *Paduane* are named "*francese*" and "*a la francese*" respectively, the third simply "*Paduana*". This latter is written for the *liuto discordato* : the lowest string is tuned to *F*. There is good reason for making a distinction between this piece, on the one hand, and the French pieces, on the other. The scordatura "*Paduana*" (No. 17) is a typical Italian *paduana*, of the variety otherwise called *veneziana*.

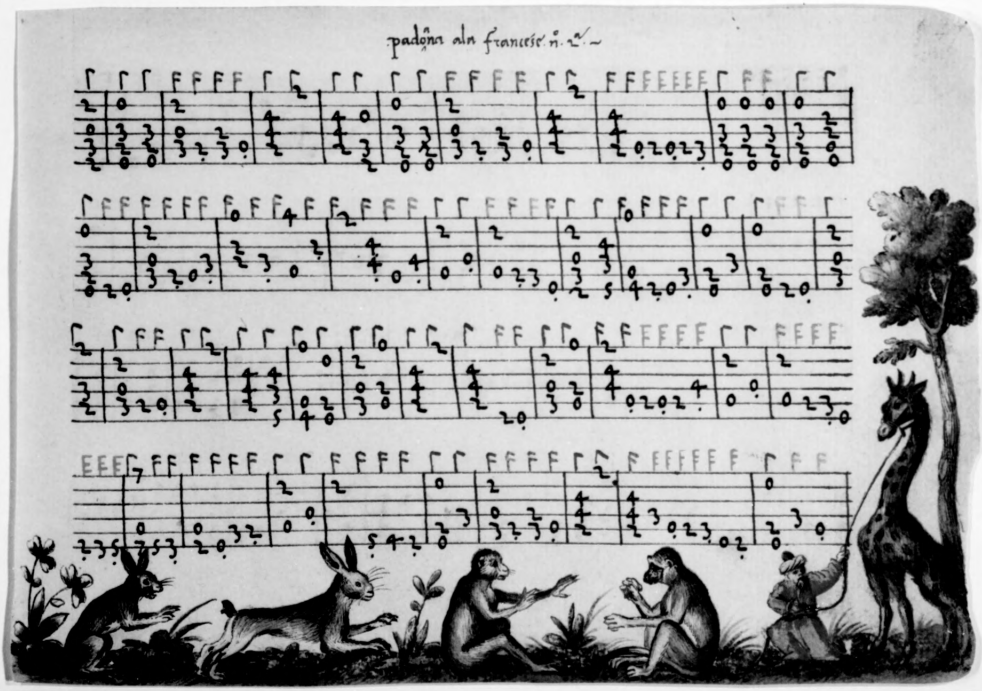
Capirola's *Paduane* can be compared only with those of Dalza. There is no earlier known source for this dance form. The next group of sources consists of Attaingnant's volumes of 1529-30, and these belong to a different tradition. Between Capirola and Attaingnant there exists only two lute books containing dances ; Judenkunig's first book with a "Hoff dantz", and Judenkunig's second publication, 1523, with two German *Hoftänze* and four other dances, among them a „Pauana alla Veneciana" (also in Vienna 18688) and a "Kalata alla spagnola", both borrowed from an Italian source, Dalza's *Intabulatura* of 1508.

In the first two sources, Dalza and Capirola, there are twelve *paduane*. Dalza's *Paduane* are provided with after-dances *(Nachtänze)*, *Saltarelli* and *Pive* ; Capirola's dances stand alone. Four of Dalza's dances are *Paduane alla Ferrarese* ; they all elaborate upon the same melodic idea. Let us insert here the first double-phrase of the tune of the four representatives of this dance, which for the sake of easier comparison shall be transposed to C.



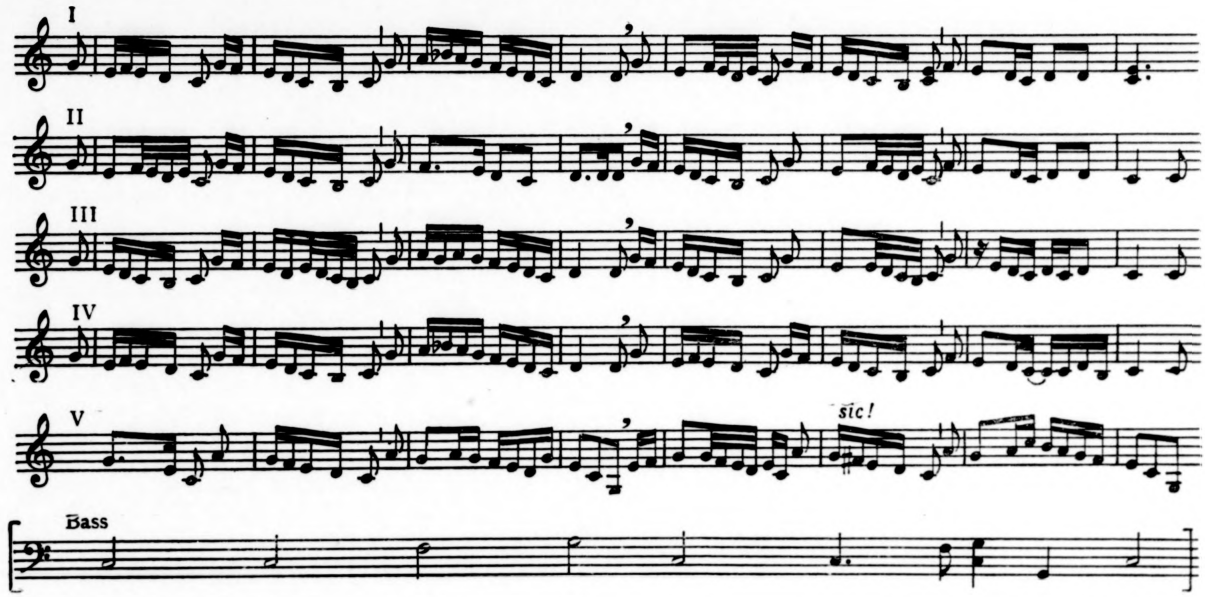
This is a double period built upon an extremely simple harmonic substructure ; both halves end on the tonic chord, whereby the first cadence is melodically less decisive.





Pl. III. Fol. 22′ and 47.

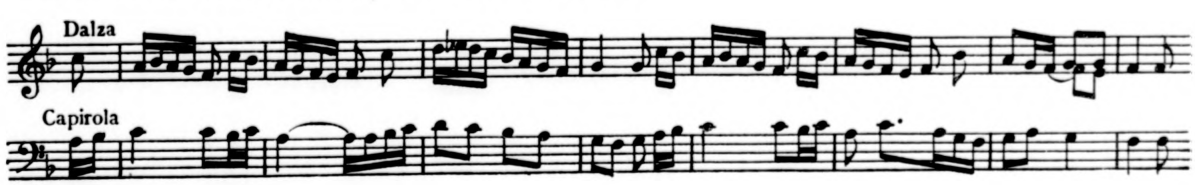
The other five of Dalza's *Paduane* are " *alla venetiana* ". Again all five dances are based on the same melodic substance. We again transpose to C :



The last of these dances is, melodically, a double period with two identical cadences, but the harmonization is different. In the first cadence the tone corresponding to our *g* is carried by the dominant, while in the second cadence it is harmonized with the tonic. The characteristic harmonic set-up of our paduana-form is, however, more complete in the other examples : tonic, tonic, subdominant, dominant ; tonic, tonic, dominant, tonic.

This type of the " *paduana alla venetiana* " remained popular throughout the 16th century. While the name " Venetiana " was eventually borrowed by the *Passamezzo antico* — just as the names " Milanese ", " Ferrarese ", " Bolognese " etc. —, the music is known e. g. from Jüdenkunig's *Ain schone kunstliche underweisung*, 1523, b3^{v}, from Stephan Crauss' manuscript Wien NB 18688, 8^{v} (*Paduana* I) (DTOe 18/2), Attaingnant's *Dix-huit Basses Danses*, 1529, 29^{v} where it appears in the shape of a *Gaillarde*, or, with quite different melodic substance above the same harmonic substructure, in No. 16 " *Pavane* " (a misnomer for *Gaillarde*) of the *Neuf Basses Danses* of 1530, or from Hans Neusidler's *Ein New Künstlich Lautten Buch*, second part, 1544, No. 23, *Ein gut Welisch tentzlein*, DTOe 18/2, 56. It is still preserved intact in late sources such as Cesare Negri's *Le Gratie d'amore*, 1602, where it occurs under the title " Bassa Imperiale " [1], or the Clavier-Book of Regina Clara ImHoff, Vienna, 18491 [2], dated 1629.

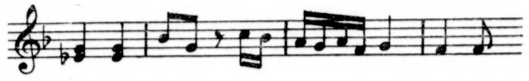
Capirola's " Padoana " (No. 17) belongs to this family, althought its melodic design is quite original, as a comparison with Dalza's prototype clearly shows. We transpose the latter to *F*. The harmonic background is, of course, the same.



1. O. Chilesotti, *Biblioteca di Rarità Musicali* 1, *Danze del Secolo XVI*, Milano, s. d., 61.
2. W. Apel, *Musik aus alter Zeit* 1, Mainz (Schott), s. d.

In Dalza's *Paduane* the first double-period is followed by variative repetitions, e. g.
Dalza, " *Venetiana* " no. 2 : al + a 2/var. al + a2/var. al + a 2/var. al. + a 3/R/var. al + a 2
Dalza, " *Venetiana* " no. 4 : al + a 2/var. al + a 3/var. al + a 3

Occasionally a b1 + b2 section with dominantic tendency is inserted. It has the character of a middle section but it is not utilized as such from the point of view of form. " a 3 " denotes a variant (here transposed to *F*)



which substitutes the beloved ♭VII for the tonic at the beginning of the second half-period. A Ripresa of IV-V-I structure is inserted whenever the end of a set of variations has to be marked. If afterwards more variations follow, the Ripresa signifies that the whole piece can be repeated, — as it acutally was whenever it was played for dancing.

Capirola's " *Paduana* " No. 17 shows a richer form. First of all, ample use is made of repetitions in contrasting register, i. e. split-choir technique. This is not surprising from a composer who stands in the midst of development of this technique, from Obrecht to Willaert.

Thus the form starts with a repeated double period.

low al + a 2
high al + a 2

and this is followed by a free variant of the same structure, on the same harmonic basis, which, however plays the role of a middle section

low b 1 + b 2
high b 1 + b 2

and an unrepeated double period in the middle register

c 1 + c 2

closes the first half of the composition. The lines a, b, and c are, of course, variations on the same harmonic scaffolding.

The second half of the *Paduana* breaks up the pattern of repetitions while keeping the contrasting registers. Thus each time some new material makes its appearance

low d 1 + d 2
high e 1 + e 2
low f 1 + f 2
high g 1 + g 2

A double period, identical in its material with the closing period of the first half but now broken up into contrasting high and low half-periods

high c 3 *low* c 4

closes the second half of the composition. Section b 1 + b 2 in high register is somewhat more elaborate from the point of view of voice leading and harmonization ; section c introduces the subdominant and section g the Mixolydian ♭VII, exactly as in Dalza's line a 3.

The composition is unfinished in the manuscript and the last 4 1/2 measures have been added by the Editor. There can be, however, little doubt as to the correctness of this interpretation.

Conscious use of " valeurs " of sonority, as shown in the handling of register-contrasts, is a truly remarkable feature. Not less surprising is the delicate accompaniment that makes

good use of the open *F* string, in order to reach an effect similar to the " murky " basses of the mid-18th century. The reinforcement of low Tenor-Bass cadences with a freely entering Discant is another radical trait that testifies to the sense of sonority. The most surprising and most radical feature is, however, the division of the mezzana-course ; it results in a double-pedal-point effect of a boldness unparalleled in its age and for a long time to come. Here the composer rides roughshod over all tenets of contemporary theory and practice to realize a sound-image of eminently instrumental character. In this, Capirola is a revolutionary innovator, who anticipates, by a century or two, similar tendencies of, let us say, a Biagio Marini or a Domenico Scarlatti.

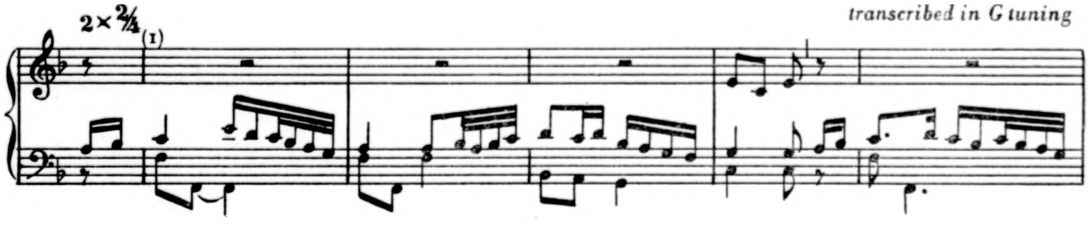
The contrast of low and high registers is elevated to a principle. In doing this, Capirola systematically develops the echo-effect. Undoubtedly the contrast of high and low also involves the dynamic contrast of *piano* and *forte*. The texture of the high sections is thicker and richer than that of the low ones. In one case (" *Non ti spiaqua l'ascoltar* ", No. 30), Capirola *expressis verbis* prescribes such a dynamic contrast ; a low section demands " tocca pian piano ". This marks the first occurence of a dynamic direction in the history of Renaissance music, a good seventy years before Gabrieli's " *Sonata pian a forte* ".

Strangely, two close relatives, somewhat garbled and deteriorated versions, of this Pavane have came down to us in as late and as widely separated sources as Hans Neusidler's *Ein newes Lautenbüchlein*, 1540 (*Ein seer guter welscher tantz im abzug*, fol F2^{r}, cfr. DTOe 18/2, 42) and the British Museum Ms. Royal App. 58 (*The Duke of Somersett's Dompe*, fol. 51^{v}). The latter may have been composed as late as 1551, but certainly not earlier than 1536 [1].

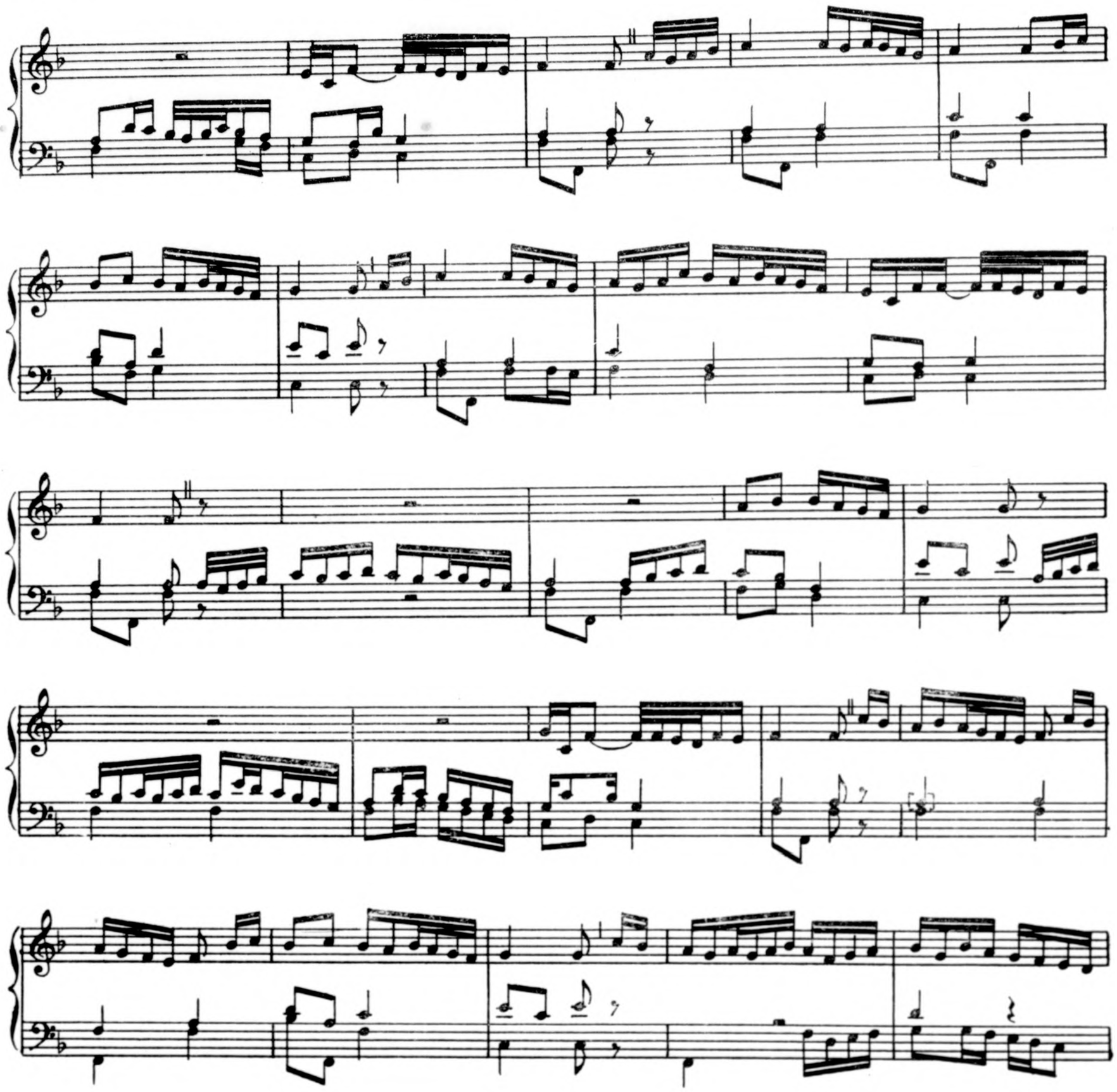
Of these two pieces, Neusidler's version proves to be closer to the original and more interesting in its deviations from it. The *Paduana* itself consists of 4 1/2 strains. The first three closely follow the corresponding ones of Capirola's *Paduana*, although the ornamentation is more stereotyped. The fourth strain, while placed in the higher octave-register, just like Capirola's, abandons the latter's melodic outline and adopts that of Dalza's *Paduane veneziane*, whereby the simple period of the latter is transformed into a double one. The second of these half-periods does not come to a determined close (the cadential measure is omitted), but is repeated with only slight variants in the ornamentation.

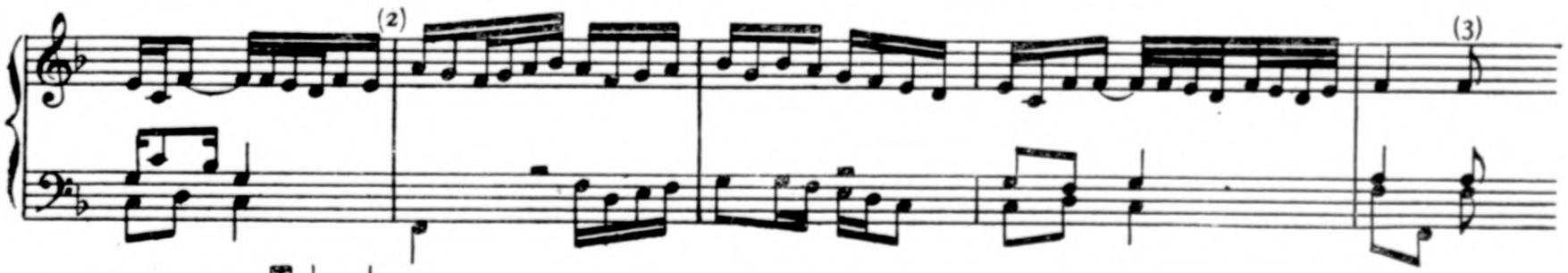
The Paduana is followed by a *Hupffauff*, neatly marked at its end " *Saltarella* ". Notwithstanding the closely related melodic substance, this *Saltarello* is remarkably independent from the main dance. The 4/8 unit of measure is stretched here to 6/8, and the metric movement places the accent on the odd, rather than the even measures. The harmonic scaffolding is also modified inasmuch as the second double-measure is built on the chord of the VIIth degree. In the repetition of the double period the melody is switched into the higher octave, the VIIth depree is replaced by ♭ VII, and thus the phrase becomes an unadulterated specimen of the Major variant of the *passamezzo antico*.

Hans Neusidler, Ein seer guter welscher tanz im abzug (1540)

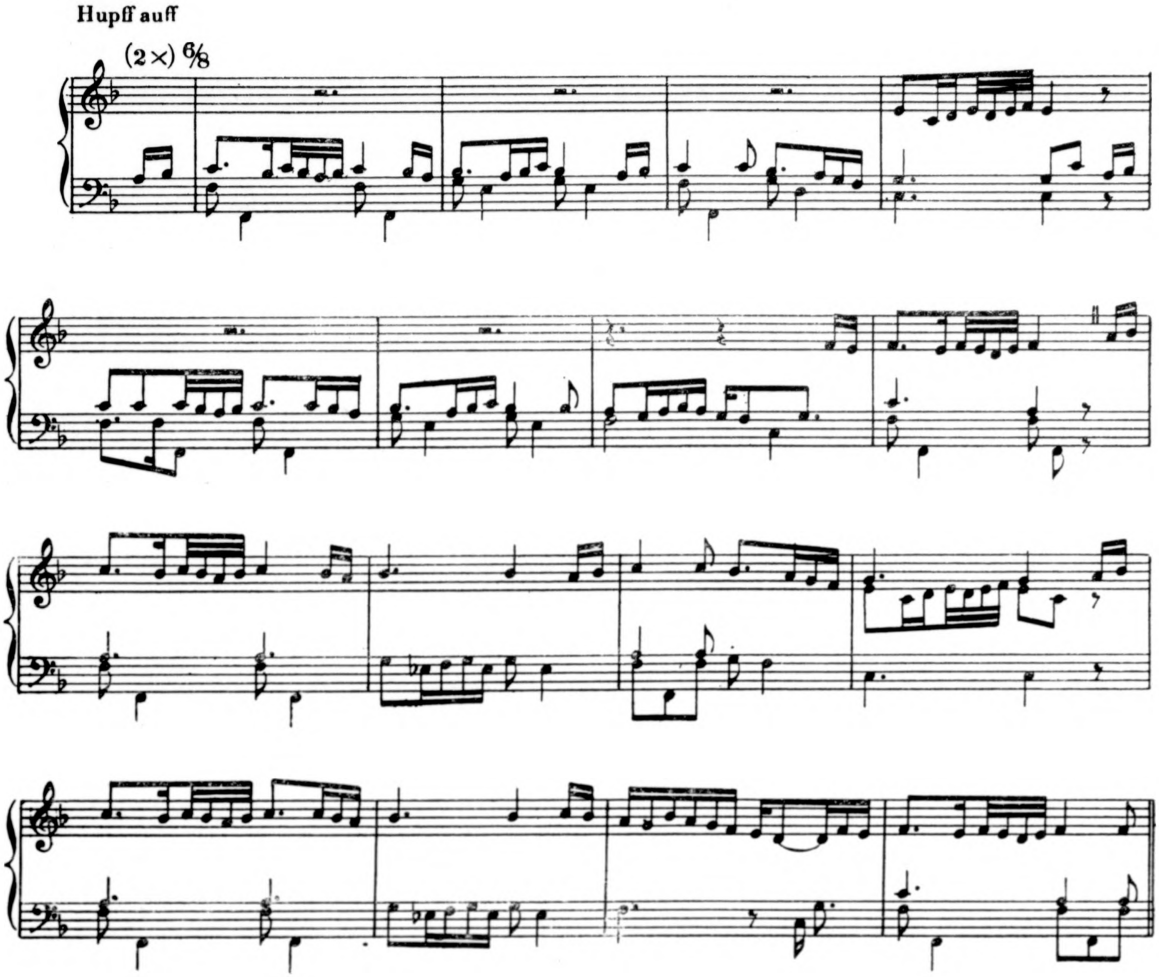


1. Cfr. John WARD, " The 'Dolfull Domps' ", *JAMS* 4, 1951, 111-121, exp. 120-121.





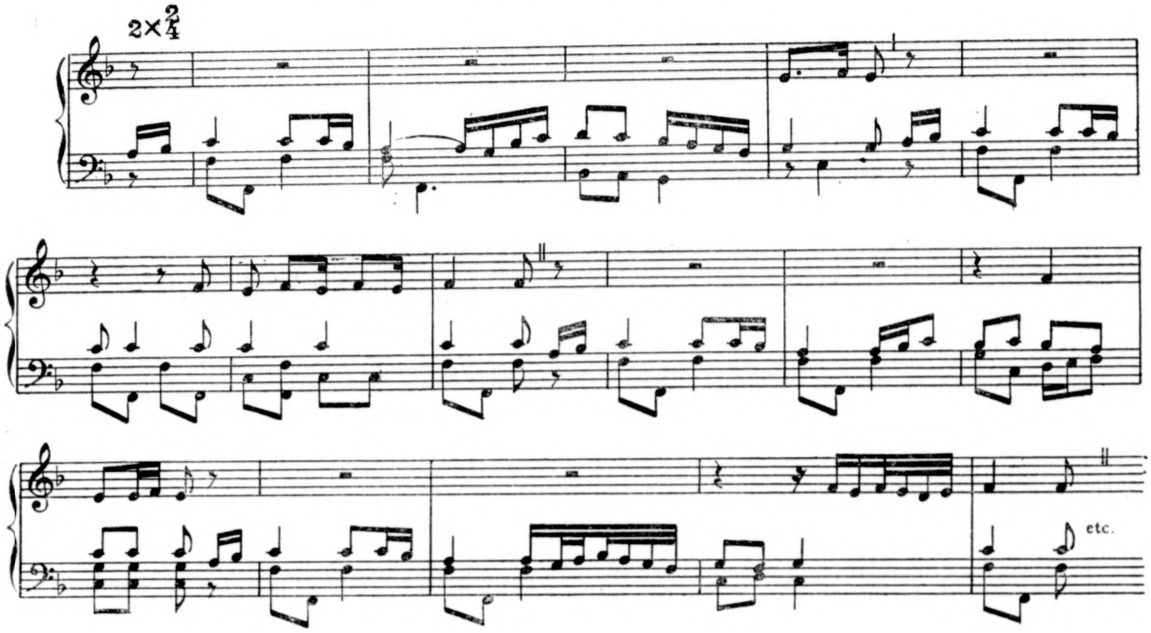
(1) in the original : etc. (2) Here two beats (𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥) missing (3) The last beat : 𝅗𝅥 in the original



Thus, Neusidler's *Welscher tantz* is a conglomerate of different early versions of the *Paduana Veneziana* and of some of its relatives. It unites the reflexions of at least three prototypes. The shining example of Capirola clearly comes to the fore in (1) the use of the " Laute im Abzug " and the identical key, — if we transpose, as above, from the German A-tuning into the Italian G-tuning —, (2) in the thin texture and in the peculiar spread of the cadences, and (3) in the octave echo of the even-numbered strains. It is, furthermore, a startling proof for Capirola's Paduana being one of the family of the Paduana Veneziana. Let us keep this piece in mind when we turn our attention, further on, to the Passamezzo.

A few words will suffice about *The Duke of Somersett's Dompe*. Its six strains imitate and vary the first strain of Capirola's Paduana, without incorporating any of the latter's bold harmonic and technical features. The strains remain all in the same register, in the first position. The melodic outline is often changed, without exception to the worse.

The Duke of Somersett's Dompe [Brit. Mus. Roy. App. 58, fol. 51v]



It is perhaps not without significance, in the light of Capirola's possible stay at Henry VIII's Court, that an English source — one of the earliest specimens of lute music from England — reflects his work as late as the sixth decade of the century.

To return for a moment to Capirola' other two *paduane*. They are neither of the Ferrarese pattern, nor of the Venetian one. They are " alla francese ". Since parallels in the French repertoire, the first examples of which appear about 15 years later, are lacking, they represent a type of their own.

The first of the two French patterns is again built in double periods, the first of which reaches the dominant, the second, the tonic. If our interpretation of the somewhat obscure notation is correct, the first double period is to be repeated

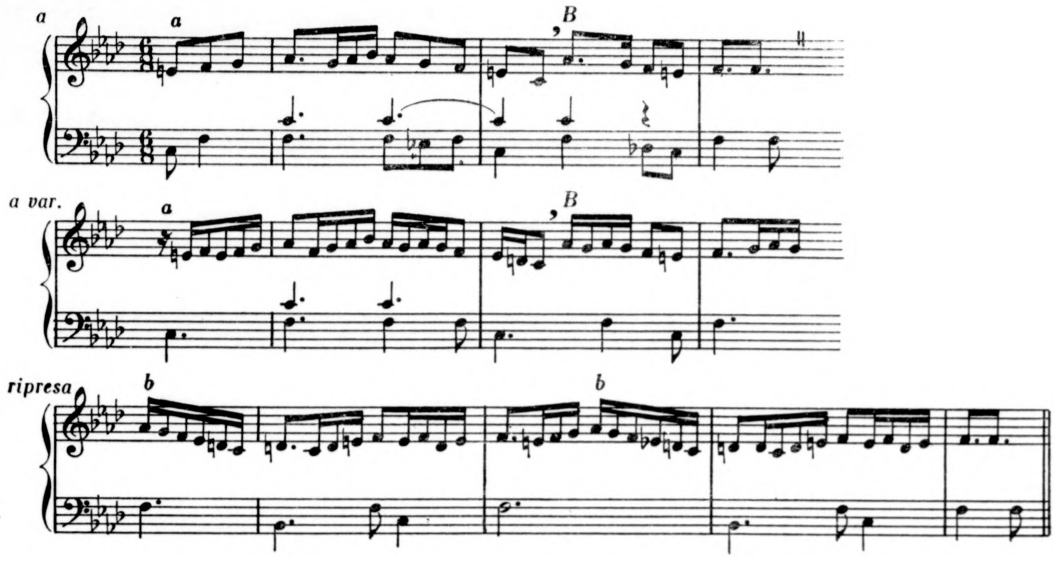
a 1 + a 2
a 1 + a 2

After this similar double versicles follow in which b 2 etc. is more akin to a 2 then b 1 to a 1.

Again the composition is divided into two halves

/: a :/	d
b	e
c	f

whereby f 1 + f 2 picks up the motive of c 1 + c 2. The harmonization of f 2 with the d♭ in the bass recalls the pattern of the *Passamezzo antico*. Such Major-variants of the pattern in Minor occur elsewhere, too. Remarkable is the subdivision of the half-periods a 1 and f 1 into two 2-measure units featuring cadences on tonic and dominant, respectively. This short-phrased structure maybe considered characteristic of the French pattern of the pavane. It occurs in quite similar way among Attaingnant's *pavanes*, e. g. *Dix-huit Basses Danses* fol. 23v and 26v, or in the " *Gaillarde* ", 30v (lower half), or in that curious " *Gaillarde* " *a tre battute*, 30v (upper half), with repeated line plus Ripresa *a due battute* :

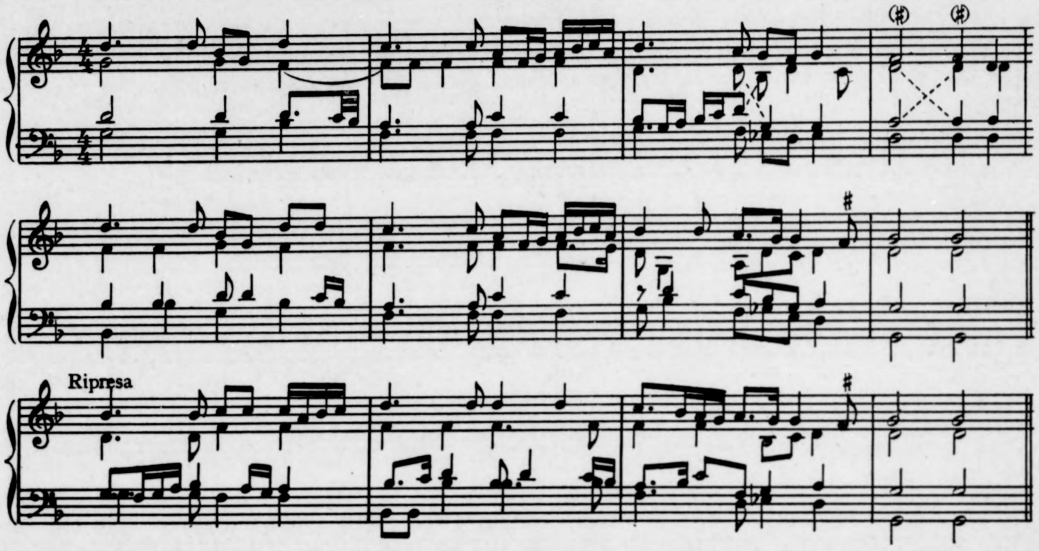


The second " *Padoana alla francese* " follows the same pattern with certain significant modifications. The first double period shows the same short-motif build, but the whole line is more justly designated a + b then a 1 + a 2. The first half of most of the double periods has a harmonic substructure peculiar to the *Passamezzo antico* (I-♭ VII-I-V). In the first half-line this is compressed into two measures and continues, in the traditional *Passamezzo* manner, with III-♭ VII-I-V. In the third period the second half-line goes on with a variant of the *Passamezzo* pattern, ♭ VII-I-V-I. Periods IV and V modulate in the middle ceasura to III (F), and their second half-periods are those of the regular *Passamezzo* pattern, III-♭ VII-I-V-I. Period VI with two endings (*prima* and *seconda volta*) again exposes the traditional pattern with a curious V-chord in the place of III at the beginning of the second half. The Ripresa-like last period (VII) which according to the source can also be played at the beginning of the composition, offers the simple *Passamezzo antico* pattern, without detour to the relative Major, in the most obvious isometric arrangement.

Capirola's second " *Paduana alla francese* " may have been called thus because its first half-line is constructed of two 2-measure motives. Otherwise the pattern is that of the *Passemezzo antico*. As often happens in the early history of this pattern, it is handled with considerable freedom. Yet the basic idea comes through clearly. The composition is one of the earliest extant examples of the *Passamezzo*, if not *the* earliest. Petrucci's books do not contain any. The earlier keyboard tablatures, up to Attaingnant's are free of them. The anonymous four-part " *Caminata* " from Firenze, Panc. 27 [1], is a Major variant of the Minor *Passamezzo*. It is the other contender for the honor of being the first *Passamezzo*. Regular *Passamezzi* occur first in Attaingnant's publications, although the publisher does not seem to have known what he was offering. Thus in the *Dix-huit Basses Danses* the " *Bassedanse* " fol. 11^{v} follows the *Passamezzo antico* pattern, while the second half of the " *Bassedanse* " fol. 13^{v} is a regular *Passamezzo moderno*, as is the " *Pavane* " fol. 33^{r}. The " *Gaillarde* ", fol. 21^{v} belongs to the *Passamezzo antico* family, while the two " *Gaillardes* " fol. 22^{r} and fol. 32^{v} are *Romanesche*. A third *Bassedanse*, " *La Brosse* ", is quite improperly labeled ; it is a regular *Passamezzo antico* with

1. Fol. 95^{v}. Cfr. J. WOLF, *Sing-und Spielmusik aus älterer Zeit* (= vol. 3 of *Geschichte der Musik*), Leipzig (1926), no. 26, p. 66.

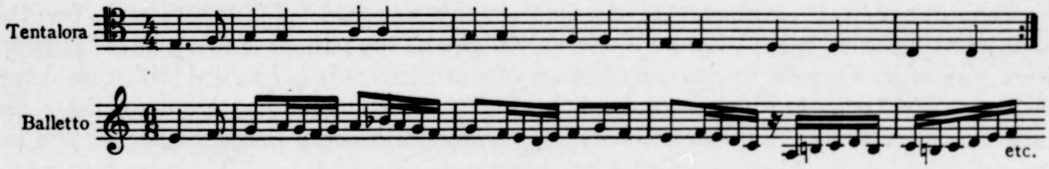
Ripresa and is essentially identical with the above mentioned " *Bassadanza* ", fol. 11v. It occurs again in Susato, 1551 as " *Bergerette* ", fol. 4. I give the version of the *Neuf Basses Danses* :



Capirola's second " *Paduana alla francese* " is certainly the first example of the simple form of the *Passamezzo antico*, clearly using this pattern in its Ripresa-like double-period VII (meas. 53-60).

One more dance piece is contained in our volume. Its original title has almost completely been erased both in the Index and on fol. 19r. There remain, at both places, only the letters *Ti*, to which the Index adds " Baleto da balar. bello ".

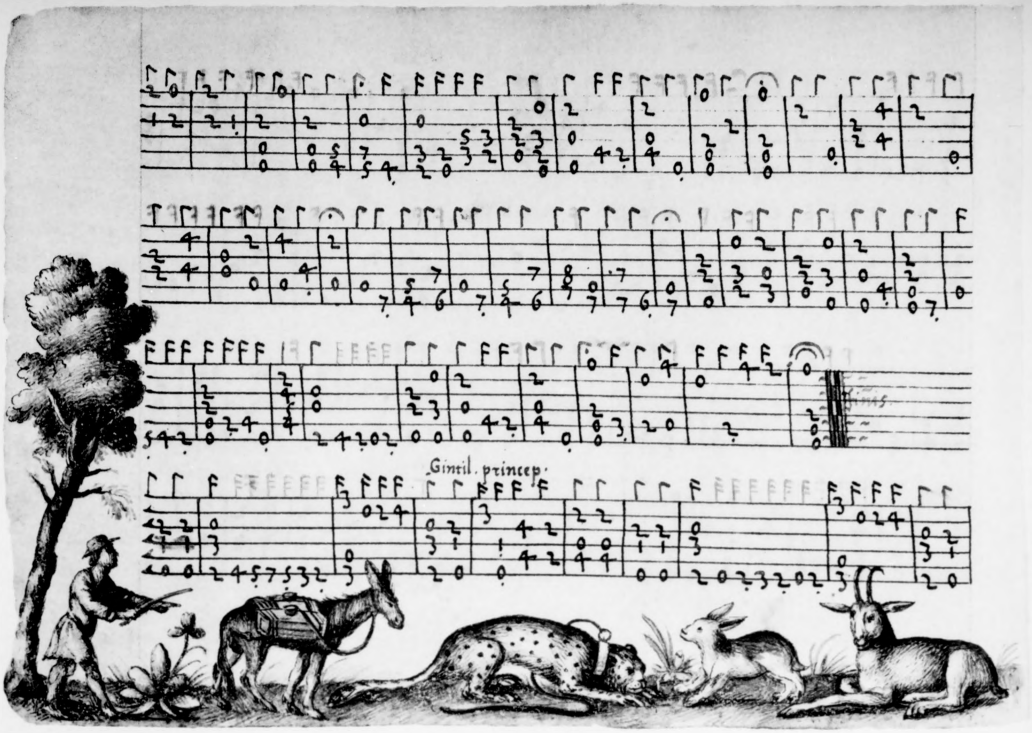
There is a certain similitarity between the musical substance of this " *Balletto* " and the tune " *Tentalora* " [1] out of which *pavane* and *gagliarde* were made [2]. The two tunes are essentially identical. Possibly the letters *Ti* represent the title " *Tientalora* ", erased for some inexplicable reason. Here are the corresponding sections of the two tunes :

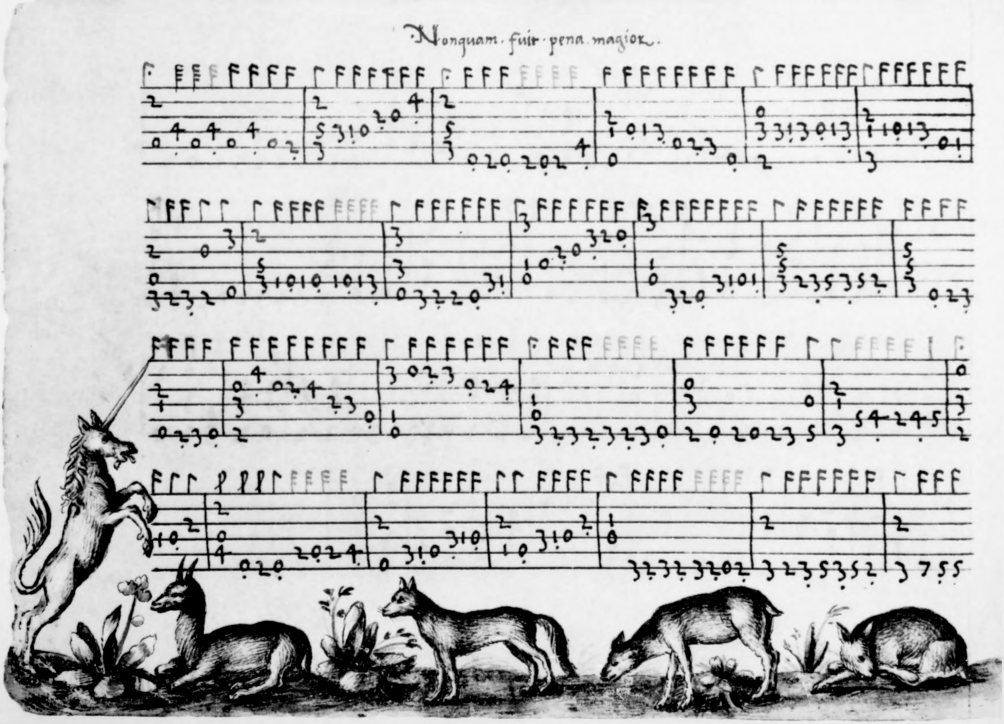


The " *Balletto* " consists of a series of three variations, the third of which turns into a Ripresa. The variations are 8-measures phrases. The first four measures are followed by a repeated reinforcement of the cadence : $\alpha + \beta + \gamma + \gamma$ In the second line it takes the form $\alpha + \beta + \beta + \beta$. In the third line this reinforcement assumes the character of a Ripresa. The variative form is tightened by the similarity of lines 1 and 3, thus approaching ternary form. Surprising, for the time, is especially the middle phrase with its skeletal, harmony-implying Bass against which two upper parts are moving in strict third-parallels. Were it not for the

1. Two pieces based on the " Tentalora "-tune are to be found in Paris, B. N. Rés. Vm7 676. Cfr. TORREFRANCA, *Il Segreto del Quattrocento*, Milano, 1939, Appendix.

2. The incomplet *Tiers livre de Danseries* of Jean d'Estrée, Paris, 1559, contains 4 " Tintelores ".





Pl. IV. Fol. 50′ and 51′.

♭ VII degree appearing frequently, the piece would sound and look like some 18th century attempt at back-to-nature simplicity. As it is, the piece is unique in its anticipation of harmonic thinking and homophonic texture.

While no dance composition, another work shall be considered in this context ; the mysterious Italian " moteto " " *Non ti spiaqua l'ascoltar* ". It is unique. Neither another intabulation nor a presumed " vocal " original can be found. It is also unique inasmuch as no Italian composition of the time shows similar features of texture and form. It resembles, in this respect, Capirola's dances more than any other music known to this writer. Contrary to the dances, however, it is conceived in clear polyphonic part-writing and in a highly intriguing metrical organization which, because of regular repetitions, comes to the fore with all clarity. The composition is sectional almost to the extent of becoming monotonous. All sections end with decisive cadences in the tonic G. with the exception of two short sections toward the end (meas. 28-32) which rise to the dominant. The closing chords of the sections are, in a way, *extra mensuram*. They form short inserts of two quarter-note beats each, after which the new phrase starts on the heavy beat. In some cases, however, the repetition of a phrase in the contrasting register is effected without inserting such arresting cadences. While one couple of parts ends the phrase, the other couple starts out with the response during the former's final tone. The responsion of phrases in contrasting registers, so important in the " *Paduana discordata* " (No. 17), is truly the life-element of this composition. All the way through it is constructed of such repetitions :

a	2	parts	low
a	4	»	high
b	4-2	»	low
b	4-3	»	high
b	4	»	medium
b'	2	»	low
b'	4	»	high
c	2-3	»	low
c'	2-3	»	high
d	2	»	high
d	2	»	low
d	2-4	»	medium
e	2	»	low
e	2	»	high
e	3-4	»	medium

whereby register and sonority are changed in continuous contrast.

The phrases themselves are of great elasticity of metric shaping. Line a consists of five beats plus closing tone ; the whole complex a + a of 5 + 5 + 2 beats ; lines b + b show 8 + 8 + 2 beats followed by a contracted phrase of 6 + 2. In b' + b' 6 + 3 + 2 beats are answered by 6 + 4 + 2. The next pair of lines is more elaborate ; c adds to its 6-beat first measure a cadence of four measures featuring the rising motive imitated it the Bass, and c' responds with repetition in high register and downward rolling cadence motive imitated and sequentially repeated, after which the cadence is expanded.

The whole complex c-c' has the metric organizations (6 + 4) + (6 + 4 + 6) + 2 measures. In the way of balance, phrase d is concise. High 4 + 2 is answered by low 4 + 2 and reinforced by 5 + 2 beats in middle register : a beautiful example of cadential expansion. Finally, phrase e answers its low 6 + 2 beats with repetition in high register and brings the piece to a close by 4 + 4 + 4 beats plus an expanded 6 + 2 final tone. As said before, dynamic contrasting is implied by the prescribed *pianissimo* for the first rendering of phrase b.

Of the same radiance of color and sonority as the paduane, this piece is in matters of metric organization diametrically opposed to those. Strict (because bodily, physiological) meter in the dances, free metric construction in this composition, show the two faces of Renaissance form.

To the former type belong, beside dances, some small secular forms like the *Barzelletta*. The opening " *La Villanella* " is one of them. Occasionally, for the sake of expression, the strict meter is altered on significant words, and broader, often melismatic, treatment transforms regular cadences into arches of wider scope. Such is the metric change from triple to double measure in No. 5b, Don Michele Vicentino's " *Che farala* " (meas. 19-20), which is otherwise a rather regular *Gagliarda*. Such is also the intricate, beautiful cadential passage in meas. 4 of Tromboncino's " *Stavasi Amor* ", No. 10, a little gem of what must be considered truly Renaissance small form.

On the other side are compositions of free metric organization. " *Non ti spiaqua* " is just one of many examples. Most notable are, in this respect, Capirola's ricercari. Of course, in most cases the uncovering of the metric structure is a piece of interpretation on the part of the editor. This is not the place for extended explanations and justifications of such procedures. They shall be fully presented on another occasion. In many cases, the music speaks a clear language. Sequences, for instance, betray their metric organization by the repetitive pattern. Units of two, three, four, six beats are, of course, the most frequent ones. But there are plenty of clear examples of five-beat measures, e. g. Ricercar V, meas. 52 sqq. Within the more conventional units peculiar subdivisions occur, e. g. when 4/4 is subdivided into 3 + 3 + 2 eighth-notes [1], or when 6/4 is transformed into a complex metrical unit in which against quiet quarter-beats of the outer voices, the middle one inserts a 6/8 measure between the first and second quarter of a 3/4 measure (Ricercar I, 14 ff.). Such complexities were part and parcel of an older, Gothic, form-world. With the great art of the Flemish they survived far into the 16th century. How they became assimilated in the South makes an exciting story that should be told once. The first stages of this transformation can be observed in Capirola's ricercari. The metric changes lose their abstract arbitrary character and become loaded with expressive value. Block follows block in free balance, with little regard for numerical equation or speculative patterns. This free balance of form-blocks is the essence of their structure, the principle of their humanistic Renaissance form.

1. E.g. Ricercar III, 15 ; Ricercar IV, 23 ; Ricercar V, 16 ; Ricercar IX, 11, etc.

DOCUMENTS

Tax declaration of Vincenzo Capirola from 1517 (autograph)
(Brescia, Archivio Storico Civico, Polizze d'estimo, 1517, No. 59)

Poliza da mi Vincentio Capirola in prima Alexandri
Primo mi Vincentio de eta de anni 43 Et tengo Casa a fitto i*n* Venetia dala qu*a*le pago ducatti 12 el anno
Et hazo li in*frascritti* beni Cioe la razon de scodere *(= di riscuotere)* dali heredi del q*uondam* m*esser* Leonardo Capirola liri Cinq*ua*nta el anno Et se pono Et devo afrancarsi
L*ire* L*ire* 1000 =
Ite*m* uno Credito Cum li s*uprascripti* heredi
per livelli scorsi L*ire* 200 =
Ite*m* uno Credito cu*m* li s*uprascrip*ti heredi
per livelli scorsi L*ire* 200 =
Ite*m* uno livello *(last word cancelled)* Credito cu*m* li m*agnifi*ci heredi del q*uondam* m*agnifi*co d*omino* Alex*and*ro da Provalio d*e* liri quatrocento del q*ua*le no*n* penso hauer seno*n* quando piacera a soy M*agnificen*cie *Lire* 400 =
Ite*m* vno alt*r*o credito cume la M*agnifi*ca m*adonna* Biancha Dona del pr*edet*to *quondam* s*er* Alex*and*ro de liri *(empty space)* del q*ua*le no*n* penso hauer may parte.
alcuna p*er* ch*e* alt*r*i ch*e* hano contra de ley custion Como mi ne fano lite In gran tempo.
Et ancora no*n* sano quanto se li aspetta.
Ite*m* vno Credito cum li heredi de simo*n* trombetta d*e* liri seycento li q*ua*li no*n* se potrano may hauer p*er* no*n* esserli i*n* bonis Lire 600 =

Jur*avit*
Scipio p*roualius*
Petrus Stella
Anto*nius* Lana

Tax declaration of Vincenzo Capirola from 1548
(Brescia, Archivio Storico Civico, Polizze d'estimo, 1548, No. 165)

Sec*on*da Joan*n*is
Poliza d*e* mi Vinc*enti*o q*uondam* m*esser* Piero Capirola citadino di Bressa habito in la s*uprascrip*ta quadra.
P*rimo* Io son senza exercitio alchuno di eta d*e* anni 80 v*el circa*
Et p*erch*e deli I... li cercho d*e* cambiare habi*tazio*ne et servitu d*e* una masara senza le qual cose No*n* posso star no*n* mi co*n*uera pagar meno d*e* ducati otto al anno d*a*fitto d*e* casa vz L*ire* 24
Ite*m* ala masara computan*d*o il salario et le spese vz L*ire* 40
Ite*m* ho fatto una donat*ion*e d*e* liri mille duecento a m*aest*ro Baldesar rumano spiciario nel borgo de s*an*to Zoua*n* qual donatio*n* p*er*ho no*n* fu volontaria ma sforzata et indutta cu*m* maliciosi Ingannj et p*er* no*n* poter con*te*star cu*m* il mio potente aduers*a*rio si p*er* la eta como p*er* la mia pouerta la lasso casi P*er* la qual donatione mi paga liri sisanta al anno cioue areson d*e* cinq*ue* p*er* cento vz. L*ire* 60
Et apresso liri trentasey al anno p*er* il mio cibo a mi p*er* luy p*ro*messo finch*e* Io viuo vz L*ire* 36
Et anchora il ditto m*aest*ro Baldesar mi paga liri cinquanta al anno et e obligato ad afrancharsi cu*m* liri mille In tutto ch*e* sonno In tutto ogni anno L*ire* 146

Et apresso ho inteso che la signora biancha magno capirola mi ha lasato uno legato de duchati sisanta al anno finche Io viuo pur non *(continued on verso)* ho anchora habuto niente qual legato sara obligato apagarmelo dignandosi il signor ludovico martinengo

(another hand :)

Item ho in danari lire ducento cinquanta in governo apresso vna fidata persona Lire 250

(front side :) Juravit
Hieronimus Pisonius
Joannes de ganassis
Antonius Manerba

CRITICAL NOTES

1. " La Villanella "

Index : 1. La uilanela
Fol. 5^r : la uilanela
The vocal model of this composition, cast in the typical *gagliarda* pattern of the *barzelletta (frottola)*, could not be found.
The form αββγγδεδε coda
is well known from dozens of examples.
(1) 𝄾 | 𝄾 | 𝄾 instead of 𝄽 | 𝄽 | 𝄽

2. Ricercar I

Index : .1. Recercar primo che inparaj bello *(2nd hand :)* bello
Fol. 5^v : Recerchar primo
(1) added at the bottom of the page :

Comenza sul canto come vedi, et seguita ut supra
(Begin on the highest string as you see (it here) and continue as above).

3. " Oublier veuil " by Alexander Agricola

Index : *.2.* Obliuier. canto. nel ton del primo recercar
Fol. 6^v : Canto. seguita nel ton del primo ricerchar. obliuier.
The vocal model is the three-part chanson " Oublier veuil tristesse " by Alexander Agricola, preserved in :
Bologna, Liceo Musicale, Ms. Q.17, fol 3^v-4^v : A Agricola.
Firenze, Instituto Musicale, Ms. 2439, fol. 73^v : Allexander.
Segovia, Biblioteca Capitolare, s. num., fol. 154^v (160^v) : Alexander Agricola " Oubliez suis ".
Vienna, National-Bibliothek, Ms. 18810, No, 52 : Agricola, " Carmen " (no text)
Cfr. J. Wolf, *Sing-und Spielmusik aus älterer Zeit*, No. 17, p. 46 ff.
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 1596, fol. 3^v-4^v, anon.
Hieronymus Formschneider, *Trium vocum carmina*, 1538, No. 58, anon., s. n. (no text).
(1) *a* added by Ed. (this note is playable only if *f* is played on the 5th fret of the *c*-string. The ornamental figure of the discant substitutes for the tone lacking in the Tenor).
(2) *d'* added by Ed.
(3) *e'* added by Ed.
(4) *c'* added by Ed. (this note is playable only if *a* is played on the fourth fret of the *f*-string)
(5) *f* added by Ed.

4. Ricercar II

Index : .3. R. segondo. bello *(2nd hand :)* bello
Fol. 8^r : Recerchar secondo
The first half of this Ricercar was also used as an alternative beginning of Ricercar XIII, No. 41. Cfr. there.
(1) *g* added by Ed.
(2) The rhythmic sign 𝄾 is lacking.

5. (*a*) and (*b*) " O MIA CIECA E DURA SORTE " by Marchetto Cara
" CHE FARALA CHE DIRALA " by Don Michael Vicentino

Index : .4. O mia ciecha e dura sorte. Che farala per so coa.
Fol. 9^{r} : O mia ciecha e dura sorte. seguita nel ton del secondo recerchar
Fol. 10^{r} : che farala per sua coda seguita

(*a*) The vocal model is the four-part Barzelletta (Frottola) " O mia cieca e dura sorte " by Marchetto Cara, in Petrucci's *Frottole*, libro primo (Vogel-Einstein 1504^{2}) Fol. VI : M. C. (ed. by Rudolf Schwartz, *Publikationen älterer Musik* VIII, 3) ; it is also preserved in lute intabulation by Francesco Bossinensis, *Tenori e contrabassi intabulati*, libro primo, Venezia 1509 (Vogel-Einstein 1509^{1}) fol. XIX, anon.

Capirola transposes a minor third higher.

(1) Double bar after the sixteenth-note ; title of 5b is inserted here.
(2) Double bar added by Ed.

(*b*) The vocal model is Don Michael Vincentino's irregular four-part Frottola (with four-line Ripresa), " Che farala, che dirala ", preserved in Petrucci's *Frottole*, libro undecimo, 1514 (Vogel-Einstein 1514^{1}), No. 26, fol. 28 : D. M., (not listed in the table of contents ; cfr. C. Sartori, *Bibliografia delle opere musicali stampate da Ottaviano Petrucci*, Firenze, 1948, 171-175) ; in Antico's *Frottole*, libro tertio (Vogel-Einstein 1517^{1}) No. 27, fol. 39^{v} : D. Michael Vicentino (according to K. Jeppesen, *Die ital. Orgelmusik* 65, Vogel's date is too late ; the book was published as early as 1513), and in its second edition, *Canzoni Sonetti Strambotti et Frottole*, libro tertio, 1518, (ed. Einstein, *Smith College Music Archives* IV, 52) ; also in keyboard intabulation in Antico's *Frottole intabulate da sonar organi*, 1517 No. 21, fol. 33^{r} : B*artolomeo* T*romboncino* (ed., with the vocal score, by Jeppesen, *Die ital. Orgelmusik*, 21* sqq.). The piece was very popular around 1500. Margaret of Navarre translated it and used it in No. XI of her *Heptameron*. Fausto Torrefranca, *Il segreto del Quattrocento*, Milano 1939, 19 attributes the composition to Don Michele Pesenti and shows that it was referred to as tune in the Laudi of 1485. This fact, however, does not necessarily indicate that the four-part composition is as old or is of even earlier date than 1485. Capirola transposes to the upper minor third.

(1) Rhythmic sign 𝅗𝅥 instead of 𝅘𝅥𝅯 for the first note of this group.
(2) Original triplets corrected, ♯ inserted by the writer of the Ms.
(3) ♯ from here to end.
(4) *F*, which is outside of the compass of the instrument, added by Ed.

6. " LA SPAGNA " I

Index : *.6. Spa*gna prima Che mai inpari
Fol. 11^{r} : Spagna prima

Cfr. the introduction, ch. VI, p. 36 ff. about the cantus firmus and its numerous elaborations. In the present case the " Spagna " tune is in the middle part and is cast in the meter of the *Saltarello*.

(1) The first rhythmic sign is lacking.
(2) *F*, a note outside of the compass of the lute in ordinary tuning, added by Ed.
(3) Double bar after the fermata. Coda added as an afterthought in paler ink, by the same hand.

7. RICERCAR III

Index : .8. R^{o} terzo. bello
Fol. 13^{r} : Ricerchar terzo

(1) The last quarter of this measure added, per analogiam, by Ed.

8. " SIT NOMEN DOMINI BENEDICTUM " by Johannes Prioris

Index : *.11.* Sit nomen domini benedictum. cioe, o dulcis amicha mea.
Fol. 16^{r} : Sit nomen Domini benedictum. nel ton del R^{o} 3. coe. O dulcis amica mea.
The vocal original of this intabulated motet is to be found in :

Cambrai, Bibl. Municipale, Ms. 125-128, fol. 133^{v} (*Dulcis amica Dei*, 4 voc., anon.)
Cambridge, Magdalene College, Ms. Pepys 1760, fol. 2 r. (*Dulcis amica Dei*, Prioris, 3 vo.)
London, British Museum, Ms. Add. 35087, fol. 61^{v}, (*Dulcis amica Dei*, anon., 3 voc.)
Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ms. fr. 1597, No. V, fol. 4^{v}, (*Dulcis amica Dei*, anon., 3 voc.)
Torino, Bibl. Naz. Ms. qm. III. 59, fol. 35^{v}, (*Dulcis amica Dei*, anon., 3 voc.)
Washington, Library of Congress, Laborde Ms., fol. 139^{v}, (*Dulcis amica Dei*, anon., 3 voc.)

Another early intabulation : Attaingnant, *Treize Motetz*, 1530/31.

Modern editions :

Revue d'Archéologie, XIV, 1857, 681 (A. J. H. Vincent)
Maldeghem, *Trésor*, XVI, 1880, 44.
P. Wagner, *Geschichte der Messe*, 246
Attaingnant, *Treize Motetz*, ed. Rokseth, 15.

The form is of the rare ABB + Coda — pattern. Capirola transposes a whole tone down.

(1) No rhythmic sign for the first two strokes.

(2) Yellow 32nds instead of red 64ths for these four notes.

9. " PADOANA FRANCESE " I

Index : .13. Padoana francese. a 4. bella, e forte.

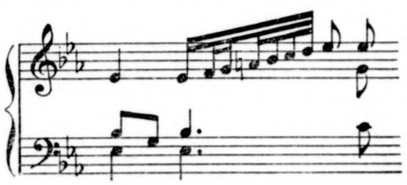
Fol. 17v : Padoana francexe nel ton del R̸ 3° no. prima.

About the dance form cfr. the introduction, ch. VII, p. 64. Noteworthy is the occurence of the half form of both *Passamezzo* grounds within this piece.

(1) Ornament, with the lower whole tone, on the third fret.

(2) *prima* and *seconda volta*, and repetition sign added by Ed. The Ms. has :

(3) No double bar.



10. " STAVASI AMOR DORMENDO " by Bartolomeo Tromboncino

Index : .14. Stauasi amor dormendo soto aun fagio

Fol. 18v : Stauasi amor dormendo sotto a un fagio

The vocal model is Bartolomeo Tromboncino's four-part Strambotto " Stavasi Amor dormendo ", preserved in Petrucci's *Frottole*, libro undecimo (Vogel-Einstein 1514[1]) fol. 13.: B. T. ; also in *Frottole*, libro secondo (Vogel-Einstein 1516 [1]) fol. 14v : Bartolomio Tromboncino ; (cfr. *Acta Musicologica* 8, 1936, 154 sqq., Jeppesen), (according to Jeppesen, *Die ital. Orgelmusik*, 65, this book was first printed in 1513 ; the second edition came out 1518, while Vogel-Einstein 1516[1] should be considered a third edition of 1520) and in Antico's *Frottole intabulate per sonar organi*, 1517, No. 12, fol. 21 : B. T., cfr. Jeppesen *Die ital. Orgelmusik*, 60. Antico's intabulation is transposed into the upper fourth, Capirola's into the upper minor third.

(1) The repetition sign is placed here erroneously.

11. " VOI CHE PASSATE QUI " by Bartolomeo Tromboncino

Index : .14. Voi che pasati qui. nel ton del Re. terzo.

Fol. 19r : Voi che pasati qui. nel ton del R̸ 3°.

The vocal model is Bartolomeo Tromboncino's four-part Strambotto " Voi che passate qui ", preserved in Petrucci's *Frottole*, libro settimo (Vogel-Einstein 1507[1]) fol. 21 : Bartolomeo Tromboncino, and in London, Brit. Mus. Ms. Egerton 3051, No. 18, anon., cfr. *Acta* 13, 1939, 81 sqq. (Jeppesen) ; also in Francesco Bossinensis' *Tenori e contrabassi intabulati*, libro primo (Vogel-Einstein 1509[1]), fol. IX : *Francesco Varoter*. Capirola transposes a minor third higher.

(1) Time signature : 3

12. " BALLETTO "

Index : .15. Ti *(rasura)* baleto da balar. bello.

Fol. 19v : Ti *(rasura)*.

At the end of the piece : replica quanto te piace

There is some affinity between this piece and the dance tune " Tentalora ", cfr. Introduction, ch. VII, p. 72.

(1) Time signature : 3

(2) *f* instead of *f'*

13. " DE TOUS BIENS PLEINE " by Hayne van Ghizeghem

Index : *.16*. Detubiens plaene. canto nel ton del primo recercar

Fol. 20v : De to biens plaene. nel ton del primo Recerchar

The vocal model is Hayne van Ghizeghem's three-part Rondeau " De tous biens plaine est ma maistresse ", one of the most popular songs of the time around 1500. To the involved history of the use of this

chanson by other composers cfr. my *Jacob Obrecht*, Leipzig, 1925, 34 sqq, and Helen Hewitt's edition of Petrucci's *Odhecaton*, Cambridge, Mass. *(Medieval Academy of America)* 1942, 137 (notes to No. 20). In its original form the piece is preserved in as many as 23 sources of the time, sometimes with an added Altus. To the list given by Miss Hewitt, Firenze, Bibl. Riccardiana Ms. 2356, fol. 32v and Paris, Bibl. Nat. Rés. Vm^7 676, fol. 34v should be added. An early arrangement, for two lutes, is in Francesco Spinacino's *Intabulatura de lauto*, libro primo, Venezia, 1507, fol. 16v. The numerous modern editions are cited by Miss Hewitt. Capirola retains the original key.

(1) The ornament is marked as 33, an obvious mistake for $\ddot{3}$. Cfr. the Introduction, ch. III, p. 26.
(2) *G-g* added by Ed.
(3) *d* added by Ed.
(4) *a* added by Ed.
(5) *d'* added by Ed.

14. " SANCTA TRINITAS " by Anthoine de Fevin

Index : .18, *Sanc*ta trinitas. descorda il contrabaso. moteto piu bellisimo
Fol. 22v : Sancta trinitas. Basa el contrabaso : in uoce con el tenor. quando uoi sonate
At the end of the piece : finis. Quando uorai sonar questo moteto de sancta trinitas.
basa il contrabaso in uose con el tenor. e poi sona.

The vocal model is Anthoine de Fevin's four-part motet " Sancta Trinitas unus Deus ", first published by Petrucci in *Motetti della Corona*, lib. I, 1514, fol. 9. It also occurs in Ms. sources, e. g. in Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys Ms. 1760, fol. 19v, and in organ intabulation in Attaingnant, *Treize Motetz...* 1530, ed. Rokseth, 28. Capirola retains the original key, but requires the lowering of the lower string from *G* to *F* (lauto discordato). Some licenses are taken in meter and voice-leading, e. g. meas. 11, 21-22, 37, etc. Repetition of the closing phrase, from the second half of meas. 36 on is omitted. Meas. 24 has in the vocal version the double length.

Other intabulations :

P. Attaingnant, *Treize Motetz*, 1530 (1531), ed. Rokseth, 28 (with the vocal score).
S. Ochsenkuhn, 1558.
In 1555 a 6 part version by Arnold de Bruck was published.

(1) Cfr. No. 13, note (1)
(2) *f* added by Ed.
(3) *d'* added by Ed.
(4) *e'* instead of *e* (the latter playable only if *c* is played on the 7th fret of the lowest string).
(5) *e* added by Ed., cfr. note (4).
(6) *d'* added by Ed.
(7) *f* added by Ed.

15. CHANSON

Index : .20. *Can*to bello.
Fol. 24v : Canto bello
The vocal model of this arrangement of a four-part French chanson could not be identified.

(1) *g'* instead of *a'* (5 instead of 7).
(2) *a* instead of *d'* (O one line too high).
(3) *d'* instead of *g'* (O one line too high).

16. RICERCAR IV

Index : .21. R^2 quarto, descorda nel ton de sancta ternitas belo.
Fol. 25v : R^2 quarto nel ton de sancta trinitas. descordato come sancta trinitas.
Lowest string tuned to *F*.

17. PADOANA

Index : *.23.* Padoana belissima, descorda come sancta tirnitas.
Fol. 27v : Padoana descorda nel ton de sancta trinitas.

Lowest string tuned to *F*. About the divided *mezzana* and about the dance form cfr. the Introduction, ch. III, p. 10-11, and ch. VII, p. 64 ff. respectively.

(1) The red dots designating the ornament are written, for lack of space, above the O (*F*) instead of the 3 (*c'*). No mordant is, of course, possible on the open string.
(2) *f'-c'* added by Ed.
(3) *f* added by Ed.
(4) the piece is unfinished ; fermata on this chord, but no double bar. The remaining notes added by Ed.

18. RICERCAR V

Index : .25. R^2 quinto. nel ton del R. 6. belissimo. iac*o*p^o
Fol. 29^v : R^2 quinto
In view of the similarity of style, technique, and material of this Ricercar with that of the others of the Ms., and especially with that of Ricercar VI (No. 19), it seems unlikely that " iacopo " of the Index refers to the composer of this piece.
(1) *d''-♯c''* instead of *g''-♯f''* (signs on the second line instead of the lowest).
(2) fermata added by Ed.
(C) *c'* added by Ed.
(4) *♯f'* instead of *♯f''*
(5) *g* added by Ed.
(6) Time signature : 3
(7) dotted quarter-note | . instead of quarter-note |
(8) Time signature : 𝄵
(9) This quarter-value written twice.

19. RICERCAR VI

Index : .28. R^2 sesto. bello a zan*n*a dal contarinj sola
Fol. 32^v : R^2 sesto
Note the identical ending of Ricercar VIII (No. 25)
(1) fermata added by Ed.
(2) *a* added by Ed.
(3) *g* added by Ed.
(4) for
(5) *g'* added by Ed.

20. CHRISTE " SI DEDERO " by Jacob Obrecht

Index : *.31.Christe* Si dedero. Parte duna mesa. belisima.
Fol. 35^v : Criste de si dedero. nel ton del R^2 6to. belo.
The vocal model is the three-part " Christe " of Jacob Obrecht's " Missa super Si dedero ", built on Alexander Agricola's Motet, No. 35 of this Ms. The mass was first printed by Petrucci in *Misse diversorum auctorum*, 1508. Modern edition : Jacob Obrecht, *Werken*, ed. Wolf, Missen III (No 9), 4 ff. This " Christe " was arranged for lute by Francesco Spinacino, *Intabulatura de lauto*, libro secondo, 1507, fol. 4^v.
Capirola retains the original key.
(1) *c'* instead of *♯c'*
(2) For this quarter the rhythmic values are doubled : instead of The tablature printed under neath the transcription has been corrected.
(3) *a'* added by Ed.
(4) *c''* for *a'*
(5) *♭b'* for *a'*
(6) *b* added by Ed.
(7) *d'* added by Ed.

21. " ALLEZ REGRETS " by Hayne van Ghizeghem

Index : *.33. Ales* regres. Canto
Fol. 37^v : Ales regres
The vocal model is Hayne van Ghizeghem's three-part Rondeau " Allez regrets ", text by John II Duke of Bourbon, easily the most popular song of the time, preserved in as many as 25 sources. Cfr. Helen Hewitt's

edition of Petrucci's *Odhecaton*, No. 57 and notes p. 155, to which Firenze, Bibl. Riccardiana Ms. 2356 fol. 97^{v} should be added. Another early lute arrangement is to be found in Francesco Spinacino's *Intabulatura de lauto*, libro secondo, 1507, fol. 31^{v}. The relationship of Hayne's Chanson with compositions of Agricola and Compère are dealt with in my " Ghizeghem and Compère, zur Stilgeschichte de Burgundischen Chanson", *Festschrift für Guido Adler*, Vienna, 1931, 100-106. Capirola retains the original key.

(1) *F*, outside of the range of the instrument, added by Ed.
(2) *f* instead of *a* (o a line too high).
(3) *e* added by Ed.
(4) *f* instaed of *F*
(5) *d'* added by Ed.
(6) *g'* instead of *c''* (o instead of 5)

22. AGNUS DEI " UT RE MI FA SOL LA " by Anthoine Brumel

Index : .*34*. *Agnus* Dei. de brumel. de la mesa de ut re mi fa sol la belissimo.
Fol. 39^{r} : Agnus Dei

The vocal model is " Agnus Dei " III of Anthoine Brumel's " Missa super Ut re mi fa sol la " from Petrucci's *Misse Brumel*, 1503, No. 3. Another arrangement for lute in Francesco Spinacino's *Intabulatura de lauto*, libro secondo, 1507, fol. 5^{v}. Capirola transposes a whole-tone lower. Cfr. No. 36.

(1) *g* added by Ed.
(2) Bass : ♭ B-*e c* -♭ *e*
(3) ♭ *e* instead of ♭ *e'*
(4) ♭ *b'* later addition
(5) *d'* corrected from original ♭ *e'*
(6) *f* instead of *f'*
(7) ♭ *e* instead of *f*

23. RICERCAR VII

Index : .36. R^{2} septimo, aue aluise di garzoni
Fol. 41^{r} : R^{2} setimo
(1) fermata added by Ed.

24. " LA SPAGNA " II

Index : .*38*. Spagna tuta de fuge
Fol. 43^{r} : Spagna seconda

About the cantus firmus which appears here in the lower (occasionally in the middle) part, cfr. No. 6. The present composition, also in the meter of the *Saltarello*, uses the perfect breve, our dotted half-note, as bar-unit. At the same time all rhythmic values have been doubled in the manuscript. They have been adjusted in the tablature printed underneath the transcription.

(1) Rhythmic signs for the first four notes lacking
(2) *c'* added by Ed.
(3) *f'* added by Ed.

25. RICERCAR VIII

Index : .40. R^{2} ottauo. lalcier, et un spiciar, laue
Fol. 44^{v} : R^{2} otauo
About the ending cfr. Ricercar VI, No. 19.
(1) ♭ *e* instead of ♭ *B* (3 a line too low)
(2) *g'* added by Ed.

26. RICERCAR IX

Index : .41. R^{2} nono. nel ton de nunquam fui pena maior. bello
Fol. 45^{r} : R^{2} nono
(1) *d'* added by Ed.
(2) *a* added by Ed.

27. RICERCAR X

Index : .42. R^{a} decimo. bello.
Fol. 46^{v} : R^{a} decimo

28. " PADOANA FRANCESE " II

Index : .42. Padoana ala francese bella, e aierosa.
Fol. 47^{r} : Padoana ala francese no. 2a.

About the dance form cfr. the Introduction, ch. VII p. 64 ff. The gradual approach to the *Passemazzo antico* ground, fully reached in the last, ripresa-like section is interesting. Designating this section as the real beginning of the piece (cfr. notes (3) and (5) below) seems to be an alternative.

(1) After this chord, the first three chords of the piece are notated again and crossed out.
(2) *Prima* and *seconda volta* and repetition sign added by Ed.
(3) After double bar : " torna da capo : Questo son il principio de dita padoana "
(4) *a* added by Ed.
(5) After double bar : " ua seguitando poi la dita padoana ut in principio ".

29. RICERCAR XI ALLA SPAGNOLA

Index : .44. R^{a} undecimo. ala spagnola facile. bello.
Fol. 48^{v} : R^{a} 11 ala spagnola facile

Division bars generally set after every two quarter-note values. It is hard to say what constitutes the " Spanish manner " of this piece.

(1) Division bar after one quarter-note value
(2) Rhythmic sign lacking for this chord
(3) Sixteenth-note
(4) Throughout this measure division bars after every quarter-note value.

30. ,, NON TI SPIAQUE L'ASCOLTAR ".

Index : .45. *Non* ti spiaqua lascoltar. moteto bello
Fol. 49^{v} : Non ti spiaqua lascoltar

The vocal model of this Barzelletta (?), here erroneously labeled " moteto ", has not been identified. Note the advanced split-chorus technique and especially the direction " tocca pian piano ", the earliest known instance of indication of dynamics.

(1)
(2) *d'* instead of *e'* (5 instead of 7)
(3) *g'* added by Ed.

31. " GENTIL PRINCE "

Index : .46. *Gen*til princep. canto agieroso et bello.
Fol. 50^{e} : Gentil princep.

The vocal model is an anonymous three-part Rondeau preserved in Petrucci's *Odhecaton* (ed. Hewitt No 90) and in London, Brit. Mus., Add. Ms. 31922, fol. 49^{v}, in the latter source with an added Altus by Henry VIII which does not contribute much to the musical glories of this bloody dilettante. By the way, Miss Hewitt substitutes for the missing text a related one, " Gentil duc de Lorraine ", which has only five lines in its first stanza instead of the six lines required by the music. The branle-like rhythm and meter of the piece, so delightfully French, is somewhat distorted in the middle section where one may of course wish to substitute $3 \times 3/4$ for the $5/4 + 4/4$ recommended in the present transcription. Capirola takes some license with the contracted second measure by expanding it through chord repetitions, cfr. note (1) below. The original key is retained.

(1) according to the vocal model this measure should be in 2/4 like the antepenultimate one.
(2) Repetition fully written out.

32. " NUNCA FUE PENA MAJOR " by Juan Urrede

Index : Nonquam fuit pena maior. canto vechio che da si non e bello
Fol. 51^{v} : Nonquam fuit pena magior

The vocal model is Juan Urrede's three-part setting of a Villancico by Don Garcia Alvarez de Toledo, first Duke of Alba in whose service the composer spent most of his professional life. Cfr. J. Subirá, *La Musica en la Casa de Alba*, Madrid, 1929, 6-7 and H. Anglès, *La musica en la Corte de los Reyes Católicos*, Madrid, 1941, 130. The composition attained a degree of popularity around 1500. It is preserved in Petrucci's *Odhecaton* (ed. Hewitt no.4) where the other sources are listed. Add to these Firenze, Bibl. Riccardiana Ms. 2356, fol. 30v. A lute arrangement already in Francesco Spinacino's *Intabulatura de lauto*, libro primo, 1507, fol. 33v. Capirola transposes a whole-tone lower and doubles all values.

Division bars are drawn after every half-note value.

(1) Half-note value missing, and added by Ed.

(2) *g* added by Ed. ; rhythmic signs 𝅗𝅥 𝅘𝅥𝅘𝅥 𝅗𝅥 instead of 𝅗𝅥 𝅘𝅥𝅘𝅥 𝅘𝅥

(3) Fermata indicating half-note. Value augmented here to conform with vocal model, by Ed.

(4) *A* instead of *F*. The latter is outside the range of the lute tuned in *G*.

33. Et resurrexi " L'homme armé " sexti toni by Josquin des Prez

Index : ...*lomo a*rme. Parte duna mesa, e bella. (*2nd hand :)* de lomo arme.

Fol. 53v : Et Resurrexit.

The vocal model is the " Et resurrexit " of the " Credo " of Josquin des Préz' " Missa super L'homme armé sexti toni " first printed by Petrucci in *Misse Josquin* liber primus, 1502. Cfr. Josquin des Prés, *Werken*, ed. Smijers, Missen I, 118-121. The sources are listed in the introduction to Smijers' edition. About the peculiar form of the piece cfr. my article " Gothic form — a marginal note " in *MD*, 4, 1950, 43 ff.

Capirola transposes to the upper fourth.

(1) *g* instead of ♭ *b* (2 instead of 5)

(2) *f'* added by Ed . (In meas. 33, p. 97, brace 2, this note is playable only if the *d'* is played on the fifth fret of the *a*-string).

(3) *a* added by Ed.

(4) *c'* added by Ed.

(5) *f* added by Ed.

(6) *d'* added by Ed.

(7) *g* added by Ed.

34. " O florens rosa " by Johannes Ghiselin

Index : .*51. O flo*rens roxa, aut virginitatis lilium. moteto beletisimo.

Fol. 55v : O florens rosa.

The vocal model is Johannes Ghiselin's three-part motet in Petrucci's *Motetti A*, 1502, fol. 23v (Ghiselin, no text) ; Firenze, Ist. Mus. Basevi 2439, fol. 91 : (anon) ; St. Gall, Stiftsbibliotheck Ms. 463, p. 18 (Ghiselin). Capirola transposes a major third down. Because of the narrow imitations of the upper voices against the isometric cantus firmus the piece offers great difficulties in barring. The peculiar false relations of the lute arrangement have been retained in our transcription.

(1) *g'* added by Ed.

(2) *c'* instead of *f*

(3) *c'* instead of ♭ *b*

(4) Time signature : 3 ; the return to 𝅗𝅥 is not indicated, but the triplets yield to regular sixteenth-notes.

(5) ♭ *b* added by Ed.

(6) *c'* instead of *f*

(7) ♭ *d* added by Ed.

(8) rhythm 𝅘𝅥𝅯𝅘𝅥𝅯 corrected according to the canon.

(9) ♭ *b* added by Ed.

(10) rhythm 𝅘𝅥 | 𝅘𝅥 instead of | 𝅘𝅥𝅘𝅥

(11) ♭ *d'* instead of *c'*

(12) *g'* instead of ♭ *a'*

(13) *c'* instead of *c*

(14) *F* added by Ed.

(15) *c'* added by Ed.

(16) ♭ *b* instead of ♭ *e'* (1 a line too high).

35. " SI DEDERO " by Alexander Agricola

Index : .53. *Si de*dero. canto bellisimo. mai esta sona estafoza.
Fol. 58^{r} : Si dedero

The vocal model is Alexander Agricola's widely known motet " Si dedero somnum ", upon which Obrecht's Mass (cfr. No. 20) is built. The motet, here wrongly classified as " canto ", is preserved in a long series of sources duly listed by Miss Hewitt in her edition of Petrucci's *Odhecaton*, No. 56. To these, Firenze, Bibl. Riccardiana Ms. 2356, fol. 82^{v} and Paris, Bibl. Nat. Rés. Vm^{7} 676, fol. 22^{v} should be added. Lute arrangements also in Francesco Spinacino's *Intabulatura de lauto* libro secondo, 1507, fol. 29^{v} and in Hans Newsidler's *Ein Newgeordnet künstlich Lautenbuch ander Theil*, Nürnberg, 1536, fol. FfII^{v} ; the latter, together with Agricola's original, edited in the appendix to Obrecht's Mass, *Werken*, ed. Wolf, Messen III, 55 and 58. Capirola retains the original key.

(1) *f* instead of *F* (the latter outside of the range of the lute tuned in *G*).
(2) *d'* instead of *d*
(3) *f* instead of *a* (o one line too high).
(4) *d* added by Ed.
(5) ♭ B instead of ♭ *e* (3 one line too high)
(6) *d'* added by Ed.
(7) *d'* instead of *c'*
(8) *c* added by Ed.
(9) *g'* instead of *d'* (o one line too low)

36. BENEDICTUS " UT RE MI FA SOL LA " by Anthoine Brumel

Index : .55. *Benedictus de Brum*el. Parte duna mesa
Fol. 60^{r} : Benedictus de bru*mel*

The vocal model is the three-part " Benedictus " of Anthoine Brumel's " Missa super ut re mi fa sol la " from Petrucci's *Misse brumel*, 1503, No. 3. Capirola retains the original key. Cfr. No. 22.

(1) *f* added by Ed.
(2) *f* instead of *f'*

37. BASSADANZA.

Index : .56. Basadanza senza fuge bella.
Fol. 61^{r} : Basadanza

This dance, about the form of which cfr. the Introduction ch. VI, p. 36 ff. is based upon the same cantus firmus, here starting in the middle voice, as the two " Spagna " arrangements Nos. 6 and 24. In the " *Bassadanza* " the tones of the isometric tune are stretched to double the value of those of the two other arrangements. While those are *Saltarelli*, this is a genuine *Bassadanza*.

(1) Mordant with whole-tone auxiliary (3rd fret).
(2) Quarter-note value lacking and added by Ed.
(3) *d'* added by Ed.
(4) *c'* added by Ed.
(5) Time signature : 3
(6) Time signature : 𝅝
(7) Marked " finis ". Full value for fermata, repetition sign, *prima* and *seconda volta* added by Ed.

38. ET IN TERRA " PANGE LINGUA " by Josquin des Prez

Index : .60. *Et in terra, parte* duna mesa bela.
Fol. 65^{r} : Et in terra. nium non la solum mi.

The vocal model is the first half of the " Gloria " of Josquin des Prez' " Missa super Pange lingua " which, oddly, did not find a place in Petrucci's publications.

The first printed source is Ott's *Misse tredecim*, Nürnberg, 1529, No. 7. Modern editions in Ambros-Kade, *Gesch. der Musik*, vol. 5, 80 ff (85 ff) and by Blume in *Das Chorwerk*. Capirola retains the original key.

(1) *f* instead of *F* (the latter outside of the range of the lute tuned in *G*).
(2) *e* added by Ed. (omitted, in the first case obviously because of the impression of parallel octave progression between Discant and " Bass ")
(3) *c'* added by Ed.

(4) *c-d-c* added by Ed.
(5) *d'* added by Ed.

39. QUI TOLLIS " PANGE LINGUA " by Josquin des Prez

Index : *.62. Qui tollis pechat*a. Parte duna mesa e piu bela
Fol. 66v : Qui tollis pechata mundi. chosa belisima
This is the continuation of the preceeding number. Capirola retains the original key.
(1) *a* instead of *f* (4 instead of 0)
(2) *d'* added by Ed.
(3) *b* instead of *c'* (2 instead of 3)
(4) *b* instead of *e'* (2 a line too high)
(5) *c''* instead of *b'* (4 instead of 5)
(6) *b* instead of *g* (2 a line too low)
(7) *b* instead of } *e'* / *g* instead of

40. RICERCAR XII

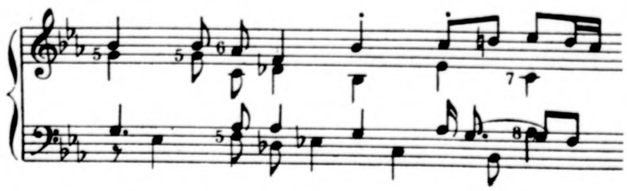
Index : .63. R^{a} XII° che sona messer uicenzo. che niun la, ne ara.
Fol. 68r : Recercar. XII. che sona lui messer Vicenzo, niuno non lo a, ne manco lara.
(1) *c'* added by Ed.
(2) *f'* instead of *d'* (3 instead of 0)
(3) *f'* added by Ed
(4) *f'* added by Ed. Thus, of course, *d'* has to be played on the 5th fret of the *a*-string.

41. RICERCAR XIII

Index : .66. R^{a} XIII, che sono mi solo bello
Fol. 71r : R^{a} XIII. che sono mi solo. bello. che altri che mi non la.
After double-bar : " Sapi che poi principiar a sonar el 2° recercar fin al segno. fato de uerde. che uien poi intrar in questo et sta melgio o fa come te piace. — "
The place referred to, in the first half of Ricercar II (No. 4), is at the end of meas. 17, the continuation, beginning with meas. 18, being identical with the beginning of the present composition.

42. " TOTA PULCHRA ES " by Nicholas Craen.

Index : *.68. Tot*a pulcra es amica, mea. belisimo moteto aieroso et forte. —
Fol. 72v : Tota pulcra es amicha mea. bel moteto
The vocal model is Nicholas Craen's four-part motet " Tota pulchra es " in Petrucci's *Motetti C*, 1504, fol. 6, and in its old copy, Vienna, Nat. Bibl. Ms. 18743. For a careful score made from the latter I am deeply obliged to Prof. Alfred Orel. Capirola takes some licenses with the low Alto, and transposes the piece a minor third higher.
(1) This quarter-note value is repeated and crossed out.
(2) *g'* added by Ed. (in meas. 17 this note is playable only with great difficulty).
(3) *f'*-♭ *e'* added by Ed.
(4) *f'* added by Ed.
(5) garbled version. The literal transcription is :



(6) ♭ *a* (8 on the *c*-string) instead of ♭ *A* (which in this chord is un-playable).
(7) *d'* added by Ed.
(8) This and the following three notes repeated.

(9) ♭ *e′* added by Ed.

(10) ♭ *b′* added by Ed. ; originally sixteenth-notes for the first four eigth-notes of this measure. The tablature printed underneath the transcription has been corrected.

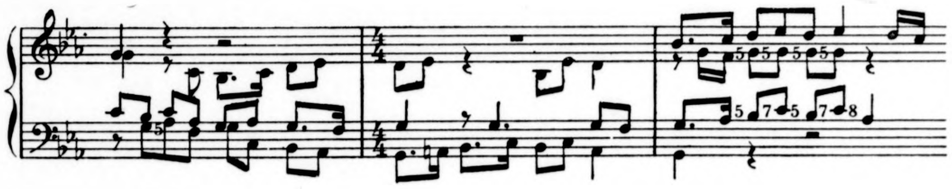
(11) *a′* added by Ed.

(12) ♭ *b′* added by Ed.
g′ added by Ed.

(13) rasura, correction ; ♭ *b′* added by Ed.

(14) *c* instead of *c″*

(15) the Alto enters two quarter-note values too early ; in consequence the next three measures are garbled. The literal transcription is :



The place is a good example of the practice of successive intabulation of the parts at its worst. Our emendation closely follows the vocal model.

Flyleaf, pasted to inside of front cover
Table of contents
col. 1
Et in terra pax. ***Parte*** duna mesa. bela
Qui tollis pechata mundi. Parte duna mesa. e piu bela.
Benedictus de brumel. Parte duna mesa.
Et resurrexit de lomo arme. Parte duna mesa, bela, e bela, e bela *(second hand :)* de lomo arme.
Christe de si dedero. Parte duna mesa. belissima.
Agnus Dei. de brumel. de la mesa de ut. re. mi. fa. sol. la. bel*issi*ma.
O florens roxa. aut uirginitatis lili*um.* moteto beletissimo.
Sancta ternitas. descor*d*a il co*n*trabaso. moteto piu belisimo.
Non ti spiaqua lascoltar. moteto bello.
Si dedero. Canto belisimo mai esta sona astafoza.
Gentil princep. canto agieroso et bello.
Ales regres. canto.
Detubiens plaene. ca*n*to nel to*n* del p*rimo* recercar.
Obliuier. canto. nel ton de*l* p*rimo* recercar.
Nonqua*m* fuit pena maior : ca*n*to uechio ch*e* da si no*n* e bello.
Sit nome*n* do*mi*ni benedictu*m.* cioe, o dulcis amicha mea.
Basadanza senza fuge bella.
Spagna tuta d*e* fuge
Spagna p*rim*a ch*e* mai inpari.
Canto bello.
Tota pulcra es amica, mea. belisimo moteto aieroso et forte.
col. 2

.1. R*e*cercar primo ch*e* inparaj bello *(second hand :)* bello
.3. R*ecercar* segondo bello *(second hand :)* bello
.8. R*ecercar* terzo. bello.
.21. R*ecercar* quarto, descorda nel to*n* de *sanc*ta ternit*as* belo.
.25. R*ecercar* quinto. nel to*n* del R*ecercar* 6. belissimo. iacop°
.28. R*ecercar* sesto. belo, a zan*n*a dal contarinj sola
.36. R*ecercar* septimo, aue aluise di garzoni.

.40. R*ecercar* ottauo, lalcier, et u*n* spiciar, laue.
.41. R*ecercar* nono. nel to*n* d*e* nu*n*qua*m* fui p. m. bello.
.42. R*ecercar* decimo. bello.
.44. R*ecercar* undecimo. ala spagnola facile. bello.
.63. R*ecercar* XII°. ch*e* sona m*esser* uicenzo. ch*e* niu*n* la, ne ara.
.13. Padoana fra*n*cese. a 4. bella, e forte.
.42. Padoana. ala francese bella, e aierosa.
.23. Padoana belissima, descorda come s*anc*ta tirnitas
.15. Ti *(rasura)* baleto da balar bello.
.4. O, mia ciecha e dura sorte. Che farala p*er* so coa.
.14. Voi che pasati qui. nel ton d*el* rec*ercar* terzo.
.14. Stauasi amor dormendo soto au*n* fagio.
.1. La uilanela.
.66. R*ecercar* XIII. ch*e* sono mi solo bello.

Compositione di meser Vicenzo Capirola gentil homo bresano.

[1v] *Con*siderando io Vidal che molte diuine operete p*er* ignorantia deli possesori si sono perdute, et de-/*si*derando ch*e* questo libro quasi divino p*er* me scrito, perpetualmente si conseruase, ho uolesto di/*c*osi nobil pictura ornarlo, acio che uenendo ale mano di alchuno che mancasse di tal cognitione, per la belleza di la pictura lo conseruasse,. Et certam*en*te le cosse che in esso libro / notate sono, contengono in se tanta armonia, quanta la musical arte exprimer puole, come / apertam*en*te conosera colui, che dilig*en*tem*en*te quello transcorera, et tanto piu e da esser con-/seruato qua*n*to che molte de le cosse che in esso si trouano, non sono sta dal auctor ad al-/trui che ame concesse, ma non ti marauelgiar si nel principio, et piu oltra scorendo tro-/uarai qualche choseta facile, o di pocho momento, p*er* che io nel principio del mio inparar / tal chosse li richiedeua, et bone essendo quiui le posse. —

[2r] P*er* questa soto scrita regola porai inte*n*der il nota*re* d*e* dito libr°. eli boni modi d*el* por*tar* d*e* la ma*n*o e q*ue*lo os*er*uar tu de. —

Il Modo de por*tar* la ma*n* sul manego d*el* lauto. come soni porta idedi basi sul manego, eno*n* leuar le de / alte dale corde p*er* ch*e* inporta asai. et fach*e*sto costume il pre*n*di al pri*n*cipio, casu no, te seria dificille / poi remeter. — Do bote in suxo una drio laltra. come le trouerai il forzo, da una con un deo, laltra co*n* laltro etc*etera* / elaltre fale secondo la troui notade, ch*e* quasi una ua in zo elaltra insu, tute qua*n*te. et il deo groso de / la ma*n* destra fa ch*e* sia sotto al secondo, et q*ue*sto azio no*n* se scontri uno deo co*n* laltro, nel bater de le bo- /te, una in su laltra in zo. et c*etera* — et manco ch*e* adoperi el deo groso, e piu bel alueder sul manego. —

Le consona*n*tie tu trouerai a tre ouer a quatro, auertisi ch*e* quella d*e* mezo se senta, ch*e* molto la tua orech-/ia te ingana te par sonar 4 bote, et no*n* se sente nisi 3., et cusi 3 ch*e* soni no*n* se sente poi do. —

Le consona*n*tie difficile ch*e* trouerai, masime alcune ch*e* te parera no*n* le poter fare, ma cui, ano il modo d*e* / il portar d*e* la man, e, comodarsela sul manego sono facille, asegneroti il modo, pono p*er* caso tu troui / una consona*n*tia ch*e* stia ferma sul terzo tasto, et ch*e* uadi poi trauagliando p*er* li altri tasti e poi torni a*que*-/llo medemo tasto, verbi gra*tia*, el bordon ua pie*n* e la sotana al terzo tasto, ela mezana al quinto, et tra-/ualgiera poi sul terzo e poi sul quarto et quinto, etc*etera*, te parera fastidioxe far q*ue*lle bote, fa in / q*ue*sta forma, pia col primo deo atrauerso tute le corde sul terzo tasto e tien fermo et poi con le altre / tre dite ua lauorando doue lacade ut supra, Et cusi como dico de sto examplo sul terzo tasto cusi / farai p*er* tuto il manego e si no*n* festi cusi no*n* faresti nula. etc. / Similiter al gouerno de le / dee sul manego, fa che le dee d*e* mezo, sia sempre in liberta et ch*e* sia pronte ale bote de sopra, et fa / ch*e* uno deo dagi sempre luogo alaltro, et con il deo picollo op*er*alo spesisime uolte doue la cade, et no*n* / manco operar il picollo qual li altri, tasegneria asai rason, ma molto seria dificile compre*n*de-/rlle, fa ch*e* p*er* descrizio*ne* comprendi molte cosse, e la gala*n*taria, d*el* por*tar* d*e* la m*an*, ch*e* no*n* si pol descriuer. —

[2v] Le fuge ch*e* troui notade, qual uano preste diremo crocete ch*e* son queste. ⟦. senpre tu trouerai una aua*n*ti d*e* / questa ch*e* ua piu tenuta, pono p*er* caso questa. ⟧. auertisi tie*n* questa il suo douer, eno*n* la cazar come / la croceta. p*er* ch*e* no*n* la tenendo il suo douer tu inbrati ogni cossa, et fa asai nel meter suxo. —

Nota, il piu bel secreto et arte ch*e* e nel meter suxo una cossa, et sonar, abi questo p*er* una masima de / aristotille, et fali gra*n* fondame*n*to : auertisi nel sonar sempre tenir ferme le bote col deo, ouer dei sul manego fina ch*e* troui altre bote ch*e* te sia forza lasarlle, cusi sempre farai de ma*n*, in ma*n*, p*er* / ch*e* limporta asai, etuti no*n* lintende, como desoto, forza sera, ne parli. —

Asegneroti. de alcuni .3. et .4. etc*etera* come acade li quali trouerai notadi de ponti rosi uidelicet .3. etc*etera*. altro / non significa solu*m* ti dinota esser tremoli, et p*er* esser cossa ch*e* no*n* si pol notar dingiostro come le altre / figure si nota cusi de ponti, come cossa tremolizante ch*e* no*n* si tie*n* fermo il deo, Verbi gra*tia* ti asegno tu dai / une bota sul canto al 2º tasto tien ferma quella bota, et con uno altro deo tu tremolizi al terzo / tasto, e p*er* notar quello effecto el fai di ponti, come nota morta, e tremolizante, e p*er* quelli ponti tu uedi a / qual tasto dei tremolizar, e niuno no*n* nota p*er* ch*e* se pol far senza, et chi sano sonar ifano da sua / posta doue li piace, et oli notadi p*er* dimostrarti doue li stano bene afarli. et in alcuni luogi, ano, / gra*tia*, gra*tia*, a farli diti tremoli. Et quando ti acadera tremolizar sun tasto sollo, el te son forzo a/notar quella nota, ach*e* modo dimostrerai quella andar tremoliza ti lasego, et pono p*er* caso tu fai / una bota su la mezana al prim º tasto, forza ti son notar cusi come sta, notar de ponti no*n* ce, ord-/ine, ma come uederai. ⁝. sti do ponti sopra la figura de roso tremoliza quella co*n* quel deo solo, / e altro no*n* te significa quelli dui ponti di sopra rosi ch*e* tremolizar quella etc*etera* p*er* ch*e* nel notar mai si no-/ta ponti di sopra ale figure solu*m* di soto etc*etera*. et sic de singulis de ditj tremoli.

[3r] Preterea, tu trouerai alcuni trateti rossi come uegoline in questa forma ./. sopra le note, altro non / significa solu*m* tenir salda col deo quella corda, zoe quella bota, Verbi gratia tu troui una cons-/onantia, a, quatro quella de quelle 4ro. ch*e* ano le uergole quelle se tien : E nota ch*e* de soto le rige ./. tu trouerai alcuni segni in questa forma .ω. quali no*n* ti dinota altro eceto ch*e* li tu comenzi / a tenir, et p*er* ch*e* questo segno dimostra ch*e* le bote, che li, e, sopra, comenzano andar tenute, et essen/do consonantie a tre, o a quatro, le sopra dite uergoline, tasegna quale poi de quelle uano te-/nute, o una, o due, tu uedi p*er* le uergoline, et quando troui drieto la prima uergolina una / altra uergolina, lasa la prima ch*e* lasar te conuien, et tien la sequente, ; cusi di man in mano / ua sequendo fin ch*e* troui questo altro segno .∩. il qual no*n* ti dinota altro ch*e* lasar quel po*n*-/ to ch*e* teniui fermo, et questo tenir fermo inporta asai nel sonar, uerbi gra*tia*, tu tien una bota / o conso-nantia con il deo de mezo de sopra, et co*n* il p*rimo* e lultimo, tu ua sonando, e quel deo de sopra de me/zo sta sempre fermo stando fermo sempre canta, et si lo leuasti quella uoce se perde, e no*n* pol tenir / conpagnia alaltre, et fa piu musical il sonar, e piu bel ueder, quam uis ogniuno no*n* lintende / quanto inporta questo, siche ut supra tie*n* le bote ferme piu ch*e* poi fin ch*e* ti sono forzo lasarle. / E trouerai ne la padoana descorda, la posta de le mezane partie in do rige, e su una sara piena et / laltra uoda, no*n* ti para dificile ch*e* son cosa facile, Con la man sinistra sul manego fache col deo / picolo ouero con quello apreso tu tiri zoso uno pocheto la corda zoe una de le mezane de soto zoe lultima / tal ch*e* la sia discosta da laltra etien ferma, poi col prim º deo, ua tocando su laltro tasto pien a uoda / laltra corda, secondo troui notado, questo efecto fai con la man zancha, econ la destra sona / su tuta la posta come il solito, e quello non podesti comprender falo per descritione : perche no*n* si po scriuere. —

[3v] ℂ Secreto da ligar le corde sul lauto.

Sapi ch*e* le corde sono fate de bueli de castronj : Et el cao del buelo sempre, e piu groso ch*e* in fin : Et p*er* tanto tute / le iauete, sono piu grosse daun cao, ch*e* da l'altro : Ma nota, ch*e* ligando la corda sul scagnelo dal cao groso / sempre tira la uose in drio quella corda : Et uoltandola al contrario, zoe ligarla dal cao sotil tira la uose au-/antj, ch*e* e p*er* il contrario : Ma se fuseno corde da monaco no*n* patise questo, perche le camina piu, et tira la uose / auanti : Ma metendo il contrabaso, Et bordon, con il cauo groso liga sul scagnello sempre ut supra tira / la uose in drio : Ma auertisi poi da meter el Tenor, le Mezane, et Sotane, al contrario, Zoe ligarle col cao so-/til sul scagnello, perche tu sai ch*e* le mezane ua basse cordae, et si le metesti ligade col cao grosso come el contrabasso / et bordon, le tiraria la uoxe in drio, et no*n* acordariano, ma bisogna ch*e* le meti p*er* il contrario ligando col cao so-/til ut supra, ch*e* poi le te acordara, el contrabaso al .3º. tasto, co*n* le mezane al. prim º. tasto. Ma sapi ch*e* patise piu le corde / sotil ch*e* le grose, et masime le corde da ganzer et altre, ch*e* no*n* fa quelle da monaco ut supra. Et replico come le se-/die ligar sul lauto, El contrabaso, et bordon, liga dal cao grosso, El tenor, mezane, sotane, ua ligade dal / cao sottil. —. et questo son un secreto de messer Vicenzo Capirolla da sauer meter le corde sul lauto. —

℄ A bater le corde, p*er* meterle sul lautto.

Nel bater la corda da ueder, si sono bona, et iusta, p*er* meter sul lauto batila co*n* la man destra, perche anch*e* nel sonar tu / bati dal scagnelo cum la man destra. Et fa ch*e* el cao longo, zoe el piu della iaueta stia nela man zancha, et la corda ch*e* / son iusta buta do filli seguenti da un cao a laltro, et sapi, liga el cao piu iusto dal scagnello, Ancora sapi ch*e* si la corda / te butase tre fillj, o, 4. seguenti daun cao alaltro, saria ancora asai bona corda, Ma aduertisi de aconpagnar / sempre la sua conpagna de quela instesa bonta zoe sila buta .3. fili metili apreso unaltra da .3. fili, et cusi sacorda che / non par false. — Et si p*er* sorte diro le mezane, o sotane no*n* sacordase, et ch*e* fuse iuste, muda la corda da cao [4r] a pie ch*e* forsi tacordara : p*er* la rason sopradita,

perche asai uolte in le corde sotil non si puo cusi ueder qual sia el cao / piu groso, o piu sotil da ligar sul scagnelo, che per questra rason anche non sacorda. Et etiam sapi a mudando la corda / da cao a pie tacordara per staltra causa che sara piu iusta la corda daun cao che dalaltro, ac etiam sapi che nel / ligar che fai la corda si lasasti inuer il scagnelo un deo de corda falsa per sorte, non acordaria, che te faria poi / tuta la corda falsa, caua uia la corda et rebatilla darecao, et ua prouando, et facendo experientia. — Et le mezane, et sotane, si per caso una fuse piu groseta delaltra, meti sempre la grosa de sopra. Et etiam / sapi che una corda falsa apreso de una iusta mai tacordara, ma piu tosto do false aun.

¶ A ricordi per li lauti.

Sapi che aun lauto bono, el suo scagnelin de cao del manego, un fregolin piu alto del suo douer pezorara asai uno / lauto e digo grandamente, et si per sorte per eser frua fese bisogno a farne uno fache sia de quella alteza mede-/ma che se fuse piu alto pezoraria el lauto : per tanto auertisi che non si perdano. — et nota un miraculo che io / uitj aun lauto che soleua auer : il scagnelin era un poco inzo piu del douer, chel canto andaua inciso et pareua / il lauto muto il fisi andar insu al suo luoco respiro il lauto cosa danon creder, Sapi de quanta inportantia / e un scagnelin a tal lauto. — Ancora saluarai le groseze delle corde che sono suli lautj che stano ben al / manco le tre corde grose che e il contrabaso, bordon, et tenor che queste .3. te insegnara ameter il resto / de le corde : perche secondo ilauti bisogna darlj la groseza delle corde, che chi uol fornitj grossi, et chi, sotil, et la / groseza sapi che fa parer un lauto bon, et catiuo. Et sapi che consiste a intastar el lauto. che el primo tasto fa chel / toca quasi le corde, et cusi de man in man fina in cao, perche come il tasto, e piu propinquo ale corde, le corde adir cusi / arpiza, et par mior el lauto. et per causa di tasti qualcheuolta par chel lauto abia defeto, per non saperli meter. —

(4v *blank*)

[1v] Compositions of messer Vincenzo Capirola, gentleman of Brescia.

I, Vitale, considering that many divine works have been lost through the ignorance of their owners, and wishing that this quasi divine book I have written should perpetually be preserved, have decided to ornament it with such noble pictures that if it comes in the hands of one who is lacking such understanding, he will preserve it for the beauty of the pictures. And surely the pieces which are notated in this book contain in them as much harmony as the musical art is able to express, as anybody will recognize who diligently goes through it, and it should especially be preserved because many of the things to be found in it were given to me alone, and to nobody else, by the composer ; but do not be astonished if at the beginning and even in the course of the book you find some light little piece or of little importance, because at the beginning of my instruction I asked him for such things, and since they were good, I placed them herein.

[2r] By the following rule you will be able to understand the notation of this book and the right manner of carrying the hand and this you ought to observe.

The manner of carrying the hand on the neck of the lute. How the fingers are placed on the neck, and not to lift the fingers high above the strings, because this is very important. And make this a habit from the beginning, because if you do not, it will be difficult for you to remedy it later.

Two strokes upward, one after the other as you find it occasionally ; make one with one finger, the other with another, etc. ; and the others make according to the way you find them notated, so that one goes down and the other up, one after the other. And the thumb of the right hand should be placed under the second finger so that one finger does not meet the other in beating the strokes, one up and one down etc. — and if you do not operate with the thumb, it is more beautiful if it is seen on the finger board.

You will find that the chords consist of three or four tones ; watch out that the middle one is heard, since your ear often decieves you when you play 4 tones and only 3 are heard, and similarly of the 3 that sound only two are heard.

The chords which you will find difficult, and especially some which seem to you unplayable, require a certain way of carrying the hand and are easily realized on the finger board. I shall indicate to you this way : let us say you find a chord which stays put on the third fret and which afterwards goes traveling though other frets and finally returns to the same, e. g. the second lowest string is open, the second highest on the third fret, and the middle string on the fifth, and then goes to the third, the fourth, and the fifth. — To make these strokes seems to you tedious ; do it the following way : put your first finger across all the strings on the third fret and hold on to it and then go on working with the other three fingers as they fall, as said above, And the same way as I say in this example of the third fret, do it over the whole finger board, and if you do not do it this way you do not accomplish anything.

Similarly in governing the fingers over the finger board make that the middle fingers always are at liberty and in readiness above to beat and make that one finger always yields place to the other ; and operate with the little finger as often as its turn comes and do not miss to use it just like the others. For this I could give you many reasons but they are very difficult to understand ; although you understand many things by description, the finesse of carrying the hand cannot be described.

[2v] The runs which you find notated consist, if they are fast, of 32nd notes i.e. Before them you always will find one note which is sustained longer, e. g. this : Make sure that you give it its due and do not chase it like the 32nds, because by not holding it for its due time you spoil everything ; and it is important in putting down (in writing a composition).

Observe the most beautiful secret and art that is to be found in putting down and playing things — and have this for a maxim of Aristotle and make it your great fundament : watch out that in playing always hold the beats with the finger or fingers on the finger board until you find another beat that compels you to abandon the former, and do so on and on, because it is very important and not everybody understands it, as said below, although they are likely to talk about it.

Observe some 3 and 4 (frets) etc, as they may be, which you find notated with red dots viz. 3 etc. This means nothing else than that they should be played with a tremolo, and that they are things that cannot be notated like other figures, is shown by the dots, like a tremolizing thing that cannot be held fast by the finger. E. g. let us assume that you make a beat on the second fret of the highest string ; hold fast to this beat and tremolize with another finger on the 3rd fret. And in order to notate this effect we make it with dots like a dead and tremolizing note, and by these dots you see on which fret to tremolize, and not all of them will be notated because you may do without them, and those who know how to play make them on the proper place if they do want so, and I have notated them in order to demonstrate where they are good to make, and in some places it is not good to make the said tremoli. And if it occurs to you to tremolize on a single note, I am advising you how to demonstrate which note is going to be tremolized. Let us assume that you make a beat on the first fret of the middle string ; perhaps they are notated the way they are, it is not in order to notate it with dots, but as you see . ⁞ ., these two red dots above the figure, tremolize this note with the single finger. And these two red dots above do not mean anything but that you tremolize it, etc., because in notating we (otherwise) never write dots above the figure but only below it. And the same holds true of all the said tremoli.

[3r] Furthermore you will find some little red lines, like little twigs in this shape ⁄ above the notes. They signify nothing else than holding fast to this string or beat with the finger. E. g. you find a chord of four : those of the four tones which have the little twigs should be held : and notice that below the staff you will find another kind of sign of this shape ⌣ which does not mean anything but that, there, you start playing tenuto. And because this sign indicates that the beats which are above it begin to go tenuto, and being chords of three or four tones, the above said little twigs will show you which ones to hold : one, or two ; you see it by the little twigs. And if you find after the little twig another little twig, abandon the first which you have to abandon and hold the following ; and follow up this way on and on until you find this other sign : ∩ which does not mean another thing than to abandon the point you have kept firm. And this holding firm is very important in playing, e. g. you hold a beat and chord with the middle finger on it, and with the first and last (fingers) you go on playing ; and this middle finger on (the string) holds fast, and by holding (it) fast (the tone) sounds continually, and if you lift it, that part gets lost and is unable to keep company with the others. And it makes the playing more musical and more beautiful to look at — although not everybody understands how important this is — if, as above said, the beats are held firmly until you are forced to abandon them.

And you will find in the Paduana discordata (No. 17) that the line of the middle string is divided into two lines and the one is stopped while the other is open.

It will not seem difficult to you what is a simple thing. With the left hand over the finger board, make that you pull up a little the string i. e. the one of the middle strings which is lower, i. e. the last one, with the little finger or with the one next to it, so that it (the string) stays separated from the other, and hold on (to it) ; then with the first finger go on playing on the other fret with stoppings, together with the other open string, according to how you find it notated. Make this effect with the left hand and with the right strike through the whole course as usual ; and this you could not understand to do by description : because it cannot be written down.

[3v] ℂ The secret of fastening the strings on the lute.

You know that the strings are made of wether-guts ; and the head of the gut is always thicker than its end : and therefore all the " keys " are thicker on one end than on the other : But notice that the fastening of

the string to the stringholder by the thick head always pulls back the tone of that string ; and turning it around i. e. fastening it by the thin head pulls the tone forward, which is the opposite : but if the strings are from Munich this does not happen beause they give more and pull the tone forwards : But by setting the contrabasso and the bordone with the thick head tied to the stringholder they always pull the tone back as said above. But make sure that you set the tenor, the mezzane, and sottane the opposite way, i. e. tied with the thin head to the stringholder, because you know that the mezzane become lower and if you would set them tied with the thick head, like the contrabasso and bordone, they would pull the tone back and would not stay in tune. It is therefore necessary that you set them the opposite way, tying them by the thin head, so that they stay in tune : the third fret of the contrabasso (♭ *B*) with the mezzane on the 1st fret (♭ *b*) (forming an octave). But know that what happens more to the thin strings than to the thick ones, and mostly with strings for hooking (" da ganzer ") and others, does not happen to those of Munich, as said above.

And let me repeat how to string the lute, tie the contrabasso (and) the bordone by the thick head, the tenor, mezzane, sottane are tied by the thin head. — and this is a secret of messer Vincenzo Capirola to know how to place the strings on the lute.

ℂ About the beating of the strings in order to put them on the lute.

In beating the strings to see whether they are good and just, in order to put them on the lute, beat them with the right hand because in playing you also strike near the stringholder with the right hand. And make that the long head, i. e. the longer part of the " key " stays near the left hand ; and the string which sounds just, throws two consecutive threads from one head to the other, and know that you tie the more just head to the stringholder. Also know that if the string throws three consecutive threads, or 4, from one head to the other, it is still a pretty good string. But be sure always to accompany the twin string with one of the same quality, i. e. if it throws 3 threads put it next to another of 3 threads and thus it is tuned not to appear wrong. And if for some reason the mezzane or sottane do not stay in tune and they are just, change the string from head to foot [4r] and perhaps it will stay in tune, for the above said reason, because very often one cannot see, with thin strings, which one is the thicker head, or the thinner one, to be tied over the stringholder and which for this reason will not stay in tune. And also know about changing this string from head to foot, it will stay in tune for another reason, because the string will be more just from one head than from the other ; and also know that if in tying the string you leave at the stringholder a finger-wide (piece) of somewhat false string, it will not stay in tune and will make the whole string false for you ; cut off the string and beat it again another time and go on trying and making experiments. — And if sometimes one of the mezzane and sottane is a little thicker than the other, always put the thicker one above. And also know that a false string next to a just one will never stay in tune but rather makes two false ones instead of one.

ℂ To be rembered about lutes

Know that on a good lute, if its stringholder at the head of the fingerboard is a little higher than its due, makes a lute bad, and very much so, and if somehow through breakage it becomes necessary to make one, see to it that it be of the same height, because if it is higher, it makes the lute bad. Therefore be sure that they do not get lost. And mark this miracle I have seen on a lute I used to have : the stringholder was a little lower than its due, so that the canto slowly cut in and the lute appeared mute ; I made it go higher to its place, and the lute breathed, a thing hardly believable. Know of what importance is a stringholder to such a lute.

Also take notice of the thickness of the strings which are on the lutes and fit well, at least the three thick strings contrabasso, burden, and tenor which 3 will teach you to set the rest of the strings ; because according to the lute the thickness of the strings has to be chosen ; some require to be furnished with thick ones, and some with thin ones, and know that the thickness makes a lute appear good or bad. And know of what the fretting of the lute consists : that you make it so that the first fret almost touches the strings, and so on to the end, because as the frets are nearer to the string, the strings sound like a harp, and the lute appears better. And for reason of the frets it sometimes seems that the lute has a defect, because one does not know how to place them. —

[4v *blank*]

THE CAPIROLA FAMILY

1388-1548

I

GHIDINO

BARTOLOMEO (I), *u.* Veronica — × ⋮ GERARDO — GIOVANNI (I), — VENTURINO.

MARCO, ALOISIO, VENTURINO (II). — [cfr. Table II] — [cfr. Table III]

FRANCESCO II,

LEONARDO (I), *u.* Caterina — Maddalena. *u.* ... de Schilinj

LEONARDO (II), — SILVESTRO (I), — HIERONIMO (I), — BERNARDINO. *u.* Brixiana — CARLO (illeg.), — Samaritana. *u.* Giulio de Madiis — Andronica, *u.* Gio Francescode Federicis — Maria.

ANGELO-FRANCESCO, Angelina, Providentia. — GIO.-BATTISTA (II), *u.* Julia — ANTONIO (II), *u.* Deodata — Lucrezia (I), Ippolita, Maddelena, Laura, Cecilia. — Ginevra, M.-Maddalena. — Gio-Battista, Julia.

SILVESTRO (II), LEONARDO (III), DANIEL, Brigida, HIERONIMO (III). — Polissena, Lucrezia (II), ALFONSO, BETTINO, [= BARTOLOMEO (III)] — IPPOLITO, GIO-BATTISTA (III), Julia.

II

GHIDINO

BARTOLOMEO, *u.* Veronica — × — GIOVANNI (I) — VENTURINO (I)

[cfr. Table I] — [cfr. Table I] — PIETRO (I), *u.* 1. ... *u.* 2 Flora — ALBERTINO (I), — ANTONIO, — BARTOLOMEO (II). *u.* ... de Monceloza — [cfr. Table III]

(1) GIO-ANTONIO (I), *u.* Giovanna — (2) Aloisia *u.* Simon de Morattis — **VINCENZO** (I). — GIORGIO, — GIOVANNI (III), *u.* Jacobina — APOLLONIO, *u.* Margarita — GRATIADIO, *u.* Afra Carpano — JACOPO (II), — MICHAEL. — TEODORO. — Bianca (I) *u.* 1. Alessandro de Provaglio. *u.* 2. Stefano Magno

ANNIBALE, — ERCOLE (I), *u.* Stefanina — MARCANTONIO. — Julia-Susanna, Lodovica, Magdalena, Vincenzo, Alberto. — ALBERTO (II), *u.* Elizabeta — Cipriana, Benvenuta. — SON, daughter — NICOLO, *u.* Maddalena — Marta (I). *u.* Dondolo Alzano — (1) Ippolita, *u.* Marioto de Martinengo — Teodora.

GIO-ANTONIO (II), Antonia, PIETRO (II), Lodovica, *u.* Jacomina — GIO.-MARIA [= GERONIMO (II)] — Caterina (I), Bianca (II), ERCOLE (II). — Giulia, *u.* Andrea de Ganassis — Adeodata, — Caterina (II), — Veronica, *u.* Gio.-Batt. — Clara, *u.* Ant. de Martinengo — Domitilla. — VINCENZO (II), Paola. — Cecilia — Lodovico de Martinengo.

Laura — ERCOLE

III

GHIDINO

BARTOLOMEO (I), *u.* Veronica, — × — GIOVANNI (I), — VENTURINO (I).

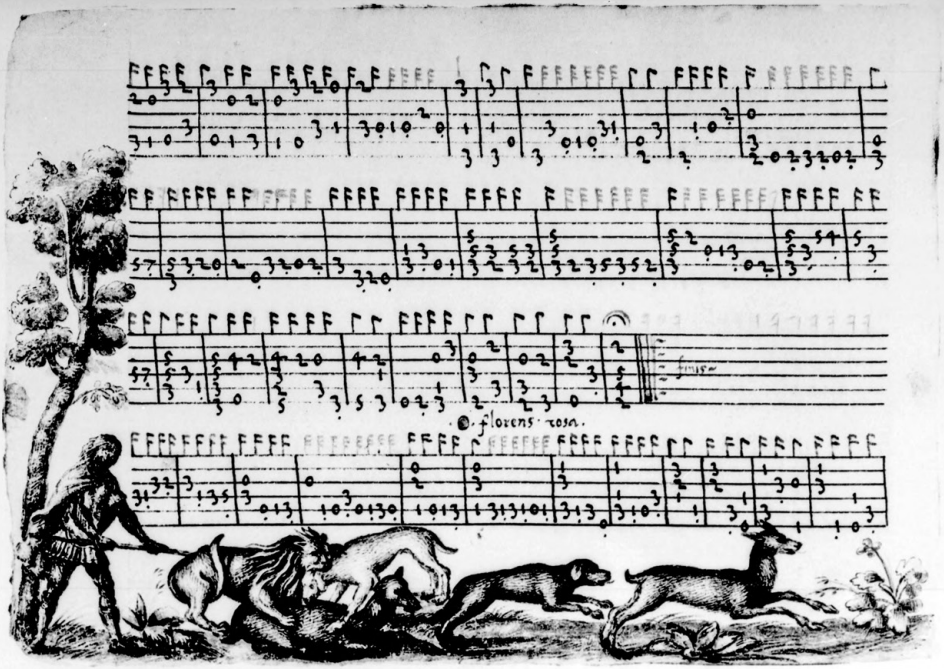
[cfr. Table I] — [cfr. Table I] — [cfr. Table II]

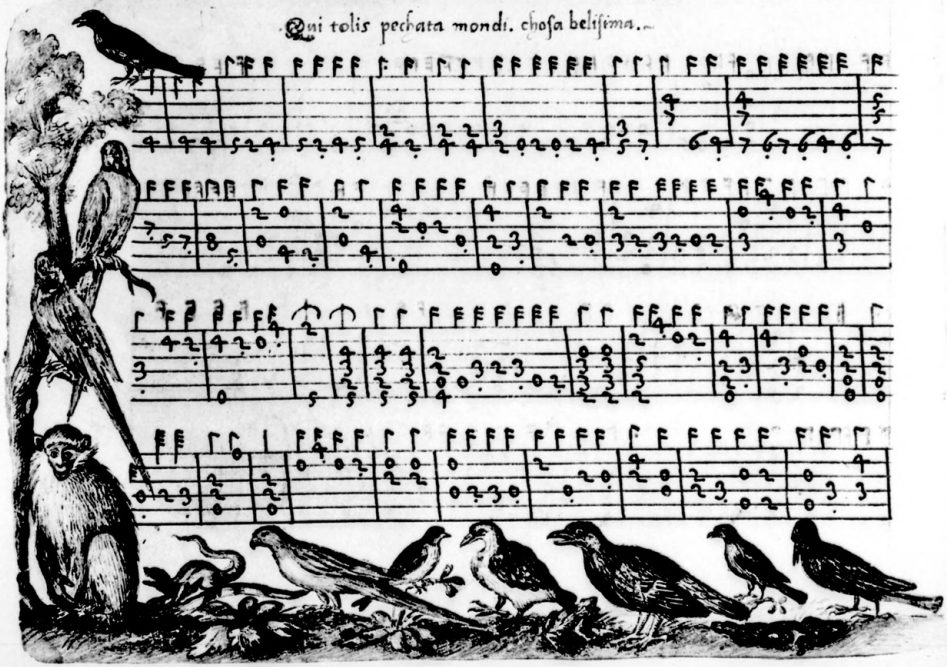
JACOPO (I), — GIO.-BATTISTA (I), — ALESSANDRO. — GIOVANNI (I), FRANCESCO (I), COMINO, DOMENICO

AGOSTINO (I), — DIAMANTE, — EVANGELISTA, *u.* Ursola — VINCENZO (IV). *u.* Lucia — PAOLO, Maddelena, Isabella, Lodovica, Elisa, PELLEGRI. *u.* Malgarita *u.* Margherita — TADDEO, — VENTURINO (III), — BERNARDO (I).

GIO.-FRANCESCO *u.* Isabella, — GIO.-ANDREA *u.* Domenica — daughter. — Francesca. — Alionora, Colastica. — GIO.-GIACOBO, — LODOVICO (I), — Tadea, Camilla, — VINCENZO, (illeg.) — LAZARO. (illeg.) — Marina — GIO-PIETRO *u.* Malgarita — Zilia, — Gerosolomina, — Michelina, — TESEO — VINCENZO (III), *u.* Medea. — JAC.-FILIPPO, — Veronica.

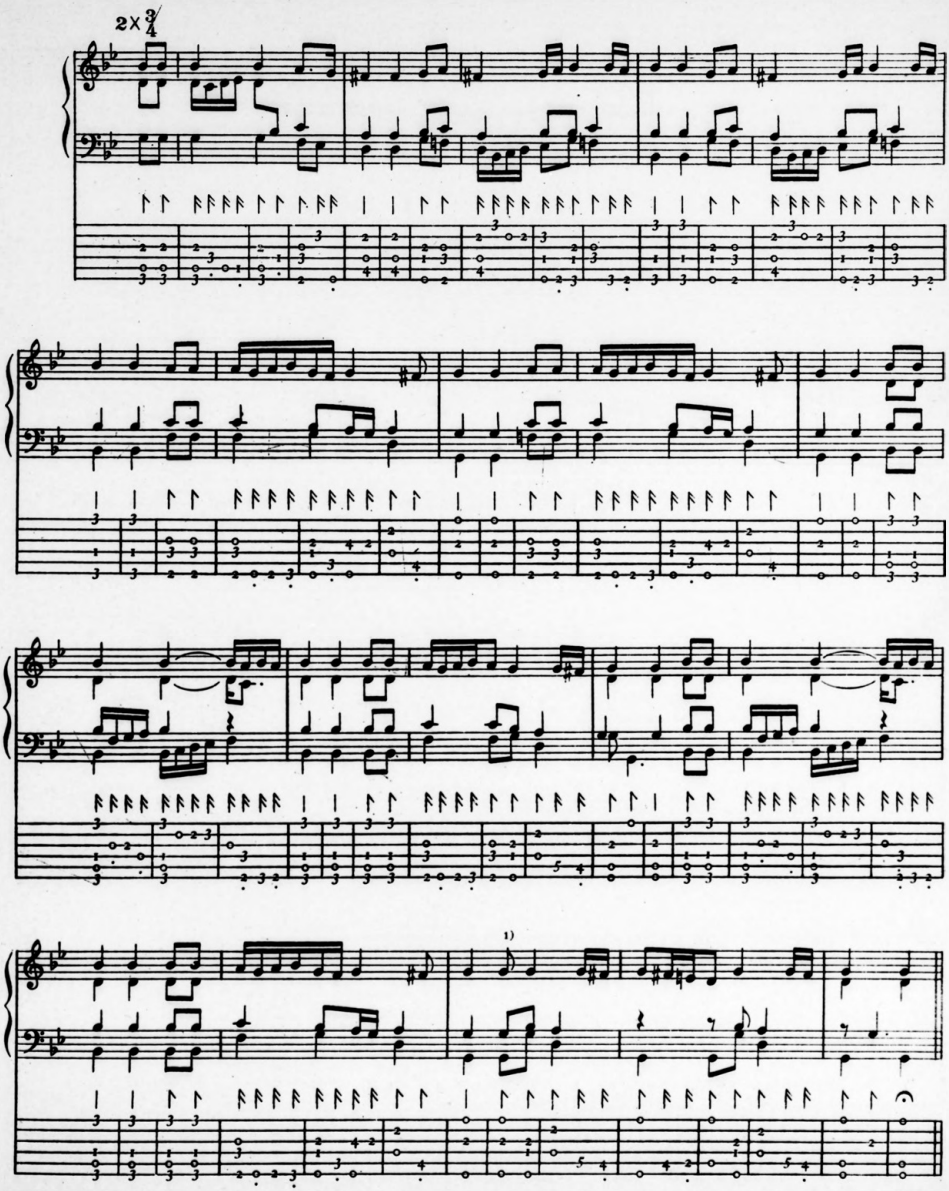
GIO.-BATTISTA (III), — LODOVICO (III), — VALERIO, — AGOSTINO (II), — RAFAEL. — HIERONIMO (III), — Caterina (III), — Marta (II), — Comina. — FABIO, — PAOLO (III), — GIUSEPPE, — BERNARDINO (III), daughter.



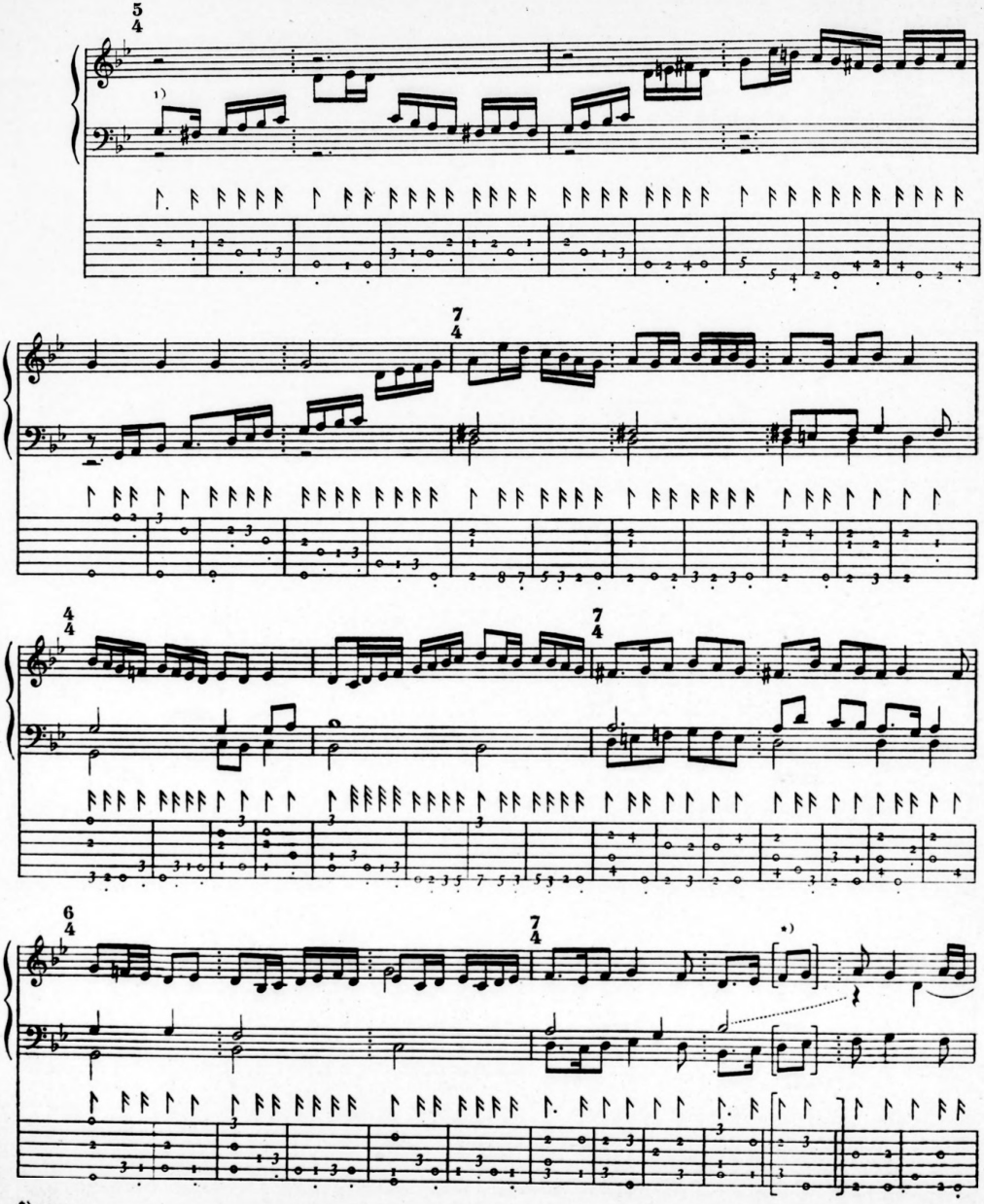


Pl. V. Fol. 55′ and 66′.

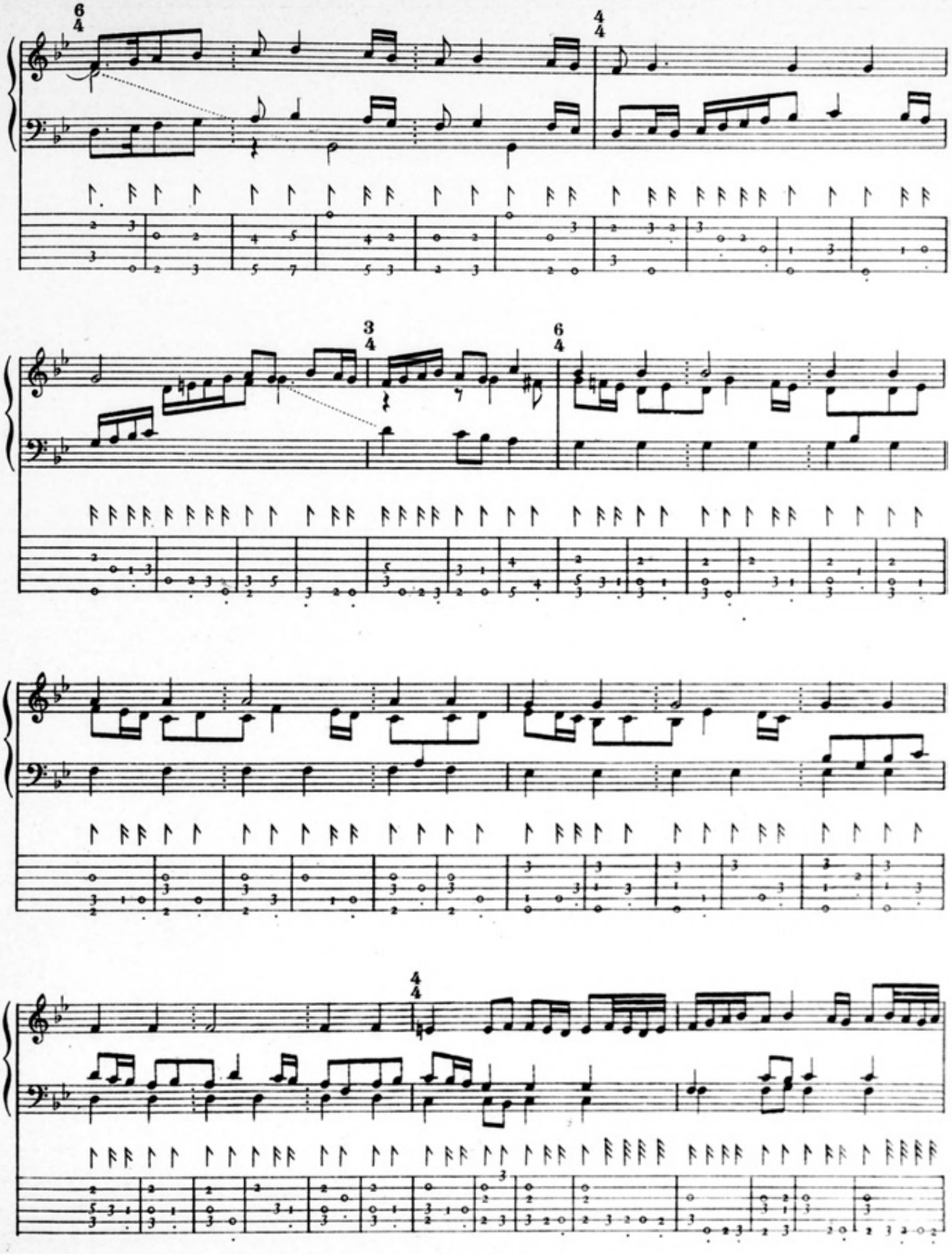
1. La Villanella

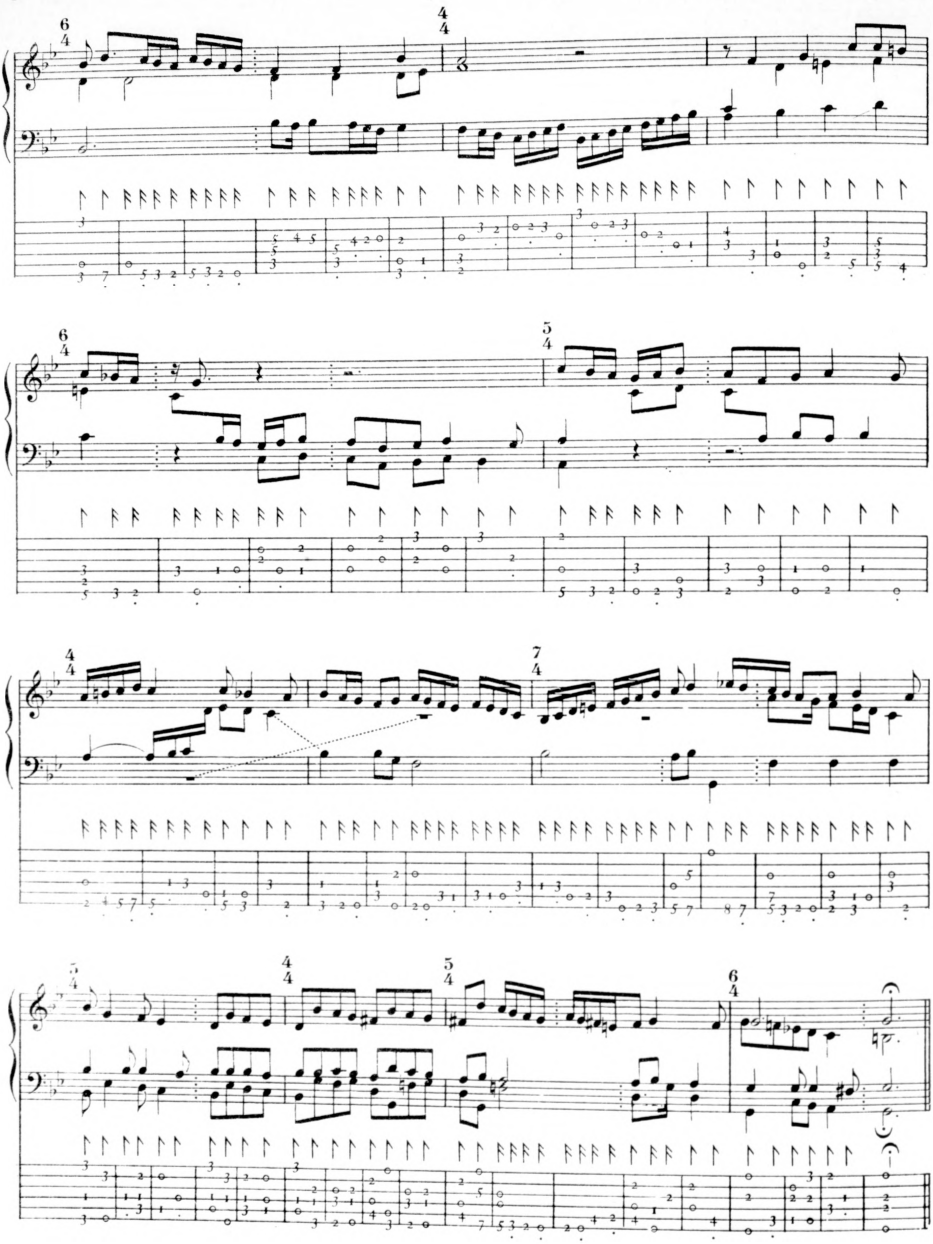


2. Ricercar I



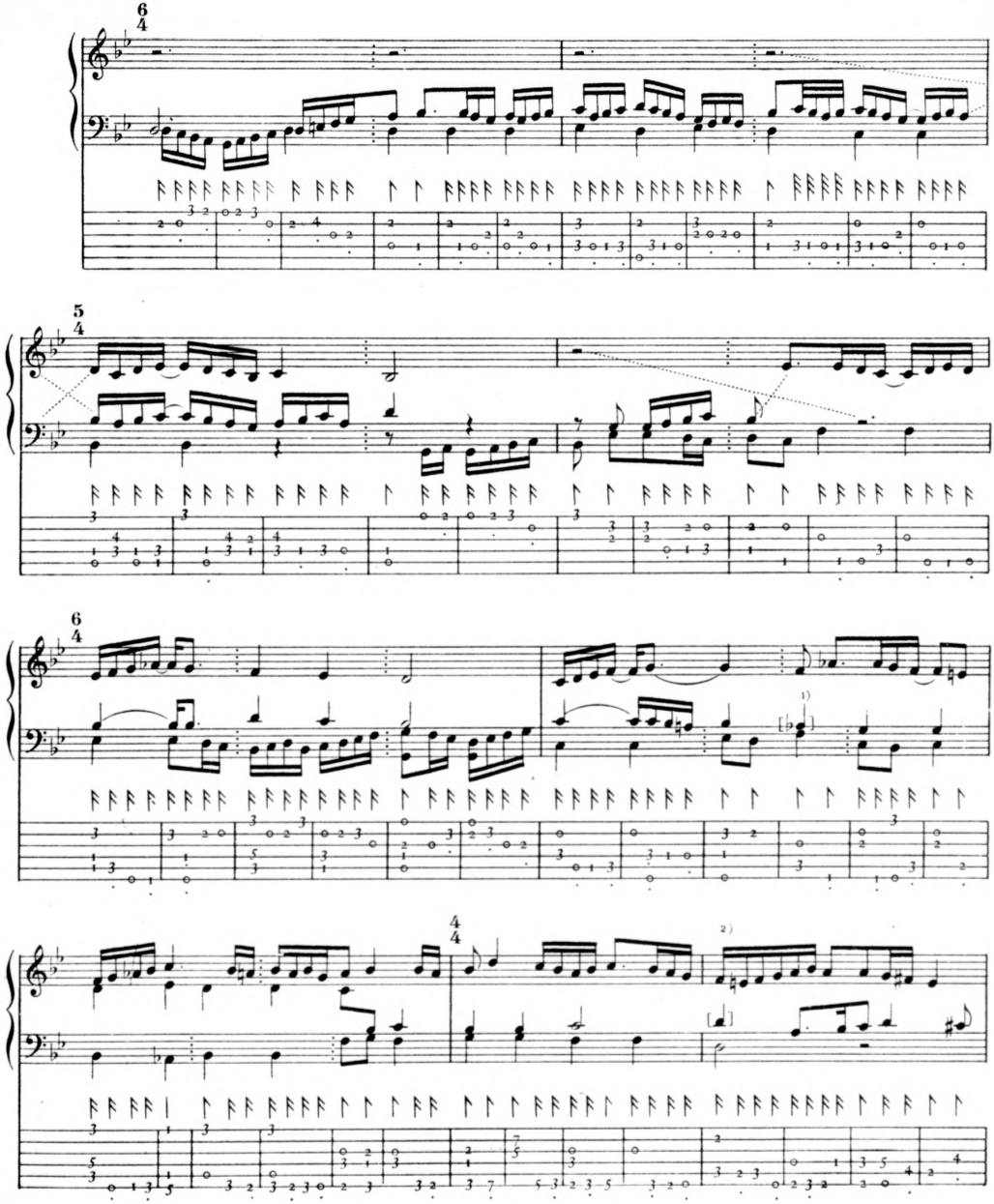
*) The notes between brackets are not given in the original

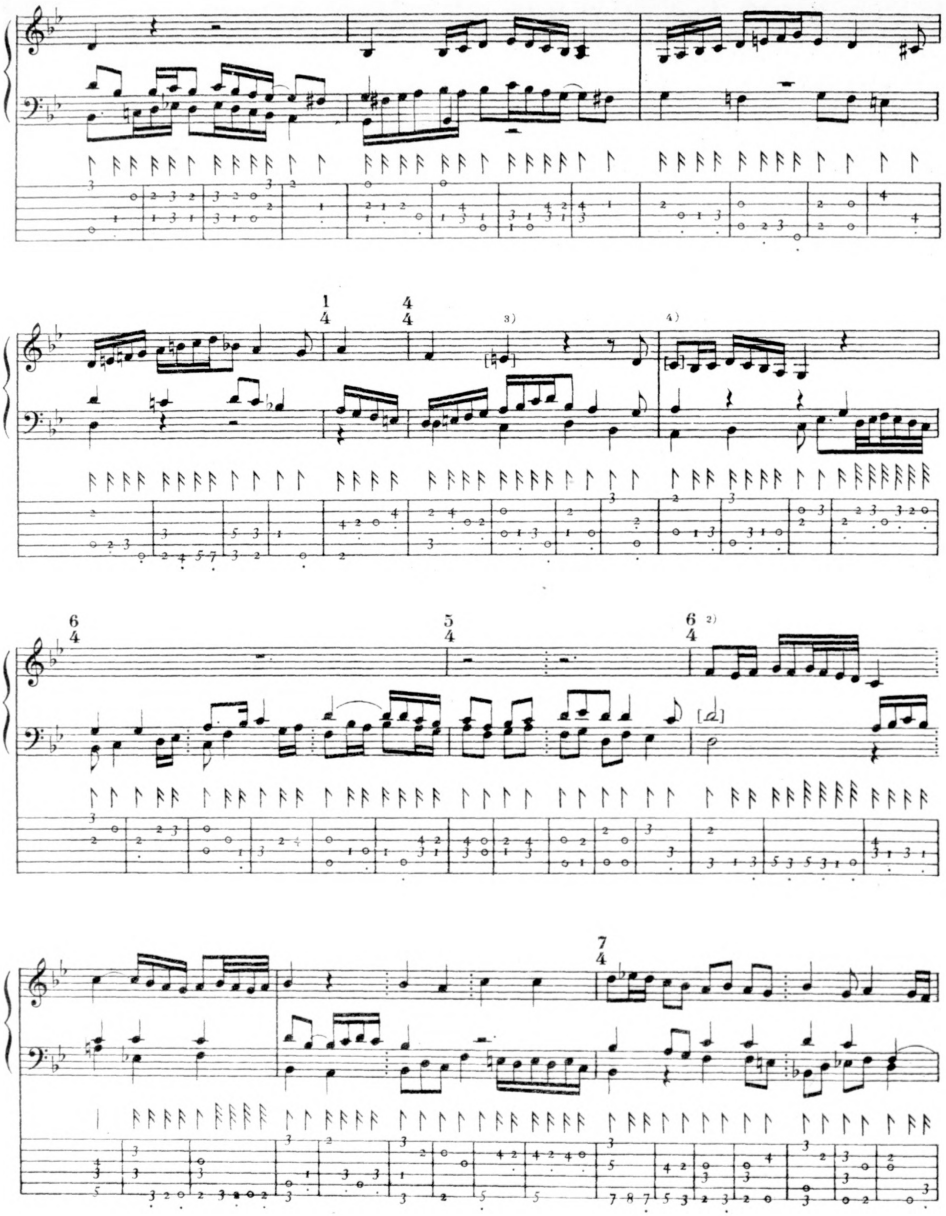


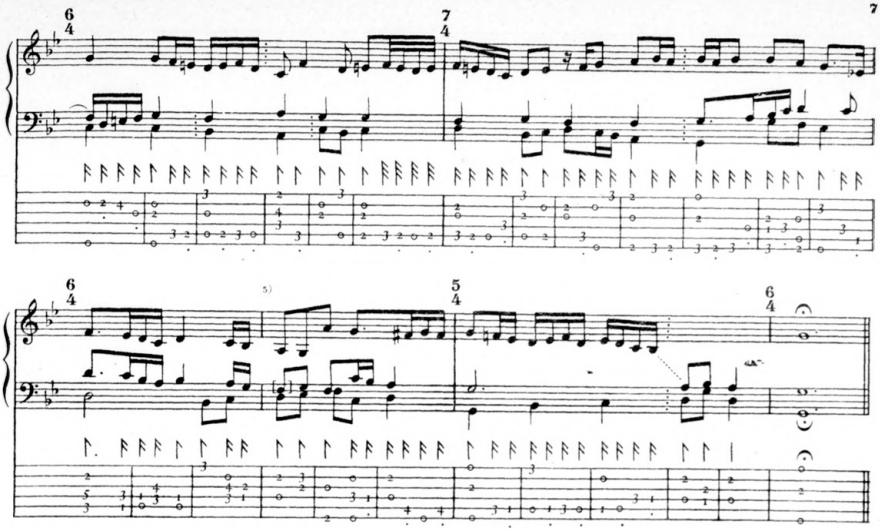


3. Oublier veuil

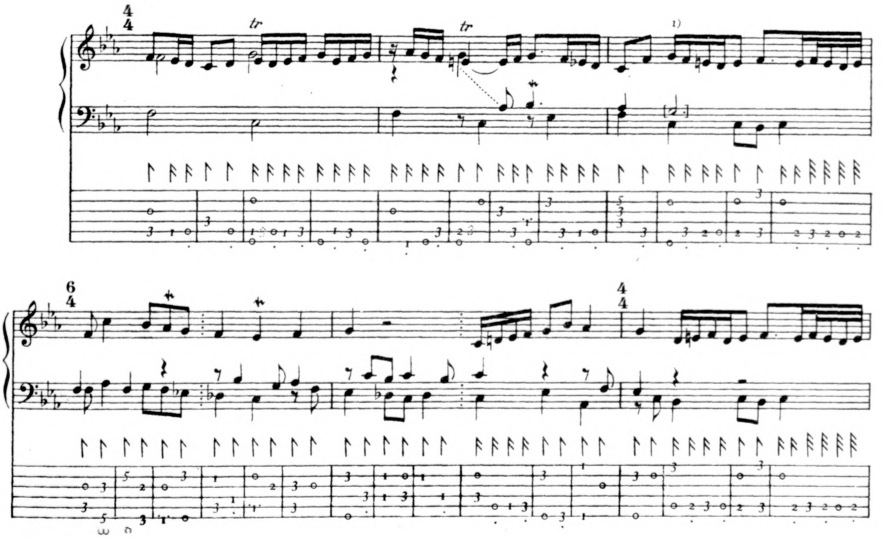
[Alexander Agricola]

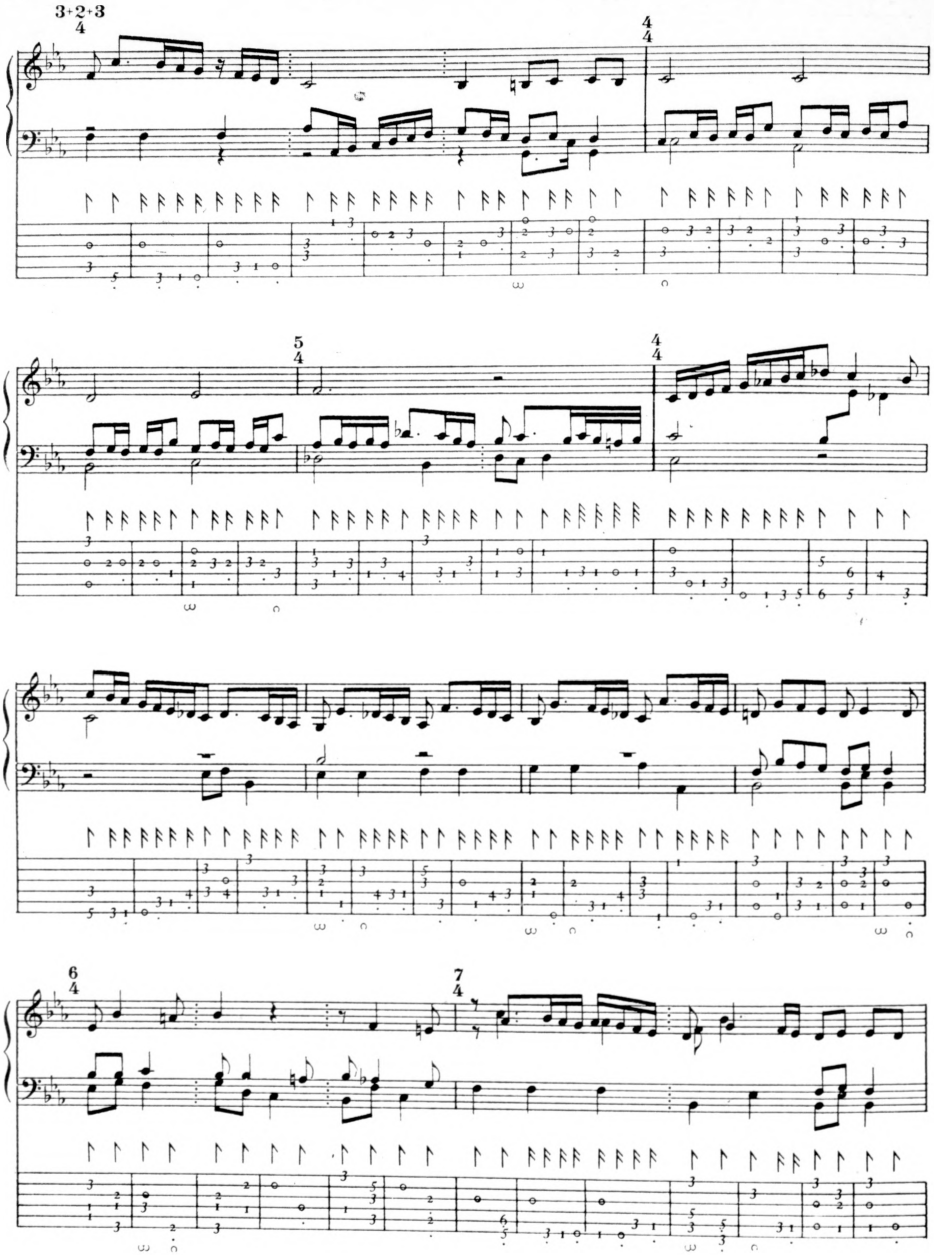






4. Ricercar II

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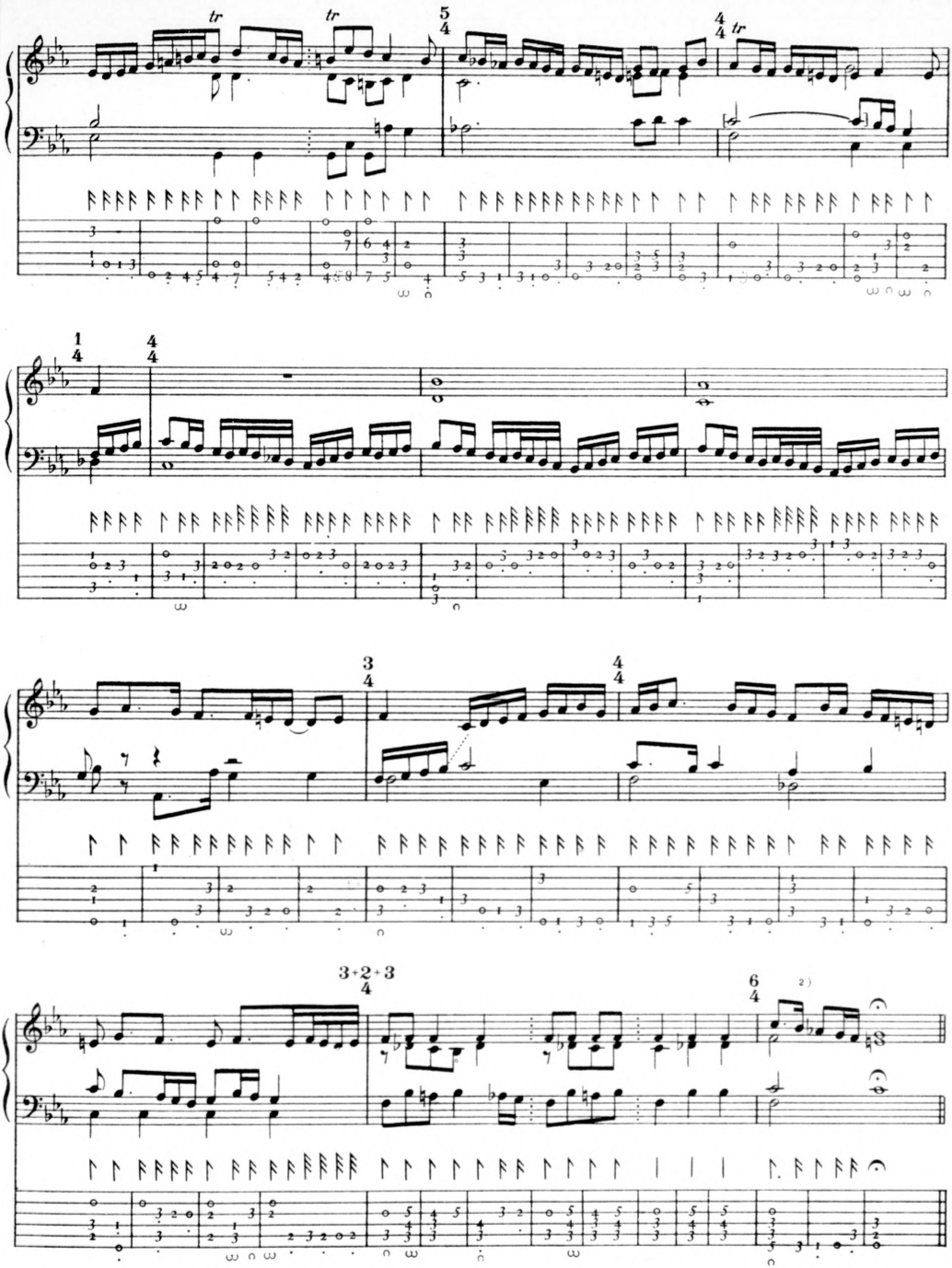
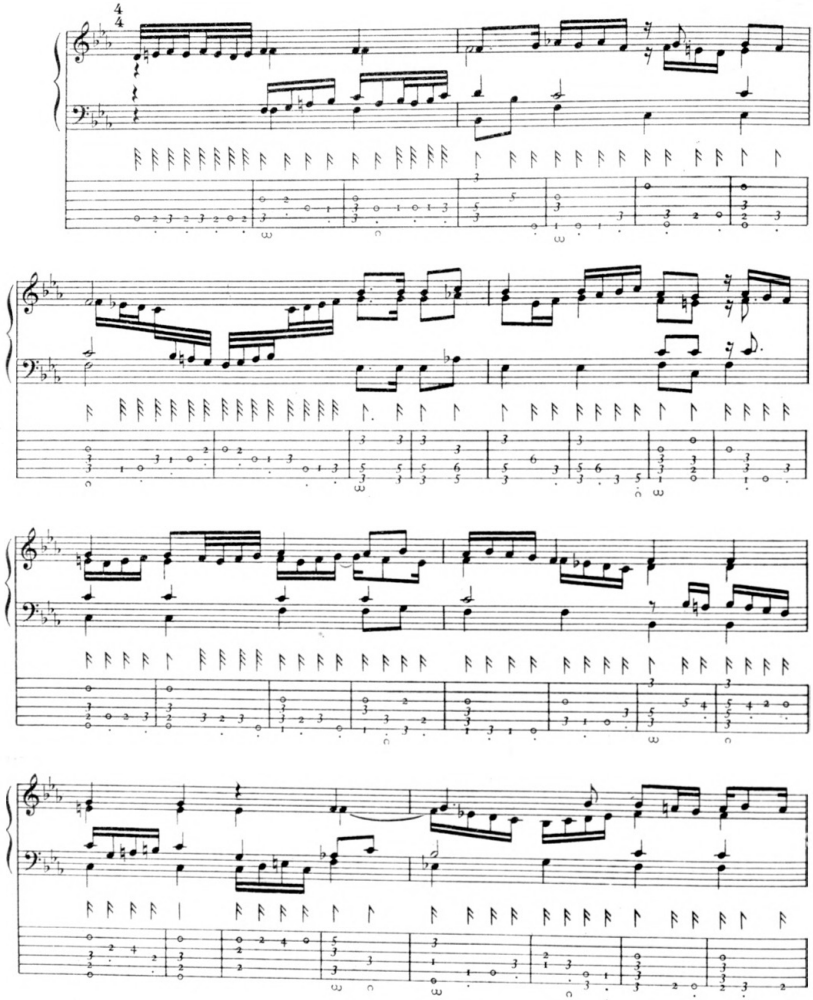
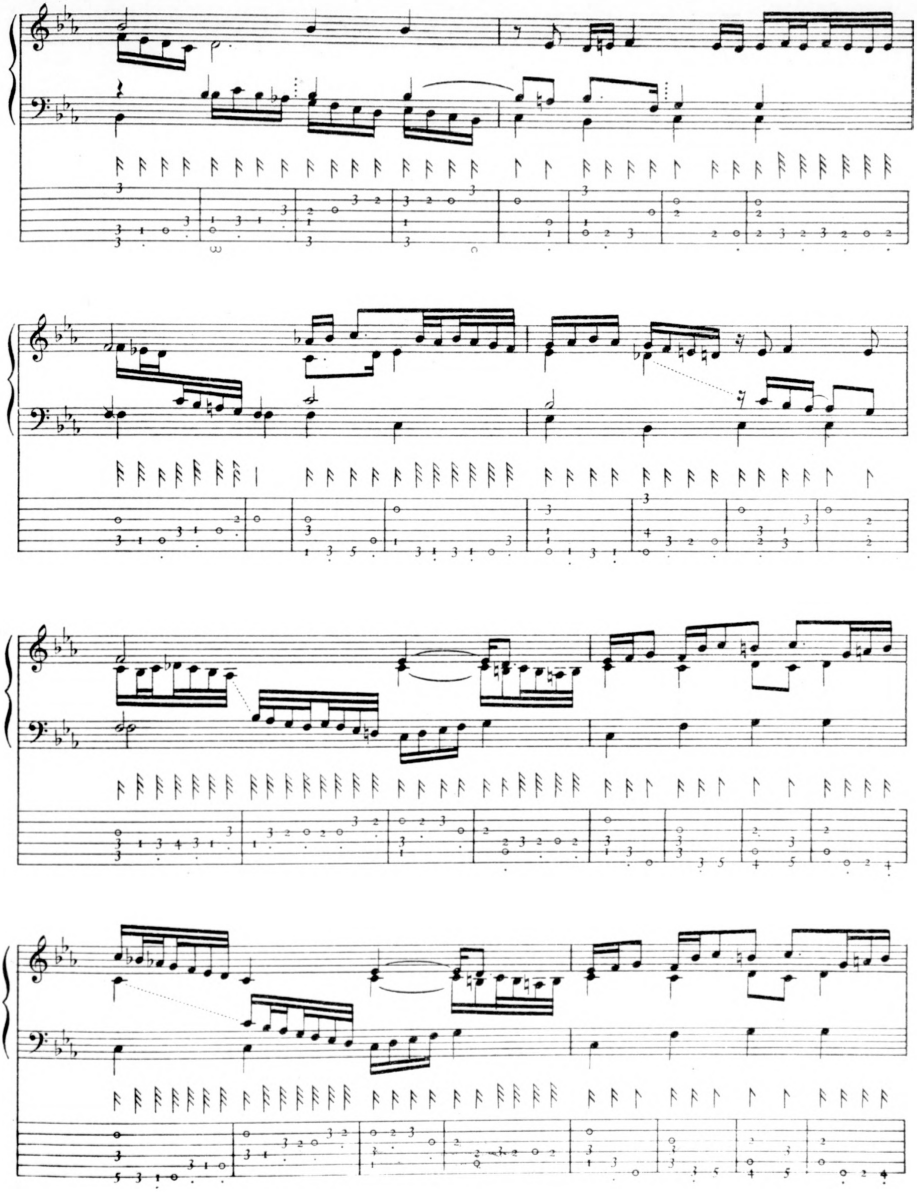
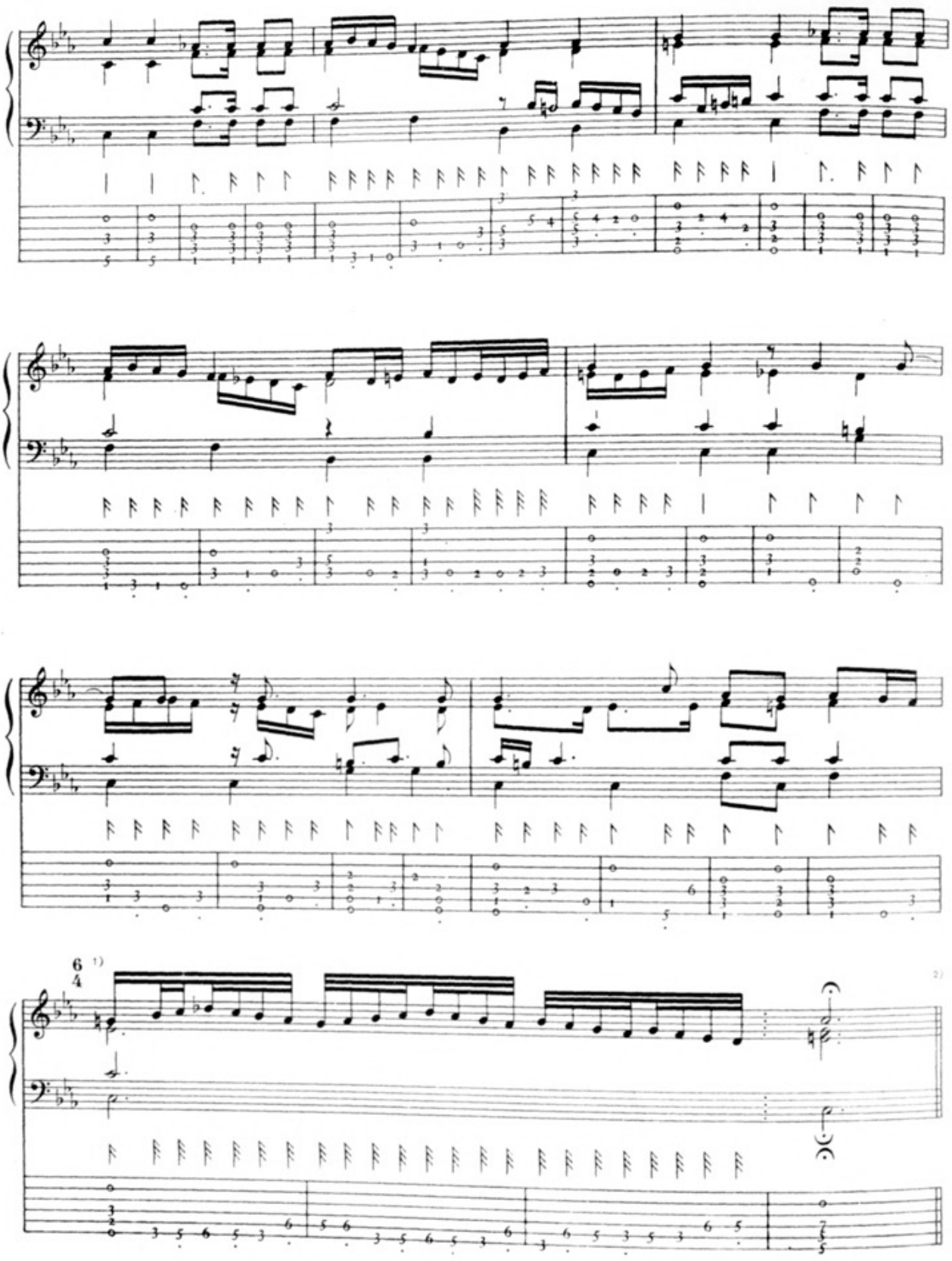


5ª O mia cieca e dura sorte

[Marchetto Cara]

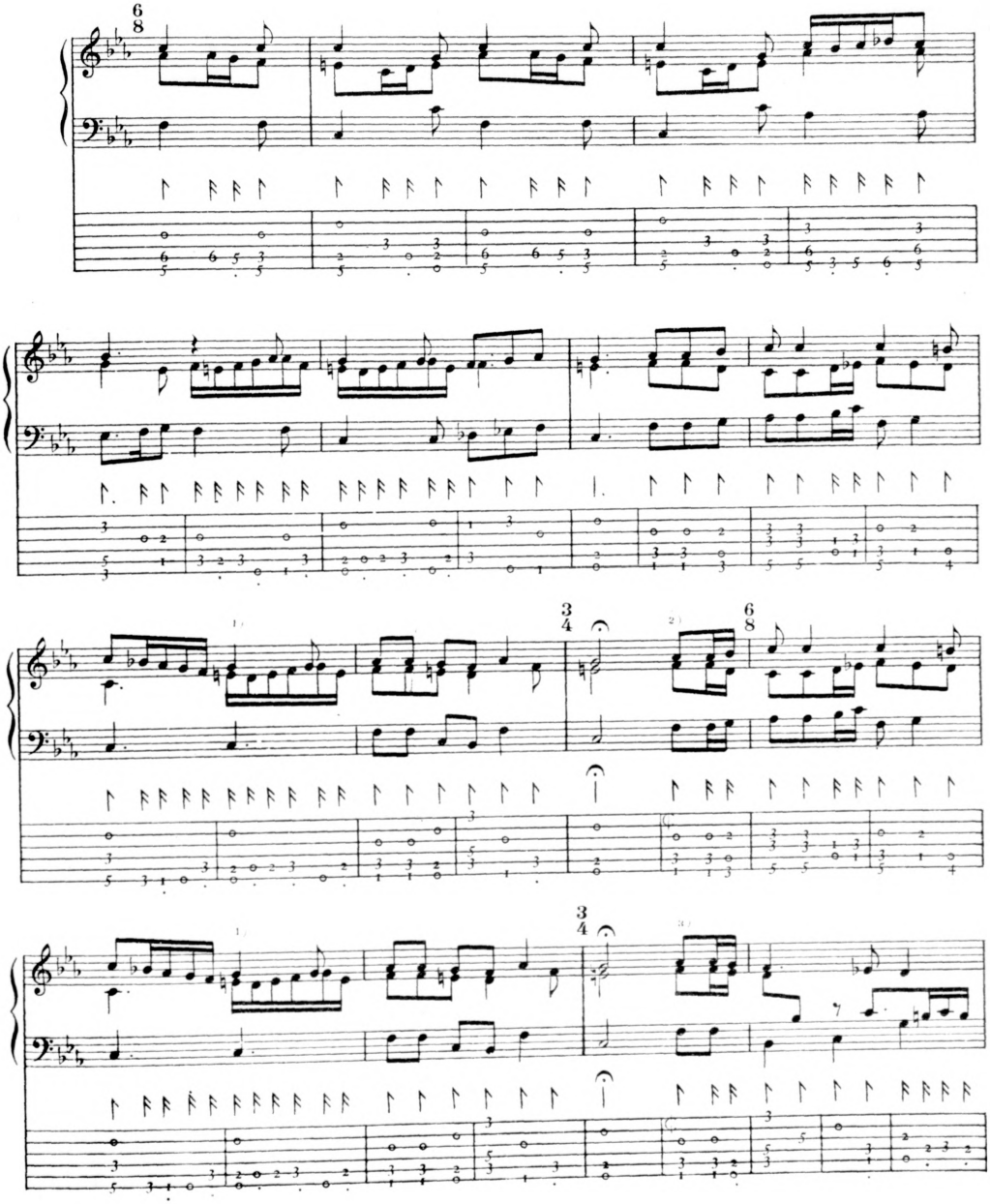


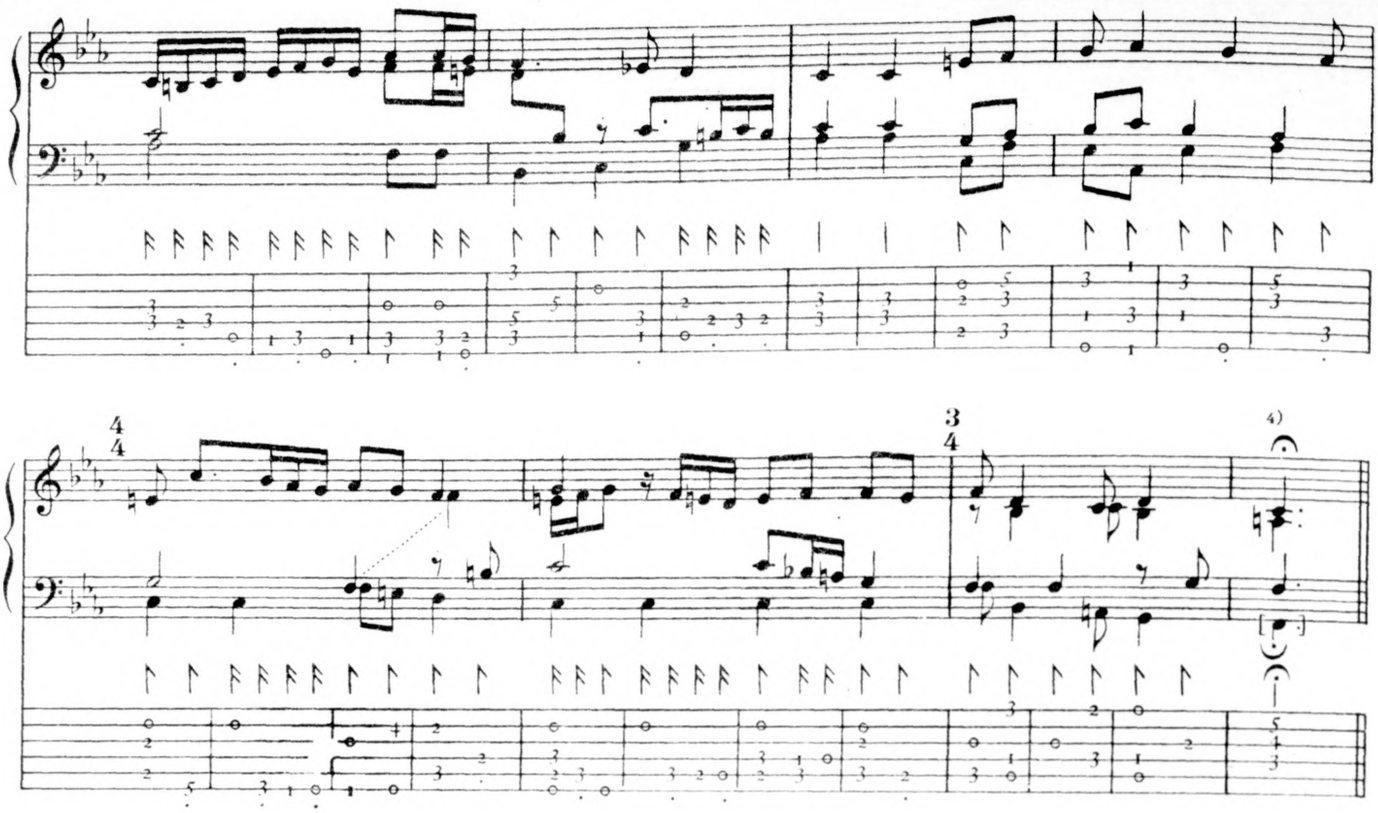




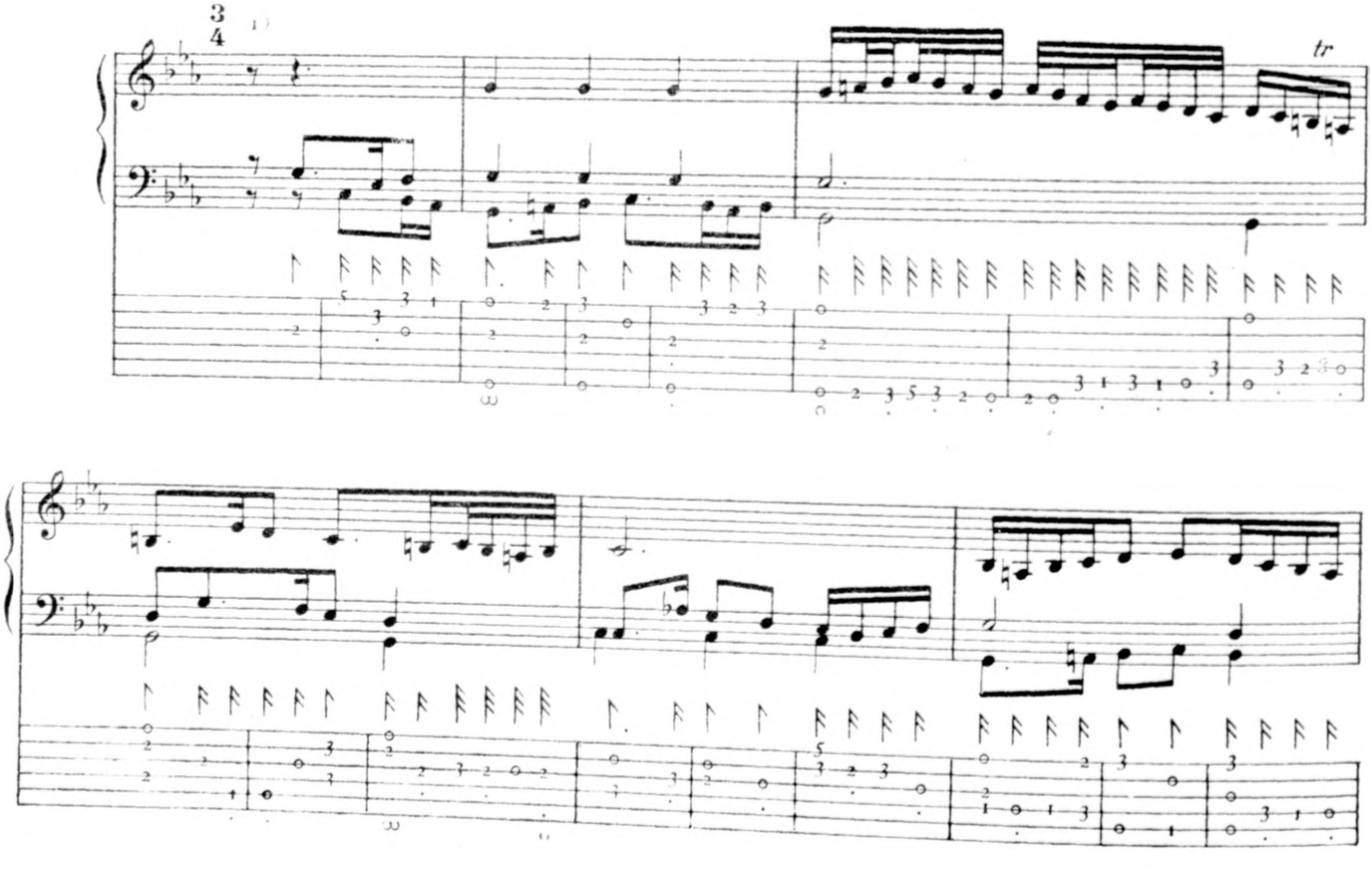
5♭. Che farala, che dirala

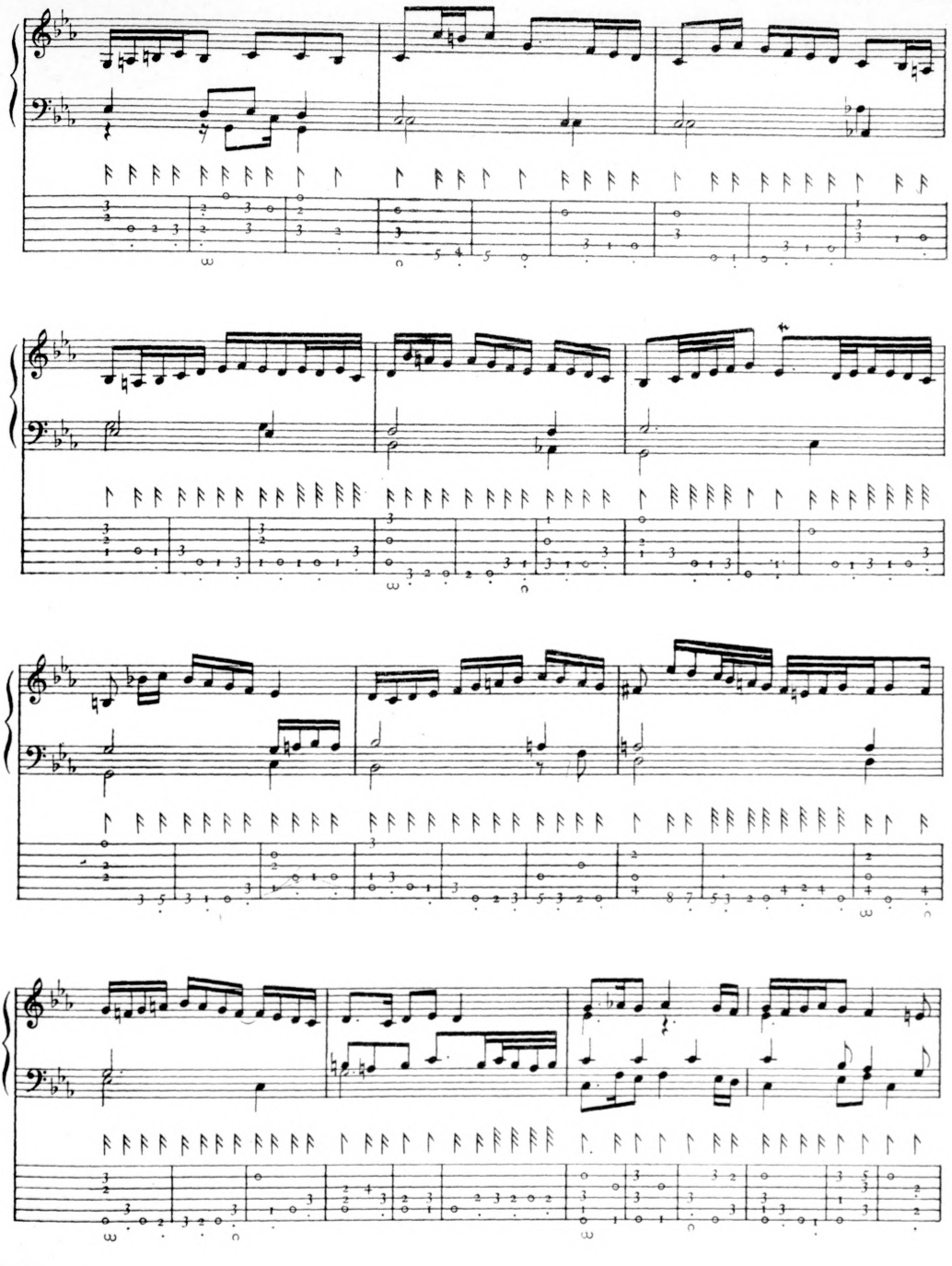
[Don Michele Vicentino]

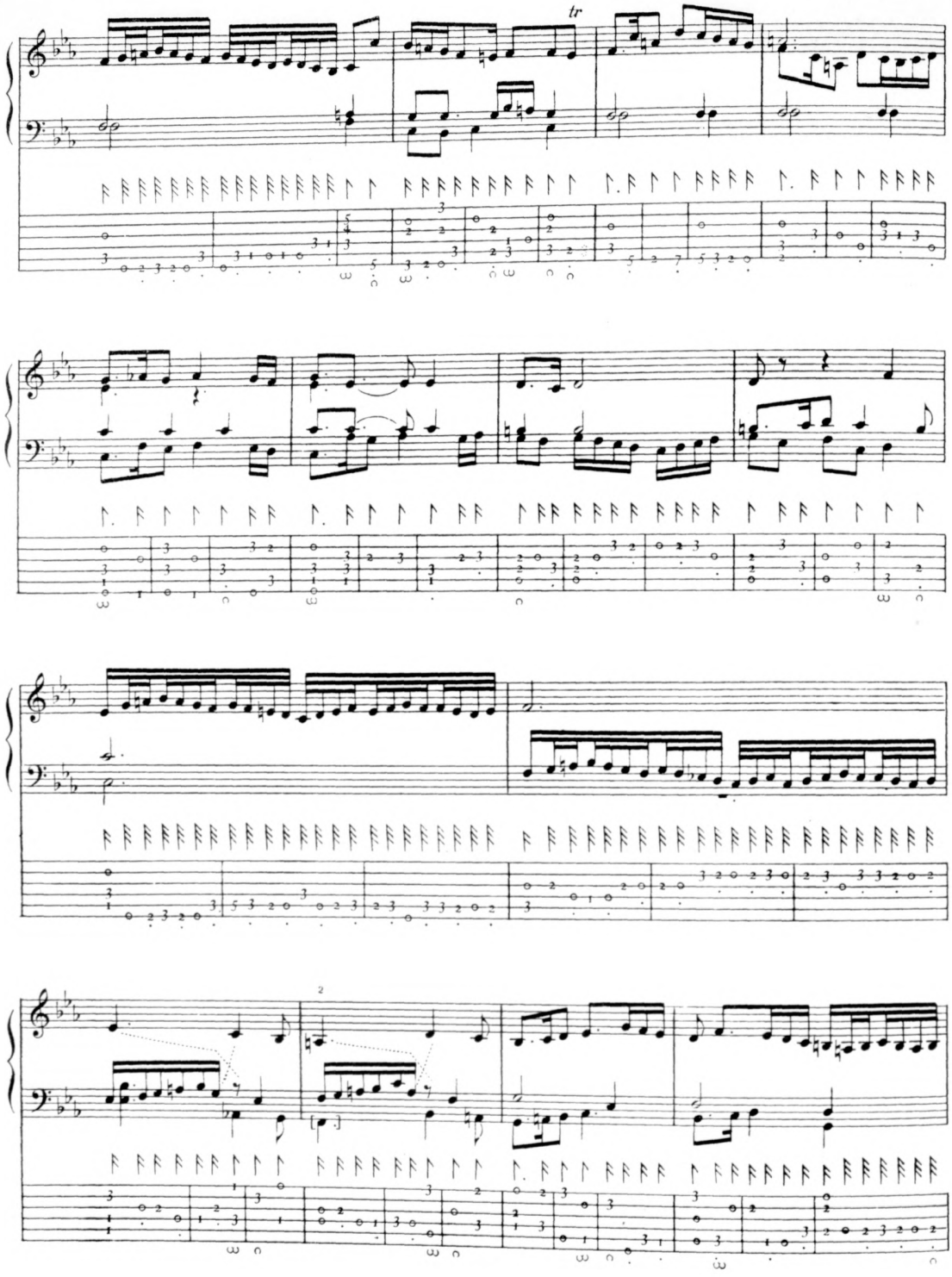




6. La Spagna I



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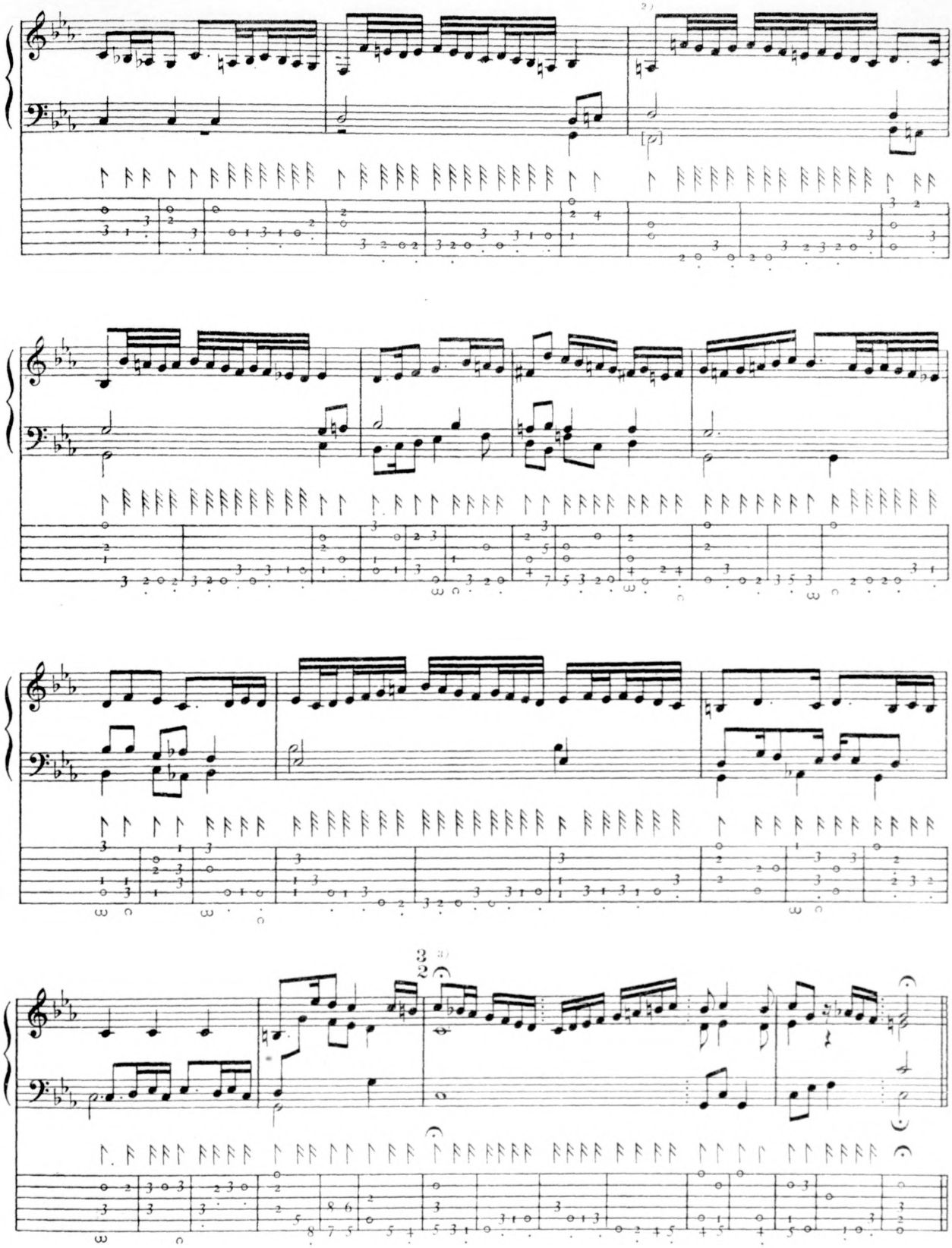
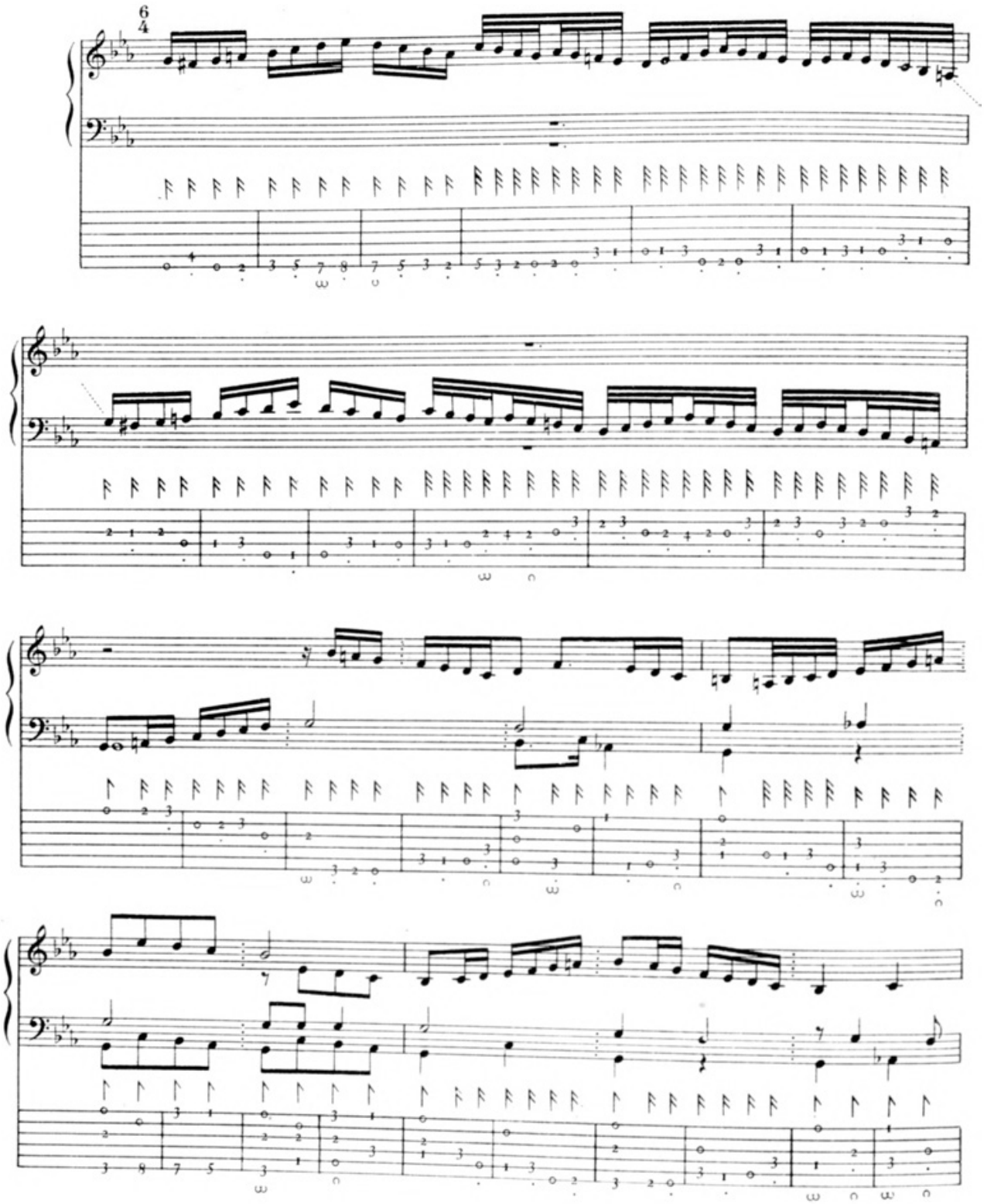
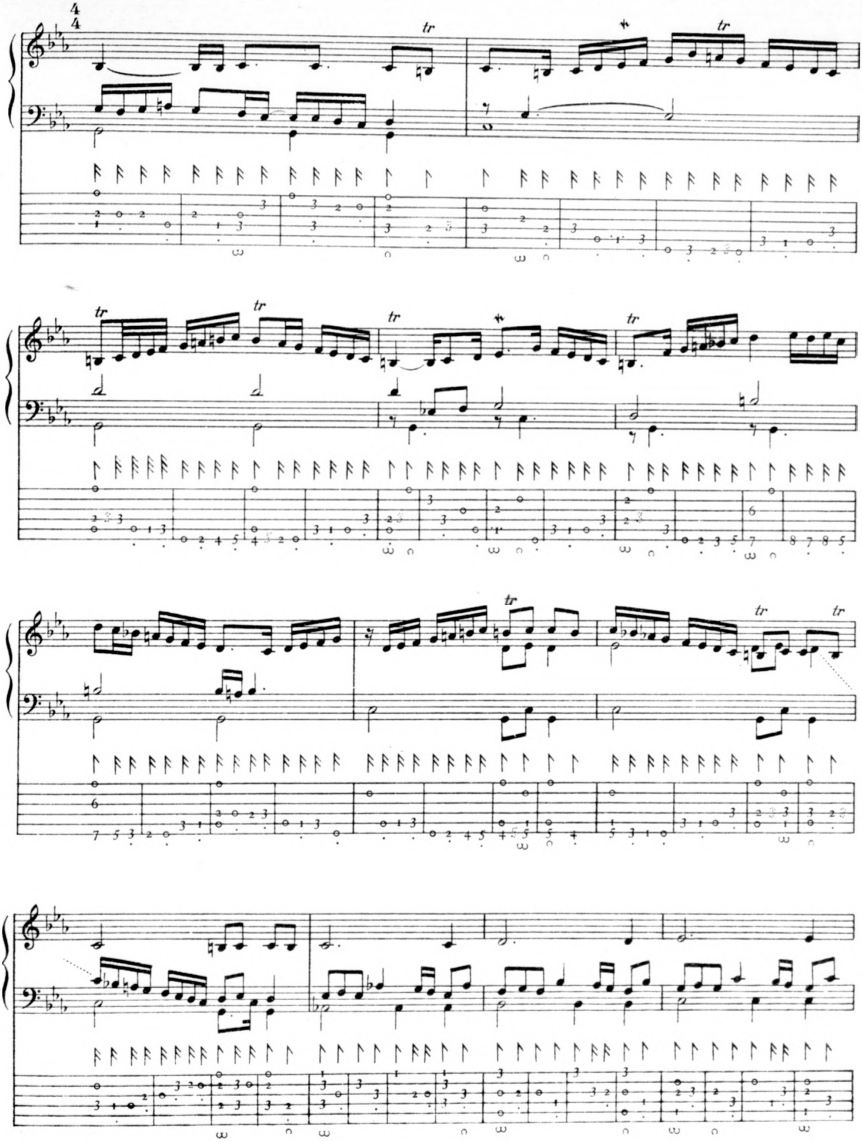
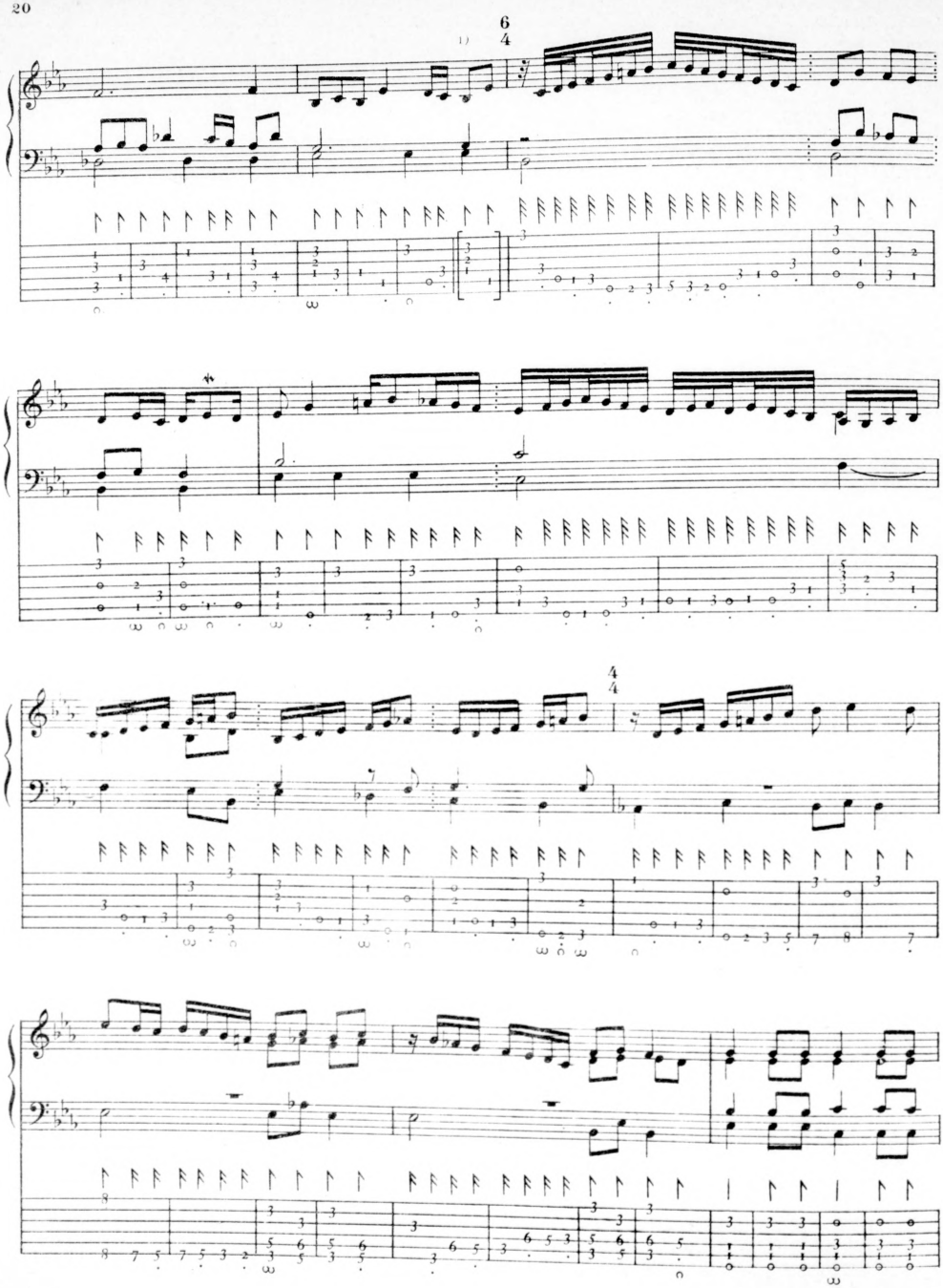
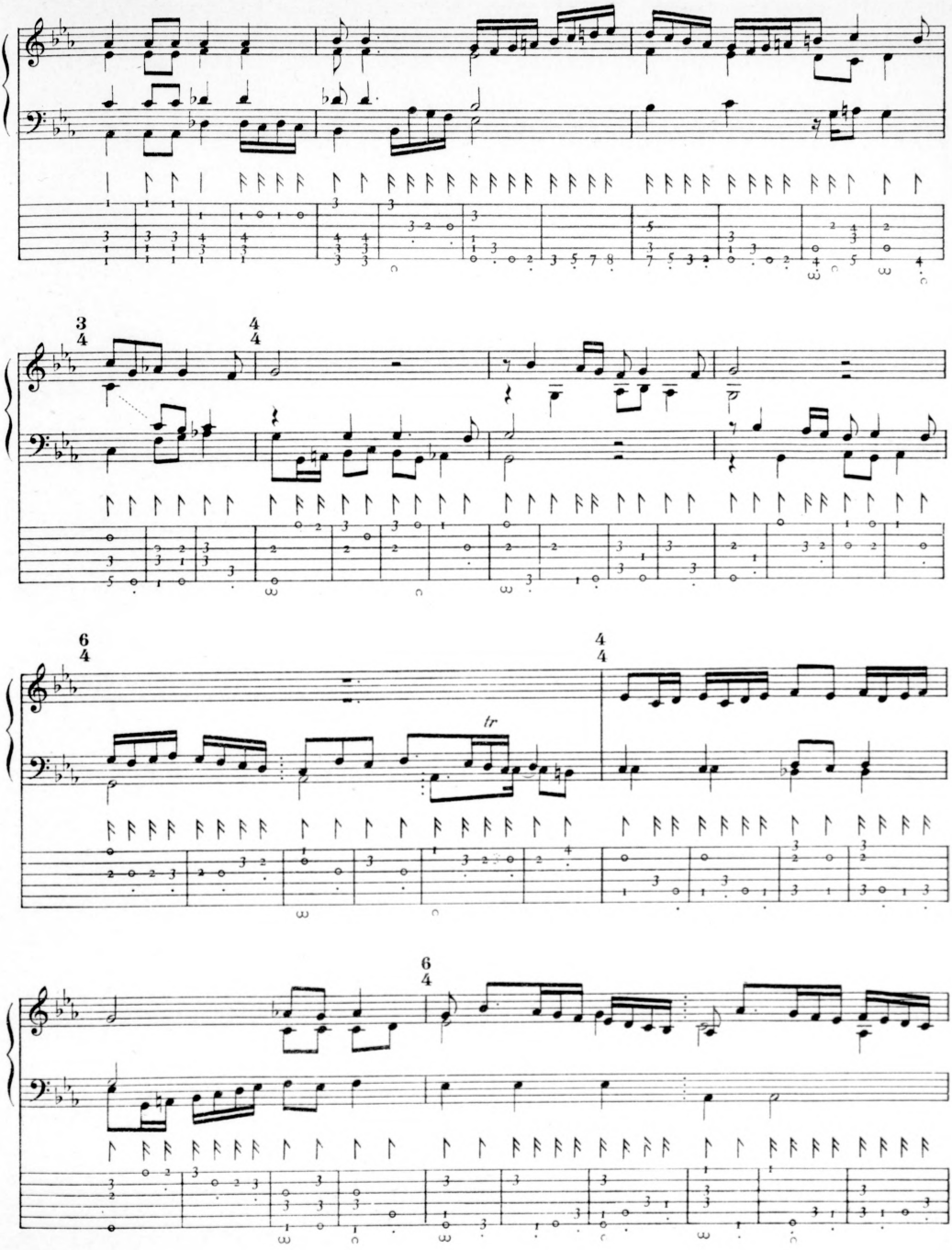


7. Ricercar III





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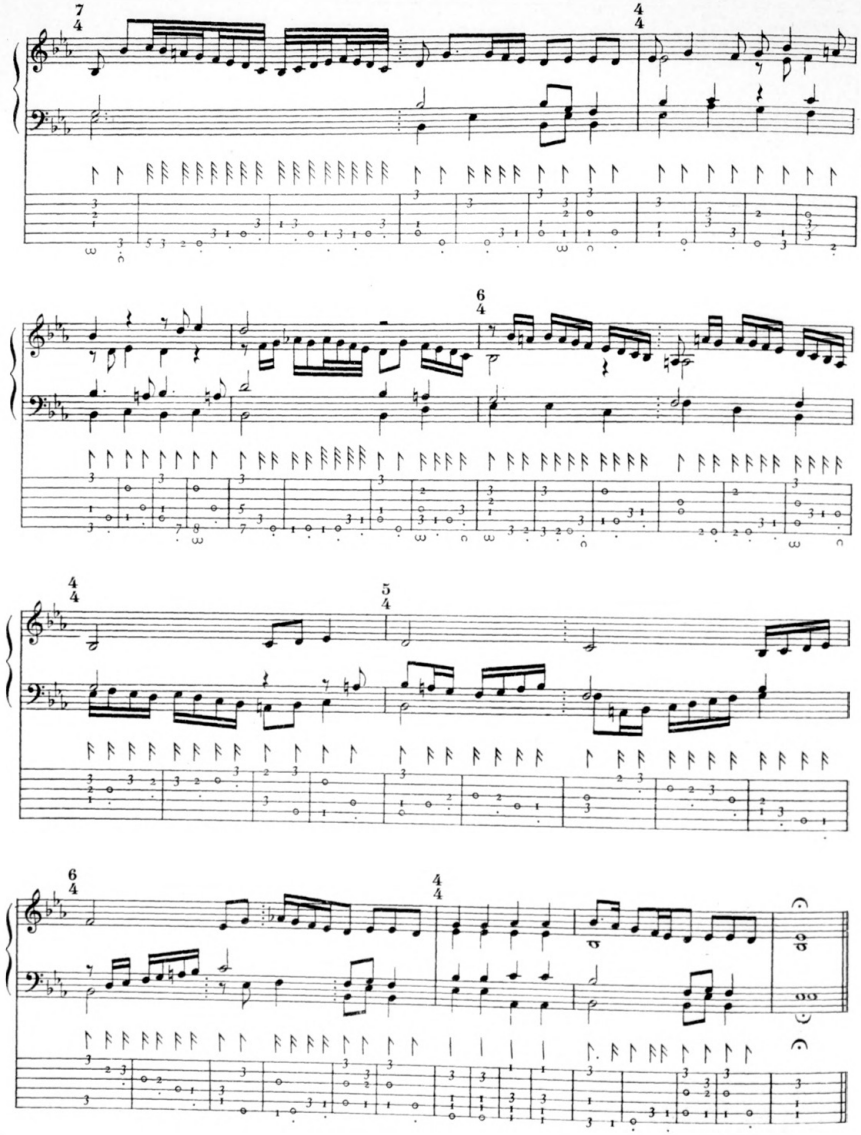
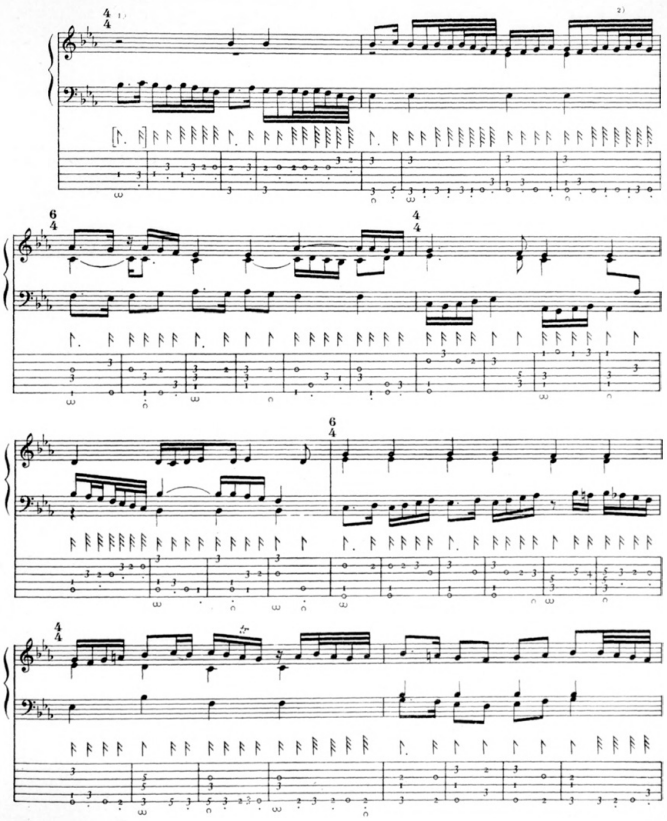
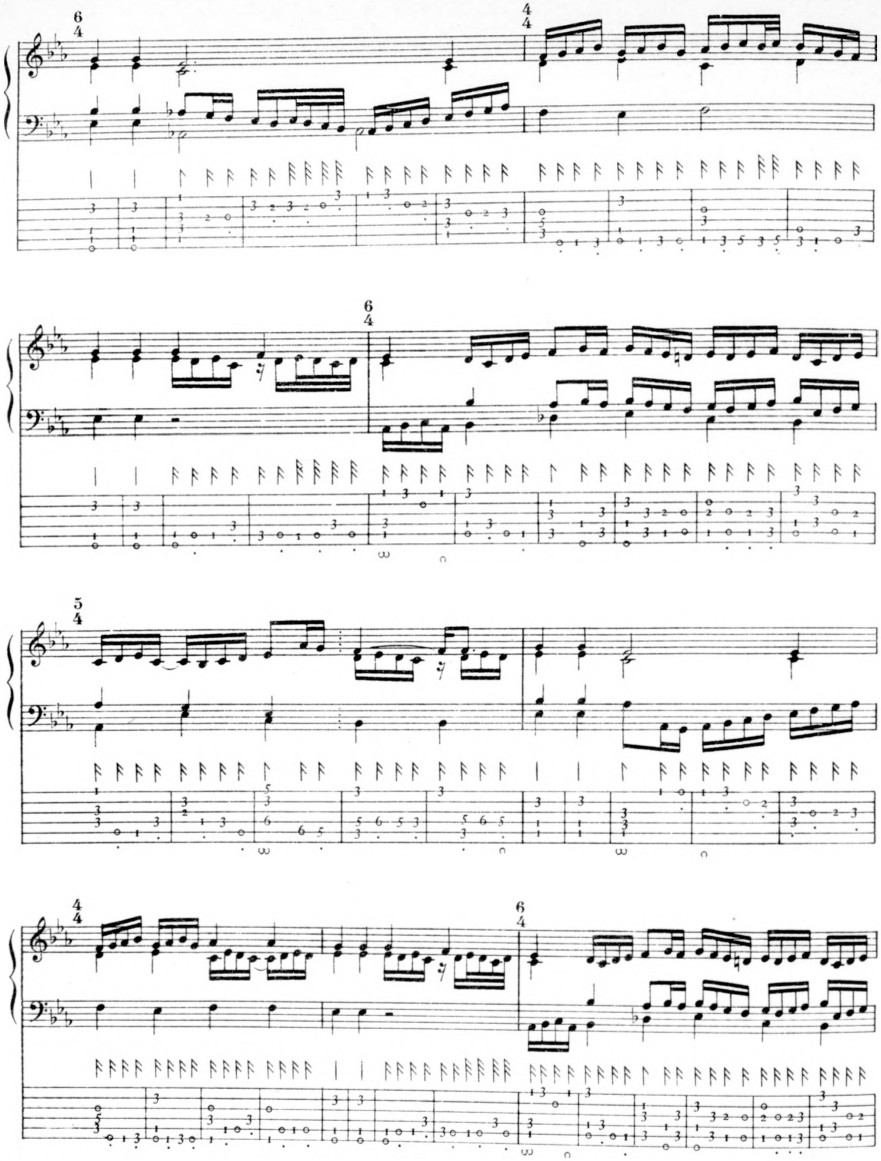
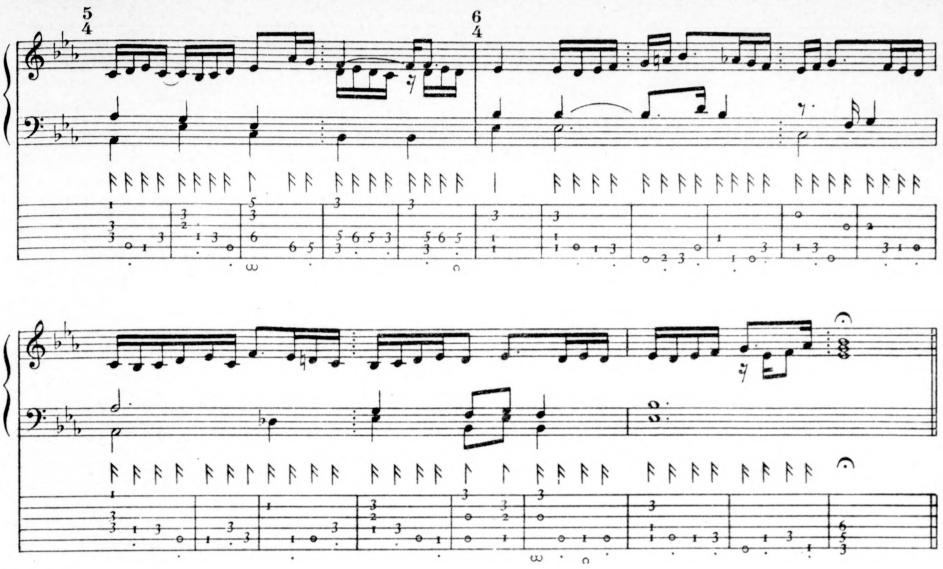


8. Sit nomen Domini benedictum

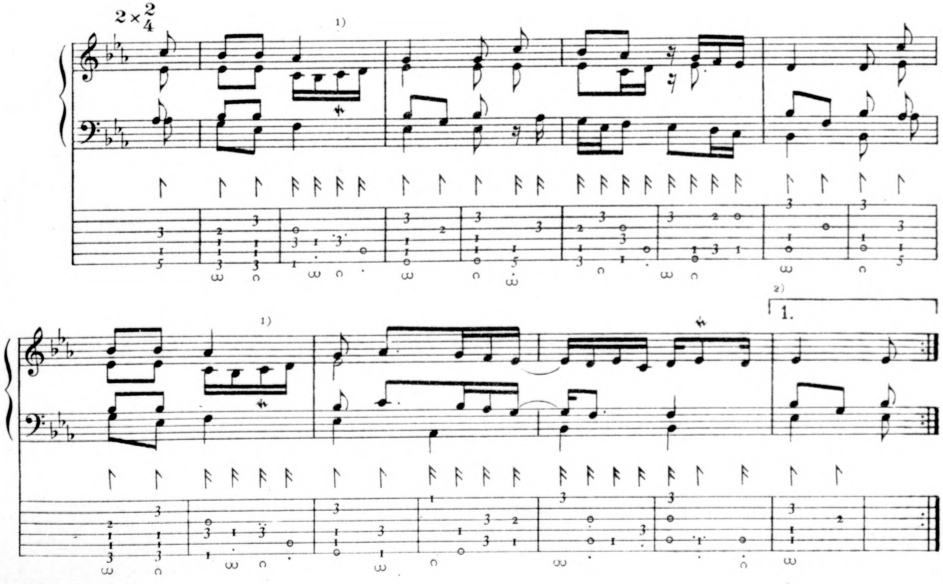
[Johannes Prioris]







9. Padoana francese I



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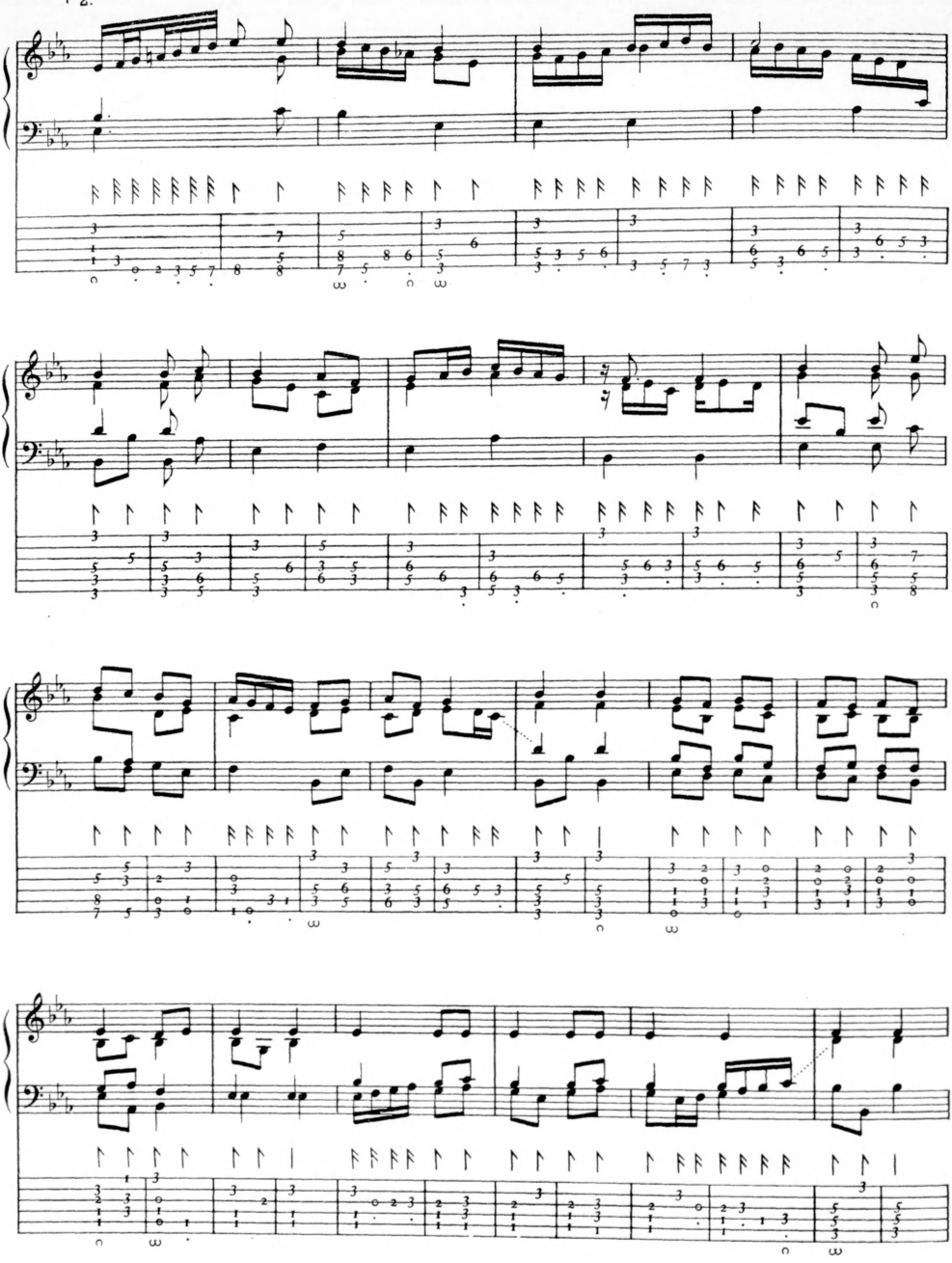
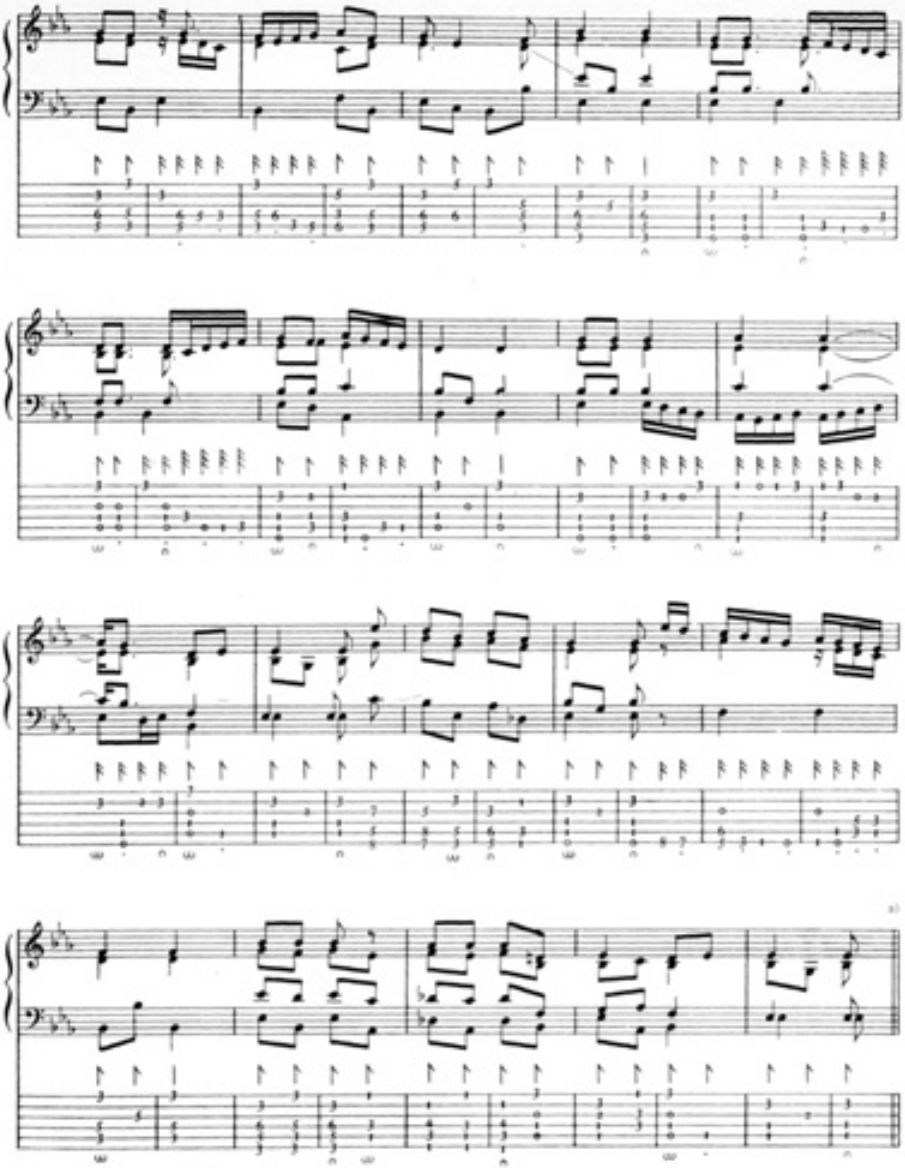
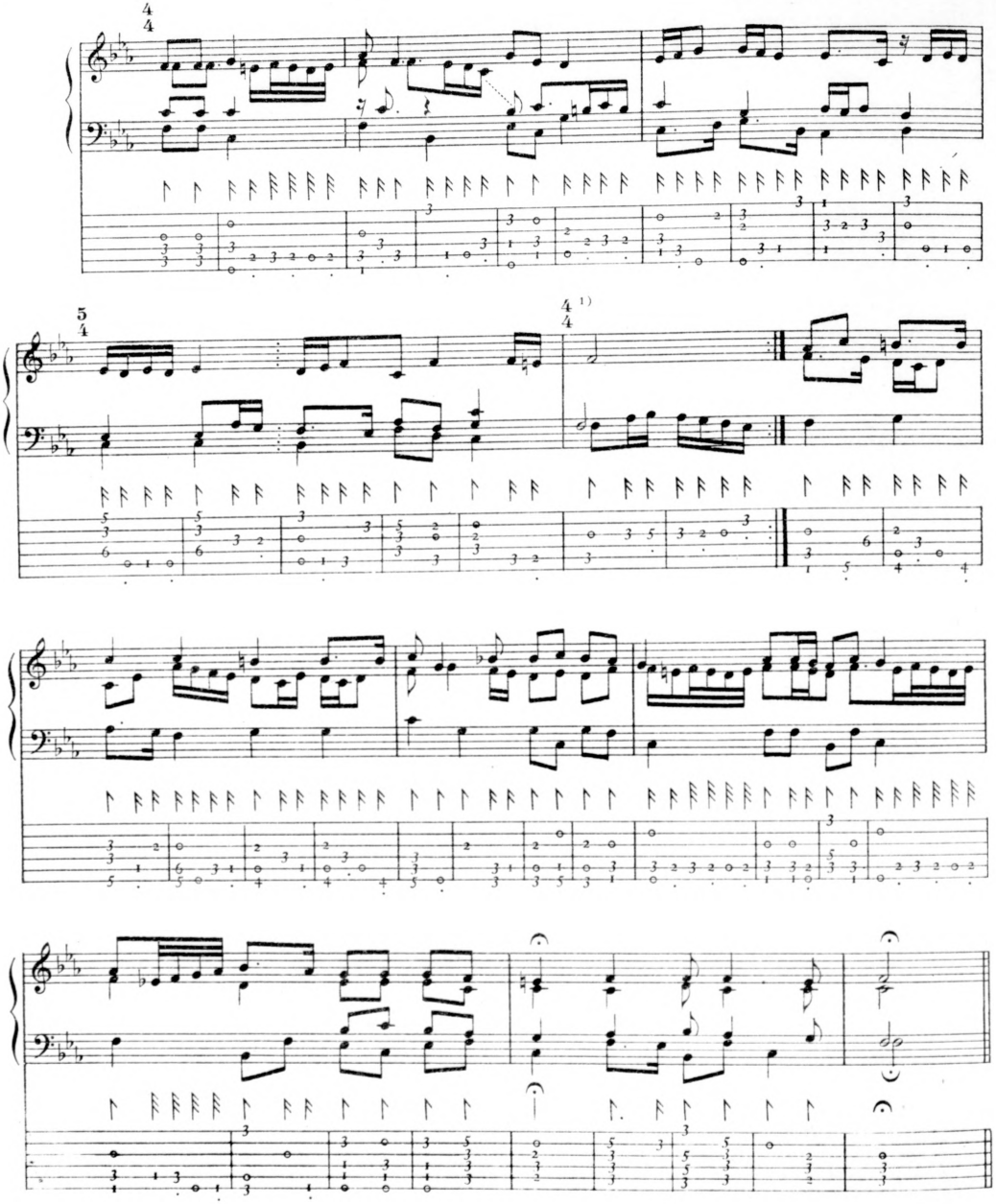




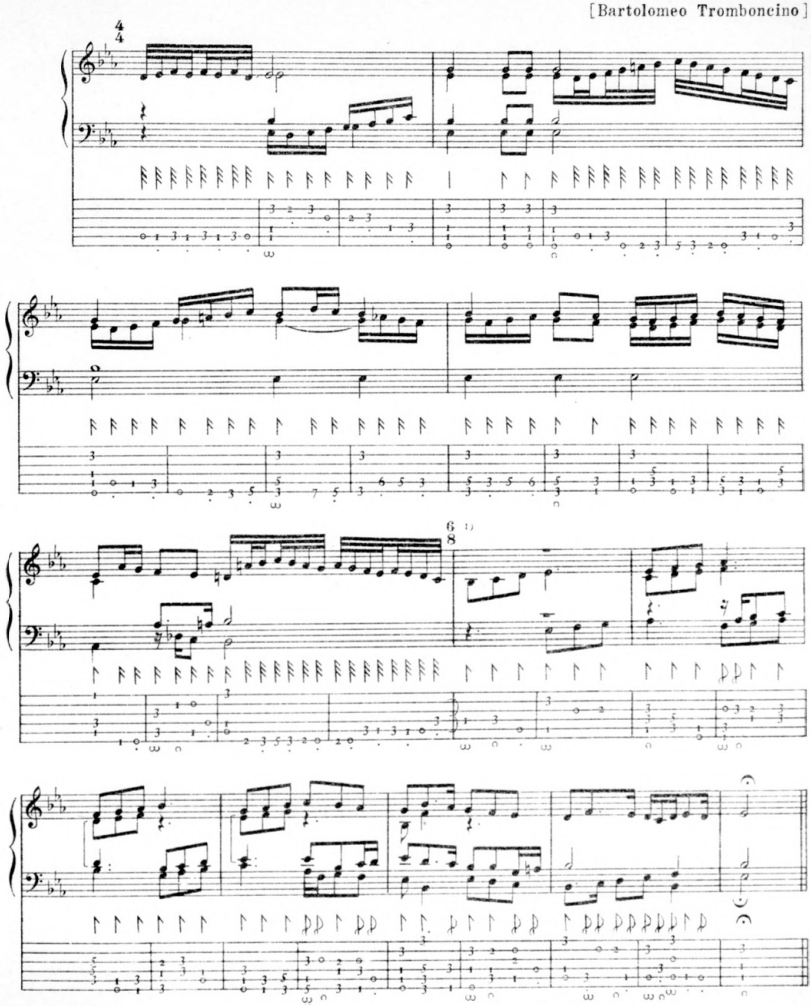
10. Stavasi Amor dormendo

[Bartolomeo Tromboncino]

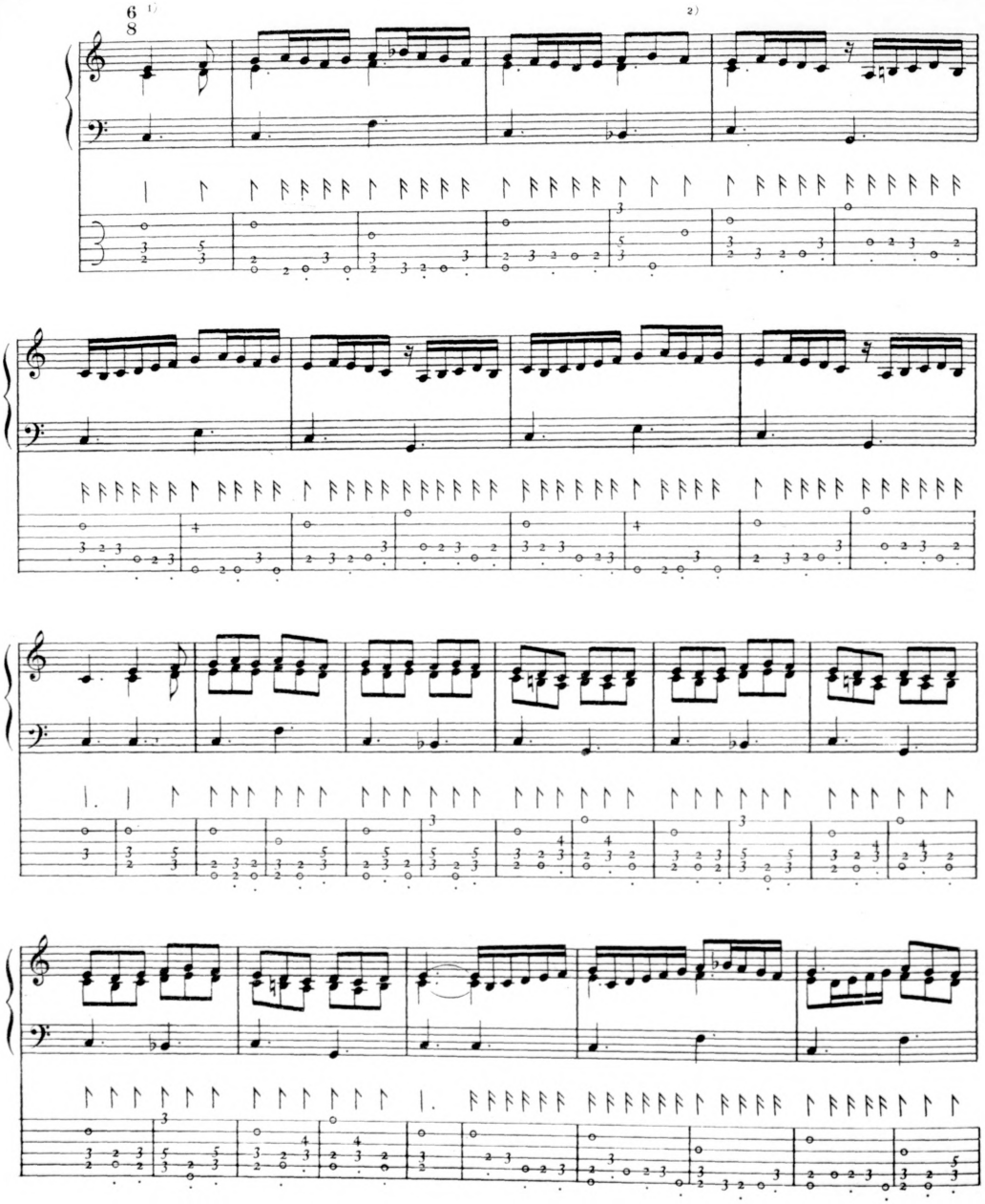


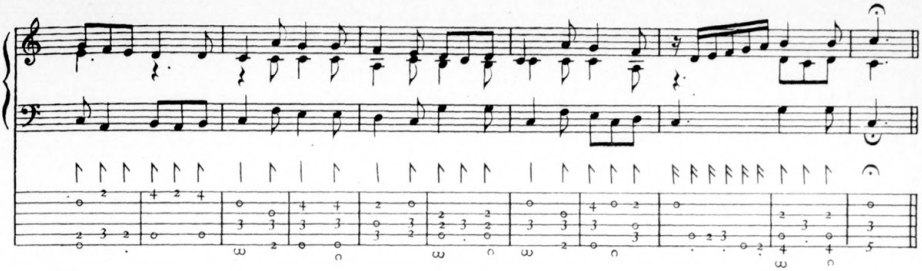
11. Voi che passate qui

[Bartolomeo Tromboncino]



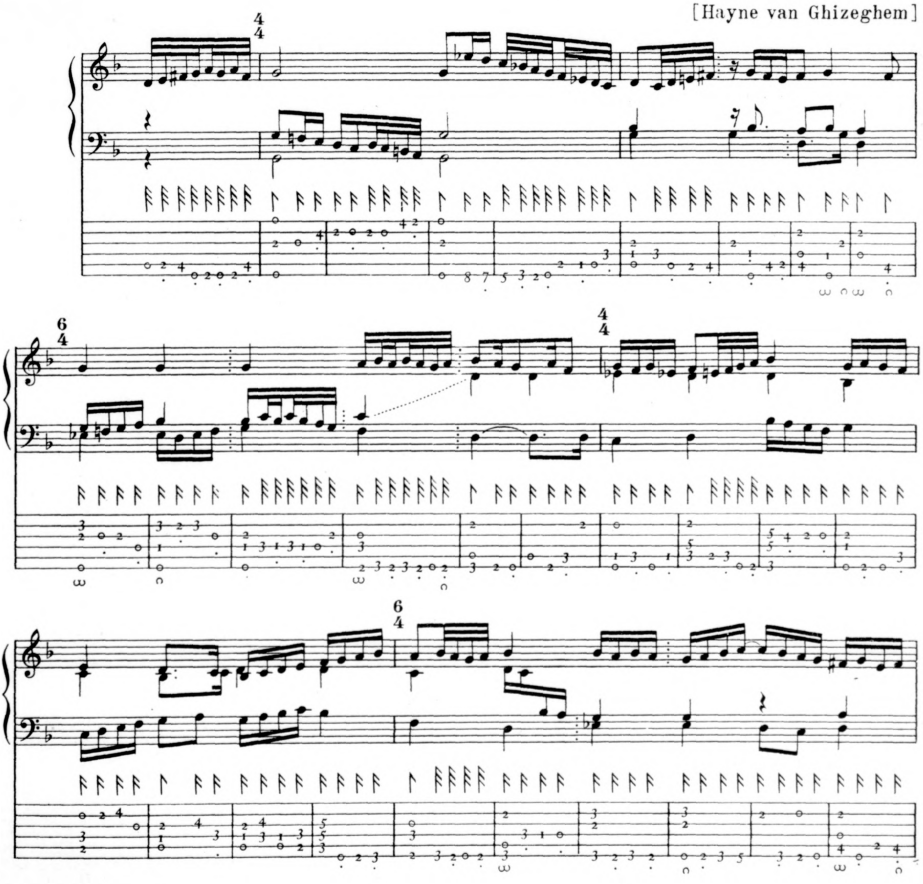
12. Balletto

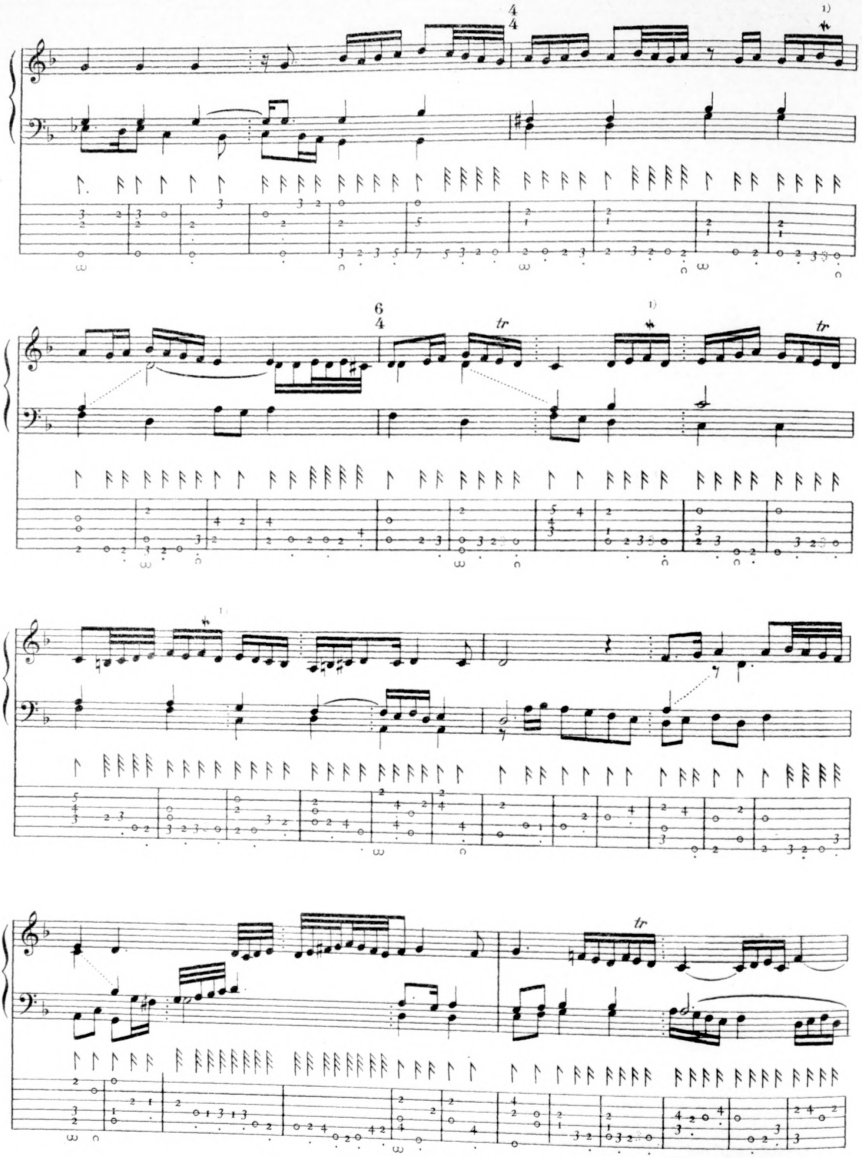




13. De tous biens plaine

[Hayne van Ghizeghem]

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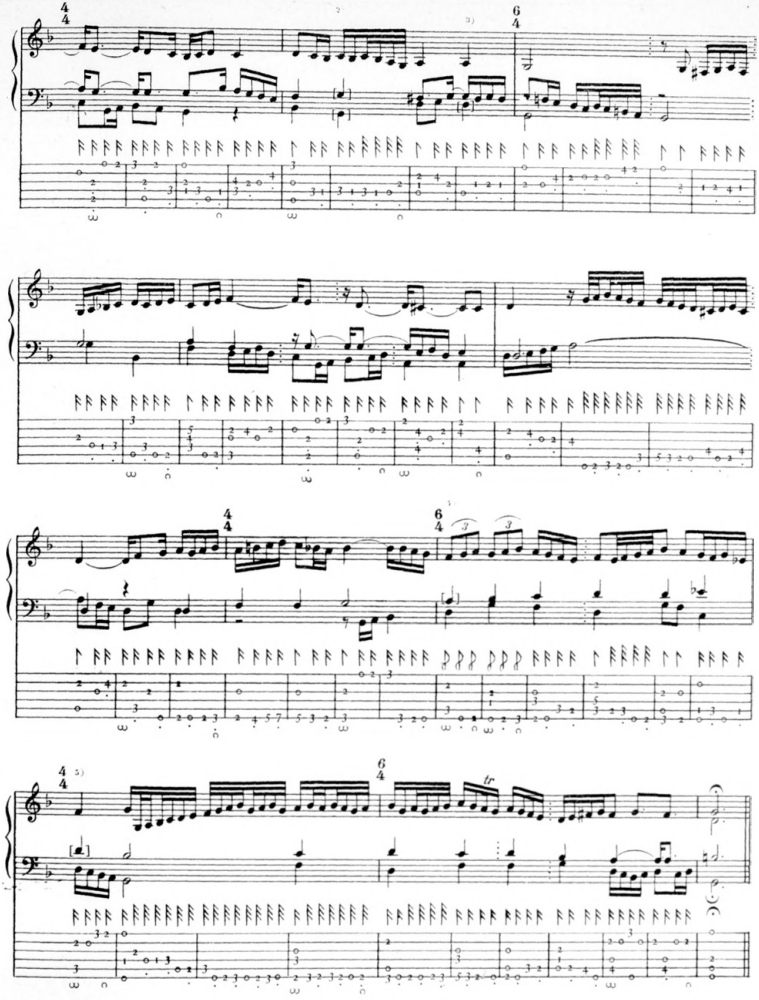
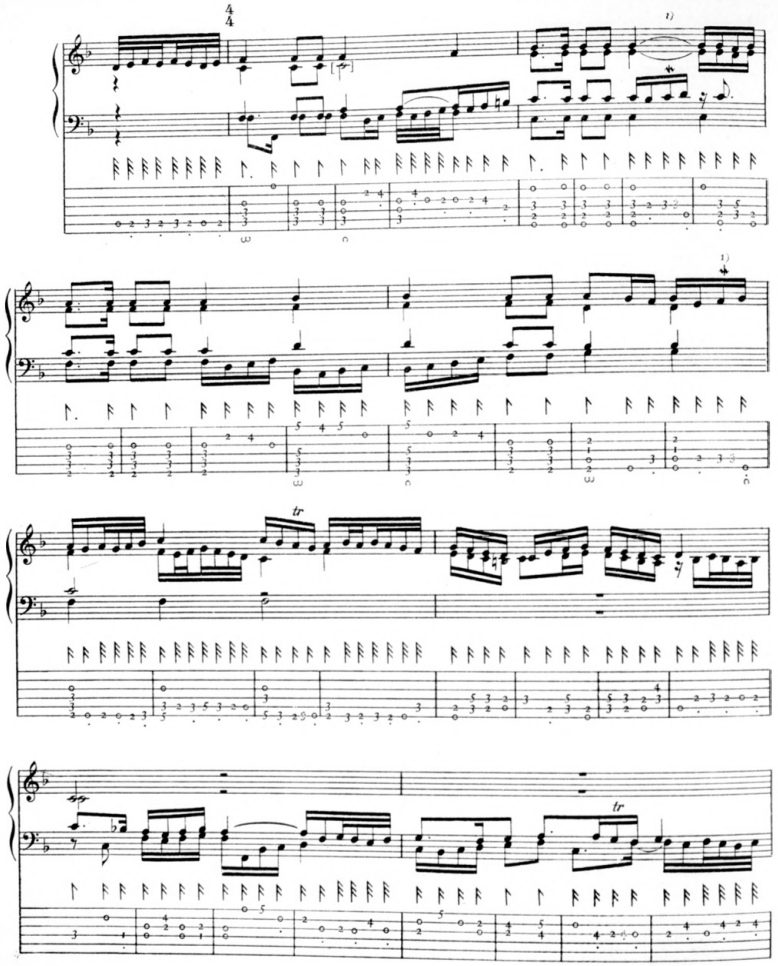
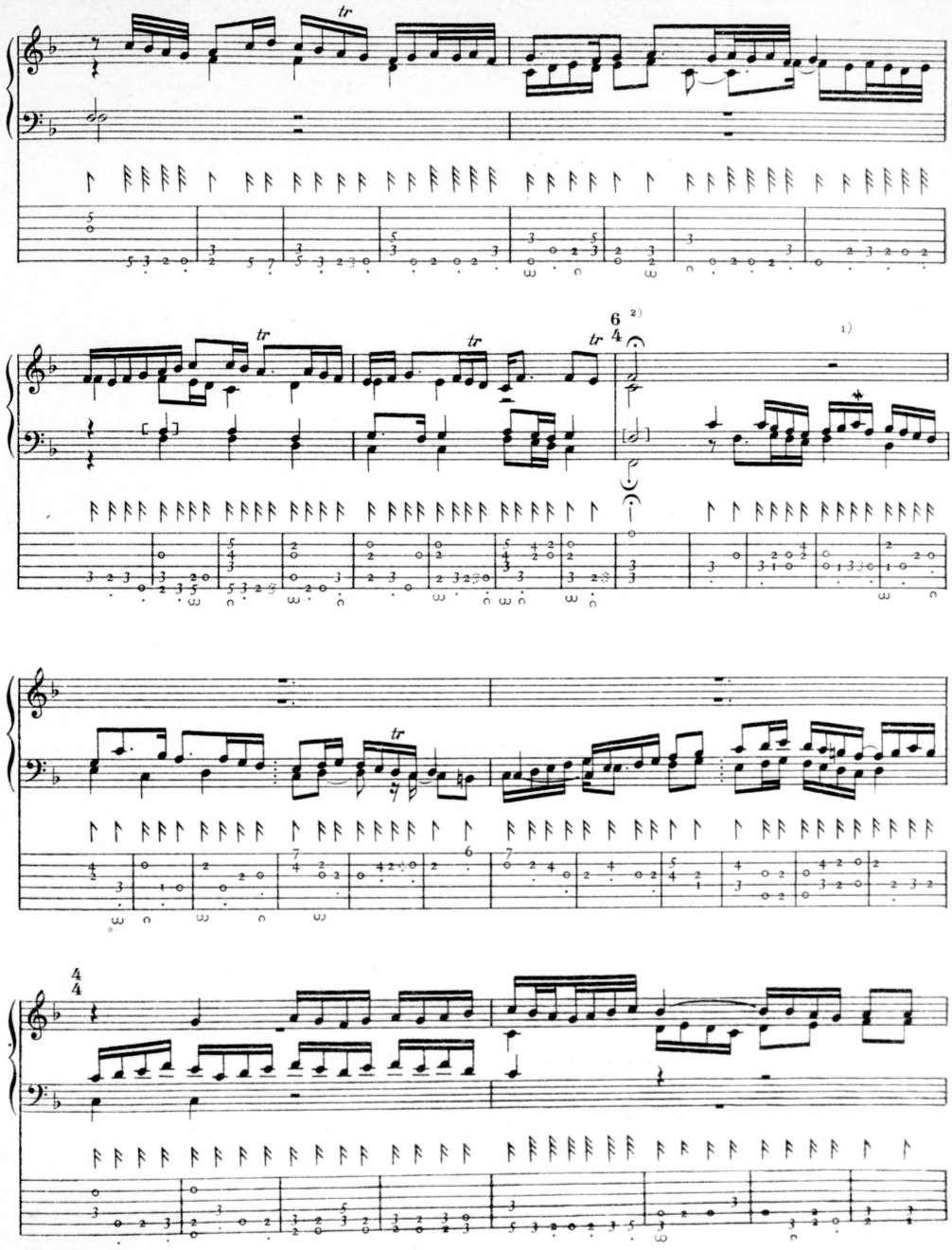


14. Sancta Trinitas

[Anthoine de Fevin]

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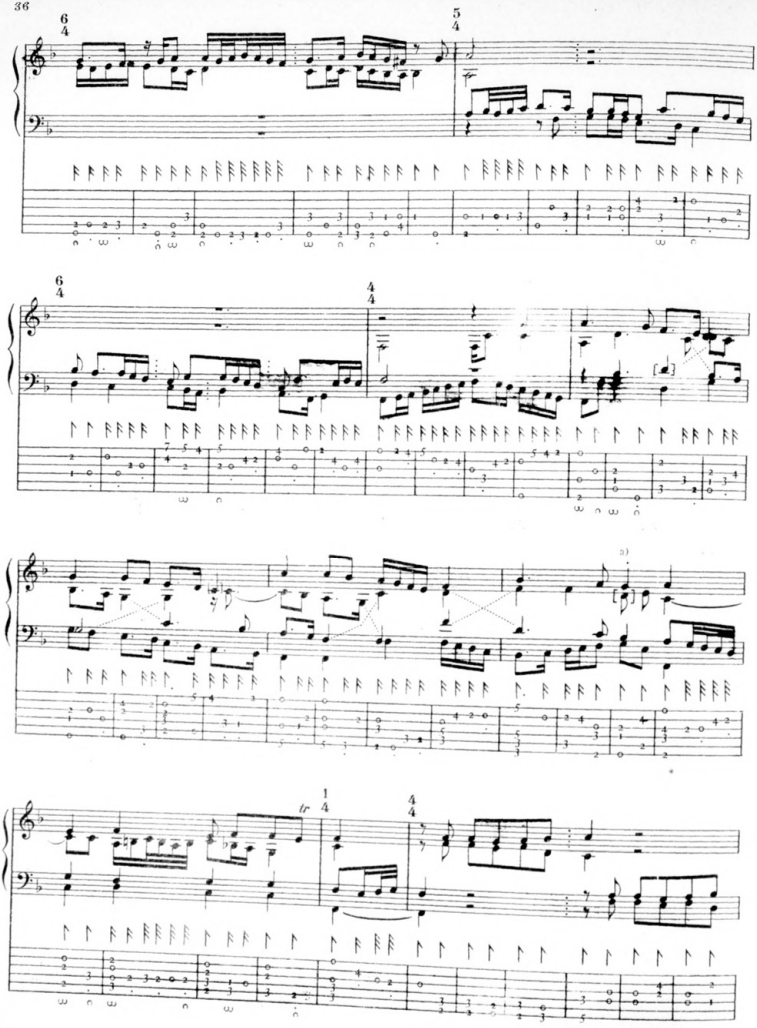
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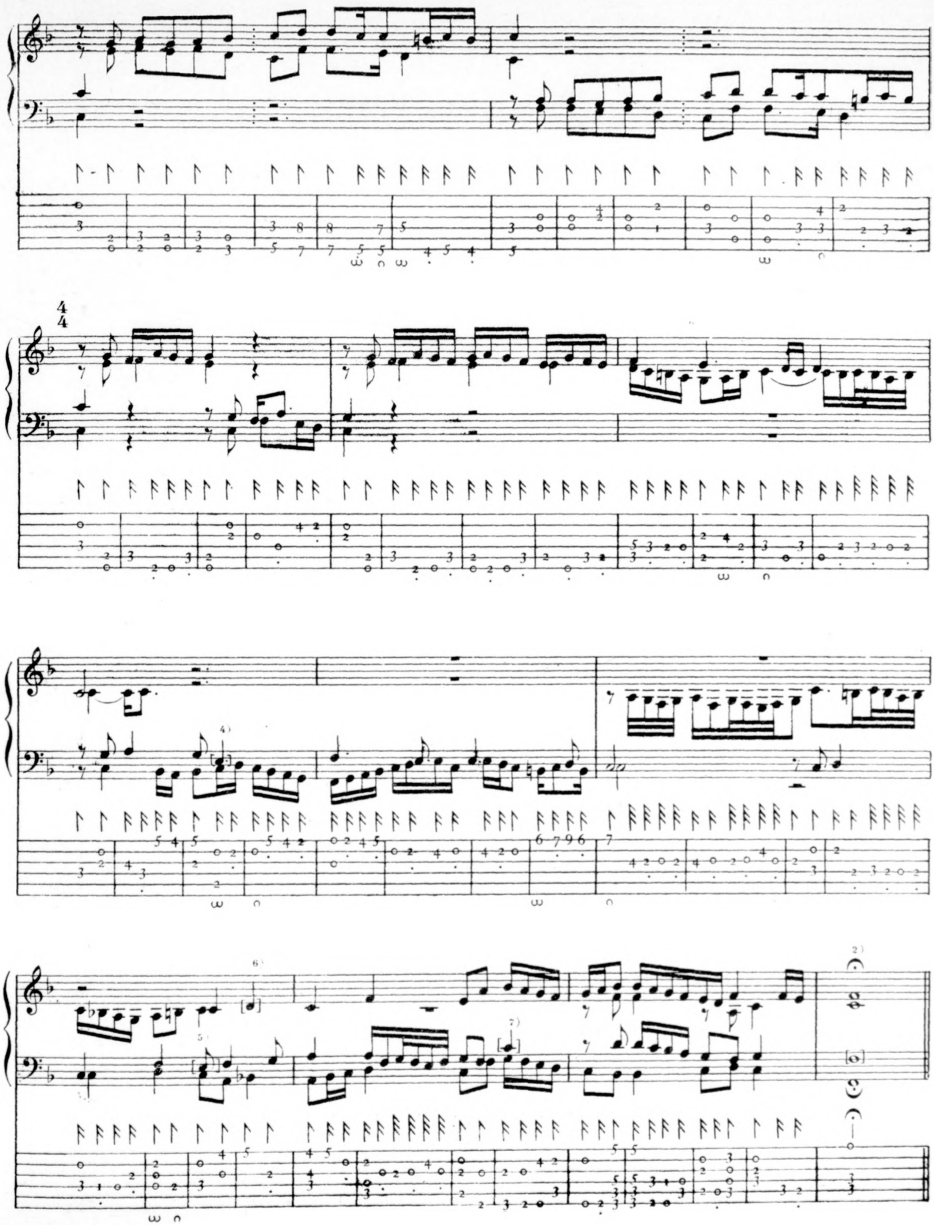
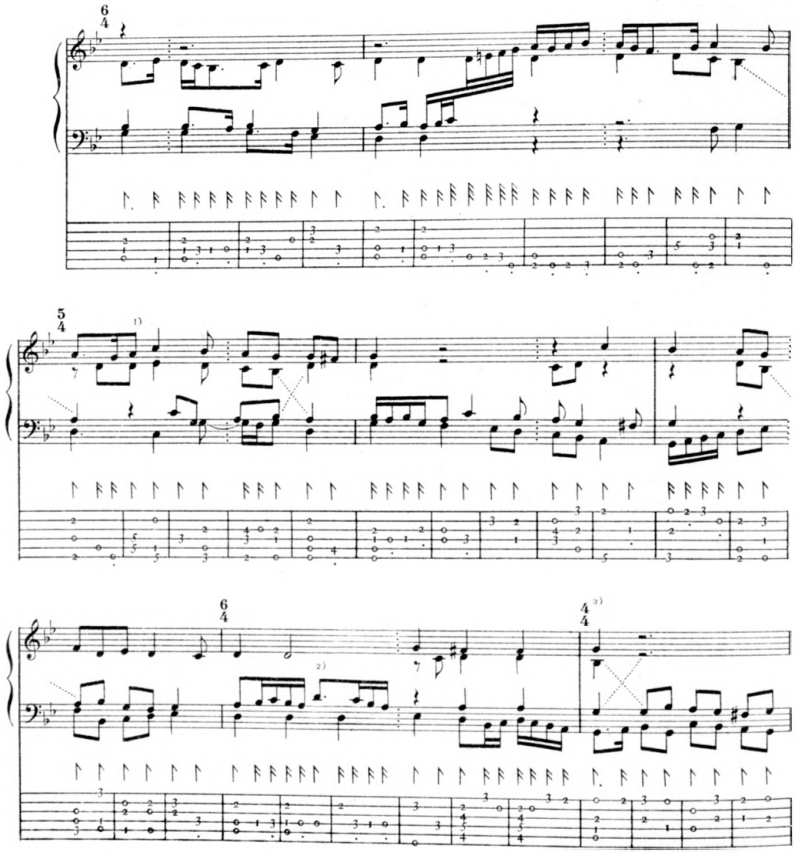
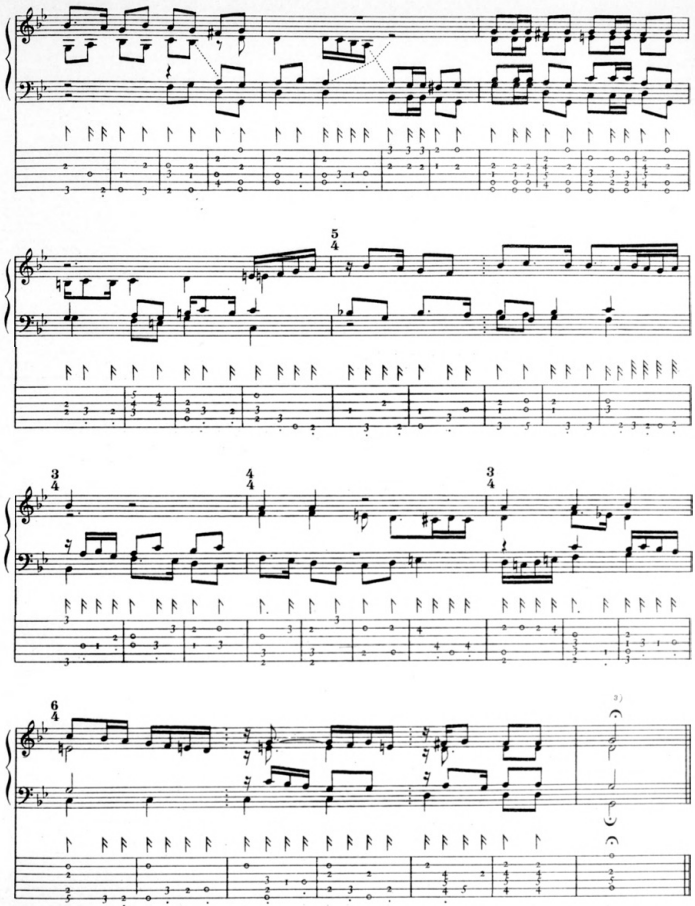
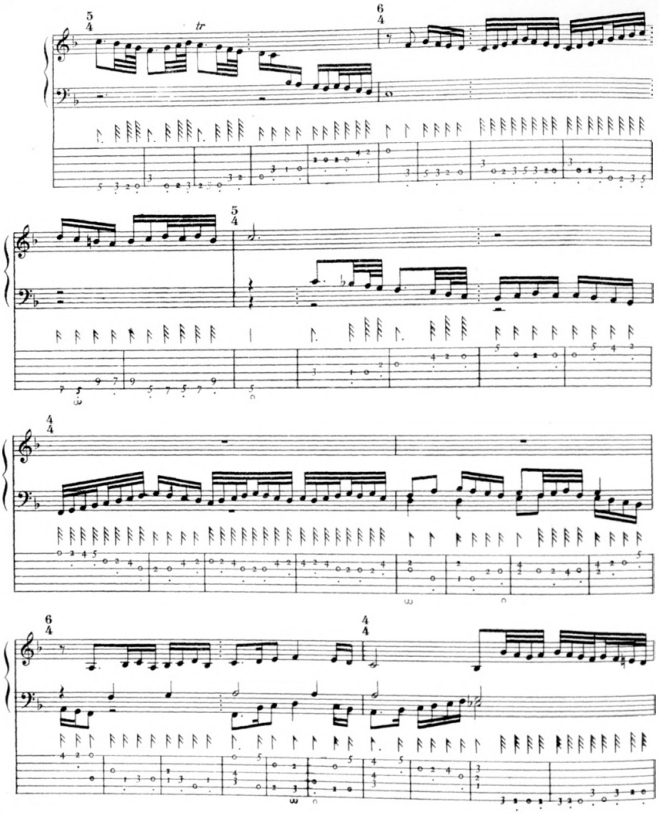


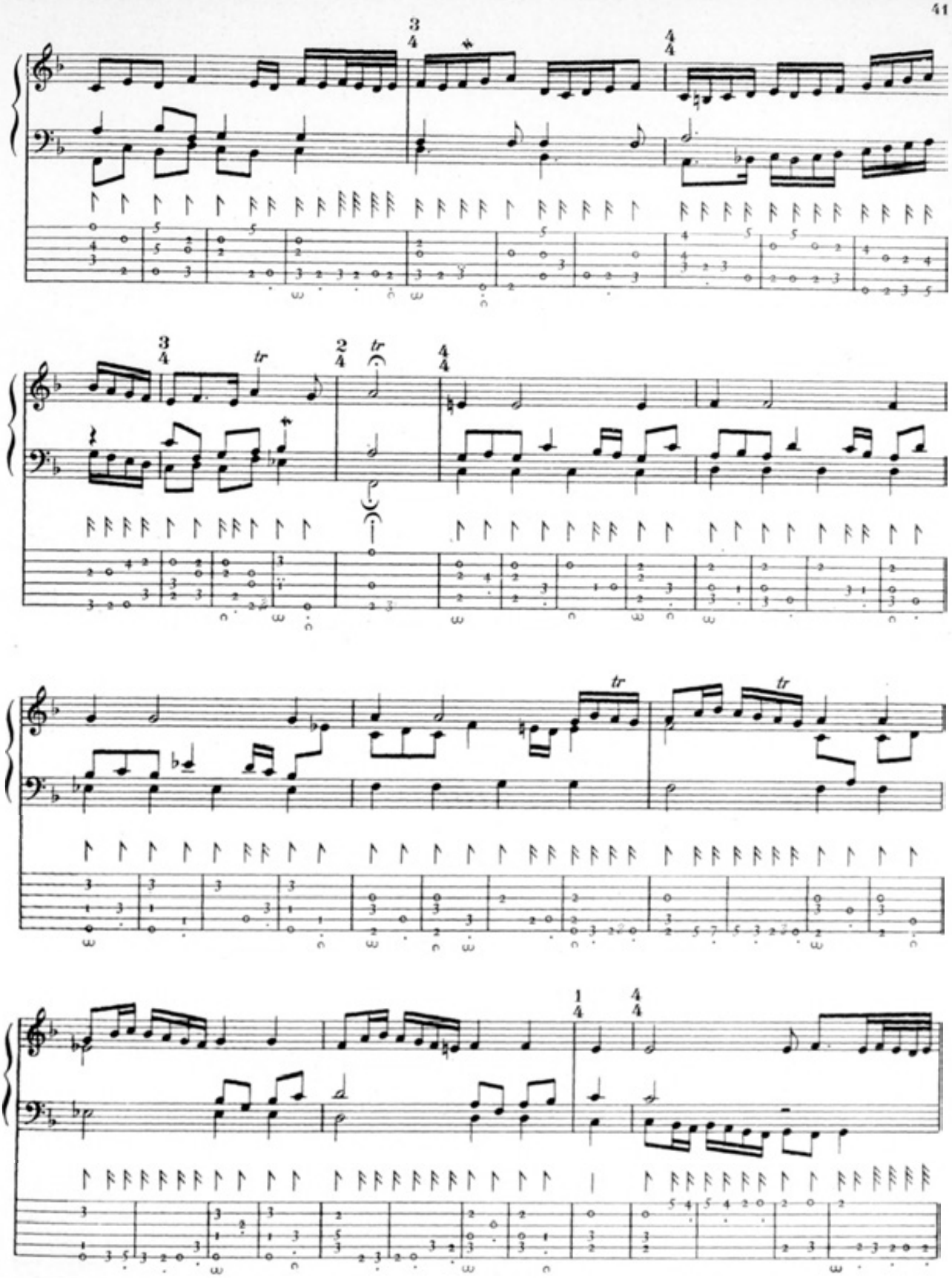
15. Canto bello

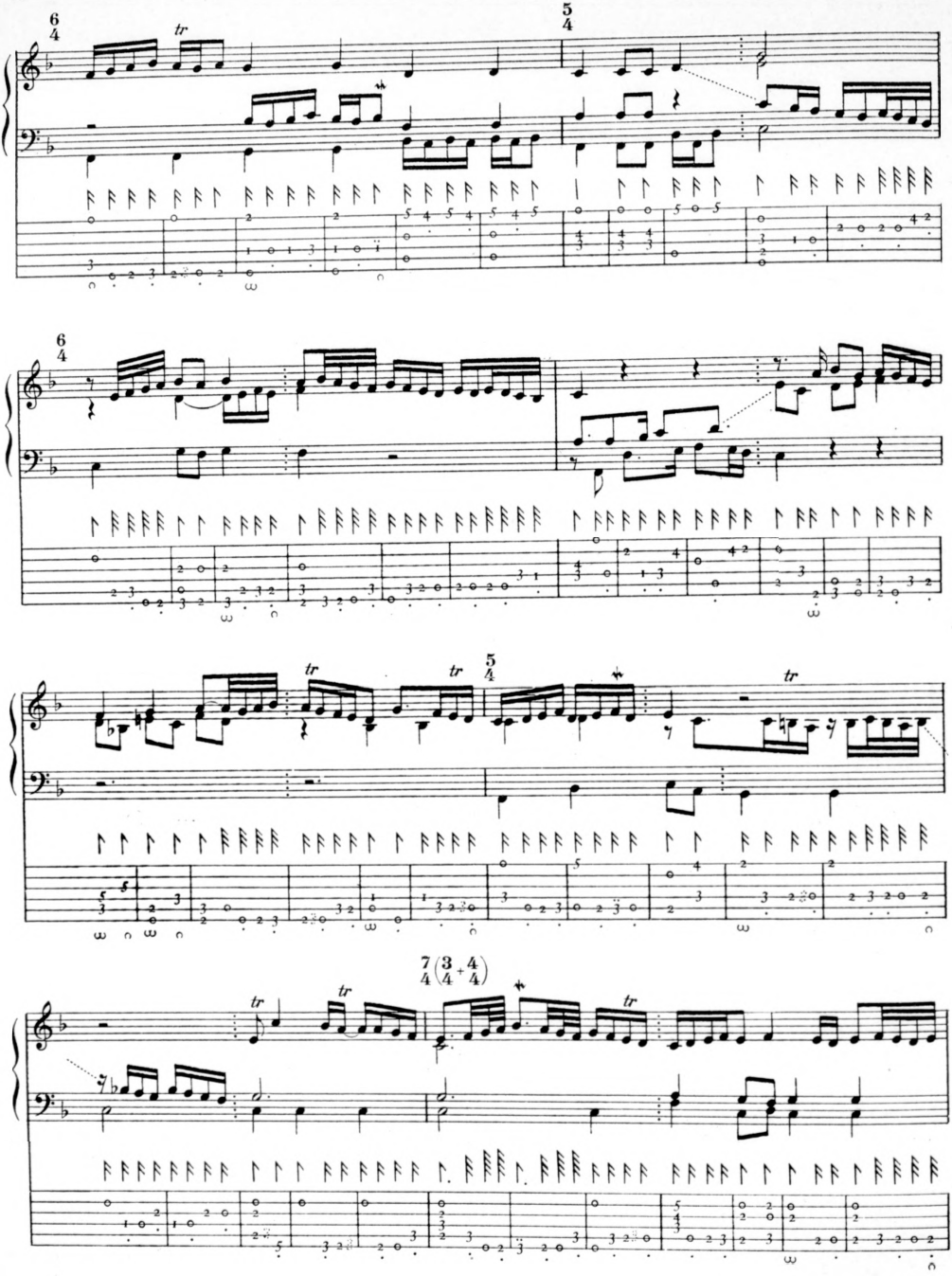


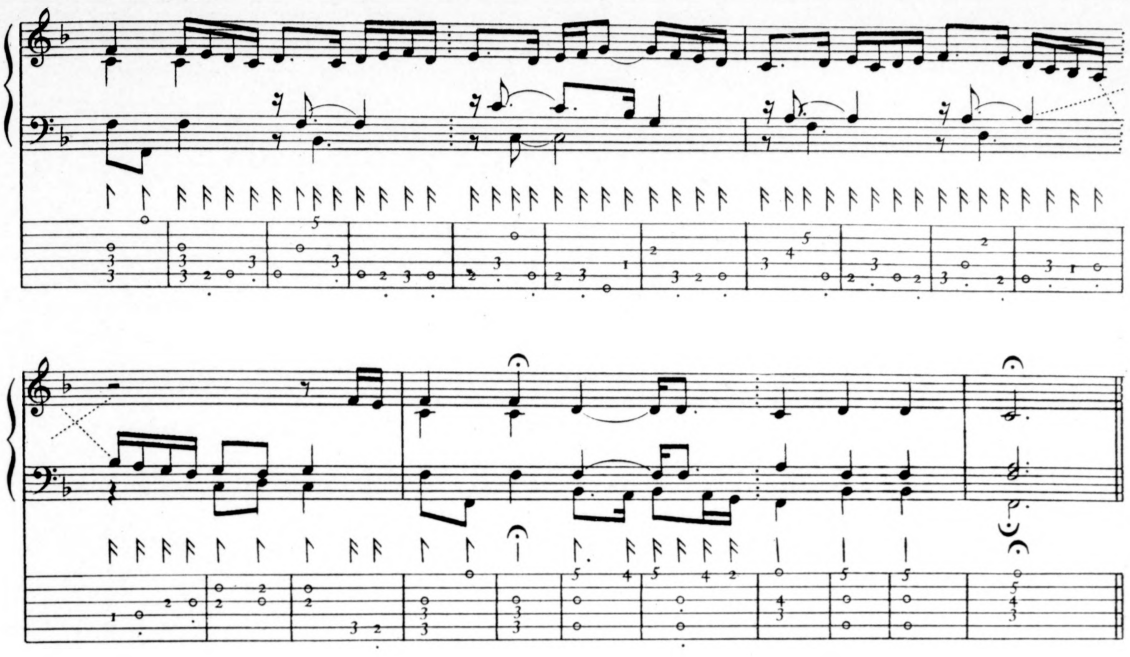


16. Ricercar IV

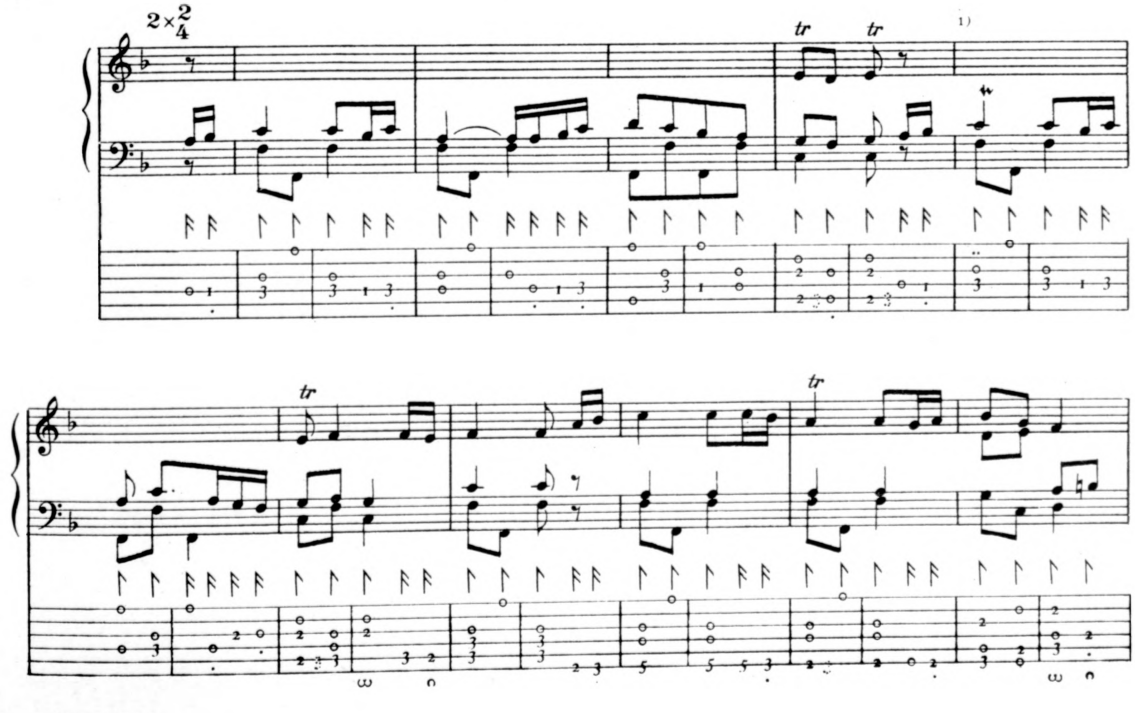


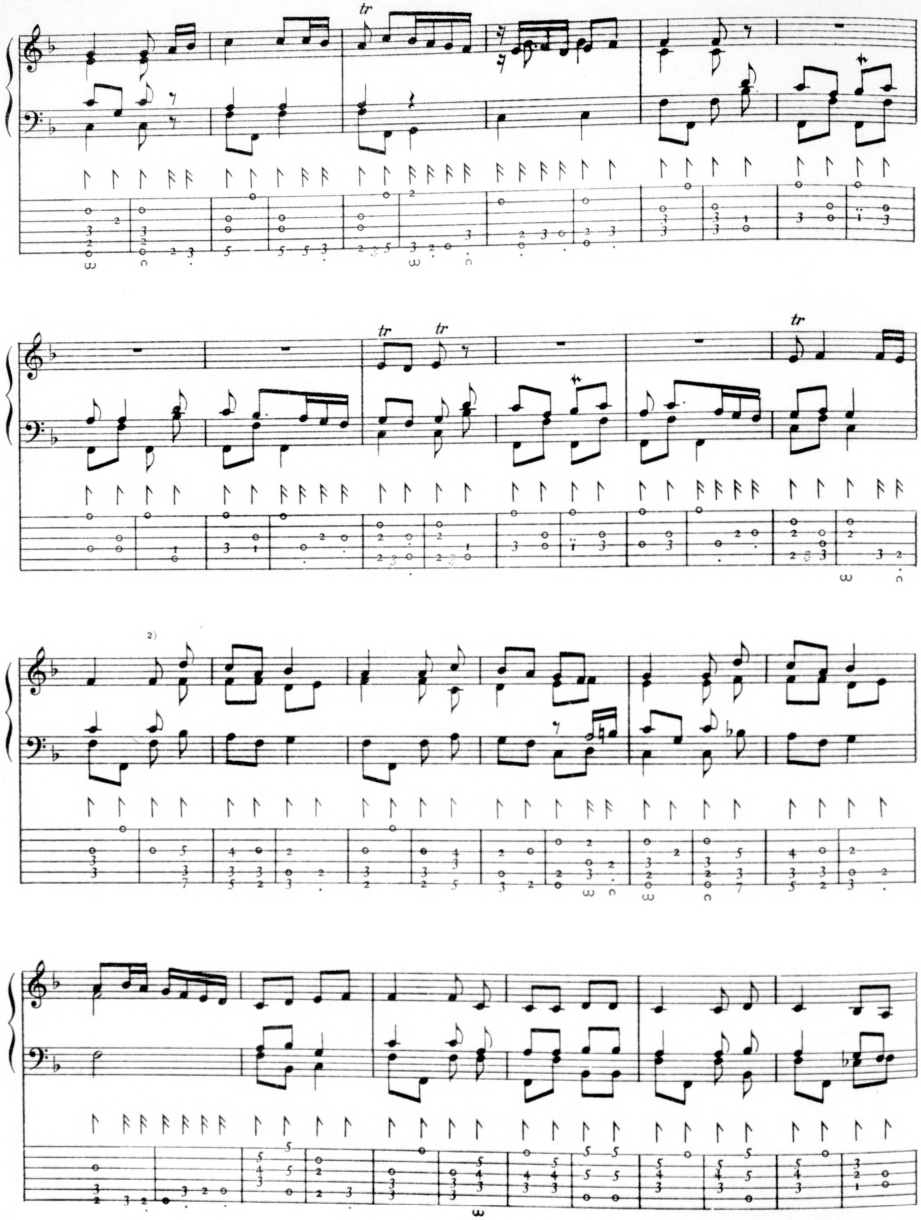






17. Padoana

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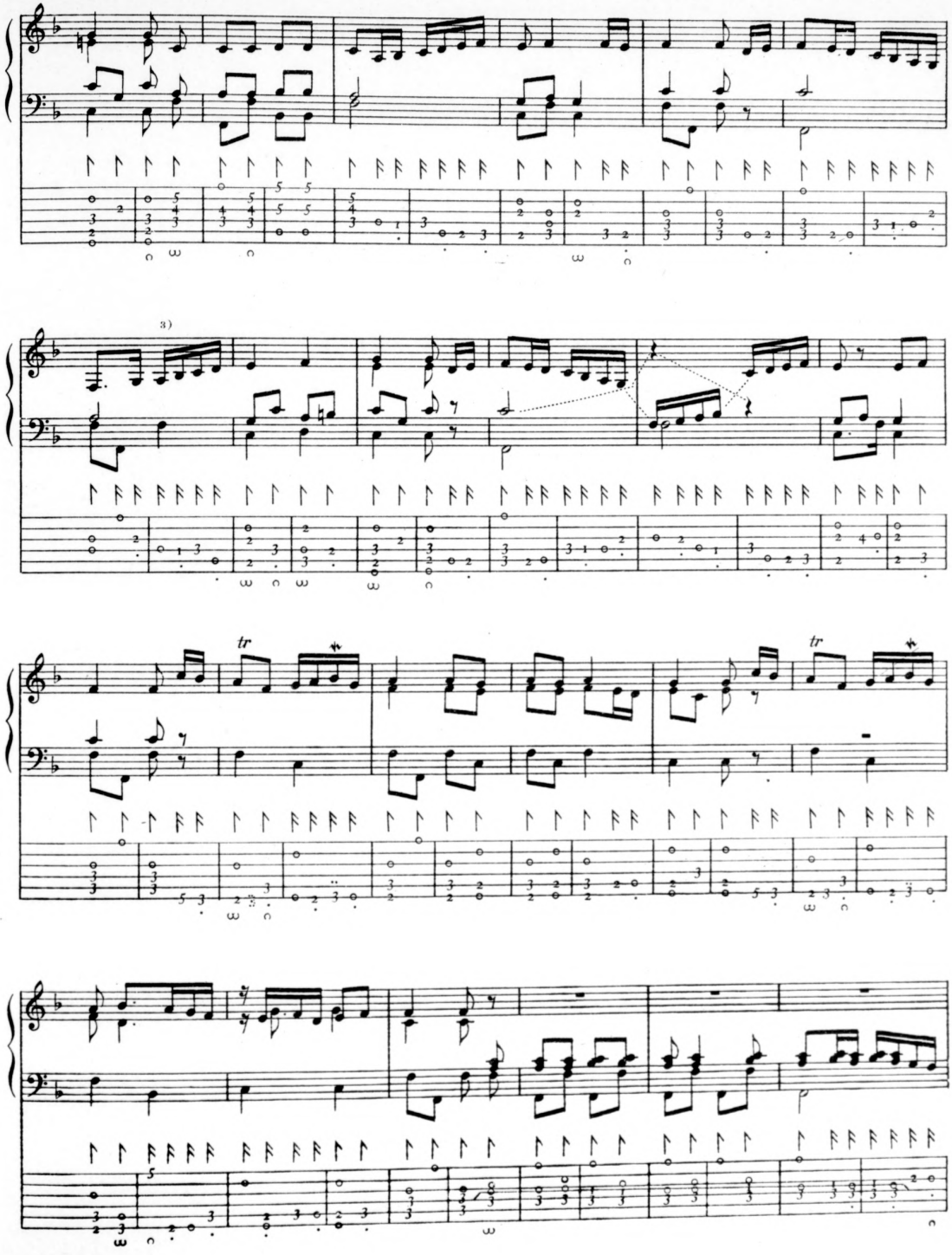
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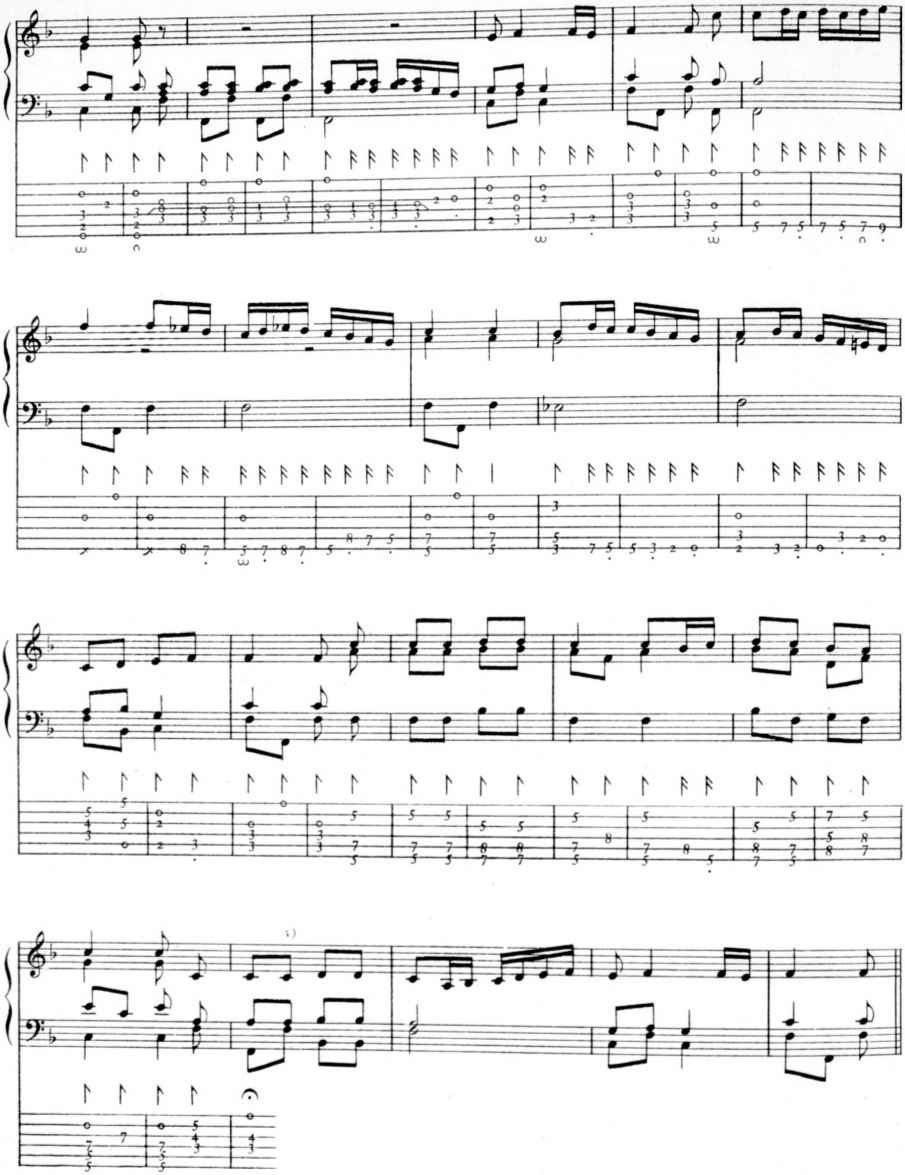
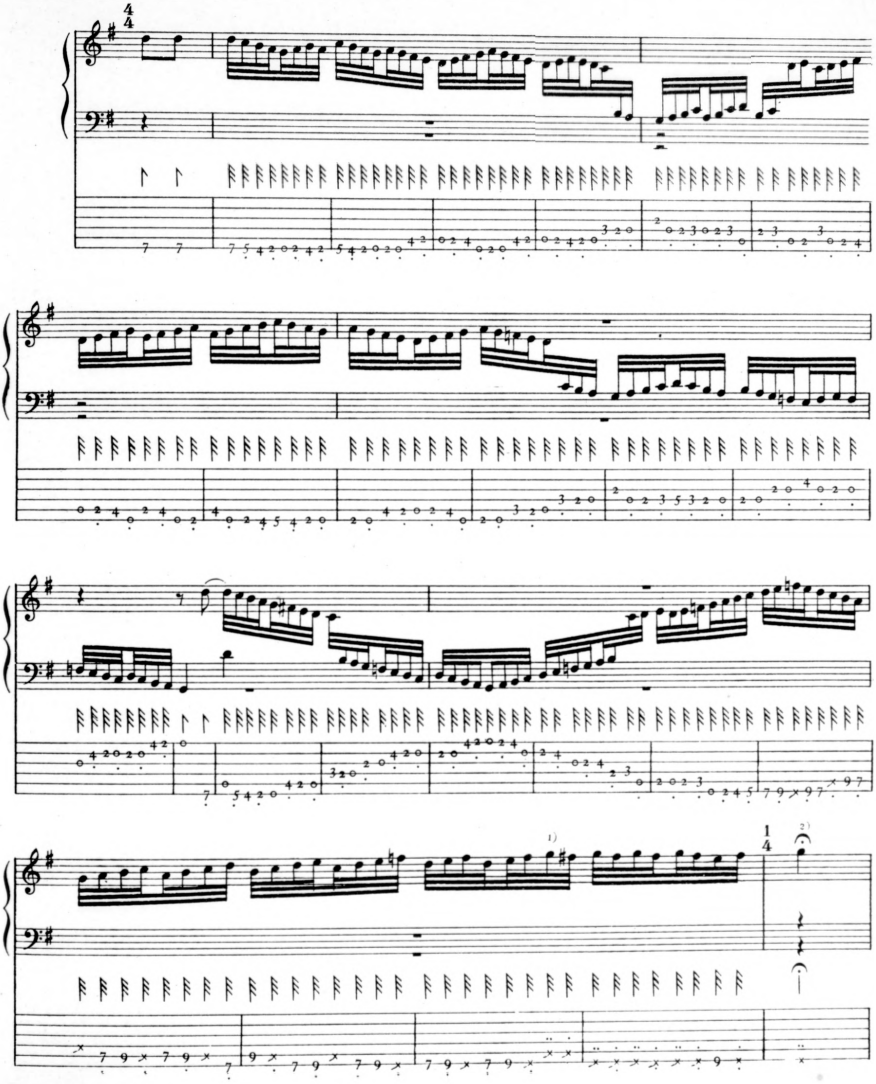
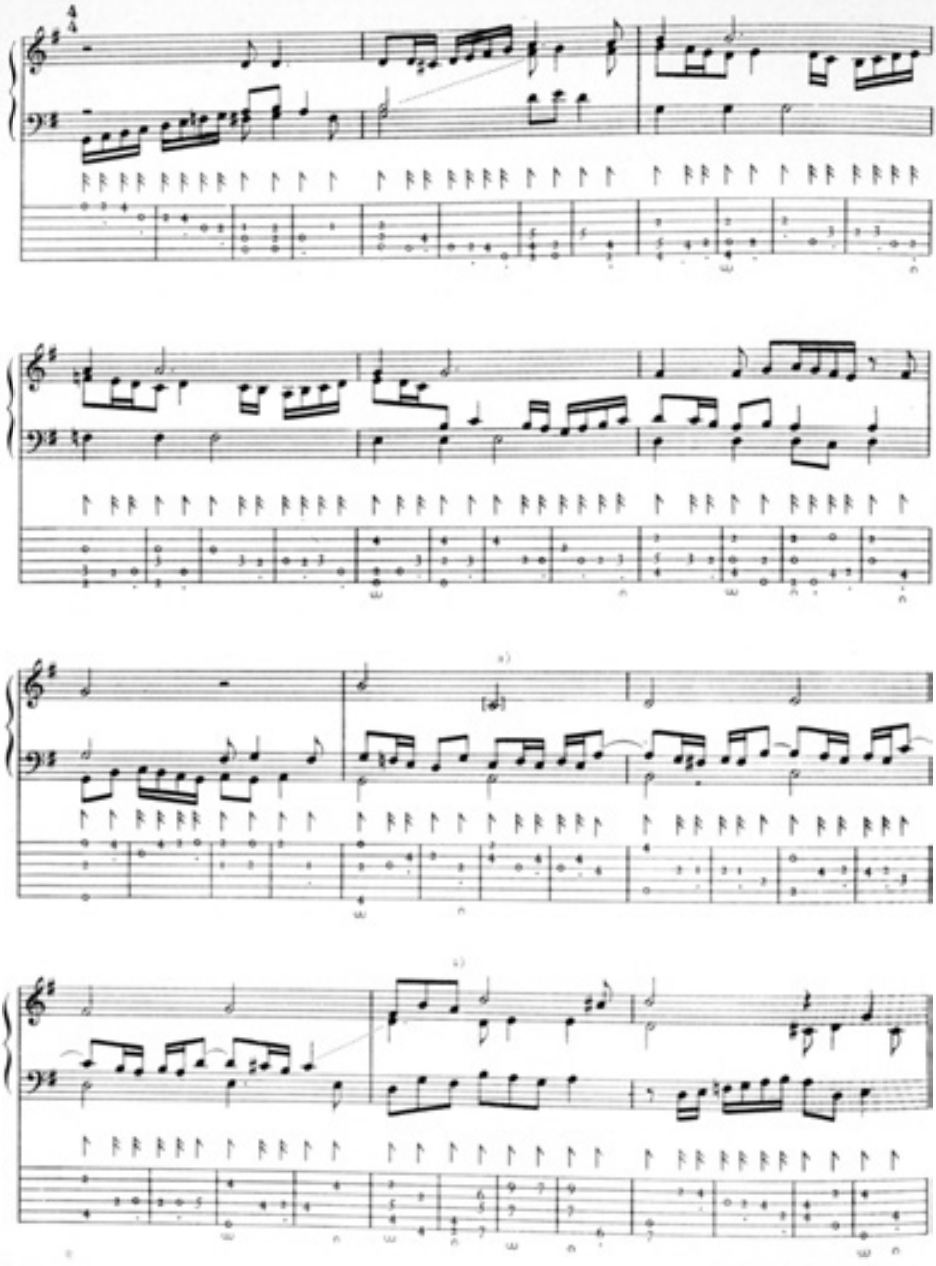
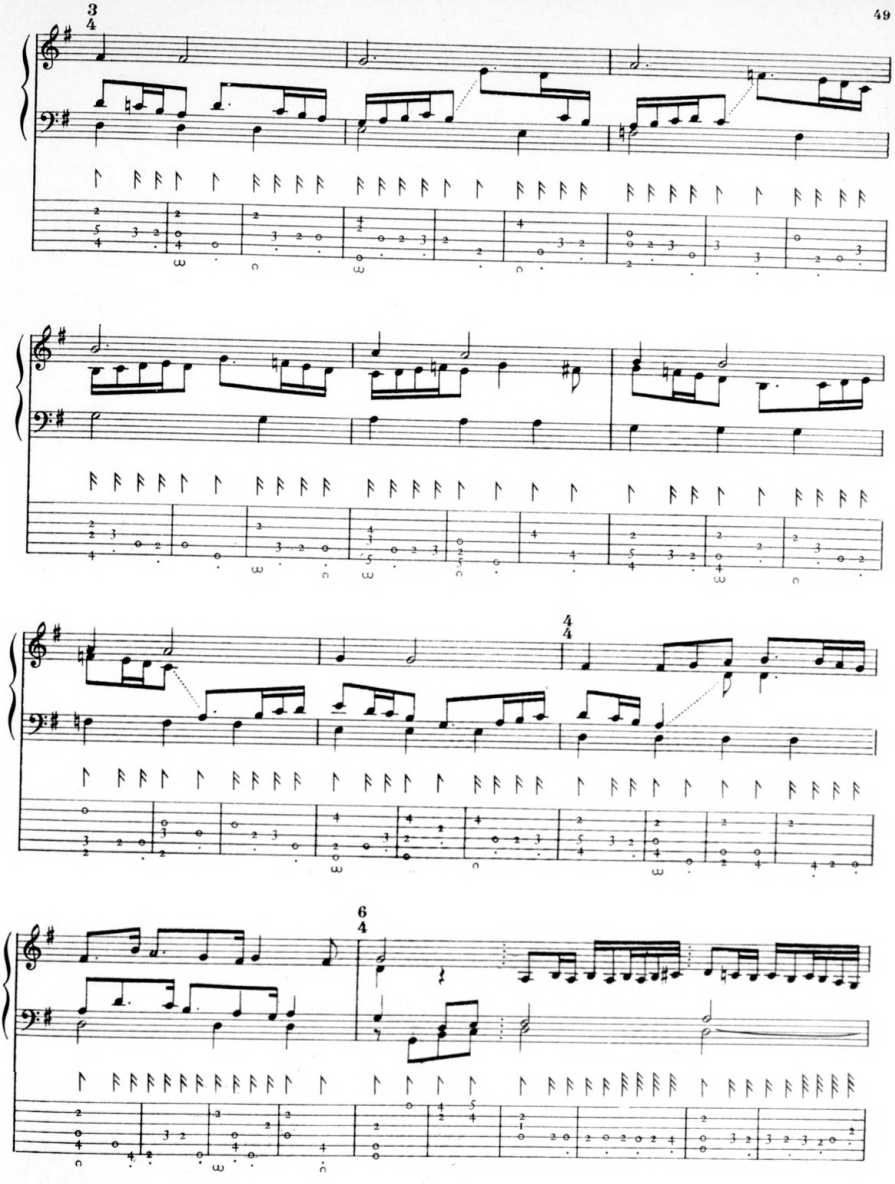
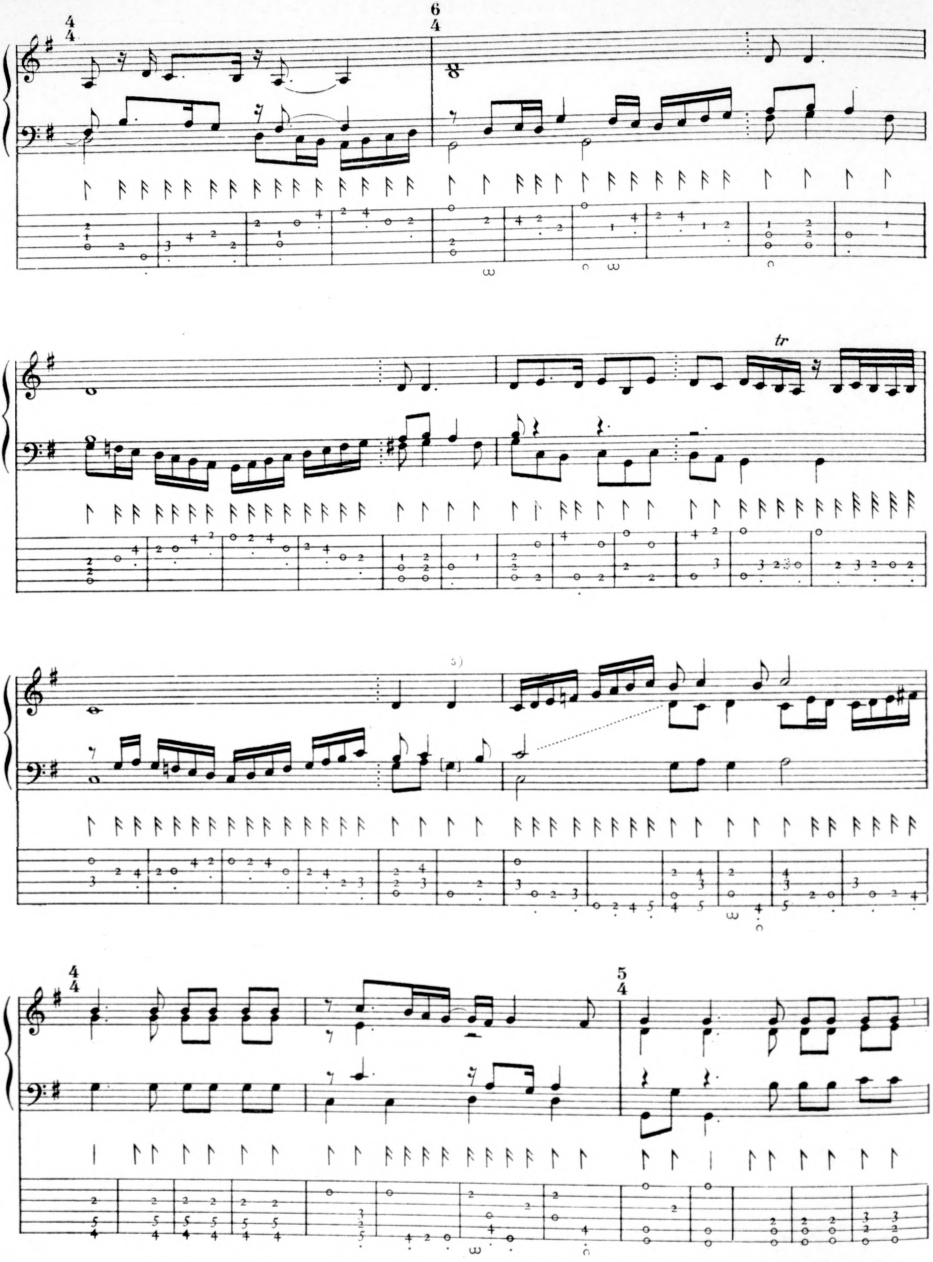


18. Ricercar V





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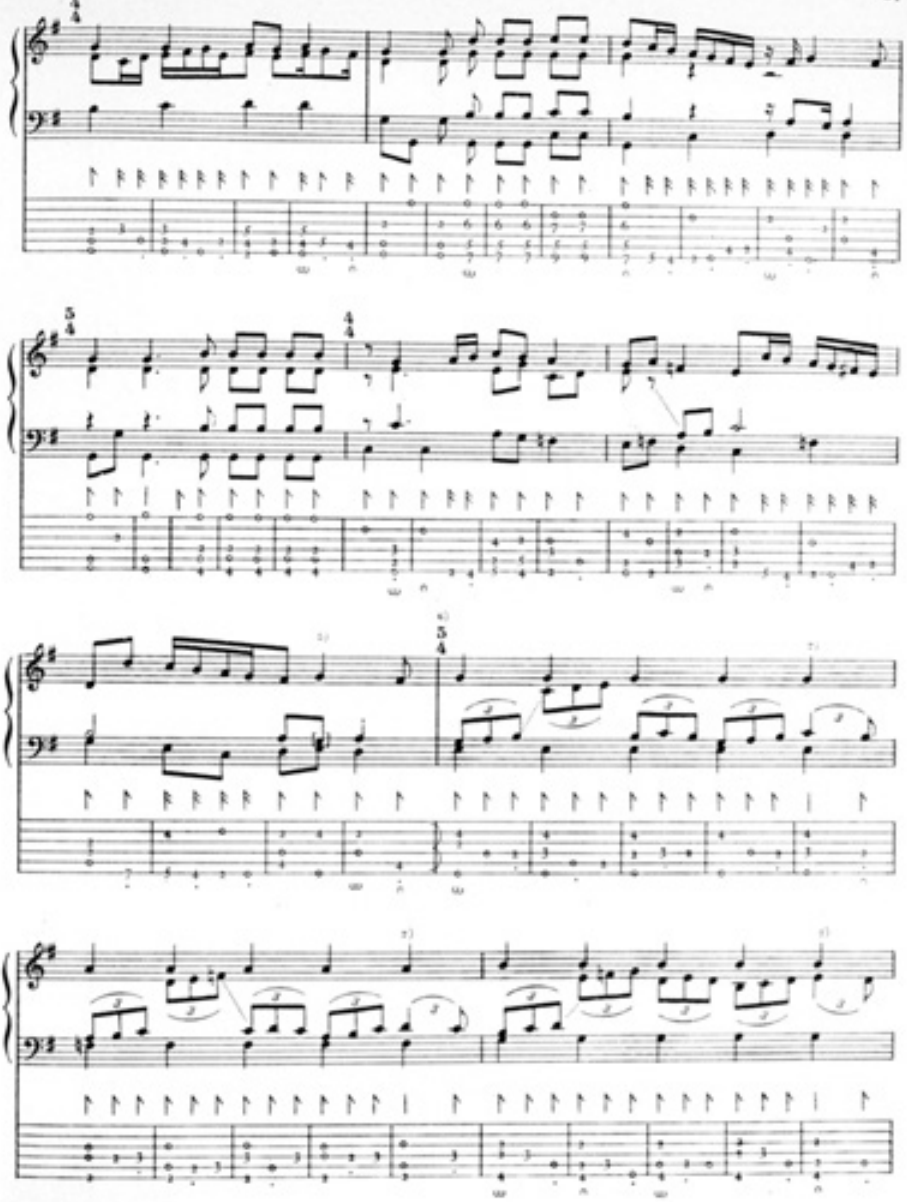
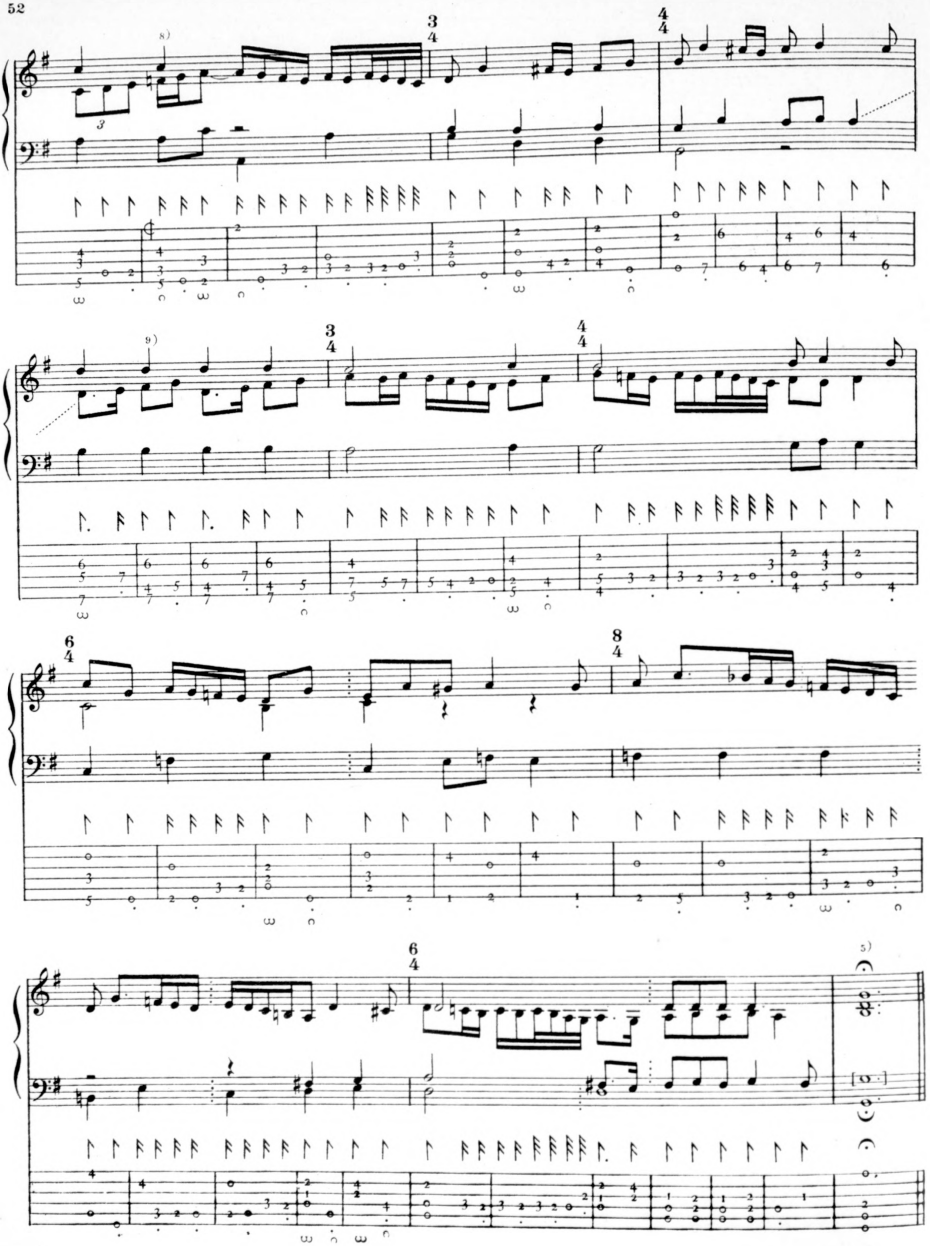
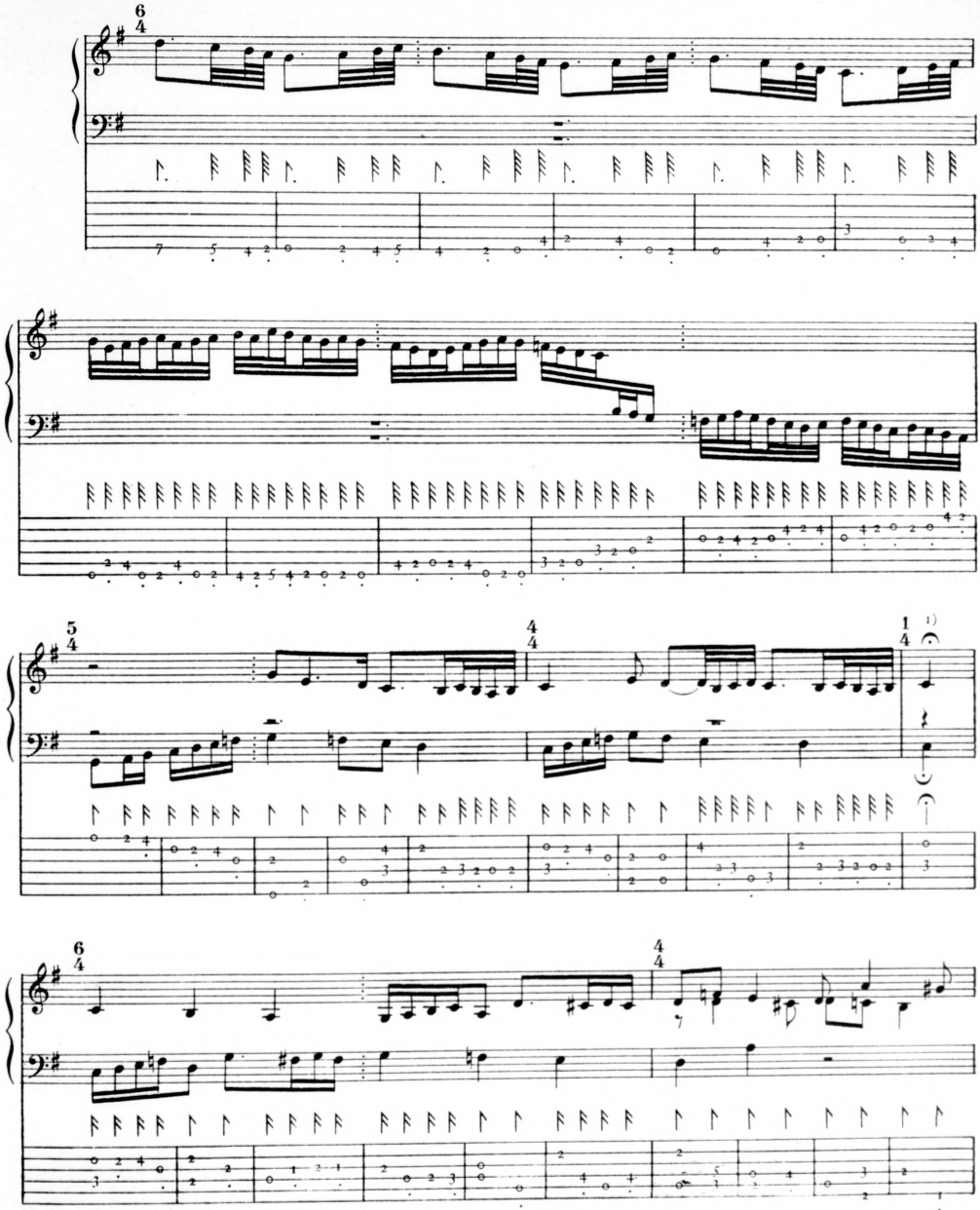
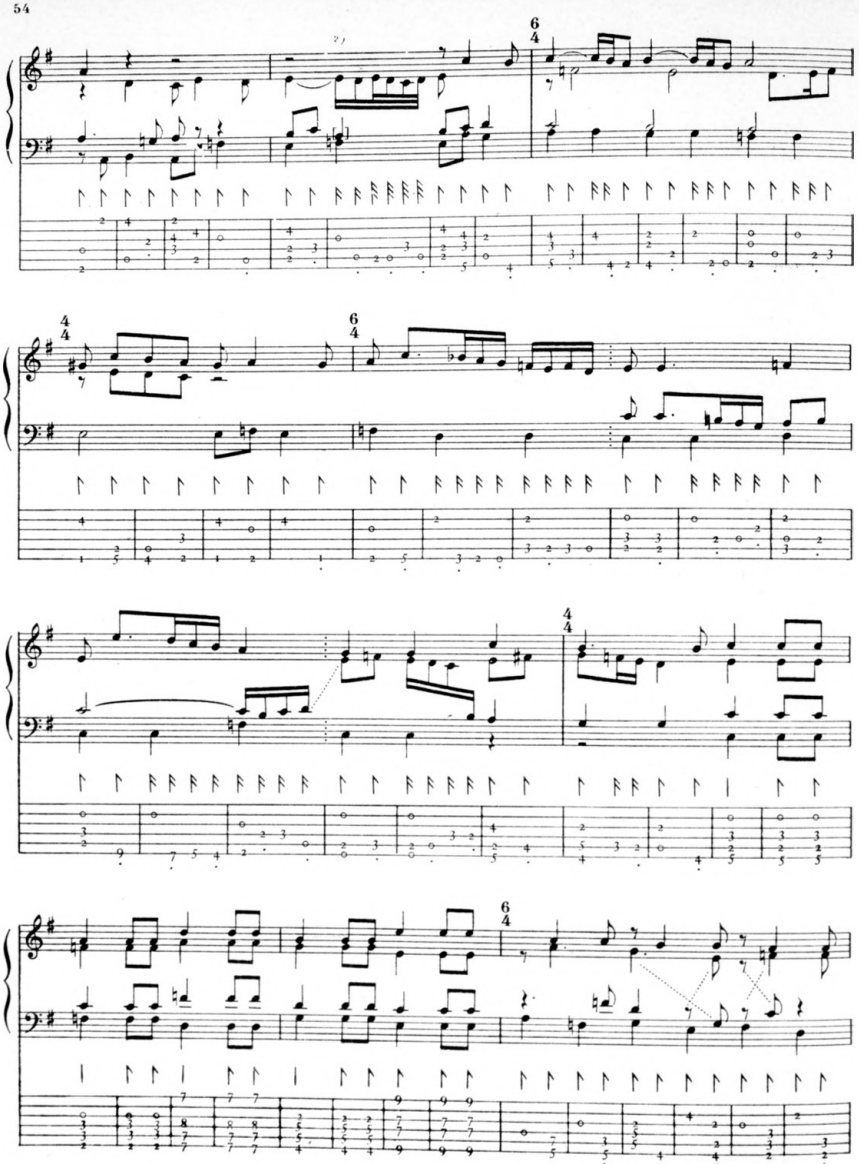
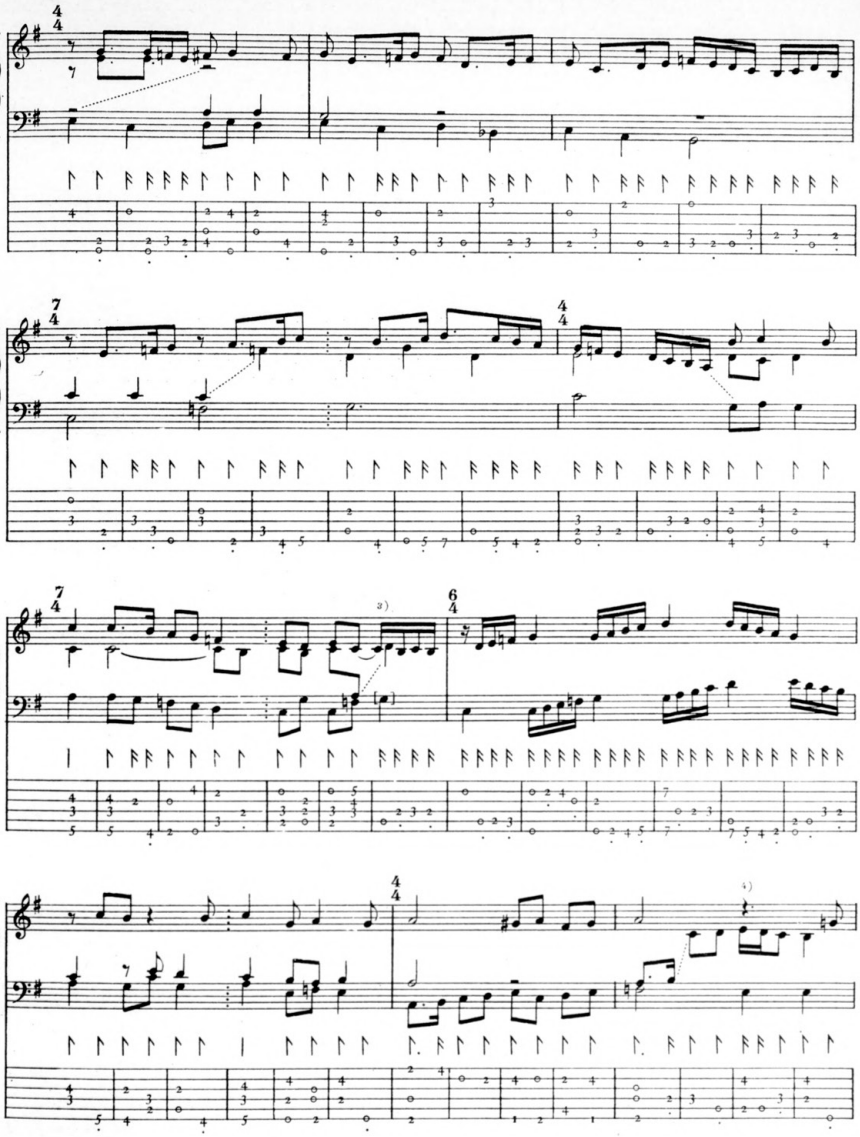


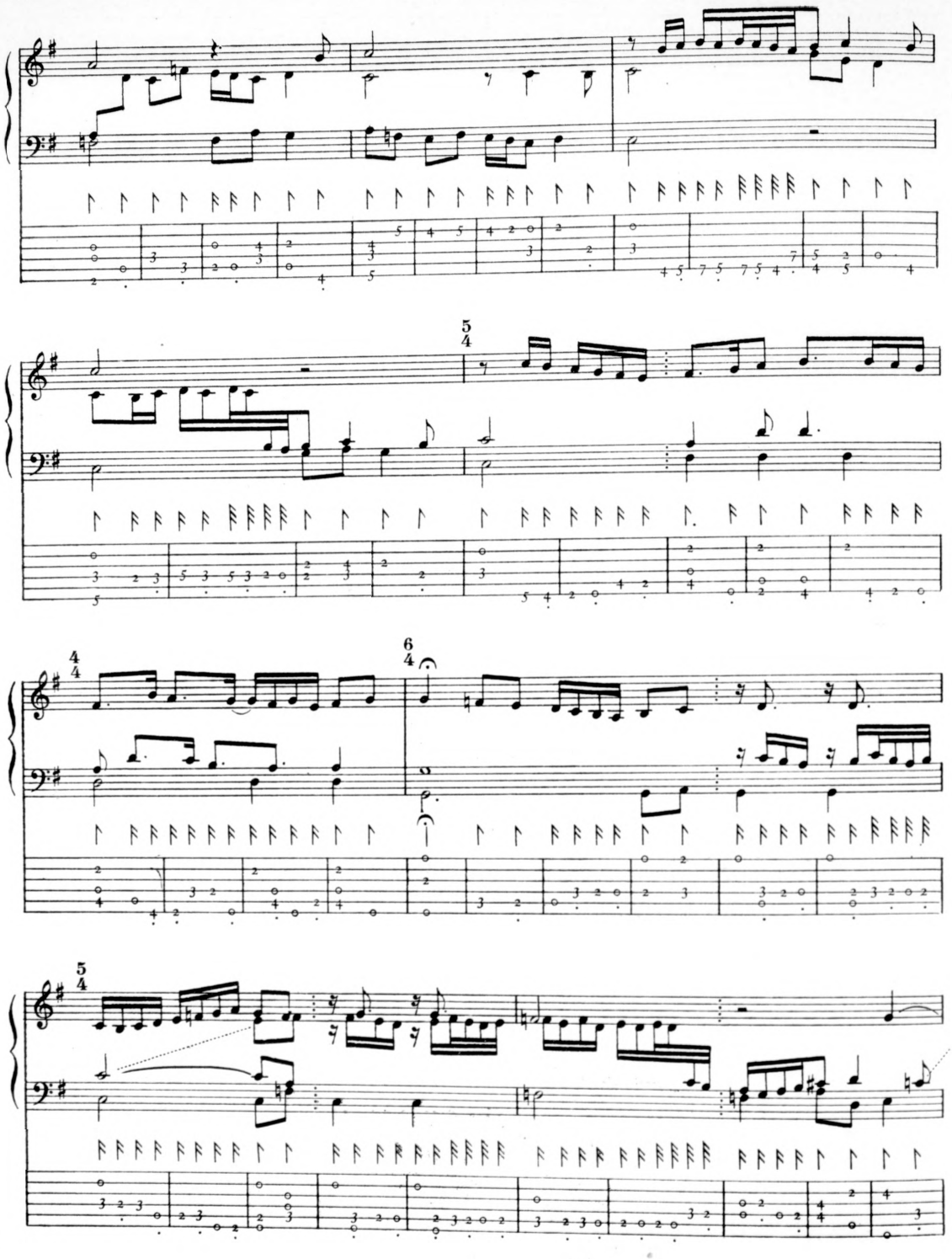


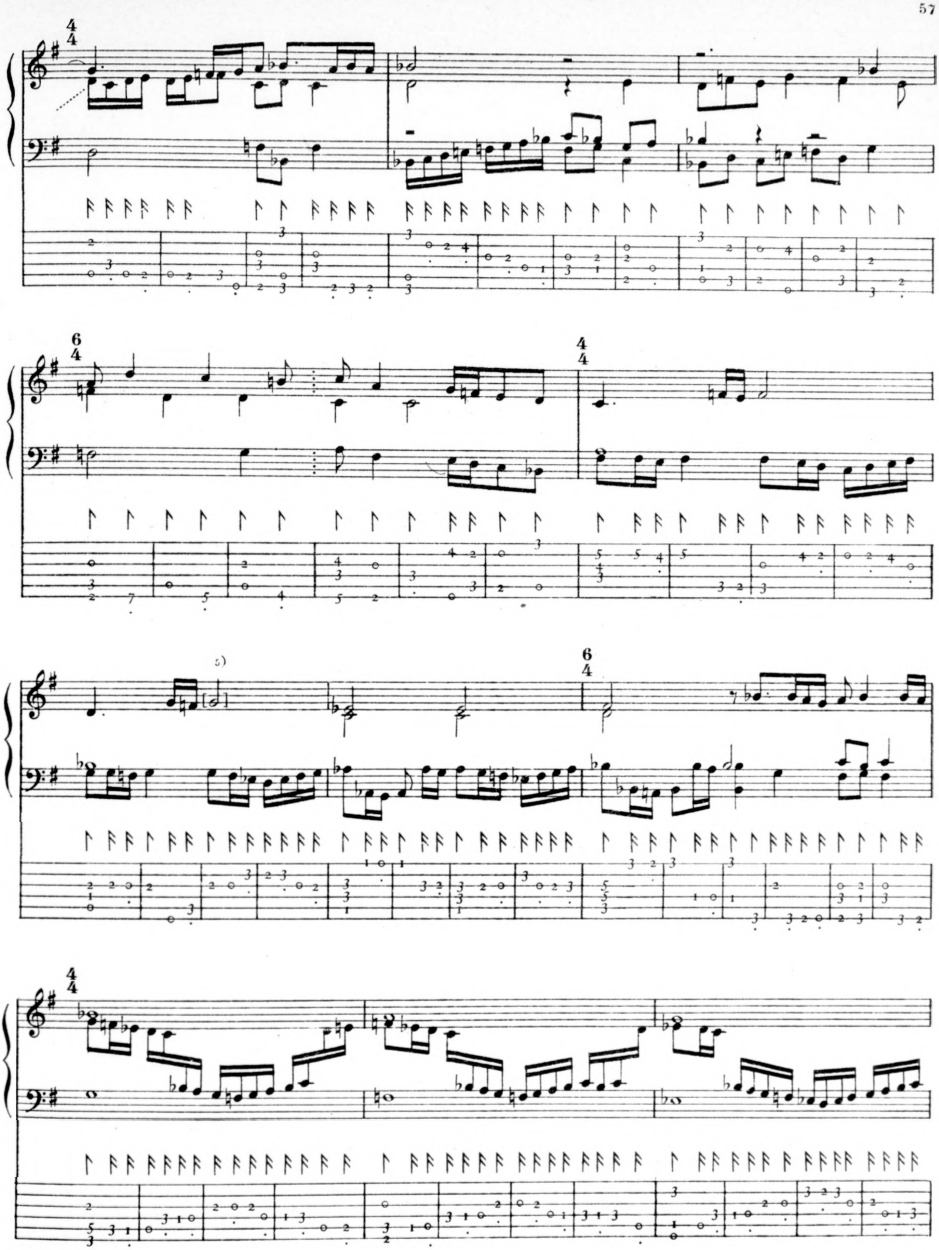
19. Ricercar VI

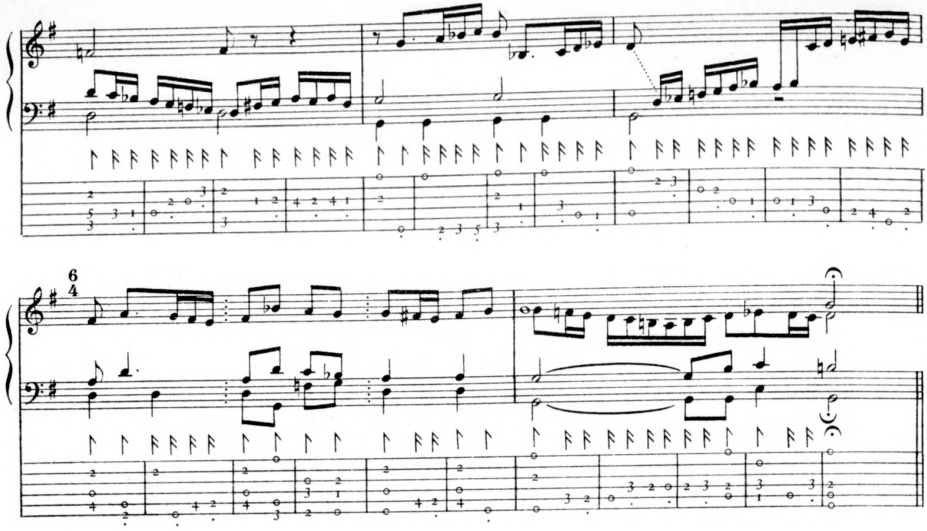






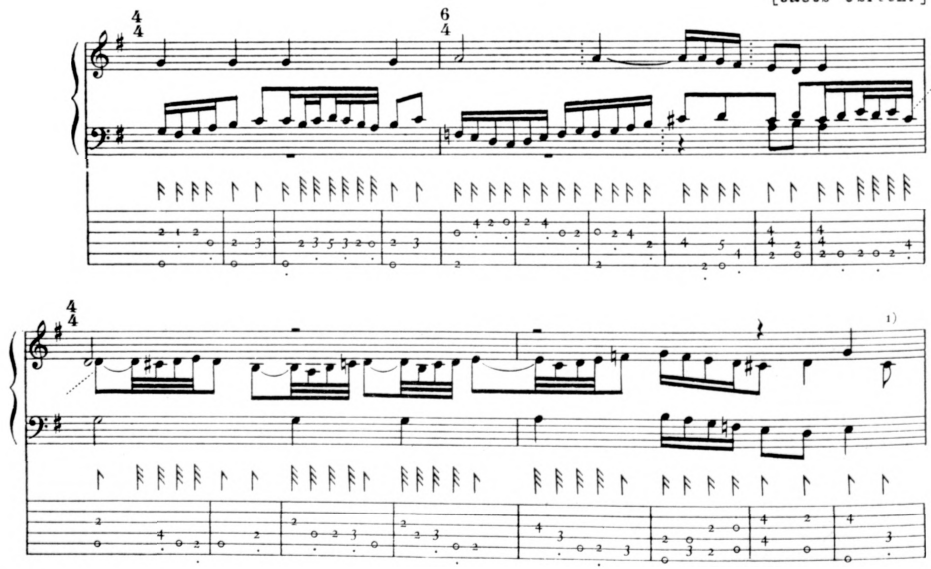


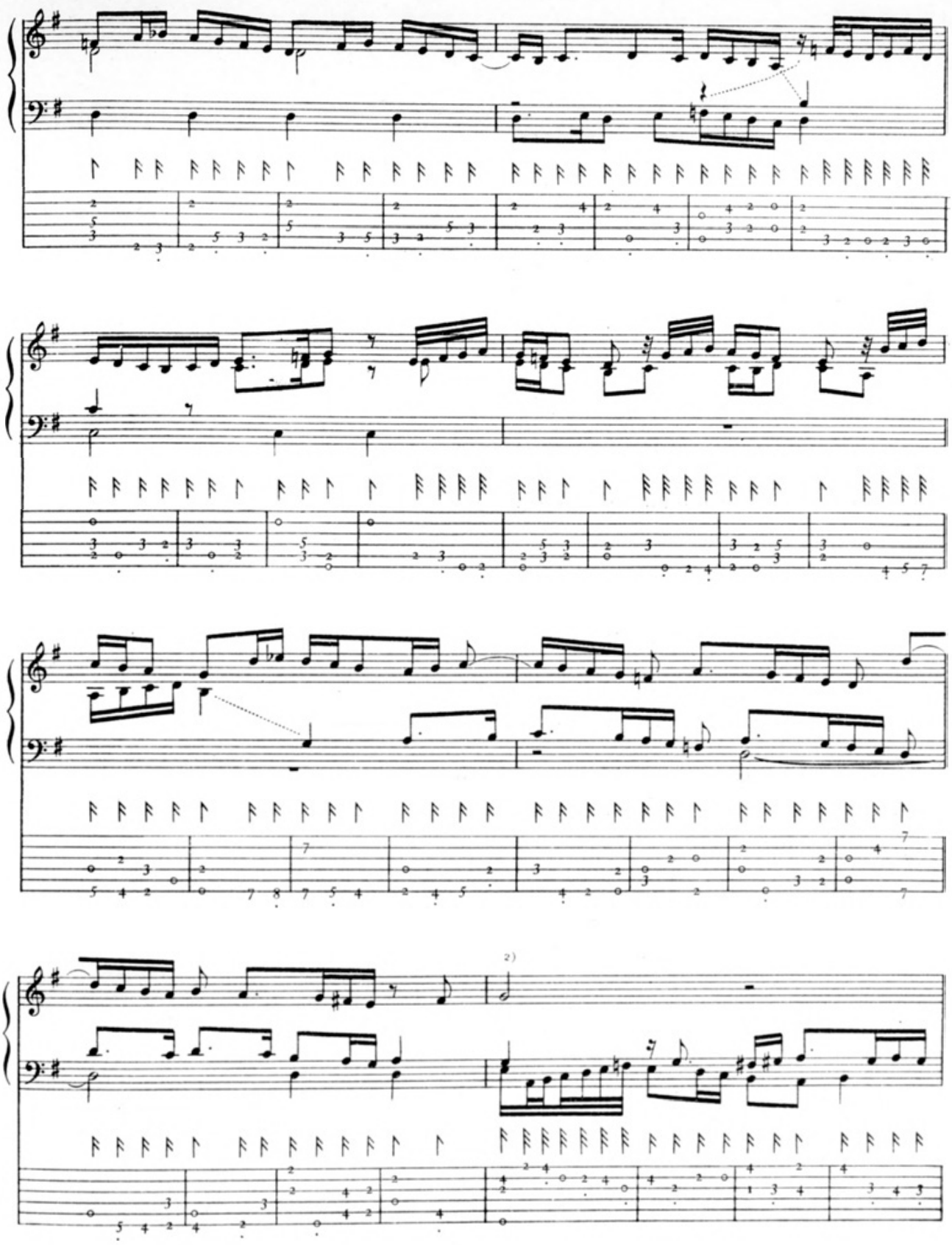




20. Christe "Si dedero"

[Jacob Obrecht]

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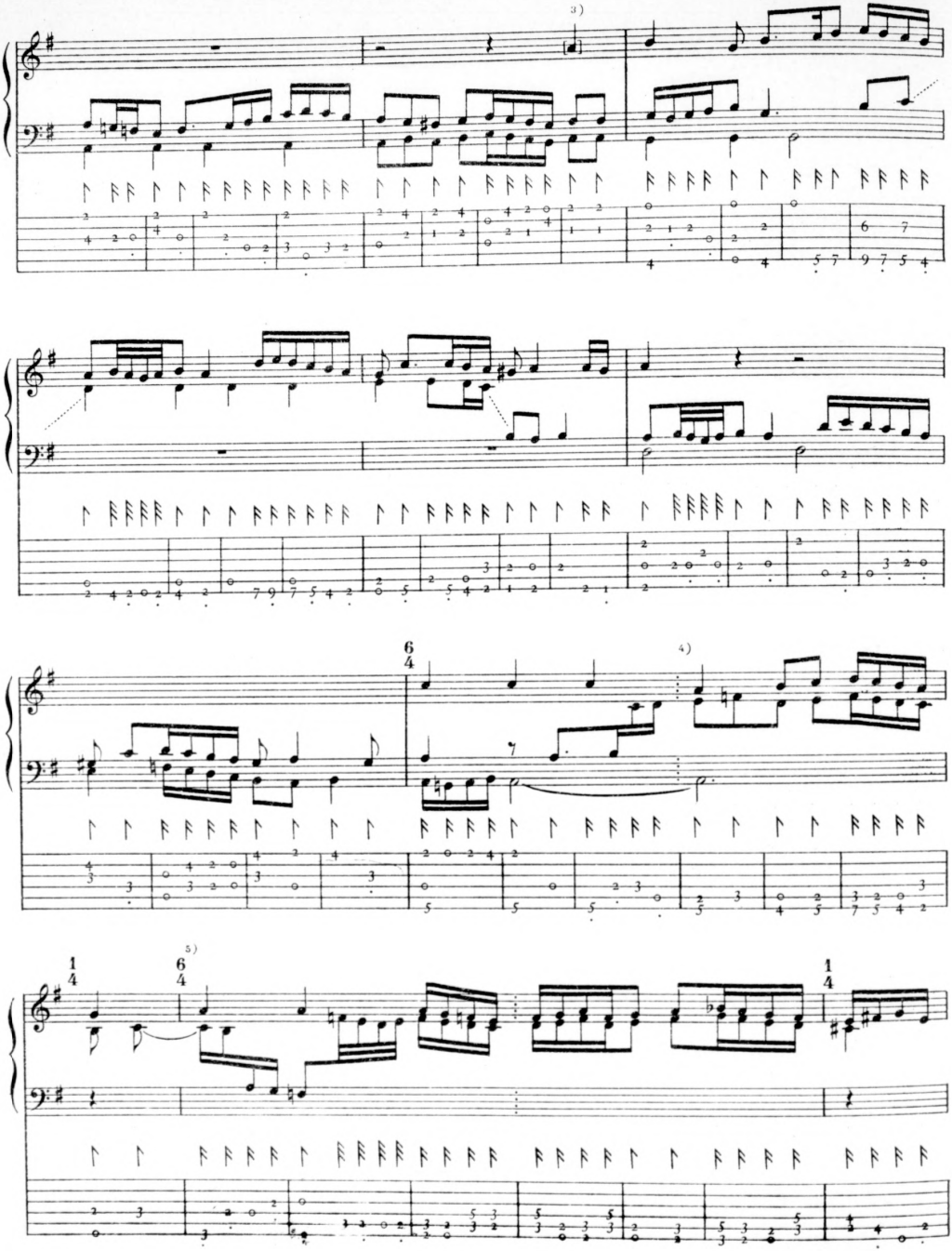
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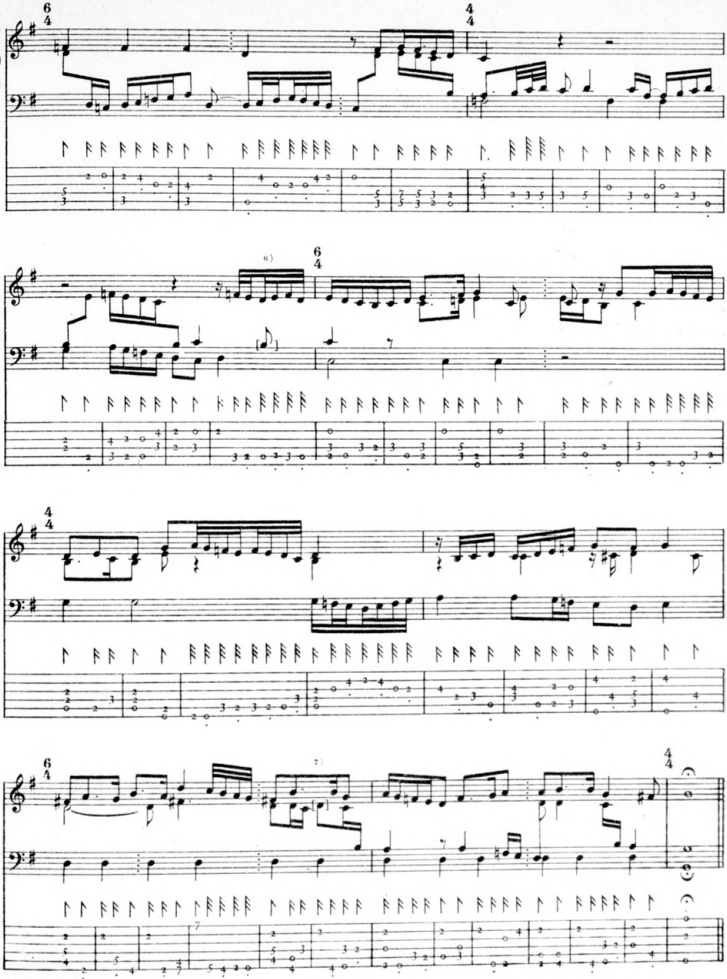
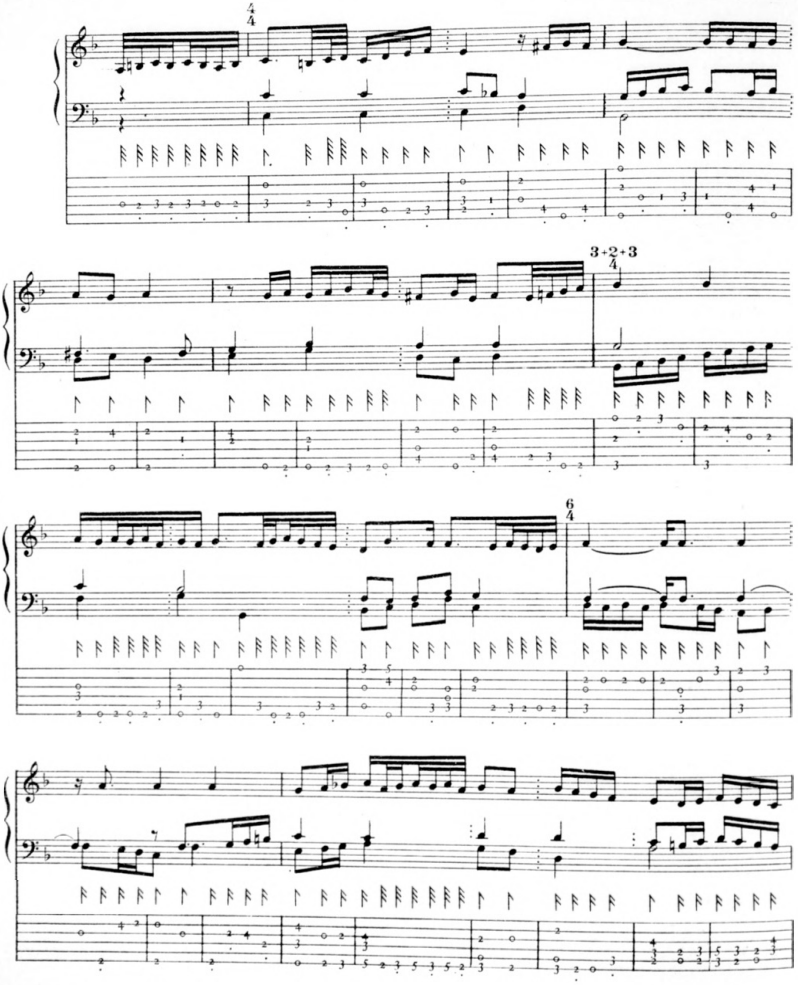
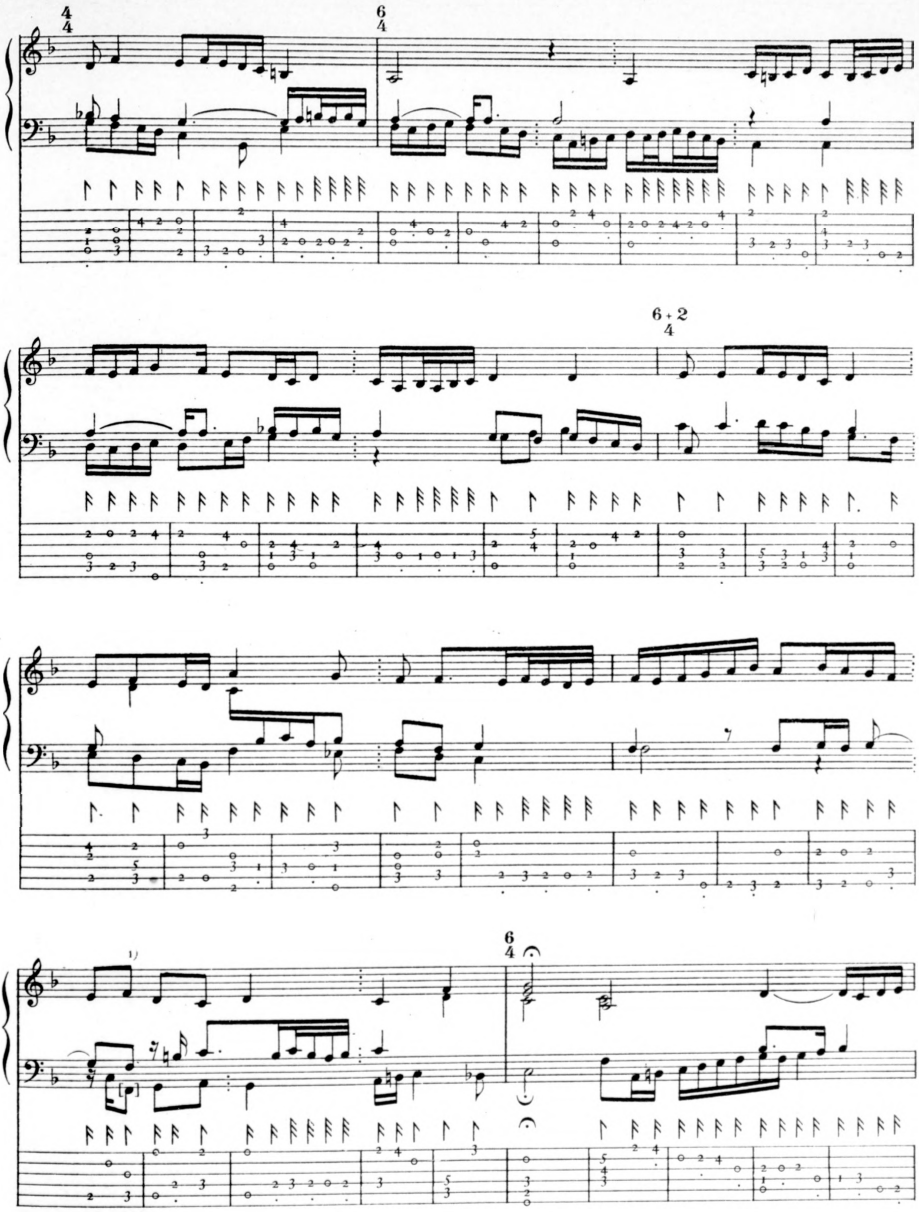


21. Allez regrets

[Hayne van Ghizeghem]

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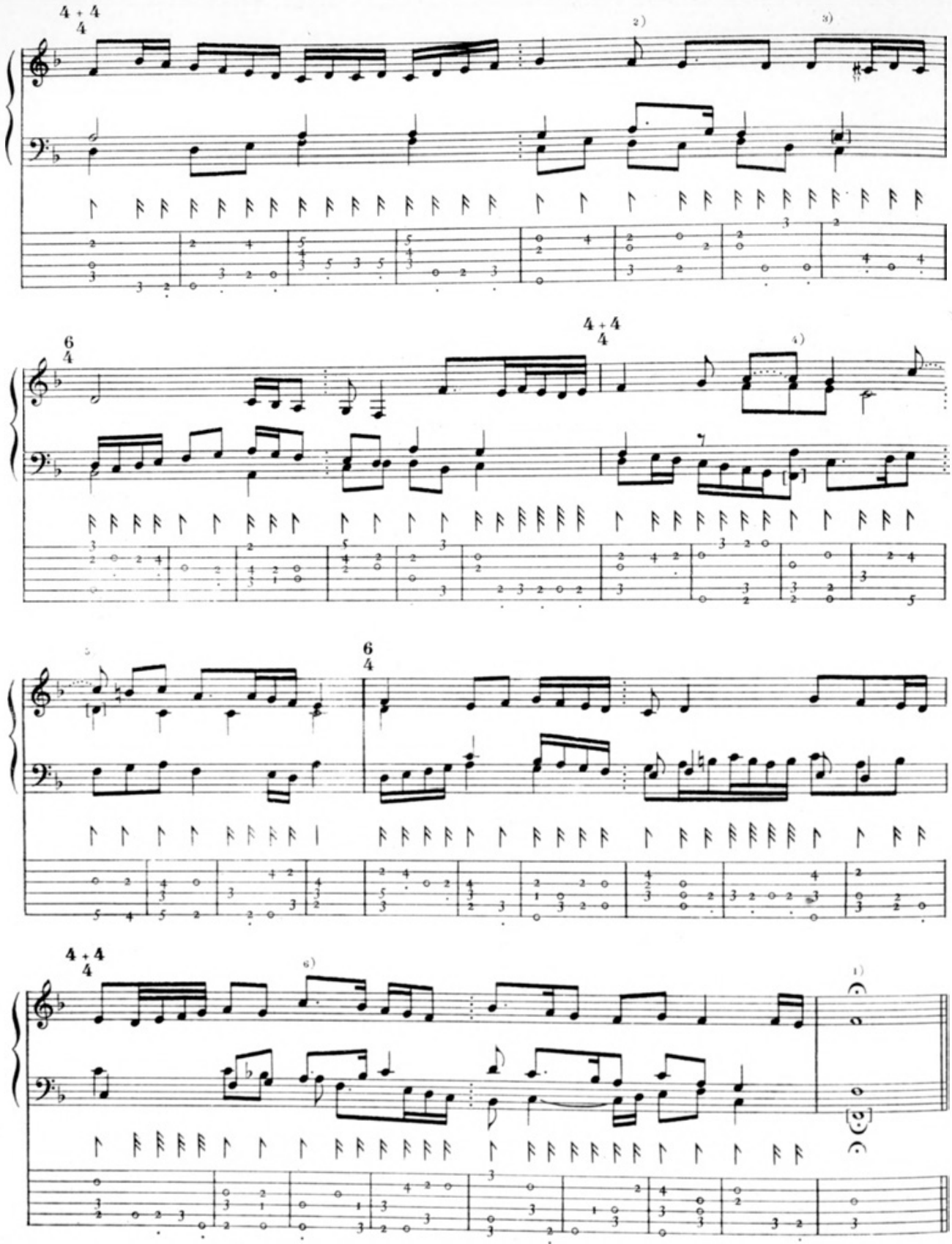
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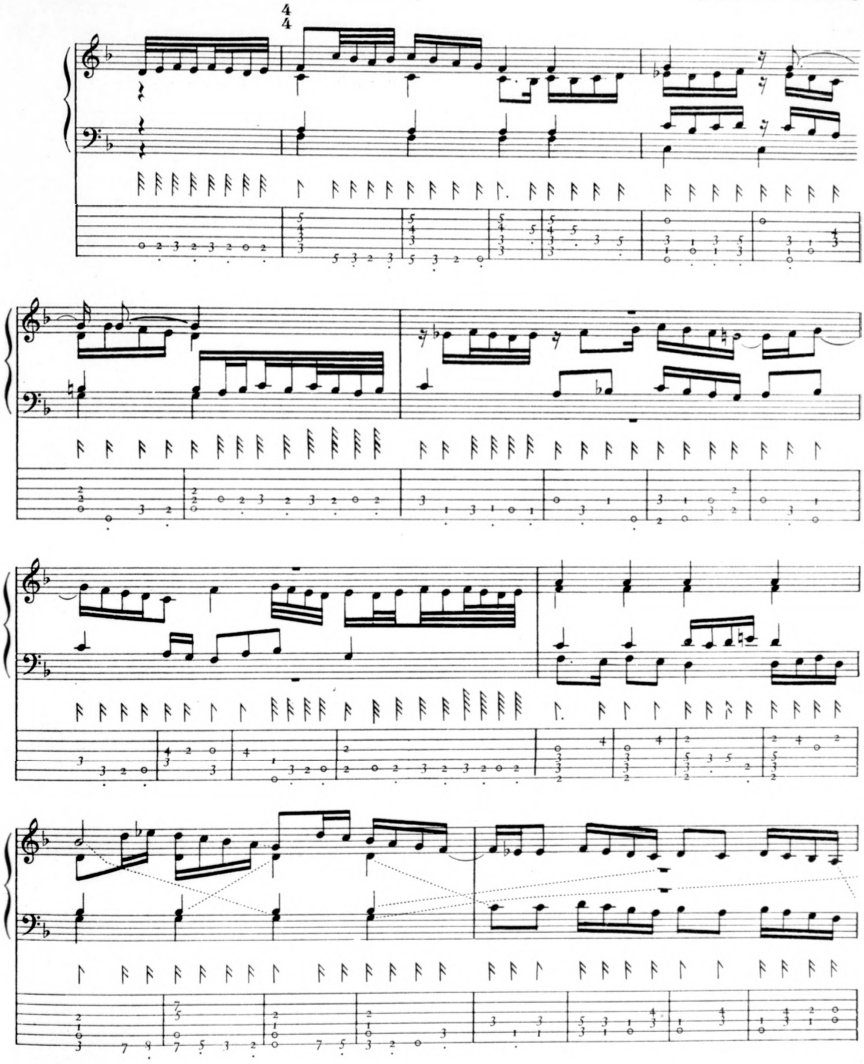
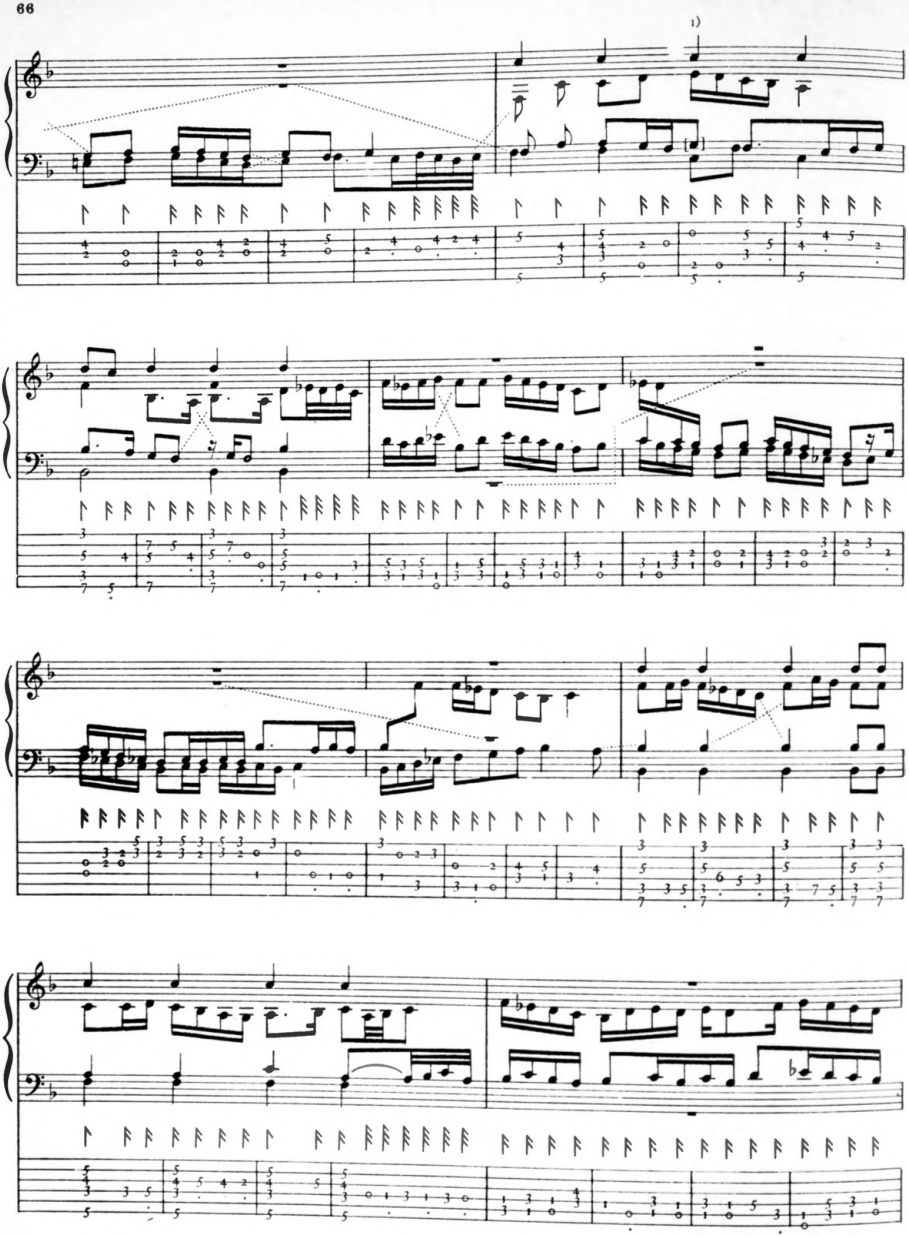
22. Agnus Dei "Ut re mi fa sol la"

[Anthoine Brumel]

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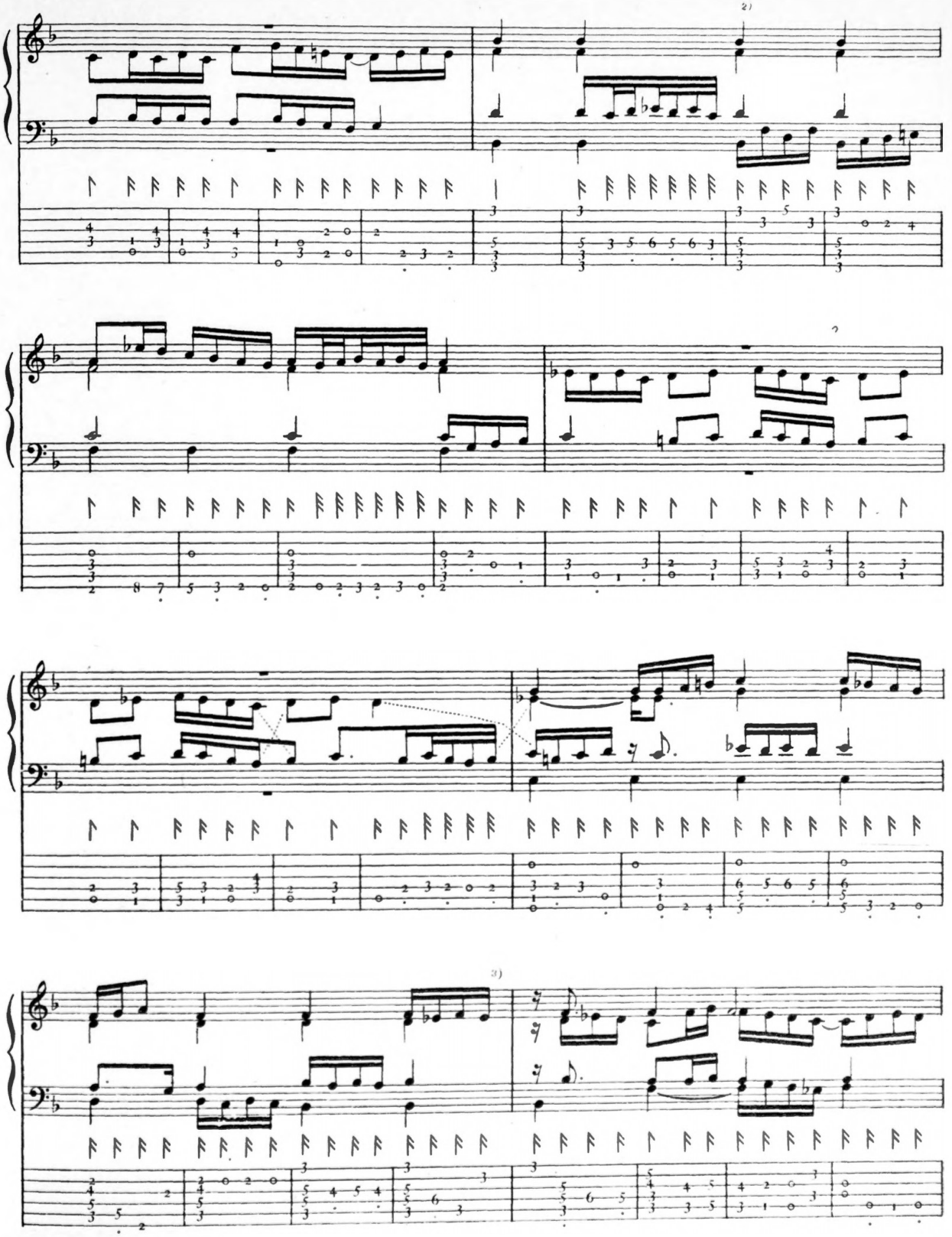
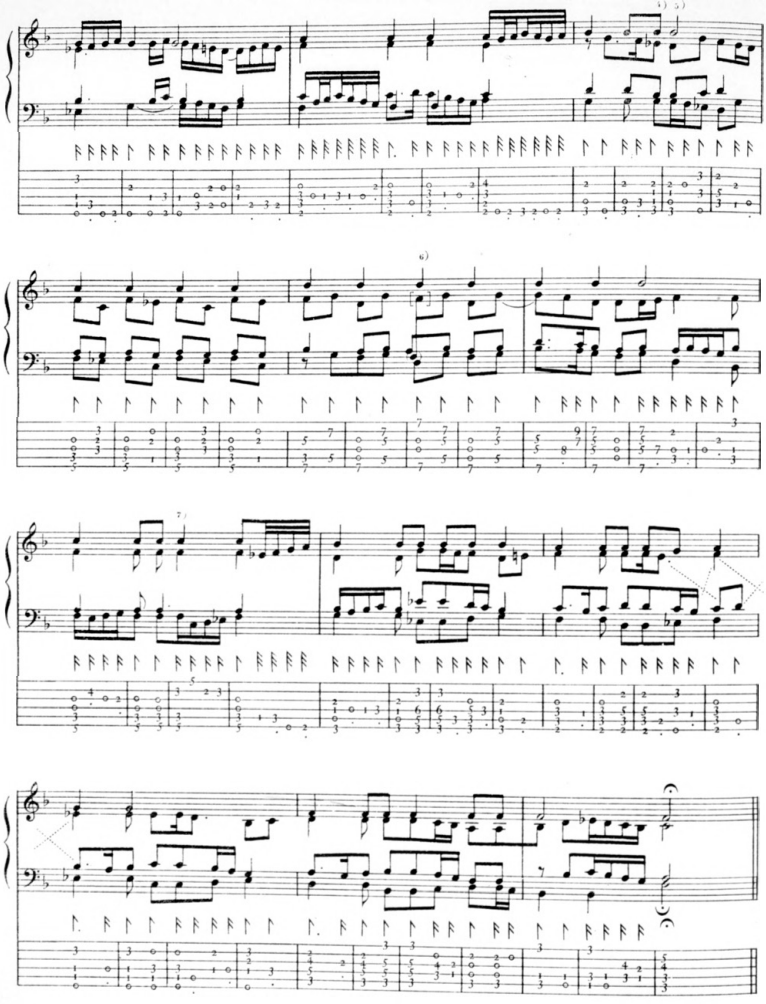
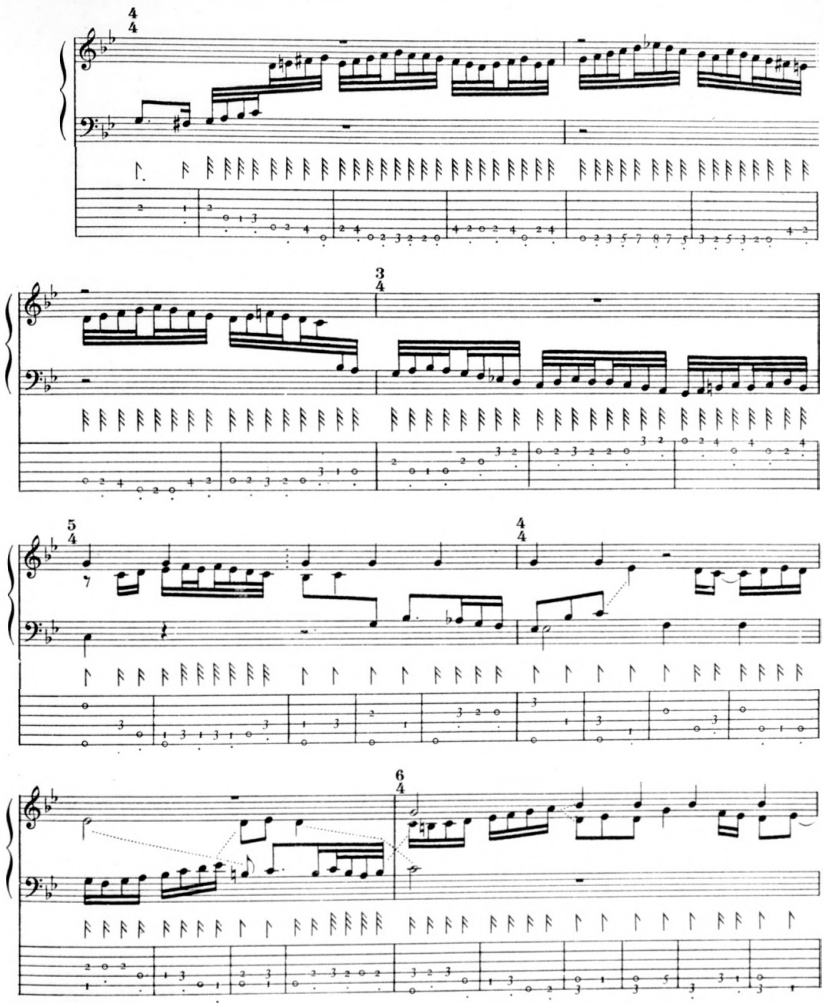
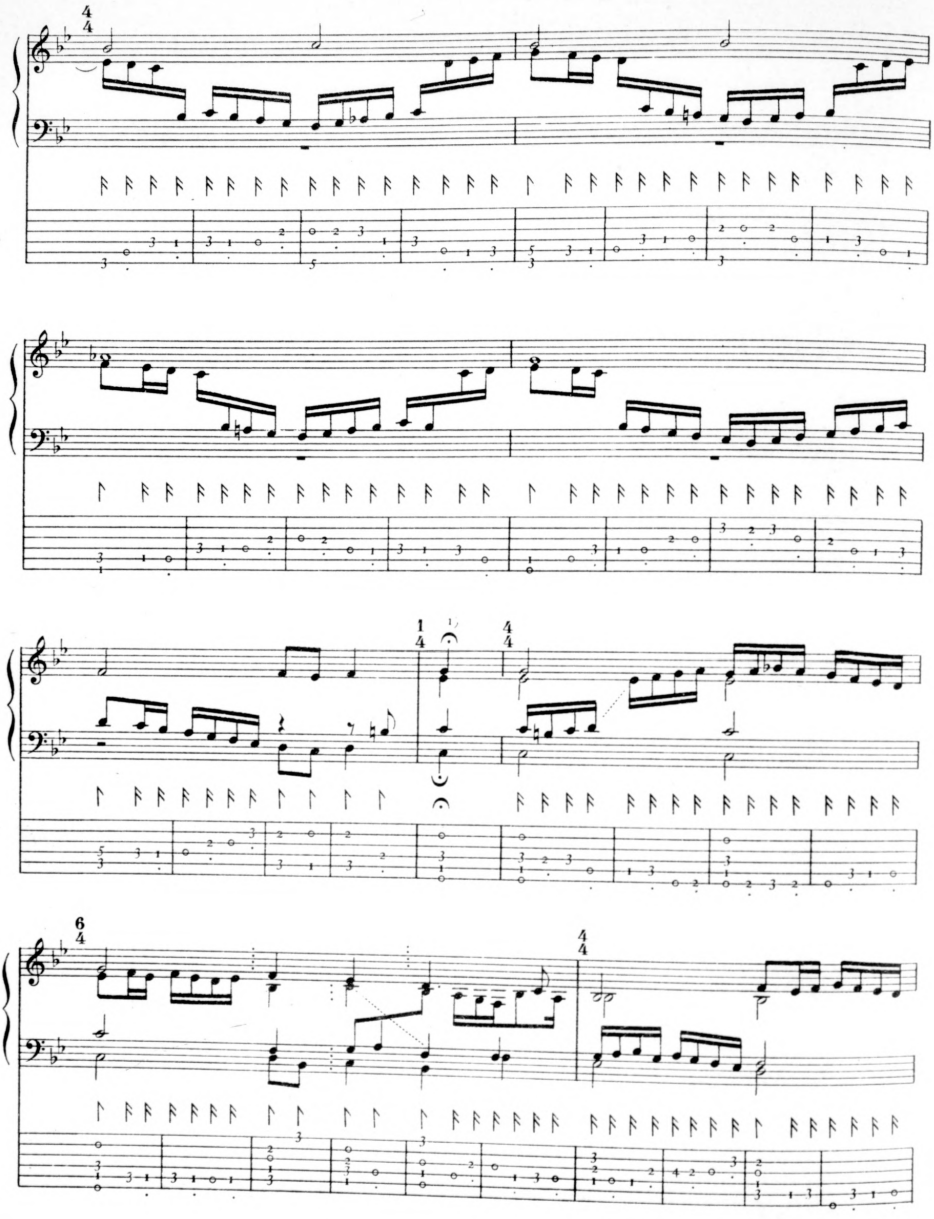
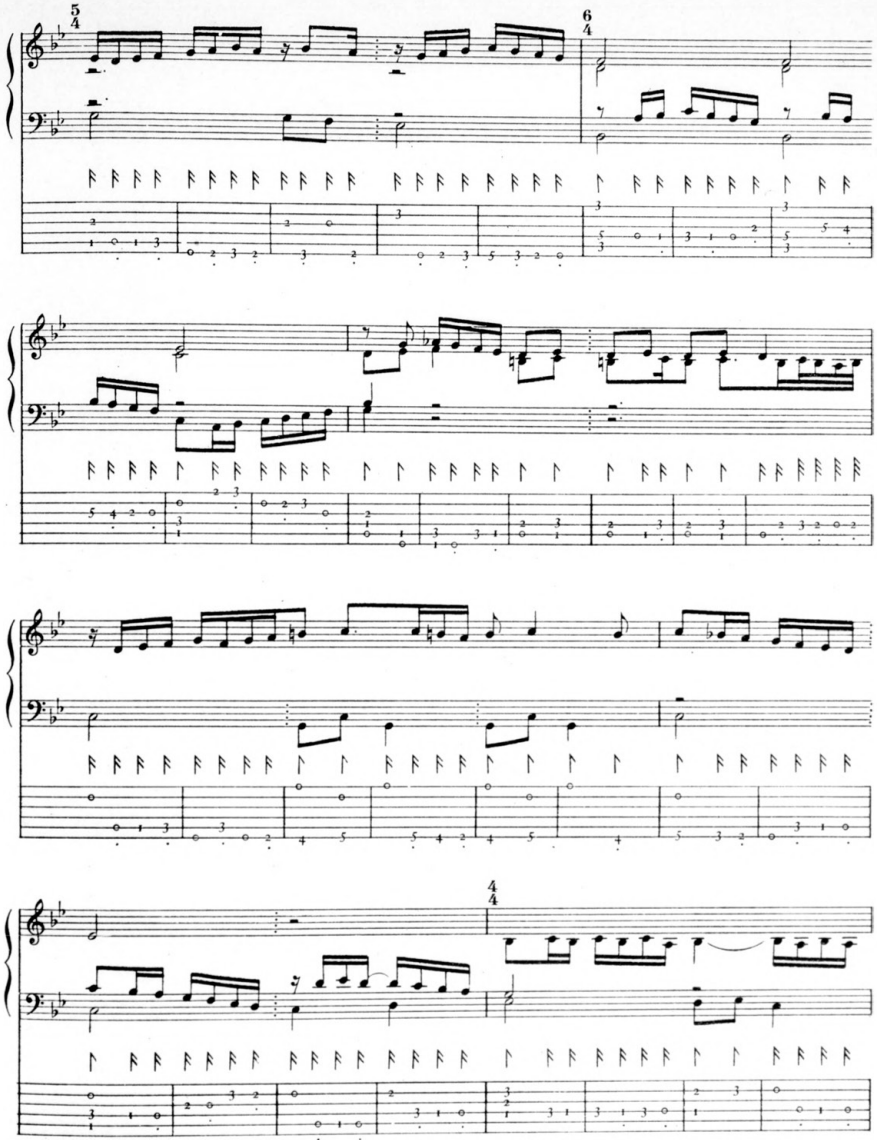




23. Ricercar VII



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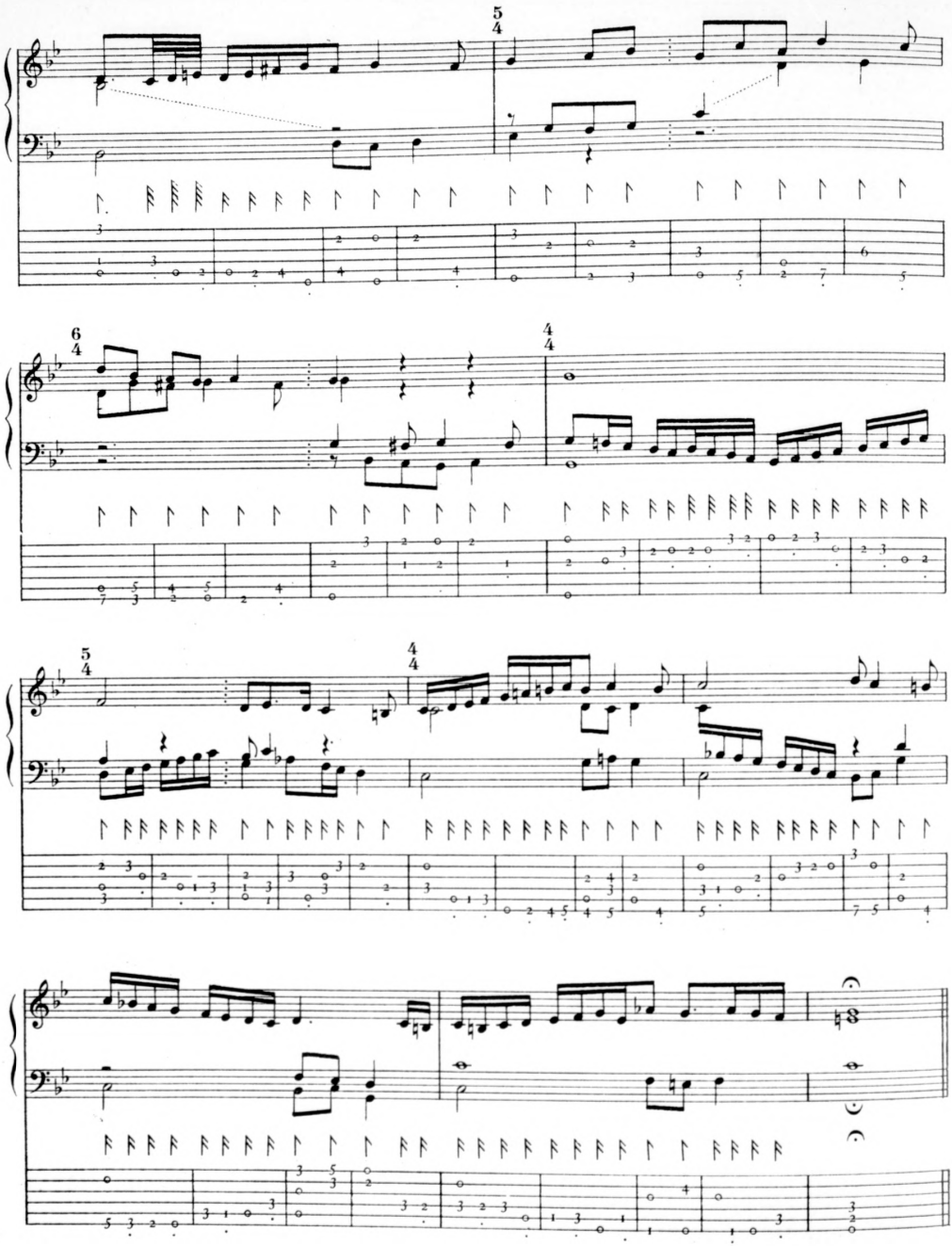
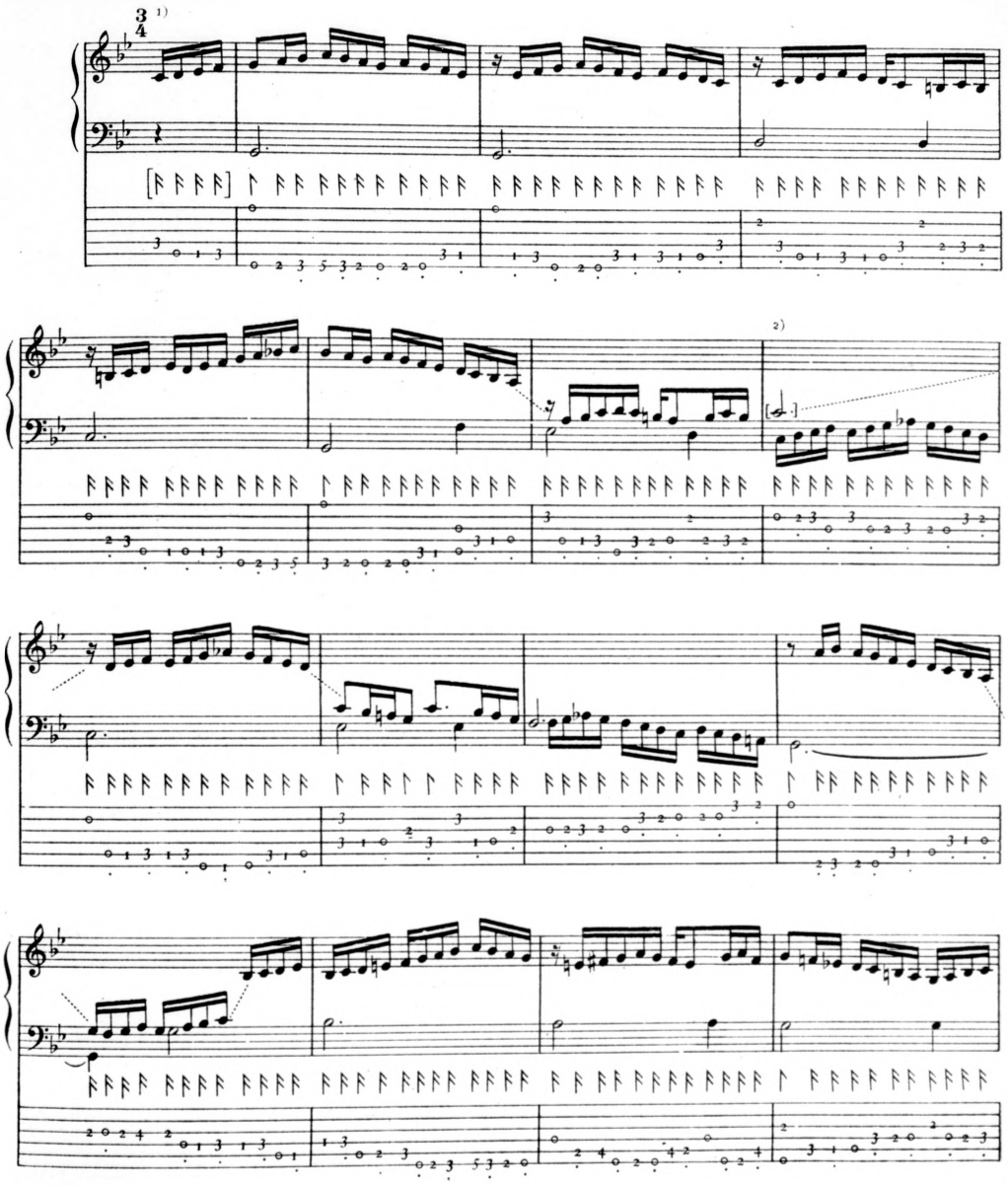
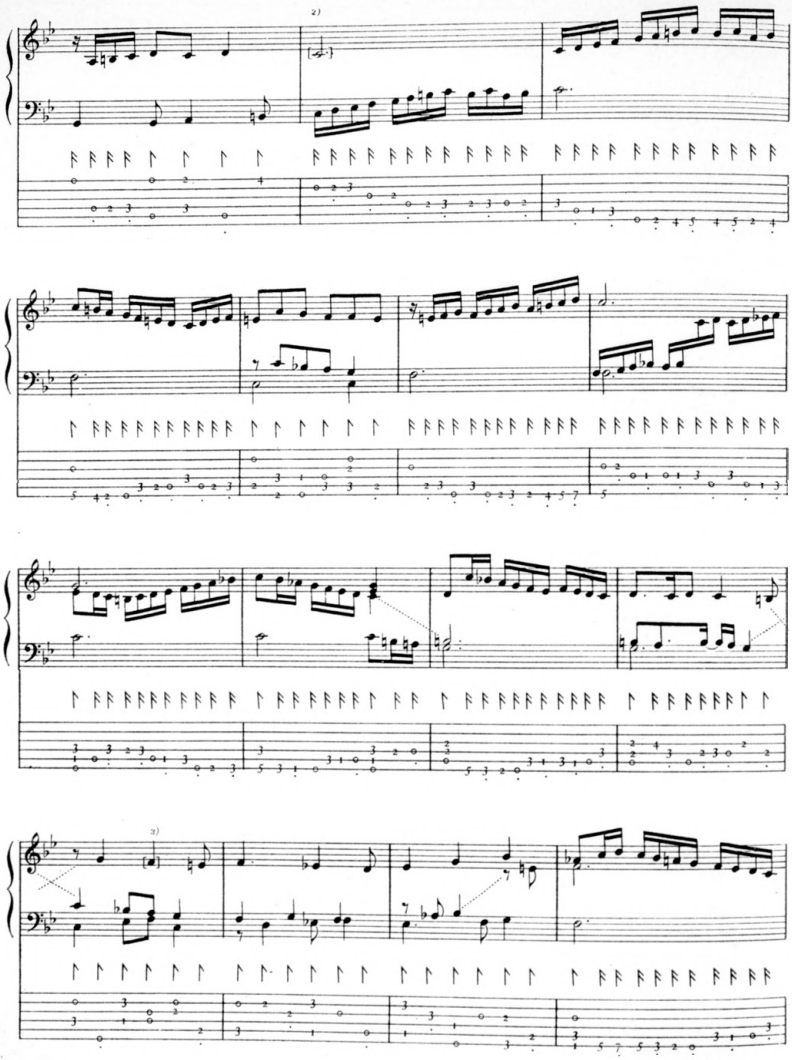


24. La Spagna II

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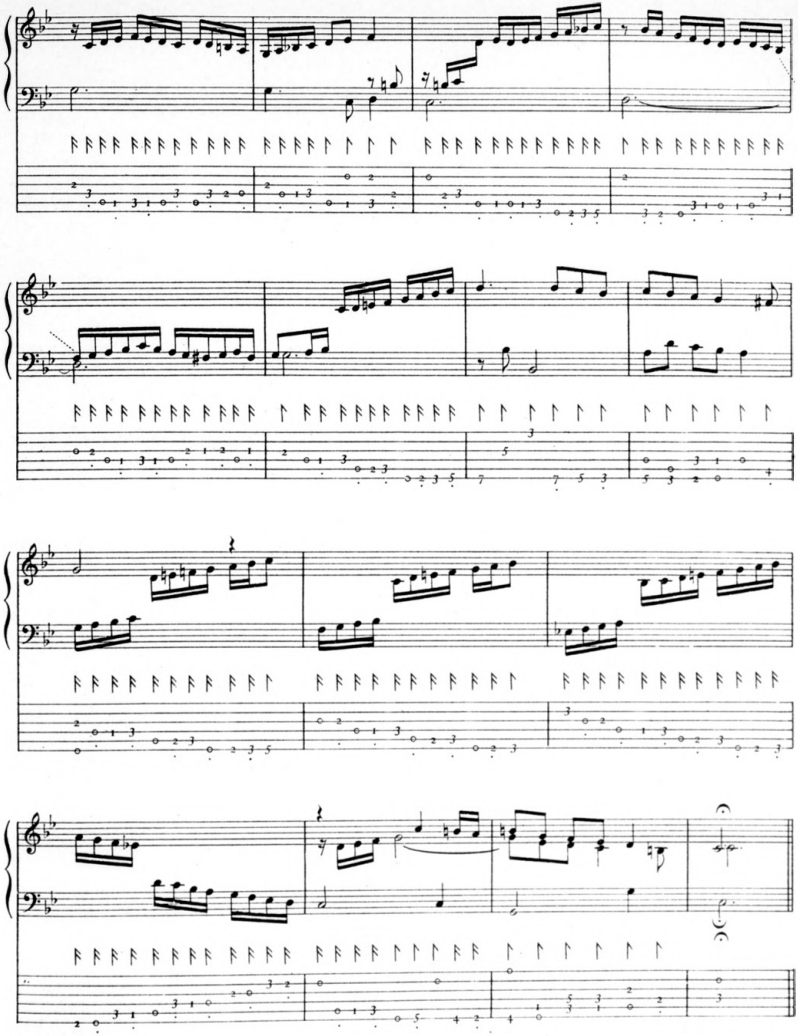
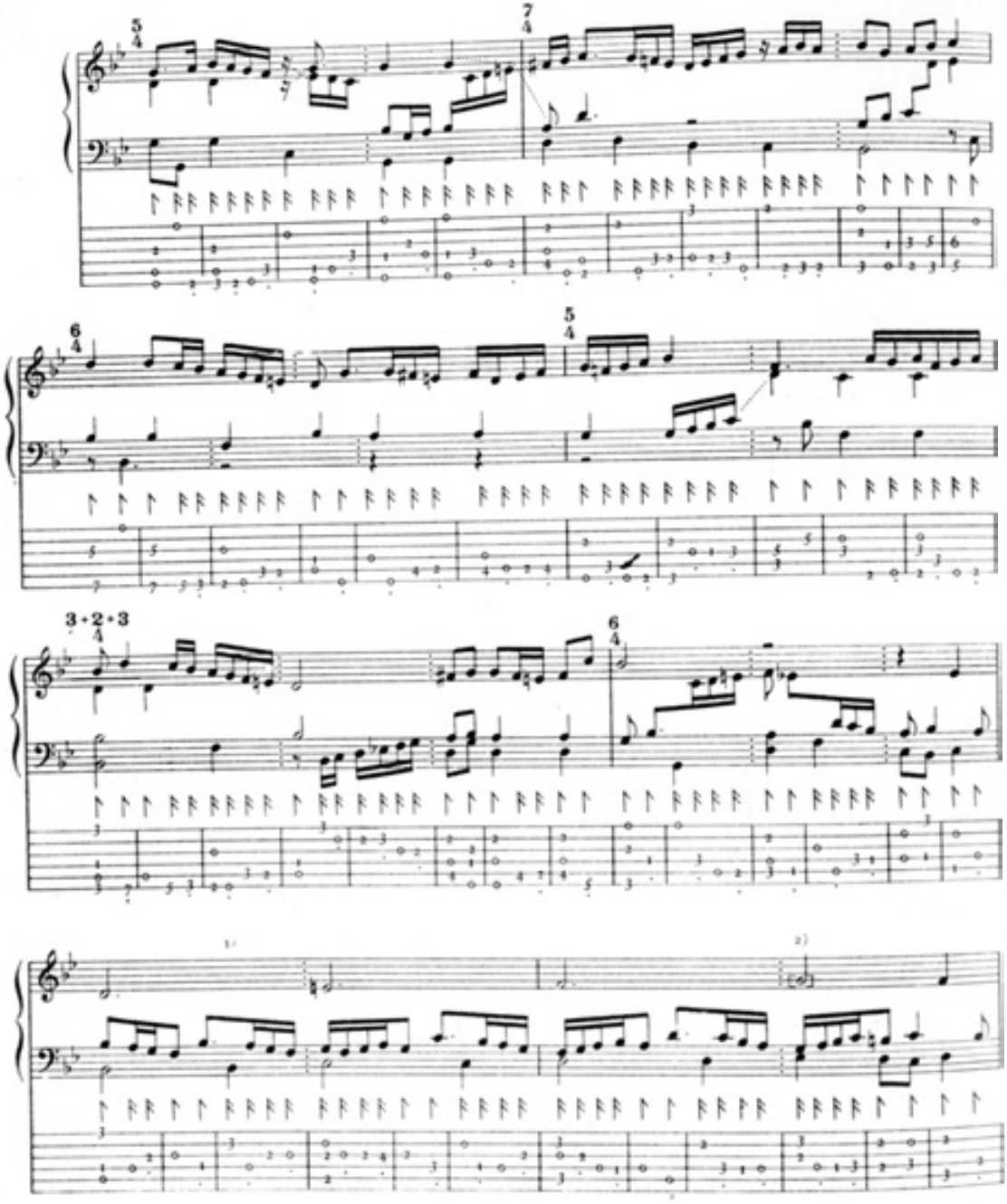
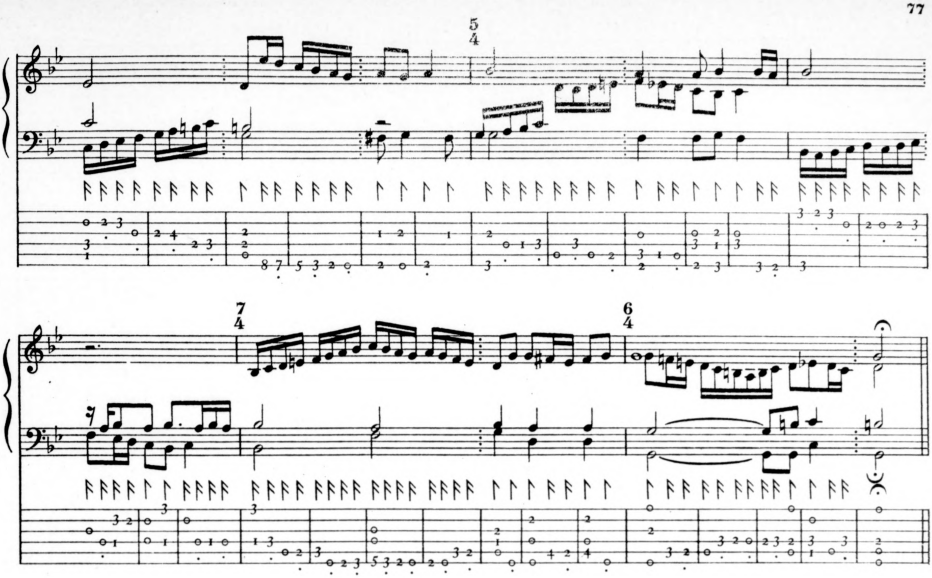
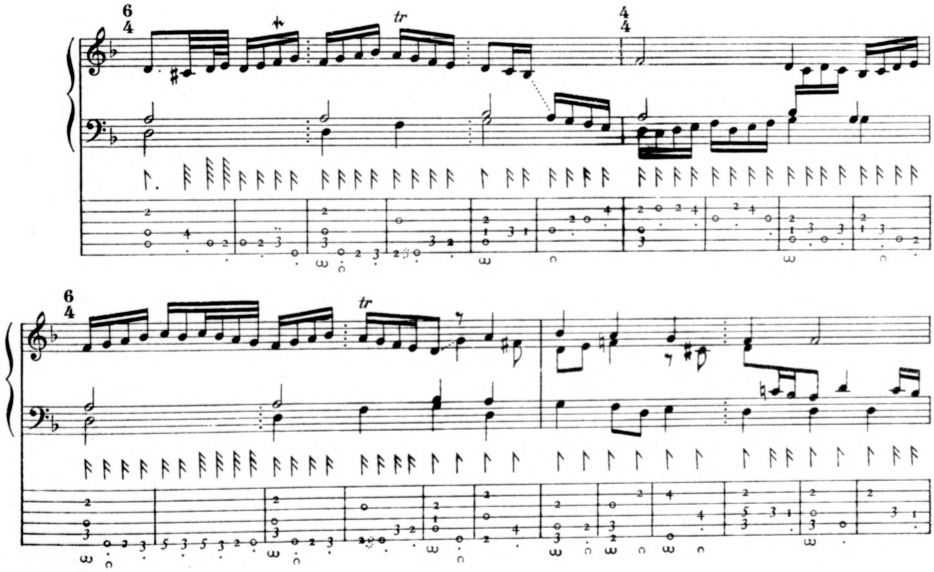


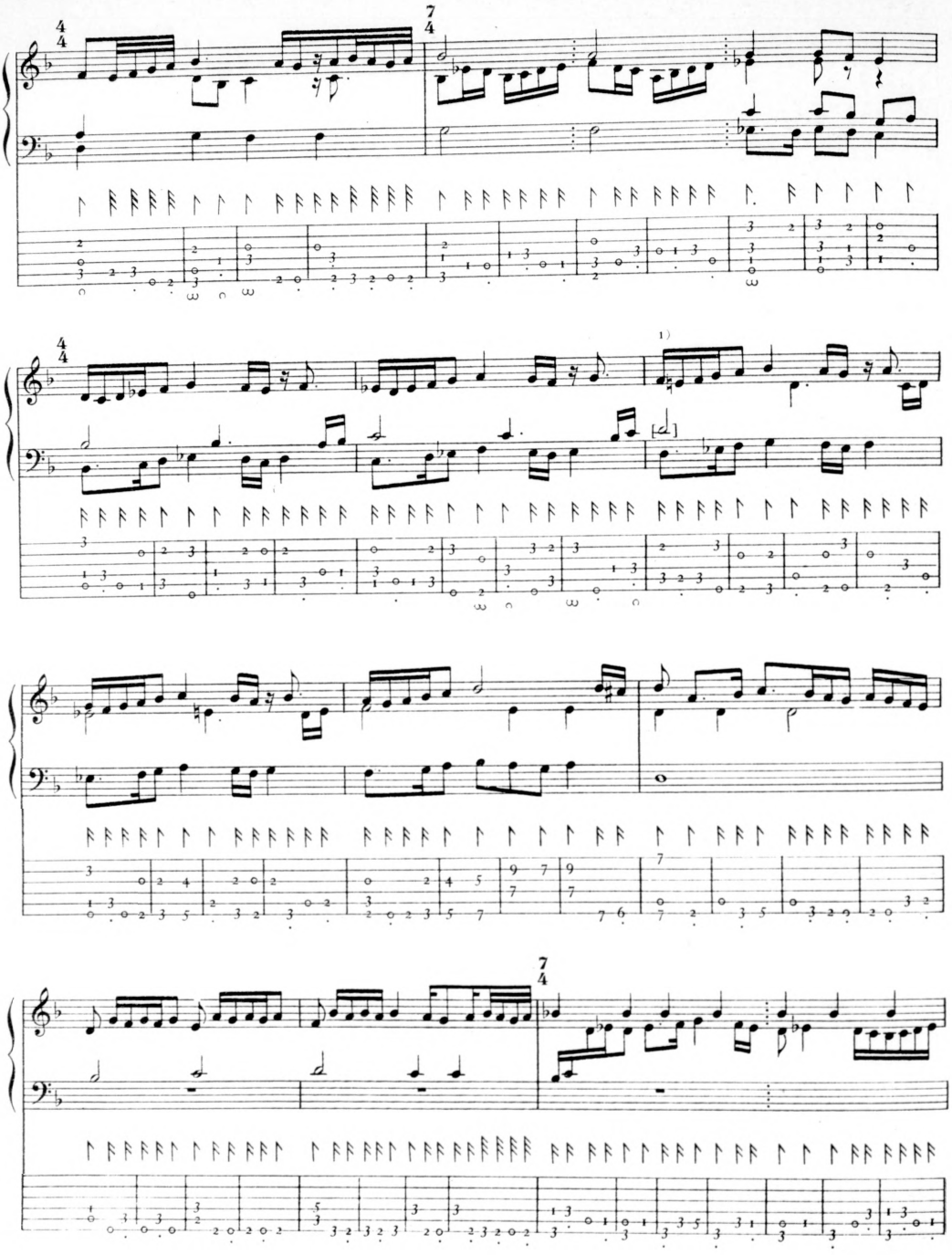
25. Ricercar VIII

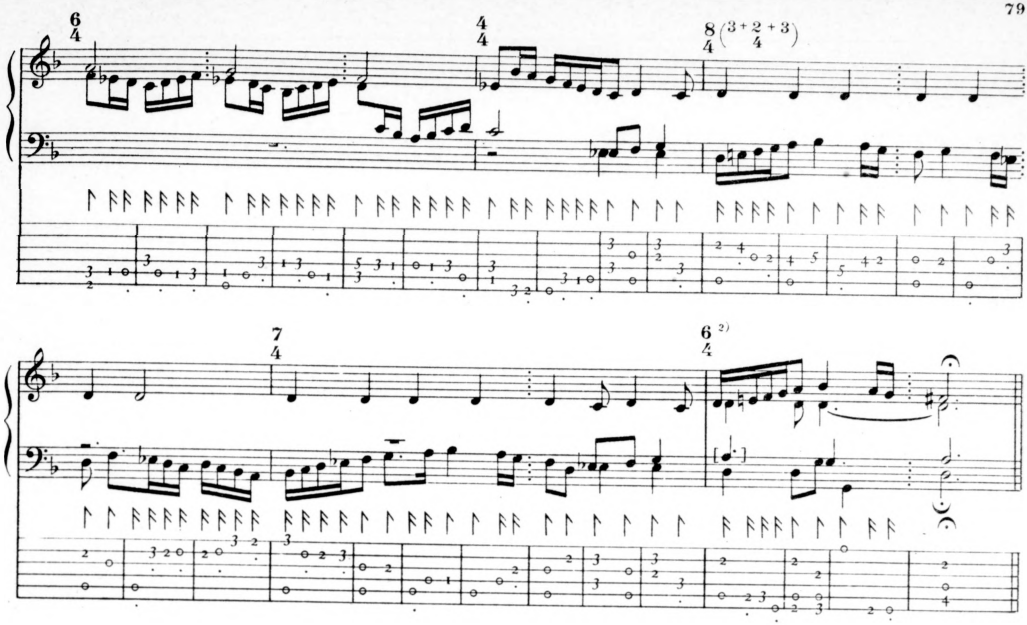




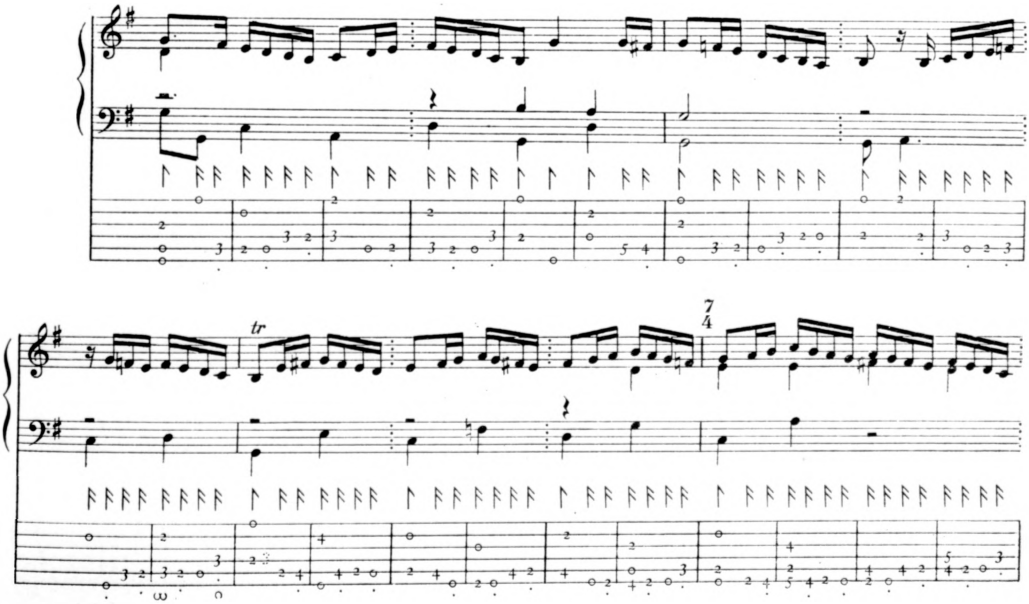
26. Ricercar IX

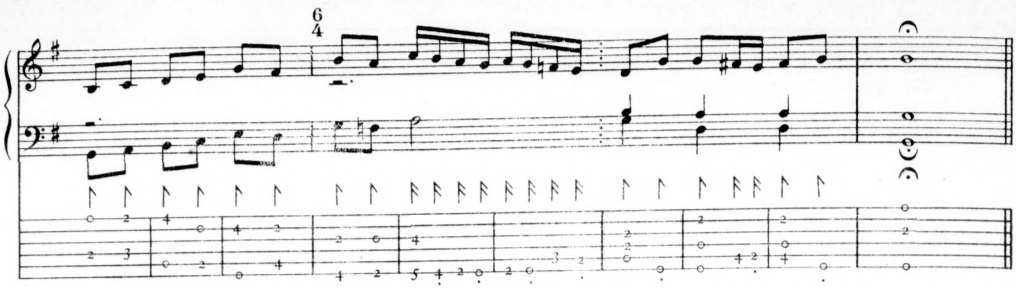




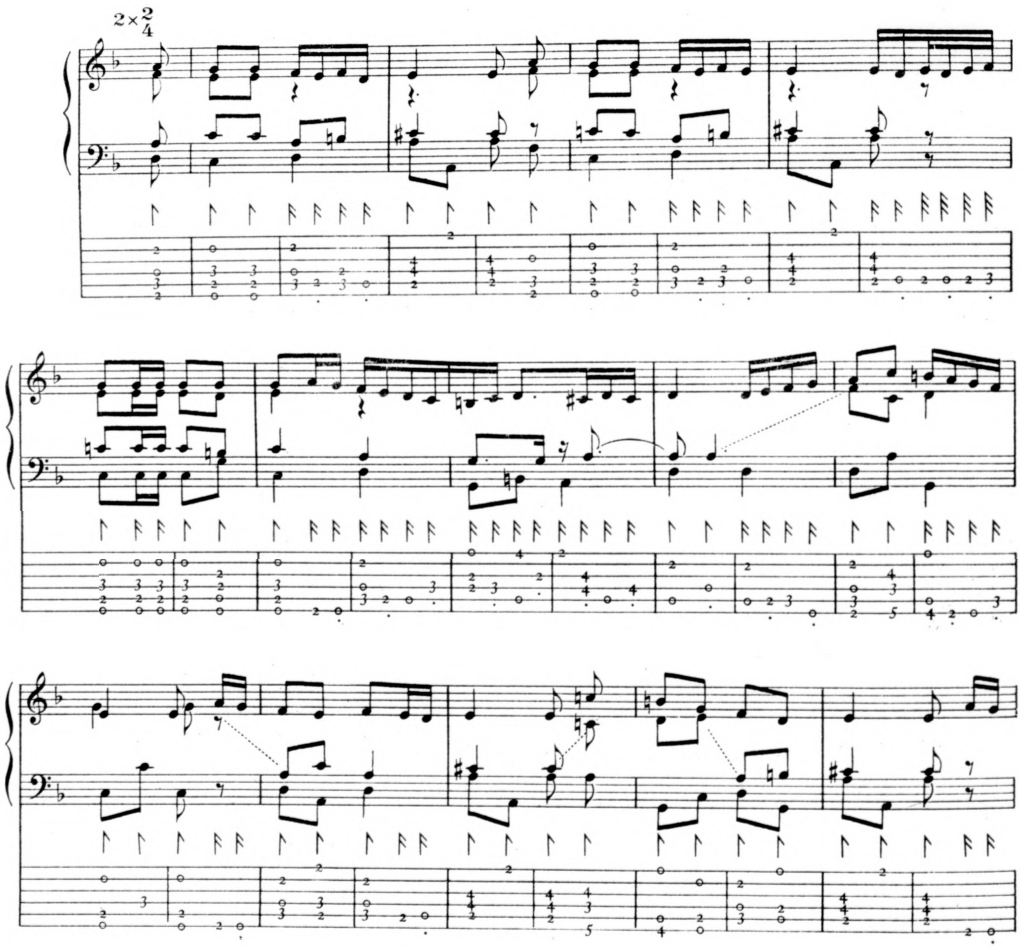


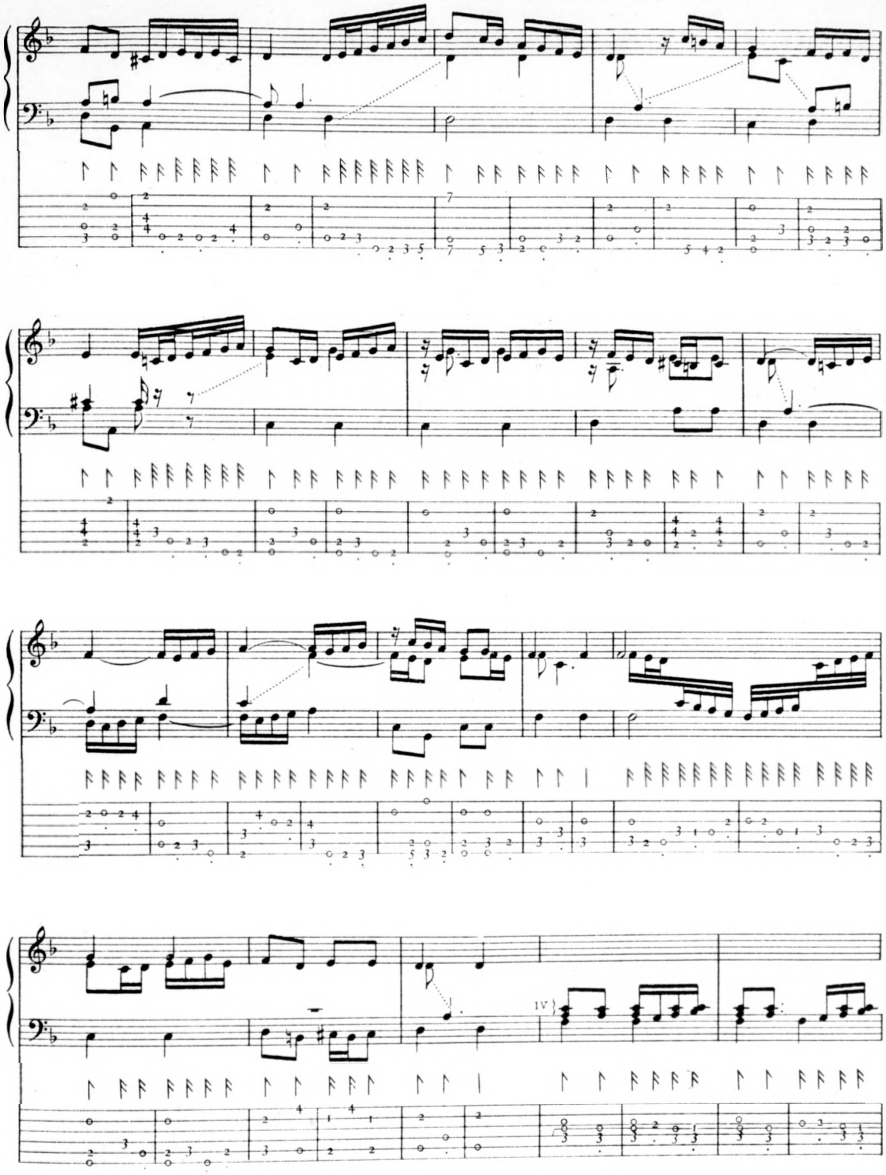
27. Ricercar X

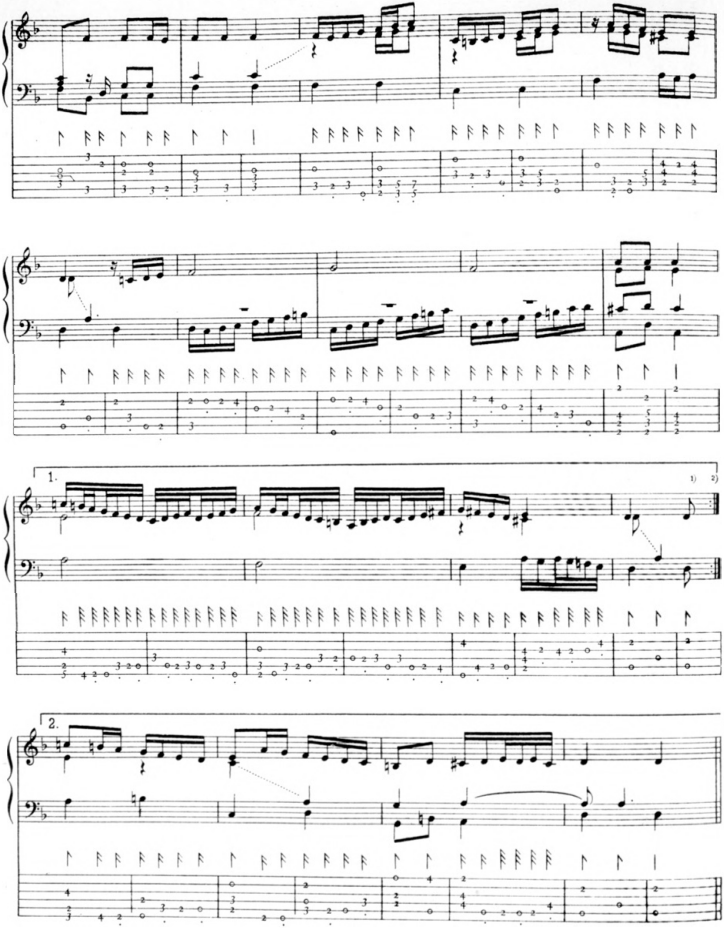




28. Padoana alla francese II



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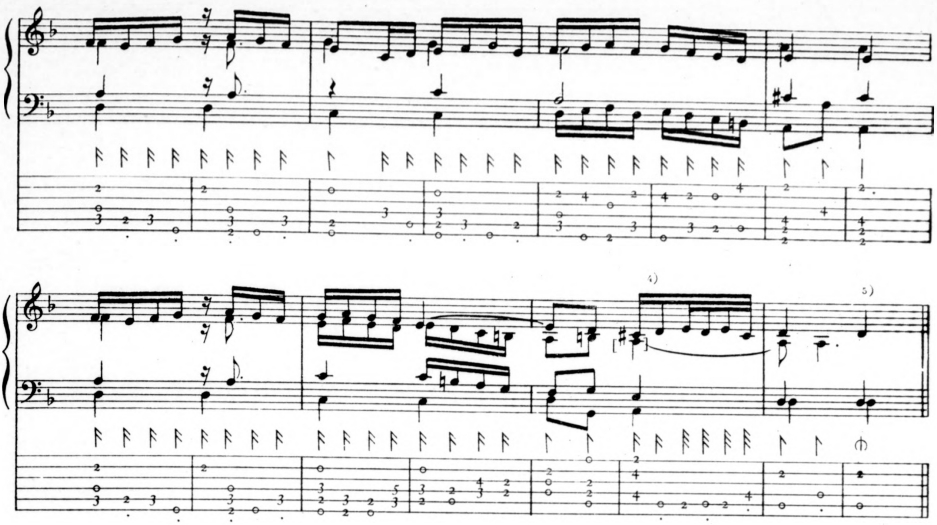
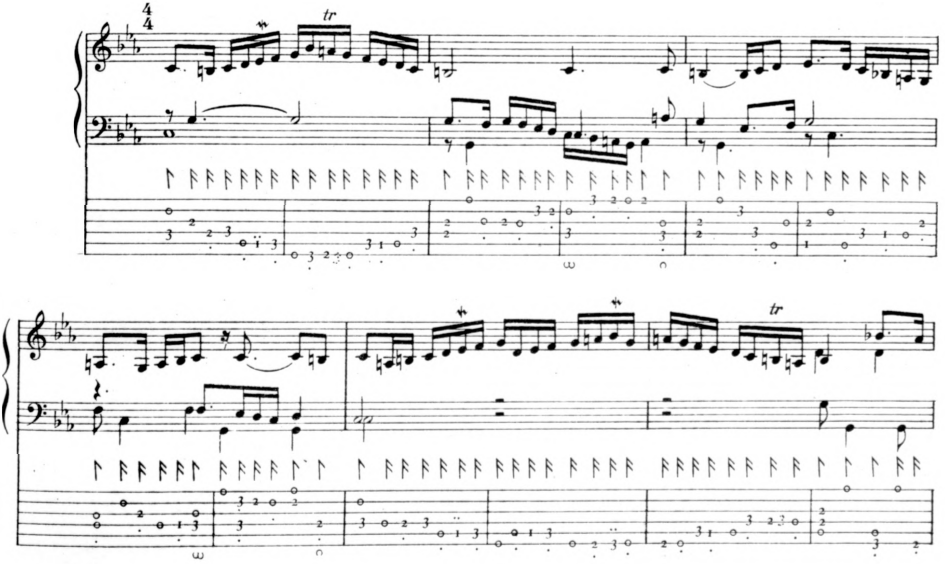
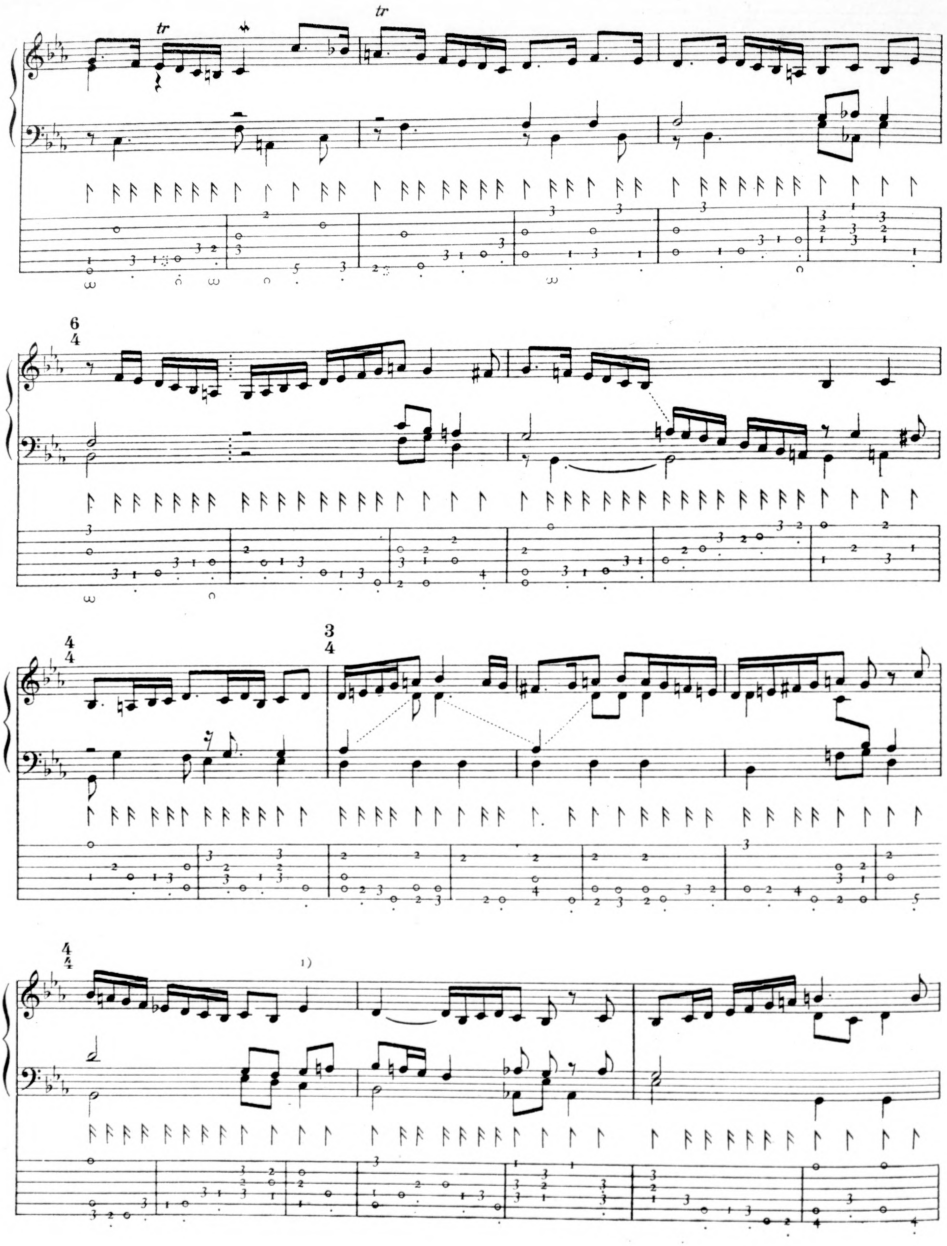


29. Ricercar XI alla spagnola

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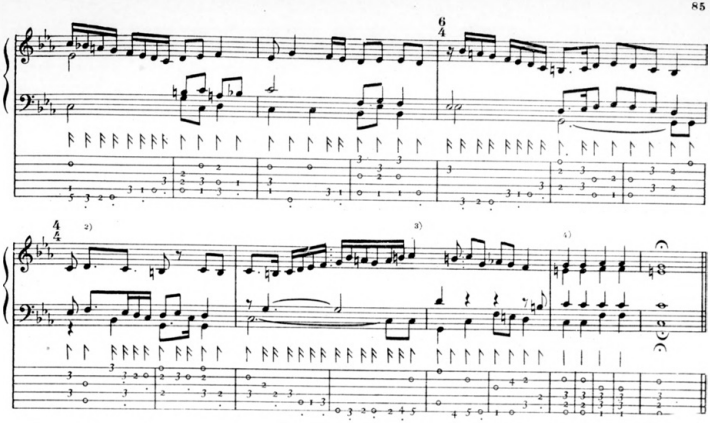
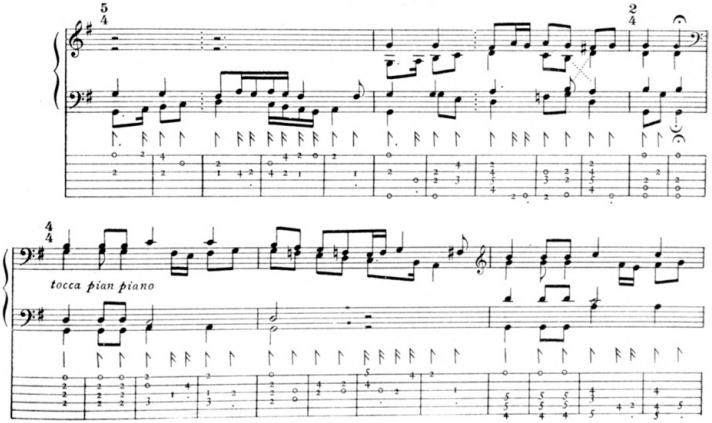
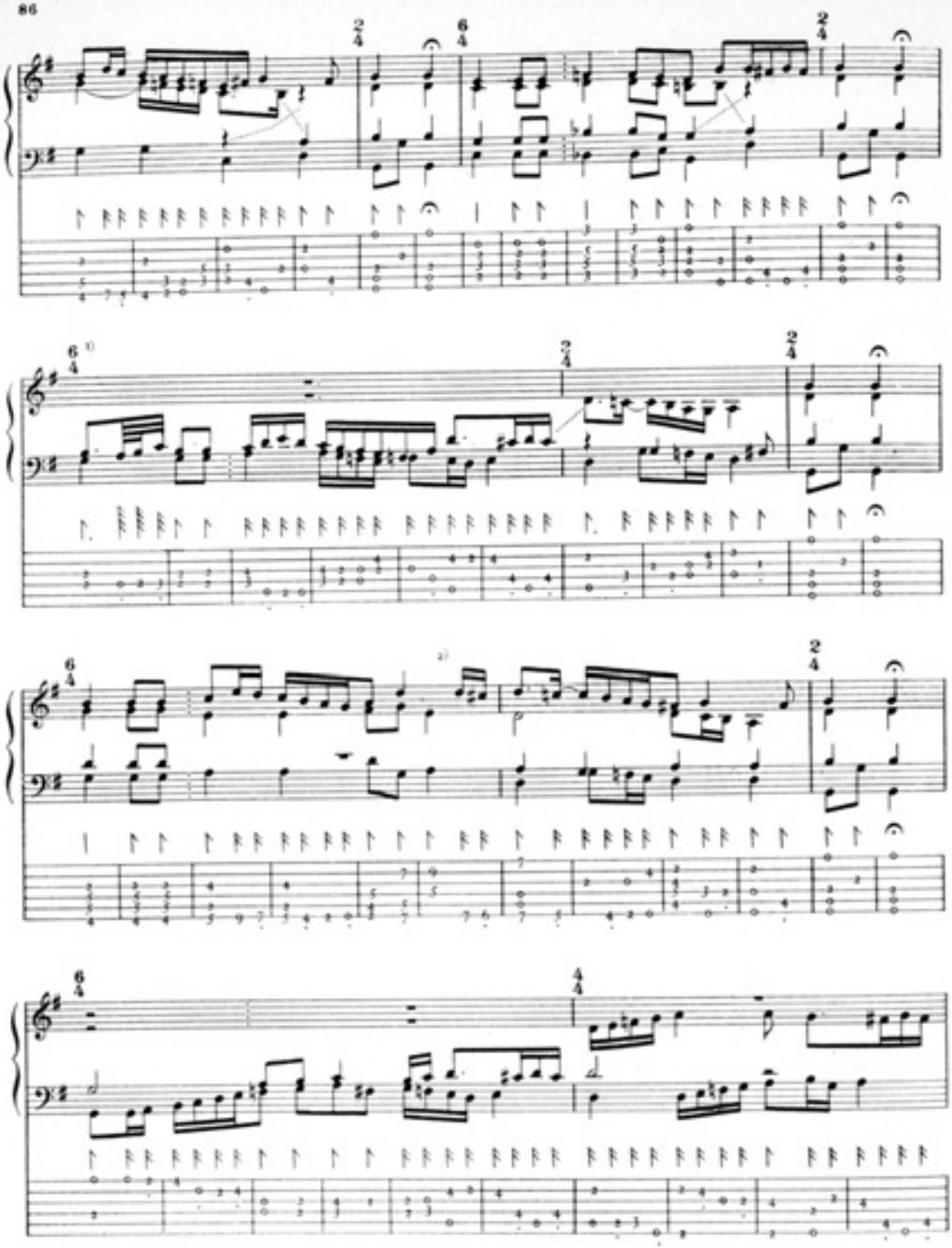
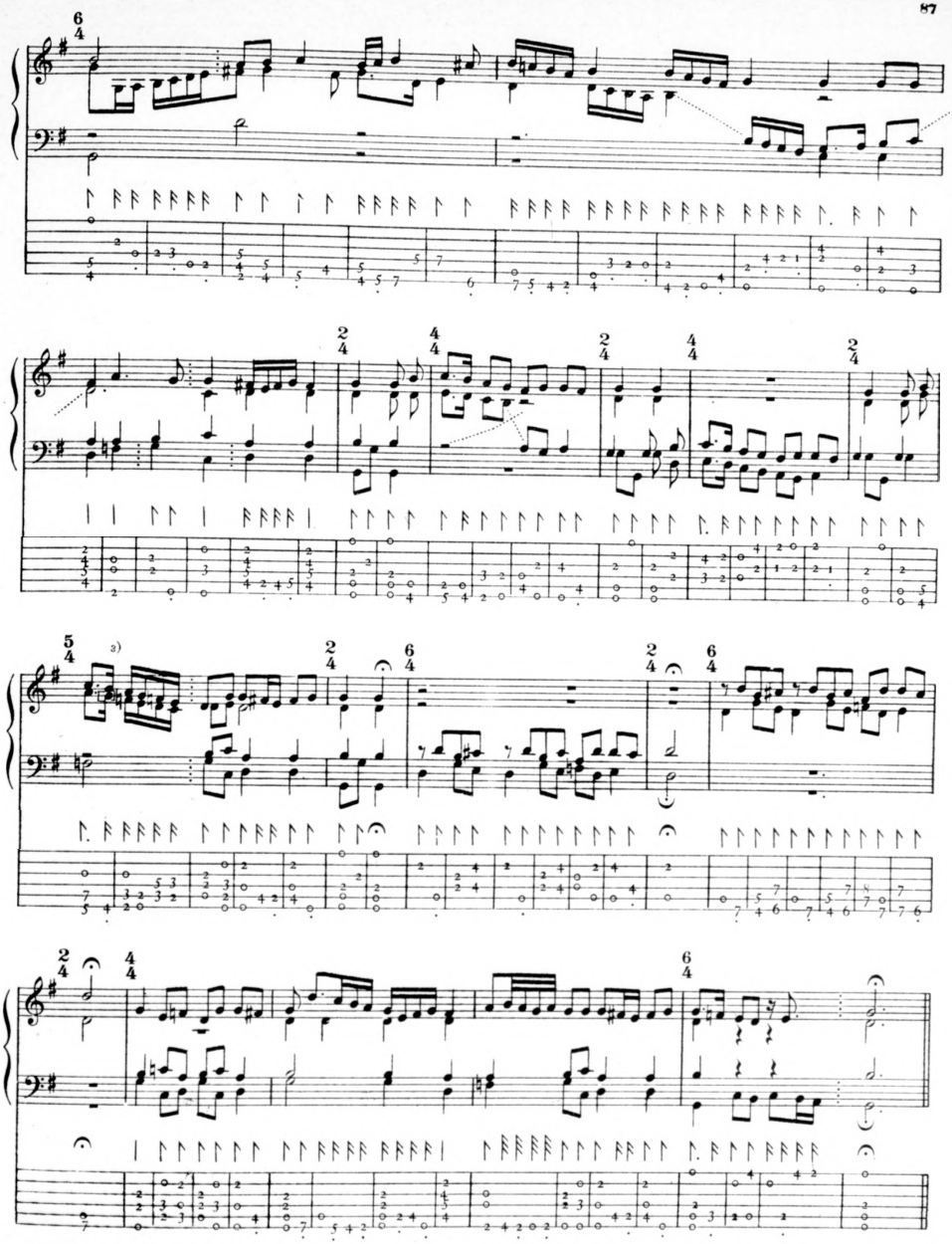


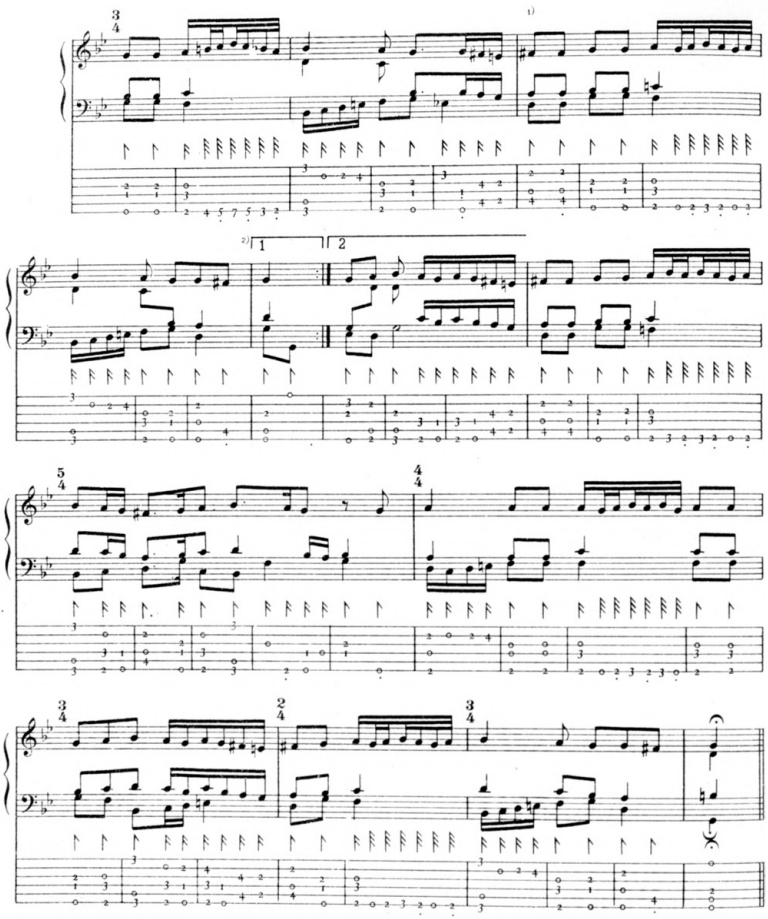
30. Non ti spiaqua l'ascoltar





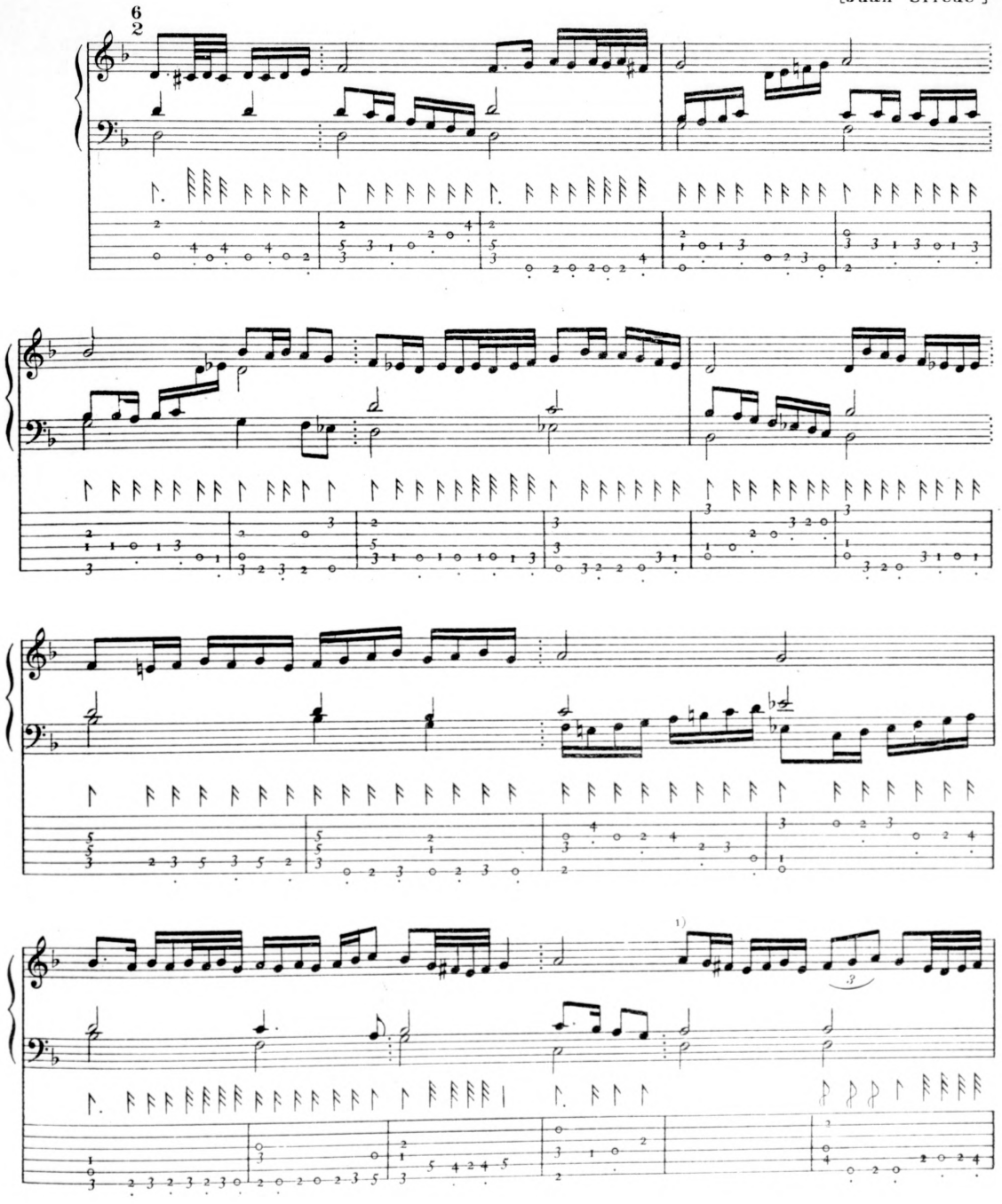


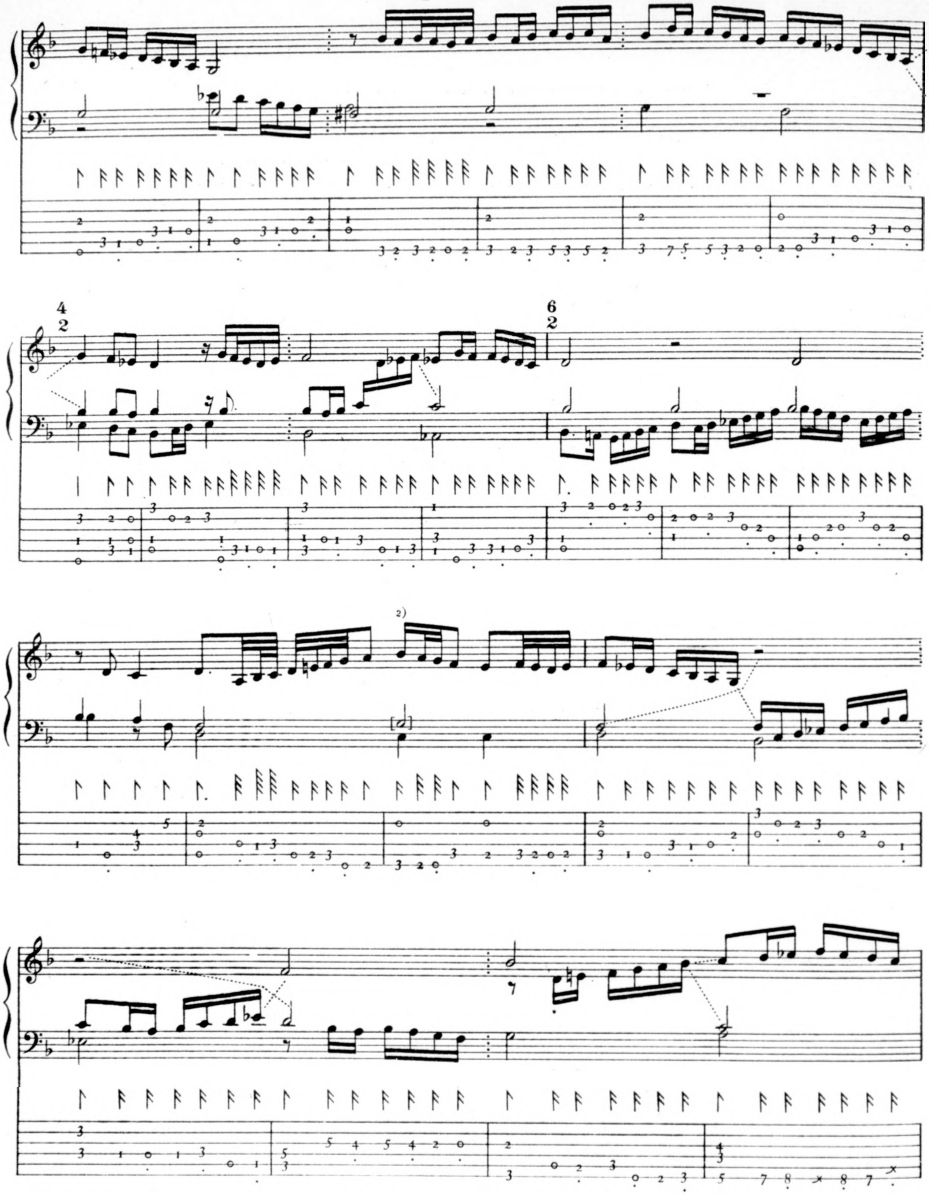
31. Gentil Prince



32. Nunca fué pena major

[Juan Urrede]

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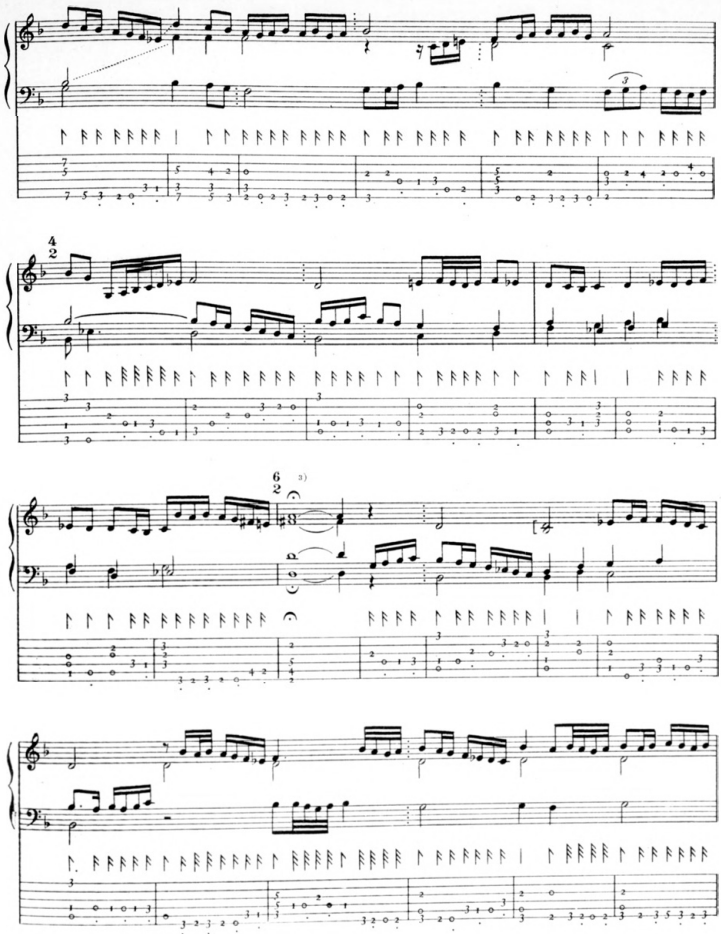
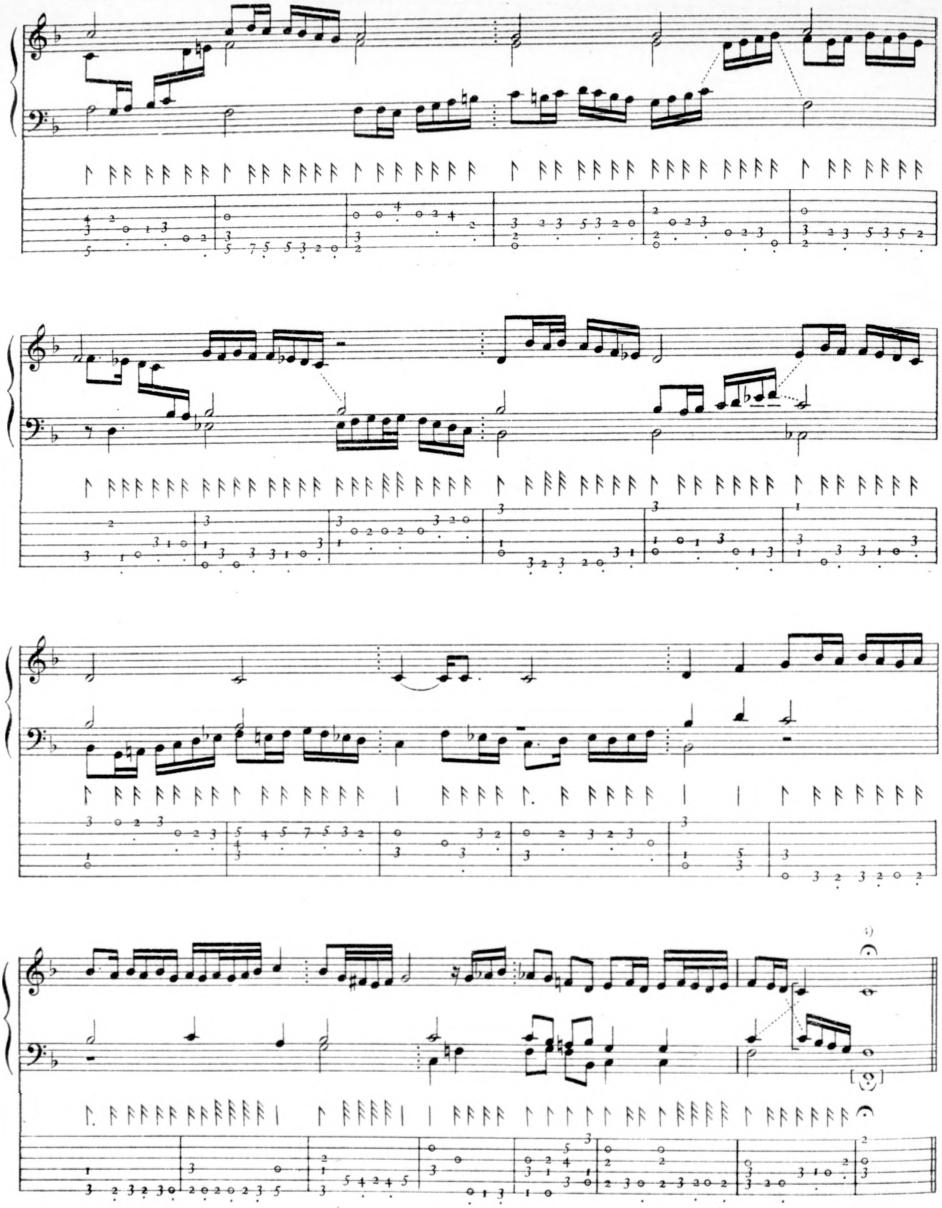
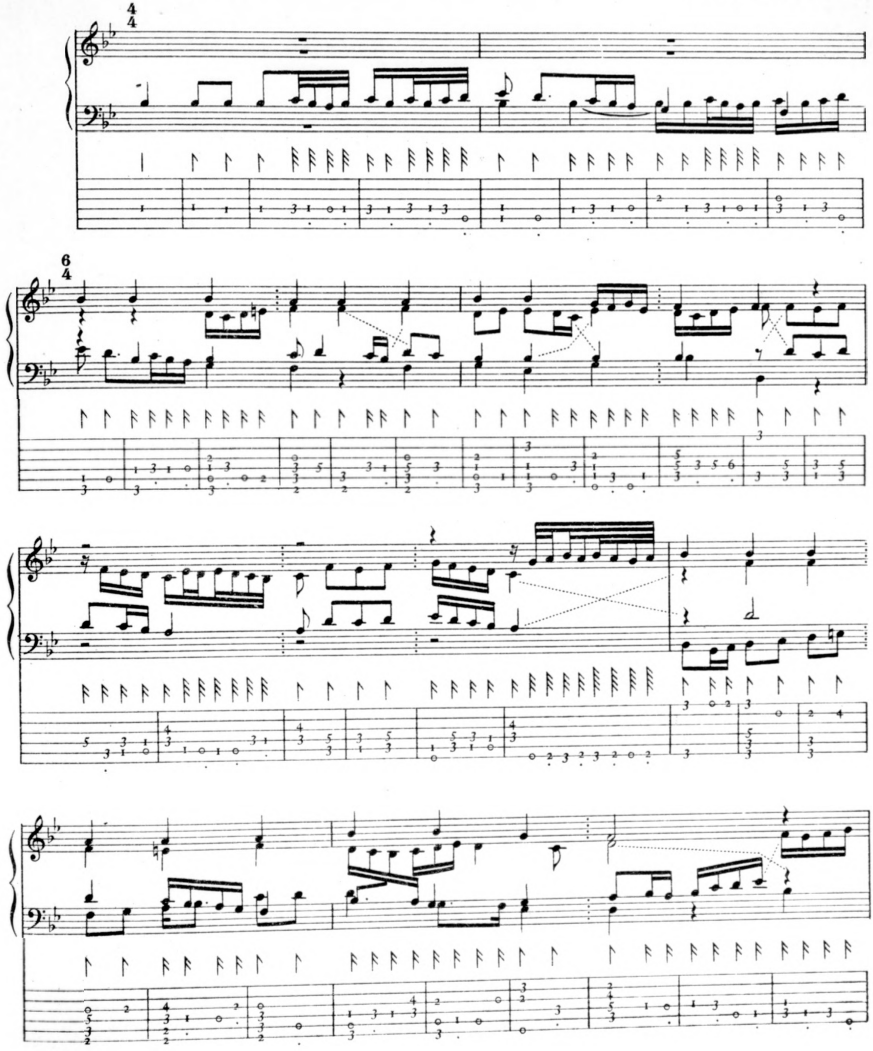
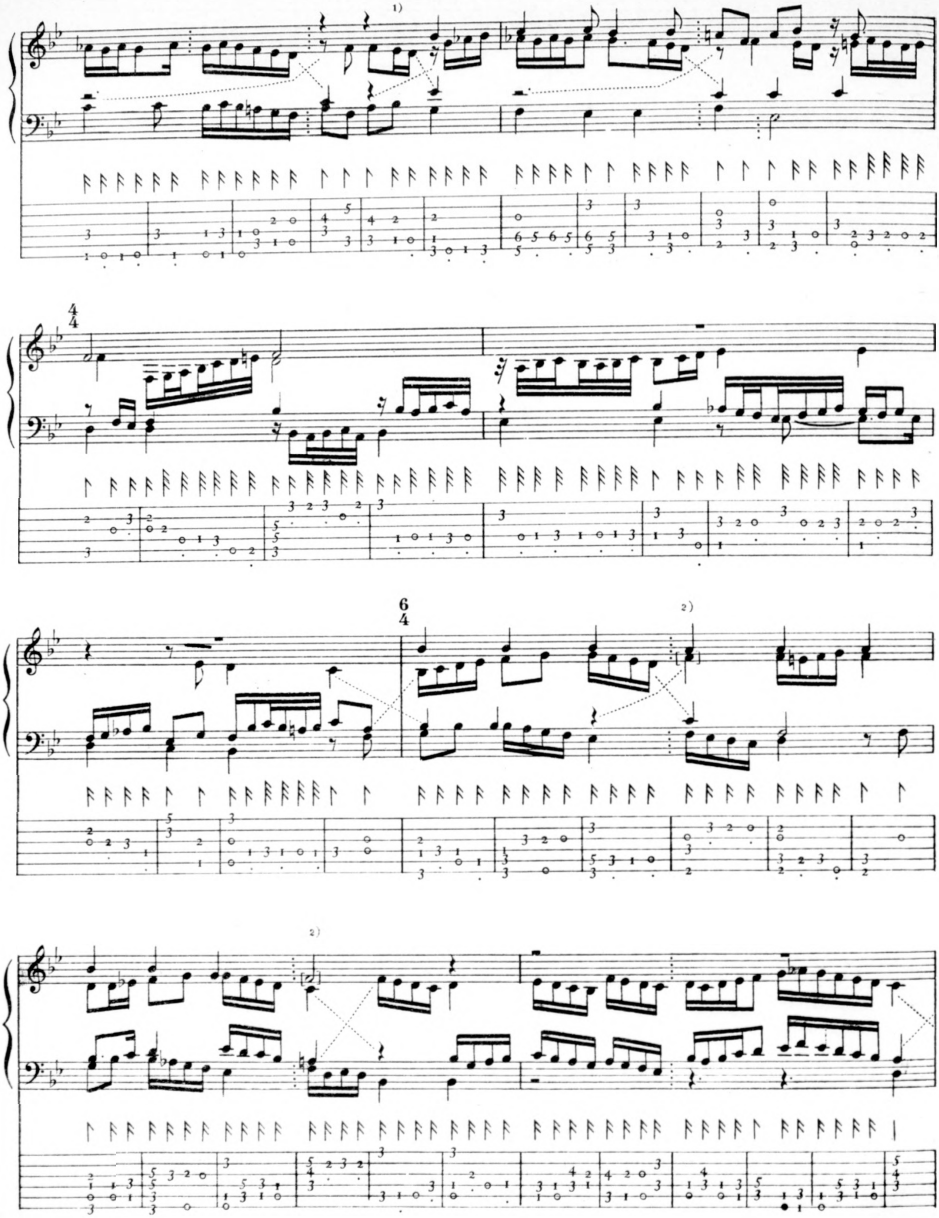




33. Et resurrexit "L'homme armé" sexti toni

[Josquin des Prez]

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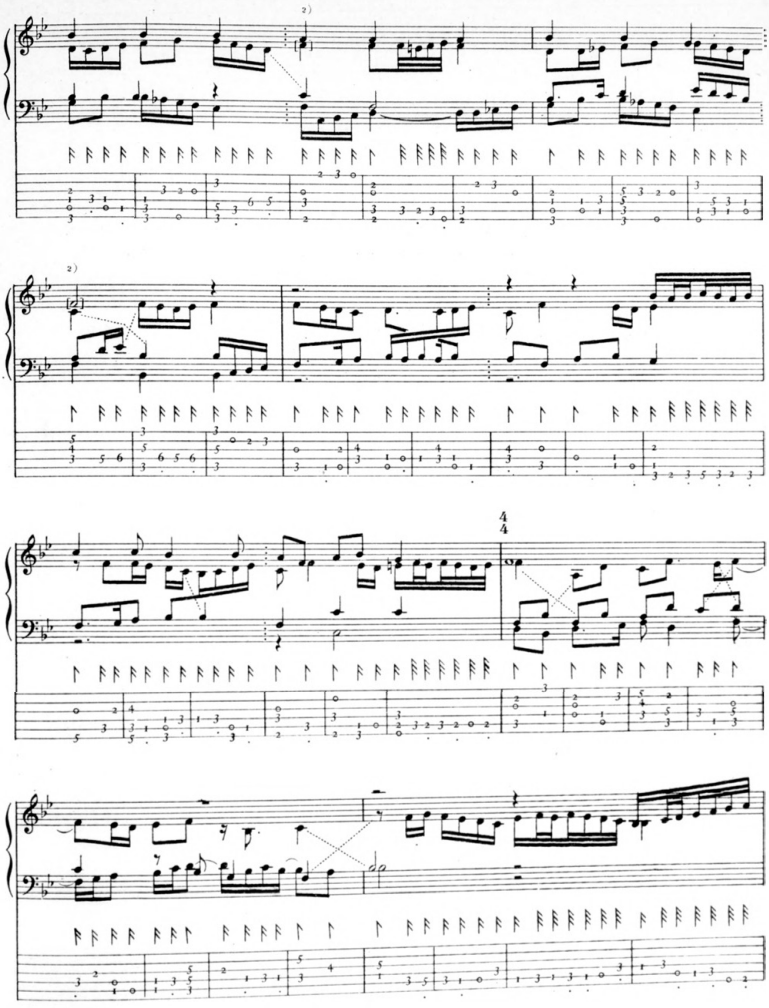
2)
2)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2)
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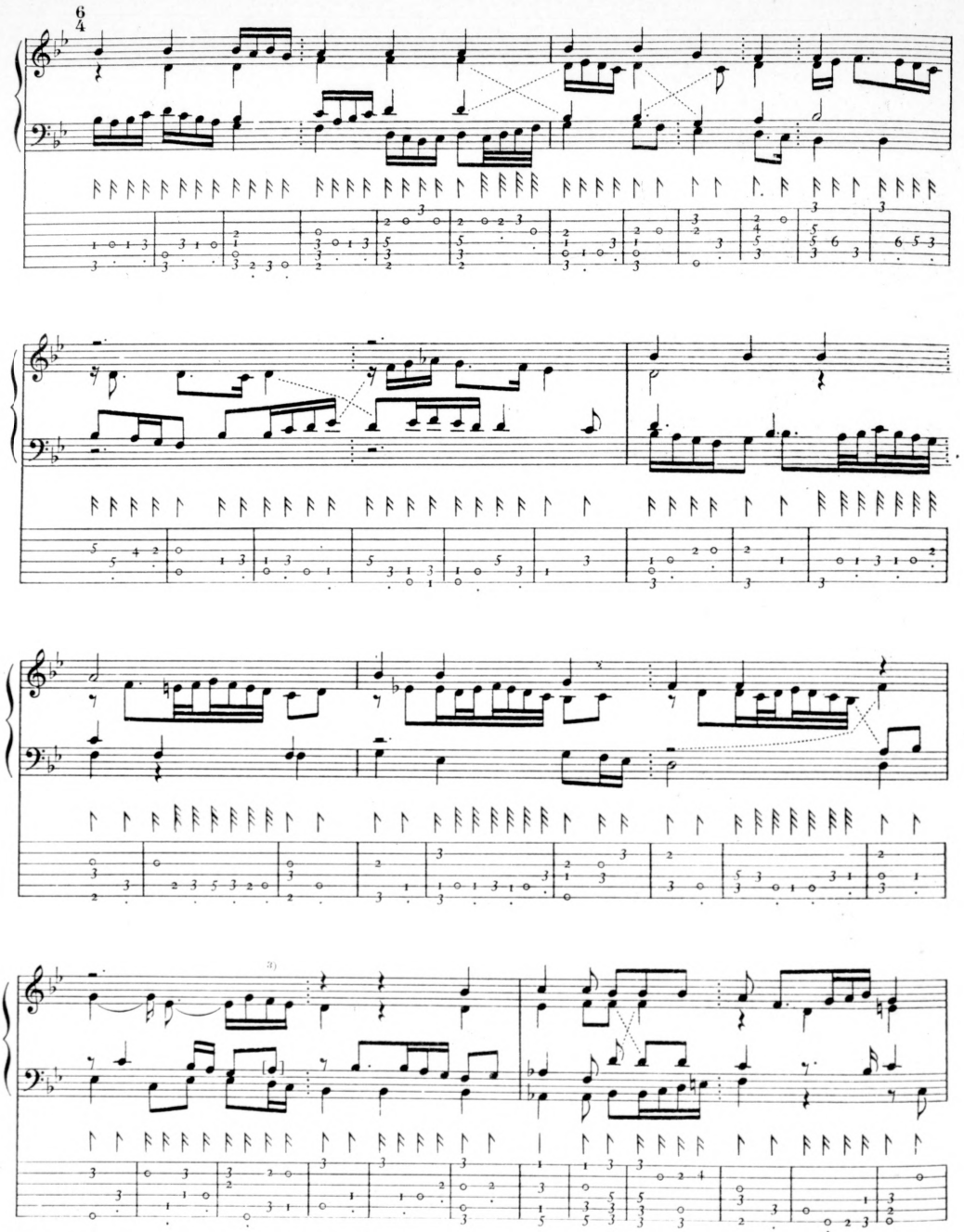
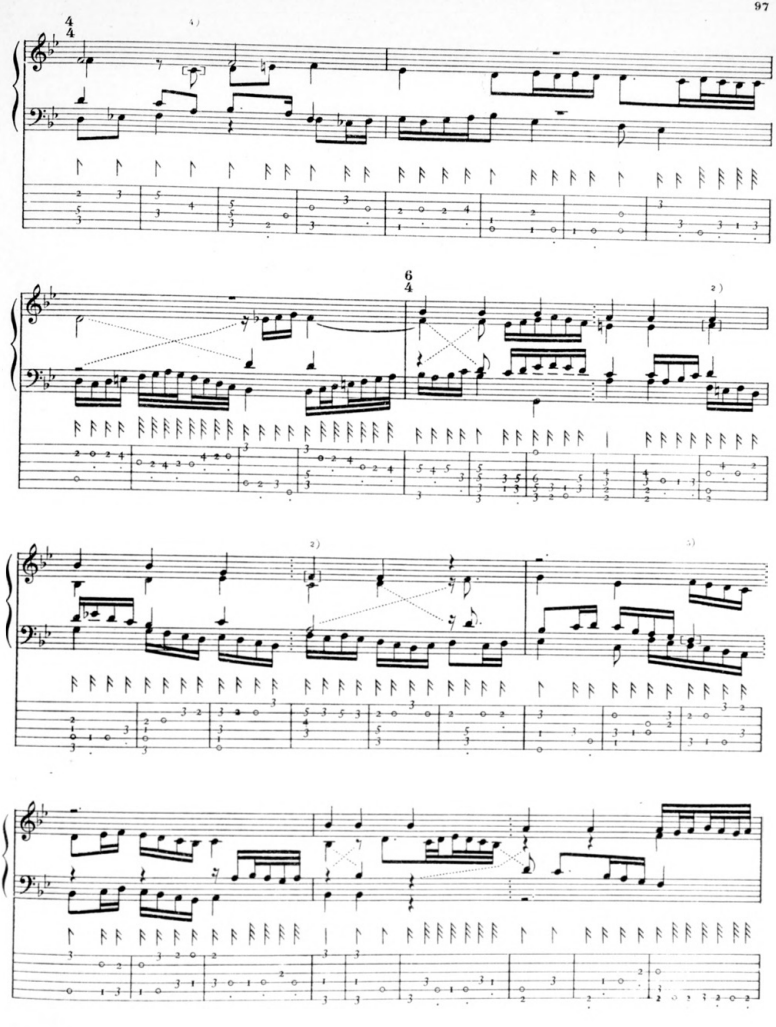
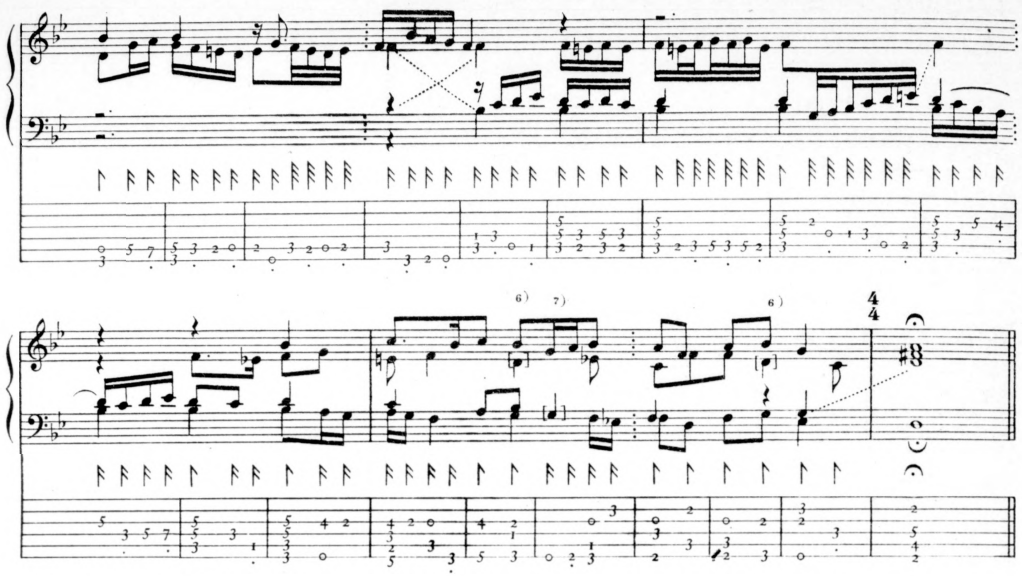
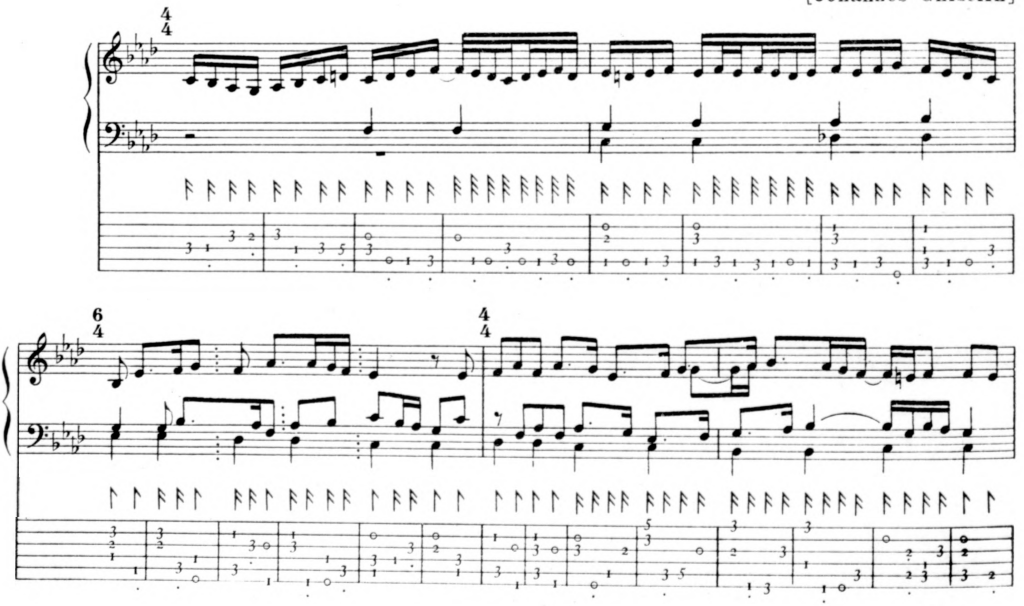


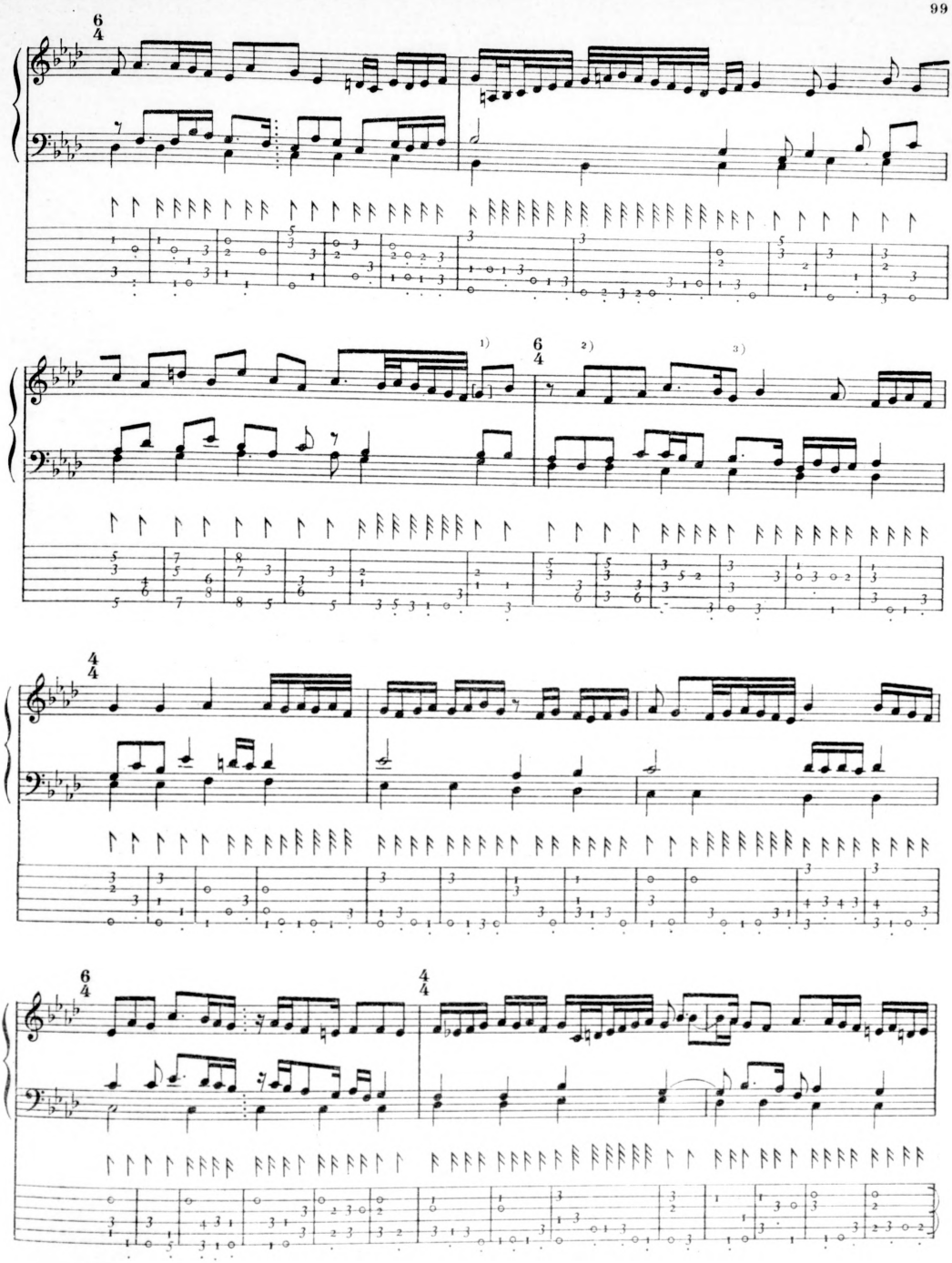




34. O florens rosa

[Johannes Ghiselin]

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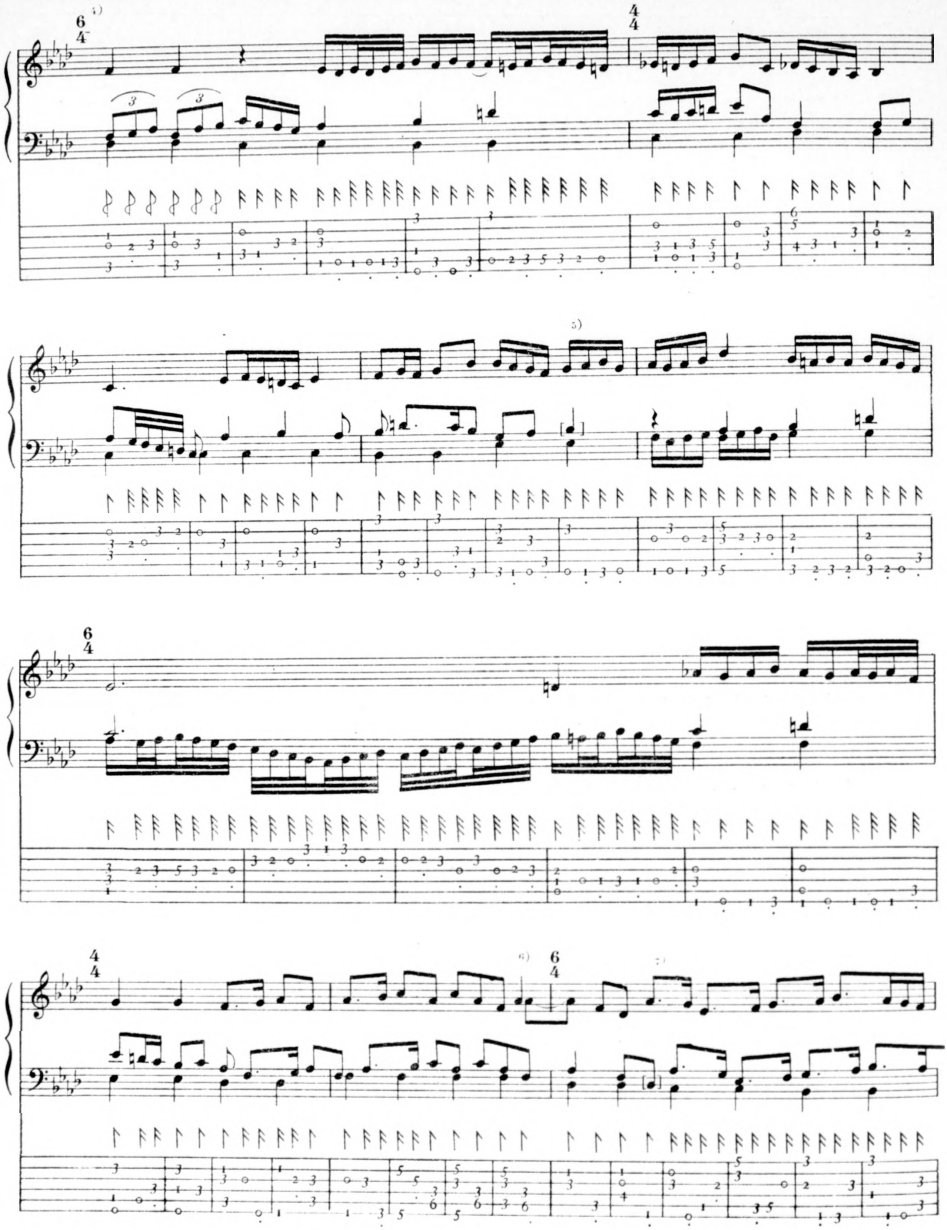

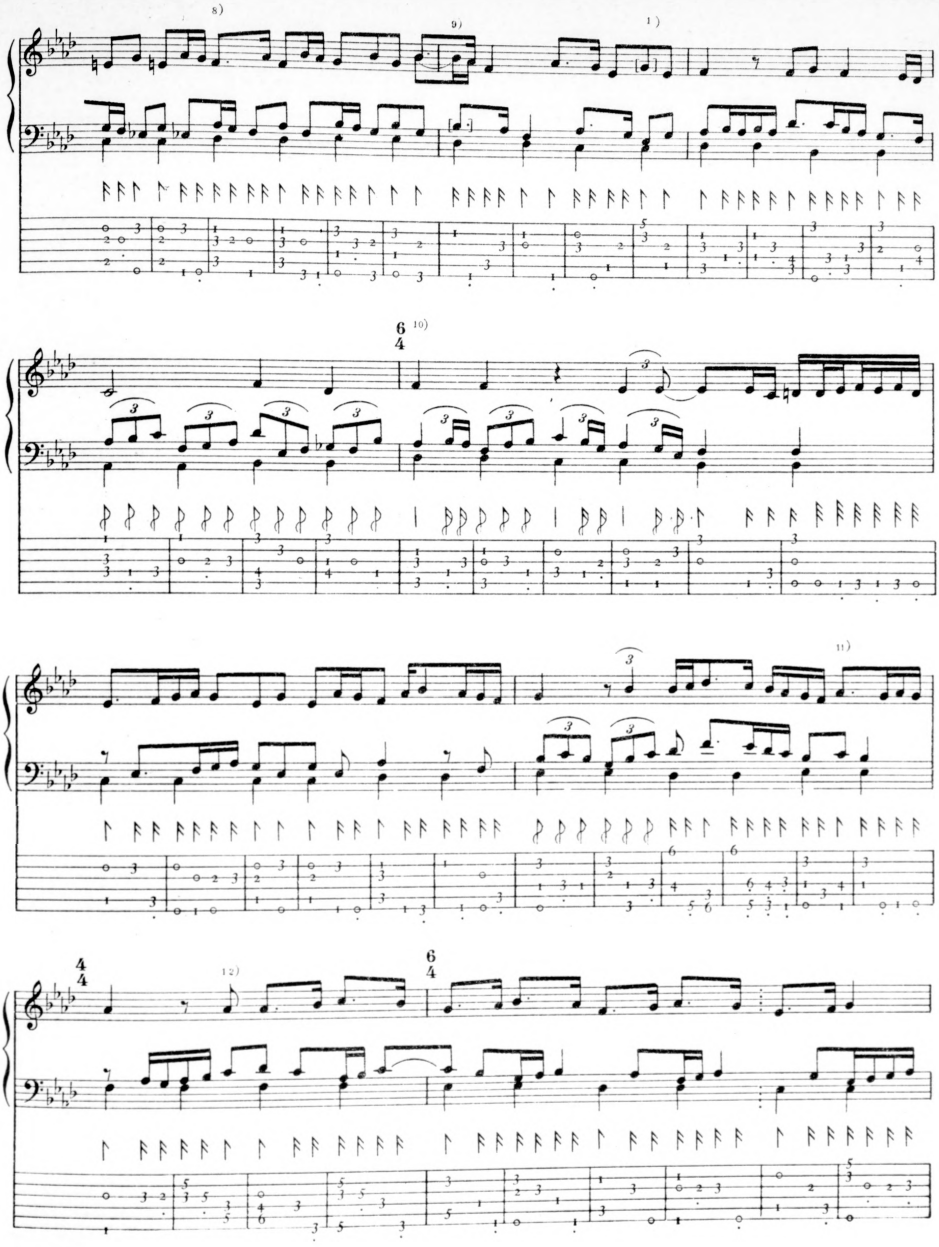
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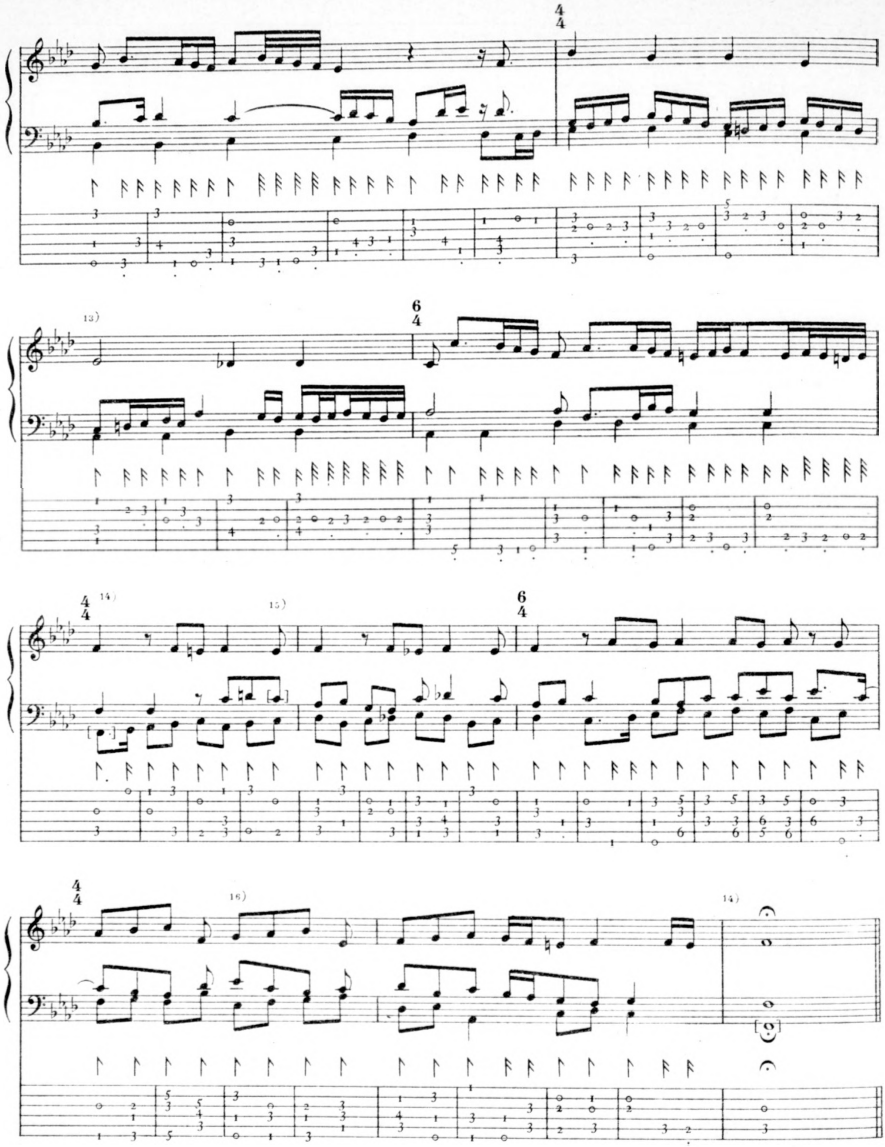
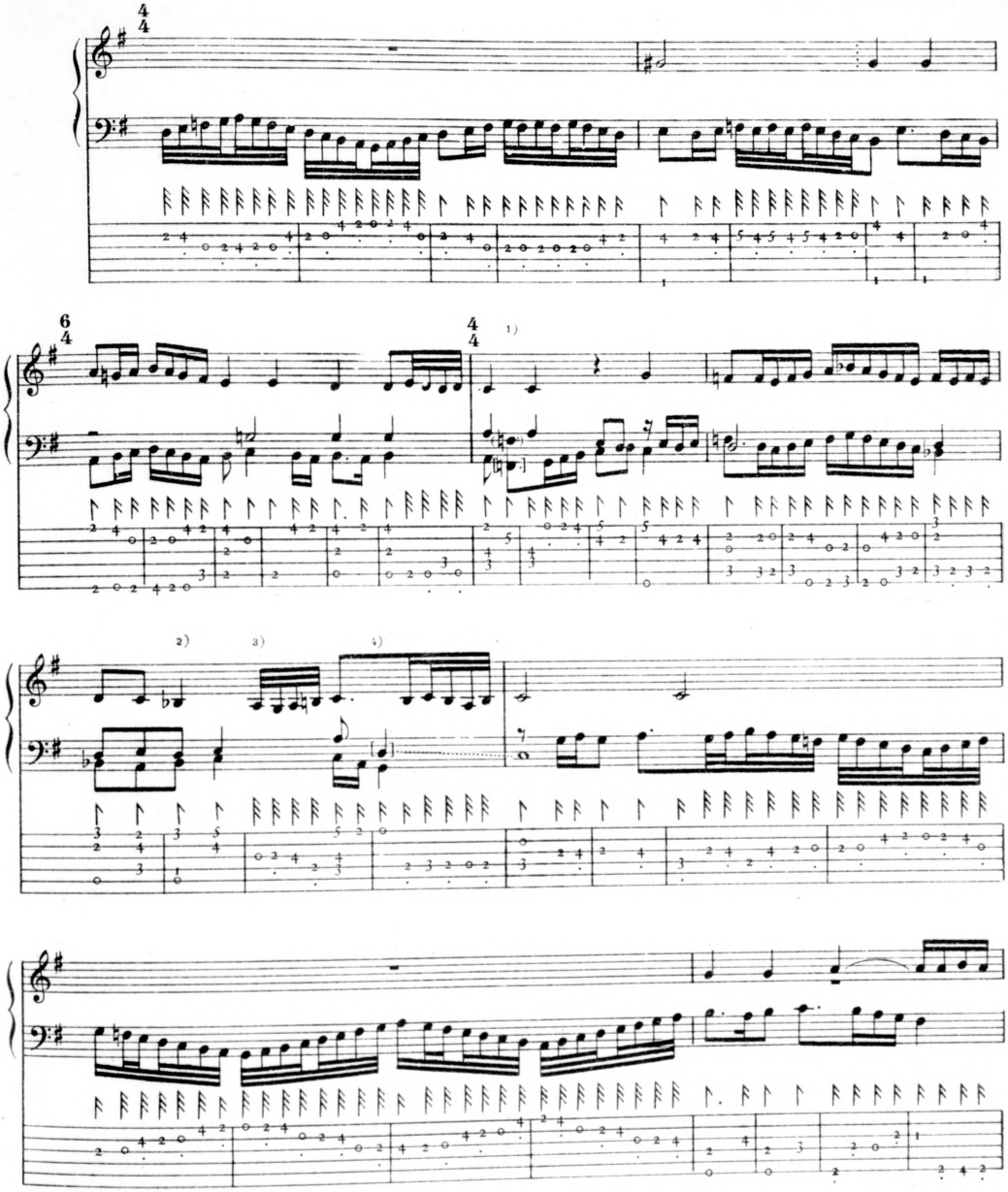
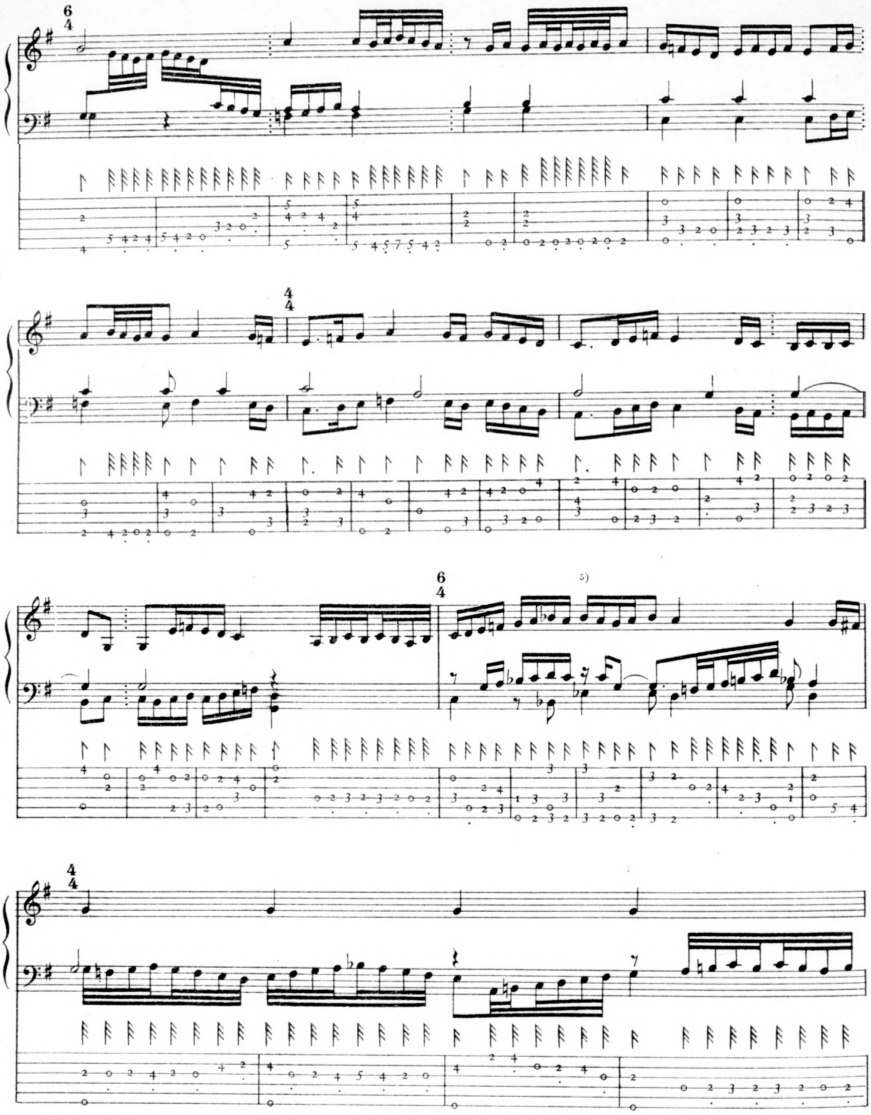
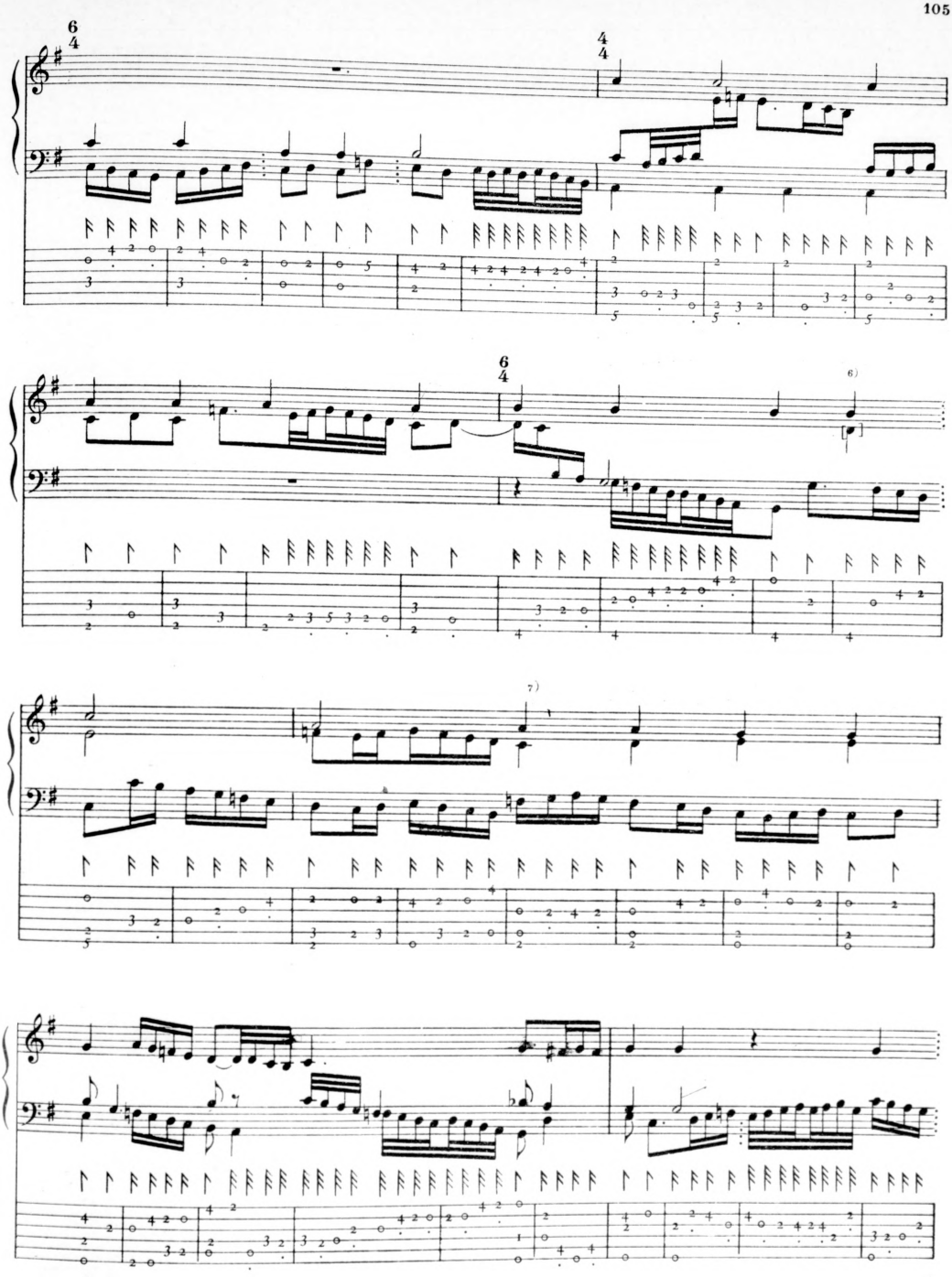


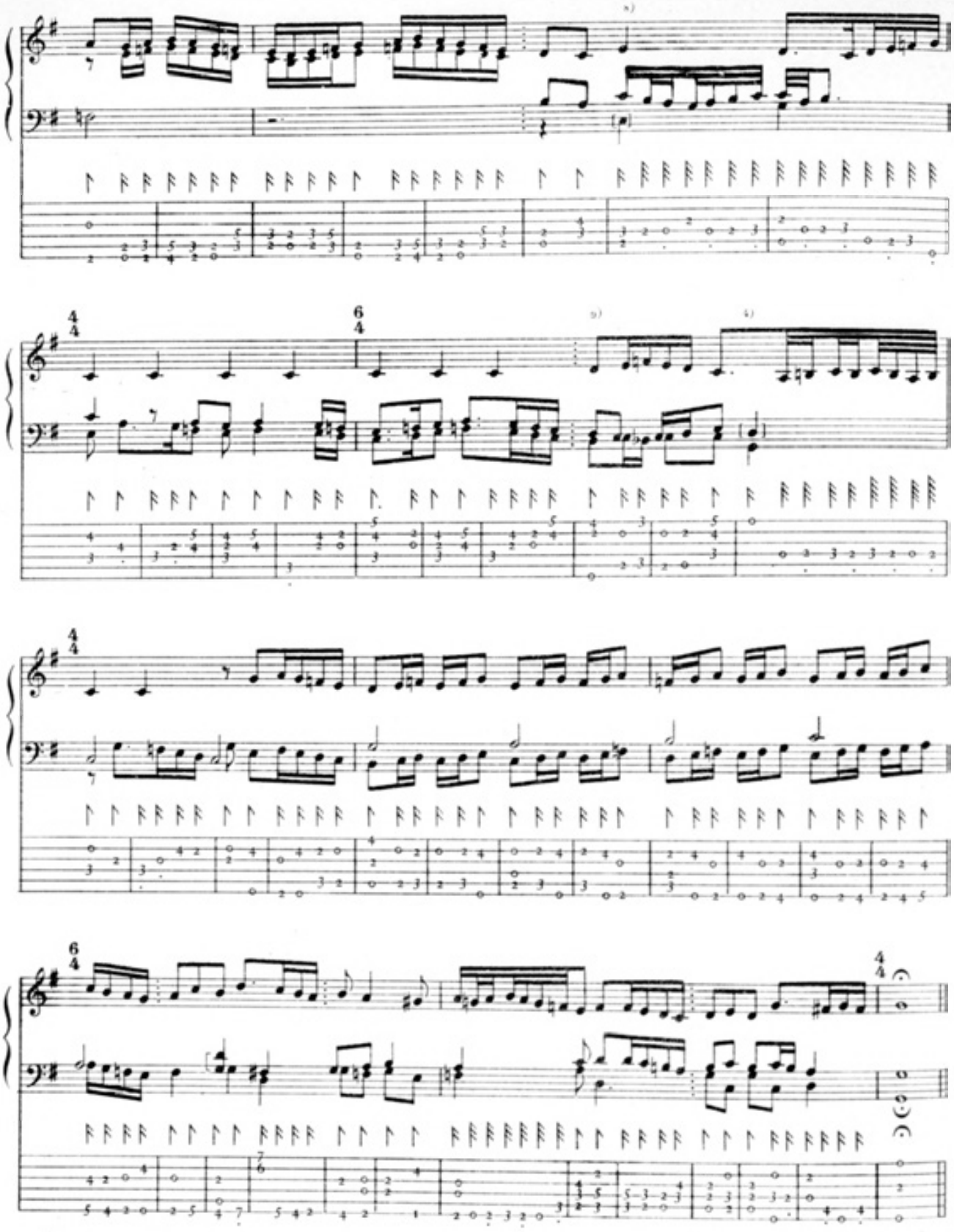
35. Si dedero

[Alexander Agricola]



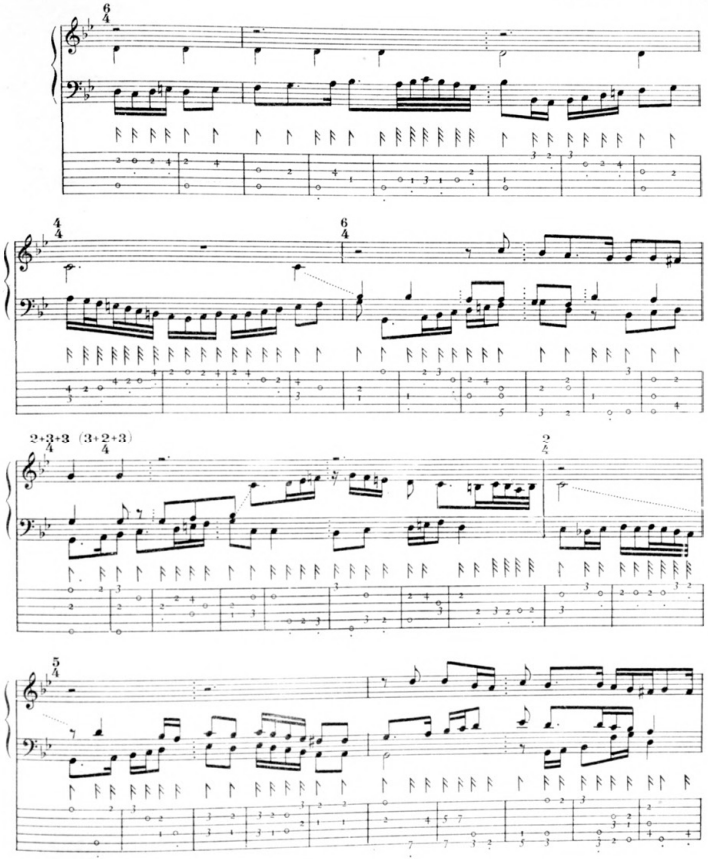


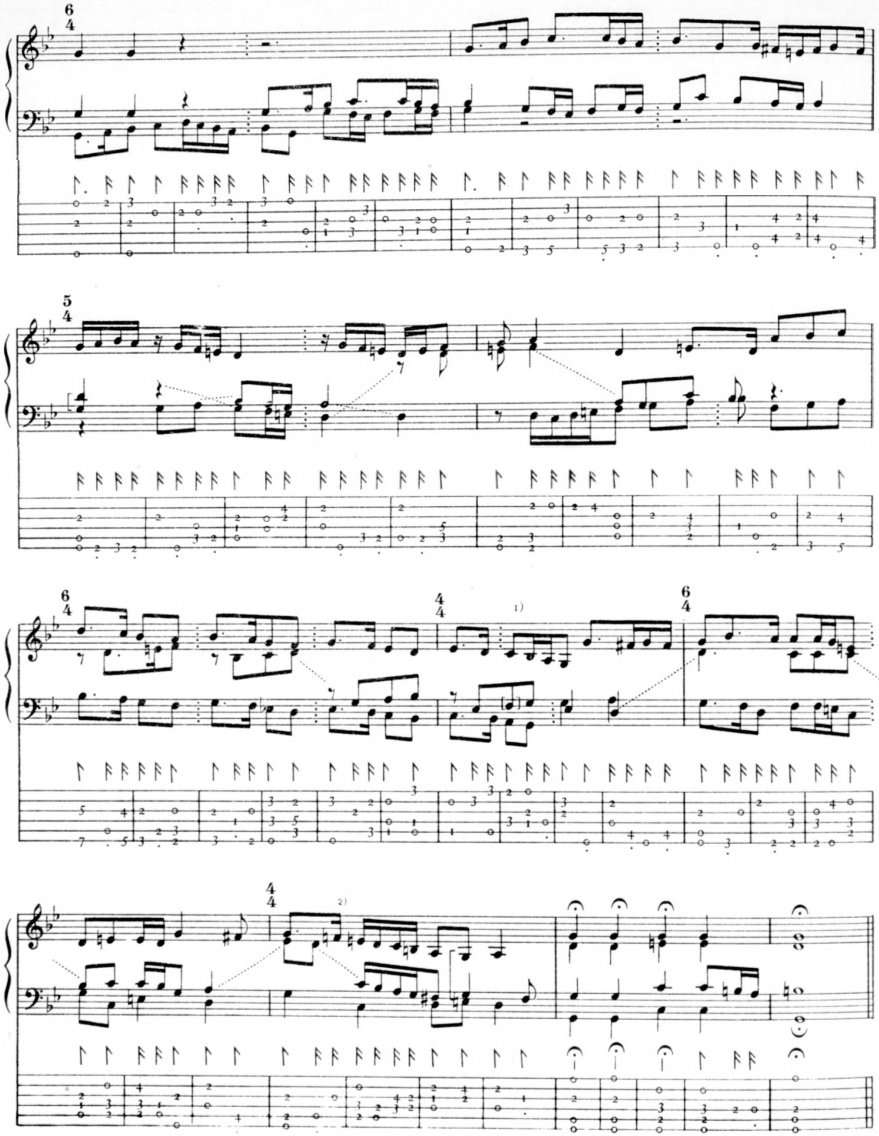




36. Benedictus "Ut re mi fa sol la"

[Anthoine Brumel]

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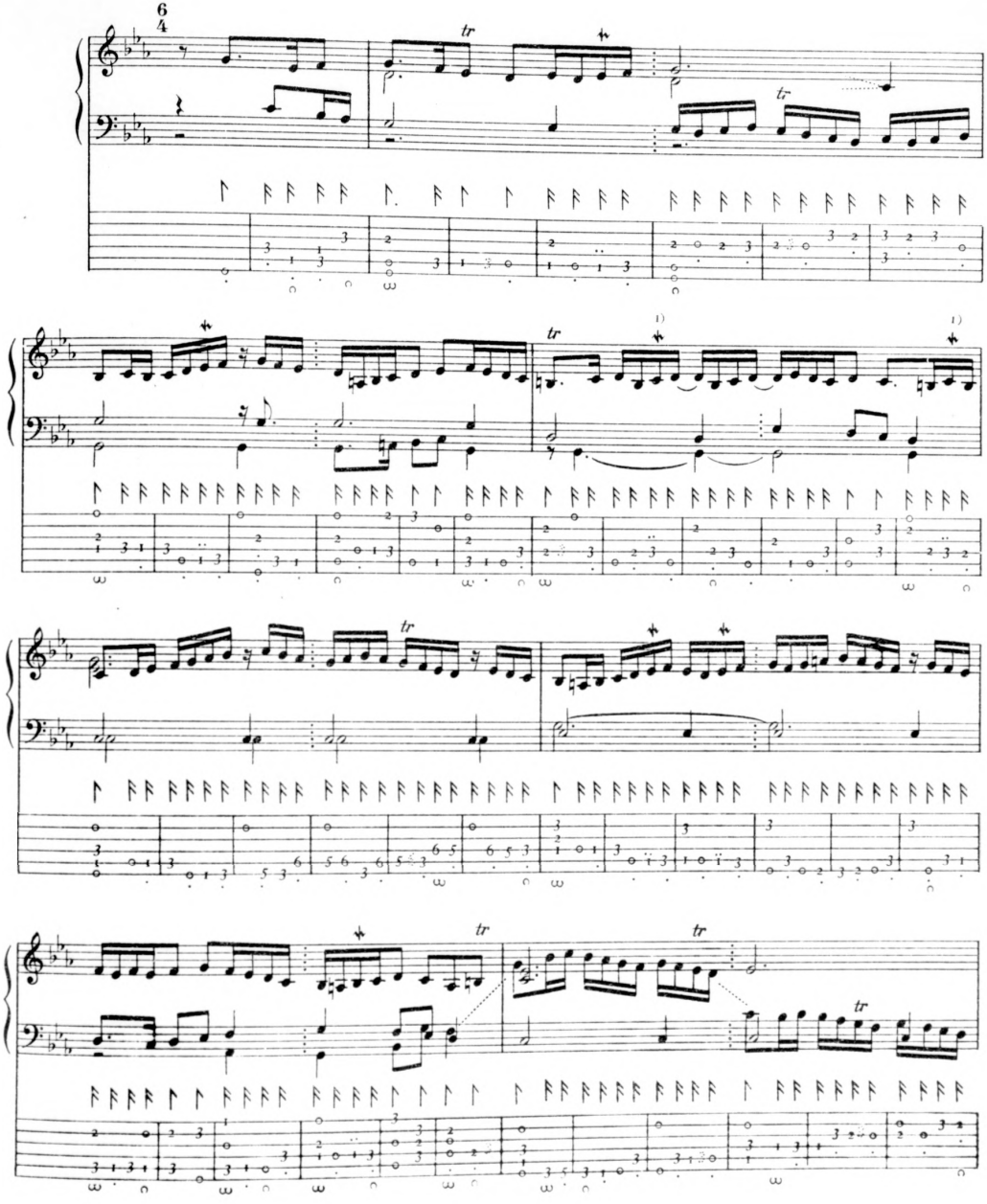
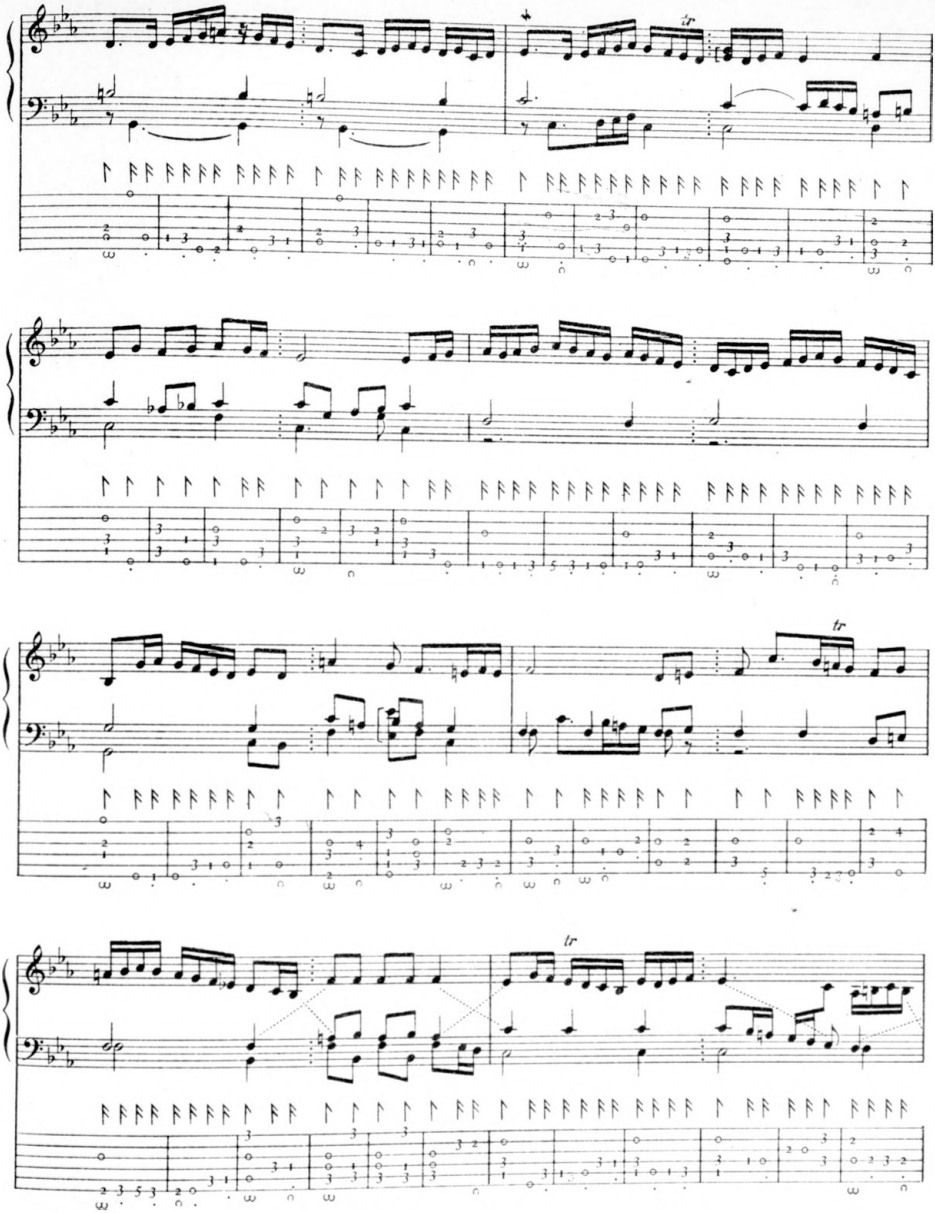
37. Bassadanza La Spagna

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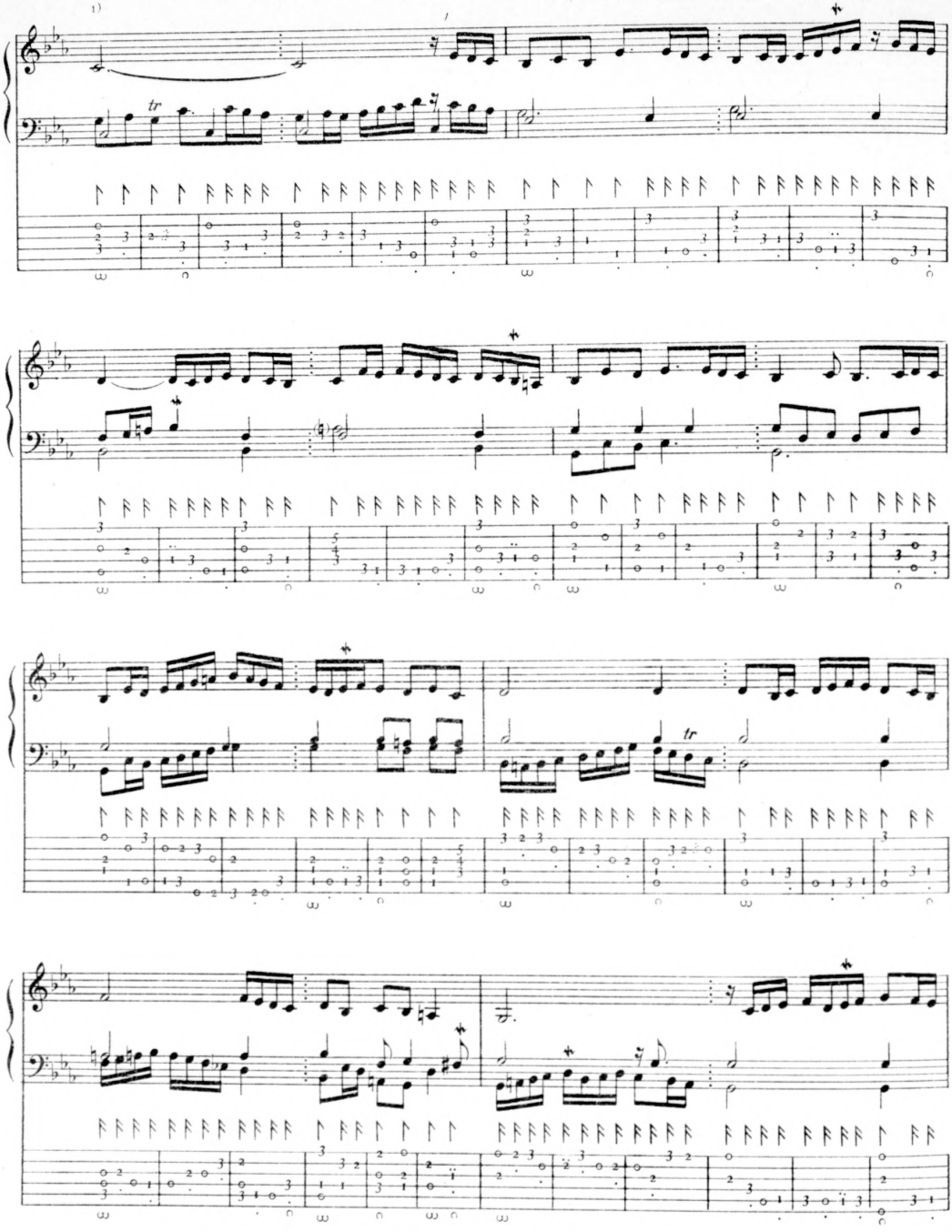

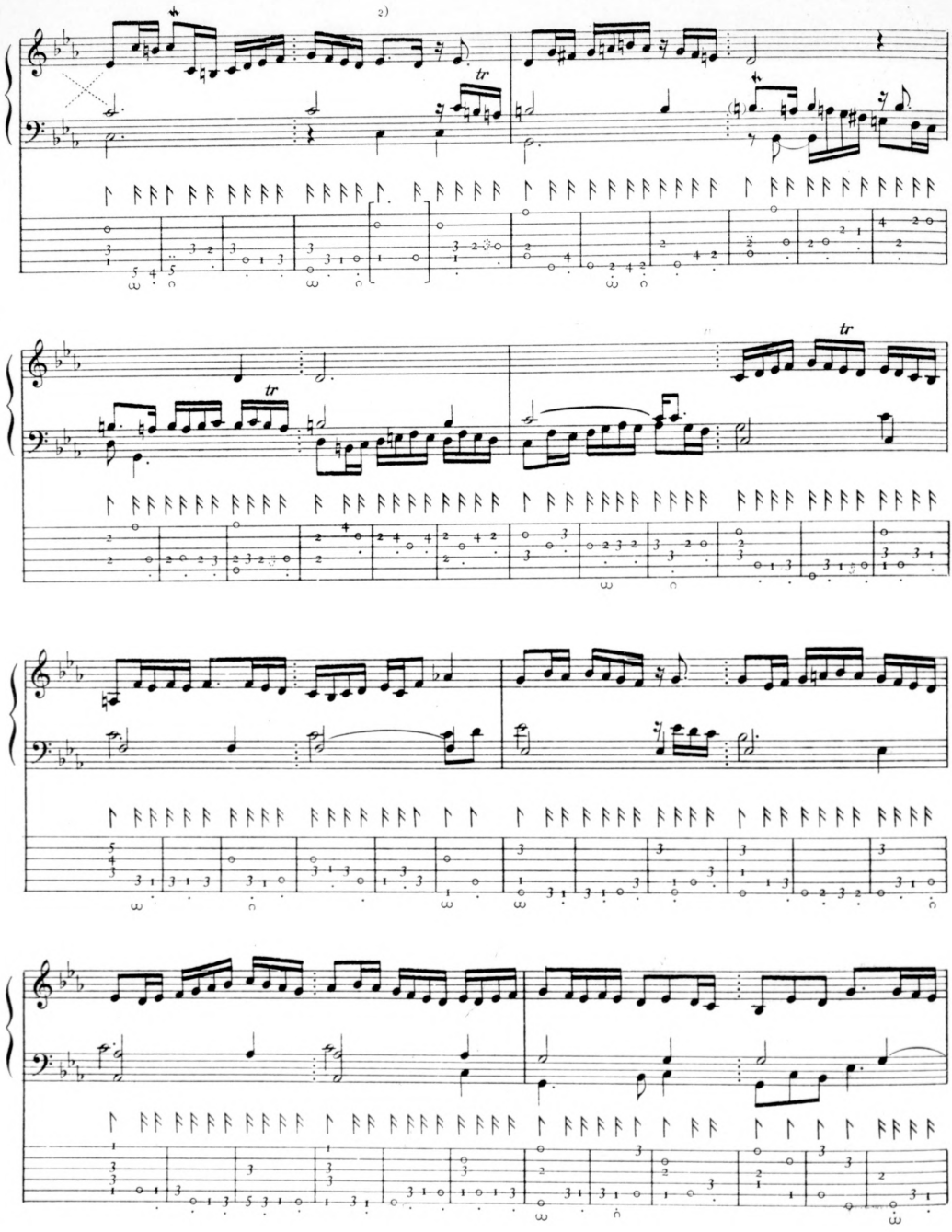

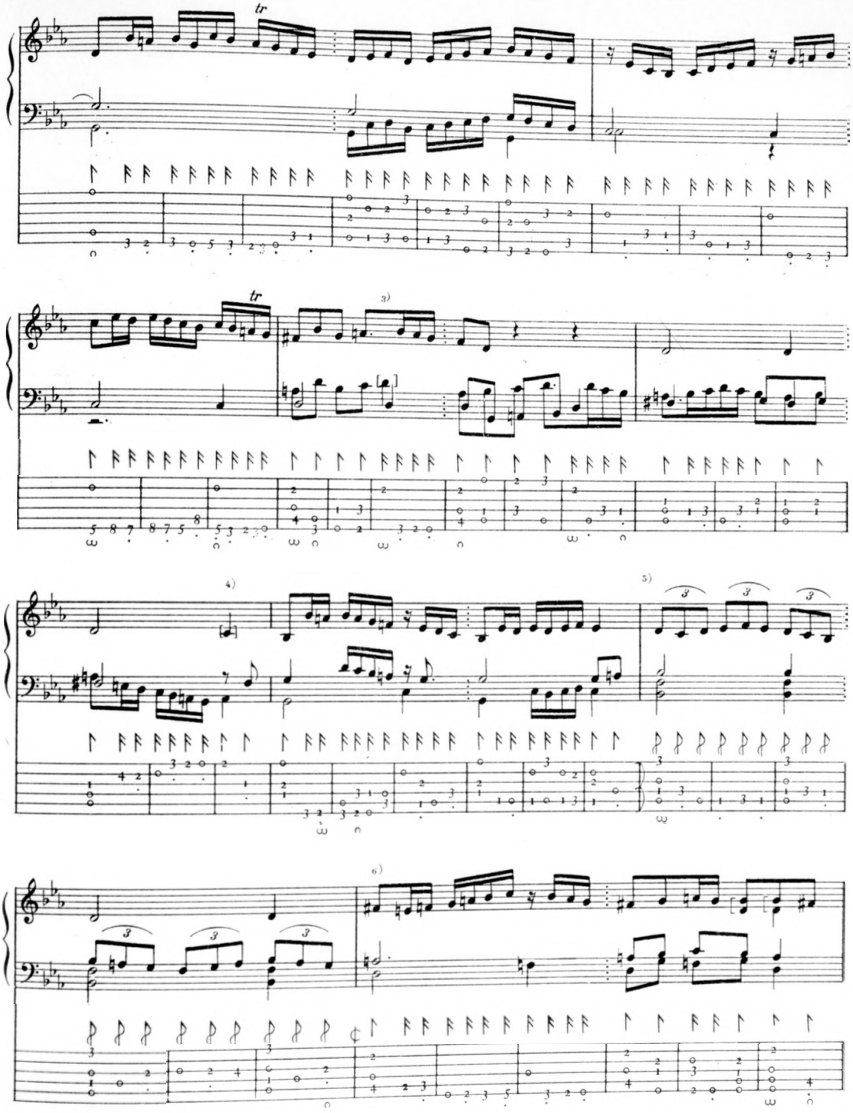
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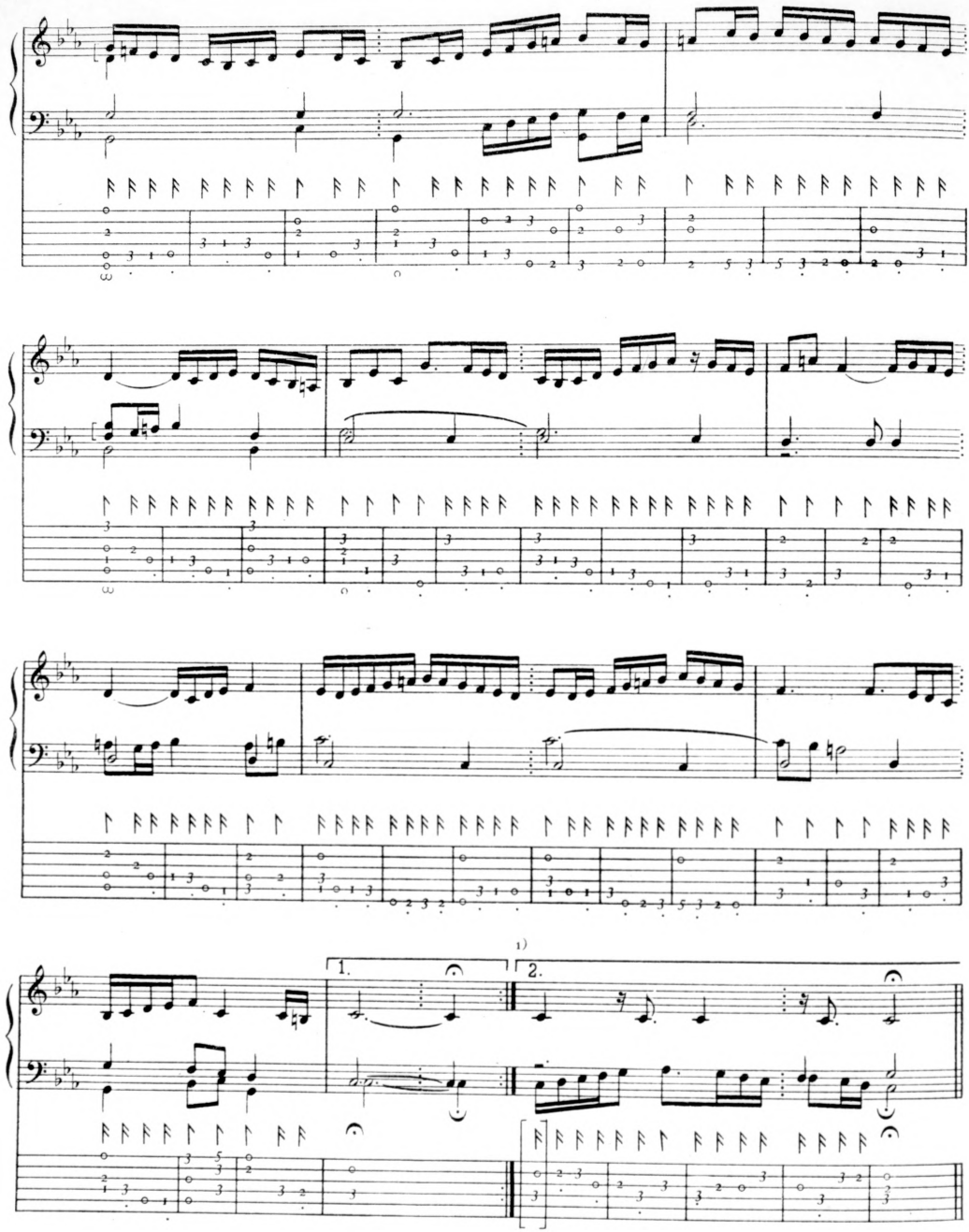
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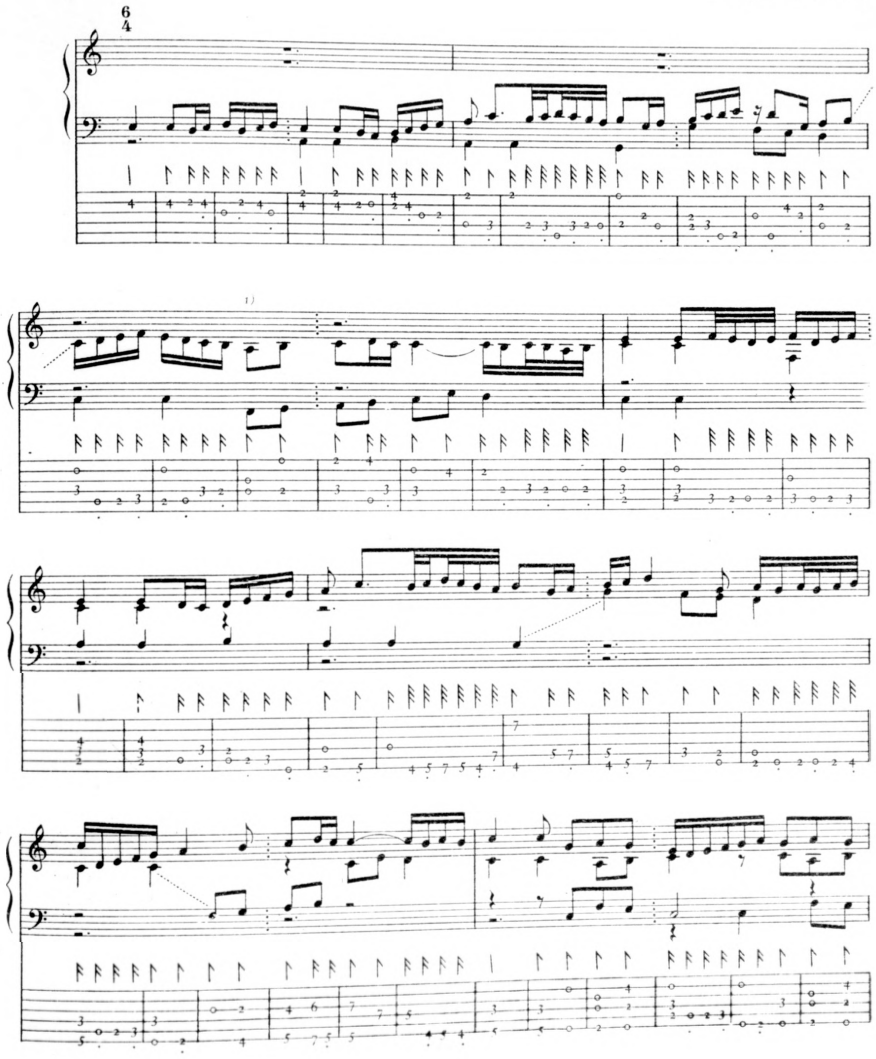
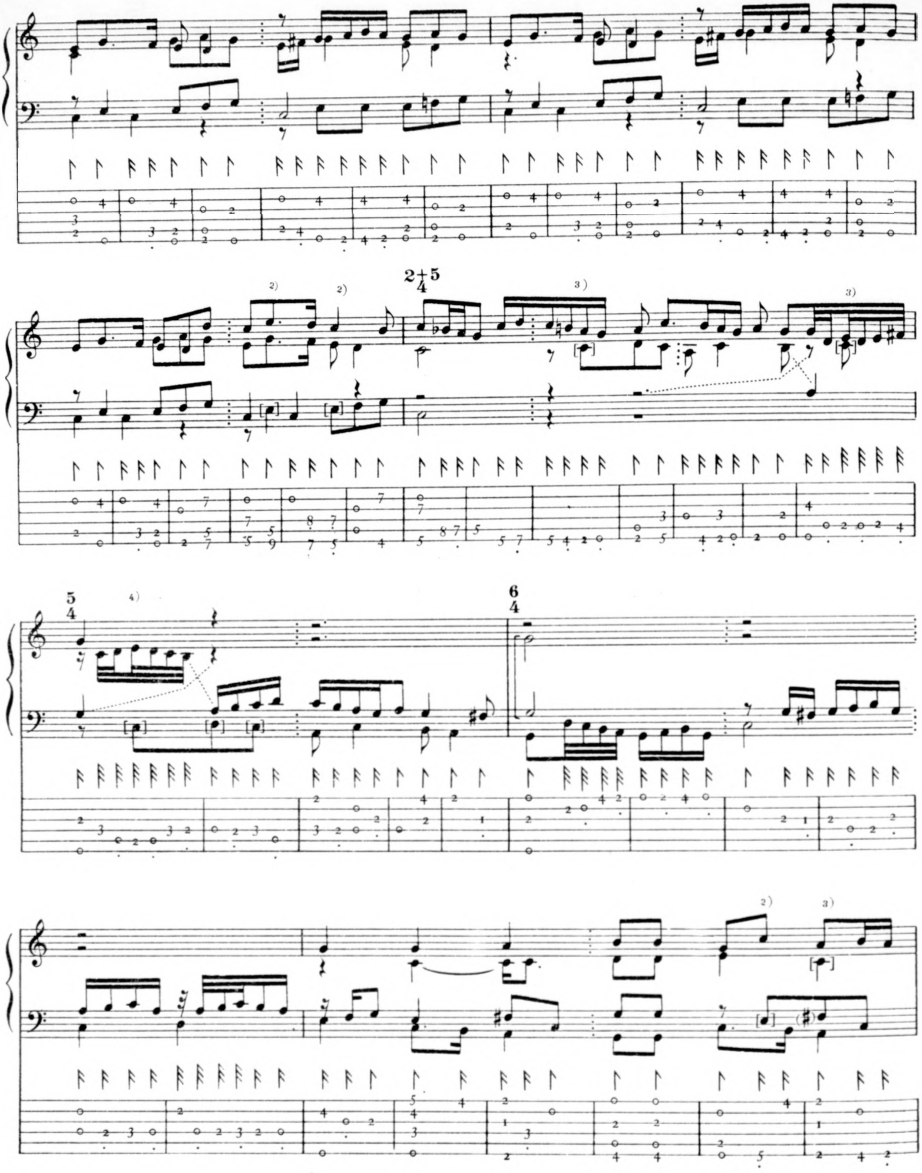
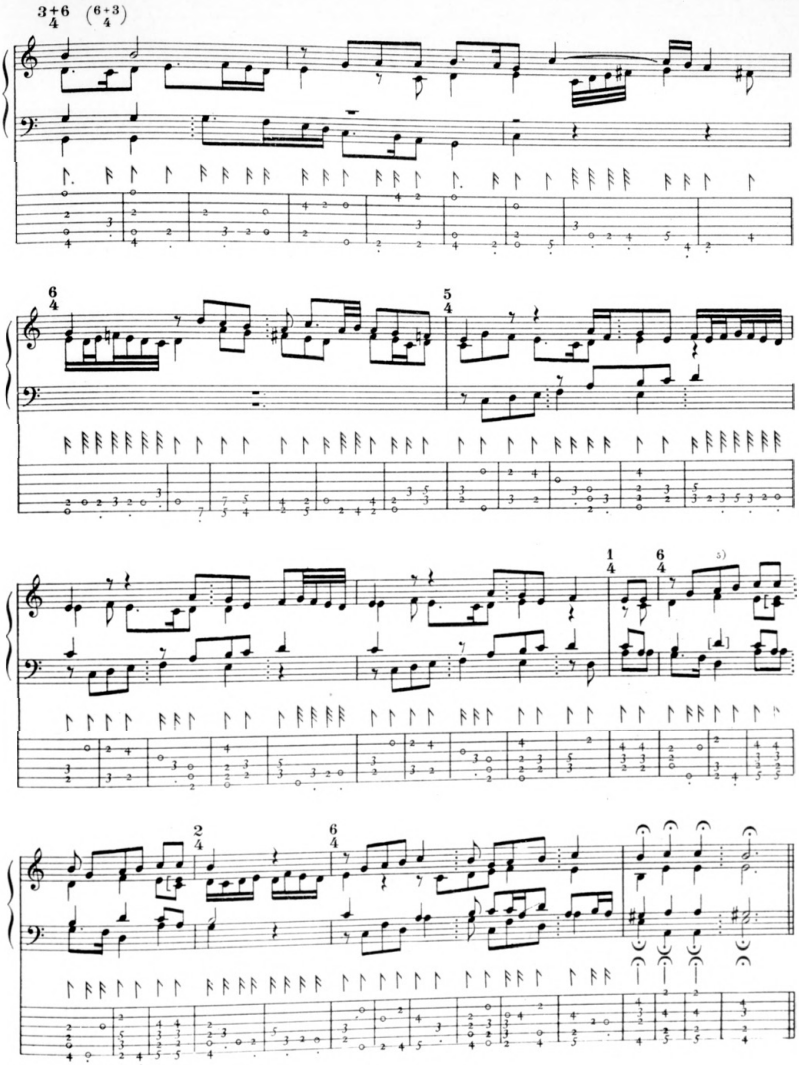
38. Et in terra "Pange lingua"

[Josquin des Prez]



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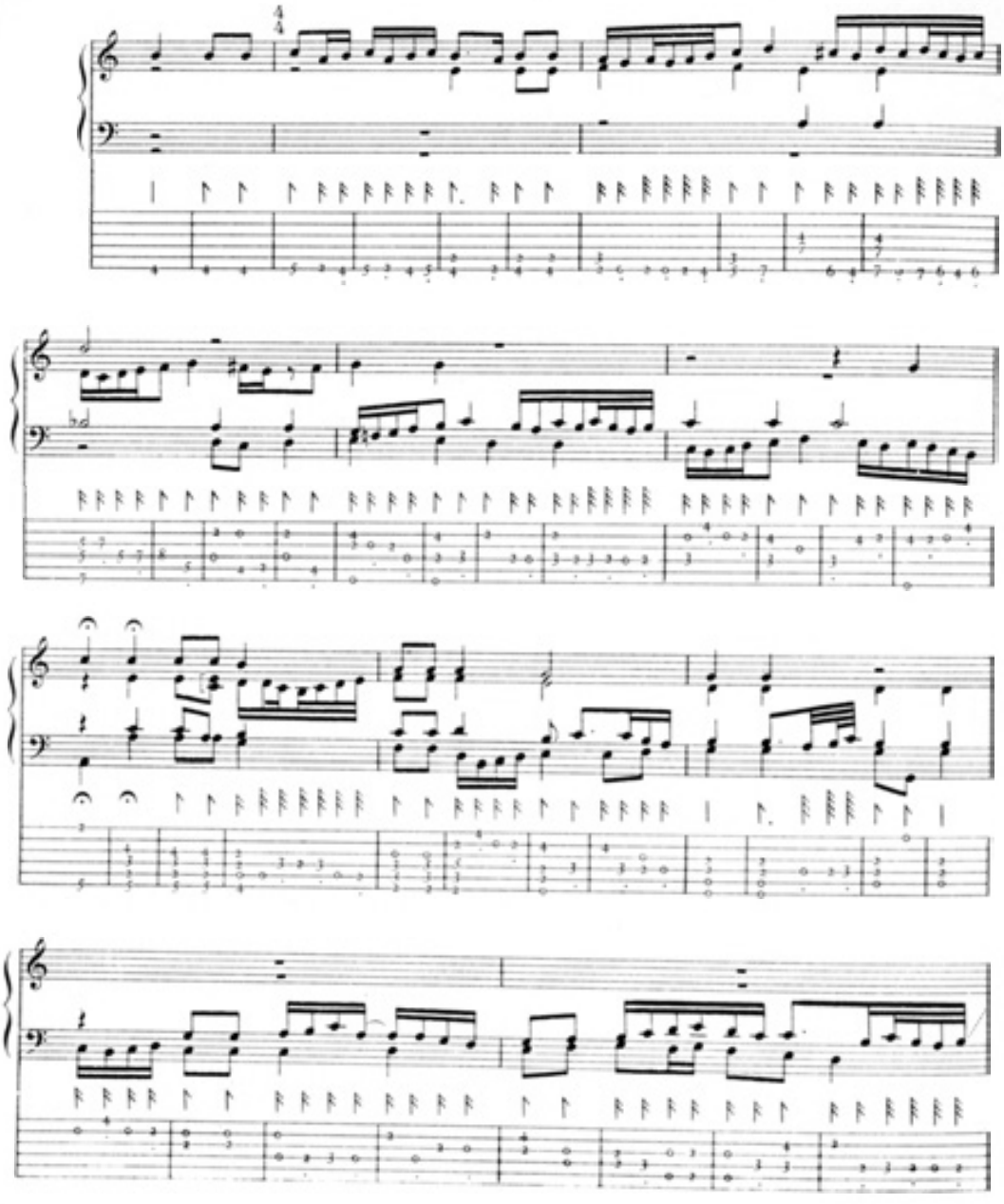
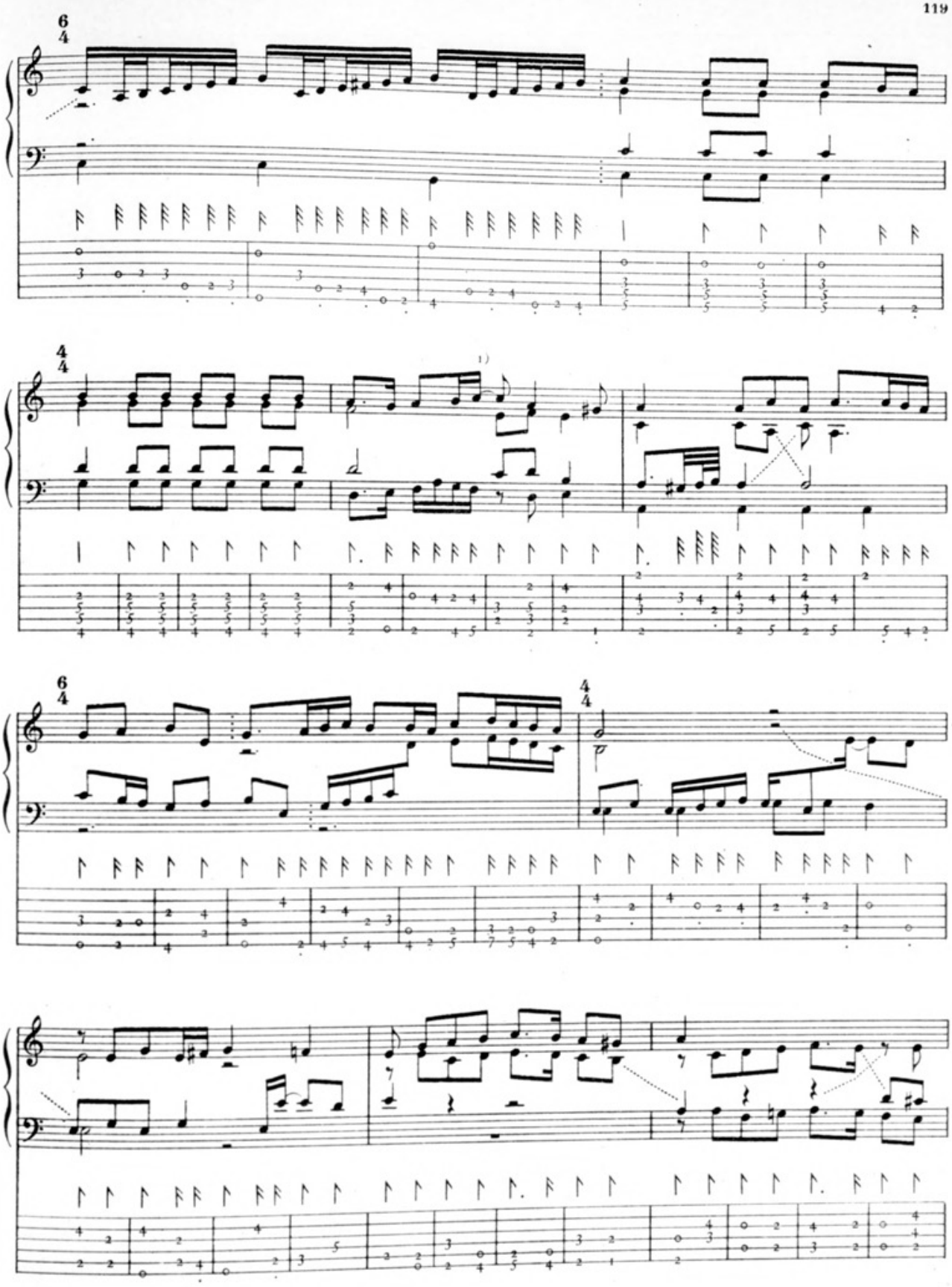
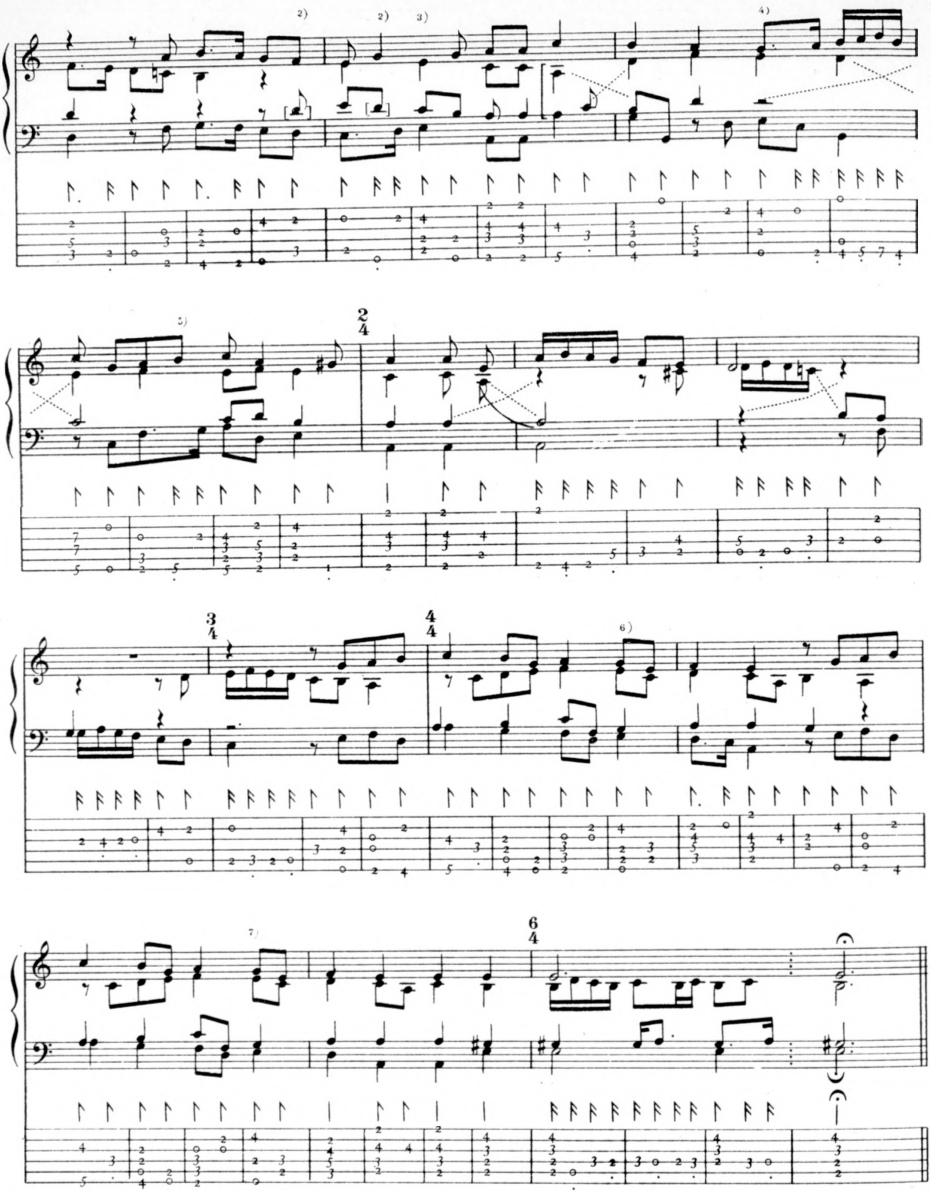
39. Qui tollis "Pange lingua"

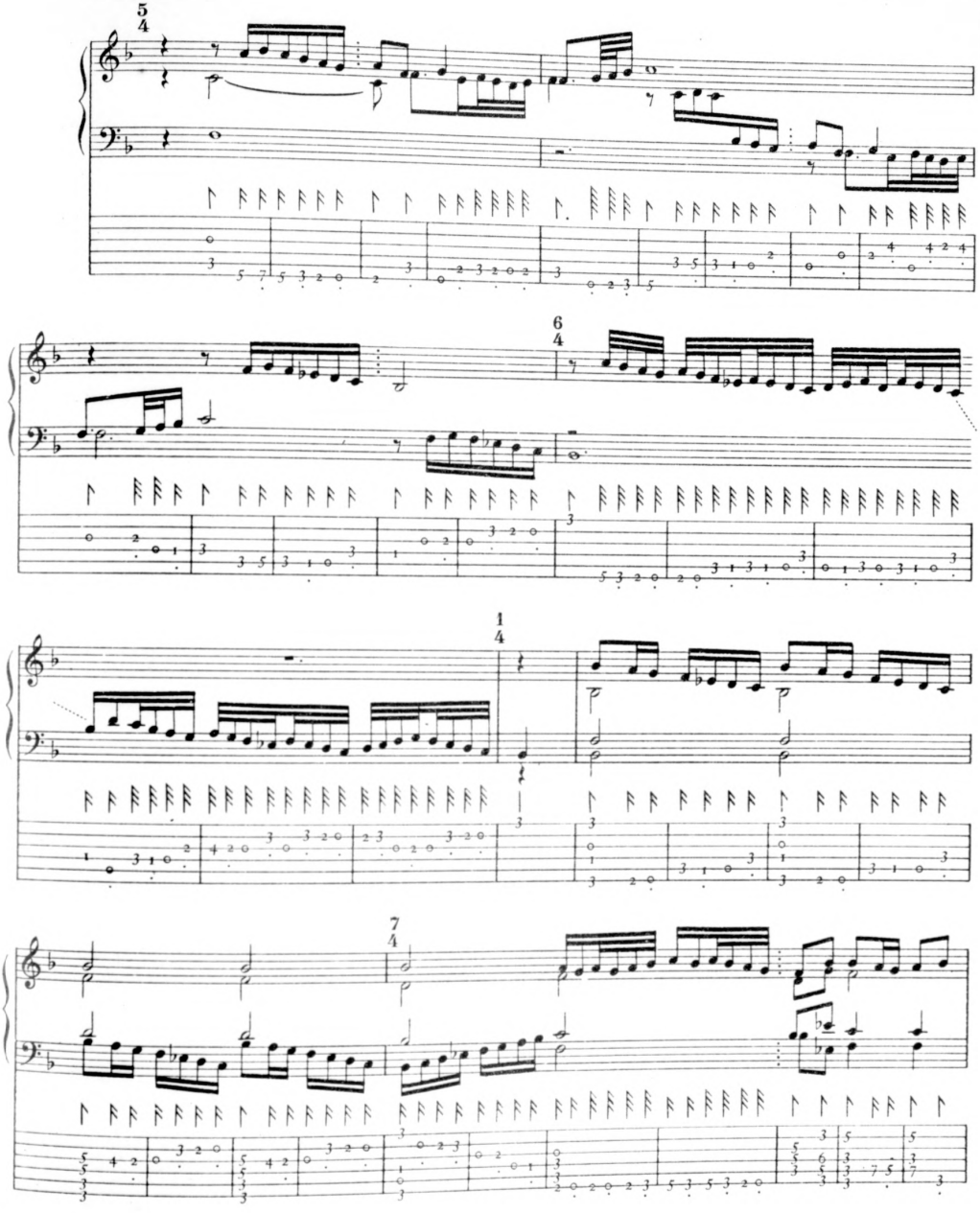
[Josquin des Prez]

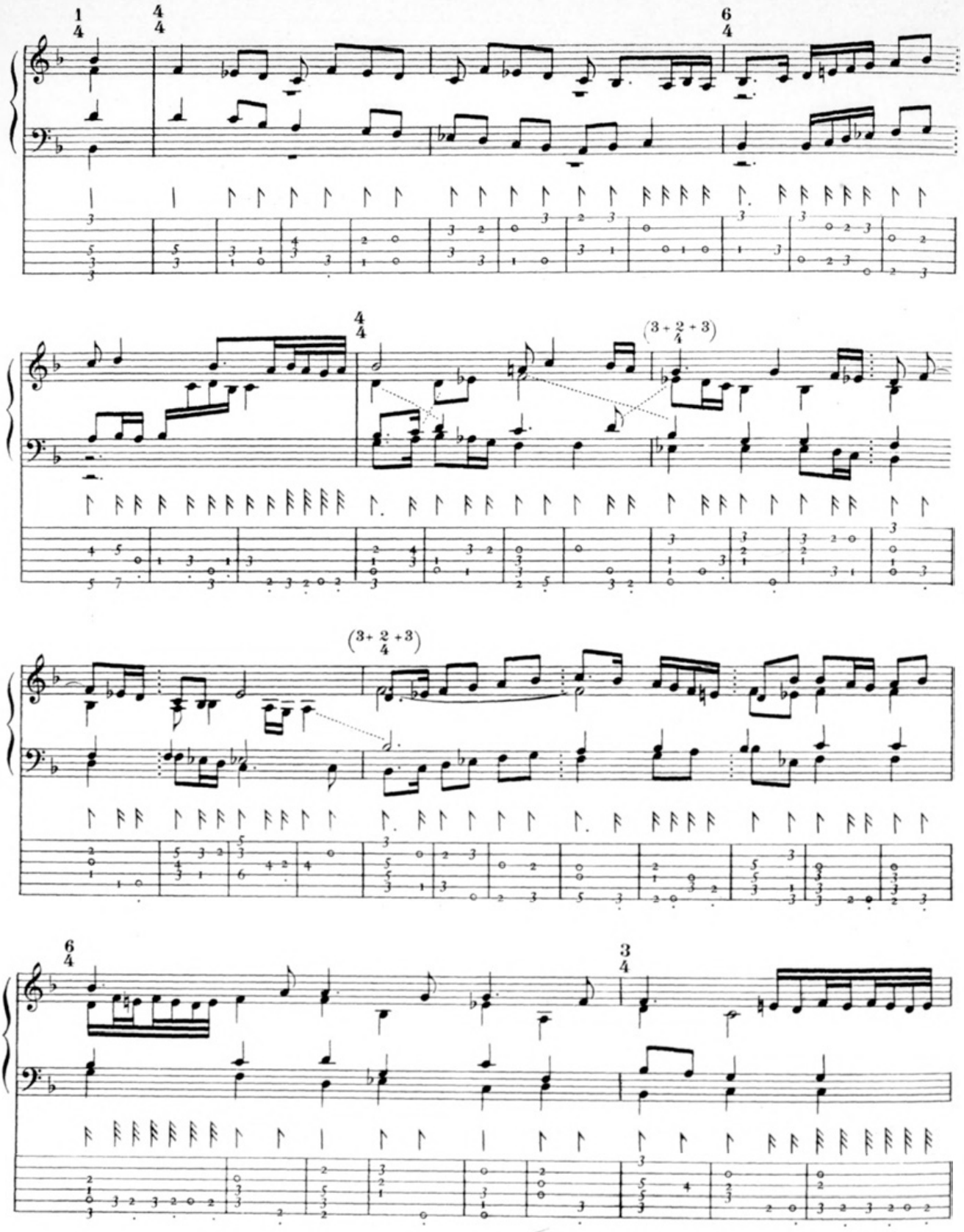


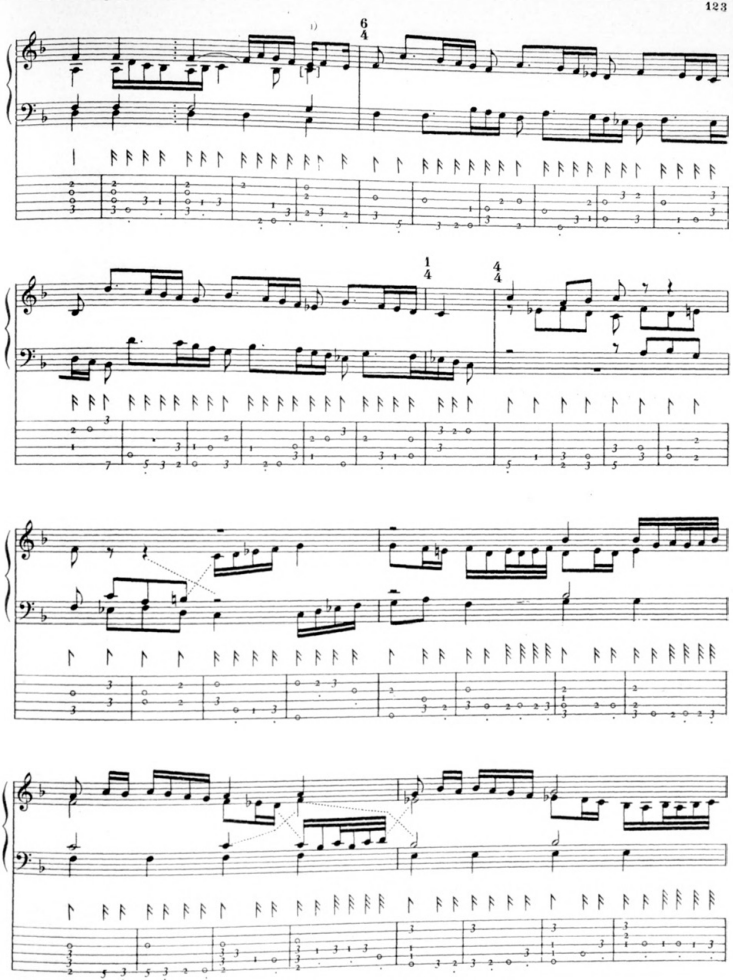


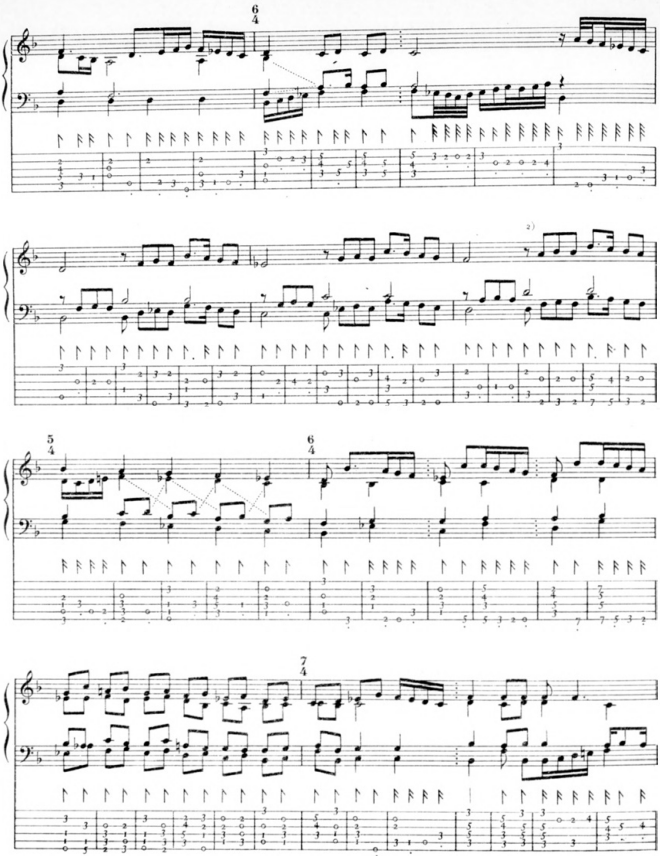


40. Ricercar XII





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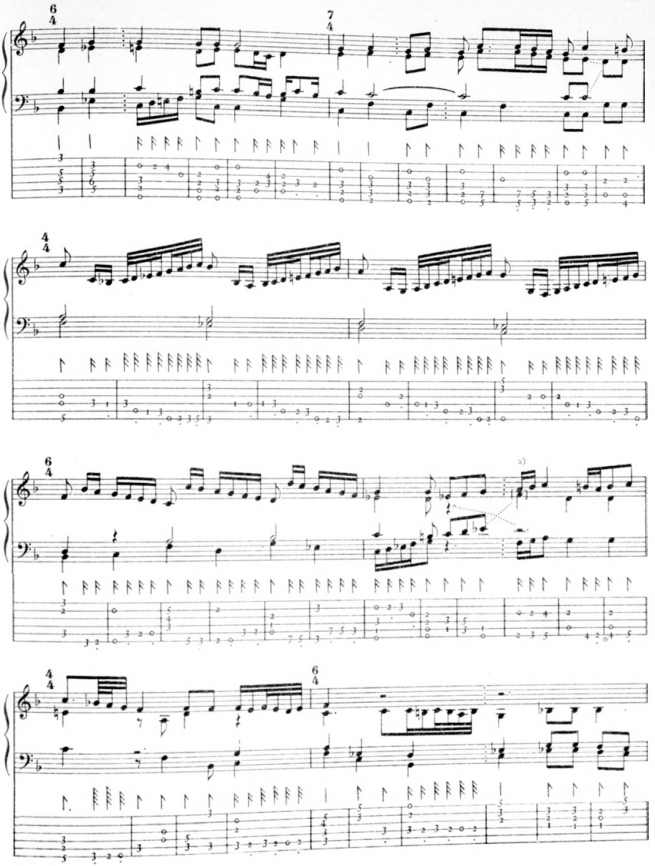
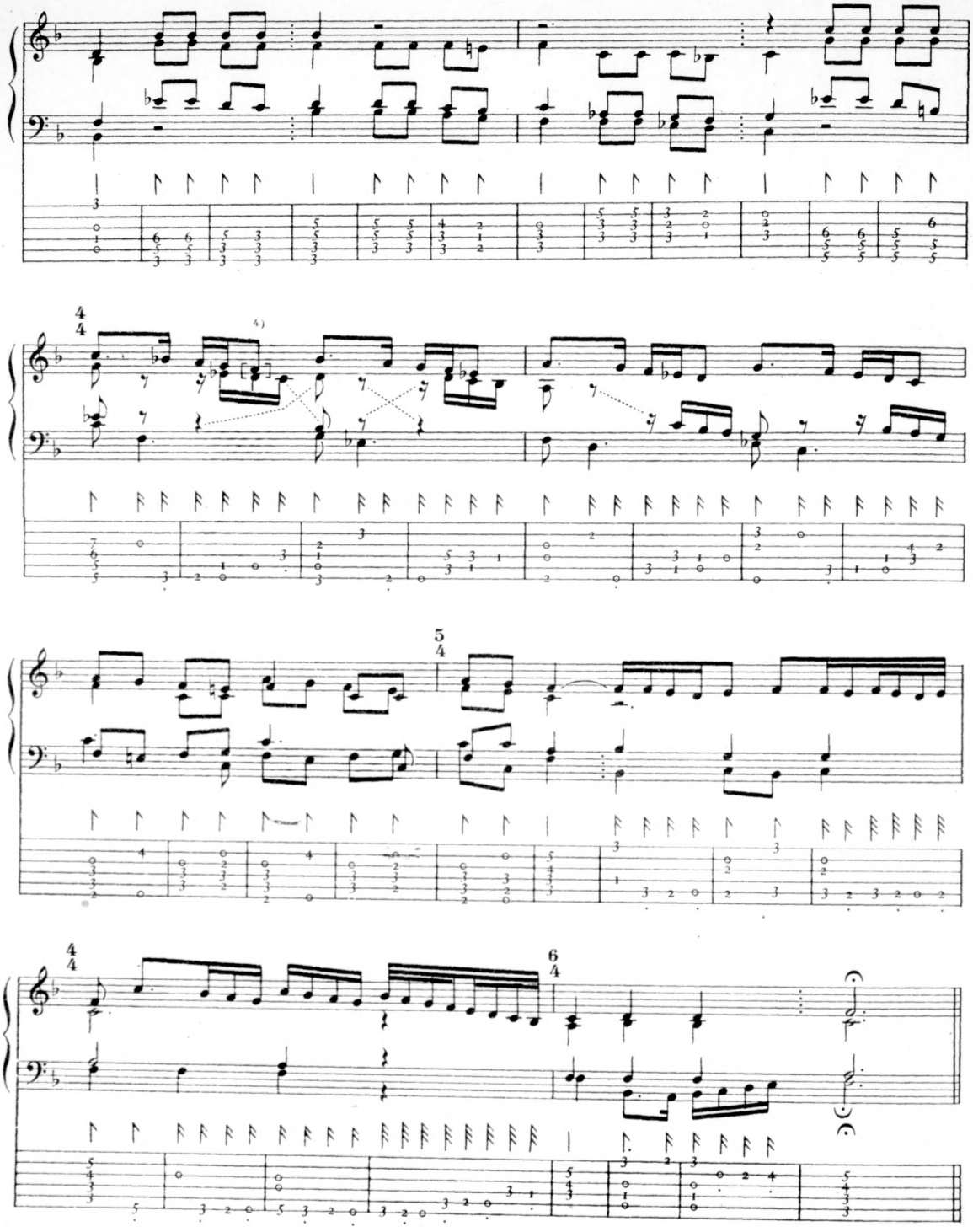
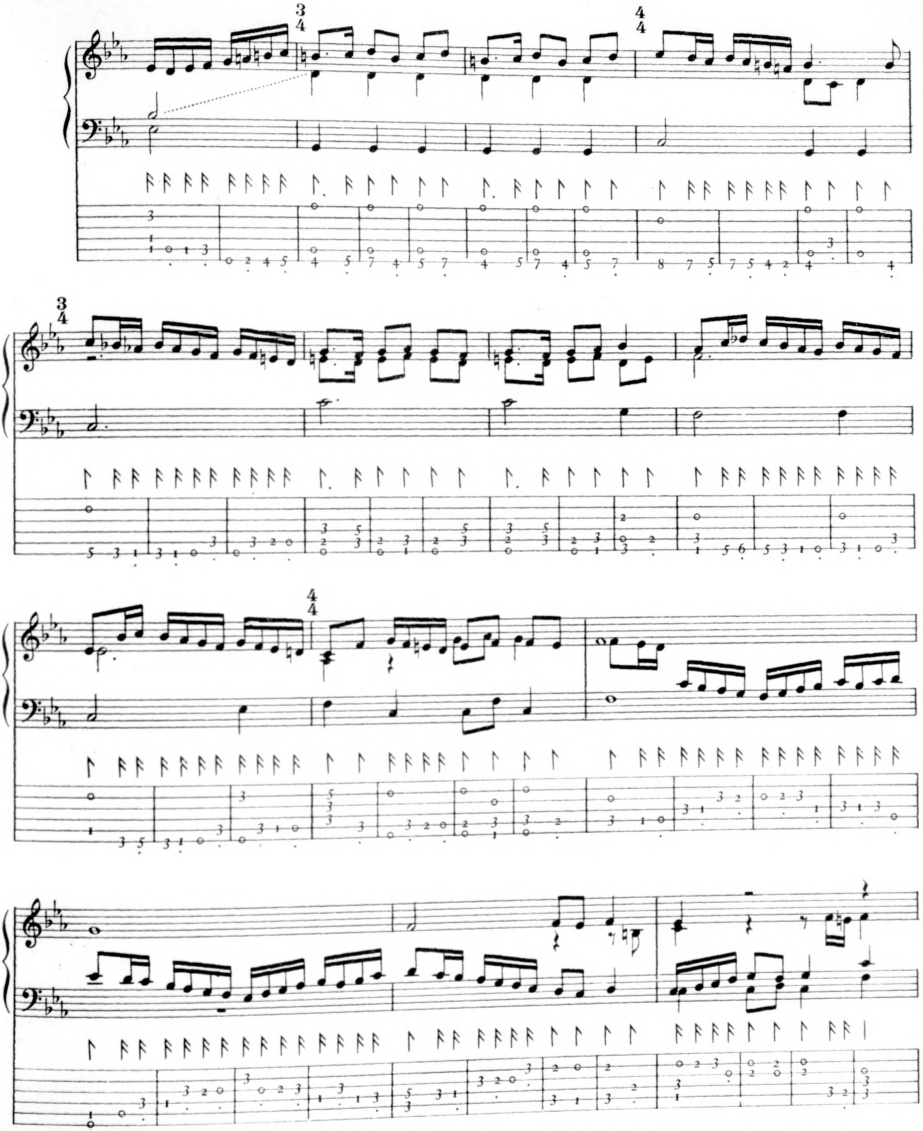
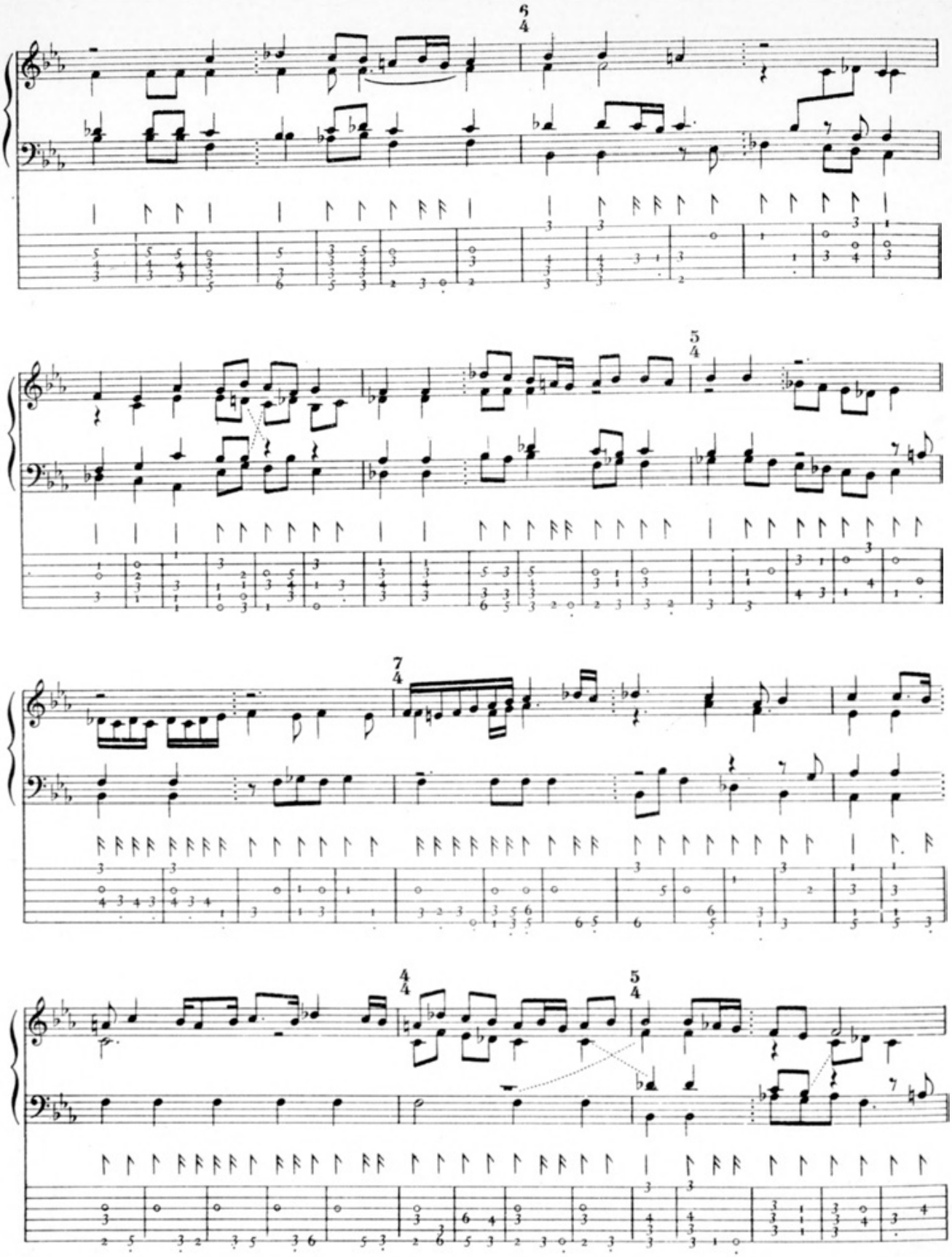
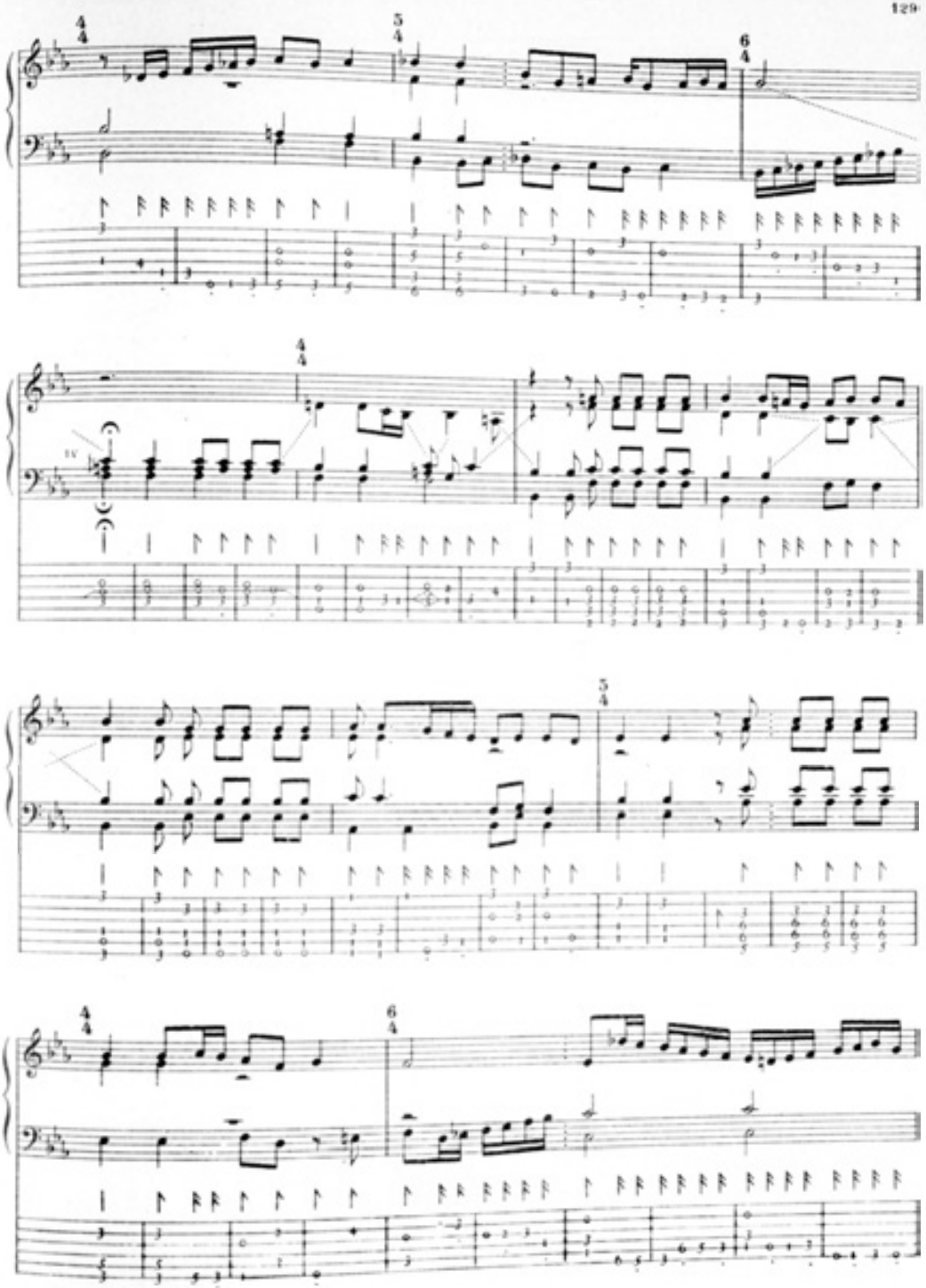


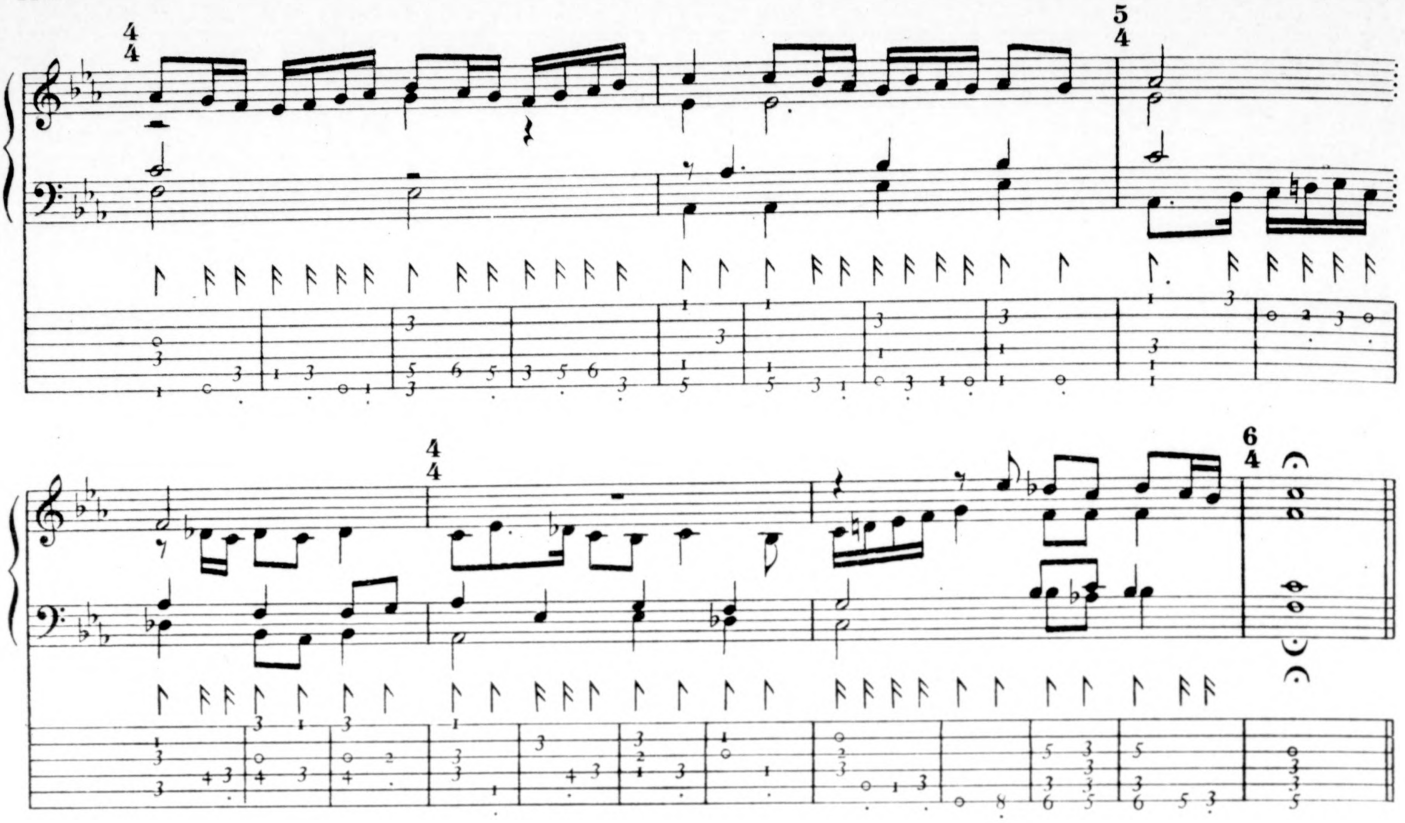


41. Ricercar XIII



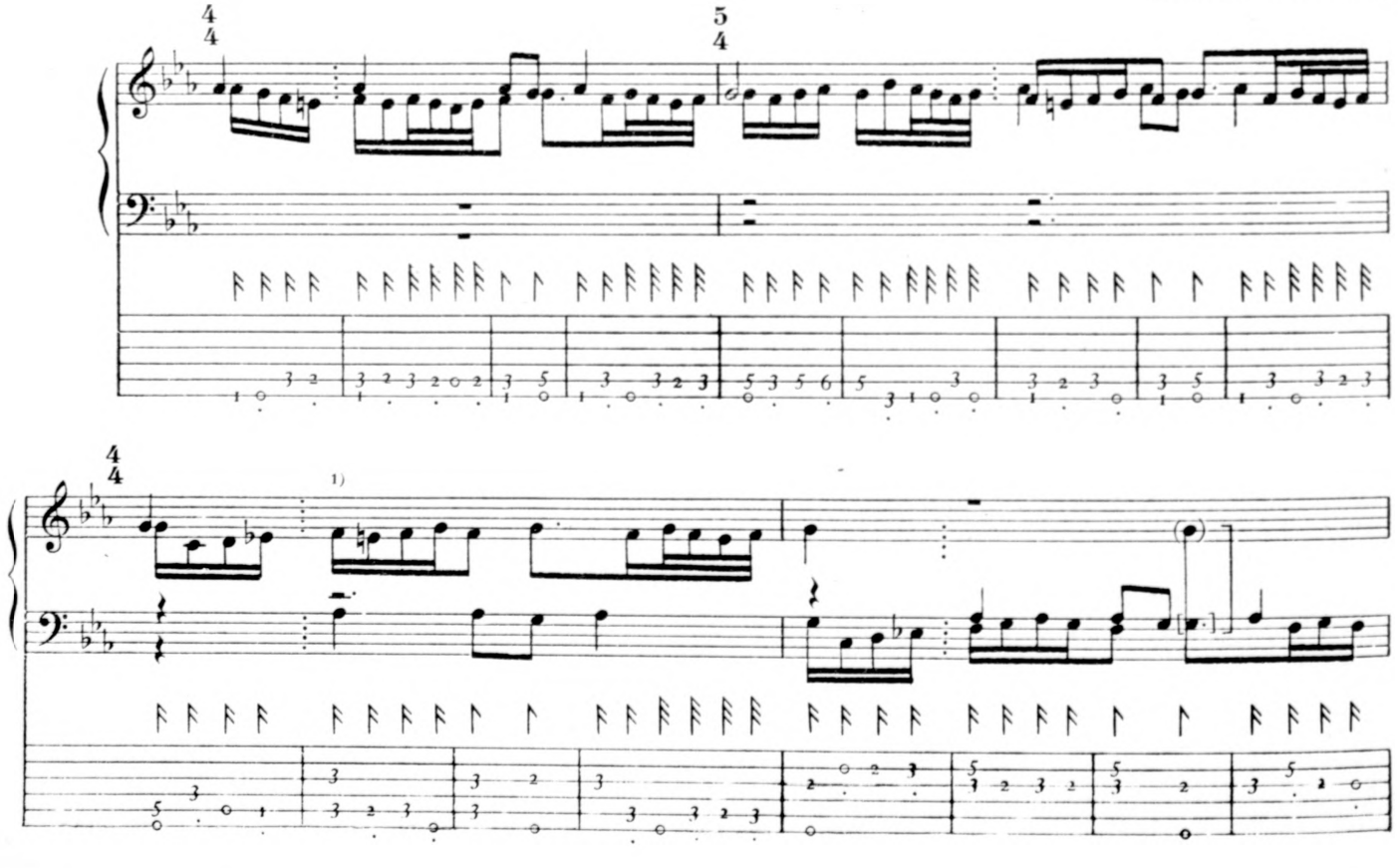


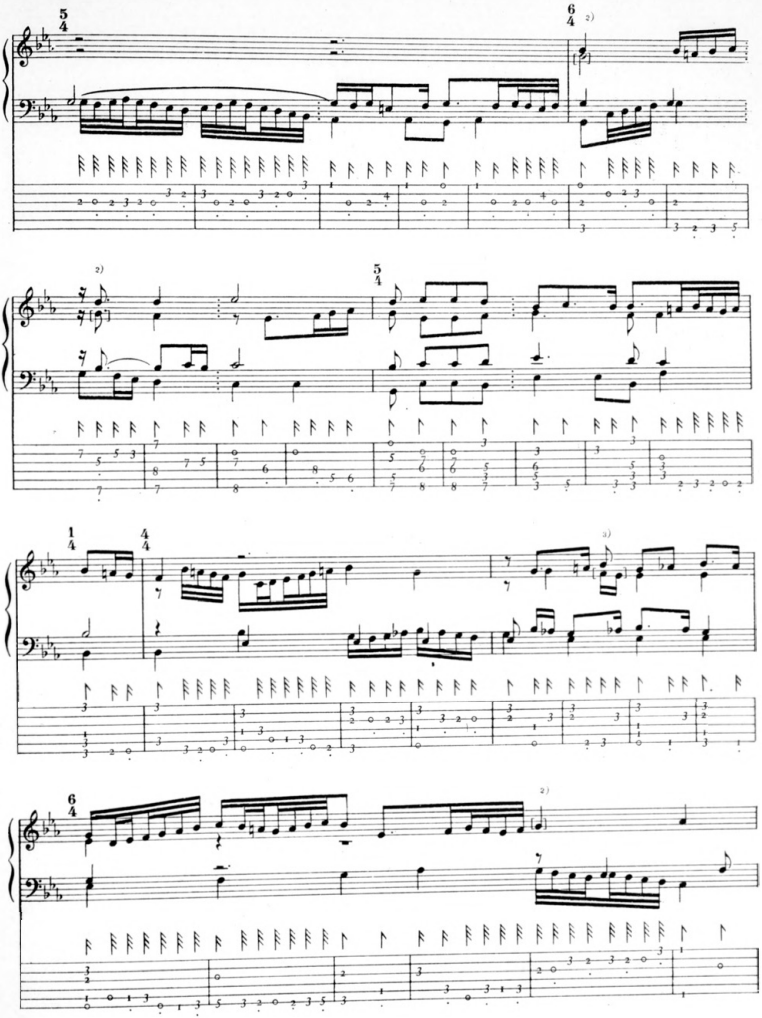


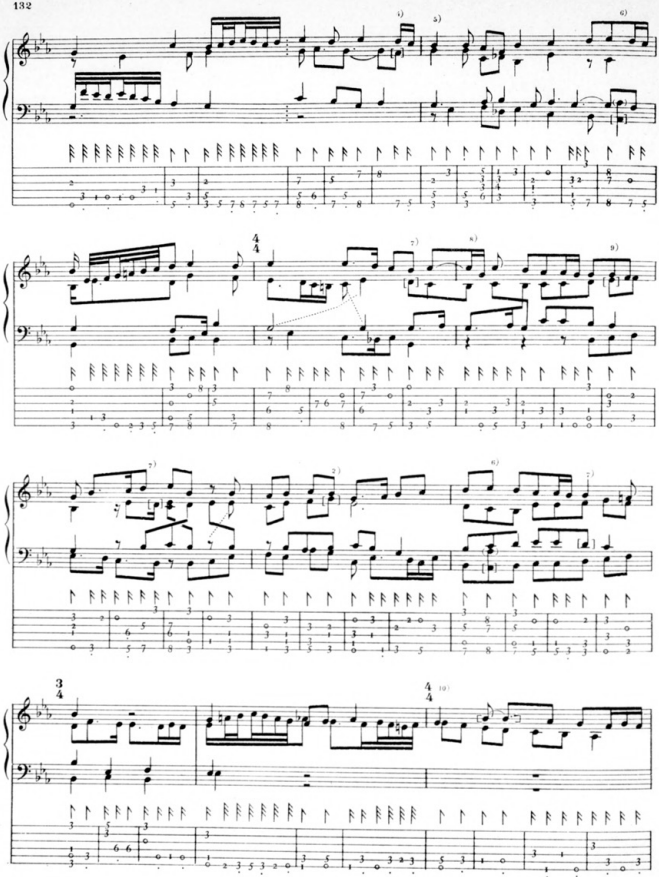


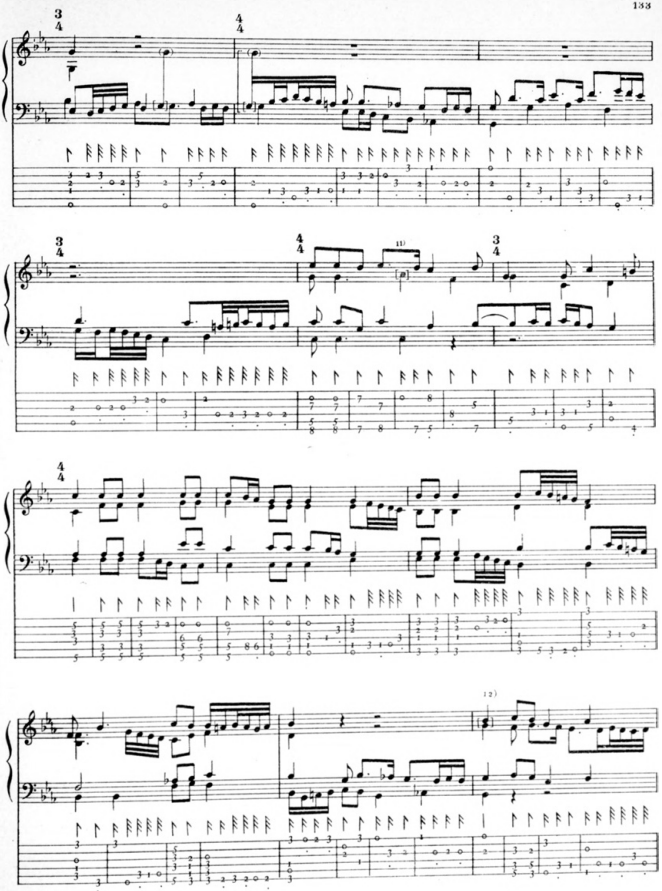
42. Tota pulchra es

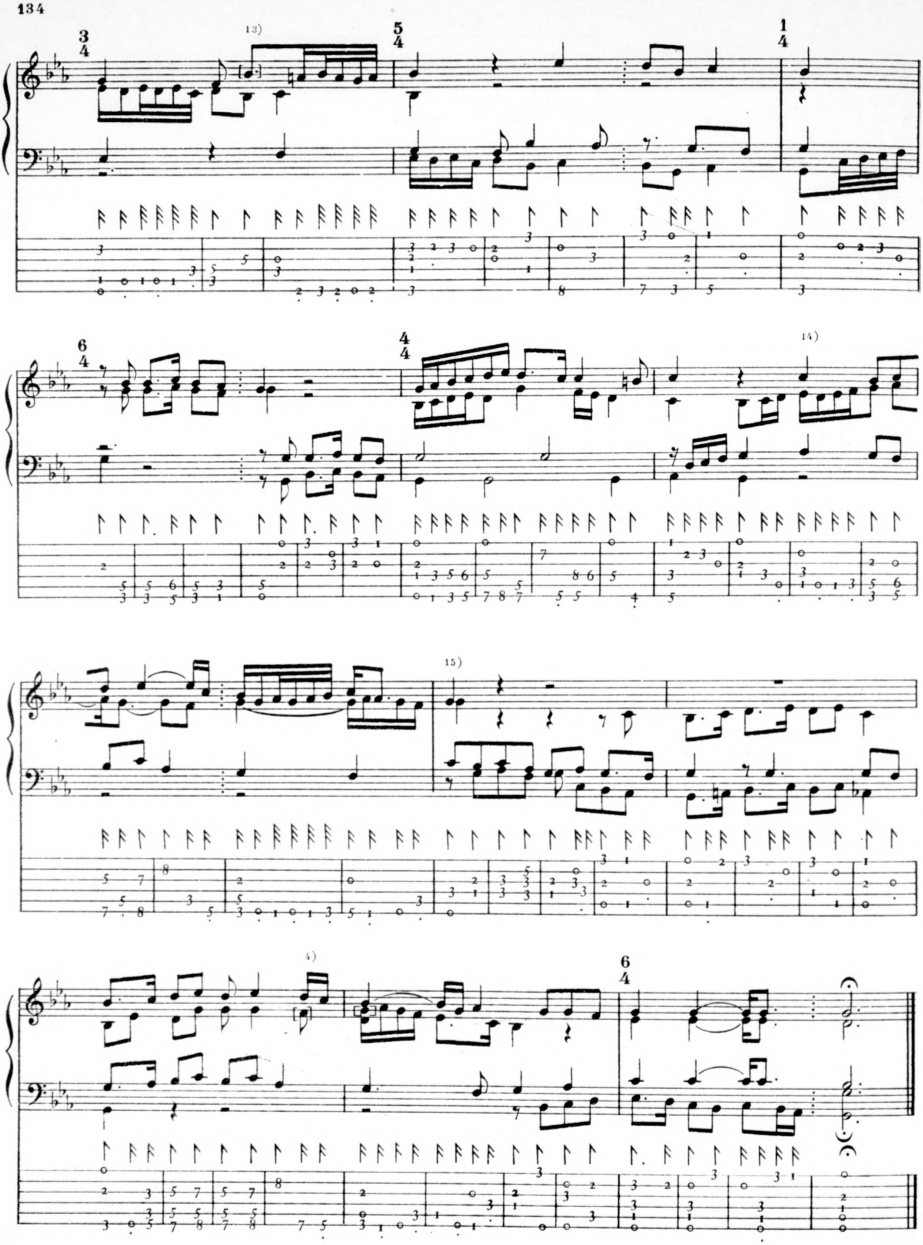
[Nicolas Craen]











GRANDJEAN Graveur, Fontainebleau

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface VII
The Manuscript IX
The Composer XV
Editorial Principles XXIV
The Intabulations of Vocal Compositions XXVIII
The Ricercari XXXI
The Cantus firmus dances XXXVI
The Paduane and other dance-forms LXIV
Documents LXXV
Critical notes LXXVII

1. « La Villanella » 1
2. Ricercar I 2
3. « Oublier veuil » by Alexander Agricola 5
4. Ricercar II 7
5. (*a*) and (*b*) « O mia cieca e dura sorte » by Marchetto Cara 10
« Che Farala che dirala » by Don Michael Vicentino 13
6. « La Spagna » I 14
7. Ricercar III 18
8. « Sit nomen Domini benedictum » by Johannes Prioris 23
9. « Padoana francese » I 25
10. « Stavasi Amor dormendo » by Bartolomeo Tromboncino 28
11. « Voi che passate qui » by Bartolomeo Tromboncino 29
12. « Balletto » 30
13. « De tous biens pleine » by Hayne van Ghizeghem 31
14. « Santa Trinitas » by Anthoine de Fevin 34
15. Canto bello 38
16. Ricercar IV 40
17. Padoana 43
18. Ricercar V 47
19. Ricercar VI 53
20. Christe « Si dedero » by Jacob Obrecht 58
21. « Allez regrets » by Hayne van Ghizeghem 62
22. Agnus Dei « Ut re mi fa sol la » by Anthoine Brumel 65
23. Ricercar VII 69
24. « La Spagna » II 73
25. Ricercar VIII 76
26. Ricercar IX 77
27. Ricercar X 79
28. « Padoana francese » II 80

29. Ricercar XI alla spagnola 83
30. « Non ti spiaqua l'ascoltar » 85
31. « Gentil prince » 88
32. « Nunca fue pena major » by Juan Urrede 89
33. Et resurrexit « L'homme armé » sexti toni by Josquin des Prez 93
34. « O florens rosa » by Johannes Ghiselin 98
35. « Si dedero » by Alexander Agricola 103
36. Benedictus « Ut re mi fa sol la » by Anthoine Brumel 107
37. Bassadanza La Spagna 109
38. Et in terra « Pange lingua » by Josquin des Prez 115
39. Qui tollis « Pange lingua » by Josquin des Prez 118
40. Ricercar XII 121
41. Ricercar XIII 127
42. « Tota pulchra es » by Nicholas Craen 130

IMPRIMERIE F. PAILLART
ABBEVILLE

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