
S A G G I

A GIFT OF MADRIGALS TO COSIMO I

THE MS. FLORENCE, BIBL. NAZ. CENTRALE, MAGL. XIX, 130

Working at a problem in the history of music can sometimes be like trying to solve a number of jigsaw puzzles that have unaccountably got jumbled together: one finds clues and missing pieces, but rarely do they lead to a solution of the original problem; instead they divert one's attention and start off a new hunt. In studying a group of related madrigals and their composers, among whom the name of Ihan Gero figured, I was led¹ to the manuscript named in the title above; it has for some years been described as a group of madrigals by Ihan Gero². The ten madrigals — the manuscript is surprising for the small number of pieces it contains — are anonymous in Magl. XIX, 130, but one of them is entitled *Pace non trovo*, a setting of a famous Petrarch sonnet. Gero's *Pace non trovo* was the very piece that I was most interested in; but here it was that things went awry. The madrigal turned out to be not Gero's setting but one fairly solidly attributed to Ivo [Barry], a singer in the Cappella Sistina under Paul III³.

Next came the unsettling discovery that none of the ten madrigals seem to be by Ihan Gero; or at any rate none of them appear ascribed to him in Venetian music prints of the 1540's and 50's, in

¹ My thanks are due to Mr. Thomas Bridges of Harvard University for having first called my attention to this manuscript. I am also grateful to Sig^o Levi and to the staff of the Sala dei manoscritti of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale for allowing me to consult to the work and to have made the photographs reproduced in this study.

² All references to the manuscript that I have seen describe it in this way; the reasons for this quite mistaken attribution will be explained presently.

³ For Ivo Barry and his setting of the Petrarch sonnet see J. HAAR, *Pace non trovo: a Study in Literary and Musical Parody*, in «Musica Disciplina» XX (1966), pp. 95-149.

which Gero — although nothing is known of his life or whereabouts — figures with some regularity. Instead five of them turn out to be the work of Vincenzo Ruffo, all of them printed in the latter's first book of four-voice madrigals of 1545. Ivo's *Pace non trovo*, first published in 1539, was evidently a fairly popular piece and was reprinted several times. Over *Con lei foss'io*, the second madrigal in the manuscript, there is a certain amount of conflict in the printed sources; but the contenders are Arcadelt, Francesco Corteccia, and — in slightly altered form, in Filippo Azzaiolo's *Secondo libro de Villotte* write a setting of *Con lei foss'io*, but one unrelated to that in the manuscript)⁴. Still another piece, *Per ché la vit'è breve*, turns up, in slightly altered form, in Filippo Azzaiolo's *Secondo libro de Villotte* of 1559, there attributed to Arcadelt⁵. This leaves, curiously enough, only the first and last pieces in the collection unidentified (see the formal listing of the manuscript's contents at the end of this study). But there are a number of things about this manuscript one would like to know: why a manuscript instead of a print, for example; why so small a number of pieces; who compiled and wrote it; when (does it antedate the printed versions of the madrigals for which there are concordances?); where; for what purpose?

It seems best to begin with a description of the manuscript; it is of course included in Bianca Becherini's catalogue⁶ of the musical manuscripts in the Biblioteca Nazionale, but I shall here stress some details that she naturally does not stop for, and make some minor corrections. Magl. XIX, 130, is a set of four part-books, in modern bindings, of surprisingly large size: 335×232 mm. Einstein quite rightly remarks that the part-books « have entirely the character of

⁴ Gero's *Con lei* appears in his *Secondo libro [...] à 3 voci* (Venice 1556), no. 9. It is the same as an anonymous setting in *Madrigali à tre et arie napoletane* (RISM [c. 1537]⁸), no. ii. As for Gero's *Pace non trovo*, printed also in his 2° libro, no. 4, it is related to Ivo's setting; for details see the article referred to in the preceding footnote.

⁵ *Il secondo libro de villotte del fiore alla padoana con alcune Napolitane e madrigali à 4 voci* (Venice 1559), p. 11; p. 41 in the modern edition of this work by G. Vecchi (Bologna 1953). Curiously enough I find no other source for this setting; the title is a frequent one in madrigal prints, but the *Per ché la vit'è breve* attributed to Corteccia in Gardane's *Primo libro à misura di breve* of 1542 is not related musically, nor is that of Perissone Cambio (*Primo libro à 4*, 1547); another contemporary setting *a 4*, unrelated musically, is that of Lupacchino (1° *a 4*, 1543).

⁶ B. BECHERINI, *Catalogo dei manoscritti musicali della Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze*, Kassel 1959, pp. 56-57.

a presentation copy »⁷, and in the Bassus (!) there is evidence of this; the ornamental woodcut, of which more will be said in a moment, contains, inked in by hand, a dedication, « All'III.mo et Eccel.mo S. Duca Cosimo »⁸. Aside from their size, and the fact that they show no signs of use, the part-books are distinguished as ornamental in nature by some fairly carefully done pen-and-ink decoration, all four books having ornamental capitals and assorted flora and fauna (different in each book) in the wide margins of the first madrigal (see Pl. I). No coloring is used, and the ink seems to be the same as that used for the musical notation; both music and ornament could be by the same hand. The very wide margins are identical in size for all pages of the four books, which were completely ruled in advance with eight five-line staves. That these large margins were left with the idea of ornamenting all the pages, or at least all those on which pieces begin, is shown by the presence of fragmentary decoration for the last madrigal in the Altus book, the ornament drawn in pencil and partially inked (see Pl. II).

Each of the books is further garnished by an elaborate woodcut (Pl. III) with the Medici arms at the top, « Fiorenza » at the bottom. This illustration, in the shape of a frame, is sometimes filled in with a depiction of three laureated poets, with a reclining nude figure below them represented pouring water from a vase and accompanied by a recumbent lion. Or the frame may be left empty and the designation of the voice part (and in the case of the Bassus, the dedication to Cosimo de' Medici) filled in by hand; but here the impression of the complete illustration on the rather coarse paper can easily be seen even though the center part of the woodcut has not been inked. This combination of woodcuts and pen-and-ink drawing or lettering is a rather peculiar one, almost suggesting that the manuscript was meant to be a kind of study or sketch for an elaborately printed work. Both the ornament and the musical calligraphy,

⁷ A. EINSTEIN, *The Italian Madrigal*, Princeton (N. J.) 1948, p. 262.

⁸ The manuscript came into the Magliabechi collection from the Biblioteca Palatina left by the last of the Medici to the state and joined to the Bibl. Magliabechiana in 1771, according to an order given six years earlier by the Grand Duke Francesco. See D. FAVA, ed., *La Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze e le sue insigni raccolte*, Milan 1939, pp. 43-44. There is a partial catalogue (Magl. X, 161) of the Palatine manuscripts that came into the Magliabechi collection at this time, taken from a larger catalogue made by G. Menabuoni of the Bibl. Palatina; but the Ms. Magl. XIX, 130, is not mentioned in it.

neat but not especially distinguished in character, have a faintly amateurish quality and would seem not to be the work of a professional copyist.

On the frontispiece of the tenor part is written in a cursive hand, old but obviously later than that of the manuscript, « Madrigali di Joan Gero ». Why this should be here, and why the Hispanized form of Gero's first name (he is called Ihan by the printers Gardano and Scotto, and in one dedication is referred to as « Gian ») I do not know; but here the ascription of the manuscript's contents to Gero evidently began. Henry Prunières, having examined the manuscript in April, 1908, confirmed this ascription, adding that the first madrigal in the manuscript, *Voi ch'ascoltate*, is also used to open Gero's *Primo libro à 4* of 1549⁹. Einstein accepted this attribution, excluding only the second piece, *Con lei foss'io*, which he gave on the basis of its appearance in a Gardano print to Giaches de Ponte¹⁰; and others have followed suit¹¹. But Gero's piece is not at all like the opening madrigal of the manuscript (to judge from the one surviving voice part, the tenor). It is quite natural that collections, musical or literary, should open with this text — or a paraphrase of it — since it is the first sonnet of Petrarch's *Canzoniere*¹². But not only is the music in Magl. XIX, 130, different from that of Gero, the text is not the same either. Gero sets Petrarch's sonnet; the *Voi ch'ascoltate* in the manuscript is an *ottava rima* stanza.

Einstein describes the madrigals of Magl. XIX, 130, as « very 'literary' »¹³. This is true, though perhaps in a slightly different

⁹ Written on a blank page of the Cantus part: « Ces madrigaux sont l'oeuvre de Jhan Gero — le premier 'Voi ch'ascoltate' se trouve dans le premier livre de Madrigaux à 4 parties imprimé à Venise en 1549. H. Prunières, Avril 1908 ».

¹⁰ *The Italian Madrigal*, p. 262. Einstein is said to have written beneath Prunières' note one, dated 1938, which said only the first madrigal to be by Gero; see B. BECHERINI, *Catalogo*, p. 56. But this note is not now to be found in the manuscript.

¹¹ See, for instance, L. F. TAGLIAVINI, art. *Gero*, in « Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart », IV, col. 182.

¹² Cf. IACHET BERCHEM'S *Primo libro à 5* (1546); SIGISMONDO D'INDIA, *Terzo libro à 1 & 2* (1618). And various poets of Petrarchistic leanings open their collection with Petrarch's first words; the *Rime* of Gaspara Stampa is one example. *Voi ch'ascoltate* is a title appearing with great frequency in madrigal prints, even if not always standing at the beginning. And sometimes the text that follows is Bidelli's *centone* (see below) rather than the Petrarchan sonnet, an example being Hoste da Reggio's setting in his *Terzo libro à 4* (Venice 1554), p. 13.

¹³ *The Italian Madrigal*, p. 262.

sense from what Einstein meant. No. 9, *Pace non trovo*, is Petrarch's sonnet intact; no. 8, *Per ché la vit'è breve*, is a setting of the first seven lines of a Petrarch canzone. There is more Petrarch: no. 2, *Con lei foss'io*, sets the closing stanza and *commiato* of the sestina *A qualunque animale*. But nos. 1 and 10, although they bear Petrarchan titles, are actually not the sonnets the first lines suggest but instead are *centoni*, each an ottava rima composed of lines taken from various Petrarchan poems and combined into a new, half-sensible order. Thus no. 1, *Voi ch'ascoltate*:

Voi ch'ascoltate in rime spars'il suono	(sonnet 1)
del pensier'amoroso che m'atterra	(sonnet 29)
muover contr'a costei di ch'io ragiono	(<i>Trionfo della Castità</i>)
ristrett'in guisa d'huom' ch'aspetta guerra	(sonnet 88)
ov'i raggi d'amor sí caldo sono	(canzone 8, stanza 6)
venit'a me s'el pass'altri non serra	(sonnet 61)
ch'io vi discopprirò de miei martiri	(sonnet 11)
le mie speranze e i miei dolci sospiri.	(sonnet 131)

And the final piece, *Che deggio far*, goes in similar vein.

The literary pastime of centonizing Petrarch was not uncommon and was apparently quite respectable; even Bembo is said to have done it. The two *centoni* in Magl. XIX, 130, are the work of the Sienese poet Giulio Bidelli, with *Voi ch'ascoltate* standing appropriately at the head of his *Dugento stanze con due capitoli tutte da versi del Petrarca*¹⁴. Placed at the beginning and end of the manuscript, *Voi ch'ascoltate* and *Che deggio far* suggest that it was compiled in a somewhat self-consciously « literary » fashion, for the delectation of people who knew their Petrarch pretty well.

No. 3 in the manuscript, *Ma di chi debbo lamentarmi*, is a famous

¹⁴ This is the title of the 1563 (Venice) edition, and is what the work is usually referred to as. *Che deggio far* is no. 7 in this collection. Bidelli apparently added *centoni* as the work was republished, for in an edition of 1548, called simply *Centoni del Petrarca di M. Giulio Bidelli senese*, there are only 50 *stanze*. A still earlier edition is mentioned by G. M. MAZZUCHELLI, *Gli Scrittori d'Italia*, Brescia 1753-63, II, p. 1208: *Centoni diversi del Petrarca raccolta di M. Giulio Bidelli ad instantia di Leonardo detto il Furlano*, 1544. According to Mazzuchelli, Bidelli, « di professione Libraio [...] si diede specialmente a comporre Centoni in Ottave e in Capitoli tessuti de' versi del Petrarca, nel qual genere di Poesia si è acquistato molto nome ». He was apparently a friend of Aretino. Bidelli also published a volume of *Rime* (Venice 1551), of very Petrarchesque cast.

stanza of Ariosto (*Orlando Furioso*, XXXII, 21). Nos. 4-7, which are obviously related to one another in theme and language, are actually four stanzas from a sestina, this fact obscured by their being given out of order in the manuscript. The correct order, to judge from the rhyme scheme, is 1) *Monti, selve, fontane, piaggi e sassi*; 2) *Fiere silvestre che per lati campi*; 3) *Ben mille notti ho già passato in pianto*; 4) *O fortunato che con altre rime*. After some searching on my part these four stanzas revealed themselves to be a part — stanzas four to seven — of a double sestina in Sannazaro's *Arcadia, Egloga quarta*. The text used by Ruffo is faithful to Sannazaro except that a reference to Elpino, one of the pastoral interlocutors, is suppressed in *Ben mille notti*¹⁵.

Petrarch — straight and centonized; Ariosto; Sannazaro: the manuscript does have a high literary tone. It seems a bit odd that incomplete poems and, in the case of the Sannazaro verses, stanzas given out of order, should be included. The much-admired Ariosto stanza is all right, of course; only Iachet Berchem seems to have made anything like a real attempt, at that highly selective, to render *Orlando Furioso* in music¹⁶. *Per ché la vit'è breve* and *Con lei foss'io*, though fragments, are the beginning and end respectively of long poems, and each makes a certain sense as it stands. It is only the Sannazaro verses that seem carelessly placed (not necessarily carelessly composed, for the four pieces show enough consistency of style and material to suggest that they were written as a set even though Ruffo himself did not publish them in order). Of course composition of entire canzoni or sestine was never too common, and was particularly rare among the first generations of madrigalists. In Antonfrancesco Doni's *Dialogo della Musica* of 1544¹⁷ there is a complete

¹⁵ The pieces are in correct order neither in the manuscript nor in Ruffo's *Primo libro a 4*, and no more of the sestina is to be found in his *Primo libro*. I have not been able find other setting of this much of the poem, let alone the complete sestina, although individual stanzas were set (to judge from their titles only) by M. Casulana, *Libro secondo a 4* (1570) (*Monti selve*); Marenzio, *Libro primo a 4, 5 e 6* (1588) (*Fiere silvestre*); L. Quinziani, *Primo libro a 5* (1588) (*Monti selve*); F. Stivorio, *Primo libro a 5* (1585) (*Ben mille notti*), and *Primo libro a 4* (1583) (*Fiere silvestre*).

¹⁶ His *Primo secondo et terzo libro del Capriccio [...] sopra le stanze del Furioso* (Venice 1561) contains 93 stanzas from Ariosto's epic. See A. EINSTEIN, *The Italian Madrigal*, pp. 564-565 for a discussion of Berchem's principles of selection.

¹⁷ See the new edition by G. F. Malipiero (the music scored by V. Fagotto), vol. 7 in the *Collana di Musiche Veneziane inedite e rare* published by the Fondazione Giorgio Cini (Vienna, Universal, 1965).

setting of Petrarch's *Alla dolce ombra de le belle frondi* by Iachet Berchem; this is both an early and a symptomatic example, for publication of complete cycles was often linked with academic (in the case of Doni, quasi-academic) patronage. Thus Ruffo in his younger days could set fragments of a large poem, as here; but Giovanni Nasco, his contemporary and rival at the Accademia Filarmonica in Verona, published a complete setting of the sestina *A qualunque animale* in 1548¹⁸, and Ruffo himself after his return to Verona published canzoni, even a complete sestina¹⁹. In a way the presence of this fragmentary poem, like the ambitiously planned but only partly completed ornamentation of the manuscript, suggests its real character: a gift aimed to please and even to impress, but on the whole a sketch or impression of something that might have been fuller or grander. Whether time was lacking, encouragement absent, or intention simply greater than powers of execution, it is hard to say; but later, when the time comes to speculate on the identity of the manuscript's compiler, these may all perhaps be seen to have played a part.

All ten madrigals are written in the *misura a breve* or *note nere* notation fashionable in the 1540's; and all of them display characteristic features of music using this notation: much contrast between long and short note values, the first often used for declamatory chordal passages on some word such as *doglia*, the second employed in runs or ornamental cadence patterns of a surprisingly fussy nature; and a good deal of syncopation, particularly for 'staggered' entrances of imitative figures²⁰. This sort of madrigal developed sometime after

¹⁸ *Madrigali di Giovan Nasco a 5 voci* (Venice 1548), a print containing an exceedingly pompous dedication to the « Signori Filarmonici » of Verona. Iachet Berchem also composed *A qualunque animale* in its entirety; see his *Primo libro a 4* (Venice 1556), nos. 1-6. He was evidently inspired by the setting of *Con lei foss'io* that appears in Magl. XIX, 130, for he uses the superius of that setting intact in his own *Con lei foss'io*, recomposing the lower three voices in very elaborate form but with a good deal of reference, at strategic points, to the lower voices of the earlier setting. And since there is a certain amount of thematic unity, almost amounting to a latter-day « head-motive » in the superius of the first five pieces of the sestina, his entire cycle may be said to have sprung from the de Ponte (Arcadelt-Corteccia) *Con lei foss'io*.

¹⁹ *Chiunque spira in questa breve vita*, in Ruffo's *Terzo libro a 4* (Venice 1560).

²⁰ For a fuller attempt at characterizing this kind of madrigal, see J. HAAR, *The note nere Madrigal*, in « Journal of the American Musicological Society » XVIII (1965), pp. 22-41.

1535 and was at the height of its popularity during the decade 1540-1550, when the printers Antonio Gardane and Girolamo Scotto advertised it in the titles of several anthologies²¹. As an example of *note nere* style Ivo's *Pace non trovo* is extreme, almost a caricature; the exaggerated antitheses of the Petrarchan sonnet it sets are doubtless the reason for such mannered writing. *Con lei foss'io* is much tamer, closer to the madrigal of the 1530's in style except for a few imitative entrances using a good deal of staggered-entrance syncopation. As for *Per ché la vit'è breve*, written in a kind of post-frottola style, its black notes are suggestive rather of the use of short note values in the *villanesca* of the period. The five madrigals by Ruffo are particularly imaginative in their use of the possibilities opened by increased use of short note values, all but the very shortest able to bear syllables of text. The closing passage of *Ma di chi debbo lamentarmi*, with its ingenious use of falling triadic figures in highly syncopated imitative succession for the words *Ond'io non ho mai fine al precipitio mio*, was singled out for praise by the rather blasé interlocutors of Doni's *Dialogo*, in which the piece was first printed in 1544²².

As for the first and last madrigals in the manuscript, both conform to the general style of the others; more than that, they are quite a lot like the Ruffo madrigals, particularly the four from the incomplete *sestina*. And they resemble each other closely enough so that it does not seem overbold to claim that they are by the same composer. They are of almost exactly equal length; this is perhaps not surprising since they are the setting of two *ottave* of similar character. Each has a complete repetition of the music for the whole last line; again this could be coincidence, but there is in addition much similarity between the two. In both there is insistent, almost obsessive use of the upbeat pattern $\text{'} \text{♪} \text{♪} \text{♪}$ to begin imitative figures; both use to about the same degree the staggered syncopation described above, and both show a slight awkwardness in construction, there being more dead stops at the end of poetic lines than is good for the continuity

²¹ See E. VOGEL, *Bibliothek der gedruckten weltlichen Vocalmusik Italiens*, Berlin 1892; repr. Hildesheim 1962, II, pp. 384ff.

²² *Dialogo della musica*, ed. Malipiero; see p. 17 for the madrigal, p. 23 for the comment. This madrigal had previously been reprinted by L. TORCHI, *L'arte musicale in Italia*, I (1897), p. 215.

of the music. In some ways *Voi ch'ascoltate* and *Che deggio far* look like imitations of Ruffo's madrigals, by someone less fluent and less imaginative than he. There are even some individual passages strongly resembling one another. Compare these settings of *sospiri* and *so-spirando*:

a) RUFFO. *Fiere silvesfre*

so - spiu, so - spiu si lon - go pian - to,
 so - spiu, so - spiu si lon - go pian - to,
 so - spiu, so - spiu si lon - go pian - to, si
 so - spiu, so - spiu si lon - go pian - to, si lon -

b) ANON. *Voi ch'ascoltate*

e miei dol-ci so-spi-ri, e miei dol-ci so-spi-ri, dol-ci so-spi-ri
 so-spi-ri, so-spi-ri, dol-ci, dol-ci so-spi-ri, dol-ci so-spi-ri
 ci so-spi-ri, e i miei, e i miei, e i miei dol-ci so-spi-ri
 so-spi-ri, so-spi-ri, so-spi-ri, e i miei dol-ci, dol-ci so-spi-ri

c) ANON. *Che deggio far*

che so - spi - ran - do va di riu' in ri - va, di riu' in ri - va

« Sospirando » is admittedly a word that was often treated in the manner above; and yet the resemblances here seem more than superficial. There are other points of resemblance in imitative usage, in phrase design, in the pattern of whole pieces; and everywhere Ruffo comes off better. A comparison of this kind is dangerous since there is a natural tendency to credit the work of a composer known to be competent with more distinction than a poor anonymous piece can show; and if *Voi ch'ascoltate* should turn out, say, to be by Arcadelt or by Ruffo himself, it would be very embarrassing all round. Yet it does seem possible that the composer of *Voi ch'ascoltate* and *Che deggio far*, perhaps the same man as the compiler of the manuscript, was imitating the style of Ruffo, whose works account for half the contents of Magl. XIX, 130.

The compiler of the manuscript apparently acted also as editor, for the music is carefully set down and in a few instances shows the presence of a knowledgeable hand. In Ruffo's *Ma di chi debbo lamentarmi* an error in the superius as it is printed in Doni's *Dialogo* (three repeated G's which should be F's) is corrected; since the correction is also made in the piece as it appears in Ruffo's *Primo libro à 4* of 1545, this may only indicate that the manuscript version was taken from the latter print. The musical text of Ivo's *Pace non*

trovo is slightly different in the manuscript, including an open-fifth final chord in place of a full triad, from its printed version. Two madrigals in Magl. XIX, 130, are given in transposition; *Per ché la vit'è breve* and *Ben mille notti* are both transposed down a fifth. In the case of *Per ché la vit'è breve* there are a number of variants, some quite substantial, in the inner parts of the piece from its text as printed by Azzaiolo in his second *Villotte* book of 1559. Since this print is of late date and is probably not an impeccable source in any event, it is hard to say whether the compiler of Magl. XIX, 130, actually made changes on his own, whether Azzaiolo altered the piece by changing — on the whole simplifying — the inner voices, or whether the manuscript represents an earlier source now lost. But the transposition of *Ben mille notti* seems deliberate, and was evidently done in order to bring the range of the piece and, with one exception, its choice of clefs, into line with the three other Ruffo settings of the Sannazaro sestina. As the pieces appear in the manuscript, the four together and all in the same tonal ambitus, they are definitely meant to be taken as a set, an arrangement not clear in Ruffo's *Primo libro*.

Sixteenth-century printers were on the whole not very careful about arranging pieces, even those obviously related to each other, into groups with the same ambitus, clef and key signature, Antonio Gardane being perhaps a bit more conscious of this than other printers. That it was noticed and that performers disliked changes of clef — or perhaps the necessity to transpose — is indicated by a remark of one of the interlocutors in Doni's *Dialogo*, possibly speaking for the author when he says « questo canto muta chiave, che venga poco meno ch'io non vò dire. Può fare il mondo che non si trovi una volta un paio di libri che sien tutti d'un tuono, et d'una chiave medesima; che sia maledetta la chiave, et questi cervelli fantastiche »²³. In the instance of *Ben mille notti* the editor or compiler of the manuscript seems to have taken a deliberate step to remedy such inconsistency.

Although a presentation copy, Magl. XIX, 130, has no dedicatory letter and is undated. From its contents it would seem to have been compiled in the early 1540's, but there is no precise evidence in the music itself; one of the pieces, *Pace non trovo*, was printed as early

²³ *Dialogo*, p. 24.

as 1539, but there is no reason to think of the manuscript as antedating printed sources for the music it contains, so that the precise date of appearance of any of the ten pieces in print would not help in dating the manuscript. It is dedicated to « the most illustrious and excellent duke Cosimo », that is to say, to Cosimo I de' Medici, who became the second duke of Florence in 1537. The arms on the frontispiece are, however, not simply the Medici *palle* but include the *stemma* of the House of Toledo as well. Cosimo de' Medici married Eleonora of Toledo in the summer of 1539, and since the arms of the bride's family were customarily displayed at the time of the wedding, perhaps for a short time afterwards, it seemed to me at first likely that the manuscript was presented to Cosimo at the time of his wedding and could thus be dated 1539-40. The official music for the wedding is known; the madrigals sung and played in G. B. Strozzi's intermedi for a comedy by Antonio Landi, with music by Francesco Corteccia, Mattio Rampollini and others, were published in the year of the wedding²⁴. But the madrigals in Magl. XIX, 130, could have been intended as a kind of wedding present; and indeed the frontispiece looks a bit like some of the decorations for that wedding as described by an eyewitness, the Florentine academician Pierfrancesco Giambullari²⁵. At any rate the woodcut may have been designed by someone who saw Florence embellished by numerous triumphal arches and emblematic representations for the entry of the bridal pair.

There are objections to dating the manuscript this early, however. For one thing, the dedication would probably have been to Cosimo and Eleonora, not to the duke alone, if it had been presented at the

²⁴ *Musiche fatte nelle nozze dello Ill. Duca di Firenze il S. Cosimo de Medici et dell Ill. Consorte sua Mad. Leonora da Tolieto* (Venice 1539). Corteccia reprinted his madrigals in his *Primo libro a 5 e 6* and his *Primo libro a 4*, both of 1547. Professor Henry W. Kaufmann of Rutgers University is preparing a modern edition of the 1539 print.

²⁵ *Apparato et feste nelle noze dello Illustrissimo Signor Duca di Firenze, & della Duchessa sua Consorte, con le sue Stanze, Madriali, Comedia, & Intermedij, in quelle recitati*, Florence 1539, especially p. 13: at the city gate « era [...] un altro gran frontispitio, figuratovi dentro lo Imperatore sedente sopra uno scoglio, Coronato di Lauro & con lo sceptro nella man' destra, sotto la quale & a piei di sua Maesta, Giaceva il gran' fiume Betis appoggiato sopra un vaso di due bocche, spargente gran copie d'acque, & sotto la sinistra di Augusto, il grandissimo Danubio che per entrare con VII bocche nel Mar maggiore, figurato era quivi con un vaso che per tante aperture pareva che spargessi le sue acque ».

time of the wedding. Then, it seems unlikely that Ruffo, whose work does not appear in print at all until 1542²⁶, should have written all these madrigals by 1539, although it must be admitted that nothing is known of his whereabouts and activity during these years. Nor is it sure that Bidelli's *centoni* were in circulation by 1539, since they were not printed until five years later; again one could not be sure of this. But we shall see that there is positive evidence in favor of a later date for the compiling and writing of the manuscript.

The frontispiece (Pl. III) should now be examined a bit more closely. The three poets, given the word « Fiorenza » at the bottom, one would assume to be Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, and the river-god beneath a Tuscan divinity, the Arno, accompanied by a Florentine lion. The fact that the poets represented in the manuscript itself are Petrarch, Ariosto, and Sannazaro does not really matter since the woodcut could not have been made for the manuscript (witness its clumsy use in incomplete form, with the impression showing through on the paper) but must have been taken from some printed work. The whole thing now appears to be a kind of emblem or *impresa* for some literary undertaking; no motto accompanies it, but amid the decorative garlands on the first page of the Altus part is a scroll with the legend ΚΑΜΑΤΟΣ ΕΥΚΑΜΑΤΟΣ, suggesting that effort expended on literature and music is a pure labor of love. Both frontispiece and motto have a very academic air.

An academy was in fact founded during the early years of the reign of Cosimo I. In November, 1540, a group of prominent Florentines, among them Bartolomeo Panciatichi, Giovanni Strozzi, and Cosimo Bartoli, formed the Accademia degli Umidi, the first manifestation of the formally organized 16th-century academy in Florence. After a few months the new academy passed under the patronage of Cosimo, who apparently stipulated that the name be changed; and in March, 1541, the proudly austere name of Accademia Fiorentina was adopted²⁷. From its inception the Accademia Fiorentina was de-

²⁶ See L. LOCKWOOD, art. *Ruffo*, in « Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart » XI, cols. 1076-1080. *Ma di chi lamentarmi*, printed in Doni's *Dialogo* of 1544, seems to be the first madrigal by Ruffo to be printed. Of course the date of printing is no sure guide to the date of composition; but Ruffo went on publishing through the 1550's and 60's, and did not save up compositions for years before they were printed.

²⁷ For a summary of the early history of the Accademia degli Umidi - Accademia Fiorentina, see M. MAYLENDER, *Storia delle Accademie d'Italia*, Bologna 1926-30, V,

dedicated to study of Italian, and particularly Tuscan, literature, perhaps somewhat selfconsciously departing from the preoccupations of the earlier Accademia Platonica. For a group with this aim the frontispiece reproduced in Magl. XIX, 130, would have made an excellent device. It was not the official *impresa* of the academy; but it does include what was in fact the academy's symbol: the Arno, « as a human figure, with two plants, one a laurel, the other an olive », as the only device of the Florentine Academy²⁸. And indeed publications, as late as the 18th century, which may be considered officially those of the Academy preserve this emblem²⁹.

Domenichi considers it worth mentioning that the Accademia Fiorentina had no motto to go with its representation of the Arno³⁰. But what of the Greek inscription appearing in the madrigal manuscript? It has been listed as a motto of the Medici³¹, but I have so

pp. 363-367; III, pp. 1-9. The works listed by Doni in his *Libreria Seconda* (Venice 1551), fols. 107-107^v, as having been written by members of the Accademia degli Umidi are surely pure whimsy, as their titles (« Il Ranocchio, *Del trovar le vene abbondanti d'acqua & di fondare pozzi mirabilmente* ») suggest.

²⁸ P. GIOVIO, *Dialogo dell'Imprese militari et amorose, con un Ragionamento di Messer Lodovico Domenichi nel medesimo soggetto*, Lyons 1559, p. 165: « Ma dove lasciare i Signori Accademici Fiorentini; non hanno anch'eglino alcuna bella & onorevole Impresa, essendo essi maestri e precipi della lingua Toscana, e singolari in tutte le scienze? Lo. Io non potrei dir tanto de' meriti loro, ch'essi di molto più non fossero degni. Però quanto all'Impresa loro, dico, ch'ella è il fiume d'Arno in figura humana con due piante, l'una d'alloro, e l'altra d'oliva, senz'altro motto ».

²⁹ S. SALVINI, *Fasti consolari dell'Accademia fiorentina*, Florence 1717, has a title page showing a laureated nude figure pouring water from a vase, a lion couchant beneath him; cf. *Notizie letterarie, ed istoriche intorno agli uomini illustri dell'Accademia fiorentina* (Florence 1700), with the same title-page ornament.

³⁰ P. GIOVIO, *op. cit.*, p. 165 « [...] senz'altro motto. Onde di loro direbbe il Giovio, che hanno fatto un Corpo senz'anima ».

³¹ See C. PADIGLIONE, *I motti delle famiglie italiane*, Naples 1910, p. 66. By some stretching ΚΑΜΑΤΟΣ ΕΥΚΑΜΑΤΟΣ might be made to refer to « iugum meum suave est, et onus meum leve », (Matt. II, 30), from which the *impresa* of a yoke with the motto *Suave* over it was made by Giovanni de' Medici (Leo X). For use of this device in a musical manuscript see E. E. LOWINSKY, *The Medici Codex. A Document of Music, Art, and Politics in the Renaissance*, in « *Annales musicologiques* » V (1957), p. 67. There is on one of the ornamented pages (see Pl. II) of Magl. XIX, 130, a suggestion of the pattern of a yoke; its appearance as a Medici device is dealt with in a general way by J. GELLI, *Divise - Motti e Imprese di famiglie e personaggi italiani*, 2^a ed., Milan 1928, no. 1658. Cosimo I used an elaborate *impresa* with a unicorn in the center and a pattern of yokes on the sides; see I. RUSCELLI, *Le Imprese illustri*, Venice 1572, p. 113. In the Museo degli Argenti of the Palazzo Pitti there is a tapestry, said to have been designed by Bronzino, with the Medici-Toledo arms in the center, a pattern of yokes on the sides.

far found no reference to its use by a member of the family. Domenichi again provides some useful information. He speaks of a Florentine named Francesco Campana who had had made, as an *impresa* for some books in the Biblioteca Laurenziana that he intended to have published, a device consisting of a number of books, some open and some closed, above which rises a kind of classical lamp, and behind this a scroll containing the very motto in question, given in Greek and translated by Domenichi as «labor that does not tire»³². Whatever books Domenichi may have had in mind, the motto in the form he describes it does appear on the title page of a work published under the auspices of the Accademia Fiorentina: *Lettoni d'Accademici fiorentini sopra Dante*, printed by Antonfrancesco Doni in Florence in 1547.

Francesco Campana was a man who, though erudite and particularly learned in Latin³³, was principally a man of affairs; serving Florence in the last days of the Republic, then becoming a confidant of Alessandro de' Medici and acting as the latter's ambassador to the court of Clement VII, he managed to hold favor under Cosimo I as well, acting as *primo segretario* to the Duke and being appointed *provveditore* of the Studio Pisano³⁴. He was interested in the new

The actual source of the motto would seem to be a passage in Euripides' *Bacchantes*, lines 64-67:

Ἄστιας ἀπὸ λαίας
 ἱερὸν Τρωῶλον ἀμείψασα θοάζω
 Βρομίῳ πόνον ἡδὺν κάματον ἰ' εὐ-
 κάματον, Βάκχιον εὐάζομένα.

³² *Ragionamento*, pp. 171-172: «Io conobbi il primo anno, che io venni à Firenze, un dottissimo huomo di grandissima esperienza delle cose del mondo, che fù Francesco Campana; il quale per essere egli letterato e virtuoso, amava e favoriva grandemente i suoi pari. Costui, dovendosi dar principio à stampare i libri rari & esquisiti della libreria de' Medici in S. Lorenzo, fece fare una Impresa per metterla in fronte de' libri; la quale era un Leggio con una Lucerna, e molti libri sopra e d'intorno, parte chiusi e parte aperti, con questo motto Greco. ΚΑΜΑΤΟΣ ΕΥΚΑΜΑΤΟΣ. Il quale motto suona in nostra lingua, come sarebbe a dire, fatica senza fatica. Perché, ancorché lo studio delle lettere sia molto laborioso, è però tanto il diletto, che se ne trahe, che ciò non par fatica à chi lo fa volentieri».

³³ He published a study on a passage in the Aeneid, called *Quaestio Virgiliana*, printed at Bologna in 1526 (the Greek motto is not, however, used here).

³⁴ For a brief biographical sketch of Campana see P. G. NEGRI, *Istoria degli scrittori fiorentini*, Ferrara 1722, p. 189. In *I Marmi* (1552), III, pp. 24-26, Doni speaks of Campana as being a great man who now, only a few years dead, is in danger of being forgotten. According to F. DINI, *Francesco Campana ed i suoi*, in «Archivio storico italiano», ser. V, vol. xxiii (1899), p. 315, Campana died during the summer of 1546.

Florentine Academy as well; in 1541 the first consul of the Academy, Lorenzo Benivieni, chose Campana as one of his two *consiglieri*; some general meetings of the group were held in his house; and after his death a funeral oration preached on 25 March 1548 described him as having contributed not a little to the Studio Pisano, the Studio Fiorentino, and consequently to the Academy³⁵. His motto, although it did not become the permanent one of the Accademia Fiorentina, was obviously in the spirit of the group and was, in fact, used officially by them in at least one publication, the *Lettoni* mentioned above. This would seem to draw the manuscript we are here studying into the orbit of the Accademia Fiorentina.

In 1547 another work of at least quasi-academic character was printed by Doni in Florence: *Prose antiche di Dante, Petrarca et Boccaccio et di molti altri nobili et virtuosi ingegni, nuovamente raccolte*. Doni was the collector — if indeed not partly the inventor — of this work, which he issued while he was Cosimo I's official printer. Here one might expect to see the woodcut of Magl. XIX, 130, with its three poets, and in fact it is used, on the page following the title page. The combined arms of Medici and Toledo appear in several places in this work³⁶, and with reason: it is dedicated to Eleonora of Toledo by Doni, who describes himself in a letter, dated 31 July 1547, as the « tanto obbligato servitore dell' Illustrissimo & Eccellentissimo suo consorte ». So appropriate to this book is the woodcut with its laureated Tuscan poets and its use of the Medici — Toledo arms that it seems reasonable to think of the book as the occasion for the woodcut's being made, and its use in the manuscript the result of its simply being available at the time.

As for the bottom half of the woodcut with its river-god symbol of the Florentine Academy, a connection with Antonfrancesco Doni again suggests itself, for Doni if not a regular member of the Academy was for a certain time connected with it. In 1545, during the consulate of Bartolomeo Panciatichi, some new rules, including the creation of the post of secretary, were drawn up. In the next year a secretary,

³⁵ See SALVINI, *Fasti consolari*, pp. 2, 59, 72.

³⁶ For an illustration see C. RICOTTINI MARSILI-LIBELLI, *Anton Francesco Doni scrittore e stampatore. Bibliografia delle opere e della critica e annali tipografici*, Florence 1960, p. 39. On p. 355 of the same work is a reproduction of the title page of the *Lettoni* [...] *sopra Dante*, with its Greek motto.

his term apparently of one year's duration, was chosen for the first time, and Doni, « pure assai noto per le molte opere sue », was chosen³⁷. The two books mentioned above, the *Lettoni sopra Dante* and the *Prose antiche*, were apparently printed or at least readied for publication during Doni's year as secretary of the Academy; since the former contains Campana's Greek motto and the latter has the « poets » woodcut, both then used in Magl. XIX, 130, it seems likely that Antonfrancesco Doni had a hand in the manuscript and that its date, if the woodcut was really prepared for the *Prose antiche* volume, might be 1547; not much before this latter volume, at any rate.

All of this might be sheer coincidence and Doni simply the printer involved in issuing the two books; but curiously enough, both the « poets » woodcut, the woodcut with the Medici-Toledo arms used on the title page of the *Prose antiche*, and the one containing the Greek inscription are used in later books by Doni, all of them printed by Francesco Marcolini in Venice. These include *La Zucca* and the *Fiori della Zucca* of 1551-52 (« poets » woodcut); the *Trattati diversi di Sendeban indiano* of 1552 (Medici-Toledo woodcut; the work is dedicated to Cosimo I); *Tre libri di lettere*, 1552 (again the Medici-Toledo woodcut); *I Marmi* of 1552-54 (the « poets » woodcut and the one with the Greek inscription); and *I Mondi* of 1552-53 (the Greek inscription). In other words Doni regarded these illustrations as his own, at any rate not the property of the Accademia Fiorentina.

Antonfrancesco Doni (1513-1574) was a Florentine by birth. He left the city in 1540, starting a period as travelling « virtuoso » which included a stay in Piacenza (1543) and one in Venice (1544), the principal result of these being the writing and publication of the *Dialogo della Musica* in the spring of 1544. He seems to have returned to Florence in September of 1545 (if the dating of his letters

³⁷ SALVINI, *Fasti consolari*, pp. 59-60, 63. Doni's dedicatory letter in the *Lettoni*, published according to the colophon on 28 June 1547 (but the letter is dated 4 July 1547!), is addressed to Panciatichi, thanking him for all the favors he has accorded Doni since the latter's return to Florence; which if he were to recount would « farsi arrossire molti di quegli che vogliono esser chiamati & nobili & magnifici; non essendo altro l'instituto loro che perseguire i buoni & poveri virtuosi ». Doni evidently felt a special debt of gratitude to Panciatichi, whose influence had perhaps got him the secretariat of the Academy; for the rest the theme of the despised virtuoso was a common one with Doni.

can be believed) and to have remained there until sometime in 1548. By early in 1549 he was again in Venice, starting that phase of his career identified with the Accademia dei Pellegrini. For a brief period, from the beginning of 1546 until sometime early in 1547, he managed to hold the office of « stampatore ducale », enjoying a monopoly granted by Cosimo I. Perhaps using type from Girolamo Scotto in Venice³⁸, he printed a small number of works, including the two titles mentioned above³⁹. Among items projected but probably never printed was a « Lamento di Santo Alesso confessore tradotto in canzona, e messo in canto figurato »⁴⁰. He seems not to have issued any music during his short period of activity as a printer, a period that ended early in 1547 when Lorenzo Torrentino was granted the ducal monopoly⁴¹. But while he was a printer Doni was doubtless able to have woodcuts made; he is known to have commissioned the engraver Enea Vico to make some copper-plate portraits, among them one of himself⁴². The woodcuts used in Magl. XIX, 130, would then seem to have been done for Doni during the year 1546-47, whether or not the manuscript was actually written in that year. When Doni left for Venice, he took some of these woodcuts with him, waiting for the opportunity, which he subsequently found with Francesco Marcolini, to use them again⁴³.

Doni gives in the *Dialogo* of 1544 ample proof of his interest in

³⁸ See S. BONGI, *Vita di M. A. F. Doni*, in « Novelle di M. Antonfrancesco Doni colle notizie sulla vita dell'autore », Lucca 1852, p. xxxii; this is still the most complete biographical sketch of Doni.

³⁹ MARSILI-LIBELLI, *A. F. Doni*, Appendice: *Annali*, pp. 339-356; F. ASCARELLI, *La tipografia cinquecentesca italiana*, Florence 1953, pp. 137-138.

⁴⁰ This is mentioned in a letter from Doni to Francesco Revesla, dated at Florence, 10 March 1547 (see MARSILI-LIBELLI, *op. cit.*, p. 339).

⁴¹ See D. MORENI, *Annali della tipografia fiorentina di Lorenzo Torrentino impresore ducale*, 2^d ed., Florence 1819, pp. viiff.

⁴² G. VASARI, *Le vite de' piú eccellenti pittori scultori ed architettori*, ed. G. Milanesi, Florence 1878-1882, V, p. 428.

⁴³ See S. CASALI, *Annali della tipografia veneziana di Francesco Marcolini da Forlì*, Forlì 1861, pp. xiii-xiv: « I legni adoperati dal Doni in Firenze durante il breve tempo ch'ivi tenne una stamperia, si veggono usati da Marcolini promiscuamente coi suoi proprii nelle edizioni dopo il 1550 ». L. SERVOLINI, *Supplemento agli annali della tipografia veneziana di Fr. Marcolini compilato da Scipione Casali*, Bologna 1958, pp. 14-15, says of Doni's *Prose antiche* of 1547 « ma tipi e legni del Marcolini ». But the truth would really seem to be the other way round, and Casali, who repeats in other words (*op. cit.*, p. 212n) what is quoted above, to have been right. There is no reason to think that Doni met Marcolini, who in any event had been away in Cyprus, until after his return to Venice.

music; it is even possible that several of the madrigals in the book were written and composed by him⁴⁴. And from his letters it seems clear that a part of whatever social success he enjoyed during his years of travel after he left Florence for the first time was owing to his musical abilities. On the other hand he took pains to say on several occasions that he was really a man of letters, music being only a subsidiary interest, a lesser side of his career as « virtuoso »⁴⁵. What he probably meant by this was that he turned to music when he thought it would bring him some recognition or profit. Apparently not enough of either came his way through music, for after the publication of the *Dialogo* with its twenty-eight madrigals he never again had any music printed, nor is it positively known that he wrote any more. Nevertheless musical topics occur with some frequency in his later writings, and among his letters are several testifying to a continuing interest in music, perhaps to continued activity as a musician. Of special interest is a letter addressed to Cosimo de' Medici, dated at Piacenza on 27 March 1543. Doni introduces himself to the Duke as a native Florentine now « presso à tre anni » absent from his native city. Among his qualifications (for entering Cosimo's service, apparently) he lists ability as a musician, a writer, and a scholar in Italian and Greek. Then he goes on to say

io mando à vostra eccellentia, un motetto di Giacchetto Berchem; degno certo di venire alle mani di tal signore. & mando à vostri Cantori una mia Canzone, mandovi due Sonetti composti dalla mia sprofondata memoria scritti di mia mano, & disegnati i canti, i sonetti, & le carte⁴⁶.

This letter was written before the publication of the *Dialogo*, it is true, so that Doni could have been referring to material that was to go into that publication.

⁴⁴ In the text of the *Dialogo* Doni is rather coy about authorship of madrigal texts and music, so that it is hard to tell whether he was trying to minimize his role as composer or to suggest that it was actually considerable. But from the hints given in the course of the *Dialogo* it seems likely that three madrigals are by Doni — both text and music — and that he also set to music a text by his then friend Lodovico Domenichi; see VOGEL-EINSTEIN, *Bibliothek*, II, 635.

⁴⁵ In a letter to Paolo Ugone Doni says « hora la musica [...] dee sapere che la mi diletta per capriccio; & mi piace saper fare quando è bisogna qualche cosetta; ma che io sia innamorato di note, d'archetti, & di tasti S[ignor] no. Son piú inclinati alle lettere, & a un certo piú grave essercitio [...] » (*Lettere*, 1544, fol. 106). And elsewhere he writes in much the same vein.

⁴⁶ *Lettere d'Antonfrancesco Doni*, Venice 1544, fols. 24-25.

Four years later Doni addressed a similar letter⁴⁷ to Cosimo, writing from Florence to the Duke who had gone to Pisa. In this epistle he sends the Duke a motet in honor of the Medici family, a piece which after acquiring Doni had decorated with the Medici *palle*. Not being able to finish it in time to give to Cosimo in person, he sends it to the Duke « insieme con questo libro di mie compositioni », hoping that the Duke will listen to the motet and read the « compositioni » (perhaps Doni's second volume of collected letters, printed in 1547). Printed with this letter is an answer addressed to Doni as « carissimo nostro », in which Cosimo says he expects no less pleasure from hearing and reading the gifts than Doni's works customarily supply him. It is always possible that Doni could have written such an answer himself, particularly since the letters were not printed until 1551, after he had established himself in Venice; nonetheless it is interesting to find confirmation of the fact that in 1547 he was still sending gifts of music to possible patrons such as Cosimo. No such letter exists to confirm authorship of the manuscript here in question; but Doni's remark, in the epistle just cited, that « ch'era di mio grandissimo contento poter presentarlo di mia mano » suggests that he not only sent literary and musical gifts but often gave them to patrons in person.

Still later Doni tried once again to please by means of a musical offering. In 1554 he wrote to Guidobaldo della Rovere, duke of Urbino, in much the same vein, suggesting that he continued to dabble in music: « [...] presento alcuni frutti del mio ingegno [...] et alcune carte di musica le quali ho composte e scritte di mia propria mano et diseguate, ma so ancora piú e so far meglio ». Printed with this letter is an answer (presumably) from the Duke, thanking Doni for his « mirabil musica »⁴⁸. What is pertinent in these letters is Doni's reference to having not only written music but copied it out and ornamented the pages. In other letters he says of himself that

⁴⁷ Printed, together with Cosimo's answer, at the end of Doni's *Zucca* (1552), fol. 271.

⁴⁸ The letters, dated 1554, are printed in Doni's libellous attack on his erstwhile friend Pietro Aretino (*Il Terremoto*, Venice 1556, p. [31]). In S. BONGI, *Vita di M. A. F. Doni*, pp. lxvi-lxvii, Doni's gift to the Duke is called « un dialogo sulla musica scritto a mano, e diverso da quella stampata ». But it seems doubtful that it was anything this extensive; Doni himself, never one to understate, does not claim anything more than what is quoted above.

he is a « scrittore, sonatore, cantore, & dipintore » (to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese) or that « mi diletto di scrivere, come voi vedete, et vedrete cantare, sonare, disegnare, et poetizzare » (to Paolo Giovio)⁴⁹. A great deal of Doni's writing survives, of course, and in the *Dialogo* some of his music may be seen. If the evidence thus far presented is convincing in linking his name and hand with the manuscript Magl. XIX, 130, we may see him here again active as editor, copyist, perhaps composer (nos. 1 and 10?); and even as an illustrator or miniaturist if the ornamented pages of the manuscript may be thought to be in his hand.

Supposing Doni to have been the compiler of the manuscript, we could assume that he got it up during his Florentine stay of 1545-48, and that it was presented to Cosimo I about 1547, when the woodcut frontispiece would have been available for use. The manuscript without the woodcut as yet on it could have been written earlier, but the same paper is used throughout, and the use of the Greek motto discussed above, and drawn in by hand, suggests again the period during which Doni was connected with the Accademia Fiorentina. Could the madrigals actually have been performed by members of this august group? It is not impossible, although the manuscript itself shows no signs of use. On at least one occasion during this period the Accademia commissioned some music: Corteccia set some madrigals performed in the intermedi of Francesco d'Ambra's comedy *Il Furto*, presented by the academicians several times during the year 1544⁵⁰. But on the whole the interests of this Academy were purely literary. Nor was Cosimo I particularly devoted to music; naturally collections of printed madrigals were dedicated to him from time to time⁵¹, and in accounts of his early life one hears occasionally of his studying or

⁴⁹ *Lettere* (1544), fols. 31, 51^v.

⁵⁰ SALVINI, *Fasti consolari*, pp. 39-40: « [...] per esser la maggior parte degli Accademici occupati nella Festa, che fu fatta due volte nella Sala del Papa, recitandovi la Commedia di Francesco d'Ambra, intitolato *il Furto*, e per la terza volta, alla presenza del Duca Cosimo, nella Villa di Castello ». Corteccia published these madrigals in his *Primo libro a 4* (1547).

⁵¹ The music of the 1539 intermedi was of course addressed to Cosimo; then, all four of Corteccia's madrigal prints were dedicated to the Duke. And Mattio Rampolini's *Primo libro* [...] *sopra di alcune Canzoni del* [...] *Petrarca* (1560?; Vogel's date is probably much too late; cf. A. EINSTEIN, *The Italian Madrigal*, p. 288) is addressed to Cosimo, the composer saying « So bene che si alte dolce et musical parole meritavano esser composte dal padre de la Musica Lo excellentissimo Iosquino & Adriano, Giacheto et altri piú valenti compositori che non sono io [...] ».

performing music⁵²; yet there is no reason to suppose that he ordered musical manuscripts from Doni or anyone else. But Antonfrancesco Doni was hardly the man to wait for an order; as has been suggested above, he often peddled his wares in the hope of attracting support and patronage. This leads one to suppose that if Magl. XIX, 130, was actually his work, it represented a kind of elaborate sample of his abilities as editor, perhaps as composer, as miniaturist. A small number of madrigals, neatly presented, would have sufficed for this (and they need not have been pieces previously unprinted; the ducal recipient of the manuscript would hardly have tracked down the history of these anonymous madrigals)⁵³; if this offering were favourably received greater things, such as the establishment of a ducal press equipped to publish music, might follow. They did not follow, and Doni soon left Florence. There is little reason to think that the manuscript would have been submitted after 1548, when Doni made a quite final break, possibly under the unpleasant circumstances that so often surrounded his comings and goings, with his native city. The half-mythical Pellegrini of Venice, of whom Doni was spokesman and self-appointed guiding spirit, touched on music often in the years that followed, but Doni was busy with other projects and never re-established himself as a printer of music.

JAMES HAAR

⁵² See C. BOOTH, *Cosimo I, Duke of Florence*, Cambridge 1921, p. 44. B. BALDINI, *Vita di Cosimo de' Medici I Granduca di Toscana*, Florence 1578, p. 80, says that Cosimo « dilettossi sempre mai più che d'alcun altro piacere della musica », but gives no concrete instances.

⁵³ Doni might have hoped to pass off all the madrigals as his own compositions. He was certainly not above appropriating material for his own use; he admits in a letter of 1546, to Tomaso Baroncelli (*Secondo libro di lettere*, Florence 1547, fol. 40) that he stole from the latter a manuscript copy of the *Dialoghi* of Gelli, in order to print this work, which he did in September of 1546. And some of the contents of the *Dialogo della musica* suggest that a bit of musical theft may have been practised there.

II

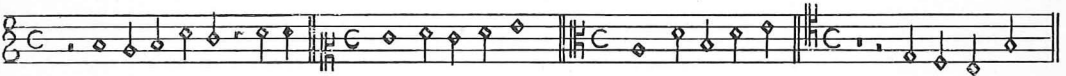
1. *Voi ch'ascoltate*



2. *Con lei foss'io*



3. *Ma di chi debbo lamentarmi*



4. *Ben mille notti*



5. *Fiere silvastre*



6. *Monti selvi fontane*



7. *O fortunato*



8. *Per che' la vit'è breve*



9. *Pace non trovo*



10. *Che degg'io far*



KAMATI DE EYKAM ATORIS

et chasfolat' in rime spars il suono
il suono il suono del pensier
amorofo ch' m'atterra miouer cotr' a costei di chio
ra giono ristret' in guisa d'huo ch'aspetta guer
ra ou' i raggi d'amor ou' i raggi d'amor si cal
di sono si caldi sono Venit' a me uenit' a me
Venit' a me fel pass' altri non ferra. chio u' di
Sapirò ij De miei marti

C

he debb' io far' ij

Et mi configl' amore Volg' a me

glochi volg' a me gliach' e miei e miei sospir' ascol ta.

Quai sono stati gl'anni e giorni i giorni er' l'orle' a se

guitar a segui tar costei ch' in fuga ch' in

fuga e uoltra. Mor' o merced' sia fin al mio do lo

re Al mio dolore ij Rendimi

seser puo liber' et sciol ra liber' et sciol.

Madrigali di Iohan Serio



APPENDIX

FLORENCE, BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE CENTRALE, MS. MAGL. XIX, 130

I

	Poet	Composer	Concordances
1. <i>Voi ch'ascoltate</i>	G. Bidelli, <i>Centoni del Petrarca</i> (1544), no. 1		
2. <i>Con lei foss'io</i>	Petrarch, sestina <i>A qualunque animale</i> (<i>Rime</i> , 22)	Giaches de Ponte (Arcadelt; Corteccia)	<i>Primo libro</i> [...] <i>a misura di breve</i> (1542), no. 36, an oft-reprinted collection; the piece is first attributed to Corteccia, then to Arcadelt, but in the later reprints it is always given to de Ponte. See VOGEL, <i>Bibl.</i> II, 384. Cf. VOGEL, <i>Samml.</i> 1575 ³ , 1583 ² (the latter frequently reprinted), both of which anthologies contain <i>Con lei</i> attributed to de Ponte. There are a number of intabulations of this popular piece, including RISM (B I, 1) 1546 ²⁴ , 1566 ²⁹ , 1574 ¹³ ; and two keyboard versions, in A. Gabrieli, <i>Canzoni alla francese</i> , lib. VI (SARTORI, <i>Bibliografia</i> , 1605g, p. 133).
3. <i>Ma di chi debbo lamentarmi</i>	Ariosto, <i>Orl. Fur.</i> XXXII, 21	Vincenzo Ruffo	Doni, <i>Dialogo della musica</i> (1544), no. 2; modern repr. in MALIPIERO, ed., <i>Dialogo</i> (Vienna, 1965), p. 17. Ruffo, <i>Primo libro a 4</i> (1545, etc.), no. 29; modern repr. in TORCHI, <i>L'arte musicale</i> , I, 215.
4. <i>Ben mille notti</i>	Sannazaro, <i>Arcadia, Egloga 4^a</i> (nos. 4-7)	Ruffo	<i>Primo libro a 4</i> , no. 3; ms. version is transposed down a 5th.
5. <i>Fiere silvestre</i>	see no. 4	Ruffo	<i>Primo libro a 4</i> , no. 6; repr. in VOGEL, <i>Samml.</i> 1585 ¹ .
6. <i>Monti selve fontane</i>	see no. 4	Ruffo	<i>Primo libro a 4</i> , no. 7.
7. <i>O fortunato che con altre rime</i>	see no. 4	Ruffo	<i>Primo libro a 4</i> , no. 5.
8. <i>Per ché la vit'è breve</i>	Petrarch (<i>Rime</i> , 71)	Arcadelt	Filippo Azzaiolo, <i>Il 2° libro de Villotte del fiore</i> [...] <i>a 4</i> (1559, 1564), p. 11. Modern repr. ed. G. VECCHI (Azzaiolo, <i>Il 2° libro</i> , etc., Bologna, 1953, p. 41). Ms. version is transposed down a fifth and a good deal altered in the middle voices.
9. <i>Pace non trovo</i>	Petrarch (<i>Rime</i> , 134)	Ivo Barry	Arcadelt, <i>Quarto libro a 4</i> (1539, 1541), no. 38; <i>Il vero terzo libro</i> [...] <i>a note negre</i> (1549), no. 4; VOGEL, <i>Samml.</i> 1569 ^{3a} . Modern reprint in <i>Musica Disciplina</i> XX (1966), pp. 134ff.
10. <i>Che deggio far che mi consig'amore</i>	G. Bidelli, <i>Centoni del Petrarca</i> , no. 7		