CANTAR À LA VENESSIANA

VENETIAN-LANGUAGE POLYPHONY IN THE SECONDO CINQUECENTO

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To my father, Kevin Donnelly, and
My grandparents, Sam and Margaret Dierinzo,
Who saw this project begun
But not complete.

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Abstract

This dissertation takes as its subject the complete corpus of Venetian-language polyphony printed in Italy during the 1560s and '70s, investigating issues of language and genre, ethnic and transnational identity, musical and literary parody, and the relationship of written music to extemporaneous performance. These collections constitute a natural corpus for research, as they represent the first true body of Venetian-language music ever committed to print, and are temporally partitioned from the later madrigal comedies that employ Venetian by a publication gap of nearly two decades. The four main chapters of this dissertation form an interrelated series of investigations into the major constituent publications of this repertoire, situating each within the broader social, linguistic, and musical context of *cinquecento* Italy.

Chapter 1 examines a number of issues relating to dialect music in Renaissance Italy, and through Charles Ferguson's concept of linguistic *triglossia* and Benedetto Croce's concept of *letteratura dialettale riflessa*, which provide an overarching theoretical framework. Questions posed and addressed in this chapter include: what is the Venetian language, and how does it relate structurally and sociologically to contemporary linguistic systems? What is the relationship between language, dialect, and musical genre in Italian music prints?

Chapter 2 seeks to individuate the key elements that set Venetian-language works apart from those in other dialects. Compositions for four or more voices are shown to occupy a cultural and musical space more closely approximating that of the madrigal than do other dialect works, as befitting the special status of the language in Venice. Questions posed and addressed in this chapter include: How are the *giustiniane* of the 1570s related to the late fifteenth-century genre of the same name? What are the musically defined subgenres of Venetian-language polyphony, and how do they reflect upon corresponding subgenres of the madrigal? How are Venetian works registrally and technically distinct from other dialect works by the same composers? How is compositional craft used as a signifier of the collocation of Venetian in an intermediate cultural space?

Chapter 3 examines the musical legacy of the Venetian poet Andrea Calmo, whose stage performances and verse publications inspired two anthologies of three-voice *giustiniane* and the first collection of four-voice works published by Lodovico Agostini. Questions posed and addressed in this chapter include: How did poets and composers negotiate the conversion of text and music in the high style into dialect genres? How were such dialect parodies situated within the broader tradition of improvised recitation and performance in both theatrical and informal contexts?

Chapter 4 examines the musical legacy of Calmo's frequent associate Antonio Molino, whose stage performances and verse publications inspired the so-called *greghesche*: polyphonic songs that employed the Venetian language as spoken by ethnic Greeks. Multiple lines of evidence tie the composition and performance of these works to the salon of the patrician Domenico Venier, whose patronage was likely the driving force behind the participation of such a wide variety of composers in the landmark 1564 *Primo libro*. Questions posed and addressed in this chapter include: why are two of the five surviving polyphonic laments for Adrian Willaert included in a collection of dialect music? Who are the two female singers frequently referenced in the 1564 *primo libro*? How does Molino's own first book of madrigals, published four years later, serve to situate the earlier anthology within the tradition of informal improvisation?

Finally, the conclusion of this dissertation reflects on the many recurring threads that have a resonance beyond the particular corpus on which it is focused. These are connected to recent developments in the critical framework of multimodality, and may help to provide a way forward in the analysis of other repertoires that present similar questions to the scholarly investigator.

Résumé

Cette dissertation a pour sujet le corpus complet d'oeuvres polyphoniques en langue vénitienne imprimées en Italie durant les années 1560 et 1570, s'intéressant à des questions de langue et de genre, d'identités ethniques et transnationales, de parodie musicale et littéraire, ainsi qu'aux liens existant entre la musique écrite et la performance improvisée. Ces collections constituent un corpus idéal pour la recherche, puisqu'elles représentent le premier véritable ensemble d'oeuvres musicales en dialecte vénitien jamais imprimées, et sont séparées dans le temps par un intervalle de presque deux décennies des comédies madrigalesques subséquentes, composées en dialecte vénitien. Les quatres chapitres principaux de cette dissertation forment une série interreliée d'études des principales publications de ce répertoire, les situant chacune dans leur contexte social, linguistique et musical de l'Italie du *cinquecento*.

Le chapitre 1 examine un certain nombre d'enjeux en lien avec la musique en dialecte de la Renaissance italienne, et par le biais du concept linguistique *triglossia* énoncé par Charles Ferguson et du concept de *letteratura dialettale riflessa* de Benedetto Croce, qui fournissent les fondements théoriques généraux. Les questions posées et abordées dans ce chapitre incluent : quelle est la langue vénitienne, et comment est-elle liée structurellement et sociologiquement aux systèmes linguistiques contemporains? Quelle est la relation entre langage, dialecte, et genre musical dans les éditions musicales italiennes?

Le chapitre 2 cherche à différencier les éléments-clés distinguant les oeuvres en langue vénitienne de celles écrites en d'autres dialectes. Il a été établi que les compositions pour quatre voix ou plus occupent un espace culturel et musical plus proche de celui du madrigal que celles écrites en d'autres dialectes, conformément au statut spécial de cette langue à Venise. Les questions posées et abordées dans ce chapitre incluent: en quoi les *giustiniane* des années 1570 sont-elles reliées au genre du même nom datant de la fin du 15e siècle? Quels sont les sous-genres musicalement définis de la polyphonie en langue vénitienne, et comment reflètent-ils les sous-genres correspondants pour le madrigal? Comment les oeuvres vénitiennes sont-elles, au

plan technique et du registre, distinctes des autres oeuvres en dialecte par les même compositeurs? Comment les habiletés compositionnelles sont-elles employées en tant que signe de la collocation du vénitien dans un espace culturel intermédiaire?

Le chapitre 3 examine l'héritage musical du poète vénitien Andrea Calmo, dont les performances scéniques et les publications en vers ont inspirées deux anthologies de *giustiniane* à trois voix, et le premier recueil d'oeuvres à quatre voix publié par Lodovico Agostini. Les questions posées et abordées dans ce chapitre incluent : comment les poètes et compositeurs ont-ils négocié la conversion du texte et la musique de style élevé vers un genre en dialecte? Comment ces parodies avec dialectes se situent-elles à l'intérieur d'une tradition plus large de récitations improvisées et de performances dans des contextes théatral et informel?

Le chapitre 4 examine l'héritage musical de l'associé habituel de Calmo, Antonio Molino, dont les performances scéniques et les publications en vers ont inspirées les soi-disant *greghesche* : des chansons polyphoniques employant la langue vénitienne telle que parlée par les grecs. De multiples sources mettent en lien la composition et la performance de ces oeuvres avec le salon du patricien Domenico Venier, dont le soutien constitua vraisemblablement la force motrice derrière la participation d'une si grande variété de compositeurs au monumental *Primo libro* de 1564. Les questions posées et abordées dans ce chapitre incluent : pourquoi deux des cinq lamentations polyphoniques pour Adrian Willaert figurant-elles dans une collection de musique en dialecte? Qui sont ces deux chanteuses dont le *primo libro* fait mention? En quoi le propre premier livre de madrigaux de Molino, publié quatre ans plus tard, sert-il à situer cette anthologie précédente au sein de cette tradition d'improvisations informelles?

Finalement, la conclusion de cette dissertation rassemble plusieurs des fils conducteurs récurrents ayant eu une résonnance au-delà du corpus particulier sur laquelle elle se concentre. Ceux-ci sont en lien avec les développements récents dans le cadre critique de la multi-modalité, et pourraient aider à faire progresser l'analyse de d'autres répertoires présentant au chercheur érudit des questions similaires.

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Introduction

Sixteenth-century Venice, as the centre of the Italian music printing industry and the home of many of the era's most important composers, performers, and patrons, was without a doubt one of the most important cities in the history of Western music. Thanks to its key role in the standardisation of the Italian literary language and the development of the madrigal, it was ironically also the most important centre for the adoption of the medieval Florentine of Petrarch and Boccaccio as the literary standard for the rest of the peninsula.[1] The rise of Bembism and displacement of the local vernacular by literary Tuscan created a linguistic tension within the city's élite cultural circles that finds itself expressed in much of the Venetian-language music that was published in the second half of the sixteenth century, particularly between the years 1564-1575.

These dialect works, most of which can be connected to the cultural activities of figures like Andrea Calmo and Antonio Molino (also called "Il Burchiella"), provide a rich resource for the contemporary scholar seeking to understand the cultural significance of the Venetian language in this period, and the use of dialect in music more broadly. As this dissertation will show, the use of Venetian in these works carried special cultural meaning for those involved in the production of these works, and the use of dialect in this period carried many more cultural meanings outside the traditional perception of dialect as a marker for "low" or unsophisticated humour. On the contrary, Venetian-language works frequently show a sophisticated relationship with the high style, and one that is not necessarily only grounded in subversion or parody.

The corpus of Venetian-language music has much to teach us not only about the complex relationship between language and musical genre in Renaissance Italy, but also about larger issues of literary and musical parody, Venetian civic identity, and the role of the Venetian *Stato da mar* in the republic's self-conception as heir to the Roman past. In the following pages I will show just how much we can learn about *cinquecento* Venice and its culture from this small collection of music prints and the group of musicians who produced them: even as Renaissance printers are shown to use language as a primary characteristic in their determinations of musical genre, musically-defined sub-groups of the Venetian-language repertoire will be shown to have participated in cross-genre traditions of improvised performance both on the stage and in informal settings; Renaissance poets, improvisers, and composers will be shown to have employed many of the same methods of dealing with source material in constructing musical parodies as they did in literary ones; the social environments in which these works were first created and performed, furthermore, will be shown to be an essential means to understanding why and how they diverge from much of the rest of the *cinquecento* dialect repertoire, and provide an important look at private music-making in élite social circles.

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[1] Dean Mace, "Pietro Bembo," and Martha Feldman, *City Culture*.

Overview of the Scholarly Literature

Due to the structure of this dissertation as four interrelated investigations, detailed descriptions of the relevant literature for each topic are given in the four chapters. The following overview is intended to give the reader a general impression of the current state of research rather than engage with the specifics of the authors' individual arguments.

This large and varied corpus of sixteenth-century dialect song has thus far been the subject of relatively little scholarly investigation, with the notable exception of several substantial studies on the *canzone villanesca napoletana* and its descendants.[2] Many musicological discussions of the use of dialect or regional language in Renaissance music have also examined its use in *Commedia dell'arte*. For example, in his article "*Commedia dell'arte* and Opera," Nino Pirrotta makes explicit connections between a number of dialect genres and the *commedia*, especially the *bergamasca* with Arlecchino, the *giustiniana* with Pantalone, and the *todesca* with the drunken German soldier later replaced by the Capitano.[3] Paul Schleuse, in his work on Vecchi's *Selva di varia ricreatione* has further investigated the links between the so-called "light genres," madrigal comedy, and *commedia*.[4]

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[2] See in particular Donna Cardamone, *The Canzone villanesca* and "Forme musicali e metriche," Nino Pirrotta, "Willaert e la canzone villanesca," and Ruth DeFord, "Musical Relationships" and "Marenzio and the villanella."

As far as the Venetian-language repertoire is concerned, the most comprehensive study of the *giustiniana* to date has recently been conducted by Shawn Keener, though much of her work remains unpublished.[5] Prior to Keener, Paolo Fabbri has written on Andrea Gabrieli's three-voice *greghesche* and *giustiniane*, and provided what was until recently the most comprehensive work on Molino and the *greghesche* since Einstein.[6] To these studies Katelijne Schiltz has more recently contributed three articles focused primarily on Adrian Willaert's contribution to the 1564 *Primo libro delle greghesche* and the two laments for the composer published therein.[7] Lastly, the philologist Andrea Bombi has discussed the general features of Agostini's 1567 collection of *Bizzarre rime*, though his analysis of its musical treatment of the text is not particularly extensive or informative.[8]

Outside musicology, scholarship on the meaning of dialect in Renaissance Italy and the *Commedia dell'arte* has been done by several scholars, including Erith Jaffe-Berg, Marvin Carlson, and Anne MacNeil.[9] Carlson in particular devotes a whole chapter of his monograph *Speaking in Tongues* to dialect theatre in the Italian Renaissance, with a specific focus on the tension between the literary standardization of Tuscan and the continuing popular performance of other dialects.

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[3] Pirrotta, "Commedia dell'arte and Opera," 313.

[4] Schleuse, *Genre and meaning*.

[5] Keener, "Love alla veneziana," and "Virtue, Illusion, Venezianità." Her dissertation, *The Giustiniana Phenomenon and Venetian Cultural Memory, 1400-1600,* was defended in 2014 but is not yet available at the time of this writing.

[6] Fabbri, "Andrea Gabrieli e le composizioni su diversi linguaggi," and "Fatte e prodezze di Manoli Blessi"; Alfred Einstein, "The Greghesca and Giustiniana."

[7] Schiltz, "Mi ho scritto," "*Giunto Adrian*," and "Tod in Venedig."

[8] Bombi, "Una satisfation."

[9] Jaffe-Berg, *The Multilingual Art of* Commedia dell'arte; Carlson, *Speaking in Tongues*; MacNeil, *Music and Women of the* Commedia dell'arte.

He also makes a distinction between the traditional use of dialect for purely comic ends and the more modern theatrical representations of foreign speech that can tend toward themes of cultural displacement, alienation, and conflict.[10] The linguistic confusion of polyglot theatre has also been tied to the carnivalesque by Marcello Conati, though he acknowledges its grounding in the lived linguistic experience of cosmopolitan cities like Venice.[11]

The most comprehensive linguistic history of Venice and its vernacular has been produced by Ronnie Ferguson.[12] The most thorough philological studies of poetry and theatre in the Greek-inflected variety of Venetian employed by Antonio Molino have been provided by Louis Coutelle and Lucia Lazzerini.[13] A broader linguistic context of the peninsula in this period, including both the treatment of dialect and the development of the literary language, is given in the work of Paolo Trovato.[14]

Chapter Outline

In Chapter 1 I address overarching questions of language and its relationship to musical genre. This begins with a summary of the linguistic situation in *cinquecento* Italy, and a discussion of the longstanding *questione della lingua*—the problem of determining which language was the most appropriate for higher aesthetic pursuits (**Section 1.1**). In this context I discuss the *lingua cortigiana*, a courtly *koiné* (or supra-regional standard) that developed as a common literary language for the Italian aristocratic classes (**Section 1.2**), and describe the difference between a "language" and a "dialect," particularly in cases like that of Italy in which there is no central government or linguistic authority to impose a linguistic standard (**Section 1.3**). I then draw on the sociolinguistic theory of *triglossia* as originally proposed by Charles Ferguson to describe the discrete but overlapping cultural spheres in which Latin, literary Tuscan, and local vernaculars would have been employed in Renaissance Italy (**Section 1.4**), which serve as a model for understanding the discrete but overlapping cultural spheres in which music employing these languages would have been composed and performed.

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[10] Carlson, *Speaking in Tongues*.

[11] Conati, "Teatro dell'udito."

[12] Ferguson, "From Proto-language of State" and *A Linguistic History of Venice*.

[13] Coutelle, *Le greghesco* and Lazzerini, "Il Gregesco."

[14] Trovato, *Storia della lingua italiana: Il primo cinquecento*, and "'Dialetto' e sinonimi."

In **Section 1.5** I introduce the twentieth-century philosopher Benedetto Croce's concept of *letteratura dialettale riflessa*: the idea that a significant body of dialect literature exists not as chthonic expression of local folk culture, but rather as intentional and sophisticated interaction with the high style. Such literature is not always intended as opposition or resistance to the literary canon in Tuscan, but sometimes as a larger expression of cultural participation and an elevation of the local idiom. Following a brief explanation of terminology (**Section 1.6**), I describe the special status of the Venetian language in the republic, where it had a strong literary tradition and served, prior to the advent of Bembism, as a proto-language of state shared by a large class of aristocrats and civil servants (**Section 1.7**). In **Section 1.8** I describe the essential linguistic characteristics of Venetian as spoken in the lagoon and the Greek sub-variety of Venetian employed in the *greghesche*, with comparisons to modern standard Italian. In light of these linguistic features, I discuss some of the difficulties in rendering dialect works accessible to modern audiences, with particular attention to the pitfalls presented by attempts to employ dialect or non-standard features in translation (**Section 1.9**).

Chapter 1 concludes with a discussion of the relationship between text, language, and genre in Italian Renaissance music prints. As shown in **Section 1.10**, printers consistently differentiated works on the basis of the language of their text rather than on the basis of specific musical features, and these distinctions seem to indicate that printers viewed dialects as distinct linguistic systems rather than sub-varieties of a larger category. In the final section (**1.11**), I use this practice to construct an algorithm for the determination of genre according to Renaissance norms, and show that such an algorithm must always begin with the question of language and text in order to arrive at results consistent with those found in Venetian music prints.

In Chapter 2 I describe the musical features that set the Venetian-language musical repertoire apart from music in other languages, in order to clarify what exactly Zarlino may have been referring to in his *Institutione harmoniche* when he remarks that Venetian music is different from that found in Tuscany or Naples.[15] In **Section 2.1** I divide the corpus of Venetian-language works published between 1564 and 1575 into three musically-defined categories, principally on the basis of form and musical texture. The three-voice *greghesche* and *giustiniane* are shown to be musically distinct from the contemporary repertoire of three-voice *villotte alla napoletana* (**Section 2.2**), and I discuss their connection both to the stage performances of Andrea Calmo and Antonio Molino and to the earlier improvised *giustiniane* from the fifteenth century (**Section 2.3**).

A defining musical characteristic of the *greghesche* in particular is what I term the "Venetian trill," an extended neighbour-note motion that likely developed out of the extended melismatic passages common to much of the Venetian-language repertoire (**Section 2.4**). The use of the "Venetian trill" is particularly common in Andrea Gabrieli's three-voice *greghesche* of 1571, and the publication history of that volume, and a probable origin for the three-voice *greghesche* and *giustiniane* within Gabrieli's and Molino's social circle in the early 1560s, are discussed in **Section 2.5**. On the basis of Gabrieli's distinction between the three-voice *greghesche* and *giustiniane* of 1571 and the *greghesche* for four and more voices published in 1564, I individuate the textual and musical characteristics shared by the majority of works in the 1564 print and compare them to the three-voice repertoire (**Section 2.6**). I then compare Willaert's contribution to the 1564 *Primo libro delle greghesche* to his other dialect works, to show that his musical style in the 1564 collection is considerably elevated with respect to his four-voice *napoletane* and his setting of Ruzante's "Zoia zentil" (**Section 2.7**). In section **2.8** I show that there are no particularly "Greek" characteristics present in Giaches de Wert's setting of the Greek text "Tis pyri pir" when compared to his other canzonettas, and argue that this absence supports the notion that the *greghesche* were Venetian rather than Greek in their musical orientation. The chapter concludes with a brief discussion of the *arioso*-style Venetian works by Lodovico Agostini, which share many characteristics with Molino's four-voice *greghesche* and are the topic of the following chapter.

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[15] Gioseffo Zarlino, *Istitutioni harmoniche*, IV, 297

Chapter 3 begins with a discussion of the practice of literary parody in *cinquecento* Italy, to show that “translation” of poetry from the literary canon into dialect largely followed the same model as parodies in the Tuscan standard (**Section 3.1**). I then show that Andrea Gabrieli’s musical parody of Rore’s “Ancor che col partire” operates in a similar manner to the text, as he borrows a number of salient and recognisable features from the source work with only occasional episodes of distortion or exaggeration (**Section 3.2**).

In the next section I introduce Lodovico Agostini’s 1567 collection of musical settings of Andrea Calmo’s *Bizzarre rime*, and connect them to the mid-century tradition of improvisatory *madrigali ariosi* (**Section 3.3**). I then reinterpret Agostini’s settings of the many texts in the collection not written by Calmo as written representations of improvised responses to recitations of Calmo’s works (**Section 3.4**). After brief discussion of the relationship of Calmo’s *Rime* to contemporary *poesia per musica* (**Section 3.5**), I conclude the chapter with two extended analyses of works in the 1567 collection. The first of these is a parody of Petrarch’s “Pace non trovo,” which shows particular engagement with contemporary literary theory (**Section 3.6**), and the second is Agostini’s setting of “Son vecchio innamorao,” which borrows substantially from Ferrabosco’s very famous “Io mi son giovinetta” (**Section 3.7**).

In the final chapter I propose Domenico Venier as a likely unnamed patron for the 1564 *Primo libro delle greghesche*, and his salon as the venue for the original composition and performance of most of the works published in that volume. I begin the chapter with a discussion of the two laments for Adrian Willaert contained within that print, and show that, despite employing dialect, they appear to be more serious than burlesque (**Section 4.1**). After a brief discussion of the sources in which the *greghesche* are found (**Section 4.2**), I address the inaccuracies in previous descriptions of Molino’s poetic language in the scholarly literature, particularly comparisons to macaronism or patois (**Section 4.3**).

In **Section 4.4** I problematize previous interpretations of an “autobiographical” poem in

Molino's first book of madrigals as indicating his birth occurring prior to 1498, relate the surviving biographical information that indicates youthful travels to Crete and Corfu, and discuss the nature of the musical instruction he received late in life from Maddalena Casulana. With this biographical information in mind, I then make the argument for Molino's participation in the Venier salon on the basis of textual relationships between a poetic lament for a dead dog attributed to Maffeo Venier and two works in the 1564 *Primo libro* that appear to employ that dog's narrative voice, and possibly to reference Domenico Venier's real-life illness (**Section 4.5**). In the final section I identify the courtesan Chiaretta Pisana as the "Chiara" or "Chiaretta" referenced in several works in the 1564 collection (**Section 4.6**).

In the Conclusion, I tie together many of the overarching themes from the four main chapters, including the relationship between language, genre, and musical style in sixteenth-century Italy, the techniques of improvisation and parody found in many of the works in the Venetian-language repertoire, and the importance of the Venetian language and Venetian music in fostering a sense of civic identity among native-born Venetians and foreigners alike. Finally, I conclude with a brief discussion of broader challenges in the reinterpretation and rehabilitation of dialect repertoire, and the potential of the theoretical framework of multimodality in making further scholarly inquiries into this field.

Chapter 1

L'antica materna lingua

LANGUAGE, DIALECT, AND GENRE IN *CINQUECENTO* MUSIC PRINTS

A comprehensive study of Venetian-language music in the sixteenth century must of necessity begin with a definition of its terms. What constitutes the Venetian language? How does it differ from other linguistic systems in use at the time? In what contexts was this language employed, and how was it regarded within the broader Italian linguistic context? Musically speaking, what works can be said to belong to the corpus of Venetian-language music? How did *cinquecento* musicians and audiences distinguish these works, if at all, from works that employed other linguistic systems? More broadly, what was the relationship between language and genre in Italy in the second half of the sixteenth century? At what level do linguistic distinctions operate in the determination of generic categories for musical publication, and to what extent are these distinctions co-terminous with specific musical features?

The following chapter will, as much as possible, provide answers to these questions, both by drawing upon the modern scholarly literature in sociolinguistics and dialectology and by examining the vast body of evidence left to us by sixteenth-century Italian music printers, which, thanks especially to ongoing digitisation efforts by a number of European state and university libraries, have never been more amenable to a large-scale examination of their *mise-en-page* and use of explanatory rubrics.[1] As several specific examples from this corpus will show, *cinquecento* music printers took particular care to delineate linguistic boundaries in their prints. This is evident both in the way such prints are structured and in the manner in which linguistic deviance from any norm established in a volume's title is nearly always acknowledged and somehow accounted for, whether this accounting occurs through the deliberate location of the irregular work in a specially delineated part of the print, or through the use of rubrics to acknowledge the work as being somehow outside the bounds of expectation that a volume's title might otherwise instil in its intended public.

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[1] My colleague Geneviève Bazinet has thoroughly demonstrated the explanatory power of printers' rubrics in the sixth chapter of her dissertation; v. ead. *Pierre Attaingnant's Encyclopedia of Sacred Music*, 181-219.

1.1 The Question of Language

Most musicological discussions of the status of what we now refer to as the Italian language in the sixteenth century have gravitated towards the perceived importance of the standardisation of the literary language in the early part of the century and the effects of this process on the contemporary development of the Italian madrigal.[2] While more recent scholarship has generally problematized the traditional narrative of standardisation, Petrarchism, and madrigalian norms put forth by Dean Mace in his seminal article "Pietro Bembo and the Literary Origins of the Italian Madrigal," the overall premise that the *questione della lingua* was critically important to the production of Italian secular music in this period has only been strengthened by the more detailed picture we now have.[3]

The debates over the use of vernacular language that occurred in Renaissance Italy are revealing both for what kinds of arguments they contained and what kind of arguments are conspicuously absent. By the beginning of the sixteenth century, discussions about the *questione della lingua* had been going on in literary circles for at least two centuries. The earliest sustained treatment of the topic comes in fact from Dante Alighieri, who addressed it at great length in his *De vulgari eloquentia* in the first decade of the *trecento.* Unlike the poet's more popular contributions to the literary canon, this work survived the following centuries in very few copies and may not have been widely influential until its reintroduction to the reading public in 1529 by Gian Giorgio Trissino.[4]

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[2] On this v. esp. Dean Mace, "Pietro Bembo," Martha Feldman, *City Culture* esp. 47-81 & 123-55, and Fenlon and Haar, *The Italian Madrigal,* 28-29.

[3] The most recent of these studies, Giuseppe Gerbino's "Florentine *Petrarchismo* and the Early Madrigal," shows the incredible diversity of opinion just among the Florentine *Orti Oricellari* who served as important patrons for the early madrigal. I thank my colleague Zoey Cochran for bringing this article to my attention. She goes into further detail on this point in her paper "The *Questione della lingua* and the Early Madrigal,"given at the 2013 Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference in Certaldo.

Trissino introduced Dante's work to the wider public through a printed vernacular translation, seemingly with the goal of supporting his own position in the ongoing debate over the proper literary use of the vernacular. Several competing solutions to the *questione* were part of the public discourse on the matter at the time Trissino brought Dante into the conversation. The three main approaches and their principal proponents are briefly described in the following paragraphs in order to provide a point of departure for understanding the use of language in Italy in this period, and the ongoing cultural discussion regarding appropriate use of the vernacular in public contexts.

The so-called ***volgare cortigiano*** was an approach meant to reflect the linguistic norms of an idealised collection of erudite courtiers from different parts of the peninsula. This is the approach Dante advocates in *De vulgari eloquentia* after determining that none of the twelve varieties of Italian he describes in the work, including his native Florentine, are perfect in themselves.[5] Trissino builds on this position in his dialogue *Castellano*, which he published the same year as his modern edition of the Dante treatise.[6] It is also the approach advocated by Baldassare Castiglione in his 1528 *Cortegiano* and by il Calmeta (Vincenzo Colli) in his now-lost *Della volgar poesia*.[7]

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[4] A helpful (if antiquated) summary of Dante's throught regarding the vernacular can be found in Ewert, "Dante's Theory of Language."

[5] More specifically, Dante seems to advocate the standard that prevails among circles of erudite speakers from different areas, in places like the University of Bologna, the court of Urbino, or the Roman Curia. See on this Ewert, 363-66.

[6] Trissino also summarises his pronunciation scheme in a letter to Pope Clement VII in 1524, which is published in the introduction to the 1824 edition of the *Castellano* edited by Giulio Antimaco.

[7] Castiglione's position is described more fully in the context of his professional and literary interaction with Pietro Bembo in Diane Senior, "Il rapporto tra Bembo e Castiglione," 150-64. Though il Calmeta's work has not survived, his position is mainly understood by scholars through Bembo's arguments against his position in *Prose della volgar lingua*, which appears to have been at least partially a response to the lost work.

By contrast, the ***volgare fiorentinista*** advocated the adoption of the contemporary Florentine vernacular as spoken by the educated classes. This is the approach advocated by Niccolò Machiavelli in his 1524 *Discorso della nostra lingua,* principally based on the premise that, despite any arguments to the contrary in *De vulgari eloquentia*, Dante (along with Petrarch and Boccaccio) wrote in Florentine and not a mixed courtly tongue.[8] Machiavelli notes, however, that language changes over time according to the needs of the people, and thus does not take the position that *trecento* language be adopted precisely.[9]

Lastly, proponents of the ***volgare arcaizzante*** advocated the faithful adoption of *trecento* Tuscan, primarily on the grounds that it had been the language of Italy's greatest writers and literary works and that these were worthy of emulation by modern writers. This was the position advocated by the Venetian Cardinal Pietro Bembo in his 1525 *Prose della volgar lingua*, and further promulgated by his many followers.[10] It was Bembo's vision that ultimately came to dominate both linguistic discourse and practice, though some aspects of the *questione della lingua* continued to be debated in various circles until well into the nineteenth century.[11]

It is exceedingly important to note, however, that even the most pointedly pluricentric approach advocated by mainstream *cinquecento* linguistic and literary theorists—that of the *lingua cortigiana*—was not nearly as heterogeneous as one might be inclined to believe either from the extent of contemporary debates or from the rich diversity of languages spoken in Italy at the time. In fact, this "mixed" courtly tongue was already highly standardised in practice by the middle of the fifteenth century, having evolved through the unification of several regional literary *koiné* that were, from their earliest use, quite distinct from the languages spoken by average citizens in their daily lives.[12]

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[8] Machiavelli's argument, its contested authorship, and its relationship to Dante's position are all detailed in Chapter 5 of William J. Landon, *Politics, Patriotism, and Language*, 69-110. Landon also provides a complete English translation of the *Discorso* (129-42) and a new critical edition of the Italian (167-78).

[9] Repr. Landon, *Politics*, 171.

[10] Bembo's central arguments are neatly summarised alongside Castiglione's in the previously cited excerpt from Diane Senior,"Il rapporto tra Bembo e Castiglione," 150-64.

[11] Most famously, of course, are the revisions of Manzoni's *I promessi sposi* and the official codification of the Italian language following unification. Important as these topics are to the history of language and dialect in Italy, they come far too late to enter into this discussion.

1.2 The Courtly Koiné

While Trissino (and Dante) both frame the *lingua cortigiana* as a mixture of the best of all regional tongues, from the time of its first appearance it was already entirely distinct from the languages spoken by the lower and middle classes in most parts of Italy.[13] Although written sources in this shared literary vernacular do exhibit some degree of diversity in orthography and lexicon, it is clear from contemporary sources that the most significant variation in the use of this language was a spoken one: the regionalised phonetic realisation of its mostly pan-regional, highly conservative graphic conventions.[14] This situation was the natural result of the particular kind of evolutionary pressure that was exerted on the *lingua cortigiana* through its position as the native language and primary means of informal communication for a highly mobile class of literate aristocrats and their highly educated chancellery officials, as opposed to the very different forces at work in the broader populace. Prominent families throughout the peninsula were in near constant communication, though frequent intermarriage, political and economic dealings, and through their participation at the Papal court, the specific environment which served as Dante's model.

The precise origin and trajectory of this common courtly language, has, however been the subject of some debate. Marcello Durante, writing in 1981, subscribes to a relatively traditional view:

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[12] The word *koiné* comes from Greek, and originally described the common literary language in the Hellenestic era, which was based largely on classical Attic with some admixture from other dialects. The origins and cultural status of *koiné* Greek are detailed in Geoffrey Horrocks, *Greek*, 80-84.

[13] This area coincides roughly with the modern *regioni* of Toscana, Umbria, le Marche, and the northern half of Lazio (including Rome). The group of local languages in this area, bounded at the north by the La Spezia-Rimini (or Massa-Senigallia) line and in the south by a somewhat less systematic group of isoglosses are often referred to as "Central Italian."

[14] Trissino discusses these variations in great detail in the above-cited letter to Clement VII, with particular attention to open and closed vowels in Tuscany and the northern cities and to the varying realisations of /z/ and /g/ in different contexts and regions.

> The *lingua cortigiana* represents the culmination of a tradition of cultivated, Latinising *volgare* […] This tradition arises in the thirteenth century and flourishes and begins to gel in the central and eastern regions of northern Italy, creating that relatively uniform linguistic body to which we've given the name *koiné padana* [i.e. of the Po valley].[15]

In locating the origins of the *koiné padana* in the thirteenth century, Durante is referencing the literary works of the so-called *scuola siciliana* from the court of Emperor Frederick II, which date from c. 1230-1250. Unfortunately, these works do not survive in their original language; the surviving collections were adapted by Tuscan scribes to more closely reflect local standards.[16] Even in their surviving form, however, they reflect considerable influence from both Provençal and chancellery Latin along with whatever basis they might have had in the local dialect around Messina, showing a high degree of linguistic syncretism and graphic conservatism involved even at this early stage of development for the Italian literary language.[17]

Maria Antonietta Grignani has rightly questioned the simplicity of this kind of narrative with regard to the northern *koiné*, noting a much greater variability in usage in those sources that do not have a distinctly trans-regional provenance, and the centuries-long persistence of a usage continuum that encompasses both the highly Latinising style of chancellery documents and the more private and locally-inflected forms used in diaries and private correspondence well into the sixteenth century.[18] By that time, however, the acceptable regional variations of the literary *volgare* were certainly no more severe or detrimental to mutual intelligibility than were regional variations of Latin in the same period, though they were operable in a smaller geographic area. In fact, a number of debates over the *questione della lingua* neatly paralleled debates over the proper use of Latin held by many of the very same figures.[19]

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[15] "La lingua cortigiana rappresenta il punto estremo di una tradizione di volgare colto latineggiante […] Questa tradizione insorge nel Duecento e fiorisce e tende a coesione nell' alte Italia centro-orientale, creando quella fisionomia linguistica relativamente uniforme a cui si dà il nome di koinè padana." Marcello Durante, *Dal latino all'italiano*, 155. Translation mine.

[16] This practice resulted in, among other things, the famous *rima siciliana*, whereby words that rhymed in Sicilian (e.g. *aviri* and *serviri*) but no longer rhymed in Tuscanising transcription (*avere* and *servire*) were permitted as a kind of artistic license.

[17] Further discussions of the literary *koinè* in this period can be found in Mirko Tavoni "Il Quattrocento," 47-55, Glauco Sanga, "La lingua lombarda," Paolo Bongrani and Silvia Morgana, "La Lombardia,"esp. 132-35, and Bruno Migliorini, *Storia della lingua italiana,* 130-37.

[18] Grignani, "Koinè nell'Italia settentrionale," 38-40.

The history of the literary *volgare* thus parallels that of Latin in two important ways: first, we lack attestation of the common vernacular forms that led to the modern Italian dialects in much the same way that we lack attestation of the Vulgar Latin forms that developed into the modern Romance languages. In both cases we are left with rarefied literary forms that expressly ignore the language of the local majority in the interest of intelligibility by elites from different regions. Second, both languages became subject to a new kind of pressure from the middle of the fifteenth century, at which point attempts at linguistic standardisation gained new importance as the advent of print presented the opportunity not only for widespread diffusion of texts, but for a kind of centralised control over standard practices that would have been unprecedented in manuscript culture.

1.3 Languages and Dialects

In the middle of the fifteenth century, the proportion of the population who were actually able to participate in vernacular literary activity was quite small, and in fact in most places would have been nearly identical to the proportion of the population able to participate in Latin literary activity. The vast expansion of literacy and access to vernacular literature that accompanied the invention of the printing press thus carried with it an equally vast expansion in familiarity and proficiency with a language that had, in a very real sense, formerly been the preserve of a much more exclusive minority. The popularization and adoption of this idiom by the middle classes over the course of the sixteenth century consequently caused it to function as a kind of linguistic and cultural wedge, simultaneously further elevating the use of Latin and debasing the use of the other spoken languages of the Italian peninsula.

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[19] Bembo, for example, advocated strict Ciceronian Latin in much the same way as he argued for strict *trecento* Tuscan, while other figures favoured different canons of classical and later sources.

It is only after the widespread adoption of literary language by a larger proportion of the population that one can really begin to speak of Italian *dialects* rather than parallel languages or idioms, because it is only with the establishment of a widespread normative linguistic model that deviance or inferiority can be perceived or implied. So long as the *lingua cortigiana* remained the common language of a small group of highly mobile aristocrats, its isolation from the linguistic variety of the populace allowed it to continue to exist as a single language. It was only with the advent of mass culture that its acquisition and use could become aspirational for large segments of the public not born into it, at the expense of their own native tongues.

The Yiddish linguist Max Weinreich, pointing out the arbitrary distinction between the terms "language" and "dialect," popularised the maxim, "a language is a dialect with an army and a navy."[20] In the case of literary Italian, whose existence predates the existence of a pan-Italian state and whose origins lie more in the cultural power of the social elite than in the political power of a centralised nation state, the maxim is perhaps better reformulated as a language being a dialect with a grammar, a dictionary, and a body of highly-valued literature. It was, after all, the cultural power of Petrarch, Boccaccio, and other writers—rather than the political power or influence of the Florentine state—that was primarily responsible for the nearly universal adoption of Tuscanising orthography in the literary *koiné*. Later on, this process was further solidified by the cultural power of figures like Leon Battista Alberti, who wrote the first grammar of the Tuscan language in 1442, and Pietro Bembo, who exerted control over the linguistic choices of the Venetian press.[21] Lastly, it was cultural rather than political power that supported the dicta of the Accademia della Crusca, who from their foundation in 1547 served as a kind of *Académie française* for the Tuscan literary standard, going on to produce the first comprehensive dictionary in 1612.[22]

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[20] This phrase was originally coined by a member of the audience at a speech Weinreich gave in 1944-45, a transcript of which (in Yiddish) was printed in *YIVO Bleter* 25 (1945). It has since appeared in too many places to count.

[21] This can be contrasted with the situations in France and England, where the centralised power of the monarchy lent both political and cultural weight to the local idioms of their respective capitals. A more analogous situation can be found in the case of the Luther Bible, which served a similar function in the standardisation of literary German long before the existence of a German state. A good concise history of the standardisation of Italian, especially post-unification, can be found in Robert Hall, "Language, Dialect, and 'Regional Italian'."

It follows, then, that in *cinquecento* Italy the notion of the dialect also came to be determined by cultural rather than political, military, or economic power. Those dialects which lacked the cultural prestige of the aristocracy, a strong literary history, and the backing of the press came to be viewed as less refined, less desirable, and generally less valuable than dialects that enjoyed one or more of these. Dialects and modes of speech can in fact be classified along a prestige continuum based on these factors, and where one or more of them are present in a given cultural environment, their usage will be governed by the position they occupy on this continuum.

1.4 Acrolect, Mesolect, Basilect

In the twentieth century, the pioneering sociolinguist Charles Ferguson introduced a new system of nomenclature meant to describe just the sort of linguistic system that existed in Renaissance Italy—that is, a layered system in which divergent modes of speech are used in particular and well defined social situations and practices, which he termed *diglossia*.[23] Ferguson initially describes *diglossia* as a situation where "two or more varieties of the same language are used by some speakers of a speech community under different conditions."[24] These two varieties are then differentiated in terms of high speech, or *acrolect*, which is used in certain formal or public situations, and low speech, or *basilect*, which is used primarily in informal situations.[25] The degree to which these varieties differ from one another can vary: they may require minor shifts in grammar, vocabulary, or accent (as in English), or they may be mutually unintelligible and thus require formal instruction to acquire fluency (as in Arabic, Ferguson's example). However much they might be differentiated, the key element of a diglossic system is that the two idioms are assigned to different cultural spheres, allowing for their stable co-existence in a population without one overtaking or displacing the other.

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[22] Hall, 95. As Hall notes, this was the first of the great 17th- and 18th-century dictionary projects for the modern European languages.

[23] See Ferguson, "Diglossia." While Ferguson was the first to use the term in English, it was previously used in French (*diglossie*) by the philologist Ioannis Psycharis in writings promoting the Demotic version of the Greek language (which replaced the antiquated Katharevousa as official state language in 1974) and by the French Arabist William Marçais to describe the linguistic situation of the Maghreb. Psycharis himself borrowed the term from Emmanuel Rhoides, who appears to have been the first to use the term in Greek (διγλωσσία) in his 1885 work *Parerga*. A detailed history is provided by Félix-Lambert Prudent, "Diglossie et interlecte," 14-17.

[24] Ferguson, "Diglossia," 325.

[25] For more on acrolect/basilect and their relationship to standardisation, see Milroy, "Language Ideologies."

While Ferguson recognised in his initial article that some multilingual societies exhibited similar behaviours to diglossic ones, he elected not to discuss them in order to focus on instances of social variation within the same language.[26] The first to explore the possibility multilingual diglossia more thoroughly was Joshua Fishman, first in a 1965 discussion of multilingual populations, and then in a 1967 article in which he directly compares these situations to the diglossia discussed by Ferguson in his original article.[27] The first of Fishman's articles opens with a hypothetical example that is helpful in demonstrating how a process resembling diglossia can govern language choice in a multilingual society.[28]

In this example, a Belgian government functionary speaks standard French at his office in Brussels, standard Dutch at his private club, and his home-town variety of Flemish at home with his wife.[29] In each case, Fishman notes, the official is identifying himself with a different group to which he belongs, or to which he aspires to belong (Government official, Flemish, native of village X). However, these borders are not impermeable: at times he may find himself speaking Dutch at his office, such as with another native Dutch speaker, or French at his club or at home. Most often, Fishman explains, these shifts in language will relate to which identity is most salient for a given conversation topic. For example, he may be tempted to switch to French when discussing his work, or to speak in his village dialect upon encountering a childhood friend at the club.[30]

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[26] Ferguson, "Diglossia," 325. The notion of "same" language is, however, quite problematic when discussing the kind of mutually unintelligible variants one finds in Arabic.

[27] Fishman, "Who Speaks What Language to Whom and When?" and "Bilingualism with and without Diglossia."

[28] Fishman, "Who Speaks," 68-72.

[29] Fishman does not, for the purposes of his analogy, distinguish between Belgian standard Flemish and standard Dutch.

The situation of the Belgian official Fishman describes can also be considered a case of *triglossia*, in the sense that it operates on three distinct levels rather than two. In such cases the space between the acrolect (in this case French, the language of government) and the basilect (small-town Flemish) is filled in by a mesolect (standard Dutch) that is used in neutral (i.e. unofficial but non-intimate) social situations.[31] This is the linguistic structure that most closely resembles that of Renaissance Italy, where widespread participation in the print culture caused literary Italian to fill in this mesolectic space between Latin (language of international high culture, religion, and scientific pursuit) and the various local idioms used for more quotidian affairs.

As in the case of Fishman's fictional Belgian, a Venetian state official or academician of the sixteenth century would have often found his linguistic register changing according to the cultural sphere in which he was operating: he might use Latin when engaging in humanistic scholarship or dealing with church or diplomatic officials, literary Italian when reciting poetry in a salon, and Venetian when out drinking with his friends. Of course, as Fishman's article goes on to point out, the situation is actually much more complex than such a simple scheme might indicate. Numerous contextual factors determine language choice in a given situation, and real instances of triglossia can involve frequent switching between registers. Our fictional Venetian might, for example, freely switch between Latin, Italian, and Venetian in a single conversation in order to directly report the speech or another person, to use an established turn of phrase, or to make up for a lexical or terminological gap in what might otherwise be the preferred choice.[32]

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[30] As Fishman notes (p. 69), the interaction between group identity, interlocutor, location, and subject matter is often very complex and it is often difficult to suss out in a given conversation which of these is most in play.

[31] Note that since the time of Fishman's writing, Flemish has gained significant prestige in Belgium relative to French, which can no longer be considered a clear acrolect.

[32] These and other reasons are given by Fishman, 69-72. More recent work on this topic has been done by Alessandro Duranti and Charles Goodwin in the introduction to their collection *Rethinking Context* (1-43), and by Mary Bucholtz and Kira Hall, in "Language and Identity."

Since, as mentioned previously, the stability of any di- or triglossic system relies to a great extent on non-overlapping spheres of usage, the introduction of a mesolect requires that either the acrolect or the basilect (or both) cede to it certain cultural spheres. Since these will tend to be the least prestigious uses of the acrolect and the most prestigious uses of the basilect, we find a situation in which the acrolect grows increasingly rarefied and prestigious while the basilect is edged out of respectable public life. It is at this point that a given local idiom (the basilect) begins to be seen as a dialect: a corrupt or otherwise inadequate version of the linguistic ideal represented by the meso- or acrolect.

1.5 Benedetto Croce and the *Letteratura dialettale riflessa*

In 1927 the Italian philosopher Benedetto Croce published an influential essay on the literary use of dialect, in which he distinguished between what he called *letteratura dialettale spontanea* (or *popolare*)—dialect literature which arose "spontaneously" out of popular culture or traditions—and what he termed *letteratura dialettale riflessa* (or *d'arte*), which comes about through deliberate engagement with the high style.[33] For Croce, such distinction becomes possible only in the moment that a literary standard becomes widely accepted or codified: the "so-called ancient monuments of Italian *volgari* which precede or are still more or less independent of the domain of Florentine literature" he writes, "are not properly dialectical, in so much as each could have arisen as a national literature had Italian history proceeded differently, and the Kingdoms of Sicily or of Naples, of the Republic of Venice or Milan had formed autonomous cultural centres like Portugal or (to a degree) Catalonia did on the Iberian peninsula."[34] For his part, Croce places the beginning of this phenomenon in the seventeenth century, presumably to accord with the 1612 publication of the Accademia della Crusca's first dictionary of the Italian language, but later writers have expanded Croce's timeframe to include much of the sixteenth century, and even fifteenth-century *koiné*.[35]

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[33] Croce, "La letteratura dialettale riflessa," 357-58.

[34] "...i cosidetti monumenti antichi o antichissimi dei volgari italiani, antecedenti o ancora più o meno indipendenti dal dominio della letteratura fiorentina...non sono propriamente dialettali, tanto che si sarebbero potute svolgere ciascuna come letteratura nazionale, se la storia d'Italia avesse seguito vie diverse da quella che seguì, e il regno di Sicilia e quello di Napoli e la repubblica di Venezia e il comune di Milano avessero formato centri culturali autonomi, come il Portogallo, e in parte la Catalogna, nella penisola iberica." Croce, "La letteratura dialettale riflessa,"357.

Croce's most important argument, however, is that *letteratura dialettale riflessa* is intended not in any kind of reactionary sense of resistance to Tuscan linguistic and literary domination, but rather the integration of dialect into mainstream literary traditions.[36] This desire is evidenced, he argues, in the many dialect "translations" or adaptations of classic Tuscan literature that were produced in the seventeenth century: literary and linguistic unification though emulation.[37] This argument is echoed by Hermann Haller in his recent work on the Italian dialects' respective literary canons: emulation of the most revered Tuscan poetry served not only as training ground for dialect poets, but as a means of celebrating and popularising those works that formed the central literary canon.[38] To this end, Haller argues, the language employed in those works was often at least partially hybridised: a constructed literary code mediating between Tuscan and dialect rather than a precise reflection of a given region's spoken language.[39] In the case of Venetian, phonological and grammatical conservatism make the construction of this literary code highly dependent on the lexicon: an author may have a choice in a given situation between employing a vocabulary item shared with Tuscan or employing a local synonym in its stead. Such choices are particularly salient in dialect parodies of well-known works, as they may or may not coincide with departures from the model in meaning or register.

Croce's model is well-suited to discussion of musical style as well as to language. Just as we might consider folk songs or other oral traditions outside the high style to belong to a kind of *musica dialettale spontanea*, so too can we consider works that take on the contrapuntal trappings of the high style to be a kind of *musica dialettale riflessa*. Furthermore, just as Croce notes that dialect literature need not necessarily be anti-Tuscan in its valorisation of the local vernacular, neither must dialect music always be subversive, satirical, or otherwise in opposition to prevailing musical norms or notions of good taste. This is not to say, of course, that such cases do not exist nor even that they are not plentiful in the dialect repertoire. Rather, Croce's model serves as a helpful tonic to the traditional perception of dialect song as "light" or unserious music on purely linguistic grounds, and encourages a view of dialect music on a continuum that overlaps and engages with prestige genres like the madrigal. Thus while dialect songs, like dialect poetry and theatre, often took as their purview those topics which were unfit for the elevated treatment of the literary language—the subversive, the silly, the sexual, and the scatological—they were not, as numerous examples in this dissertation will show, by any means limited to these expressive realms.

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[35] On this v. Paolo Trovato, *Storia della lingua italiana*, 134-36; Mirko Tavoni, *Il Quattrocento*, 141-57.

[36] Croce, "La letteratura dialettale riflessa," 358.

[37] Croce, "La letteratura dialettale riflessa," 359-60.

[38] Haller, *The Other Italy*, 35-37.

[39] Haller, *The Other Italy*, 31-32.

1.6 A Note on the Term "Dialect"

The terms "language" and "dialect" are often historically and culturally loaded, and it is therefore necessary that I describe exactly how I intend to use them in this dissertation. Most importantly, I wish to stress that my use of these terms is not in any circumstance meant to express any kind of value judgement as to the inherent superiority or inferiority of a given language or its speakers, whether these systems are distinguished primarily on geographical or socio-cultural terms. In this dissertation I will use the word "dialect" in its most common colloquial sense as a catch-all to describe linguistic varieties that are closely related to, yet distinct from, the large-scale literary standard language in common use in a given geographical area.[40] When referring to geographically distinct language varieties (individual dialects) I will generally use the geographic adjective alone (e.g. Venetian, Neapolitan), or when necessary for the sake of clarity, use the words "language," or "language group" (e.g. the Milanese language, the Central Italian language group).[41] When referring to other linguistic variation within these geographically distinct speech communities, I will use the word "variety" in conjunction with other relevant descriptors unless the variety in question has a proper name associated with it in the literature.[42]

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[40] The geographical area need not coincide precisely with current political borders or national languages. In my usage, "Italian dialects" would include Niçois (part of the Ligurian group of Gallo-Romance languages) or Ticinese (part of the Lombard group) even though Nice and Ticino are not in Italy, but exclude Griko (a form of Greek) or Walser (a form of German) despite being spoken within the modern borders of Italy.

[41] This is in contrast to the common colloquial usage of "dialect" when referring to a specific linguistic variety in both English and Italian, e.g. "Neapolitan dialect" or "dialetto napoletano."

Because I am focusing a great deal on Venice and the linguistic situation within the Venetian empire, it is also necessary to describe a number of common terms that appear in the literature regarding these languages in order to avoid confusion. The most common Italian term for the language spoken in Venice and its environs is *veneto* or *lingua veneta.* Though this term is often used to refer to the Venetian language, it technically includes a number of local languages in the Veneto region such as Paduan and Veronese. When the language of the city itself is specified, it is often called *veneto lagunare* or *veneziano lagunare*.[43] Because I find this terminology to be occasionally confusing in its lack of precision I will refrain from using it in my own writing, but I will specify the source terminology in any translations I make from Italian that make use of it.

This specificity of nomenclature is also important because it helps to delimit the bounds of this project. When discussing Venetian-language music, I do not mean all music in the *lingua veneta*, even though this term is commonly used to refer to the language of Venice. Rather, I am deliberately excluding music in other languages of the Veneto such as Paduan and Veronese in order to narrow the focus on a particular civic environment and the self-perception of its inhabitants.

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[42] These varieties might result from a number of social or cultural causes, including social class, professional jargon, or immigration and second language acquisition, e.g. Greek Venetian (Venetian as spoken by native speakers of Greek), *lingua todesca* (literary Italian as spoken by stereotyped Germans). When using a proper name to refer to a particular language variety I will always define it for the reader., e.g. Cockney (English as traditionally spoken by working-class inhabitants of the East End of London), Polari (a variety of English spoken originally by travelling theatre groups, later used as a kind of cant by Queer communities in the early-to-mid twentieth century).

[43] The exact grouping of Veneto languages is still a matter of discussion among dialectologists, but Alberto Zamboni gives the following: *il veneziano lagunare* (including the city of Venice, Mestre, Chioggia, and other areas), *il veneto centrale* (Padua, Bassano, Vicenza, and elsewhere), *il veneto settentrionale* (Treviso, Feltro, Belluno), *il veneto occidentale* (Verona), *il veneto coloniale* (mainly the Adriatic coast, Trieste, Udine). See Zamboni, *Le caratteristiche essenziali dei dialetti veneti,* 12. Ronnie Ferguson discusses the relationships between Veneto dialects in *A Linguistic History of Venice,* 64-68.

1.7 The Special Status of Venetian

In the first sections of this chapter I described the overall linguistic situation on the Italian peninsula with particular attention to debates over the question of a unified literary language, and the origin of the *lingua cortigiana* a kind of aristocratic *koiné* that linguistically united the highly mobile cultural élites of the various Italian city-states. The unique political situation of Venice, however, encouraged a somewhat different linguistic trajectory during this period and accounts for the much stronger retention of the Venetian language among the cultural élites of *la Serenissima* than can be observed in most of the other important political and cultural centres of the period.

Venice, as the only one of the major Italian city-states to lack an urban Roman past, rose to prominence instead during the Middle Ages through its remarkable economic and mercantile successes, attracting a wide variety of immigrants to the relative safety and prosperity of its constituent islands, encouraging the development of an early spoken *koiné*, a situation that is likely at least partly responsible for lagunar Venetian's conservatism and similarity to other languages on the other side of the La Spezia-Rimini line.[44] Furthermore, the political structure of Venice as a republic dominated by a large patrician class rather than a single ruling family allowed the local language to gain a stronger and more stable foothold in government, administration, and cultural production than elsewhere.

The Venetian language can also be viewed as an essential element of the so-called Myth of Venice, the Republic's self-conception as the paragon of liberty, civic virtue, and domestic harmony.[45] While Renaissance theorists of language were not in complete agreement as to the origins of vernacular speech—some, like Castelvetro, posited an unchanged vernacular as the language of the ancient Roman lower classes—most agreed that they were the result of some admixture of Latin with the languages of barbarian invaders.[46] The mythical origin of Venice as a haven for refugees following the barbarian sack of Aquileia and the city's subsequent resistance to foreign invasion thus provided a plausible mechanism by which the Most Serene Republic could be seen not only as the political and metaphorical heir to Rome, but as the literal embodiment of the *vox populi*. Certainly lagunar Venetian's phonetic and grammatical conservatism—and thus greater similarity to Latin compared to most other Italian dialects—would have contributed to this sense of unbroken cultural and linguistic tradition.

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[44] Ronnie Ferguson, "From Proto-language of State," 162-63.

[45] A larger discussion of the social and political context of the myth can be found in Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual*, 1-23.

[46] Robert Hall, "Linguistic Theory," 103-104.

Such associations between the Venetian language and the city's mythical past also provide a rather different cultural lens through which to view Molino's *lingua greghesca*, described in more detail in the next section. Rather than simply providing a literary representation of the large population of ethnic Greeks in *cinquecento* Venice or the city's ongoing commercial and colonial interests in the Eastern Mediterranean, it can be seen as a much stronger expression of the Venetian *Stato da Mar* as a modern incarnation of the Eastern Roman Empire. Molino's Greek sailors speak Venetian because they *are* Venetians: Venice's Greek holdings were as territorially and culturally integral to the Republic as the Eastern Empire was to Rome.

Along these lines, it is surely no coincidence that Molino himself referred to his Greek ethnolect of the Venetian language as "nostra rumeca linga" in the introduction to the *Primo libro delle greghesche*.[47] The Venetian word *rumeca* (more commonly *romeca*), meaning "Greek," is itself derived from the Greek demonym *romeki* (*ρωμαίκη*). Originally meaning "Roman," it was used by the Byzantines to refer to themselves as citizens of the Roman Empire, and with the collapse of the Western Empire the meaning of the word shifted accordingly, since only the Greek-speaking Romans were left to serve as the word's natural referents. The reclamation of the term to refer to the Venetian language as spoken by citizens of its eastern territories thus reaffirmed the special status of Venice among other Italian city-states as linguistic, cultural, and political heir not only to Latin Aquileia, but also to Greek Constantinople.[48] The *strathioti* may even have been intended as a Venetian analogue of the *akrites* of medieval Byzantine epics, courageous knights who guarded the frontiers against barbarian incursion.[49]

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[47] The full text of the dedication, with translation, can be found in Appendix B.

[48] I return to this argument and elaborate further upon the role of the *greghesche* as signifiers of a specifically Venetian cultural identity in Chapter 4, esp. sections **4.1**, **4.5**, & **4.6**.

The special status and significance of the Venetian language in Venice must, therefore, be taken into account in any discussion or analysis of its use in *cinquecento* cultural production. It cannot be regarded, as it often has been, as merely one among many equivalent dialects meant to represent the speech of ordinary or uneducated people. Rather, due to its unique history and close association with the central mythology of the state, it must be viewed on a level closely approximating that of the *lingua cortigiana* employed in other major cultural centres, and therefore also to be in similar conflict with the *fiorentino aureo* advocated by Bembo and his followers as a replacement standard in the first decades of the sixteenth century. Failure to do so risks a fundamental misunderstanding of the cultural significance of the aesthetic choice to employ Venetian rather than another language in a given work.

1.8 Primary Characteristics of Venetian and its Sub-varieties.

While a comprehensive discussion of the linguistic varieties of the Italian peninsula is far beyond the scope of this dissertation, I will provide a brief overview of the way these languages are categorized in order to appropriately situate the Venetian language with respect to the other spoken vernaculars of the peninsula, and then briefly explain how the unique political structure of Venice allowed the Venetian language to maintain a special kind of priority over other regional languages in the face of the growing standardisation of the literary language.[50]

The Romance languages spoken on the Italian peninsula are most frequently divided along the so-called La Spezia-Rimini line, which separates the Italo-Dalmatian languages (which include standard Italian, Corsican, Sicilian, and the now-extinct Dalmatian) from the other Western Romance languages (which include Spanish, Portuguese, Catalan, French, Provençal, and the

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[49] For the *akrites*, these were the Turks; for the *strathioti*, these would have been rival states on the *terra ferma*, as they were normally employed in wars among the city-states and not against the Ottoman Empire.

[50] The best concise description of the linguistic features of Venetian and its classification within the larger Romance/Italian context can be found in Ronnie Ferguson, *A Linguistic History of Venice,* 52-63.

North Italian languages). Among the most important differences between these groups is the formation of the plural: Italo-Dalmatian languages (like other Eastern Romance languages) generally followed the Latin nominative plural, (-i, ae) whereas Western Romance languages generally followed the Latin accusative plural (-os, -as).

The Northern Italian languages are in turn split between the Gallo-Italic group (which includes Niçois, Piedmontese, Lombard, and Emiliano-Romagnolo) and the Venetian (Veneto) group. The Veneto languages, and Venetian in particular, distinguish themselves from the Gallo-Italic group primarily through their conservatism. The linguist Ronnie Ferguson attributes such conservatism to an early process of koineisation that occurred in Venice thanks to a large influx of migrants from many different areas during the medieval period.[51] Thus, compared to the Gallo-Italian languages with which they share the Po Valley, Veneto languages tend to retain the nominative plural common to the Italo-Dalmatian languages, lack the front-rounded vowels that characterise languages such as Piedmontese and Lombard (e.g. Lombard *la lün*, "the moon"), exhibit less pronounced lenition of most intervocalic consonants, and retain more unstressed final vowels (particularly in the lagunar varieities).[52] While Gallo-Italic languages render Latin /kt/ as /jt/ or /tʃ/, Veneto languages simplify to /t/ (c.f. Venetian *lat*, Piedmontese *laït*, Lombard *lacc* (pron. latʃ), Italian *latte*, "milk").[53]

Veneto languages also share a distinctive lenition of Latin /k/ before /e/ and /i/. Like other Gallo-Romance languages, this palatalised /tʃ/ is normally reduced to the unvoiced sibilant /s/ (c.f. Venetian *bàso*, Catalan *bes*, Italian *bacio*, "kiss"), but a similar process also occurs for voiced /g/ (c.f. Venetian *zorno*, French *jour*, Italian *giorno*, "day"). In cases of gemination it is rendered instead as /ts/ (c.f. Venetian *fazza*, Emilian *facc* (pron. fatʃ), French *face*, Italian *faccia*, “face”). Lastly, most Veneto dialects share a marked lenition of /l/, though the precise nature of the lenition varies widely within the region. Current orthography indicates this variation with the character *Ł*, frequently pronounced /j/ when not elided altogether. This last phonetic feature is not commonly represented in Renaissance print sources, and may be a more recent development.

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[51] Ronnie Ferguson, "From Proto-language of State," 162-63.

[52] Lenition is a process whereby a consonant or cluster is "softened" or made more sonorous (e.g. voiced or made into a vowel) due to its phonological context. Lenition has occured in English for words like "light" and "brought," where the /gh/ has been weakened from the original palatal and merged into the vowel. Lenition is also present in American English vs. British English for words like "latter" (pron. *ladder* in Am. Eng.) or "winter" (often pron. *winner*).

[53] Phoneme and pronunciation examples are given as IPA equivalents, full words are given in native orthography.

Because of this relative conservatism compared to other Northern Italian languages, lagunar Venetian can—barring differences in vocabulary—be easily understood by a speaker of modern Standard Italian. A number of regular phonological differences between Standard Italian and Venetian are summarised in the **Table 1.1**.

Standard Italian	**Venetian**	**Example: It / Ven**	**Meaning**
/kj/	/tʃ/	chiaro / ciaro	clear, light
/gj/	/dʒ/	ghiaccio / giazzo	ice
/tʃ/	/s/	bacio / baso	kiss
/ttʃ/	/ts/	faccia / faz(z)a	face
/dʒ/	/z/	bugia / buxìa	lie (untrue statement)
/ddʒ/	/dz/	aggiornare / azornar	update
/ʎ/	/j/ or /dʒ/	voglia / voja oglio / ogio	desire oil
/gw/	/v/	guarda / varda	look
/wo/	/o/	uovo / ovo	egg
past participles -ato/a, -uto/a, -ito/a	-a(o), -u(o/a), -i(o/a)	mangiato / magnà(o) finito / finìo	ate finished
geminal consonant	single consonant	fritto / frito marmellata / marmelà	fried jam

Table 1.1: *Summary of regular phonological differences between lagunar Venetian and modern standard Italian.*

This table is not meant to serve as an exhaustive catalogue, but rather as a point of reference for the reader of this dissertation when engaging with the many Venetian-language texts included in the following chapters. The variety of Venetian represented in **Table 1.1** can be considered, in the absence of any true grammatical or orthographic standard, at the very least emblematic of the presentation of the "unmarked" language in Renaissance sources: in other words, it is meant to represent as closely as possible the linguistic production of native-born speakers of the language.[54]

A marked variety of the language, by contrast, would contain specific features that are strongly associated with particular sub-group or class of speakers. For the purposes of this dissertation only one marked variety of Venetian will prove especially important, and thus merits some discussion in this section: the so-called *greghesco* or *rumeca linga* primarily employed by the Venetian poet and playwright Antonio Molino in his literary and theatrical representations of ethnic Greeks speaking the Venetian language.

As we might expect, this ethnolect contains a number of features that distinguish it from the unmarked variety of the language presented above. These differences are primarily phonological, and the philologist Lucia Lazzerini has written that they are in fact generally consistent with the phonetic system of Modern Greek.[55] Starting from a base of "unmarked" Venetian as described above, Molino consistently employs several specific changes in order to render the sound of the accent on the page, seen in **Table 1.2** on the next page. In addition to these phonetic changes, Molino also employs occasional grammatical errors—primarily in gender agreement—meant to represent an imperfect command of the language on the part of non-native speakers. Lastly, he also occasionally substitutes Venetian vocabulary with equivalent Greek terms, especially in cases where these terms are likely to be known to an

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[54] An excellent and concise description of the overall characteristics of Venetian can be found in Alberto Zamboni, "Le caratteristiche essenziali dei dialetti veneti."

[55] The precise correspondences are given in more detail by Lazzerini, "'Il 'greghesco' a Venezia," 52-66. Further discussion of the language and its attendant literature can be found in Louis Coutelle, *Le greghesco*. Molino and his works form the primary topic of Chapter 4 of this dissertation. Several works employing the *lingua greghesca* are also discussed in Chapter 2, esp. **2.3**, **2.4**, **2.6**, & **2.7**.

Consonants		**Example**
nt > nd	Few exceptions. Corresponds to equivalent shift of tau in Modern Greek.	mente > mende (mind)
lt > ld	Few exceptions.	altro > aldro (another)
nk > ng	For hard /c/. Cluster /nk/ does not exist in Greek.	manco > mango (lack)
mp > mb	Few exceptions.	tempo > tembo (time)
Vowels		
é > i	Unaccented syllables only.	servire > serviri (serve)
ó > u	Unaccented syllables only.	cortesia > curtesia (courtesy)
(q)u > c[Ø]	Also exists in some Veneto dialects.	questo > chesto (this)
Words		
mi > mél ti > tél	Indirect objective case of 1st and 2nd person singular pronouns. Probable contraction of indirect pronoun with direct object, e.g. "te lo."	
(ch)é > (ch)jé	Yod follows palatal /ch/ in the interro-gative/correlative con-junction "che." This may indicate pronunciation of /ch/ as a palatal fricative (Greek χ) rather than a stop.	
più > plio	Possible analogy to Greek "pleion" (many).	

Table 1.2: *Summary of phonetic shifts in the Greek ethnolect of Venetian, as represented in the works of Antonio Molino.*

educated Venetian audience and thus unlikely to impede understanding: *psicchì* (*ψυχή*) instead of *mente* (mind), *chyrazza* (*κυρατζα*) rather than *signora* (lady), and *paracalossè* (*παρακαλώ σε*) instead of *ti prego* (please/I beg you).

Even with these changes, however, the *lingua greghesca* as employed by Molino is clearly recognisable as an ethnically marked variety of lagunar Venetian and not of other Veneto dialects or of literary Italian. This is to be expected, given the importance of the language not only to its native speakers in the city itself, but also due to its role as the language of administration for the *Stato da Mar*, Venice's overseas holdings in Istria, Dalmatia, and Greece. As I will demonstrate in Chapter IV of this dissertation, this choice forms an essential part of the specifically Venetian and anti-peninsular cultural signification that these works were designed to invoke.

1.9 A Note on Translating Dialect

Nowhere is the risk of such misinterpretation stronger than in the act of translating dialect works so as to render them accessible to those without the linguistic competency to engage critically with the original text. Longstanding cultural bias against nonstandard usage, thanks to the influence of widespread public education and the emergence of mass media in the last century, has resulted in a widespread sense that dialect is, at best, suited only to humorous or satirical pursuits.[56] This attitude is pernicious not only in the most obvious sense that it is grounded in particular classist notions of linguistic and cultural superiority, but also in that it can lead modern scholars to project a sense of humour or satire onto works that were not intended as such by their creators, merely because such works employ nonstandard linguistic usages.

An example of this kind of projection and the dangers it poses to translation can be found in the following example from the recent modern edition of Antonio Molino's first book of madrigals, overseen by Linda Carroll, Anthony Cummings, and Phillip Weller.[57] The text, written in Molino's *rumeca linga*, constitutes the first two quatrains of a sonnet, and set by Molino in the first half of a two-part work:

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[56] Robert Hall, "Language, Dialect, and 'Regional Italian'," 95.

[57] I discuss the content of this volume, which sheds much light on Molino's *greghesca* project in general, in Chapter 4, esp. **4.4** & **4.6**. The full text for both *parti* and my own translation for it and selected other works in the volume can be found, along with the dedication, in Appendix C.

Perche de la vertù nol manchi gnende	So that nuttin' of vurtue will be lackin'
A mi Blessi nassuo per imparari	in me, Blessi, who was boin to loin,
Hò vulesto del musica brancari	I weeshed to undertook moosic
Anche'l so contrapunto si eccelende	and I eeven do sooch eexcellent coonterpoint
Del mio cervello fazzo e del mio mende	wit' my brain and my maind,
Versi dulc'e suavi e palicari	making verses sweet and suave and dashing
Thòra chie passo'l cronni settenari	now that I have accumulated more than seventy years
Chie me fa tutto bianc'e despussende	that make me all white and wilted.[58]

The strange eye-dialect in Carroll's translation is an attempt on her part to "reproduce the effect of the errors in Italian of Molino's text," as she explains in a corresponding footnote.[59] This is, as the preceeding sections should make clear, a misguided enterprise for myriad reasons. First and most obviously, Molino's text is in Venetian and not "incorrect" Italian. And while the text does represent the *greghesche*'s typical phonetic shifts along with a few grammatical errors in gender/number agreement meant to underline the speakers' non-native status, it does not diverge nearly so far from the norms of unmarked Venetian outlined in **Section 1.8** as Carroll's rendering does from Standard English.

Certainly one might expect that, in wishing to create a parallel effect for modern speakers of Standard English, Carroll might choose to borrow from an English dialect with similar connotations to that of Venetian. Such a choice—while it certainly poses problems of its own in the sense that no two dialects carry precisely the same cultural connotations with respect to their divergence from their respective standards—is often successfully employed in translations and localisations of popular media.[60] This is not, however, exactly what she has done. Rather, Carroll's translation blends together a somewhat outlandish combination of Brooklyn and

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[58] Caroll et al., *Delightful Madrigals*, 5 and 31. In addition to the objections raised here, I disagree somewhat with Carroll's interpretation of the penultimate line; v. Section **4.4**.

[59] Carroll et al., *Delightful Madrigals*, 31 n 85. On "eye-dialect," v. Ronald K. S. Macaulay "'Coz It Izny Spelt When They Say It'."

[60] Two notable examples of this practice include the Italian-language dub of "The Simpsons," in which the Scottish character of Groundskeeper Willie is rendered with a strong Sardinian accent, and, in a much more widely adopted practice, in English localisations of Japanese media in which the Osaka (Kansai) dialect is commonly rendered with either a Southern American or a New York/New Jersey accent.

Appalachian accents. Furthermore, the choice to employ unusual phonetic spellings even in cases where they do not affect pronunciation (e.g. "vurtue," "eeven," "maind") carries a very strong—and in this case entirely unwarranted—intimation of illiteracy on the part of the speaker. The poem is therefore made more consistent with the literary voice of a "negro" character from blackface minstrelsy: uneducated and somewhat buffoonish.

This rendering is very much at odds with the source text, which through its relatively faithful imitation of the linguistic usage of real-world speakers does not appear to be making the same kind of cultural commentary that Carroll has projected onto it with her translation. It is also at odds with what we know about the sort of people Molino most often employed this dialect to represent. The *strathioti*, Greek and Dalmatian mercenaries who often took on important leadership positions in the Venetian light cavalry, were not uneducated men: in fact, many wrote prodigiously in both Latin and Venetian, and a large number of their surviving writings were collected and published by the nineteenth-century Greek scholar Konstantinos Sathas in his multi-volume *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au Moyen Âge*.[61] While certainly Molino's theatrical use of the *strathioto* character Manoli Blessi would have relied upon some elements of satire and buffonery to make him a source of comedy, most evidence from his literary works suggests that the Blessi character was—like the Capitano of later comedies—mainly characterised by his swaggering bravado, and sometimes by his craftiness. This is certainly the case in the *Barzeletta de quattro compagni Strathiotti de Albania* (1570), which is primarily a tale of swashbuckling and adventure, as is the much longer Ariosto parody *I fatti e le prodezze di Manoli Blessi* (1561). Molino's relation of the 1571 Venetian loss of the city of Nicosia on Cyprus, furthermore, is a decidedly serious account of the battle and the following atrocities despite his publication of the text using the Blessi pseudonym and his corresponding employment of the *lingua greghesca* in the text.[62] The *strathioti* were thus certainly to be distinguished from the much more commonly uncouth and unlettered *bravi*—hired bodyguards and men-at-arms who were widely acknowledged to be little more than thugs.[63]

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[61] The collection was published in nine volumes in Paris from 1880-1890. Several volumes include writings by Venetian *strathioti*, including poetry and travelogues. Sathas also included in this publication most of Molino's surviving works, as he mistakenly believed Molino's Manoli Blessi character to have been a genuine historical person. Molino's writings and the Blessi character are discussed more fully in Chapter 4, esp. **4.4**.

Were one inclined to make a translation preserving the effect of Molino's use of Venetian, therefore, it would perhaps be far more appropriate to employ a language like Scots. This follows a tradition often used for translating the Doric dialect in Ancient Greek plays, and would be successful for similar reasons: it is close enough to Standard English to be understood with only minor glossing, its use in Edinburgh intellectual circles was in tension with English in a manner similar to the tension between Venetian and Florentine in Venice, and of course it carries with it similar associations with the military prowess of the Highland Regiments that Venetian would have carried with regard to its superior navy. Blessi, as a Greek Venetian, could even be rendered as a French Scot (the Auld Alliance) or perhaps as an Indian one in a Victorian context. Of course, even this option would not be precisely analogous to the one we find in the *greghesche*, and the risk that readers who are unable to engage directly with the source material might misunderstand the translator's intent in such a case is sufficiently great—what is this Scotsman doing in Venice, and why is he talking about Greece?—that it is probably best to translate the source material as faithfully and directly as possible into Standard English without making any other interpretive decisions on the readers' behalf.

This is the approach to translation I have taken for all texts in this dissertation, at least with respect to regional and ethnic variations. This approach is also helpful in distinguishing those passages which merely differ linguistically from the literary language and those which clearly differ registrally: in cases of vulgarity or bawdy humour I have attempted to find—where possible—equivalently bawdy or vulgar means of expression in English.[64] This difference is an important one, and one that is easily obscured by the use of an invented dialect like Carroll's, in which the unusual usages are essentially meant to signify a low and "incorrect" kind of register in the first place. Translations of dialect texts into Standard English also allow for consistency and ease of comparison in cases of intertextual relationships and parody, both of which occur frequently within this repertoire. Thus a poem in literary Italian and a dialect version of the same poem would differ in their English translations only to the extent that meaning or register—rather than grammar or pronunciation—have been changed. As the next section will show, the strong and intricate connections these works often have with others in the so-called high style are an important means to understanding their social significance. To project additional layers of signification onto these relationships through the use of nonstandard English or eye-dialect is therefore counter-productive to any attempt to engage with them on their own terms.

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[62] Molino [Manoli Blessi], *Il vero successo della presa di Nicosia in Cipro* (Venice: 1572). On the Cyprus War and its literary and musical representations, v. Iain Fenlon, "Old Testament Motets for the War of Cyprus."

[63] Chriscinda Henry, *Buffoons, Rustics, and Courtesans*, 75.

[64] Or if this is not possible, to explain the usage in a footnote.

1.10 Dialect Music

Italian dialect songs went by a number of names depending on the language they employed, although musically speaking the majority of the *villotte* and *villanelle*, *moresche* and *todesche, villanesche* and *giustiniane* shared a common propensity for fewer voices, simpler textures, and jaunty rhythms—a sort of affected musical naïveté meant to match their presumably unsophisticated origins in popular song and frequently risqué subject matter. This large and varied corpus of sixteenth-century dialect song has thus far been the subject of relatively little scholarly investigation. What scholarship has been done to date has mainly examined dialect works' relationship to the madrigal in terms of text and style, with some attention to particular instances of modelling and parody, particularly the adaptation of three-voice *napoletane* into four-voice works.[65] Due to the common perception by musicologists that the different varieties of dialect music in this period constituted "light" subgenres of the madrigal, few have approached these songs on their own terms without framing them in terms of their simplicity or inferiority in comparison to madrigalian norms, and none have seriously engaged the question of the social meaning of dialect music in this period.[66]

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[65] See in particular Cardamone, *The Canzone villanesca* and DeFord, "Musical Relationships" and "Marenzio and the *villanella*."

A first step on the road to understanding the purpose and significance of dialect music is, I think, understanding the sixteenth-century generic classifications of these works as set forth by music printers. This will aid in understanding how dialect genres relate to other genres of the period (including the madrigal), and these relationships will in turn help to elucidate the dynamics of cultural prestige at work in the Italian *triglossia* and the *letteratura dialettale riflessa.* It will provide a background framework that allows us to clearly see how Venetian-language works—and *only* Venetian-language works—frequently seem to defy many of the conventions that hold true for the rest of the dialect repertoire. I will further argue that the nature of the *triglossia* and contemporary perceptions of linguistic difference in the Renaissance make the traditional position among musicologists—that dialect genres constitute "low" (i.e. inferior) subgenres of the madrigal—completely untenable. Rather, it exposes this view as one born of nineteenth- and twentieth-century conceptions of dialects as (inferior) subcategories of the standard language.

In fact, dialect songs exist along a broad continuum that reaches from the "lowest" bawdy or ribald humour to levels of literary and musical sophistication that are practically indistinguishable from the "high" style of the madrigal. Furthermore, the perception of dialect genres as somehow subordinate subgroups of the category "madrigal" cannot be grounded in any historical system of generic classification.[67] Instead, it appears that Italian music printers went to considerable efforts to ensure that dialect songs were not included in titled collections of "madrigals."[68] This seems to indicate that—for Renaissance printers at least—the primary distinguishing characteristic between madrigals and dialect songs was linguistic rather than musical or stylistic.[69] Curiously, the only exceptions to this otherwise hard-and-fast rule involve three of the four prints that form the core repertoire discussed in this dissertation: in Antonio Molino's first book of madrigals (1568), three Venetian-language *gregghesche* appear without any indication of their linguistic divergence, and are stylistically consistent with the rest of the volume; Andrea Gabrieli explicitly refers to his compositions for Molino's 1564 anthology of *gregghesche* as "madrigali grechi"; Lodovico Agostini's 1567 *Bizzarre rime* are never explicitly called madrigals, but Agostini's first collection of Italian-language works was called his *second* book, with no other obvious (or extant) referents for a first book.[70]

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[66] Some discussion along these lines exists for other periods in music history, notably Hamberlin, *Tin Pan Opera*, to which I will return in the **Conclusions**.

[67] By this I mean any system of generic classification that seeks to be entirely consistent with the manner in which works were classified at the time of their composition and publication, or at least in so much as is possible, given the potential for conflicting classification in primary sources.

[68] If we are to take the output of the Gardano and Scotto presses to be emblematic of best practices among Italian music printers in the sixteenth century, there appear to be no instances in either Mary Lewis's catalogue of Gardano's output or Jane Bernstein's catalogue of Scotto's output in which a book of "madrigali" with no other genres mentioned in the title includes a piece with a text in any Italian

These exceptions are significant because, generally speaking, Italian music printers normally took great care to account for all kinds of linguistic and generic variation in their collections. They did so either by explicitly listing all the genres and/or languages present in a given publication on its title page, or by using individual rubrics to mark each work that diverged in any way from whatever was listed on the publication's title page. An example of the first practice can be seen in **Figure 1.1**, which reproduces the title page of Gardano's 1571 *Secondo libro delle villotte alla napoletana*, which makes explicit reference to the two *moresche* included in the volume. An example of the second practice can be seen in **Figure 1.2**, where Gardano has marked the appearance of the French chanson "Vous que voies" in Wert's fifth book of five-, six- and seven-voice madrigals (1583) with an explanatory rubric reading "Canzon Francesa." This is necessary precisely because the inclusion of a French chanson is not indicated elsewhere in the print, including the final "Tavola dei Madrigali."

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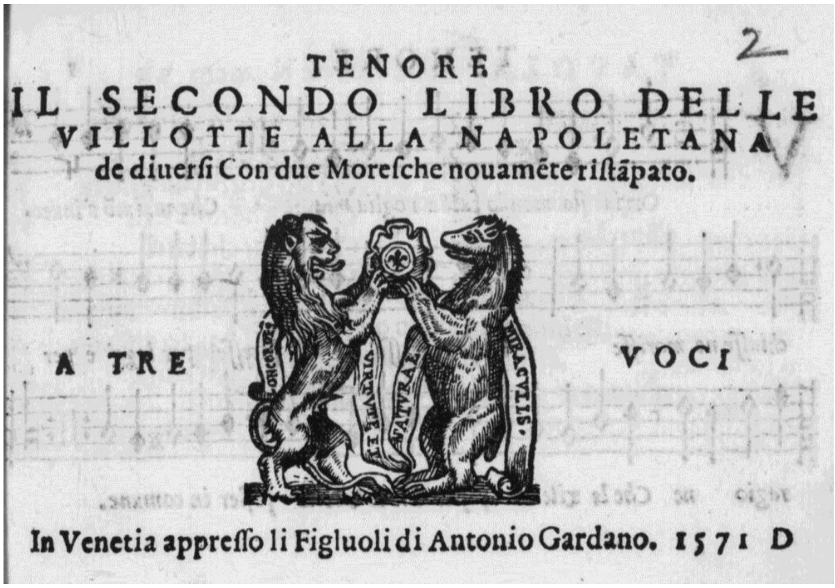
dialect. This observation is, however, limited to the first poetic line of each piece, and the possibility remains that linguistic ambiguity allows for some exception to this rule. See Bernstein, *Music Printing*, and Lewis, *Antonio Gardano*.

[69] There is of course also very frequently a difference in the number of voices between madrigals and dialect works, but there are sufficient examples of both three-voice madrigals and four- or more-voice dialect works to show that this distinction holds even in cases of overlap. For example, the *Madrigali a tre et arie napoletane*, which lacks a colophon, but which Donna Cardamone has connected to the Ferrarese outfit of Bulghat and De Campis c. 1547-51, again separates the madrigals and *napolitane* in two sections; v. ead., *The Canzone Villanescha*, 21-33.

[70] On Molino's madrigals, v. sections **4.2** and **4.4**; on Agostini v. sections **3.4** and **3.5**; on Gabrieli v. section **2.6**.



2

TENORE
IL SECONDO LIBRO DELLE
VILLOTTE ALLA NAPOLETANA
de diuerſi Con due Moreſche nouamẽte riſtãpato.

A TRE VOCI

In Venetia appreſſo li Figliuoli di Antonio Gardano. 1571 D

Figure 1.1: *Title page from Gardano's second anthology of three-voice* napoletane *(RISM B/I 1571*^{6}*). Note the specific reference to the two* moresche *contained in the collection. Image scanned from London, British Library 53.a.24 (2).*

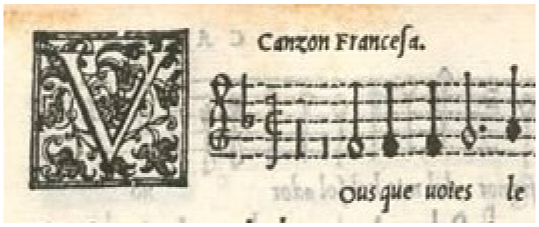


Figure 1.2*: Detail from Canto of Wert, "Vous que voies," in* Di Giaches de Wert il quinto libro de madrigali a cinque, sei, et sette voci *(Venice: Gardano, 1583; RISM A/I W879), 18. Note the rubric reading "Canzon Francesa." Image scanned from Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4 Mus.pr. 44.*[71]

Aside from the Venetian-language examples listed above, there are very few exceptions to this general practice of explicit linguistic demarcation, and those that do exist can generally be explained either through other indications within the print or by extenuating circumstances. Jan Nasco's first book of four-voice madrigals (1554) opens with four Latin-texted songs, but their rubrics (in Latin) note their correspondence to the seasons rather than their generic affiliation.

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[71] This collection has been made freely available online by the Bavarian State Library at http://stimmbuecher.digitale-sammlungen.de/view?id=bsb00075244.

Antonfrancesco Doni's *Dialogo della musica* (1544) accounts for the genres of its constituent works within the text of the dialogue rather than in the title or through the use of rubrics. A more exceptional case is Rore's fifth book of five-voice madrigals (1566), which contains three unmarked Latin-texted songs ("Musica dulci dono," "O socii," and a second setting of the latter text by Willaert) but these were removed by the Gardano press in their 1568 and 1574 reprints of the collection.[72] Due to the posthumous publication of the 1566 volume, their inclusion may thus have been motivated more by novelty and availability than any other factor. Critically, both "Musica dulci sono" and "O socii" appear again in a 1577 Gardano full-score print of all of Rore's four-voice madrigals, but even though the works are presented without their texts, they are relegated to the end of the volume on account of their original use of Latin.[73]

Based on this evidence, it appears that for Renaissance Italian music prints at least, differences in language correlate very highly with differences in generic labels, and these generic differences are important enough to require acknowledgement in any situation in which works belonging to different categories occupy the same collection. Given also that dialect works almost never appear unmarked in collections of madrigals, it seems especially clear that the different varieties of dialect music produced in the sixteenth century were not considered by printers to be subgenres of the madrigal—at least not for a definition of a subgenre along the lines of "any group of works that shares a generic classification with a larger distinctly named category of works, but which can be reasonably distinguished from the larger category on the basis of certain shared features."[74] Furthermore, due to the exceptional behaviour of Venetian-language works vis à vis this system of classification, it becomes necessary to investigate further the reasons why that particular repertoire should so frequently challenge established norms.

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[72] Mary Lewis, *Antonio Gardano,* 301-2.

[73] RISM A/I R2513. The copy held at Bologna, Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica, U.146 has been digitised and is freely available: http://imslp.org/wiki/Special:ImagefromIndex/111823

[74] A much more detailed discussion of genre and sub-genre in Renaissance music can be found in Julie Cumming, *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, 7-23.

1.11 Text, Language, and Genre

The fact that differences in language correlate so highly with differences in generic category shows that language was among the primary factors that determined genre for Italian Renaissance music printers. And indeed, if presented with a piece of Renaissance vocal music and then asked to identify its genre, it is rare that anyone now would start with anything but with the text. Is it Latin or Vernacular? Verse or prose? Pre-existing or newly written? In some cases, such as a setting of the Mass Ordinary, text alone is sufficient evidence to identify the broader generic category with nearly one hundred percent certainty. In fact, while the text alone would not be quite so helpful in determining certain subgenres of the mass (parody, chant paraphrase), the inclusion of the original text in a cantus firmus voice is a good example of a situation where text alone would allow for generic categorization with a great deal of specificity. In other cases, such as with *contrafacta*, a change in text (and usually language—from vernacular to Latin) is sufficient to re-categorize the very same music as belonging to an entirely different genre.

To take another example, a Parisian chanson and an early madrigal that are stripped of their respective texts tend to be very difficult to distinguish from one another on musical grounds alone, a fact that forms a crucial part of Fenlon and Haar's work on the origins of the latter genre.[75] This is of course not to say that two genres that share a common language, or even that two pieces that share a single text might not be otherwise distinguished on musical grounds.[76] I only mean to argue that, at least in sixteenth-century Italy, it was not possible for works in two different languages to be regarded as belonging to the same genre and labelled accordingly in a music print. With this in mind, it is possible to begin to build a functional model that shows the way language and text relate to genre in Renaissance vocal music. The purpose of constructing such a model is twofold: not only does a functional model for generic classification provide some insight into the norms and attitudes prevalent among the musically educated classes in sixteenth-century Italy, it also allows us to see where musical and cultural norms do or do not overlap.[77]

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[75] Fenlon and Haar, *The Italian Madrigal*, 15-45. The introduction (1-14) gives an excellent summary of the state of thought on the matter at the time of their writing.

[76] We would now scarcely be tempted to assign settings of the same Ariosto *ottava* by Bartolomeo Tromboncino and Jachet Berchem to the same genre, even if they shared certain musical features. C.f. Einstein and Rubsamen, who were tempted to link the origin of the madrigal to the frottola at least partly on the basis of a linguistic commonality that belied their different geographical orientations in Florence and farther north, respectively. Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal* vol. 1, 34-57; Rubsamen, "From Frottola to Madrigal." Fenlon and Haar address this in the Introduction to *The Italian Madrigal,* 6-7.

To build this model, we must determine a number of rules that govern the way genres were determined by *cinquecento* music printers, and then use these rules to generate a hierarchy for generic classification based on common traits. The result of such a hierarchical classification system might be represented graphically in a way that resembles the classic "tree of life" used by evolutionary biologists to signify common descent, as the corpus of Renaissance music is divided into ever smaller sub-categories based on common features. In the case of music, however, there is more liberty in choosing the order in which particular features are used to differentiate between groups, since the chart represents a synchronic evaluation of shared characteristics rather than a diachronic process of evolution from common ancestors. The only constraining factor is that, at least in order to be historically meaningful, the manner in which the corpus is divided into genres must coincide with the manner in which Renaissance printers labelled their collections for sale to the public.

An effective way to create a system of this type is to generate a series of multiple-choice questions that, when presented in the correct order and correctly answered, will always correctly sort pieces according to Renaissance conventions. This is nothing more than a basic algorithm, and can be easily represented graphically as a standard flow chart. For the algorithm to be effective, the order of the questions must be designed in such a way that no genre is split across branches, since at any given intersection only one choice is valid for the piece in question, and all possible pieces for which previous answers are valid have a potential path forward.[78]

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[77] That is to say, when do differences in musical characteristics coincide with non-musical categorical distinctions, and when are differences in musical characteristics largely irrelevant to non-musical categorical distinctions?

[78] In other words, imagining the selection algorhythm as a branching path, we want each choice to present

The algorithm's results can be checked against the original sources' generic labels for accuracy. **Figure 1.3** gives a sample flow chart demonstrating such a process for a given tenor mass printed in Italy.

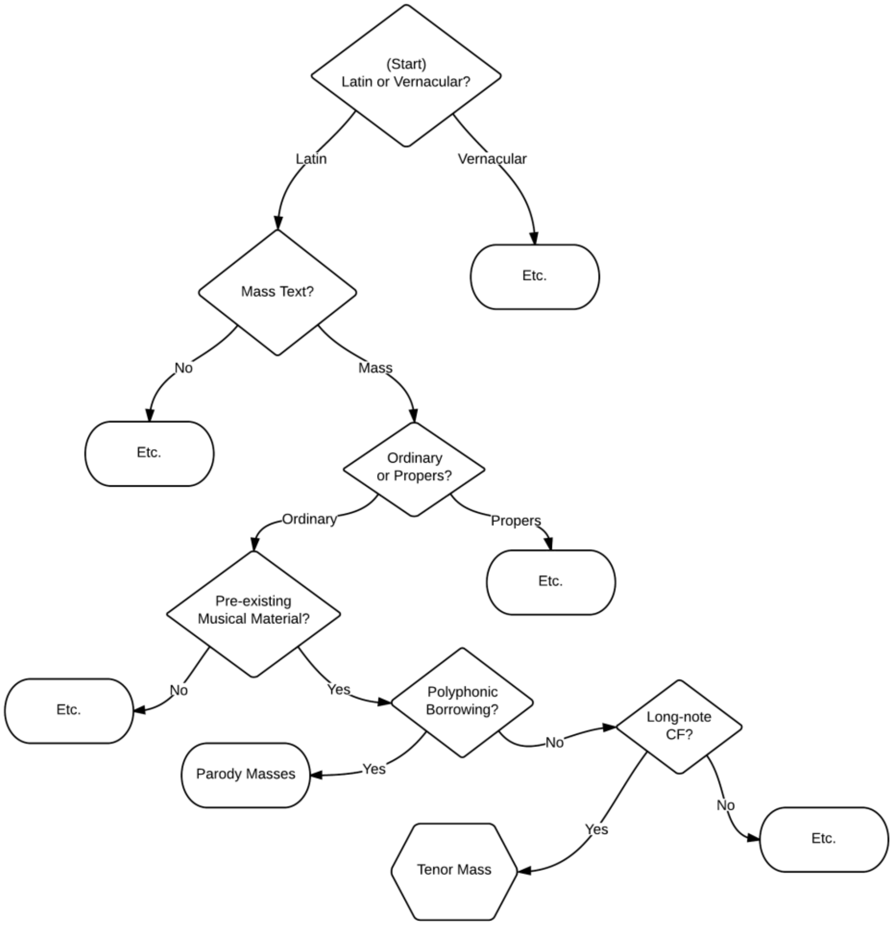
(Start)
Latin or Vernacular?
Latin
Vernacular
Etc.
Mass Text?
No
Mass
Etc.
Ordinary
or Propers?
Ordinary
Propers
Etc.
Pre-existing
Musical Material?
No
Yes
Etc.
Polyphonic
Borrowing?
Yes
No
Parody Masses
Long-note
CF?
Yes
No
Tenor Mass
Etc.

Figure 1.3: *Genre flowchart for an Italian 16th c. tenor mass. Note in this case that language and text-type remove the need to reference the sacred/secular dichotomy in this algorithm, as the text-type renders it superfluous.*

While this tree in **Figure 1.3** is incomplete in the sense that I have only followed the branching path for the mass and left the others out, it could conceivably be filled out in its entirety in a

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one clear answer for our goal genre. Thus "sacred or secular" is not a good question with a goal of "motet," since that genre does not lie on only one of those branches. This should also make it clear that the algorhythm does not *determine* genre in the absence of such a determination, it is meant only to agree with an existing known determination.

manner that accounts for the entire corpus of Renaissance music. In order to successfully accomplish this task, a great deal of care would have to be taken in the ordering of questions on each path, so that in no instance were individual genres split up across branches. In fact, the sequence of questions and possible answers faced by each genre along its path would likely be unique; no set series of questions could be used that would satisfy the requirements of correctly sorting the piece, preventing genres from splitting across branches, and ensuring that some possibilities are eliminated at each stage.

If, as described above, we consider the first rule of generic classification to be that two pieces in different languages cannot share a genre, we must also allow for the corollary that multiple genres may employ the same language without necessarily being related (like the frottola and the madrigal, or the motet and the mass).[79] It therefore follows that language is a necessary variable to consider for every piece, though in most cases it is not sufficient on its own to assign it a category. Since language is a required consideration for all pieces, we can consider it as a kind of higher-order category along the branching tree of generic differentiation, when compared to factors that do not need to be considered for all potential pieces. In fact, for the system to work properly, the question of language must be asked before any other. It is only then that, if the language is not sufficient on its own in assigning a generic category, it must be followed in some cases by text type and then by specific musical features, which are active primarily at the level of the subgenre.[80]

Though there can be some flexibility in the ordered hierarchy of sorting questions, it does not allow for infinite permutations or arbitrary ordering of branching points along the path. To reliably reach the goal without splitting genres over multiple branches it is always necessary to begin with textual rather than musical considerations.[81] This reflects the real-world preference among Renaissance printers to distinguish generic categories primarily along lines of language and text type rather than according to specific musical features. In cases where musical features are broadly similar but language differs, the pieces in question are consistently categorized according to the latter and not the former.[82]

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[79] It is worth mentioning at this point that rules and hierarchies change in different periods and locations. While language is a primary consideration for generic classification in Renaissance Italy, the same could not be said of mediaeval France due to the multi-lingual nature of the early motet.

[80] Subgenres, generally speaking, refer to modern scholarly constructs rather than period determinations. They are still perfectly compatible with the method so long as a logical progression can arrive at the goal.

In fact, if we consider Renaissance generic categories to be indicative of contemporary ideas of linguistic boundaries, it quickly becomes evident that conceptions of these boundaries were quite precise, and can be seen to include the provenance of the speaker as well as that of the spoken idiom: just as the *canzone villanesche* represent the (often stylised) speech of Neapolitans, so do *todesche* represent Tuscan as spoken by Germans, and *greghesche* represent Venetian as spoken by Greeks. Thus, if we draw a flowchart representing the relationships between dialect genres, it becomes immediately clear that, just as dialect genres are not sub-varieties of the madrigal but rather parallel genres, so too are Italian dialects shown to be parallel languages rather than sub-varieties of the literary language. This is shown in **Figure 1.4** on the next page.

In **Figure 1.4** it is possible but entirely unnecessary to group the Italian languages together geographically, as there are no clearly marked genres that employ more than one of them. In the case of Venetian-language works, the chart also makes clear that textual and not musical considerations are sufficient to distinguish the two named genres (and one unnamed genre) that make use of the language. The genres can be differentiated either by the use of the Greek ethnolect, the characteristic "stammering" of the *giustiniane*, or the lack of either technique. I have designated the third group, "arie veneziane," as they lack any official generic categorisation in the print in which they appear. The reasons for this designation described in greater detail in the next chapter.[83]

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[81] For example, starting with imitative vs. non-imitative texture with the intent to arrive at the genre "madrigal" would be impossible, since the commonly accepted genre contains pieces in both categories.

[82] Which is not to say that certain genres would not have strongly associated stylistic norms, only that in genres where a greater variety of stylistic features allows for overlap with another genre, that they would be consistently classified by language.

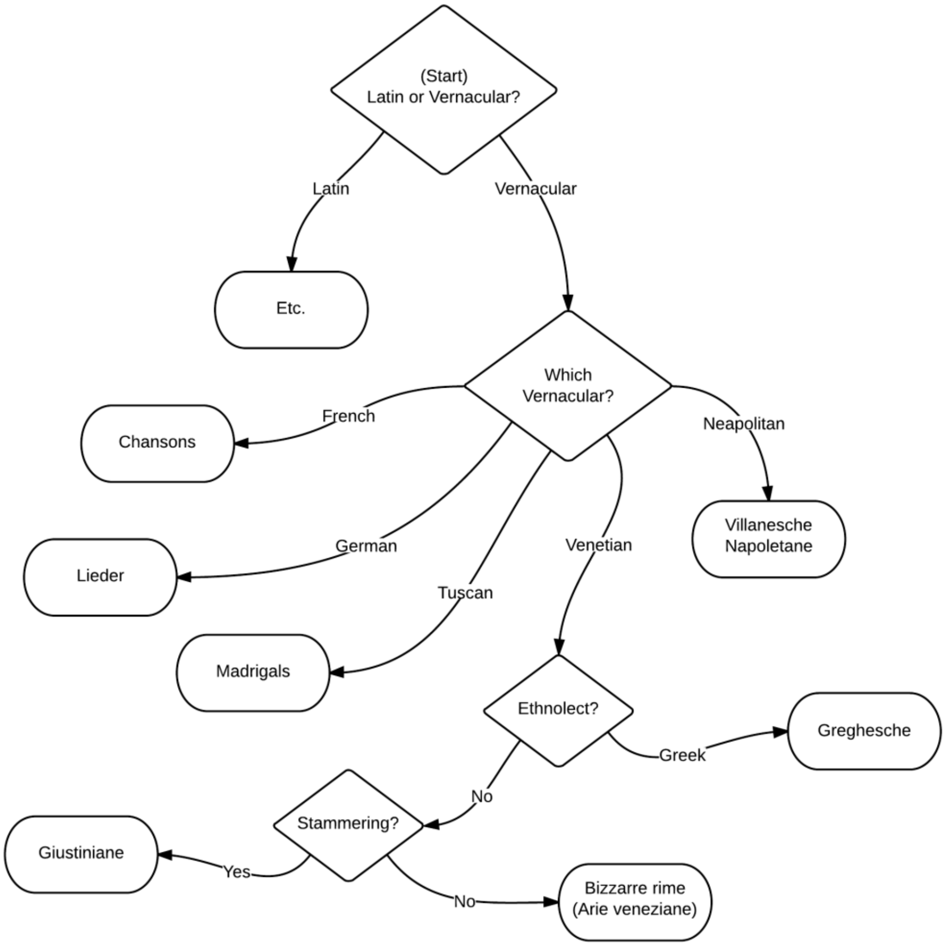
(Start)
Latin or Vernacular?
Latin
Vernacular
Etc.
Which
Vernacular?
French
Chansons
Neapolitan
Villanesche
Napoletane
German
Lieder
Tuscan
Madrigals
Venetian
Ethnolect?
Greek
Greghesche
No
Stammering?
Yes
Giustiniane
No
Bizzarre rime
(Arie veneziane)

Figure 1.4: *Flowchart demonstrating the generic relationships between vernacular genres, including Venetian-language works. In no case are musical considerations required to arrive at the correct result.*

By applying standard conventions to Venetian language works, however, **Figure 1.4** raises an important problem: of all the pieces in the Venetian-language repertoire, only the *giustinane* obey the rules in every case. Not only are three *greghesche* published as madrigals in Antonio Molino's first book, several others are described as such by Andrea Gabrieli in the introduction to a later collection of three-voice works. Furthermore, the works in the *Bizzarre rime* collection are never given a generic label, aside from the implication—given Agostini's next publication of four-voice pieces was titled his *second* book of madrigals—that the *Rime* constituted his first. In all of these cases the generic boundaries between the Venetian-language genres and the madrigal are worn thin and rendered porous by negative or external evidence: a reference in another print or the mere omission of information. Molino's *greghesche* could have been given rubrics, but they were not. Agostini's *Rime* could have been called his *primo libro*, but this appellation was left to implication in another volume. Gabrieli's "madrigali grechi" were given no such appellation in the volume in which they appeared, but only referred to as such seven years later in another print. Perhaps this was as far as printers were willing to go in defying convention: a sin of omission, a subtle undermining of the established boundaries, but no explicit acknolwedgment of this extraordinary and unusual *rapprochement*.

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[83] Section **2.1**.

1.12 Conclusion

In addition to providing a brief overview of the relationship of the Venetian language to other Italian languages and its special role within Venice and its empire, this chapter has provided three important theoretical frameworks through which the corpus of Venetian-language music will be analysed in the remainder of this dissertation. First of these is Ferguson's *triglossia*, contextualised in *cinquecento* debates over the standardisation of the Italian literary language and the effect such standardisation had on the role of local vernaculars in public and artistic life. Musical genres can be seen as occupying a prestige continuum analogous to that of the languages they employ. Just like in day-to-day linguistic usage, however, there are cultural spaces along that continuum in which certain genres or usages can overlap.

It is precisely within these overlapping spaces that we find phenomena such as Croce's *letteratura dialettala riflessa*. Here both literary and musical uses of dialect are able to meet and engage with the so-called "high style" represented by the madrigal and its associated literary production. This engagement, as Croce argues, is not necessarily always one of opposition or resistance: dialect participation in the most celebrated genres, particularly in cases of emulation or parody, can also be a means of cultural or aesthetic integration. Reflected dialect music or literature demonstrates not only the creator's appreciation for the high style, but also claims the right to participate in those traditions even as non-Tuscans through the corresponding elevation of their own local vernacular. This process, and the complex relationship between language, dialect, and civic identity it embodies, underlines the particular peril latent within a view of all dialect usage as inherently comic, rustic, incorrect, or otherwise inferior to the literary standard.

Lastly, the brief discussion of *cinquecento* musical genres and their strong relationship to language in the eyes of contemporary printers helps to demonstrate, by means of sixteenth-century publication practices, that clear generic distinctions existed in Italian Renaissance musical culture and that these linguistically-oriented boundaries were important enough to be nearly universally observed. It also helps to show that there was a corresponding awareness on the part of musicians and music printers of the fact that Venetian-language pieces were unique in pressing uncomfortably against those very boundaries. The many ways in which they did so are explored in the chapters that follow.

Chapter 2

El venessian musicào

STYLE AND SUBGENRE IN VENETIAN-LANGUAGE POLYPHONY

In the fourth book of his *Istitutioni harmoniche,* Zarlino describes Venetian dialect songs as being distinct from the equivalent traditions in other parts of Italy:

> And not only does one find among different nations such differences [in musical traditions], but even within the same nation, as one can see in Italy: for those Songs which are called Villote are sung in one manner in the area around Venice, and in another manner in Tuscany and in the Kingdom of Naples.[1]

Unfortunately Zarlino does not elaborate on the precise manner in which Venetian *villotte* differ from *villotte* elswhere. The quote appears as part of a larger discussion about the necessity of appropriately matching musical expression to textual forms, and merely serves as an illustration of the fact that musical and poetic norms vary in different places. He goes on to say that in traditions where text and music are closely linked, essential structural or aesthetic conflicts emerge from attempts to mix styles or genres that inevitably lead to failure. The example Zarlino gives of this problem is Aristotle's account of Piloxenus of Cythera attempting to compose a dithyramb in the Dorian mode: finding the Dorian ill-suited to his endeavour, Philoxenus finds himself unable to progress without returning to the usual Phrygian.[2] Zarlino's evocation of the *villotte* in this kind of discussion is telling: it indicates not only that he perceived Venetian poetry and musical settings of that poetry as essentially different from the Tuscan and Neapolitan genres with which they are contrasted, but also that he thought these differences would have been so clear to his intended audience that no further elaboration was required in order to make his point.

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[1] "Et non solamente si trova tra diverse nationi tali differenze: ma anco in una istessa natione, et in una istessa patria; come si può vedere nella Italia: percioche in una maniera si cantano le Canzoni, che si chiamano Villote ne i luoghi vicini a Vinegia, et in un' altra maniera nella Thoscana, et nel Reame di Napoli." Zarlino, *Istitutioni harmoniche*, IV, 297.

[2] Zarlino, *Istitutioni harmoniche,* IV, 296-7. The story is related by Aristotle in the *Politics, Book VIII,* section 1342b; v. also M. L. West, *Ancient Greek Music*, 364-5.

The purpose of this chapter is to uncover what Zarlino might have meant by his distinction between Venetian-language music and songs from other regions, and how this fits into his larger point about composers making text-appropriate stylistic choices in their musical works. The Venetian-language corpus will accordingly be divided into subgenres along musical grounds, followed by comparisons of each of these stylistic subgenres to their nearest equivalents in the contemporary musical repertoire. In so doing I will show that, with respect to the prestige continuum of musical style, composers consistently distinguished their Venetian-language works from their compositions in other dialects. Furthermore, I will show that these stylistic subgenres correlate to particular text-types arising from the different social environments for which they were originally intended, irrespective of the particular variety of Venetian employed in the text. Musical *venezianità* is thus defined at least in part by its expressive versatility when compared to other dialects, which tend to be more uniform in musical style.

2.1 Three Kinds of Venetian-language Song

As described in greater detail in Chapter 1, Italian Renaissance music printers privileged language in their classification systems for poetic genre.[3] In fact, nearly all dialect music in this period is generically classified *purely* on linguistic grounds and named for the language it employs (or the people who speak it). The Venetian-language repertoire broadly follows this trend, although with several complications. Generally speaking, Venetian works can be divided into three linguistic categories according to the process outlined in the first chapter. These are the *giustiniane*, which employ more-or-less standard Venetian texts, the *greghesche*, which use the Greek ethnolect of Venetian described in **Section 1.8**, and a collection of so-called *Bizzarre*

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[3] This discussion can be found in Sections **1.10** & **1.11**.

rime, which also employ unmarked Venetian and are inspired by a collection of Venetian-language poems of the same name. In this last case, the name of the source collection is employed instead of a linguistic category, but it is still consistent with text-driven practices.

The *giustiniane* are also named for something other than the language they employ, having inherited their name from the early fifteenth-century poet Leonardo Giustiniani and the tradition of improvised song with which he was associated.[4] It is, however, unclear whether or not the historical value of the term *giustiniana* was still understood by the middle of the sixteenth century. Certainly knowledge of the term's original referent and its associated performing tradition did not get as far as Morley's *Plaine and easie introduction to practicall musicke* (London: Peter Short, 1597) where he wrote that "there is likewise a kind of songs…called Justinianas, and all are written in the Bergamasca language: a wanton and crude kind of musicke it is, and like enough to carrie the name of some noble Curtisan of the Citie of Bergama, for no man will deny that Justiniana is the name of a woman."[5] The use of the term giustiniana to refer to three-voice Venetian-language works is not, however, completely consistent even in Italy; they are also occasionally referred to as *canzone* "alla venetiana" or *zorziane*.[6]

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[4] Walter Rubsamen, "The Justiniane or Viniziane of the Fifteenth Century," 172.

[5] Morley, *A plaine and easie introduction,* 295. Praetorius writes along the same lines in *Syntagma musicum III* that they are "courting songs (called rude and wanton by some) mostly set for three voices in the Bergamasque dialect about a noble courtesan from Bergamo." Trans. Jeffery T. Kite-Powell, ed., *Syntagma musicum III*, 34.

[6] These works include Bonagiunta's "Daspuò ch'al mio dolor no ghe ceroto" and Bellaver's "E vorave saver, colonna mia," published in *Il Primo libro de canzon napoletane a tre voci, con due alla venetiana* (Venice: Scotto, 1565). In the next volume of the series, the *Canzone napolitane a tre voci, Secondo libro di Giulio Bonagiunta da S. Genesi et d'altri auttoti, novamente poste in luce con due canzone alla giustiniana di Vincenzo Bellaver* (Venice: Scotto, 1566), Bellaver's Venetian-language contributions ("Nu semo tre vecchiet'inamorai" / "Cantemo, Zazerin, e ti, Cuffetto") are referred to as *giustiniane*. On this v. also Fabbri, "Andrea Gabrieli," 252-53. The origin of the term *giustiniana* and the genre's relationship with its fifteenth-century namesake are discussed in **Section 2.3** below. The term *zorziana* is briefly discussed in **Section 2.4**. The most comprehensive treatment of the *giustinana* to date is Shawn Keener's dissertation, *The Giustiniana Phenomenon and Venetian Cultural Memory, 1400-1600* (University of Chicago, 2014), which has not been made public at the time of this writing. She discusses the *giustiniana* in two articles; v. ead. "Love alla veneziana" and "Virtue, Illusion, Venezianità."

We can thus see that the corpus of Venetian-language music comprised several distinctly-named sub-categories, but when viewed as a whole, it is clear that these textually-derived categories do not coincide with the stylistic variation within the corpus. This is most obvious in the case of the *greghesche*, which range from three to seven voices, and can be sorted into three main subgenres. The three-voice examples that appear in Gabrieli's 1571 publication, for example, have as much in common with the three-voice *giustinane* as they do with the larger and more ambitious works in the 1564 *Primo libro*. At the same time, the three four-voice *greghesche* that appear in Molino's first book of madrigals (1568), while considerably more homophonic and chromatic than the four-voice compositions in the 1564 anthology, are extraordinarily consistent with the musical language employed by Agostini in his *Bizzarre rime* of the previous year. Last among these three groups is the 1564 anthology itself, which is internally quite consistent in style despite the participation of such a wide variety of composers. To this last group can also be added one *greghesca* by the Polish composer Francesco Maffon, which, though published a decade after the *Primo libro delle greghesche* in Pietro Antonio Spalenza's first book of four-voice madrigals (RISM B/I 1574^{09}), would not have been out of place in that anthology.

These three groups of *greghesche*, if expanded to accommodate all Venetian-language works with which they are musically consistent, easily and definitively divide the entire corpus into three distinct stylistic subgenres. For the purposes of this discussion, I have given these subgenres the following names, to be descibed in more detail in the remainder of this chapter: the *villotte alla veneziana* include all the three-voice *greghesche* and *giustiniane*; the *arie veneziane* include all of Agostini's and Molino's four-voice Venetian-language compositions; and the *madrigali grechi* include the contents of the 1564 *Primo libro delle greghesche*, with the addition of Yvo's "La mia chirazza tando mi contenda" and Maffon's "Como viver mil posso," both of which were published in separate collections. These stylistic subdivisions also broadly coincide with differences in register, poetic form, and content in the poetic texts they employ. The stylistic subgenres of the Venetian-language corpus and the publications in which they were included can thus be summarised according to **Table 2.1** on the next page.

Villotte alla veneziana	**Arie veneziane**
3vv. Giustiniane RISM B/I 1570^{17} (Scotto, ed. V. Bellavere) Primo libro delle Iustiniane à 3 (All works) RISM B/I 1575^{14} (Scotto, ed. G. Policreti) Secondo libro delle Iustiniane à 3 (All works) RISM B/I 1566^{7} (Scotto) Canzone napolitane à 3 di Bonagiunta, Lib. II *Nu semo tre vechieti* (28) (Bellavere) 2.a parte *Cantemo Zazerin* (30) RISM A/I G64 (Gardano, 1571) Greghesche et Iustiniane à 3 di A. Gabrieli *Perche madonna* (35) *Chi'nde dara le bose* (38) 2.a parte *Ut re mi* (40) *Anchor che col partire* (42) *Forestier inamorao* (44) **3vv. Greghesche** RISM A/I G64 (Gardano, 1571) Greghesche et Iustiniane à 3 di A. Gabrieli *Zentil donn'e segnuri* (2) *Tria gerundas* (6) *O mia canzun* (9) *Chie val haver cavallo* (12) *Aldi vel prego amandi* (15) *Manoli chie faremo* (19) (Dialogo) *O mia morusa* (22) *O agnima morusa* (26) *O agapimù glichi* (28) *Fame pur canto mal* (30) *Chiraces nu la semo* (32) **3vv. Canzone/Villotte "alla veneziana"** RISM B/I 1565^{12} (Scotto) Canzone napoletane à 3 di Bonagiunta, Lib. I *Daspuò ch'al mio dolor* (30) *E vorave saver colonna mia* (31) RISM B/I 1570^{21} (Gardano) Villotte alla napoletana à 3, Lib. VI *Dionorea vien te priego* (45) (Gabrieli)	**4vv. "Bizzarre rime"** RISM A/I A401 (Pozzo, 1567) Musica...sopra le rime bizzarre di M. Andrea Calmo (Agostini) *All works, except:* *Amor m'ha bastonat* (16) (Bergamasco) **4vv. Greghesche** RISM A/I M2947 (Merulo, 1568) I dilettevoli madrigali a 4 voci...libro primo (Molino) *Donna zendila* (3) *Perche de la vertù* (12) 2.a parte *Varda chel gran philosopho* (13) *Al vostro nascimendo* (19) **Madrigali grechi** **4, 5, & 6 vv. Greghesche** RISM B/I 1564^{16} (Gardano) Di Manoli Blessi il primo libro delle greghesche *All works* RISM B/I 1566^{3} Il desiderio. Secondo libro di madrigali à 4 di Bonagiunta *La mia Chirazza tando mi contenda* (22) (Ivo de Vento) RISM B/I 1574^{9} (Gardano) Il primo libro di madrigali à 4 (Spalenza) *Como viver mil posso* (22) (Maffon)

***Table 2.1**: All works belonging to the Venetian-language corpus, 1564-75, categorised by musical style.*

2.2 Three-voice *Villotte alla veneziana* and the Neapolitan Tradition

The *villotte alla veneziana* comprise all the three-voice *giustiniane,* primarily published in two anthologies by the Gardano Press in 1570 and 1575, along with the three-voice *greghesche*, none of which survive intact. The only surviving examples of these works come from Andrea Gabrieli's 1571 publication of *Greghesche et Iustiniane...à tre voci*, of which only the tenor part-book of this collection has been preserved. The four *giustiniane* included in that volume all have concordances in Scotto's 1570 *Primo libro delle Iustiniane*. Even this partial survival, however, is sufficient to demonstrate not only the stylistic consistency between the two genres, but also the several ways in which they can be distinguished from the three-voice *villotte alla napoletana* published during the same period.

The most obvious difference between the Neapolitan and Venetian *villotte* is a structural one: the Neapolitan examples are overwhelmingly more repetative than their Venetian equivalents. Nearly every piece in the Gardano's six anthologies of *villotte alla napoletana* issued up to 1571 contains significant internal repeats. The most common arrangement for the stanza is that of a series of rhyming couplets with a *ripresa* inserted after the couplet's second line. The first line is usually repeated once, and the second line repeated with the *represa*, resulting in a form resembling |: a :||: b C C :||: d :||: e C C :|. C normally returns with the same text each time, though it often differs for the last verse. In all six of Gardano's prints the C section is normally set off from the first two sections with a dividing line in order to make this distinction clear. The full text of the *ripresa* is also not usually given for subsequent stanzas. **Figure 2.1** gives a sample *napoletana* that employs this structure in order to demonstrate its particular *mise-en-page*.

This internal repetition was one of the defining features of the "light" style, and had its origins in the repetitive rhyme-scheme of the popular *strambotto*, though by the middle of the century the actual verse forms employed varied considerably.[7] In their various schematic permutations, however, these internal repeats were consistently maintained from the earliest *canzoni villanesche alla napoletana* published in 1537, through the *villotte* and *villanelle* of the 1560s and '70s, up to the *canzonette* first popularised by Vecchi in the 1580s.[8] This is true even for examples employing more than three voices, although typically these were less likely than the three-voice music to employ repeat signs and more likely to engage in voice-exchange for repeated sections.

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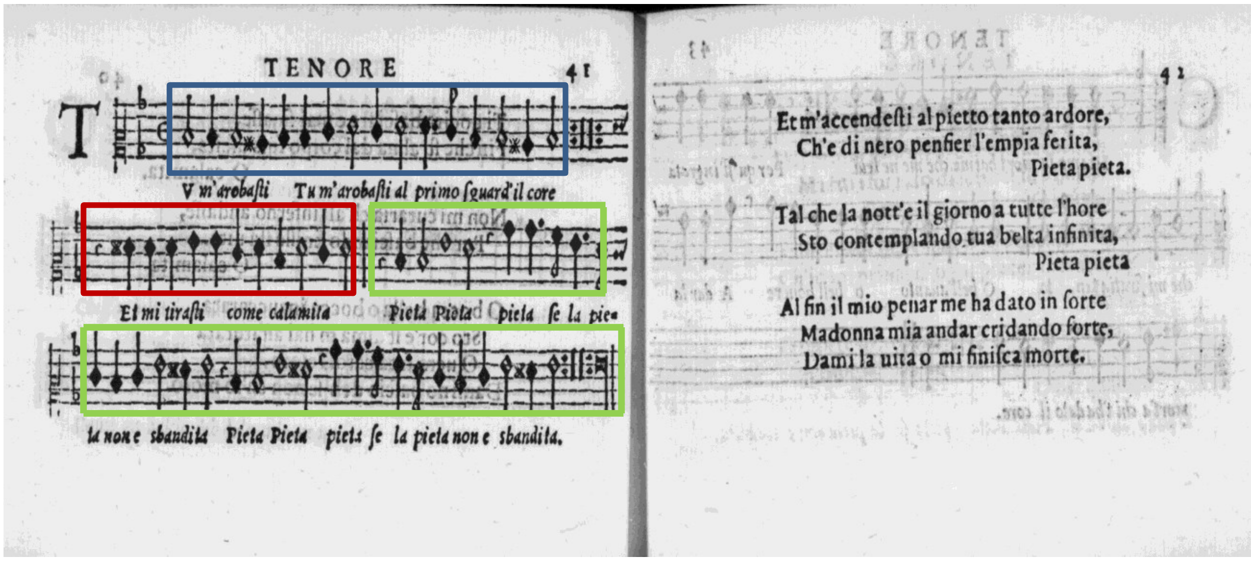
[7] Ruth DeFord, "Musical Relationships," 110.



TENORE
41
T
V m'arobaſti Tu m'arobaſti al primo ſguard'il core
Et mi tiraſti come calamita
Pieta Pieta pieta ſe la pie-
ta non e sbandita Pieta Pieta pieta ſe la pieta non e sbandita.
42
Et m'accendeſti al pietto tanto ardore,
Ch'e di nero penſier l'empia ferita,
Pieta pieta.
Tal che la nott'e il giorno a tutte l'hore
Sto contemplando tua belta infinita,
Pieta pieta
Al fin il mio penar me ha dato in ſorte
Madonna mia andar cridando forte,
Dami la uita o mi finiſca morte.

Figure 2.1: *Strophic* vilotta alla napoletana *showing internal repeat structure (a=blue, b=red, C=green). Note the vertical dividing line in the middle of the second staff denoting the beginning of the* ripresa. *From Gardano's* Primo libro delle villotte alla napoletana, *RISM B/I 1570[x]; London, British Library 53.a.24 (1).*

The three-voice *greghesche* and *giustiniane*, by contrast, only rarely contain repetition of individual phrases. They are instead through-composed, or, when strophic, through-composed at the level of the individual stanza. This is true even when the poetic structure, which frequently follows the *strambotto* schema of ab ab ab cc, would certainly be amenable to Neapolitan-style internal repetition.

The Venetian-style *villotte* are also much more varied texturally than their Neapolitan equivalents. Most of the pieces in Gardano's 1570 anthology of *giustiniane* begin with imitation, and frequently employ short imitative or canonic sections. Even in cases where the upper two voices progress for long stretches in parallel thirds, the bass is normally given a distinct melodic and rhythmic profile that helps to avoid the characteristic parallel fifths caused by the homophonic, triadic style of the *napoletane*. While the partial survival of the three-voice *gregheschemakes* it difficult to discuss their texture in any great detail, a number of the pieces do begin with rests in the tenor part that suggest the use of imitation, and also contain a few instances of longer breaks between phrases that probably indicate either imitative entries or other kinds of textural variation.

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[8] DeFord, "Musical Relationships," 112-118.

2.3 *The Villotte alla veneziana* and Theatrical Improvisation

In the introduction to his modern edition of Scotto's 1570 *Primo libro delle Iustiniane*, Marco Materassi suggests that the texts set in that anthology may have been written by Andrea Calmo. Calmo was a very important figure on the mid-century Venetian stage, and along with his friend and occasional collaborator Antonio Molino (also known by his pseudonyms "Manoli Blessi" and "Il Burchiella"), he is thought to be among those few celebrity-improvisors responsible for the codification of the *maschere* of the *commedia dell'arte* during that period.[9] Calmo in particular is often credited with the invention of the Venetian *magnifico*: the wealthy and lecherous old Venetian, now usually called Pantalone, whose desire to marry a beautiful young girl—or to marry her off to another lecherous old man, if she is his daughter—often serves as the overarching plot upon which the individual scenes are built.[10]

Materassi hypothesises that the *giustiniane* may therefore have originated from Calmo's stage performances as the *magnifico*, whose narrative voice (and characteristic stammering) is consistently found in all the works in the collection.[11] If this is indeed the case, it may be that Scotto's publication of the first *giustiniana* anthology may have been intended as a monument to Calmo's career, given the fact that it was published in the year of his death.[12] Certainly the

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[9] On Calmo's and Molino's relationship, v. Maria Luisa Uberti, "Un conzontao in openion," and Priemario Vescovo, "L'Accademia e 'la fantasia dei brighenti." Molino's life and artistic contributions are discussed extensively in Chapter 4, esp. **4.4**.

[10] Marco Salotti, "Dal giullare ai comici dell'arte," 319. Salotti is also cited by Shawn Keener, "Virtue, Illusion, Venezianità," 130.

[11] Materassi, *Il primo libro delle giustiniane*, vii; xiv-xvi.

[12] Fabbri alternatively suggests that the surge in publication of *giustiniane* in that year (which also includes

giustinane texts in both Scotto's *Primo libro delle Iustiniane* have much in common with Calmo's light verse in the *magnifico* voice. Since none of the *giustiniana* texts in either collection are attributed in that source, it is difficult to securely attribute their authorship to Calmo.[13] As Materassi and Shawn Keener point out, however, there are two *giustiniane* that do employ texts that can be attributed to Calmo, as they appear in his *Lettere* appended to the end of his missives to two courtesans.[14] Beyond this it is impossible to say: Calmo's published *Lettere* also served as a commonplace book for many stage actors at the time, and therefore the poems may in fact be imitations of Calmo's style rather than his own verse.[15] It is, however, undeniable that Calmo's influence, if not necessarily always his direct authorship, was essential to the *giustiniana* of the 1560s and '70s.

This situation is somewhat different from that of Calmo's associate Molino, whose authorship of all the texts of the related *gregheschа* corpus is assured beyond any doubt in the primary literature.[16] It is certainly tempting, if not nearly so well supported by the surviving evidence, to view Calmo's role in the invention and propagation of the *giustiniane* as analogous to Molino's role for the *gregheschе*, and to further imagine that the origins of both genres originally lay in improvised stage performances by their respective authors. Certainly both the *giustiniane* and what survives of the three-voice *gregheschе* are stylistically consistent with the kind of simple polyphonic songs Nino Pirrotta has tied to *cinquecento* stage performances, their three-voice

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another volume by Andrea Gabrieli) may also relate to a swelling of Venetian patriotism in his circle following the victory over the Turks at Lepanto. Fabbri, "Andrea Gabrieli," 268-69. While this is plausible, it seems a somewhat less convincing motive than Gabrieli's own personal connections to both Calmo and Molino, who is known to have composed the other texts in that volume and may have died around the same time. Gabrieli's 1571 print and his relationship with Molino are both discussed at greater length below in **Section 2.5**, and in Chapter 4, esp. **4.4**.

[13] The *greghesca* texts, by contrast, are attributed to Molino by Gabrieli in his dedication. The dedication is reproduced in Appendix D, and discussed below. It may be that Gabrieli did not find it necessary to comment on the *giustiniane* in that collection because they had all appeared in print previously.

[14] Materassi, *Il primo libro delle giustiniane,* xi, and Keener, "Virtue, Illusion, Venezianità," 130-31. Pirrotta gives the original *strambotte* by Calmo as examples of verse for improvisatory song in "Commedia dell'Arte and Opera," 309.

[15] A similar problem exists for Agostini's 1567 publication of Calmo settings, where only about half the texts actually appear in Calmo's published writings. Because they are parodies constructed on Calmian models, it is likely that they were imitations and not genuine; v. Chapter 3, esp. **3.4** & **3.5**.

[16] This is made clear in the dedications of all three prints containing *gregheschе*; v. Appendices **B**, **C**, & **D**.

textures likely being polyphonic adaptations of self-accompanied solo song.[17] If indeed both genres did have their origins in such performances, given Molino's and Calmo's professional ties it seems likely that there would have been numerous theatrical occasions on which both *greghesche* and *giustiniane* were performed by their respective authors.[18] In such performances Molino's Greek captain and Calmo's love-struck old *magnifico* would likely have played roles in the story roughly equivalent to those of the later *maschere* of the Captain and Pantalone, respectively.[19]

There are only two important factors that set the *greghesche* and *giustiniane* apart, and both of these can be tied to theatrical rather than musical practice. The first and most obvious of these is that of language: the *giustiniane* employ a relatively unmarked variety of the Venetian language that is consistent with the characterisation of the speaker as a native-born *cittadino* or possibly even a patrician, whereas the *greghesche* are clearly intended to represent the speech of ethnic Greeks.[20] This difference in language is then transformed into one of genre due to Italian music printers' common practice of generic labelling according to language, as discussed in the previous chapter. While in some anthologies, *giustinane* are included as *canzoni* "alla venetiana," no *greghesche* are ever categorised by any other name by Italian Renaissance printers.[21]

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[17] Pirrotta, "Commedia dell'Arte and Opera," 312-15.

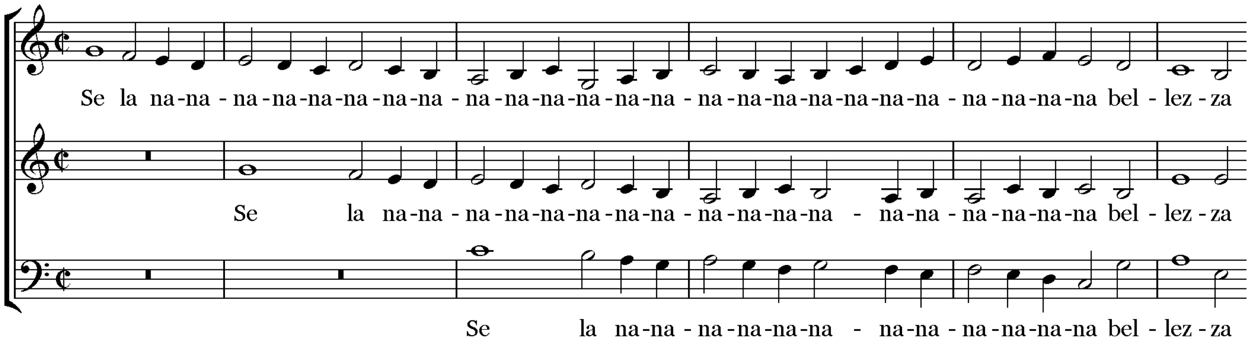
[18] Such a close theatrical and cultural association in the performance of the three-voice *gregesche* and *giustiniane* would also provide an additional rationale for Andrea Gabrieli to have included both genres together in his 1571 publication.

[19] On this point, c.f. the narrative voice in Agostini's setting of Calmo's poem "Son vecchio inamorao," found later in this chapter, to that found in Wert's setting of Molino's "Chel bello *epithimia*," discussed in Section **4.6**.

[20] The differences between these two varieties, along with their differences with regard to the Tuscan vernacular, are outlined in detail in Section **1.8**.

[21] While no *greghesche* were explicitly referred to by any other name in any Renaissance prints, several were included without any generic labels at all in two madrigal prints: three *greghesche* composed by Molino himself were included in his first book of madrigals (Venice: Scotto, 1568), and are discussed in Chapter 4. One greghesca by Ivo de Vento ("La mia chirazza tando mi contenda" was included in *Il desiderio. Secondo libro de madrigali a cinque voci di diversi autori* (Venice: Scotto, 1566), and one by Giovan Francesco Maffon ("Come viver mil posso") is included in *Il primo libro di madrigali a quattro voci di Pietr'Antonio Spalenza bresciano* (Venice: Gardano, 1574). This last sets a text also set by Gabrieli in the 1564 *greghesca* anthology and is treated in Chapter 4.

The second key difference between the *giustiniane* and the *greghesche* of this period is the *giustiniana*'s characteristic "stammering," wherein syllabic repetition is used to musically represent the flustered *magnifico*'s inability to speak clearly and fluidly when he is confronted with the object of his affections. These frequent bouts of tongue-tied sputtering are not always so innocent in nature: in the *giustiniana* parody of Rore's "Ancor by col partire" discussed in Chapter 3, for example, the *magnifico*'s stammering is quite clearly also meant to be read as representing a distinctly *embodied* kind of frenzied, pent-up eroticism. A typical example of this technique can be seen in the opening to Bonardo's "Se la bellezza fusse pers'al mondo," given as **Example 2.1** below.


Se la na-na - na-na-na-na-na-na - na-na-na-na-na-na - na-na-na-na-na-na-na - na-na-na-na bel - lez - za
Se la na-na - na-na-na-na-na-na - na-na-na-na - na-na - na-na-na-na bel - lez - za
Se la na-na - na-na-na-na - na-na - na-na-na-na bel - lez - za

***Example 2.1**: Bonardo, "Se la bellezza fusse pers'al mondo," mm. 1-6. In Il primo libro delle Iustiniane a 3 voci (Venice: Scotto, 1570), no. 3.*[22]

While the syllabic stammering of the *magnifico* is absent from the three-voice *greghesche,* this can be considered primarily a textual difference rather than a musical one. At the very same places where one would normally expect to find stuttering in the *giustiniane,* the *greghesche* employ long melismatic passages made up of quick scalar motions that are musically quite similar. An example of this usage can be seen in **Example 2.2** on the next page, which is drawn from Gabrieli's 1571 collection:

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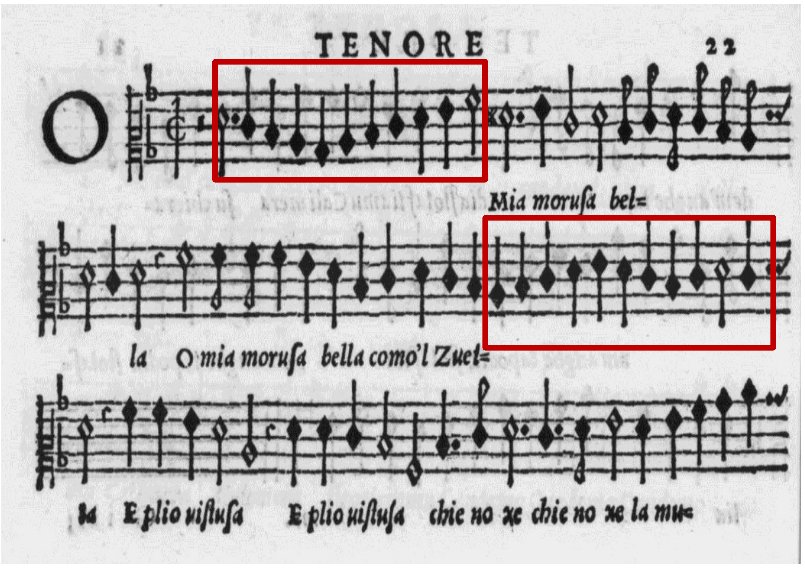
[22] A modern edition of the whole piece can be found in Materassi, ed., *Il primo libro delle giustiniane,* 11-13.


TENORE
22
O
Mia moruſa bel=
la O mia moruſa bella como'l Zuet=
ta E plio viſluſa E plio uiſluſa chie no xe chie no xe la mu=

Example 2.2*: A. Gabrieli, "O mia morusa bella," tenor part, from* Greghesche et Iustiniane...à tre voci *(Venice: Gardano, 1571; RISM A/I G64). Note the long scalar melismatic passages, highlighted in red. Image scanned from London, British Library 53.a.24 (6).*

Given its frequent use in Venetian-language repertoire and relative absence in other three-voice *villotte* of the period, it seems clear that this kind of extended scalar motion was considered an essential musical characteristic of the Venetian-style *villotte* that set them apart from the rest of the three-voice dialect repertoire.

It is possible, given the close association between the three-voice *greghesche* and *giustiniane* and improvised stage performances by Molino and Calmo respectively, that these melismatic flourishes had their origins in some kind of theatrical gesture. It is also possible, however, that association of the mid-16th-century *giustiniana* with theatrical performance may be a historiographical artefact: perhaps the relatively high profile of Andrea Calmo and his immediate circle among the Venetian literary and musical establishment meant that only a small part of a much larger and more varied cultural phenomenon of improvisatory dialect songs were preserved in print. There is, after all, nearly a fifteen-year gap between the last publication of *giustiniane* (the *Secondo libro* of 1575) and the point at which much more definitively theatrical dialect pieces in the Venetian language began to be published by the likes of Orazio Vecchi in his *Selva di varie ricreatione* (1590) and *Convito musicale* (1597), Giovanni Croce in his *Canzonette* (1601), and later on by Banchieri in the *Festino nella sera del giovedì grasso* *avanti cena* (1608).[23]

In fact, these melismatic passages may instead have been inherited from the older improvised repertoire rather than deriving from any specifically theatrical applications. The word *giustiniana* derives originally from the name of Leonardo Giustiniani (c. 1383-1446), a famous poet from a prominent Venetian family, whose most enduring legacy among musicians is his text "O rosa bella," a ballata set by both Ciconia and Bedyngham.[24] As Walter Rubsamen first showed in a 1957 article, Giustiniani was also known for composing music and accompanying his own recitation with a lute or *lira da braccio*.[25] His performance style appears to have set him apart from other *improvvisatori* of the period, and in the decades following his death songs in his style became quite popular in cities such as Milan.[26] Unfortunately due to its ephemeral nature, little documentation of Giustiniani's musical style has survived to the present day. In the above-mentioned article, Walter Rubsamen identified four written *giustiniane* in Petrucci's 1505 *Frottole libro sesto*, which despite their somewhat uncertain origins can at least provide some sense of the genre's stylistic norms in the late fifteenth century.[27]

Like their later counterparts, and unlike the four-voice *frottole* they accompany in the print, Petrucci's *giustiniane* are set for three voices. They are, however, texturally rather different from the *giustiniane* of the 1560s and '70s, as they consist of a highly melismatic upper voice supported by comparatively slow-moving tenor and bass parts rather than the more or less equal voices seen in later works.[28] This texture can be seen in the first phrase of "Aime sospiri" from the Petrucci collection (**Example 2.3**), given on the next page. An unornamented form of the same piece also appears in the *Cancionero de El Escorial* (**Example 2.4**). In the given examples, shared material is highlighted in order to demonstrate possible derviation of the Petrucci version as an elaboration of the Escorial version. Instances where the two share the same pitch at the same metric position have been highlighted with a diamond colour-coded for the original voice in El Escorial (blue=canto, red=tenor, green=bass); one brief instance of voice exchange is marked accordingly.

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[23] In addition to these collections, Venetian dialect was also employed in a number of theatrical vignettes including Croce's *Triace musicale* (1595), Vecchi's *Ampfiparnaso* (1597) and *Veglie di Siena* (1604), Banchieri's *Pazzia senile* (1598), *Studio dilettevole* (1600), and *Barca di Venetia per Padova* (1605), and Gabriello Puliti's *Ghirlanda odorifera di varii fiori tessuta, cioè mascherate* (1612). It is clear that, while the use of Venetian and other peninsular dialects in mid-century musical and theatrical works was still in flux, by the end of the century it had already settled into the fixed Commedia traditions still in use today. Fabbri, "Andrea Gabrieli," 272.

[24] Walter Rubsamen, "The Justiniane or Viniziane of the 15th Century," 172. Giustiniani's authorship of "O rosa bella" has been disputed by Nino Pirrotta among others, but is supported by David Fallows in "Dunstable, Bedyngham, and *O rosa bella.*" C.f. Pirrotta, "Echi di arie veneziane."

[25] Rubsamen, "The Justiniane or Viniziane of the 15th Century," 172.

[26] James Haar, "Petrucci's *Justiniane* revisited," 1.

[27] Rubsamen, "The Justiniane or Viniziane of the 15th Century," 174.

The ornamented version of the melody in **Example 2.3** bears more than a passing resemblance to the scalar melismas found in the three-voice *greghesche*, and this resemblance may be indicative of a continuous Venetian tradition of improvised performance that treated the text in this melismatic fashion. It may have been Calmo's innovation as a stage performer to have the *magnifico* character use his characteristic stammer to rearticulate each note in the traditional melisma, possibly to highlight the absurdity of an old letch singing love songs. It is unclear whether or not the use of stammering melismas is required in order for a piece to be called a *giustiniana*. For example, one *giustiniana* from Scotto's 1570 *Primo libro*, composed by Andrea Gabrieli, was published in the same year by Gardano in his sixth anthology of *napoletane*, but without the stammering figure on its melismas (**Example 2.5**, following). Here is is not labelled a *giustiniana* but a *zorziana*, though ostensibly the only difference between the piece as it is included in each collection is the use of the stammering figure.

As we will see later on in this chapter, however, the publication history of the *giustiniane* is complicated by other factors that make it difficult to draw any firm conclusions by the publication of Gabrieli's "Dionorea vien te prego" in these two separate collections.

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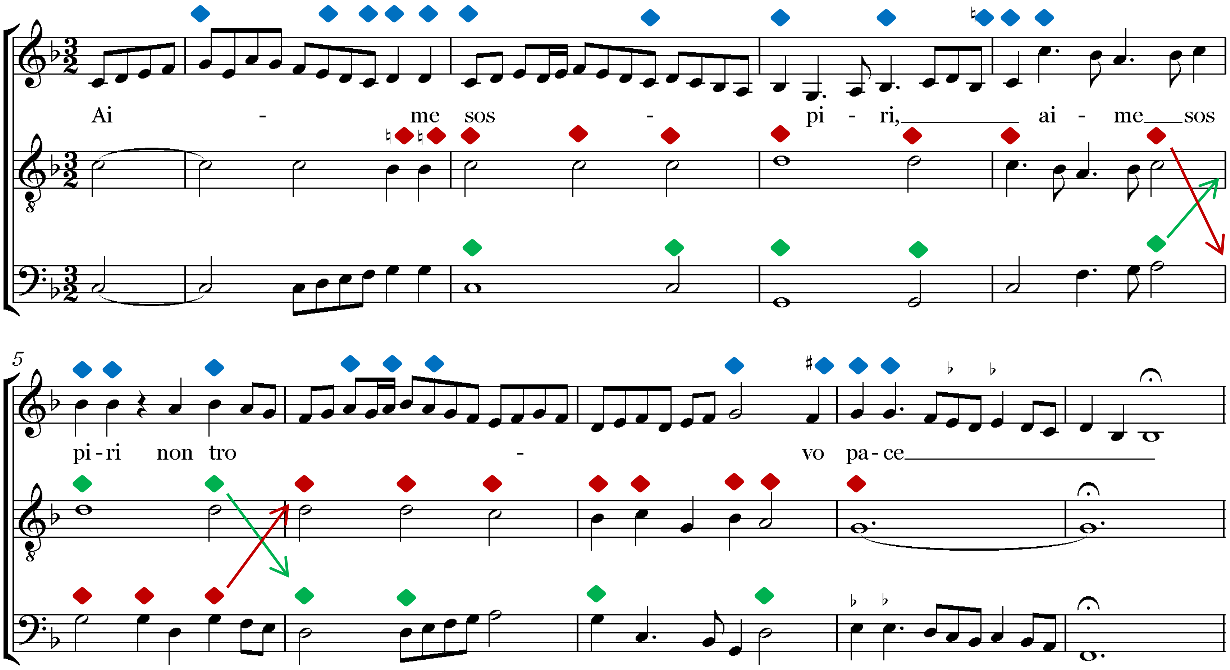
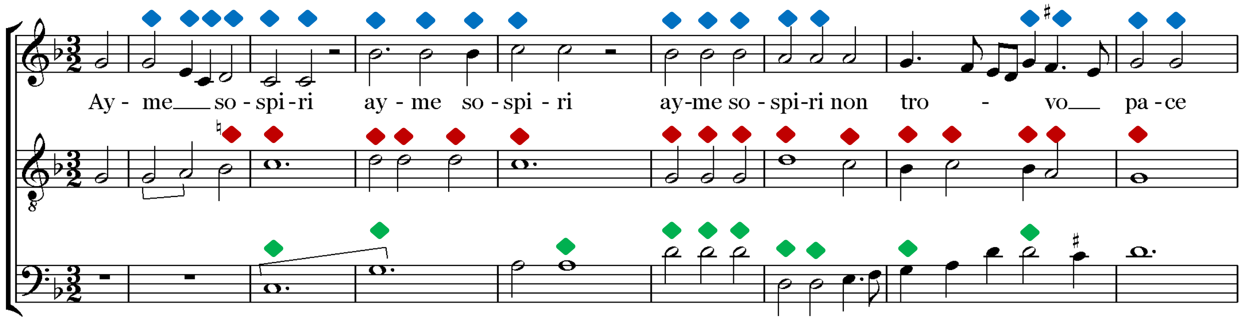
[28] Rubsamen attributes the melismatic style of Petrucci's upper voices to an editorial writing-out of the kind of improvisations that would have been expected to be performed when presented with the sort of melodic skeleton given in the only surviving manuscript concordance from this set, the version of "Ay me sospiri" given in the Cancionero de El Escorial, IV.α.24, fol. 85′ ff. (**Ex. 2.3**). Rubsamen gives both versions for comparison in "The Justiniane or Viniziane of the 15th Century," 180-82.


Ai - me sos - pi - ri, ai - me sos
5
pi - ri non tro - vo pa - ce

***Example 2.3:** Petrucci/Anon., "Aime sospiri," mm. 1-9. In Frottole: libro sexto (Venice: Petrucci, 1506), transc. Rubsamen, "The Justiniane or Vinitiane of the 15th Century," 180-82.*[29]
*Shared material with **Ex. 2.4** highlighted by corresponding colour.*


Ay - me so - spi - ri ay - me so - spi - ri ay-me so - spi-ri non tro - vo pa - ce

***Example 2.4:** Anon., "Ayme sospiri," mm. 1-9. Cancionero de El Escorial (Spain: Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo de El Escorial MS IV.α.24), fol. 85′. Transc. Rubsamen, "The Justiniane or Vinitiane of the 15th Century," 180-82. Shared material with **Ex. 2.3** highlighted by corresponding colour.*

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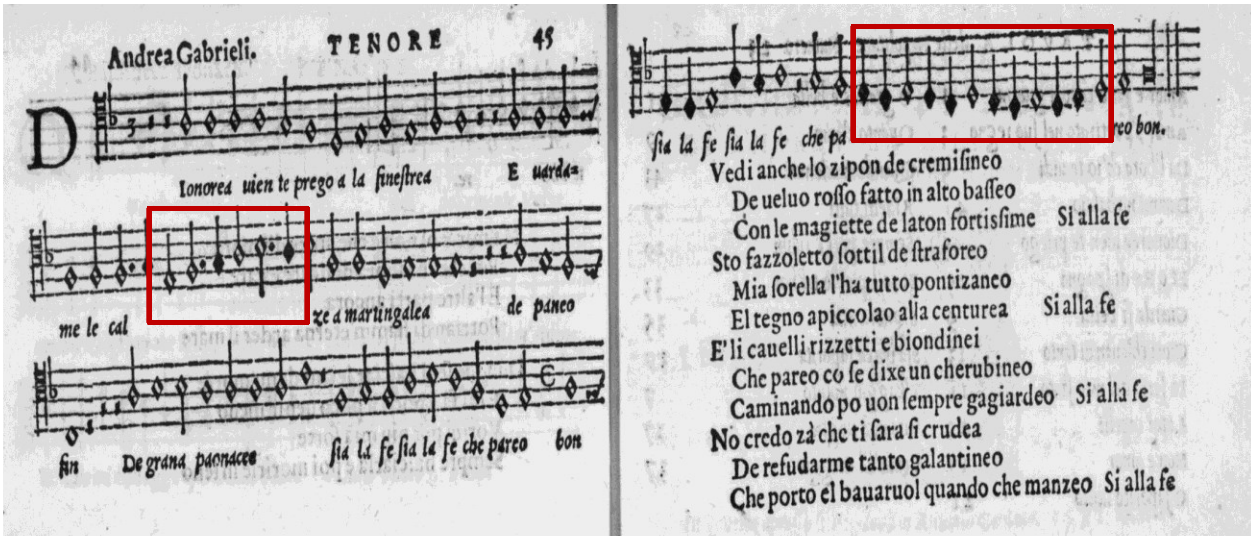
[29] I have not transcribed all of Rubsamen's *ficta* in this or the following example.


Andrea Gabrieli.
TENORE
45
D
Ionorea uien te prego a la fineſtrea
E uarda-
me le cal
ze a martingalea
de paneo
fin
De grana paonacee
ſia la fe ſia la fe che pareo
bon
ſia la fe ſia la fe che pa
reo bon.
Vedi anche lo zipon de cremiſineo
De ueluo roſſo fatto in alto baſſeo
Con le magiette de laton fortisſime
Si alla fe
Sto fazzoletto ſottil de ſtraforeo
Mia ſorella l'ha tutto pontizaneo
El tegno a picolao alla centurea
Si alla fe
E'li cauelli rizzetti e biondinei
Che pareo co ſe dixe un cherubineo
Caminando po uon ſempre gagiardeo
Si alla fe
No credo zà che ti ſara ſi crudea
De refudarme tanto galantineo
Che porto el bauaruol quando che manzeo
Si alla fe

Example 2.5*: A. Gabrieli, "Dionorea vien te prego," tenor part, from* Il sesto libro delle villotte alla napoletana de diversi con una zorziana *[...] (Venice: Gardano, 1570; RISM B/I 1570*^{21}*).*
Passages where stammering is included in the later print are highlighted in red.
Image scanned from London, British Library 53.a.24 (5).

In any case, it seems that these melismatic passages, whether or not they employ the stammering figure, may form part of a continuous tradition in Venetian-language song. That said, differences beween the "Ayme sospiri" as it appears in Petrucci and the later *giustiniane* of the 1570s make it clear that textural norms of improvised performance had shifted in the intervening half century. The *giustiniane* (and probably also the *gregheschе*) of the mid-sixteenth century demonstrate considerably more equality among the three voices and make frequent use of imitative passages. It is also certainly possible that the relationship between the fifteenth-century *giustiniana* and its mid-sixteenth-century equivalent is merely the result of a generic use of the word "giustiniana" in the Venetian cultural ambitus to refer to any kind of improvised solo song, though this interpretation is complicated by Gardano's use of the term *zorziana* rather than *giustiniana* to refer to the example above.[30] It is certainly tempting to read this as another reference to a famed improviser, the thirteenth-century troubadour Bartolomeo Zorzi, but the prominence of the patrician Zorzi (it. Giorgi) family—who served for many years as high-level government functionaries and governers of several of Venice's provinces in the eastern Mediterranean—makes this more distant association somewhat unlikely.[31]

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[30] As described below, this work may have appeared in the Scotto print without Gabrieli's permission, and the syllabic stammering in that print may have been added by Vincenzo Bellavere in order to fit in with the rest of the volume. Its appearance in the Gardano series may therefore have been a response meant to reassert the composer's original intentions.

It is unclear whether Zarlino, in the quote that opens this chapter, would have recognized the *giustiniane* and *zorziane* as subsets of the *villotte alla veneziana*, or whether the terms would in fact have been interchangeable to him.[32] The use of both terms to refer to the same piece certainly indicates that the any distinction between the two terms was not of a musical nature, but rather a simple matter of the use (or not) of the stammering device. It therefore seems reasonable to assume that it was to musical features like extended melismas and lack of phrase repetition that Zarlino was referring in setting Venetian traditions apart from those in other parts of Italy. Since these characteristics are shared by the three-voice *greghesche*, it seems best to include them under the category of his *villotte alla veneziana* as well.

2.4 The "Venetian trill"

An important subset of the extended melismas found in Venetian-language repertoire is what I will call the "Venetian trill," a rocking gesture that alternates between two neighbouring pitches and frequently coincides with a cadence or the end of a phrase (**Example 2.6**). It is distinct from the so-called "fake suspension," which produces a similar trill-like gesture, in that the upper neighbour does not produce a dissonance with the bass due to the motion of all voices.[33] This gesture appears in both the *giustiniana* above and in a number of Gabrieli's three-voice *greghesche* during their typical melismatic passages. The trills used in the *greghesche*, in fact, tend to be significantly longer and more exaggerated.

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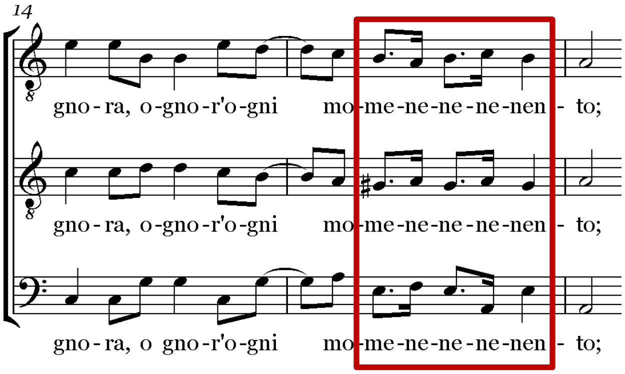
[31] Shawn Keener has also discussed the possible origins of the term *zorziana* in her dissertation, *The* giustiniana *Phenomenon and Venetian Cultural Memory*, and in a paper entitled "Naming the *giustiniana*," presented at the University of Chicago in 2014. At the time of this writing neither was available for consultation.

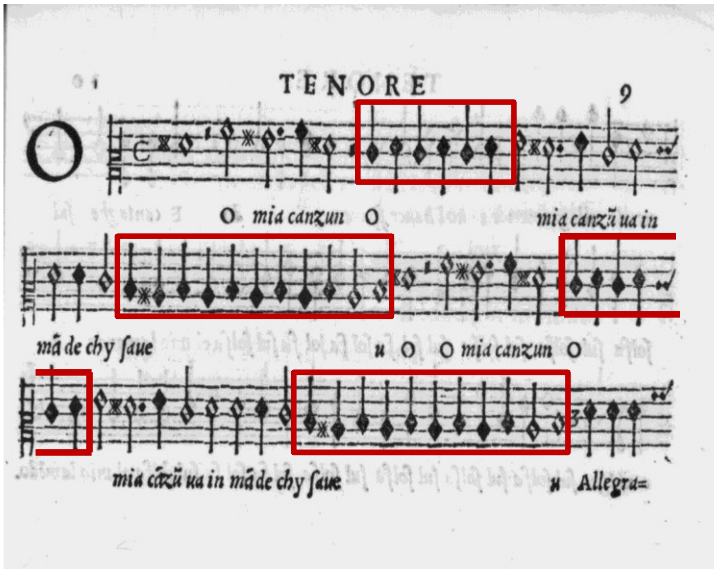
[32] Again, if the appearance of this piece in the Gardano print was in fact a response to Bellavere, it is clear that, at least to Gabrieli, this distinction did matter (even if it was not a musical one).

[33] On the fake suspension, v. Peter Schubert, *Modal Counterpoint*, 78.


14
gno - ra, o -gno -r'o -gni mo -me -ne -ne -ne -nen - to;
gno - ra, o -gno -r'o -gni mo -me -ne -ne -ne -nen - to;
gno - ra, o gno -r'o -gni mo -me -ne -ne -ne -nen - to;

Example 2.6: *A. Gabrieli, "Ancor che col partire," mm. 14-16.*
"Venetian trill" used at a cadence.[34]

The *greghesca* "O mia canzun," from Gabrieli's 1571 *Greghesche et Iustiniane*, employs several such exaggerated "trill" gestures, as seen in **Example 2.7**.


TENORE
9
O mia canzun O
mia canzũ ua in
mã de chy ſaue
O O mia canzun O
mia cãzũ ua in mã de chy ſaue
Allegra=

Example 2.7: *A. Gabrieli, "O mia canzun," tenor part, from* Greghesche et Iustiniane...à tre voci *(Venice: Gardano, 1571; RISM A/I G64). Note the four uses of the "Venetian trill," highlighted in red. Image scanned from London, British Library 53.a.24 (6).*

This particular stylistic element of three-voice Venetian-language songs may have been derived from the works for four or more voices found in the 1564 *Primo libro delle greghesche*. Though the gesture is not nearly as common in the four- and five-voice *greghesche* of the 1564 anthology as it is in the three-voice repertoire, it nonetheless appears frequently enough to indicate that composers participating in the volume viewed it as part of the musical language of the genre. Based on their use of the figure, it seems to have been especially associated with the vocabulary of physical desire, frustration, and longing.

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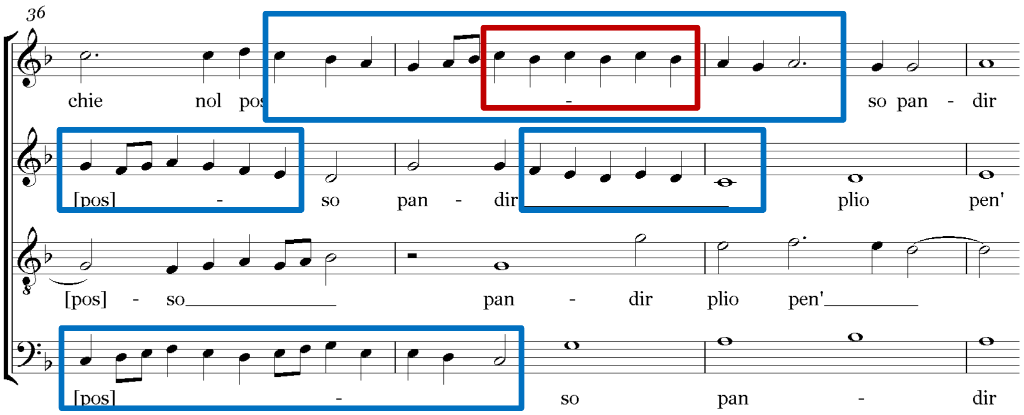
[34] All examples from the 1570 *Primo libro delle Iustiniane* have been transcribed to accord with the measure numbers and note values in Marco Materassi's modern edition of that volume. Materassi's note values are halved with respect to the original print.

It is used in this manner by Francesco Bonardo in his four-voice *greghesca* "Amur se mi til dao" to set the text "nol posso [pandir plio pen e danni]" (I cannot [bear more pain and suffering]), as seen in **Example 2.8.**[35]



***Example 2.8**: Bonardo, "Amur se mi til dao," mm. 36-39. Note the "Venetian trill" (red) and other uses of extended melismas (blue).*

Another example can be seen in Pietro Taglia's five-voice "Donna curtese e bella." Here it sets the text "[xe la retratto] de vu donna mia" ([it's the image] of you my lady), given on the following page in **Example 2.9.**

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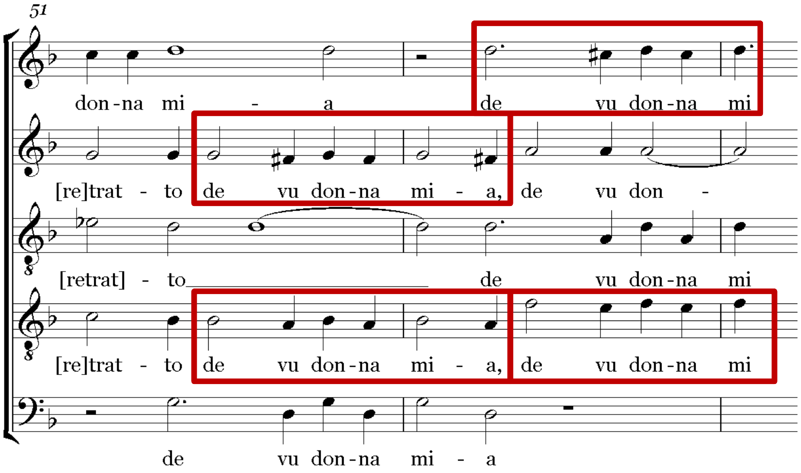
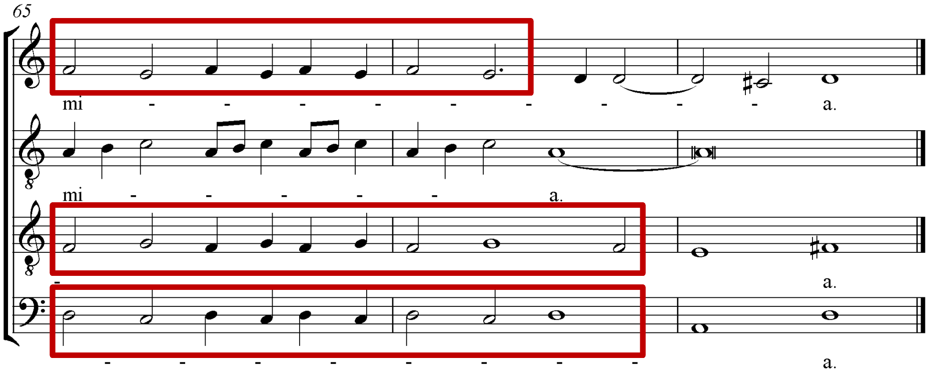
[35] The poetic contexts for these examples can be found in Appendix B.


51
don-na mi - a de vu don-na mi
[re]trat - to de vu don-na mi - a, de vu don -
[retrat] - to de vu don-na mi
[re]trat - to de vu don-na mi - a, de vu don-na mi
de vu don-na mi - a

Example 2.9*: Taglia, "Donna curtese e bella," mm. 51-53. Note the "Venetian trill" treated imitatively (red).*

The "Venetian trill" is also employed several times by Giaches de Wert in his four-voice *greghesca* "Chel bello Epithimia," discussed at greater length in Chapter 4.[36] His most extended use of the trill can be seen here at the end of the piece, given as **Example 2.10.**


65
mi - - - - - - - - - - a.
mi - - - - - a.
- a.
- - - - - - - - a.

Example 2.10*: Wert, "Chel bello Epithimia," mm. 65-67.*

Of the three composers who use the "Venetian trill" in the 1564 *Primo libro delle greghesche*, only Bonardo contributed significantly to the printed three-voice repertoire. He composed two of the works in Scotto's 1570 *Primo libro delle Iustiniane*, but the figure does not appear in either of these compositions. At the same time, Gabrieli, who employs the gesture frequently in his three-voice *gregesche* as well as in his *giustiniana* "Ancor che col partire," never uses it in any of the *gregesche* he composed for the 1564 *Primo libro delle gregesche*. This raises the question of why Gabrieli, certainly the most prolific composer of *gregesche*, only employed this seemingly characteristic stylistic feature in his three-voice Venetian-language works and not in those works printed in the larger anthology. One possible reason, described in the next section, is that the "Venetian trill" arose from the extended melisma fairly late in the *greghesca*'s history, and that many of the three-voice works were composed in a period slightly after most of those that appear in the 1564 volume.

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[36] Section **4.6.**

2.5 The Publication of Gabrieli's *Greghesche et Iustiniane*

It is possible that Gabrieli composed his three-voice *greghesche* after becoming familiar with the works by Wert, Bonardo, and Taglia shown above, and that he incorporated the "Venetian trill" into his later *greghesche* as an acknowledgement of their contributions to the style. Unfortunately the precise timeline for the composition of these works is not possible to derive from the existing evidence. As Gabrieli writes in the dedication to the 1571 *Greghesche et Iustiniane*:

> As M. Antonio Molino, called "Burchiella," has always been a gentleman and a father to me due to his singular virtue, and as I had already composed, several years ago, some music for a few of his Greek Madrigals, which were published by Gardano under the name Manoli Blessi, it occurred to the above-mentioned M. Antonio recently to present me with some books of *terzi* which I had composed, some of [whose texts] had been written by him in that pleasing Greek manner. And he thus asked me to have them printed...[37]

While Gabrieli's dedication to the volume does not clarify whether or not his three-voice *greghesche* had been composed after his contributions to the 1564 *Primo libro delle greghesche*, it does suggest that Molino had been in possession of Gabrieli's three-voice *giustiniane* for some indeterminate amount of time, and furthermore that it was Molino's idea to have them published. Molino may well have urged the publication of these works with the Gardano press in response to Scotto's 1570 publication of the *Primo libro delle Iustiniane*. In fact, Molino may even have spurred Gabrieli to action because their former collaborator Vincenzo Bellavere was publishing their works with Scotto without their prior knowledge or consent, and Molino may have feared that Bellavere was in possession of other pieces from the period of their collaboration that he intended to publish in a *Secondo libro*.[38]

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[37] Essendomi M. Antonio Molino, cognominato Burchiela, stato sempre, come padre, e signore, per le soe singolari virtù; & havendo io gia questi anni adietro composta la Musica sovra alcuni suoi Madrigali Grechi, posti alle stampe dal Gardano, sotto titolo di Manoli Blesi, ha paruto ancora al presente al detto M. Antonio di donarmi alcuni suoi libretti di Terzi, per me composti, & alcuni appresso per lui fatti alla Greca piacevoli. Egli adunque mi pregò, ch'io li facessi stampare...

It is clear that Bellavere was the driving force behind the 1570 *Primo libro delle Iustiniane*: the colophon clearly indicates that he was the princpal editor of the volume, its dedication to Giovan Francesco de Giulii is written and signed by him, and he also composed the majority of the compositions included therein. By 1570, Bellavere had been employed as the principal organist of the Scuola Grande di San Rocco for two years, after a brief appointment at the church of the Crocieri in Padua beginning in 1567. There is little biographical data for Bellavere before this Paduan appointment, but his contribution of one four-voice *greghesca* to Molino's 1564 *Primo libro* (his first published work at the age of approximately twenty-four) suggests that as a young man Bellavere had been part of Molino's social circle and collaborated with him musically. Given his age, he may even have received training at the "Accademia di Musica" that Molino founded with Giovanni Armonio Marso, though there is no surviving evidence in favour of this or of Siro Cisilino's claim that Bellavere was a student of Andrea Gabrieli's.[39]

It may have been during this period of collaboration that Bellavere came into possession of several of the works he published in the 1570 *Primo libro delle Iustiniane*, particularly the contributions by Andrea Gabrieli, Claudio Merulo, and Francesco Bonardo. All three were close friends and frequent collaborators of Molino's, and Merulo and Bonardo not only contributed to Molino's 1564 *Primo libro delle gregheschе*, but served—with Paolo Vergelli—as its dedicatees.[40] Merulo also published Molino's first book of madrigals at his short-lived music press in 1568. Considering the relatively close-knit nature of this social group, it seems unlikely that they would choose to publish multiple editions of the same group of pieces with both Gardano and Scotto in such a relatively short span of time. This seems even more unlikely given the differences between Gabrieli's "Dionorea vien te prego" as found in Bellavere's *Primo libro delle Iustiniane* and in Gardano's sixth book of *villotte alla napoletana* published the same year, where is is labeled a *zorziana* and presented without any stuttering on the melismas. Though the Gardano anthology lacks a dedication to date it within the year, the publication of Bellavere's collection in August would have allowed time for Gabrieli to append "Dionorea vien te prego" to the end of the Gardano anthology as a kind of corrective. Molino, for his part, could then have gathered together his own manuscript copies of Gabrieli's works and handed them over to the composer for publication the following year.

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[38] The *Secondo libro delle Iustiniane* that Scotto did eventually publish in 1575 did not involve Bellavere at all, including instead the works of the Trevisan Giuseppe Policreti, along with contributions by the Bolognese composers Domenico Micheli and Ascanio Trombetti. It thus appears to have been produced independently from Bellavere or anyone else that had been in Molino's circle in the early 1560s.

[39] On *frate* Armonio, as he was called, and his relationship with Molino, v. Carroll et al., *Delightful Madrigals*, 6-9. Cisilino makes the claim that Bellavere studied with Gabrieli in the brief bio of the composer that appears in the introduction to his modern edition of the *Primo libro delle greghesche*, v. It is likely that Cisilino based this claim on the fact that Bellavere succeeded Gabrieli as organist at San Marco in 1586 for a brief period before his death the following year.

Such a scenario would indicate that the three-voice *greghesche* and *giustiniane* published in 1570 and 1571 were roughly contemporary to the *greghesche* of the 1564 *Primo libro*, despite the six-year publication gap between them. If the "Venetian trill" developed as a specialised use of the more general extended melisma shortly before the publication of the 1564 volume, this might explain the marked shift in the frequency of its usage between Gabrieli's three-voice *greghesche* printed in 1571 and the four- and five-voice pieces he contributed to the *Primo libro delle greghesche* printed in 1564. In any case, it is clear that the Molino's 1564 *Primo libro delle greghesche*, Bellavere's 1570 *Primo libro delle Iustiniane*, and Andrea Gabrieli's 1571 *Greghesche et Iustiniane* all involved roughly the same group of people, and share a number of important musical features, such as the use of the extended melisma and the Venetian trill. This is not to say, however, that the *greghesche* of the 1564 collection are simply *villotte* for more voices. Even as they share certain features with their three-voice relatives, they show additional layers of complexity that set them apart.

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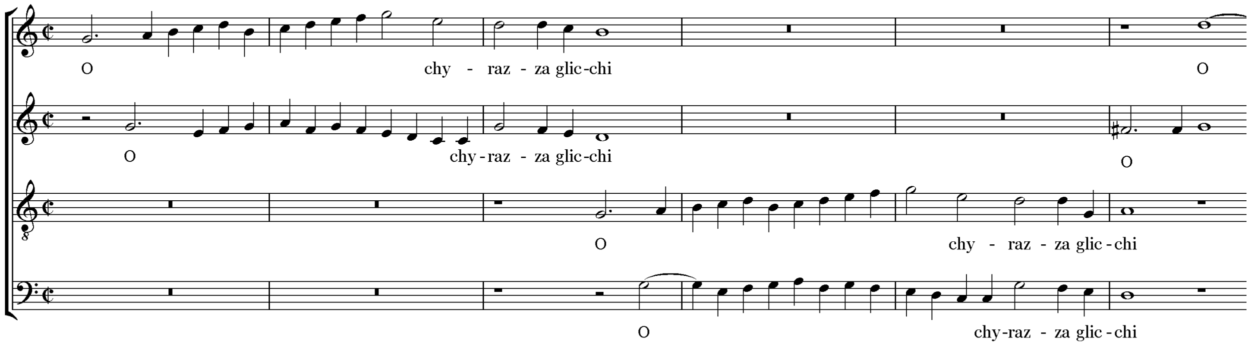
[40] Molino's friendship with Merulo and Bonardo (and Paolo Vergelli) is detailed in the dedication to the 1564 *greghesca* anthology, which can be found in Appendix B.

2.6 The *"Madrigali Grechi"* of the 1564 *Primo libro delle greghesche*

In the dedication to his 1571 collection of *greghesche* and *giustiniane* (quoted above), Gabrieli refers to contents of the 1564 *Primo libro delle greghesche* as "madrigali grechi." His use of that term to refer to these previously published works seems intended to set them apart from the three-voice compositions he was presenting in the 1571 volume, given his use of the word *terzi* rather than *madrigali* to refer to the pieces Molino had given him to print. The word *terzi* almost certainly refers to their status as trios rather than it does to any particular verse type: although there is certainly a distinction to be made between the predominantly "popular" forms set in the 1571 collection and the tendency toward more classically learned verse forms in the earlier anthology, they are not predominantly *terzetti* or anything else that would explain his use of the term to contrast the *madrigali* of 1564 *greghesca* anthology.

In keeping with their status as *madrigali* rather then *terzi*, the works in the 1564 *greghesca* anthology are consistently more consistent with the high madrigalian style than their three-voice cousins, particularly when it comes to form: while many of the three-voice *greghesche* and *giustiniane* are strophic and a few even employ repeated phrase structures reminiscent of the contemporary *napoletane*, the four-and five-voice *greghesche* of the 1564 anthology are entirely through-composed with the exception of the typical madrigalistic repetition of the final phrase. Due to their frequent use of longer poetic forms like *madrigali, ottave*, and sonnets, they are also somewhat longer on average than their three-voice cousins, and employ regular alternation between homophonic and more imitative passages.

The feature that the *greghesche* of the 1564 collection most share with the three-voice repertoire of 1571 is the extended melisma figure. The 1564 *greghesche* employ this figure especially frequently in their opening phrases, but many pieces also introduce them later on in the work. Of the thirty compositions in the 1564 collection, ten open with a melismatic gesture (when defined as six or more notes on a syllable). In these cases, the melisma is frequently presented in paired duos or with some other kind of imitative technique.[41] **Example 2.11** shows a typical opening for the volume, in this case Costanzo Porta's "O chyrazza glicchi," which begins with a long melisma on the first syllable in a manner nearly identical to Gabrieli's three-voice "O mia canzun," seen above in **Example 2.2**.



Example 2.11: *Costanzo Porta, "O chyrazza glicchi," mm. 1-6. Note the extended melisma on the first syllable, as seen also in* ***Ex. 2.2.***

A further nine *greghesche* make use of such a melisma somewhere other than the first phrase. Eleven pieces make no use of the extended melisma at all, but they are often outliers in other ways as well: Merulo's "Donna se l'occhio mio" and Gabrieli's "Como viver mil posso" are unusually short, as is Padovano's "Benedetta la gregaria," which in addition to being only five lines is set in triple metre throughout.

Another exception to the use of the extended melisma is one of the most well-known works in the collection: Alvise Willaert's musical lament for his uncle, who died after contributing only one composition to the anthology. Andrea Gabrieli's lament for Willaert, by contrast, employs the melismatic style quite extensively, so its absence in Alvise's piece could conceivably be the result of a relative unfamiliarity with the *greghesca* style. Alvise may, however, have have found the melismatic gestures inappropriate to the more sustained funereal affect of his lament: even Gabrieli's lament for Willaert avoids the use of extended melismas when the name of the deceased is first introduced, even if they return later on in the work.[42]

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[41] For the purposes of this discussion, pieces with more than one *parte* are counted only once.

[42] These works are the subject of a much more detailed discussion in Section **4.1**. Full scores of both pieces

It is Adrian Willaert's contribution to the volume, however, that can tell us the most about these "madrigali grechi" and their relationship to other works in the mid-century dialect repertoire. In 1544 Scotto issued an influential collection of four-voice *Canzone villanesche alla napoletana* composed by Willaert and Francesco Corteccia (RISM B/I 1544^{27}), which not only included four-voice reworkings of previously existing three-voice works, but also an original setting of the "Canzon di Ruzante," whose text employs a kind of Venetian-flavoured language. Ruzante was the stage name of the very well-known comic performer Angelo Beolco, whose "rustic" characters are normally more associated with Padua than with Venice itself, and indeed the language of the "Zoia zentil" has more in common with that of the *Villotte alla padovana* published in the 1550s than it does with the Venetian-language repertoire of the 1560s and '70s.[43] It will nonetheless serve as a useful point of comparison, for while other contributors to the 1564 collection did produce four- and five-voice dialect works in the decades following, Willaert was the only one to come in to the project with such a publication already on the market, and also the only one to have composed four-voice music in a language resembling Venetian.[44]

2.7 Willaert's Dialect Works

As previous studies have shown, Willaert's four-voice *napoletane* are typical of other adaptations of this repertoire for more than three voices in this period: the canto melody of the three-voice version (or of a shared source tune) is often set as a cantus firmus in the tenor line, and the phrase repetitions associated with the three-voice genre are maintained.[45] Typical of this kind of

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are included for reference in Part II.

[43] Cristofaro da Messisbugo describes a performance by Ruzante "alla padoana"at a 1529 Estense banquet in his *Libro novo nel qual si insegna a far d'ogni sorte di vivanda* (1564); v. Howard Mayer Brown, "A Cook's Tour."

[44] These other contributors were Giulio Renaldi, who published a book of five-voice *napoletane* in 1576 (RISM A/I R1157), and Giaches de Wert, who published a volume of five-voice *canzonette villanesche* in 1589 (RISM A/I W888). This last collection is discussed later in this chapter due to its inclusion of a Greek-language piece.

[45] On this v. especially De Ford, "Musical Relationships," 113-116, Cardamone, *The Canzone villanesca*, 179-208, Pirrotta, " Willaert e la canzone villanesca," 191-217. Cardamone argues (*The Canzone villanesca,*

formal repetition is his “O dolce vita mia,” which was based on a three-voice work by Nola and employs the latter’s melody as the tenor line. Formally, it follows a strict |: AA :||: BB :||: CC :| pattern, wherein all sections are comprised of two iterations of the same music (thus repeating the single phrase four times). Other works in the collection less constrained by previous material take some liberties with the repeat scheme: “Sempre mi ride sta” eliminates the repeat of the B section, for example, and the famous “Vecchie letrose” only repeats the first phrase verbatim, employing substantial contrapuntal reworking for the other sections.

The *Canzon di Ruzante* is, by and large, consistent with the other works in the collection in which it appears. In terms of language, it is written in a Venetian or Paduan equivalent of the highly Tuscanised Neapolitan that came to characterise the mid-century *villanesche* and *villanelle:* while it maintains a few surface characteristics of Veneto phonology, its consistent use of Tuscan diphtongs (e.g. “cuore”), past participles (e.g. “portato”) and the Tuscan third-person singular of the verb “to be” (*è*) rather than the Venetian equivalent (*xe*) all set it apart from the later poetic repertoire that is more linguistically faithful to Venetian:

Ruzante / Willaert, “Zoia zentil” (1544)

Zoia zentil, che per secreta via	Noble Gioia, who by a hidden path
T’en vai di cuor in cuore	Go along from heart to heart
Portando la legrezza de l’amore,	Bringing the thrill of love,
Col to venir celato	With your secret visit
Tanto ben m’hai portato	You have brought me such delight
Che per legrezza tanta	That by this great thrill
El me forza che canta:	I’m compelled to sing:
Fa li le li lon, fa li le li lon.	Fa li le li lon, fa li le li lon.
Beato colui son	Lucky is he
Ch’a lo so amor in don.	Who has his love as a gift;
L’amor nè bel nè caro	Love lacks beauty and value
Che s’ha col so danaro.	For those who pay in cash.
Pi che’l si paga, manco è da stimare:	The more one pays, the less it is appreciated:
L’amor donato non si può pagare.	But love freely given is priceless.

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29) that cantus firmus adaptations ceased to be the norm for four-voice *villanelle* after about 1567, but Ruth De Ford rightly points out that the low survival rate of three-voice models makes this claim unprovable in practice (“Musical Relationships,” 113 n 12).

While the setting of the text does not employ the stricter structural repeats of the *napoletane*, it does contain substantial musical repetition associated with each pair of rhyming couplets. This repetition is normally varied in some fashion: sometimes only one of the two lines is repeated, sometimes the repetition is only partial, and other times—as in the first three lines—the repeated musical unit does not align precisely with divisions in the text.[46]

The use of nonsense syllables to represent singing is common in *villanelle* and later *canzonette*, and is a characteristic also shared by the three-voice Venetian-language repertoire: frequently the *greghesche* and *giustiniane* that depict trios of old men contain a "singing" passage either using solmisation syllables or other vocalizations distinct from the nasal "stuttering" employed elsewhere. Such passages do not, however, appear in any of the Venetian-language works for more than three voices.

A brief comparison to Willaert's "Dulce padrun" shows just how different things were for the composer when it came to the *greghesche*.[47] "Dulce padrun," like the rest of the 1564 *greghesche* and unlike "Zoia zentil," contains no internal repetition. It is, furthermore, an unusually long piece: its first *parte*, at fifty breves, is the longest of any in the collection and the only one to risk spilling over into a second page in the print, as seen in **Example 2.12** on the next page. Most of the other works in the collection, by contrast, have at least a system to spare.

One contributing factor to the work's unusual length is certainly its very long text (see below): "Dulce padrun" is twenty-one lines long, and eighteen of these lines are full hendecasyllables. Formally it seems to be constructed out of a *canzone* with the addition of a short invocation and a full *madrigale* tacked on to the end. The division between the two *parti* does not accord with the division between the *canzone* and *madrigale* sections, but instead falls two lines earlier. This helps to balance the length of the two parts, and also renders the beginning of the second half slightly more dramatic, as the narrator's role in healing the master's illness is more forcefully contrasted with the preceding list of possible cures.

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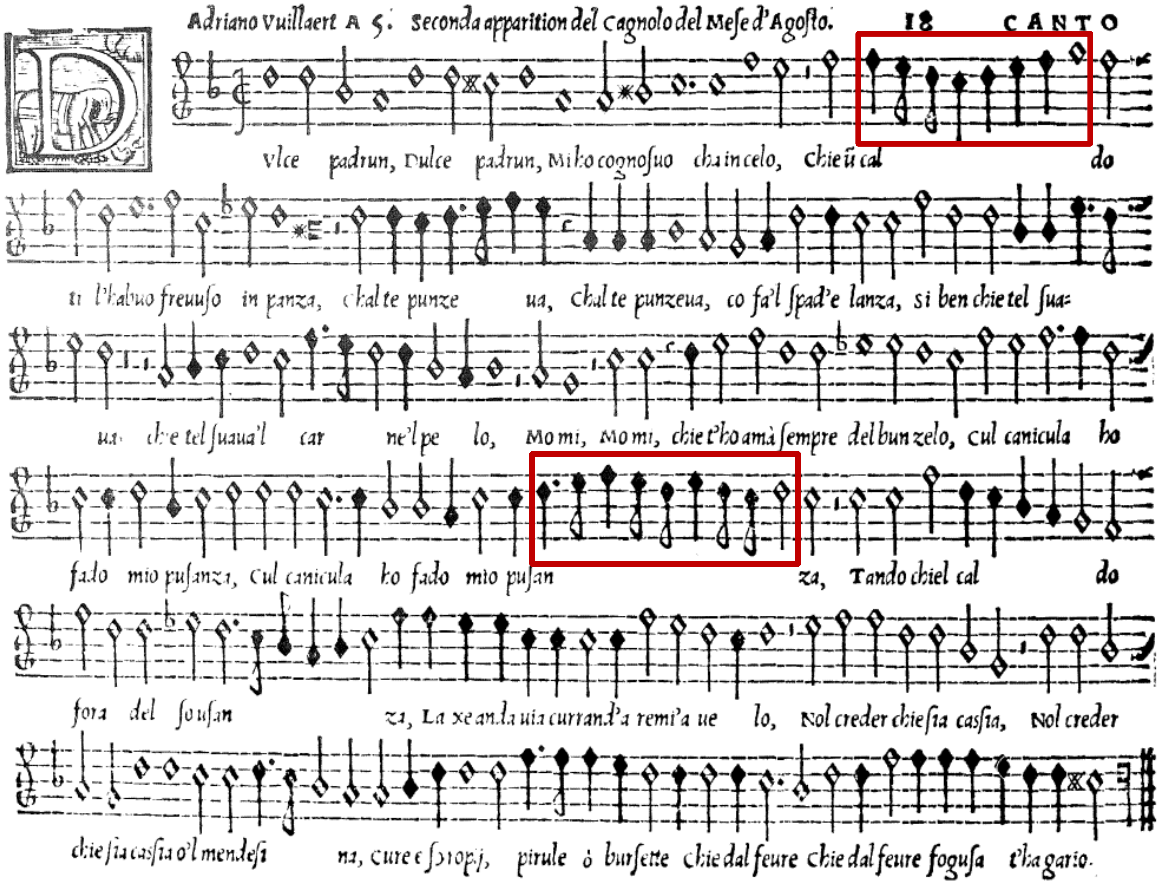
[46] A modern edition of "Zoia zentil" can be found in Willaert, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 14, 170-73.

[47] I discuss the possible origin of the piece and its companion, Grisonio's "Vu ha ben casun," in Section **4.5**.


Adriano Vuillaert A 5. Seconda apparition del Cagnolo del Meſe d'Agoſto.
18 CANTO
D vlce padrun, Dulce padrun, Mi ho cognoſuo cha in celo, Chie ũ cal do
ti l'habuo freuuſo in panza, chal te punze ua, Chal te punzeua, co fa'l ſpad'e lanza, si ben chie tel ſua-
ua, che tel ſuaua'l car ne'l pe lo, Mo mi, Mo mi, chie t'ho amà ſempre del bun zelo, Cul canicula ho
fado mio puſanza, Cul canicula ho fado mio puſan za, Tando chiel cal do
fora del ſouſan za, La xe anda uia currand'a remi'a ue lo, Nol creder chie ſia caſſia, Nol creder
chie ſia caſſia o'l mendeſi na, cure e ſyropij, pirule ò burſette chie dal feure chie dal feure foguſa t'ha gario.

***Example 2.12**: Willaert, "Dulce padrun," canto part. Note the two appearances of the extended melisma, highlighted in red. Image scanned from Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, SA.76.D.30.*

Molino / Adrian Willaert: "Dulce padrun"

Dulce padrun, mi ho cognosuo cha in celo	Sweet master, I have come to know here in heaven
Chie un caldo ti l'habuo frevuso in panza	That a feverish heat has struck your belly
Chal te punzeva, co fa 'l spad'e lanza	That pierces you like a sword or a lance
Si ben chie tel suava 'l carne 'l pelo.	So much that your flesh swelters.
Mo mi, chie t'ho amà sempre del bun zelo	Now I, who have always loved you with zeal
Cul canicula ho fado mio pusanza	Have used my influence over the dog star
Tando chiel caldo fora del so usanza	Such that the unusual heat
La xe anda via currand'a remi'a velo.	Has fled by oar and sail.
Nol creder chie sia cassia o 'l mendesina,	Don't think that it was the cassia or the medicine,
Cure e syropii, pirule ò bursette	The salves or syrups, the pills or poultices,
Chie dal fevre fogusa t'ha gario:	That cured you of this fiery fever:

Seconda parte	*Second part*
Mi xe stà chel c'ha fado dulceghina	I was the one who made sweetness
Vegnir so bucca al can cul carezzette.	Come upon that dog's mouth with gentle caresses.
Va pia mo dal giatròs to sold'in drio.	Now go get your money back from the doctor.
Padrun resta cun Dio.	Master, rest with God.
Mi no tel porrò dir plio veritae	I can't stay to tell you any more truths
Per fin chie no la turna l'aldro istae;	At least not until summer returns again;
Via da cheste cundrae	From these regions I will depart
Andemo all'aldro polo cun sto can.	To the other side of the world with this dog.
Me recumando a vui, te baso'l man.	I wish you well, and kiss your hand.

The sheer weight and complexity of this composition clearly sets it apart from Willaert's other dialect works, and it is perhaps unsurprising that both of Molino's lament texts for Willaert in the 1564 anthology relate his disappointment that the master's death had taken away any further chance of artistic collaboration between the two men.[48]

It is thus clear that it was not by mere chance that Andrea Gabrieli refers to the contents of the 1564 *greghesca* anthology as "madrigali grechi" and not by any other name. These works, while sharing a number of stylistic traits with the three-voice Venetian repertoire, are otherwise much more ambitious than the four- and five-voice dialect repertoire of the same period. It is also clear that the emphasis in this term should be on the word *madrigali* rather than *grechi*, as Greekness in and of itself does not seem to constitute grounds for significant stylistic variation: unlike works that employ Venetian or Neapolitan linguistic features, there appear to be no distinct musical features associated with the use of Greek linguistic elements in sixteenth-century polyphony. We can see this both in the stylistic homogeneity between the *giustiniane* and Gabrieli's three-voice *greghesche*, and by the fact that the only example of a fully Greek-language polyphonic song composed by a contributor to the 1564 anthology—Giaches de Wert's "Tis pyri pir"—does not seem to be at all musically related to this corpus but rather stylistically consistent with his other "light" canzonettas.[49]

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[48] The full score for Willaert's "Dulce padrun" can be found in Part II, and full texts for Molino's laments (set by Gabrieli and Alvise), are provided with translations in Appendix B.

[49] A modern edition of this work can be found in Wert, *Collected Works*, vol. 14, 49-51.

2.8 Wert's *Tis pyri pir* and the 1589 Canzonettas

In 1589 Giaches de Wert published a volume of *Canzonette villanelle* with the Gardano press that included a number of works in other languages. These included three songs in French, two in Spanish, and one in Greek. While these are all distinctly labeled in the print according to the language of their texts, there is no significant variation in musical style among these works corresponding to their differences in language. "Tis pyri pir," like most of the other works in the volume, is scored for a trio of high voices, which are predominantly homophonic, and two accompanying lower voices with a higher degree of contrapuntal independence. Given also the specific references to the Mantuan environment in some of the works and the volume's dedication to the Duchess Leonora Gonzaga, it is exceedingly likely that these works were drawn from the repertoire of Vincenzo Gonzaga's newly established *concerto delle donne*, which had been assembled a few years earlier.[50]

"Tis pyri pir" does not maintain any of the key stylistic characteristics associated with the earlier *greghesca* repertoire, such as the extended melisma or the use of the "Venetian trill" that permeated Wert's own contribution to the 1564 anthology. Although the rarity of Greek-language polyphony in the sixteenth century leaves us with only this one data point for comparison, it seems safe to conclude that the extended melisma and "Venetian trill" are coded as specifically *Venetian* rather than Greek stylistic figures, or at the very least they were closely associated with the circle of musicians that surrounded Molino and Gabrieli in the 1560s.

There is, however, one further category of Venetian-language works which do not share these common characteristics, possibly because they were meant to represent a different style of performance than is represented by the *greghesche* and *giustiniane*. As this group of pieces is not referred to with any specific name in the historical literature, I have called them *arie veneziane* in order to specify both their use of Venetian and their close connection to the mid-sixteenth century tradition of *madrigali ariosi*.[51]

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[50] This is also Iain Fenlon's conclusion; v. id., *Music and Patronage in Mantua*, vol. 1, 144-46.

[51] See also Section **3.3**.

2.9 Improvisatory *Arie veneziane* by Agostini and Molino

As mentioned previously in this chapter, Lodovico Agostini's 1567 *Bizzarre rime*, a collection of musical settings drawn from Andrea Calmo's 1553 print of the same name, do not carry any indications of genre on their title page. They are, however, notably distinct from Agostini's only other dialect works, which appear in his 1574 book of *Canzoni alla napoletana a cinque voci* (RISM A/I A406).[52] Like many other *napoletane* for more voices, Agostini's contributions are largely elaborations of pre-existing three-voice works, and for this reason maintain the usual formal features associated with the *villotte* and *villanelle* of that period. Adriano Cavicchi and Riccardo Nielsen lay out the relationships between Agostini's compositions and their three-voice sources in the critical apparatus to their modern edition of the collection. The sources come primarily from *villotta* collections from the 1560s, and only seven of the twenty-two compositions do not have surviving three-voice models.[53]

Agostini's settings of Calmo's *Rime* are quite distinct in style from his *napoletane*, and far more consistent with his second book of four-voice madrigals. They contain no structural repeats other than the typical madrigalistic repetition of the final phrase. They also share with his four-voice madrigals a predominantly homophonic texture, with each line of text set off by rests.[54] Typical also of these pieces is frequent chromatic alteration, which the composer himself refers to in the dedication as "note infilzae" ("piercing notes)."[55] As I demonstrate in the next chapter, it is likely that the use of this style is a deliberate reference to the several prints of *madrigali ariosi* issued by Antoine Barré in Rome in the 1550s and '60s, especially given Agostini's own contribution to this series.[56] As Molino's few *greghesche* are also stylistically indistinguishable from the madrigals of his 1568 *Primo libro* and share all of the most important musical features that define Agostini's *Rime*, it is likely that he is also referring to the same tradition, if not Agostini's works specifically.[57] The works in Agostini's 1567 collection of *Bizzarre rime* and the four-voice *greghesche* in Molino's 1568 first book of madrigals therefore form a unique and stylistically distinct subgenre within the Venetian-language corpus, even as they maintain strong textual ties with the other works in the corpus through the use of Calmo's and Molino's poetry.

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[52] A complete modern edition of this print is Cavicchi and Nielsen, eds, *Canzoni alla napolitana*. Selections also appear edited by Bernard Thomas, *Thesaurus Musicus*, vols. 9 & 10.

[53] Cavicchi and Nielsen, *Canzoni alla napolitana*, 18-20**.**

[54] A more thorough discussion of the musical style in these works can be found in Sections **3.3** & **3.4**.

[55] "Infilzar" also carries the implication of sliding between two things, as chromatic notes lie between the diatonic. The complete text of the dedication can be found in Appendix A.

[56] I discuss this connection in Section **3.3**.

2.10 Conclusion

As this chapter has shown, the linguistically determined genre categories normally employed by Italian Renaissance printers are not adequate to describe the stylistic variation within the larger Venetian-language corpus. The *greghesche*, for example, are the most diverse of all Venetian-language pieces and fall into three different musical sub-categories despite their unity of language and textual authorship.

Despite the great variety in their realisation, however, it is clear that Venetian pieces were perceived as a unique category by composers in the sixteenth century, and one that did not overlap significantly with the Neapolitan-inspired genres of the same period. Venetian pieces, unlike other dialect works, avoided significant repetition at the level of the phrase, with the exception of the kind of final-phrase repetition also commonly found in madrigals of this period. This is true even of the three-voice works, although these may repeat a single through-composed strophe. The lone exception to this rule is Willaert's "Canzon di Ruzante" from his 1544 collection of four-voice *villanesche.* It is likely, however, that Ruzante's authorship of that work's text and the Tuscanizing features of its language indicate that a kind of pseudo-Paduan was probably intended rather than lagunar Venetian.

Comparison to Wert's "Tis pyri pir" also shows that the unique musical features that the *greghesca* corpus shares with the *giustiniane* were intended to mark them as Venetian pieces rather than as Greek ones. This has important implications for the use of *greghesche* as symbols of Venetian unity across the Mediterranean, and I will return to this topic, and the likely social context in which these pieces were composed, in Chapter 4. Lastly, as we will see in the next chapter, the existence of a specifically Venetian musical language also presents the opportunity for conversion of text and music in the high style into a specifically Venetian expressive mode.

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[57] Molino's style is discussed in more detail in Section **4.4**.

Chapter 3

Bizzarrie d'ogni saor

PARODY AND VENETIAN-LANGUAGE *POESIA PER MUSICA*

With most debates over the *questione della lingua* that raged during the first few decades of the *cinquecento* settled in favour of the *fiorentino aureo* advocated by Bembo and his followers, the exclusion of dialects and regionalisms from the field of high literary production allowed them to be re-purposed for other aesthetic goals. It thus seems likely that the explosion of dialect theatre, poetry, and music in this period was encouraged, at least in part, by the broad acceptance and standardisation among the literary classes of the Bembist triglossic paradigm, outlined in the first chapter.[1] This is perhaps most famously demonstrated through their use from the late sixteenth century onward by *commedia dell'arte* practitioners to indicate particular social roles and personality traits. As we shall see, however, the cultural space that dialect and dialect music inhabited in the 1560s and '70s—a time during which those *commedia* tropes associated with dialect were still in the process of codification in the hands of individual celebrity performers—was particularly complex.

After all, the acceptance of the Bembist paradigm did not necessarily amount to a complete disavowal of the use of dialect among the *cinquecento* literati: rather, it opened up the potential for aesthetically sophisticated use of dialect as a complement to—and commentary on—high literary culture and its associated aesthetics and ideologies. This is precisely Benedetto Croce's *letteratura dialettale riflessa*, discussed in the first chapter: the choice to use dialect, when made by cultural elites well-versed in the high style, inevitably reflects and comments upon that style.[2] Easily one of the most important figures associated with such a use of the Venetian language in this period was the poet and playwright Andrea Calmo (1510-71), whose largest collection of dialect poetry, the *Bizzarre, faconde, et ingeniose rime pescatorie*, was first published by Bertacagno in 1553. Calmo's verse, both improvised and in print, appears to have inspired nearly all the surviving Venetian-language polyphony produced before the very last years of the century: the three-voice *giustiniane* anthologies published by Scotto in 1570 and 1575 and Lodovico Agostini's four-voice settings of the *Rime* printed by Pozzo in Milan in 1567 all employ Calmo's (or Calmian) verse.[3]

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[1] Section **1.4**.

[2] I discuss this concept more extensively in Section **1.5**

3.1 Literary Parody and Dialect "Translation"

One of the most important sub-groups of the overarching corpus of dialect poetry includes those poems that directly parody well-known works in literary Italian. Dialect renderings of pre-existing poems are not quite "translations" in a traditional sense: the change in language necessitates not only the expected grammatical and lexical alterations consistent with the target language, but also involves changes in register, content, and—crucially—cultural and geographical references that concretely locate the new work within a local context. Viewed through the lens of the Italian literary *triglossia*, the "translation" of such works in a *volgare* other than the *fiorentino aureo* in which they originated constituted a kind of subversive act: a direct undermining of the literary order that Bembo and his followers had worked so hard to establish in the first decades of the sixteenth century. This kind of parody is perhaps the most straightforward example of Benedetto Croce's concept of *letteratura dialettale riflessa*, outlined in the first chapter, for any understanding of such works is by definition bound up in their relationship to the original texts and their position in the overarching cultural environment.[4]

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[3] These collections were all preceded by only one other print of Venetian-language polyphony, the 1564 *Di Manoli Blessi il primo libro delle greghesche*, discussed at length in the next chapter. Because the language of these pieces is marked by the use of Greek ethnolect, for the purposes of this dissertation I consider them linguistically distinct.While the first anthology of three-voice *giustiniane* was published in 1571, some examples are found in other collections of three-voice music as early as 1565. On these, v. Shawn Keener, "Virtue, Illusion, Venezianità," especially 129-32, and "Love alla veneziana." Her dissertation on the topic, entitled *The Giustiniana Phenomenon and Venetian Cultural Memory* (University of Chicago, 2014), was not yet available for consultation at the time of this writing.

[4] For my discussion of Croce and Italian triglossia, v. Sections **1.4** & **1.5**.

Before applying this framework to Calmo's dialect parodies, however, a short discussion of the larger practice of literary parody in Renaissance Italy will help to provide a broader context in which dialect translations can be understood as a distinct phenomenon. Literary parody was, after all, a popular pastime for the educated classes in Renaissance Italy. Not infrequently, these parodies operated through exaggeration of some frequently-criticised trait of a given author's writing. Ariosto, for example, saw the complex narrative of his *Orlando furioso* pushed into the realm of farce in parodies such as Teofilo Folengo's *Orlandino* and Antonio Molino's *Fatti e prodezze di Manoli Blessi*. Dante's works, by contrast, were singled out for the harshness of their language by Bembo and his followers, and it is precisely this feature of Dante's style that was later parodied by the *poligrafo* Antonfrancesco in his *Dialogo della musica* (Venice: Scotto, 1544).[5]

Doni's parody of Dante is, in fact, a useful point of comparison for Calmo's parodies, for since it does not employ dialect it allows us to classify similarities between it and Calmo's work as deriving from a more general tradition of literary parody, and consequently also allows for a finer sense of what, if anything, distinguishes dialect parody from the larger phenomenon. The passage is part of a larger aside in the second evening's conversation about the nature of a beautiful lady, in which the interlocutors cast some doubt on the worthiness of contemporary literary criticism. The character Bargo claims that, were Dante to return to life, he'd hardly recognise his own mind in the barrage of analysis to which his works have been subjected. The composer Claudio Veggio, claiming to be a Dante expert himself, responds with the following excerpt:

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[5] There are two modern editions of Doni's *Dialogo*: one by Gianfrancesco Malipiero that was published in 1964, and another by Anna Maria Monterosso Vacchelli, published in 1969. They differ primarily in that Vacchelli relegates all the scores to the end of the collection, while Malipiero, in a gesture of fidelity with the source, includes each piece at the point where it is sung by the characters; this is consistent with the disposition of the original canto partbook. For consistency, all citations of Doni will be to the Vacchelli edition.

Doni (1543)

Sbraccandosi i dolor sopra le stelle,	Their pain shattering upon the stars
Quivi s'udiva raghiar con alti guai	In that place one heard frigid voices,
Voci infreddate, e suon di campanelle,	Moaning in great suffering, and the sound of bells,
Tal che a trar via la testa incominciai.	Such that I began to tear off my head.[6]

Doni's characters all have a good laugh over these lines, and with good reason: not only do they present an exaggerated version of Dante's supposed poetic excesses, but are actually close enough to the source material to be immediately recognisable as one of the most famous moments in the *Inferno*, where, having come upon the gate to hell and its famous inscription ("lasciate ogni speranza, voi ch'entrate/abandon all hope, ye who enter here"), the narrator hears the terrible cries of the suffering echoing from within:

Dante, *Inferno* III: 24-32

Quivi sospiri, pianti e alti guai	Here heartsick sighs and groanings and shrill cries
risonavan per l'aere sanza stelle,	Re-echoed through the air devoid of stars,
per ch'io al cominciar ne lagrimai.	So that, but started, I broke down in tears.
Diverse lingue, orribili favelle,	Babbling tongues, terrible palaver,
parole di dolore, accenti d'ira,	Words of grief, inflections of deep anger,
voci alte e fioche, e suon di man con elle	Strident and muffled speech, and clapping hands,
facevano un tumulto, il qual s'aggira	All made a tumult that whipped round and round
sempre in quell'aura sanza tempo tinta,	Forever in that colorless and timeless air,
come la rena quando turbo spira.	Like clouds of sand caught up in a whirlwind.[7]

A side-by side comparison of the two texts reveals just how much the parody offered by Doni's fictionalised Veggio shares with its model. Although Doni's rendering of the passage bears a number of significant differences with the source, he has nonetheless taken pains to maintain not only a sense of Dante's rhyme scheme, but also a significant portion of the section's core vocabulary:

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[6] Vacchelli (ed.), *L'Opera musicale*, 122.

[7] Translation by James Finn Cotter, web edition for *Italian Studies Online* ed. Charles Franco, (http://www.italianstudies.org/comedy/index.htm).

Dante

Quivi sospiri, pianti e **alti guai**
risonavan per l'aere sanza **stelle**,
per ch'io al **cominciar** ne lagrimai.
Diverse lingue, orribili favelle,
parole di **dolore**, accenti d'ira,
voci alte e fioche, **e suon di** ***man con elle*** […]

Doni (1543)

Sbraccandosi i **dolor** sopra le **stelle**,
Quivi s'udiva raghiar con **alti guai**
Voci infreddate, **e suon di** ***campanelle*****,**
Tal che a trar via la testa **incominciai**.

Of particular note is that, though this vocabulary is retained, and, in the case of *man con elle*, transformed into the phonetically similar *campanelle*, Dante's original ordering of these elements is not preserved particularly closely. In addition to cutting two lines from the excerpt, thereby eliding the introduction of a third rhyme (here *ira*) into the scheme and reducing it to a simple quatrain, Doni has inverted the remaining scheme such that it begins with B rather than A. This elision, which through denying the entrance of a new rhyme negates the possibility of continuation, underlines the idea of the parody verse as a stand-alone creation of Veggio's character rather than as an excerpt from a longer work.

Doni's parody of Dante takes on additional bite from its sheer similarity to the source material, giving the reader the distinct impression that the source text was already so close to self-parody that very little intervention on the author's part was actually needed to transform it into an object of ridicule rather than one of admiration. This is, essentially, the exact same *modus operandi* we will see employed in Calmo's dialect parodies. There too, the original text is not only recognisable, but almost completely intact: only a few substitutions of vocabulary and a new ending were required to transform one of the most emblematic examples of madrigalian poetry into utter self-parody. This treatment of source texts remains an important theme in Calmo's *Bizzarre rime*, and Gabrieli was not alone in recognising the potential of using the very same kinds of techniques employed by the verse parodists in setting the texts musically.

3.2 Making the *Magnifico*: Andrea Gabrieli's "Ancor che col partire"

One of the most compelling entries in the *Primo libro delle Iustiniane* is Andrea Gabrieli's setting of a Venetian-language parody of Alfonso da Avalos's famous text for Rore's "Ancor che col partire." This piece, like Gabrieli's other contributions to the volume, was reprinted in his own book of *Greghesche et Iustiniane* in the following year. While the text is not attributed to Calmo in either source, Gabrieli's social ties with Calmo's collaborator Antonio Molino and Calmo's association with the *magnifico* character make his authorship quite likely.[8] Furthermore, the style of the parody is very much consistent with Calmo's other Venetian parody verses, discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

The parody is astonishingly close to the original verse in both structure and vocabulary. Each line maintains the syllable count of the original madrigal, and the rhyme scheme is maintained exactly with the exception of the final two lines. For the most part changes amount to an adoption of Venetian orthography and occasional substitution of vocabulary items. It is in these substitutions that the parody finds its primary source of humour: the substituted words are not exact synonyms, but rather words that help to reframe the character of the narrator as a lecherous old man (given in bold below). *Sgagiolire* (undone by desire), for example, replaces the typical madrigalian death metaphor with an open acknowledgment of the narrator's frustrated physical desire for the beloved. Denied the *piacere* (pleasure) of Avalos and Rore's original, Gabrieli's narrator feels instead only *furor* (frenzy), which he handles by running in circles (*scamper; córo intorno intorno*) like a chicken and, in a particularly colourful metaphor relying on the white hue of chicken excrement, ejaculating thousands of times a day (*mille schite schito al zorno*).

Avalos / Rore (1547)

Ancor che col partire	Although with my departure
io mi sento morire,	I feel as if I'm dying,
partir vorrei ogn'hor, ogni momento:	I'd like to leave every hour, every moment:
tant'è il piacer ch'io sento	Such is the pleasure that I feel
de la vita ch'acquisto nel ritorno:	In the life I gain upon returning;
et così mille e mille volte il giorno	And so thousands and thousands of times a day
partir da voi vorrei:	I'd like to leave you:
tanto son dolci gli ritorni miei.	So sweet are my returns.

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[8] Pirrotta also gives this piece as a probable example of a written-out version of one of Calmo's in-character stage improvisations; v. Pirrotta, *Music and Theatre*, 102-5.

Anon. (Calmo?) / A. Gabrieli (1570)

Ancor che col partire	Although with my departure
me sento **sgagiolire**;	I feel destroyed by my desire;
scamper vorave ogn'ora, ogni momento	I'd like to flee from you every hour, every moment:
Tant'è 'l **furor** che sento,	Such is the frenzy that I feel,
che córo intorno intorno.	That I run around in circles.
E cusì mille **schite schito** al zorno,	And so I blow a thousand loads a day,
E qualche volta ogn'ora,	And sometimes—all the time—
buto per vu, crudel cara signora	I toss it off for you, dear cruel lady.

Since the typical madrigalian "game" of coded reference has already been given up thanks to these vocabulary substitutions, it is no longer necessary for the author of the parody (Calmo or otherwise) to employ Avalos's last lines—which serve the usual epigrammatic function of playfully acknowledging the running metaphor—in the parody.[9] Thus they are abandoned entirely and replaced with an entirely different ending, but one which nonetheless maintains its textual connection to the third line: the original poem's reference back to the words *partir vorrei* is replaced with a reference back to the parody's *ogn'ora*. This substitution further accentuates the parody's immediacy by emphasizing the narrator's prolonged suffering over any attempt at the usual epigrammatic closing.

In setting the text Gabrieli shows himself to be particularly sensitive to the author's parodic agenda: though the reduced texture of the three-voice *giustiniane* necessitates a number of substantial changes to the music, there are nonetheless quite a few moments in Gabrieli's version that clearly reference Rore's original setting of the text.[10] The first phrase, for example, mimics Rore's opening texture, treating the original tenor's melody in imitation in all voices, but cleverly shifting it through the hexachord so as to allow both the upper and lower voices to enter with the original soprano's *la-sol* (**Examples 3.1** and **3.2** below).

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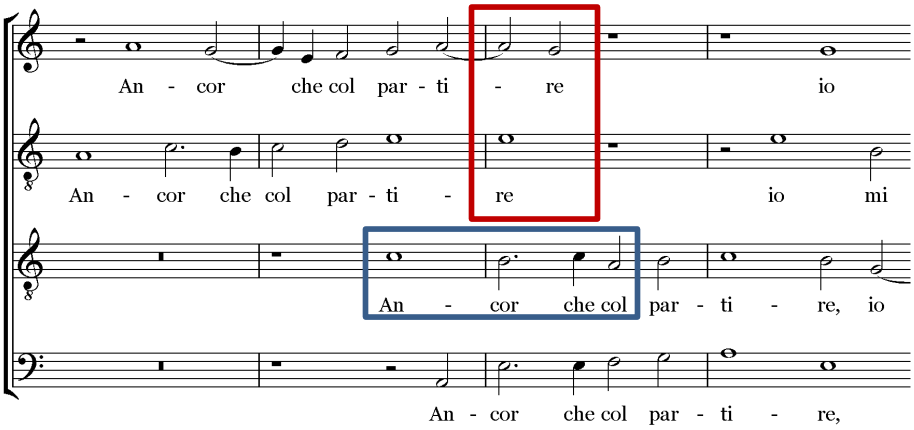
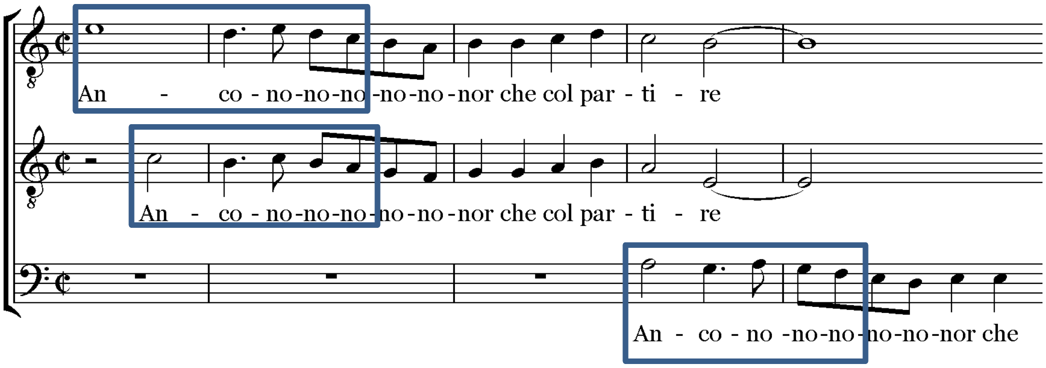
[9] A broader discussion on the role of coded sex in the madrigal and its relationship to 16th century medical theory and court culture can be found in Laura Macy's seminal article "Speaking of Sex: Metaphor and Performance in the Italian Madrigal." Particularly relevant is the discussion of Arcadelt's "Il bianco e dolce cigno," whose text (also attributed to Avalos) relies on a virtually identical trick to the one in "Ancor che col partire"; v. Macy, "Speaking of Sex," 5-15.

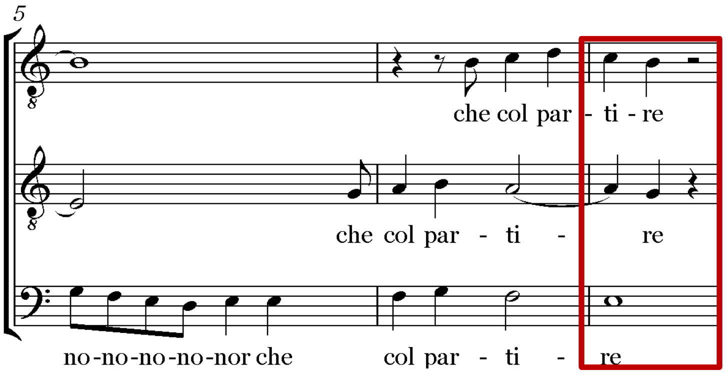
[10] Gabrieli's setting is much closer to Rore's madrigal than is Gasparo Fiorino's three-voice *villanella* parody, discussed in Ruth DeFord, "Musical Relationships," 122-23 & 146.


An - cor che col par - ti - re io
An - cor che col par - ti - re io mi
An - cor che col par - ti - re, io
An - cor che col par - ti - re,

Example 3.1: *Rore, "Ancor che col partire," mm. 1-6.*


An - co - no - no - no - no - no - nor che col par - ti - re
An - co - no - no - no - no - no - nor che col par - ti - re
An - co - no - no - no - no - no - nor che

Example 3.2: *A. Gabrieli, "Ancor che col partire," mm. 1-5. Note the use of the tenor melody from* ***Ex. 3.1*** *(with an additional passing tone) in all voices.*[11]


5
che col par - ti - re
che col par - ti - re
no - no - no - no - nor che col par - ti - re

Example 3.3: *A. Gabrieli, "Ancor che col partire," mm. 5-7. Note especially the 4-3 suspension that ends the phrase in the middle part (c.f.* ***Ex. 3.1****, m. 3, in red); in this case the gesture is heightened through the use of a simultaneous 6-5 motion in the top part via third-doubling.*

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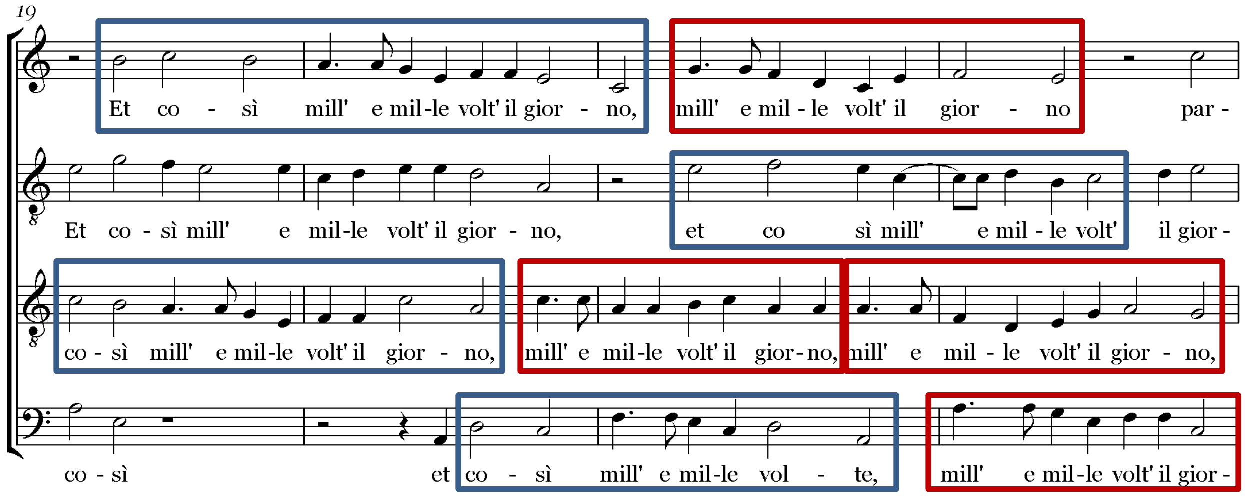
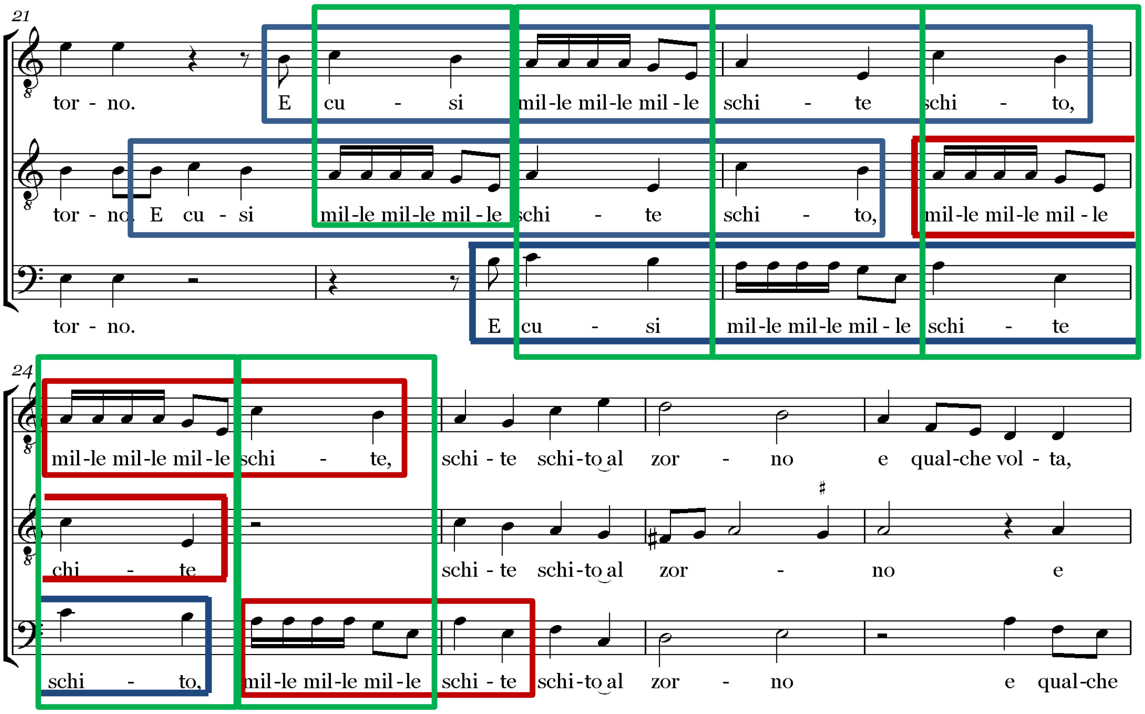
[11] All examples from the *Primo libro delle Iustiniane* have been transcribed to accord with the measure numbers and note values in Marco Materassi's modern edition of that volume. Materassi's note values are halved with respect to the original print.

Though the *giustiniana*'s characteristic "stuttering" tends to distort the length and trajectory of phrases, it is nonetheless clear that the bass's entrance in m. 4 of **Ex. 3.2**, through its borrowing of the Rore's tenor melody and delayed entrance, is meant to represent a kind of reduced version of the original lower duo. In his repetition of the second half of the line (**Ex. 3.3**), Gabrieli also references Rore's frequent phrase-ending suspension resolutions, of the type seen in m. 3 of the soprano voice in **Ex. 3.1**.

Gabrieli also parodies Rore's iconic motivic saturation on the text *mill'e mille volte il giorno* (**Example 3.4**) in his own setting of *mille schite schito* with quickly repeated semifusae; it is not difficult to imagine these rendered in live solo performance with a lute or *lira da braccio* especially as a kind of lewd strumming or bowing gesture (**Ex. 3.5**).


19
Et co - sì mill' e mil-le volt' il gior - no, mill' e mil - le volt' il gior - no par -
Et co - sì mill' e mil-le volt' il gior - no, et co sì mill' e mil - le volt' il gior -
co - sì mill' e mil-le volt' il gior - no, mill' e mil-le volt' il gior-no, mill' e mil - le volt' il gior - no,
co - sì et co - sì mill' e mil-le vol - te, mill' e mil-le volt' il gior -

***Example 3.4:** Rore, "Ancor che col partire," mm. 19-22. Motivic saturation with entrances on a wide variety of pitches and rhythmic positions, and frequent small variations on the tune, especially the head of the motto ("et così"), which is frequently altered or cut entirely upon repetition (red).*


21
tor - no.
E cu - si mil-le mil-le mil - le schi - te schi - to,
tor - no. E cu - si mil-le mil-le mil - le schi - te schi - to, mil-le mil-le mil - le
tor - no.
E cu - si mil-le mil-le mil - le schi - te
24
mil-le mil-le mil-le schi - te, schi - te schi-to al zor - no e qual-che vol - ta,
chi - te schi - te schi-to al zor - no e
schi - to, mil-le mil-le mil-le schi - te schi-to al zor - no e qual-che

Example 3.5: *A. Gabrieli, "Ancor che col partire," mm. 21-27. Note the static harmony resulting from repeated entrances of the motto in mm. 22-24. Full tune in blue; reduced or altered versions in red; resulting repeated 2-3vv. module in green.*

With respect to the dense and varied imitative texture of the model, Gabrieli's version seems deliberately off: the choice to repeat the exact same contrapuntal module *six times in a row* leads to an oddly static alternation between A-minor and E-minor sonorities that interrupts the flow of the piece. This is exacerbated further by the stricter periodicity of entries with respect to the original, in which the time interval of imitation varies and the characteristic dotted rhythm falls in many different metric positions. Such seemingly graceless gestures are not infrequent in this setting; further examples include the incredibly lacklustre imitation on *scampar* ("flee"; **Ex. 3.6**), which can be read as an insistently repeated one-note module (complete with inversion at the octave).[12] This then leads to an instance of the "Venetian trill" that is so closely associated with expressions of erotic longing in this repertoire. (**Ex. 3.7**):[13]

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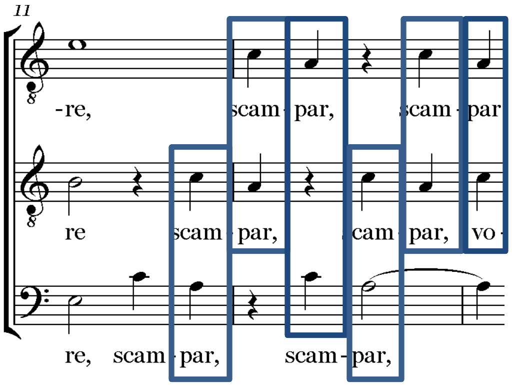
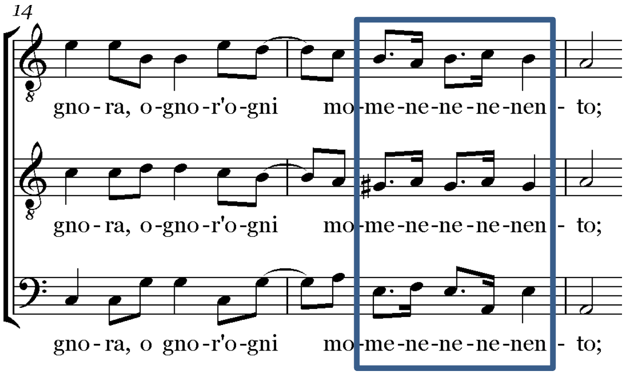
[12] The term "module," meaning a repeated succession of vertical intervals, was coined by Jessie Ann Owens; v. ead. "The Milan Partbooks." It has since been most thoroughly discussed and elaborated upon by Peter Schubert; v. inter al., id., "Hidden Forms."

[13] This gesture and its uses are discussed in Section **2.4**, and again during the analysis of Giaches de


11
-re,
scam - par,
scam - par
re
scam - par,
scam - par,
vo -
re, scam - par,
scam - par,

Example 3.6: *A. Gabrieli, "Ancor che col partire," mm. 11-13. One note module (i.e. a single minor third), repeated six times.*

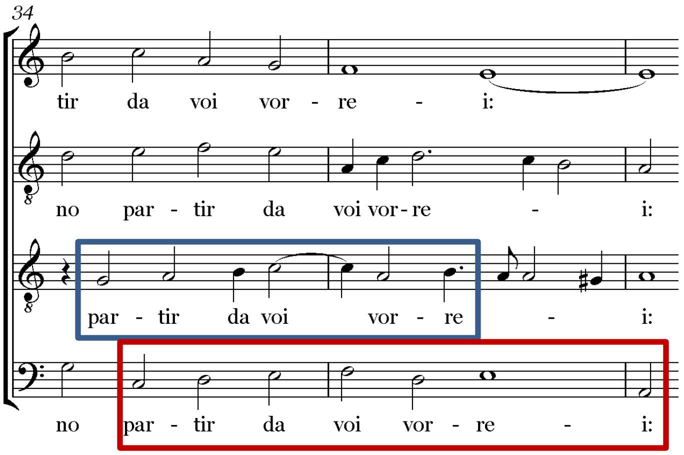

14
gno - ra, o - gno - r'o - gni mo - me - ne - ne - ne - nen - to;
gno - ra, o - gno - r'o - gni mo - me - ne - ne - ne - nen - to;
gno - ra, o gno - r'o - gni mo - me - ne - ne - ne - nen - to;

Example 3.7: *A. Gabrieli, "Ancor che col partire," mm. 14-16. Stuttering rendered polyphonically with "Venetian trill".*

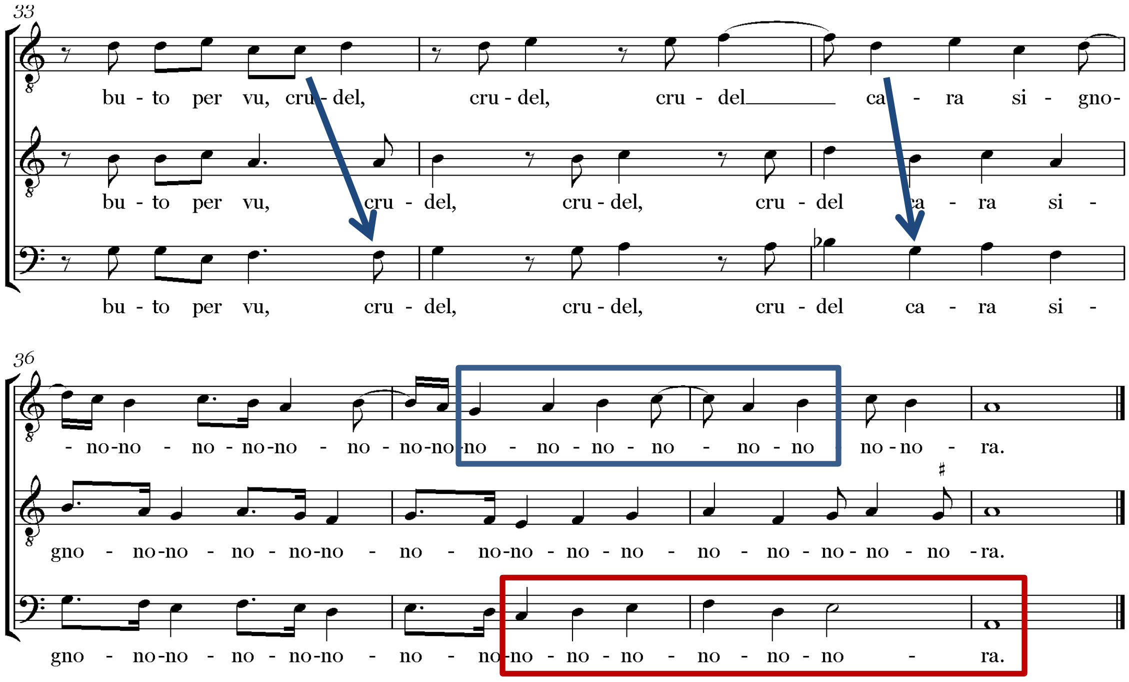
Gabrieli does not, however, let these moments of gracelessness dominate the setting or distract unduly from the frequent references to Rore's original. This agenda is perhaps nowhere more evident (or striking), than at the very end of the piece. Here Gabrieli extracts a short bit of *stretto fuga* from Rore's madrigal (**Ex. 3.8**) and spins it out into a truly exciting and virtuosic bit of "improvisatory" counterpoint that drives all the way to the final cadence (**Ex. 3.9**).[14]

Wert's *greghescsa* "Chel bello Epithimia" in Section **4.6**.

[14] The term *stretto fuga*, referring to a system for improvising two-voice canon, was coined by John Milsom; v. id., "'Imitatio,' 'Intertextuality,' and early Music,"146–51, where he gives the rules for stretto fuga at the fifth. On this v. also Peter Schubert, *Modal Counterpoint*, 156–59. The process and its application to chant paraphrase are discussed in Julie Cumming, "Renaissance Improvisation and Musicology," and in the context of composition and part restoration in ead., "Composing Imitative Counterpoint around a Cantus Firmus." The possibility of stretto fuga for multiple voices is discussed in Schubert, "From Improvisation to Composition: Three Case Studies." Schubert and


34
tir da voi vor - re - i:
no par - tir da voi vor- re - i:
par - tir da voi vor - re - i:
no par - tir da voi vor - re - i:

Example 3.8: *Rore, "Ancor che col partire," mm. 34-36. Note the slightly modified stretto fuga (at the fifth below) between tenor and bass.*


33
bu - to per vu, cru - del, cru - del, cru - del ca - ra si - gno-
bu - to per vu, cru - del, cru - del, cru - del ca - ra si -
bu - to per vu, cru - del, cru - del, cru - del ca - ra si -
36
- no-no - no - no-no - no - no-no no - no - no - no - no - no no - no - ra.
gno - no-no - no - no-no - no - no-no - no - no - no - no - no - no - no - ra.
gno - no-no - no - no-no - no - no no - no - no - no - no - no - ra.

Example 3.9: *A. Gabrieli, "Ancor che col partire," mm. 33-39. Note the stretto fuga (again at the fifth below) between the outer two parts beginning on the text "crudel"in m. 33. Note also the compression of the time interval from a quarter-note (minim in original values) to an eighth-note (semi-minim) on the down-beat of m. 35, and the appearance of Rore's original duo immediately preceding the final cadence (m. 37). The effect is further heightened, as in* ***Ex. 3.3****, by the third-doubling of the bass by the middle part.*

Composing such a technically proficient ending for this setting serves a number of rhetorical purposes: first and foremost, it allows Gabrieli to forcefully remind both performers and

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Cumming have also presented widely on this topic; v. eid., "Patterns of Imitation, 1450–1508."

listeners that the awkward or graceless moments that occur elsewhere in the piece are the result of deliberate rhetorical plays by the composer and not simple incompetence; furthermore, it might represent, through the invocation of a specifically improvisable contrapuntal technique, a kind of homage to Calmo's own virtuosity as a performer of improvised verses.

To the extent that the *giustiniane* are, as Pirrotta writes, meant to represent an idealised record of the kind of performances Calmo and his associates were able to extemporise in theatrical settings, it seems that the use of stretto fuga in this form might even serve as a musical signifier for such a tradition. Of course, musical and poetic improvisation was not limited to the stage: as the many literary depictions of improvised musical and poetic performance in Renaissance dialogues makes clear, such activities also played an important part in the formal and informal gatherings of academic and salon culture.[15] These performances could and did include performances in dialect, evidenced most directly by the appearance of Calmo's associate Antonio Molino in Straparola's *Piacevoli notti* (1556), wherein he recites a story in the Bergamasque dialect at the urging of one of the ladies present.[16] This is in turn immediately followed by another story in Venetian by Benedetto Trivigiano.[17]

It thus stands to reason that, especially given the special status of Venetian language within the culture of the Most Serene Republic, improvised dialect performance would not have been an uncommon occurrence in informal settings. In *City Culture and the Madrigal at Venice*, Martha Feldman proposes the salon of Domenico Venier as a likely performance context for dialect music, citing the specific example of Antonio Barges's 1550 collection of *villotte* in Neapolitan and Paduan.[18] The volume was not dedicated to Venier himself, but rather to Girolamo

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[15] The best known examples of this practice, which date back as far as Boccaccio's *Decameron*, include Castiglione's *Cortegiano* (1528), Straparola's *Piacevoli notti* (1556), and Antonfrancesco Doni's *Dialogo della musica* (1543).

[16] Straparola, *Le piacevoli notti*, V; iii. Ed. Stocchi, vol. 1, 227-37. A detailed survey of the musical performances in Straparola, which specifically mention Molino's self-accompaniment on a lute and a lirone, can be found in Cathy Ann Elias, "Musical Performance," esp. 164-70.

[17] Straparola, *Le piacevoli notti*, V; iv. Ed. Stochi, vol. 1, 238-45.

[18] Feldman, *City Culture,* 100. The full title of the Barges print is *Di Antonino Barges maestro di cappella alla Casa grande di Venetia il primo libro de villotte a quatro voci con un'altra canzon della galina novamente*

Fenaruolo, a regular member of his cohort, since, as Feldman notes, the direct dedication of such a collection to a patrician would have been inappropriate.[19] Dialect "translations" of popular works like "Ancor che col partire" would indeed have been an excellent fit for such a poetically and musically sophisticated audience. As the rest of this chapter will show, Calmo's *Bizzarre rime*, a large collection of Venetian-language poems that contains a number of parodies of famous verses—many of which were also set to music—may well have been conceived with just such an environment in mind.

3.3 Calmo's *Bizzarre rime* as *madrigali ariosi*

Calmo's *Bizzarre, faconde, et ingegnose rime pescatorie* were published by Giovanbattista Bertacagno in 1553. By this point Calmo had already published all of his plays (save the *Travaglia*, published 1556 but performed a decade prior) and three of the four volumes of his letters. Together with the *Egloghe pastorali*, published the same year, the *Rime* also represent Calmo's only foray into the publication of verse.[20] The *Rime* in particular proved quite successful and were reprinted nearly a dozen times by the time Agostini set them to music in 1567; these reprints include a second edition by Bertacagno in 1558 as well as three successive editions by Foresto in the years 1556-58.[21] As there are no surviving manuscript sources for the collection, it is not clear what, if any, circulation Calmo's poems had in the years prior to their initial publication, and it is likewise difficult to ascertain how long he had been working on the collection by the time it was published.

It is also unclear whether or not Agostini knew Calmo personally. Born in Ferrara in 1534 as the illegitimate son of the musician and mansionary chaplain of San Giorgio Cathedral Agostino

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composte & date in luce (Venice: Gardano, 1550). RISM B/I 1550^{18}. As Feldman notes, the collection mainly contains texts Neapolitan, with pieces in a *terra ferma* Veneto dialect she identifies broadly as "Venetian." This is not lagunar Venetian, but rather Paduan.

[19] The same is almost certainly true of Molino's 1564 *Primo libro delle Greghesche*, which was also dedicated to Molino's musician friends rather than to a patron. I argue this point in greater detail in Section **4.6**.

[20] A relatively detailed description of the circumstances surrounding Calmo's publications is given in Gino Belloni, "Il petrarchismo," 272-75.

[21] Belloni, "Il Petrarchismo," 274.

Agostini, what few details we have suggest that the young Lodovico, unable to find regular employment in his native city, spent a fair number of years seeking his fortune elsewhere, including two sojourns to Rome and Milan in the 1560s before returning to Ferrara to replace his father following his death in 1571.[22] It is certainly possible that he visited Venice during this period, or otherwise encountered Calmo and observed his stage performances. In any case, the wording of his introduction to the 1567 collection and frequent references to the title of the 1553 print indicates that the composer was working from a printed edition of Calmo's *Rime* rather than an informally circulated collection of his poems.[23]

Despite his long employment as a court musician at one of the most important musical centres in Italy, Agostini's music has received relatively little attention in the scholarly literature, especially when compared to his younger Ferrarese colleagues. Aside from a short biography and two brief excerpts from his third book of six-voice madrigals in Anthony Newcomb's *The Madrigal at Ferrara,* the vast majority of work on Agostini has been conducted by Laurie Stras in her comprehensive studies of the composer's complex "puzzle" works for six voices.[24] These include his two volumes of *Enigmi musicali* (1571 and 1581), his *Canones et Echo sex vocibus* (1572), and his *Lagrime del peccatore* (1583).[25] These four collections, with their complex counterpoint and extensive use of canons and other musical puzzles, indeed have very little in common with what Stras calls the "predominantly 'normal'" madrigal collections, such as the *Secondo libro a 4* (Venice: Gardano, 1572) and the *Primo libro a 5* (Venice: Gardano, 1570), and for this reason lie outside the scope of the present discussion.[26]

Where the *Secondo libro a 4* does stand out, however, is in its sheer similarity to the *Bizzarre rime* collection published five years prior. Unlike Agostini's contemporary five-voice works, including his 1574 collection of five-voice *Canzone alla napoletana* (Gardano) which demonstrate a more typically florid mid-century texture with frequent overlapping phrases and use of imitative sections, the four-voice madrigals included in this print adhere quite rigorously to the homorhythmic *arioso* style that hearkens back to Agostini’s first published composition, which appeared in Antoine Barré’s *Terzo libro delle muse* (RISM B/I 1562^{7}). In fact, this work is the key to understanding much of what Agostini was seeking to accomplish in his two volumes of four-voice compositions: a kind of contrapuntal rendering of the kinds of verse—in both Venetian and literary Tuscan—that would have been performed *all’ improvviso* at small and predominantly informal gatherings of cultural elites.

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[22] Laurie Stras, "Sapienti pauca," 359.

[23] The complete text of the introduction, with translation, can be found in Appendix A.

[24] Newcomb, *The Madrigal at Ferrara*, vol. I, 158 and vol. II, 100-111.

[25] On the *Enigmi musicali*, v. Stras, "Al gioco si conosce il galantuomo"; on the *Canones*, v. ead., "Sapienti pauca"; on the *Lagrime*, v. ead., "Imitation, Meditation, and Penance."

[26] Stras, "Sapienti pauca," 359.

The text of Agostini’s “Occhi soavi” is clearly based on that of another work by Bernardo Lupacchino, “Occhi leggiadri,” which had itself been printed seven years prior in Barré’s first collection of *madrigali ariosi* (RISM B/I 1555^{27}). [27]

Agostini: “Occhi soavi et belli” (1562)

Occhi soavi et belli	O eyes, gentle and lovely
Occhi sereni honesti et **leggiadretti**	O eyes, serene, honest, and spritely;
Hor che di voi son privo	Now that I am without you
In dolor sempre vivo	I live always in pain.
Deh occhi amorosetti	Alas, amorous eyes
Poi che privo di voi se ’n mor mia vita	Since without you my life dies away
*Tornate occhi tornat*e	Return, eyes, return;
Tornate a darli aita	Return to give it aid.

Lupacchino: “Occhi leggiadri” (1555)

Occhi leggiadri amorosetti e gravi,	O eyes, sprightly and amorous and serious,
Occhi sereni & **belli**	O eyes, serene and beautiful,
Occhi ch’avete del mio cor le chiavi	O eyes, who hold the keys to my heart
Poi che voi sete quelli	Since you are the ones
Che con sguardi ***soavi***	Who, with gentle glances,
Vita dar mi potete	Can give me life:
Deh *perche m’uccidete*	Alas, why do you kill me?

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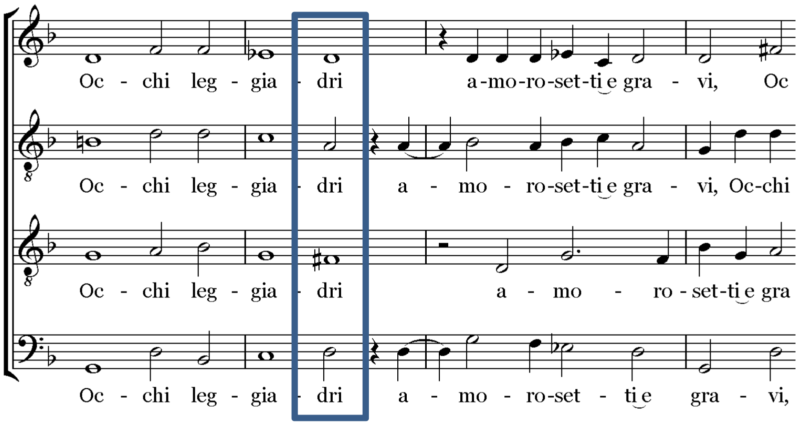
[27] On this collection, v. James Haar, "The *Madrigale Arioso,*” and Howard Mayer Brown, “Verso una definizione dell'armonia.” The *muse* collection has a somewhat complicated publication history, as both Gardano and Barrè issued the first volume in 1555. Mary Lewis argues that Gardano’s edition follows Barrè’s, as it advertises several additions to the print; v. Lewis, *Antonio Gardano*, vol. 2, 60-63 and John Steele, “Antonio Barré,” 92-95. Despite these claims of further editorial activity, Gardano’s edition of the Lupacchino presented here nonetheless contains a number of print errors that are maintained even in the third reprint of 1565.

Further strengthening the connection between "Occhi soavi" and his later four-voice music, Agostini returned to the theme yet again in the 1567 *Rime* collection with yet another closely related text, this time entitled "Occhi lusenti."

Agostini: "Occhi lusenti" (1567)

Occhi lusenti, onesti, e **amorosetti**,	O eyes, shining, honest, amorous
Occhi soavi, e cari,	O eyes, gentle and dear,
Occhi sereni, vagh'e **lizadretti**;	O eyes, serene and lovely and spritely;
Occhi **bei** neri, e chiari,	Beautiful eyes, dark and clear,
Daspuò, che nò ve vezo,	Since I see you no longer,
Stò mal, i mò stò pezo:	I am unwell, and grow ever worse:
***Deh occhi** fè retorno,*	Alas, eyes, return to me
Azzò nò mora un zorno.	So that I don't die one day.

While neither of Agostini's settings borrows contrapuntally from the Lupacchino setting, there are a number of suggestive musical ties connecting all three works that nonetheless seem to indicate familiarity if not verbatim borrowing.[28] All three settings, for example, share an initial cadence to D, despite the C final of Agostini's "Occhi lusenti"(**Examples 3.10, 3.11,** & **3.12**).


Oc - chi leg - gia - dri a-mo-ro-set-ti e gra - vi, Oc
Oc - chi leg - gia - dri a - mo - ro-set-ti e gra - vi, Oc-chi
Oc - chi leg - gia - dri a - mo - ro - set-ti e gra
Oc - chi leg - gia - dri a - mo - ro-set - ti e gra - vi,

***Example 3.10:** Lupacchino, "Occhi leggiadri," mm. 1-4. Note initial cadential gesture to D (blue) and the use of accidentals in nearly all positions where the counterpoint permits.*

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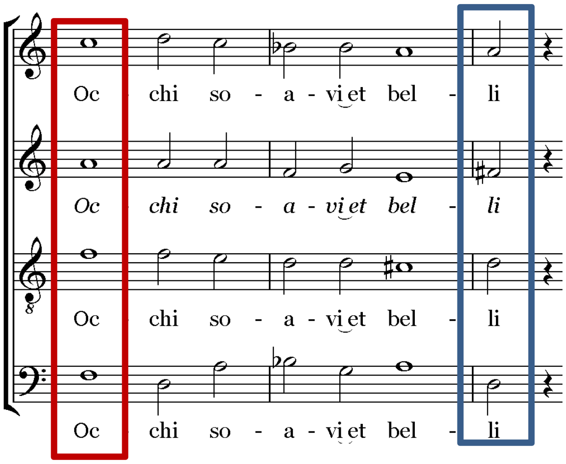
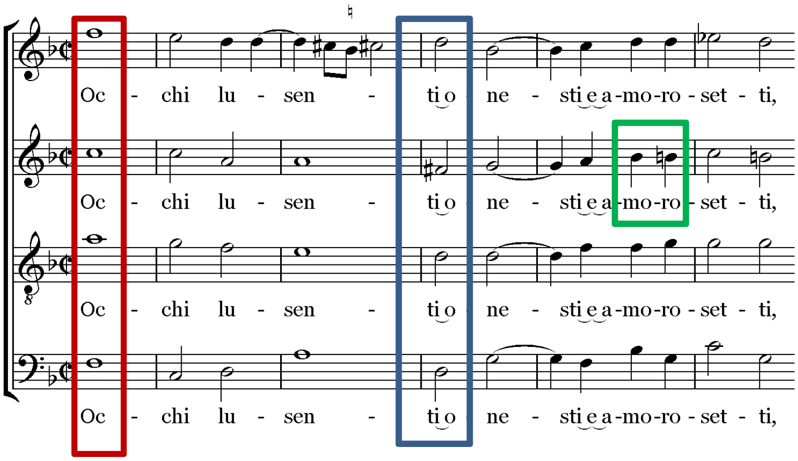
[28] Full scores of all three pieces are provided in Part II for comparison.


Oc chi so - a - vi et bel - li
Oc chi so - a - vi et bel - li
Oc chi so - a - vi et bel - li
Oc chi so - a - vi et bel - li

***Example 3.11:** Agostini, "Occhi soavi," mm. 1-3. Note the initial F sonority (red) followed by a cadence to D (blue).*


Oc - chi lu - sen - ti o ne - sti e a-mo-ro - set - ti,
Oc - chi lu - sen - ti o ne - sti e a-mo-ro - set - ti,
Oc - chi lu - sen - ti o ne - sti e a-mo-ro - set - ti,
Oc - chi lu - sen - ti o ne - sti e a-mo-ro - set - ti,

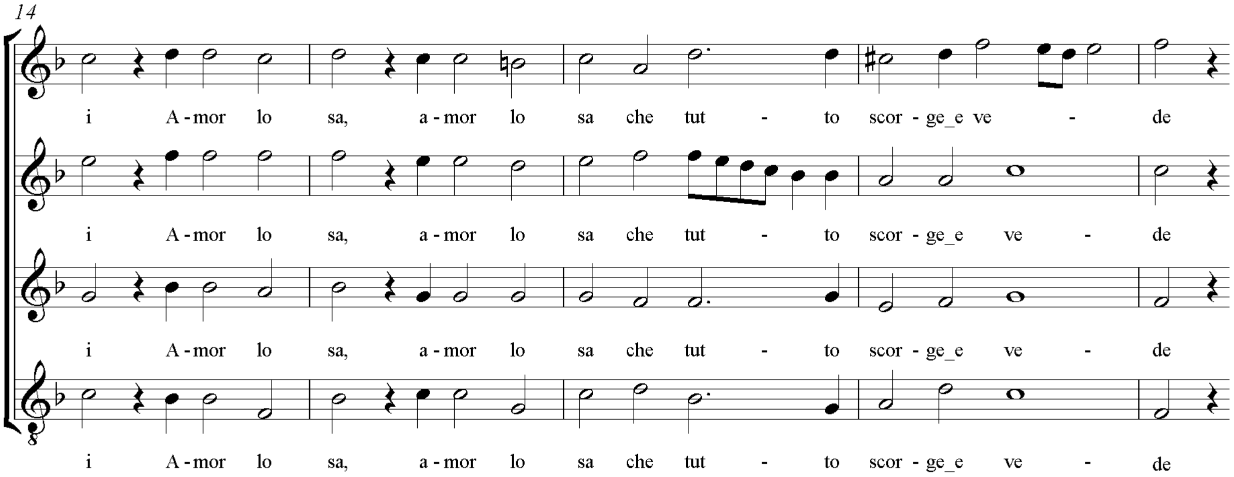
***Example 3.12:** Agostini, "Occhi lusenti," mm. 1-6. Note the initial F sonority (red), cadence to D (blue), and frequent accidentals, which create an ascending chromatic semitone in m. 5 of the alto part (green).*

Furthermore, Agostini's two settings both begin on an F-major sonority despite the fact that "Occhi soavi" has a D final (**Examples 3.11** & **3.12)**, and the first few measures of all three pieces also demonstrate both composers' similar use of accidentals: B-natural, F-sharp, and E-flat and C-sharp are employed in almost every instance permitted by the counterpoint. In Luppachino's "Occhi leggiadri"and Agostini's "Occhi lusenti" in particular, the frequent use of accidentals results in a harmonic palette characterised by alternation among G-major, C-minor, and D-major triads. Such unrestrained application of accidentals even results in a chromatic semitone in the alto part of "Occhi lusenti" (**Ex. 3.12**, m. 5), a feature common to many works in the

Bizzarre rime collection, and a stylistic trait of Agostini's four-voice writing more generally.[29]

All three works also share a fairly simple musical texture: each line of poetry is set in relatively strict homorhythm and set off from the previous phrase by rests. Lupacchino's phrases are not quite so rigorously homorhythmic or discrete as Agostini's—several of his phrases contain slightly ruffled textures, and some overlap slightly in some voices—but it is nonetheless clear that both composers considered this texture an essential generic feature of the *madrigal arioso*, a sub-genre to which both Lupacchino's "Occhi leggiadri" and Agostini's "Occhi soavi" were explicitly assigned by Antoine Barré through their inclusion in his first and third collections devoted to the genre.

This use of *arioso* texture, established by "Occhi soavi" and continued in the *Rime*, is also unfailingly employed in the *Secondo libro a 4*. This can be clearly seen in the following excerpt from "Donna felice e bella,"the eighth piece in the collection (**Example 3.13**):


14
i A-mor lo sa, a-mor lo sa che tut - to scor-ge_e ve - de
i A-mor lo sa, a-mor lo sa che tut - to scor-ge_e ve - de
i A-mor lo sa, a-mor lo sa che tut - to scor-ge_e ve - de
i A-mor lo sa, a-mor lo sa che tut - to scor-ge_e ve - de

***Example 3.13:** Lodovico Agostini, "Donna felice e bella," mm. 14-18. Note the homorhythmic texture and separation of phrases by rests that typifies this and other works in the collection.*

Given the stylistic uniformity between "Occhi soavi," the *Rime* collection and the *Secondo libro à 4*, and the fact that no surviving records indicate that Agostini ever published a *Primo libro à 4*, it is difficult to come to any conclusion except that the *Rime* collection itself was meant to be seen as Agostini's first book of four-voice madrigals, and that the two books together form a two-volume collection of *madrigali ariosi* arranged by linguistic and poetic content. Indeed, as the next section should make clear, Agostini's consistent use of the *arioso* style in both the *Bizzarre rime* collection and in his second book of four-voice madrigals (1572) indicates a view of these settings as part of a larger aesthetic project: the conversion of improvisatory tradition of self-accompanied verse into simple, four-part counterpoint suitable for reading by any group of musically literate companions. Viewing the *Rime* collection in this manner helps to more definitively answer a number of questions raised by the philologist Andrea Bombi in his 1993 article on the collection, as well as provide a contrasting viewpoint from which to dispute a number of Bombi's conclusions that arise primarily from his conceptual framing of the *Rime* as arising from the three-voice "dialect" tradition as opposed to the four-voice *arioso* tradition.[30]

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[29] It is possible that this trait was then borrowed by Antonio Molino, whose four-voice madrigals, published in 1568, are stylistically very similar to Agostini's. This possibility is further examined in the discussion of Molino's style in Section **4.4**.

3.4 Calmo, Pseudo-Calmo, and Improvised Emulation

One of the primary questions Bombi raises in his article on Agostini's settings of the *Rime* is the composer's choice of texts to set. As the following table shows, despite the fact that Agostini titled the collection in reference to Calmo's *Rime,* only about half of the texts set in the volume are actually drawn from the printed collection. As **Table 3.1** on the following page shows, the majority of texts Agostini selected from Calmo's 1553 print were drawn from the madrigal section, with the addition of two texts from the section of epitaphs and a few other solitary examples from other sections of the collection. [31]

Bombi speculates that Agostini's choice of predominantly short texts was driven mainly by the limitations of the "rustic" (*popolareggiante*) musical language he employs, and therefore constituted an attempt to avoid monotony.[32] This analysis, however, fails to account for the fact

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[30] Bombi, "Una satisfation," 32-33.

[31] Table reprinted with small adaptions from Bombi, "Una satisfation," 35. The annotation BR, [number] refers to the numbering of the poem in the corresponding section Calmo's *Rime*, which is organised by genre. Texts without such an annotation are not drawn from Calmo's works.

[32] Bombi, "Una satisfation," 34, esp. n 10.

No.	Title	Poetic form	1553 Conc.	Notes
1	Sapiè, cari signori	madrigale		
2	Son vecchio inamorao	madrigale	BR, II	
3	Amor, che stastu a far, orbo zuetta	capitolo	BR, II	4 *parti*
4	Co vardo, donna, vostra alma beltae	madrigale		
5	Madonna con Amor si me fà beffe	madrigale	BR, V	
6	Andè, canti dolenti, e corrè forte	stanza	BR, XXI	
7	Dame soccorso Amor, za che ti vedi	madrigale	BR, XIX	
8	Raisetta dolce e cara	canzone		3 *parti*
9	Occhi lusenti, onesti, e amorosetti	madrigale		
10	Amor m'ha bastonat cum la so mescola	madrigale sdrucciolo		Bergamasco
11	Se v'amo e adoro, o viso inzuccherao	madrigale		
12	Quante volte rasono mi soletto	canzone (from a sestina)	BR, II	
13	Or su, no me tegnir Amor stentando	madrigale	BR, IX	
14	Paxe no trovo, ch'el pan me fa verra	sonetto	BR, II	
15	Cupido, fio di donna Citarea	madrigale		
16	Che nasce diè mori, care persone	epitaffio	BR, III	
17	Chi lexe qua considera ben tutto	epitaffio	BR, XVII	
18	Vardè qua drento	epitaffio		
19	Questi sono saltaori a Cavallo (Non è pi dolce cosa del saltare)	mascherata		

***Table 3.1:** Contents of Agostini's* Rime *collection, with their poetic genres and corresponding locations in Calmo's 1553 print.*

that Agostini's texts are not conspicuously shorter on average than those included in his *Secondo libro a 4* or in Barré's *arioso* anthologies and thus ought to be viewed as arising from the *Rime* collection's adoption of the conventions of that *arioso* subgenre. Furthermore, the simple musical language of the *villanesca* tradition tended to have an effect entirely contrary to the one Bombi proposes, since it allowed for the performance of long, strophic texts without regard for the potential for musical monotony.

Length of the source texts aside, Bombi hits on a crucial question in his discussion of Agostini's selection: why, in a volume named for and dedicated to Calmo and his *Rime*, should Agostini have drawn on this source for only half of the texts he set? This too, is clarified by the volume's close ties to the *madrigali ariosi*, and by extension to the tradition of improvised verse performance that served as their inspiration.

As Bombi himself notes, the majority of these "anonymous" texts, though not drawn directly from the 1553 *Rime* print, nevertheless contain clear and direct thematic references to Calmo's work, and even contain whole metrical and syntactic units lifted directly out of the source material.[33] In other words, they are textual *parodies* of Calmo's *Rime* that employ the very same techniques seen above in Doni's parody of Dante's *Inferno*.[34] For example, the very first text set in Agostini's collection is quite clearly a reduction of the first sonnet of the 1553 *Rime* into the form of a madrigal:

Andrea Calmo: "Non ve maravegiè" (1553)

Non ve *maravegiè*, **cari signori**,	Don't be surprised, dear sirs,
si son intrào a far **sta bizzaria**	If I've begun to make this bizarrity
che—per no dirve ponto de busia—	which—indeed to tell you no lie—
vedo che'l mondo vuol de sti **saori**.	I see that the world desires these flavours.
So che dirà çerti compositori	I know that certain writers will say
che son vergogna a Donna Poesia;	That I'm an embarrassment to Lady Poetry;
ma se i savesse la mia **fantasia**	But if they knew my fancy
i sarave i mie primi deffensori.	They would be my first defenders.
Me par ch'ognun pol far del so çervelo	It seems to me that everyone can do with his mind
zo ghe piase, al sagamento mio!	Whatever he likes, for goodness sake!
E chi nol crede si vaga al bordello.	And whoever doesn't think so can shove it.
L'è pezo haver el lavezzo scachio	It's worse to have an empty pot
e le calze fru[àe] co[m'] el mantel,	And worn-out shoes and coat
ch'a far el grando dottorào a Lio.	Than to be a great scholar on the shore.

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[33] Bombi, "Una satisfation," 37.

[34] The texts in the collection that employ this technique are "Sapiè cari signori," (c.f. Calmo, Sonnetto I, "Non ve maravegiè"), "Co vardo, donna" and "Deh vita alabastrina" (c.f. ibid., Stanza I, "No n'è si bello"), and "Vardè qua drento" (c.f. ibid., Epitaffio XVII, "Chi lexe quà"). To this list Bombi also adds "Occhi lusenti," comparing it to Calmo's "Quei occhi che somegia" (Stanza I), but he notes that this is only a thematic similarity and the above discussion of that work makes clear that it is much more clearly based on Lupacchino's "Occhi leggiadri" and Agostini's own "Occhi soavi" than on any of Calmo's works. Mazzinghi has connected this text to another verse ("Occhi lucenti assai più che le stelle") recited by a character in Calmo's Mandragola parody La Pozione (printed 1552), and which was set by Baldassare Donato in his first book of Canzon villanesche (Venice: Gardano, 1550). This connection is also, however, certainly incorrect. The models for these texts are included along with the full texts and translations for Agostini's *Rime* in Appendix A.

Pseudo-Calmo / Agostini: "Sapiè cari Signori" (1567)

Sapiè, **cari Signori**,	Know, dear Sirs,
Che **queste bizzarie**	That these bizarrities
E xè de varij autori,	Are by various authors,
Che per contento sol de li so cori	Who just for their hearts' satisfaction
S'ha tolto spasso con ste **fantasie**	Have taken up diversion with these fantasies,
Cose digand'andar de più **saori**.	Which they say come in many flavours.

Bombi considers this process a "degradation" (*degradazione*) or "deformation and banalisation" (*deformazione e banalizzazione*) of the source texts, and in so doing misses an important aspect of Agostini's agenda.[35] In fact, the opening text of Agostini's collection makes this agenda quite clear: the "varij autori" to whom he refers in the opening work are amusing themselves through the process of improvising new poetic compositions upon Calmo's models, which, as mentioned above in reference to Shawn Keener's work on the *giustiniana*, were widely used for this purpose. This is precisely why they appear to lack the kind of polemic intent one might otherwise associate with literary parody. And while Bombi takes this as evidence that Agostini or his collaborators were simply not particularly skilled at imitating Calmo's style, once these adaptations are viewed through the lens of improvised performance rather than literary emulation, their comparatively less ambitious scope seems a perfectly natural consequence of their origins.

The epitaph "Varde qua drento," for example, seems less a pale and crude imitation of Calmo's original "Chi lexe qua considera ben tutto" than it does a bit of extemporaneous ingenuity in response to its performance, complete with a final rest that clearly indicates the improvisor's addition of the appropriate sound effect (**Example 3.14**, next page):

Calmo / Agostini: "Chi lexe quà" (1553 & 1567)

Chi lexe quà considera ben tutto,	Whoever reads this consider well
A che muodo se muor miseramente	The manner of miserable death
Choè stao costu, che xè in st'arca presente	That befell the man who is here in this tomb:
Allegreto Galdin tragando un rutto.	Cheerful Galdin who let loose a belch.

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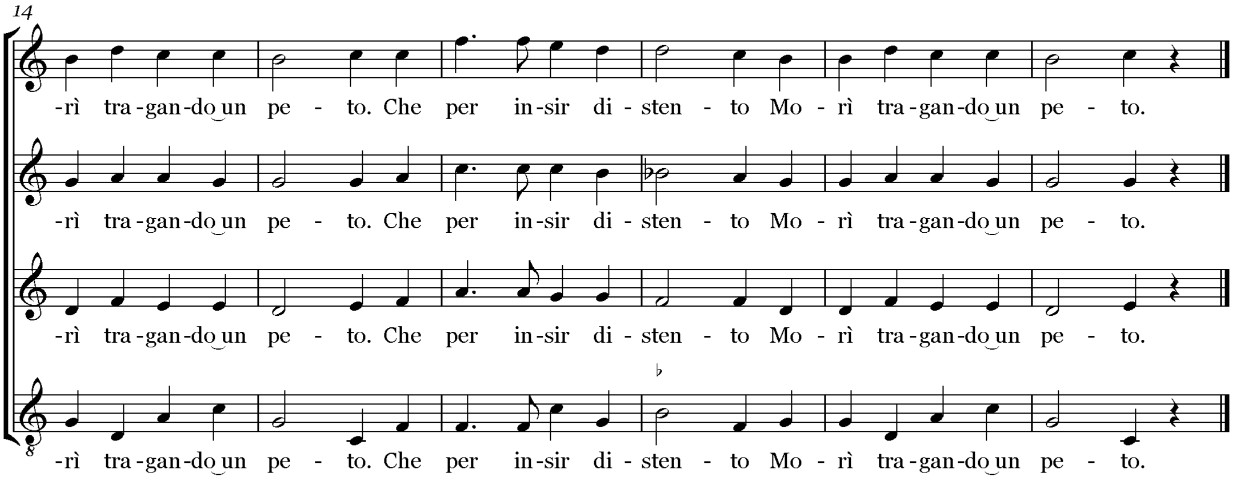
[35] Bombi, "Una satisfation," 37 & 41.

Pseudo-Calmo / Agostini: "Vardè quà drento" (1567)

Vardè quà drento,	Look in here,
Che'l ghe xè ser Gregheto,	There is a Greek gentleman
Che per insir di stento	Who to escape from his suffering
Morì tragando un peto.	Died breaking wind.


14
-rì tra-gan-do un pe - to. Che per in-sir di - sten - to Mo - rì tra-gan-do un pe - to.
-rì tra-gan-do un pe - to. Che per in-sir di - sten - to Mo - rì tra-gan-do un pe - to.
-rì tra-gan-do un pe - to. Che per in-sir di - sten - to Mo - rì tra-gan-do un pe - to.
-rì tra-gan-do un pe - to. Che per in-sir di - sten - to Mo - rì tra-gan-do un pe - to.

Example 3.14: *Agostini, "Varde qua drento," mm. 14-19. Note the final rest, unique among the pieces in this collection, which otherwise end on a breve with a fermata, inviting the production of a final sound effect.*

It is therefore more appropriate to view Agostini's *Rime* collection not as a strict musical adaptation of Calmo's 1553 collection, but as a looser reflection of the kinds of musical performance that Calmo's work would have inspired. In fact, given its alternation between verbatim settings of its source material and depictions of improvised responses to that material, it could even be seen as a model programme for an evening of entertainment, wherein the performer-participants enjoy the freedom to interject their own creations as inspiration strikes.

Such an approach to setting Calmo's verse is also strikingly similar to Calmo's own approach in compiling the *Rime* in the first place: as Gino Belloni and others have noted, a substantial number of the poems included in the 1553 print are, in fact, parodies of other well-known works.[36] As we will see in the remainder of the chapter, Calmo's poetic adaptations were not only inspired by the contemporary musical repertoire, but also provided a model for Agostini in his own textual and musical adaptations.

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[36] At this time, publications on Calmo's *Rime* are limited to Belloni's modern critical edition of the collection, his 1974 article "Il petrarchismo," Paolo Mazzinghi's "Le rime di Andrea Calmo," and, in the context of Agostini's settings, Andrea Bombi's "Una satisfation de mezo saor."

3.5 Parodying *Poesia per musica*

A substantial number of the verses in Calmo's *Rime* parody texts that appeared in music prints in the decade or so prior to its publication, a fact originally noted by Paolo Mazzinghi in a 1987 article on the collection.[37] Although Mazzinghi was unable to demonstrate via philological stemmata that Calmo *must* have been working from well-known musical settings rather than textual sources, he is right to find this significant overlap in poetic repertoire worthy of further examination. Mazzinghi's further suggestion that Calmo may in fact have composed many of these verses with a specific agenda of musical performance seems likewise justified by Agostini's use of the *arioso* style to set them, acknowledging at the very least their potential as a source for self-accompanied recitation.

Three of the texts Mazzinghi lists as related to the printed musical repertoire were also set to music by Agostini in a 1567 collection. These are "Son vecchio inamorao," which parodies Boccaccio's "Io mi son giovinetta" (from the ninth day of the *Decameron*), "Paxe no trovo," which parodies Petrarch's "Pace non trovo" (number 134 in the *Canzoniere*), and "Andé canti dolenti," which Mazzinghi connects to Petrarch's "Ite rime dolenti" (number 333 in the *Canzoniere*). Unfortunately this last connection is something of an error: though Calmo's text bears a passing resemblance to both "Ite rime dolenti" and "Ite caldi sospiri" (number 153 in the *Canzoniere*), Calmo's poem bears more similarity to a verse with the same incipit by Niccolò Salimbeni da Siena.[38]

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[37] Mazzinghi lists all 23 poems with textual connections to the printed musical repertory prior to 1553 in his appendix, helpfully listing all concordances for the source texts. Nearly all of them have at least one concordance after 1542; v. Mazzinghi, "Le rime di Andrea Calmo," 34-36.

[38] Mazzinghi mistakenly cites Rore's setting of this text as Petrarch's "Ite rime dolenti," and thus lists it alongside Jan Gero's setting of the Petrarch (1549) as Calmo's inspiration in his catalogue of music-print concordances. Cf. Mazzinghi, "Le rime di Andrea Calmo," 35.

Salimbeni: "Ite rime dolenti, ite sospiri" (14th c.)

Ite, rime dolenti, **ite sospiri**,	Go, doleful rhymes, go my sighs,
Ite lacrime mie *piangiando al luoco*	Go my tears, weeping, to the place
Dove la mia libertà lassar convenni.	Where I came to lose my freedom.
Ite ove fu principio al mio martire	Go where my suffering had its beginning,
Dove pria *s'accese el dolce fuoco,*	Where first that sweet flame ignited,
Dove el suave colpo al cor sostenni,	Where I sustained a genial blow to the heart,
Dove cum bel parlar cum dolci cenni	Where with beautiful words and sweet gestures
Io fui preso e ligato.	I was taken and bound.
Ite al loco beato	Go to that blessed place
Dove già fui e spiero esser contento […] [39]	Where I have been and hope to be contented.

Calmo / Agostini: "Andè canti dolenti" (1553 & 1567)

Andè *canti* dolenti, e corre forte,	Go, doleful *songs*,[40] and run fast,
Chriè misericordia de mie mali.	Cry mercy for my ills.
Andè suspiri, e tacheve alle porte,	Go, sighs, and knock on doors,
E rogni co fà proprio i anemali;	And mewl just like the animals;
Andè lagreme zonte dalla Morte	Go, tears, brought about by Death
E chreseghe à Madonna i so canali;	And augment my Lady's canals;
Andè cuor à *digand'in ogni luogo*,	Go heart, proclaiming everywhere
Ch'al mio bragheto *gh'è stà messo'l fuogo*	That a fire's been lit in my pants.[41]

In this case Calmo's version is substantially shorter than the original text; Salimbeni's very long canzona is distilled into a brief and to-the-point madrigal that is more interested in the joke of the narrator's engorgement than in the long-suffering fidelity of Salimbeni's original narrator. It is possible and even likely that Calmo's poem is a more direct parody of an intermediary reduction of Salimbeni's poem that has not survived. Such a text may also have influenced the following verse set by Rore in his third book of five-voice madrigals (Venice: Gardano, 1548) which touches on many of the same themes as Calmo's poem (especially the river), even as it does not seem a likely source for the parody:[42]

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[39] This text does not appear in any contemporary prints, but does survive in a manuscript at the *Biblioteca nazionale centrale di Firenze*, Cod. Palat. II, IV, 723, fol. 18r ff. and at the *Biblioteca universitaria di Bologna*, MS. 1739 (Codice Isoldiana), fol. 67r ff. The latter of these has a modern edition in Lodovico Frati (ed.), *Le rime del Codice Isoldiano*, 97-102.

[40] Calmo's original text uses *rime* rather than *canti*, like the models. Agostini evidently thought it clever to substitute the word *canti*, given that once set to music the verse had become a song.

[41] The word *bragheto* refers more precisely to a kind of cod piece.

Anon. / Rore: "Ite rime dolenti, ite sospiri"

Ite rime dolenti, ite sospiri,	Go, doleful rhymes, go my sighs,
Del maggior rivo alle superbe sponde,	From the great rush to the proud shores,
Ove all'ombra di liet'e verde fronde	Where in the shadow of happy green branches
S'accoglie la cagion de mie martiri.	Is welcomed the reason for my sufferings.
E se qualche pieta vi par, l'inspiri	And if some pity comes upon you, inspire her
D'honest'amore con voce alt'e profonde,	To honest love with your voice—towering and deep,
Che d'ogn'intorno ne rissonin l'onde	Such that every place echoes with its waves—
Et ella insieme forse ne sospiri.	And she too perhaps will sigh because of it.
Ditele ch'io me n'vo come al ciel piace,	Tell her that I go as it pleases heaven,
Lontan da lei e con sì cruda doglia,	Far from her, and with such raw pain,
Che già null'altr'a questa può aguagliarsi.	That truly nothing else can match it.
Fugg'ogni gioia e resta chi mi sface,	I flee from every joy, and she who unmakes me
Onde non fia che ritornar non voglia,	Remains where, it isn't that I've no desire to return,
Tosto che più benign'il ciel suol farsi.	But rather that heaven tends to treat me kindly.

It seems clear that, if Calmo was working from a model in composing this particular verse, it was almost certainly not, *pace* Mazzinghi, Petrarch's "Ite rime dolenti" or any surviving musical settings of that text, but much more likely something more closely related to the Salimbeni-Rore poetic mould.

The other two examples from Mazzinghi's list that appear in Agostini's 1567 collection, "Paxe no trovo" and "Son vecchio innamorao," turn out to be two of the most interesting pieces in the entire collection. As we will see in the remainder of the chapter, "Paxe no trovo" provides an excellent example of sophisticated musical treatment of dialect translations in the vein of "Ancor che col partire," while "Son vecchio innamorao" takes the process one step further by applying the techniques of literary parody to composition itself.

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[42] This piece also appears in manuscript in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cons. Rés. Vma. 851 (no. 158) f. 190 ff. This is a much later source, compiled toward the end of the century and containing works in many genres spanning several decades from Verdelot to Marenzio. It is also notable for containing Domenico Ferrabosco's setting of "Io mi son giovinetta," discussed later in this chapter.

3.6 Petrarch on a Barge: Translating "Pace non trovo"

Calmo's parody of "Pace non trovo,"follows the same kind of model as both Doni's parody of Dante and his own probable reworking "Ancor che col partire," discussed in **3.2** above. "Paxe no trovo" maintains a startling amount of Petrarch's original verbiage, even as this is "translated" into Venetian from the original Tuscan. For comparison, here are Petrarch's original poem and the resulting parody:

Petrarch: "Pace non trovo"

Pace non trovo, e non ho da far guerra,	I find no peace, and have no means for war,
E temo, e spero, ed ardo, e son un ghiaccio:	And I fear, and hope, and burn, and freeze,
E volo sopra 'l cielo, e giaccio in terra;	And fly to heaven, cast down on the earth,
E nulla stringo, e tutto 'l mondo abbraccio.	And hold nothing close, yet embrace all the world.
Tal m'ha in priggion, che non m'apre, né serra,	The one who imprisons me neither frees nor binds,
Né per suo mi ritien, né scioglie il laccio,	Nor holds me as her own, nor will loose my ties;
E non m'uccide Amor, e non mi sferra;	Love kills me not, nor releases me from irons,
Né mi vuol vivo, né mi trahe d'impaccio.	Nor does he wish me alive, or take me from danger.
Veggio senz'occhi; e non ho lingua e grido;	I see without eyes; I have no tongue and cry out;
E bramo di perir, e cheggio aita;	I long to perish, and I beg for aid;
Ed ho in odio me stesso, ed amo altrui:	I hate myself, yet love another:
Pascomi di dolor; piangendo rido;	I feed on misery; weeping, I laugh;
Egualmente mi spiace morte e vita.	By death and life am I equally dismayed:
In questo stato son, Donna, per Voi.	For you, my lady, am I in this state.

Calmo: "Paxe no trovo" (1553)

Paxe nò trovo, che 'l pan me fa verra,	I find no peace, for bread makes war on me,
E me pelo da fame, e sì no magno,	I tear my hair out from hunger, yet I do not eat,
Ho calce bone, e sì mostr'un calcagno,	I have good shoes, and yet I show my heel,
E volo col cervelo sotto terra!	And I fly with my brain under the earth!
Tal me crede à piar che nò m'afferra,	So that whoever thinks to reach me cannot.
Nùo in paltan, e in acqua nò me bagno,	I swim in the lagoon, and don't get wet;
Ston debole sui piè, ni voio scagno,	I'm weak on my feet, but want no stool;
Son in preson, e i zaffi no me serra.	I am in prison, and the ropes don't bind me;
Son vivo tamen son in l'altro mondo,	I am alive, and in the great beyond;
Vedo senz' occhi, no ho lengua, e crìo,	I see without eyes; I have no tongue and cry;
Son in forno agiazzào, pianzando rido.	I am in a frigid oven; I laugh as I weep;
Amo chi lioga el so, buta via 'l mio,	I love those who set their things in order, and toss away what's mine;
E credo a tutti, e de mi no m'infido,	I believe everyone and don't trust myself;
E cerco 'l sol, e de zorno me scondo.	I seek the sun, and hide in the day.

Pio grue a San Segondo,	*I hunt cranes on San Secondo;*
son frate, son dottor, e son soldao,	*I am brother, doctor, and soldier;*
dormo e camino e canto adolorao	*I sleep, and walk, and sing in pain.*
son spauroso, armào,	*I am fearful, yet armed;*
ho cinque denti, e fuzo le panàe:	*I have five teeth, yet flee from bread soup:*
son proprio l'un baston fra le do spàe.	*Truly, I am a club between two spades.*

The most obvious change in Calmo's version of the poem is the addition of two additional tercets, rendered here in italics. The first of these added verses specifically locates the narrator within the Venetian cultural environment by referencing the island of San Secondo, at that time the site of a Dominican monastery. While this addition contains the most direct reference to Venice and its environs, it is not the only one. Calmo introduces the image of the narrator swimming in the Venetian lagoon early on through the use of the word *paltan* (lagoon). Furthermore, the *zaffi* (ropes) which fail to bind him in prison carry the nautical—and therefore Venetian—implication of mooring lines rather than chains. A view of the two poems side by side once again shows just how much of the original verbiage has been retained, rendered here in bold.

Petrarch	**Calmo**
Pace non trovo, e non ho da **far guerra**,	**Paxe nò trovo**, che 'l pan me **fa verra**,
E temo, e spero, ed ardo, e son un **ghiaccio**:	E me pelo da fame, e sì no magno,
E volo sopra 'l cielo, e giaccio in **terra**;	Ho calce bone, e sì mostr'un calcagno,
E nulla stringo, e tutto 'l mondo abbraccio.	**E volo** col cervelo sotto **terra**!
Tal m'ha **in priggion**, che non m'apre, **né serra**,	**Tal me** crede à piar che nò m'afferra,
Né per suo mi ritien, né scioglie il laccio,	Nùo in paltan, e in acqua nò me bagno,
E non m'uccide Amor, e non mi sferra;	*Ston debole sui pìe, ni voio scagno,*
Né mi vuol **vivo**, né mi trahe d'impaccio.	Son **in preson**, e i zaffi no me **serra**.
Veggio senz'occhi; e non ho lingua e grido;	*Son* ***vivo*** *tamen son in l'altro mondo,*
E bramo di perir, e cheggio aita;	**Vedo senz' occhi, no ho lengua, e crìo**,
Ed ho in odio me stesso, ed amo altrui:	Son in forno **agiazzào**, **pianzando rido**.
Pascomi di dolor; **piangendo rido**;	Amo chi lioga el so, buta via 'l mio,
Egualmente mi spiace morte e vita.	*E credo a tutti, e de mi no m'infido,*
In questo stato son, Donna, per Voi.	E cerco 'l sol, e de zorno me scondo. […][43]

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[43] For the sake of space I have also elided the final tercets from the parody, as they have no corresponding language in the original.

In addition to all of this retained vocabulary, which even goes so far as to keep one line completely intact, I have also rendered in italics three lines where, although Calmo did not retain any of Petrarch's specific wording, there is a clear relationship with a line in the source. These originate from the last two lines of the first tercet in the original. The first of these, *E bramo di perir, e cheggio aita* (I long to perish, and I beg for aid), appears to correspond to the seventh line in the parody, *Son debole sui piè, ni voio scagno* (I am weak on my feet, but want no stool); the second, *Ed ho in odio me stesso, ed amo altrui* (I hate myself, and love another) quite clearly corresponds to *E credo a tutti, e in me no m'infido* (I believe everyone, but don't trust myself); the last of these, *Egualmente mi spiace morte e vita* (By death and life I am equally dismayed), is mirrored by Calmo's *Son vivo tamen son in altro mondo* (I am alive and in the great beyond).

Just as Doni's parody of Dante exaggerates the harsh language for which he was known and criticised in Bembist circles, so too does Calmo's parody of Petrarch exaggerate a well-known aspect of that poet's style: the so-called Petrarchan antithesis. In fact, "Pace non trovo" was particularly well known for employing this device even among contemporary literary critics. It is, for example, discussed in this passage by Calmo's contemporary Bernardino Tomitano:

…venò ai contraposti, che sono figure bellissime, delle quali tutto vergato si dimostra quel sonetto Pace non trovo: & infiniti altre rime come quelle che al Petrarca furono più famigliari, che a scrittore greco ò latino, che in tale figure di ragionare si esercit[a]sse.[44]	…he seized upon antitheses, which are most delightful [rhetorical] figures; the sonnet *Pace non trovo* is littered with them, as are many [of his] other poems, showing that these [figures] were more familiar to Petrarch than to a Greek or Latin writer who engaged in such pursuits.

Indeed, Calmo's rendering of Petrarch is nothing more than a string of exaggerated antitheses: flatly contradictory lines that refer not only to the narrator's internal state, but also to his actions and physical state of being, swimming without getting wet, showing a heel through his new boots, and flying through the dirt. Calmo even takes extra care to ensure that the narrator is taken literally by including alongside it a thorough line-by-line analysis of the poem *in antica materna lingua* (in the ancient mother tongue, i.e. Venetian) that explains in great detail just how it is possible for some of these seemingly metaphorical scenarios to be literally true, and part of an overarching humorous narrative. For example, below is the explication Calmo provides to explain the seeming impossibility of the third line of the poem, wherein the narrator "swims" in the lagoon without managing to get wet:

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[44] Bernardino Tomitano, *Ragionamenti della lingua Toscana, dove si parla del perfetto Oratore, & Poeta volgari* (Venice, 1545), p. 312. Cited by Haar, "Pace non trovo," 98. Translation mine, as Haar's misreads the last clause as saying that Classical authors *used antitheses*, which Tomitano does not say.

Nùo in paltan e in acqua no me bagno	**I swim in the lagoon and don't get wet**
El tenerissimo poeta mostra in ste parole che l'è tanto ben complessionào e forte de natura, che 'l nùa in paltan, zoè slicega co' fa le anguile. La veritàe sì è questa, che pensando co' fa tutti i inamoràì suspetosi che la so donna fosse andà a star in berta a una peschiera d'una vale so vesina (giera, l'acqua, bassa e fango tenero) ghe vene vogia d'andar per desotto de le grisiole via, e tanto e con le man e co i piè el se aidete, ch'el passà e no trovete niente; in sto mezo l'acqua cressete, e voiando pur véder al fin dove la giera, pe no esser cognossùo, tolse un pèr de rée in spala e fense d'andar a butarle, vestìo pur con un pèr de vuose, idest stivaloni, che no 'l bagnava infina a i zenocchi, sì che 'l poeta, parlando in parabola, va drio al suo disegno…[45]	The most tender poet shows with these words that he is of such a good constitution and so strong by nature, that he swims in the lagoon, or rather slithers through it like the eels do. The truth is this: that thinking (as do all suspicious lovers) that his lady had gone to stay as a trick at a fish farm in a local estuary (the water was low and the mud soft), a desire came upon him to sneak down there through the reeds; and so on hands and knees he crept down, but upon arriving he found nothing. In the meanwhile the water had risen, but wishing to see his task through to the end, and so as not to be recognized, he took [some clothes off] and made to toss them; dressed only in a pair of *vuose*, i.e. great boots, so that he didn't get wet up to his knees, the poet went on with his plans, muttering…

Calmo's faux analysis of the work lampoons precisely the kind of involved explanations of poetic metaphors that Doni, in the same passage cited earlier in this presentation, so aptly dubbed "picking Petrarch's nose."[46]

I would like to turn now to Agostini's musical setting of "Paxe no trovo" in order to demonstrate the ways in which the music serves to further accentuate the parody of the original text while acknowledging the overarching aesthetic conversation in which it was participating. Notable here is that Agostini's setting does not include the extra tercets that Calmo appended to the end of his parody, and thus his text retains the form of the original sonnet. Bombi attributes this to a desire on the composer's part to purge the parody of its Venetian context in order to render it suitable for a more general audience of music consumers, but this is no more likely than a simple desire to retain the original sonnet form so as to keep the parody as close as possible.[47]

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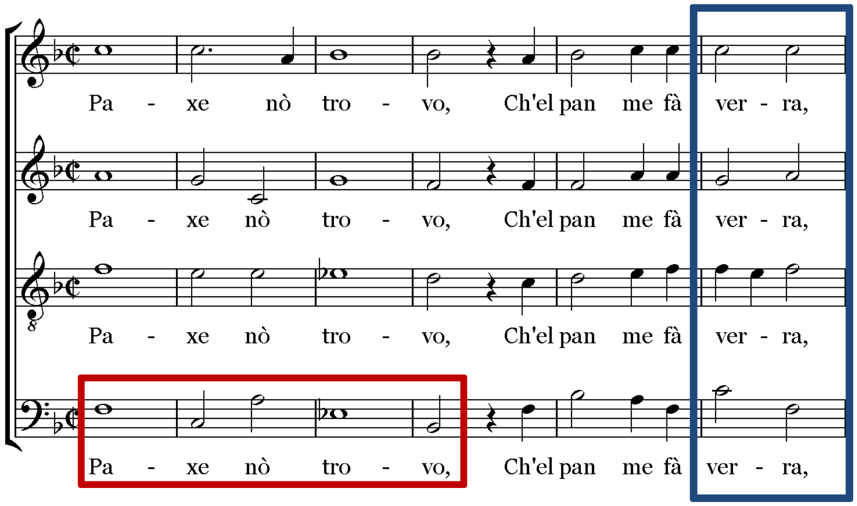
[45] Calmo, *Bizzarre rime* (ed. Belloni), 201.

[46] "...i comentatori vanno stuzzicando tutt'il dì il naso al Petrarca." Vacchelli (ed.), *L'opera musicale*, 137.

Agostini's setting opens dramatically (**Ex. 3.15**): a descending chromatic scale in the tenor is accompanied by a singularly bizarre bass line, characterized by an ascending major sixth followed by a leap down an augmented fourth from A to Eb and yet another leap down to Bb:


Pa - xe nò tro - vo, Ch'el pan me fà ver - ra,
Pa - xe nò tro - vo, Ch'el pan me fà ver - ra,
Pa - xe nò tro - vo, Ch'el pan me fà ver - ra,
Pa - xe nò tro - vo, Ch'el pan me fà ver - ra,

Example 3.15: *Agostini, "Paxe no trovo," mm. 1-6. Note especially the melody of the bass line, mm. 1-4, coupled with the descending chromatic line in the tenor, and the resolution of the phrase with a stereotypical cadence formula on F (blue).*

Such a line breaks all the rules of good part writing, and would have presented quite a challenge to amateur performers reading from individual partbooks. It is, however, surprisingly natural-sounding in its harmonic context, which imbues the first words of the poem with an undeniable sense of pathos. Were it not for the language, one might easily mistake such an opening for a setting of the Petrarch itself. Indeed, the line appears like a deliberately tweaked version of the opening motto used by Vincenzo Ruffo's 1553 setting of the Petrarch text, which appears in the soprano part of that work as presented in **Example 3.16**. Even with the melodic and harmonic distortions Agostini has applied to the opening gesture of his setting, it is really is only with the conclusion of the first line after the rest that Agostini lets us in on the joke with a quick and utterly stereotypical diatonic cadence to the final (**Ex. 3.15**, m. 6, in blue).

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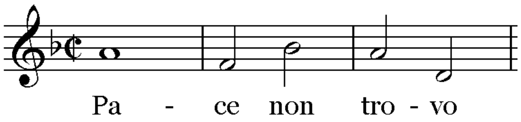
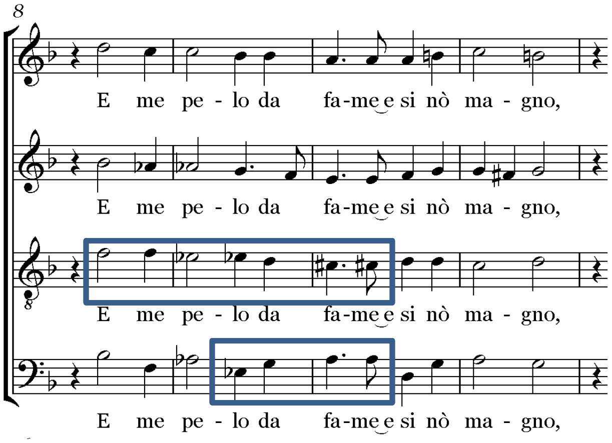
[47] Bombi, "Una satisfation," 36.



***Example 3.16**: Ruffo, "Pace non trovo," soprano mm. 1-3.*[48]

Agostini goes on to set the rest of the sonnet in a straightforward, declamatory style with each line set off from the next by rests. As noted previously, this treatment of the text is typical of nearly all the works in the collection, but in the case of "Paxe no trovo" it contributes significantly to the aesthetic character of the work: setting each line apart creates a string of discrete and independent contradictory phrases, like a chain of musical Zen koans. Each of these is set with a kind of contorted chromaticism that, through its frequent cross-relations and odd melodic motion, mirrors and ultimately resolves (with standard cadential formulas) the kind of cognitive dissonance such contradictions induce (**Ex. 3.17**):


8
E me pe - lo da fa-me e si nò ma - gno,
E me pe - lo da fa-me e si nò ma - gno,
E me pe - lo da fa-me e si nò ma - gno,
E me pe - lo da fa-me e si nò ma - gno,

***Example 3.17:** Agostini, "Paxe no trovo," mm. 8-11. Note especially the outline of a diminished fourth in the tenor line (F to C#, mm. 8-10), an augmented fourth in the bass line (Eb-A, mm. 9-10), and the heavy use of cross-relations that results in the presence of all twelve pitch classes in the space of four measures.*

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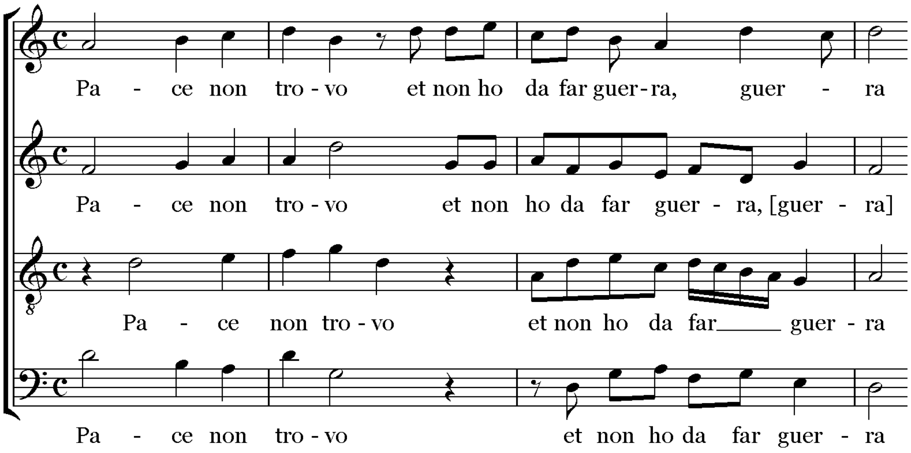
[48] This and all future examples taken from Ruffo's setting of "Pace non trovo" have their note values diminished by half in order to facilitate comparison between all three works in this section.

Despite the obviously parodic nature of the text, Agostini nonetheless responds to its moments of highest drama—lifted as they are nearly verbatim from the original poem—in a relatively straightforward manner that is consistent enough with other composers' settings of the same moments of the Petrarch text that one can conclude them to be meant as the compositional equivalent of Calmo's direct borrowing.[49] Even the opening of the work is not so far removed from Ivo Barry's influential four-voice setting from 1539 (**Ex. 3.18**) and Vincenzo Ruffo's five-voice setting from 1555 (**Ex. 3.19**), wherein both composers also begin with long note values for the first half of the phrase followed by a short rest and a quicker passage leading up to the cadence in a stereotypical contrapuntal rendering of the contrast between war and peace:


Pa - ce non tro - vo et non ho da far guer - ra, guer - ra
Pa - ce non tro - vo et non ho da far guer - ra, [guer - ra]
Pa - ce non tro - vo et non ho da far guer - ra
Pa - ce non tro - vo et non ho da far guer - ra

***Example 3.18:** Ivo Barry, "Pace non trovo," mm. 1-4. Note the contrast in note values between the first and second halves of the phrase.*[50]

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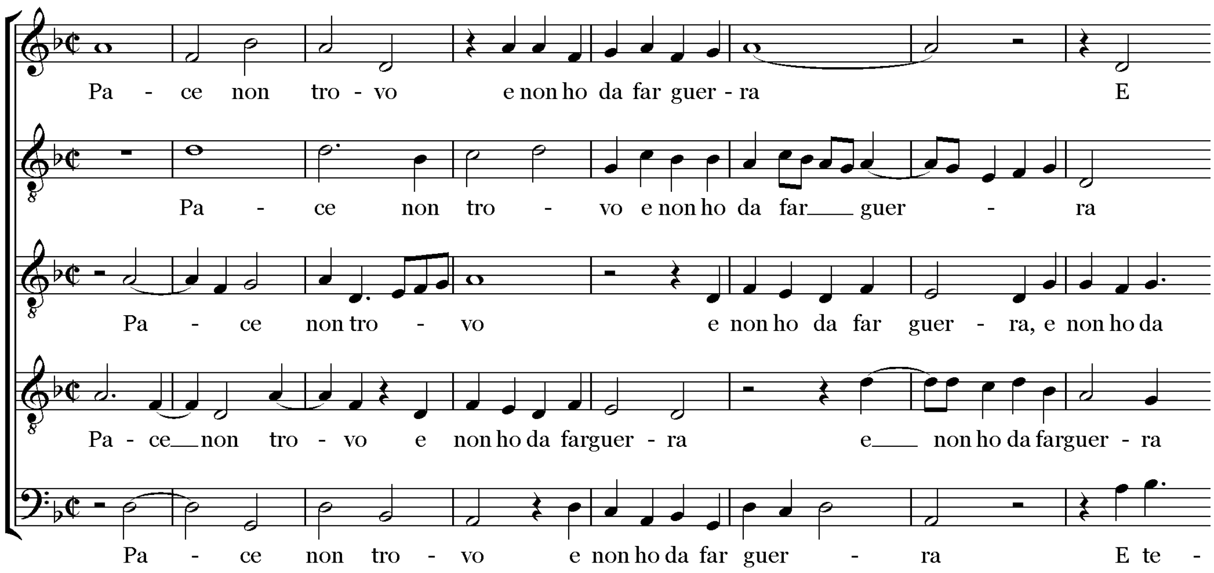
[49] I elaborate on this in the discussion of "Son vecchio innamorao" below, which shows exactly how Agostini accomplishes this when working with a pre-existing musical setting of the text in question.

[50] The Barry is transcribed in full in James Haar, "Literary and Musical Parody," 134-48, along with related settings by Jan Gero and corresponding portions of a longer canzona by Palestrina which closes each section with a phrase from the Petrarch sonnet.


Pa - ce non tro - vo e non ho da far guer - ra E
Pa - ce non tro - vo e non ho da far guer - ra
Pa - ce non tro - vo e non ho da far guer - ra, e non ho da
Pa - ce non tro - vo e non ho da far guer - ra e non ho da far guer - ra
Pa - ce non tro - vo e non ho da far guer - ra E te -

Example 3.19: *Ruffo, "Pace non trovo," mm. 1-8. Note again the contrasting textures and note values between the two halves of the phrase.*

In previous work on the interactions between text and music in the mid-sixteenth century, I have noticed the particular importance of musical texture as a marker that allows composers to highlight particularly important passages of text, or to connect them through time.[51] This normally occurs through departures from what Anthony Newcomb has called a work's "home texture": if a work is predominantly florid and contrapuntal, important text will be set off with a declamatory texture, with all voices moving with the same rhythm.[52] Conversely, a predominantly homorhythmic piece will often use imitation or other complex contrapuntal devices to the same end. Both Ivo and Ruffo interrupt their predominantly florid textures with a declamation of Petrarch's words "Tal m'ha [in] pregion" (**Exx. 3.20** & **3.21**).

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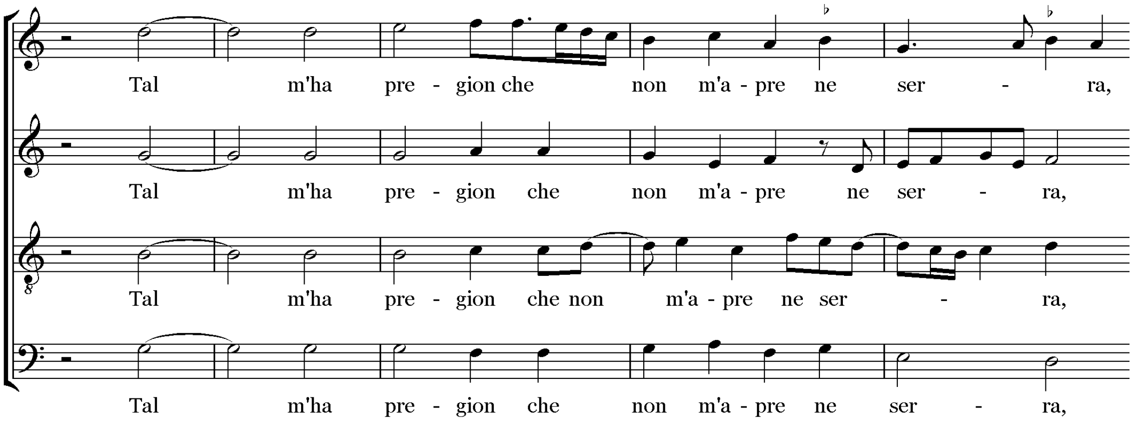
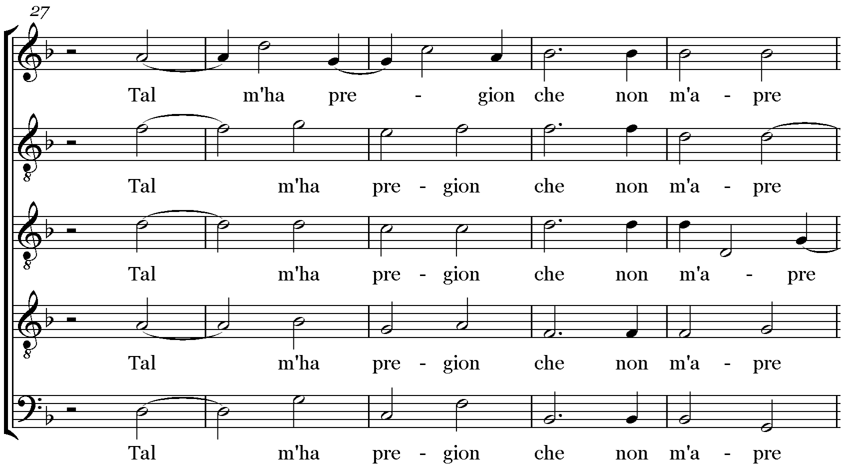
[51] Donnelly, "The Madrigal as Literary Criticism," 65-89.
[52] Newcomb, "Gombert, 'Domine si tu es': An Appreciation."

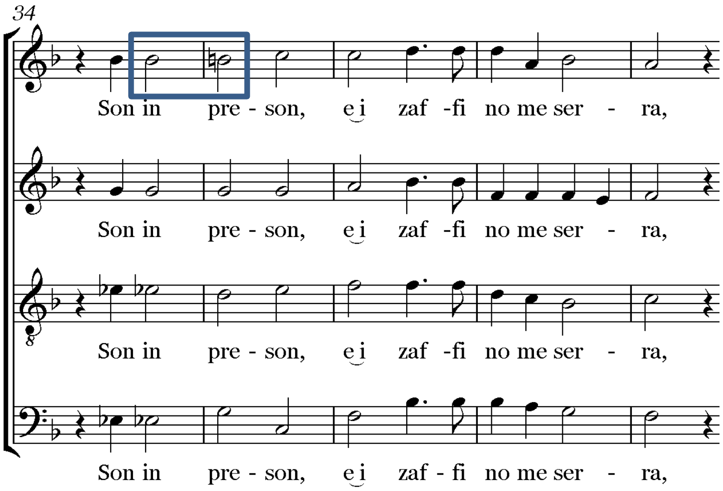

Tal m'ha pre - gion che non m'a - pre ne ser - ra,
Tal m'ha pre - gion che non m'a - pre ne ser - ra,
Tal m'ha pre - gion che non m'a - pre ne ser - ra,
Tal m'ha pre - gion che non m'a - pre ne ser - ra,

Example 3.20: *Ivo, "Pace non trovo," mm. 14-18.*


27
Tal m'ha pre - gion che non m'a - pre
Tal m'ha pre - gion che non m'a - pre
Tal m'ha pre - gion che non m'a - pre
Tal m'ha pre - gion che non m'a - pre
Tal m'ha pre - gion che non m'a - pre

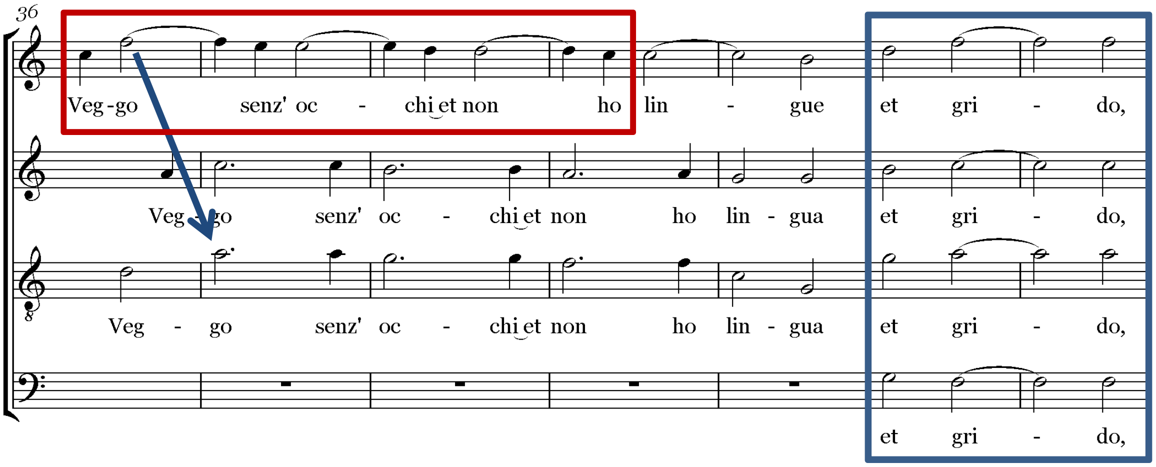
Example 3.21: *Ruffo, "Pace non trovo," mm. 27-31. Slightly ruffled homophonic statement offset by an initial rest.*

Agostini similarly makes this line stand out with an Eb-major to G-major progression that results in an ascending chromatic semitone in the soprano part (**Ex. 3.22**).


34
Son in pre - son, e i zaf -fi no me ser - ra,
Son in pre - son, e i zaf -fi no me ser - ra,
Son in pre - son, e i zaf -fi no me ser - ra,
Son in pre - son, e i zaf - fi no me ser - ra,

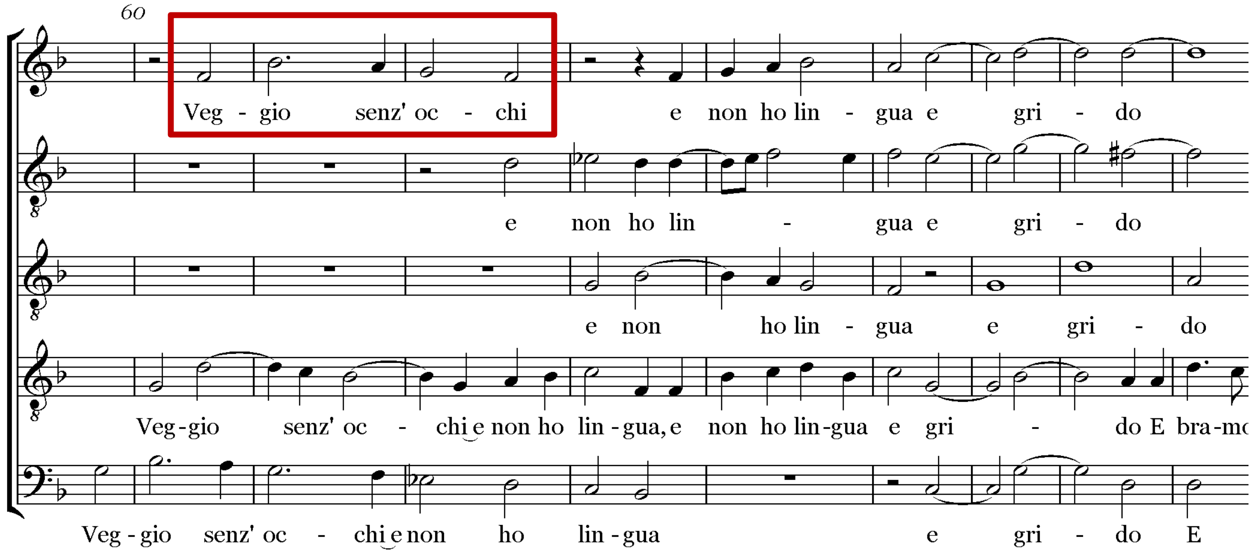
Example 3.22: *Agostini, "Paxe no trovo," 34-38. Ascending chromatic semitone in the Soprano part.*

The next moment of high drama, on the words "Veggio senz'occhi; e non ho lingua e grido" ("Eyeless I see; I have no tongue and shout") is both the high point of Petrarch's original and the only line that Calmo left entirely intact in the parody version. Ivo sets it in reduced texture with a very affecting bit of stretto fuga wherein a simple descending line is imitated at the fifth below with parallel third doubling of the lower part—the same improvisable technique used in Gabrieli's setting of "Ancor che col partire"—which results in a chain of 6-5 suspensions that ends in a homophonic shout (**Ex. 3.23**).


36
Veg-go senz' oc - chi et non ho lin - gue et gri - do,
Veg - go senz' oc - chi et non ho lin - gua et gri - do,
Veg - go senz' oc - chi et non ho lin - gua et gri - do,
et gri - do,

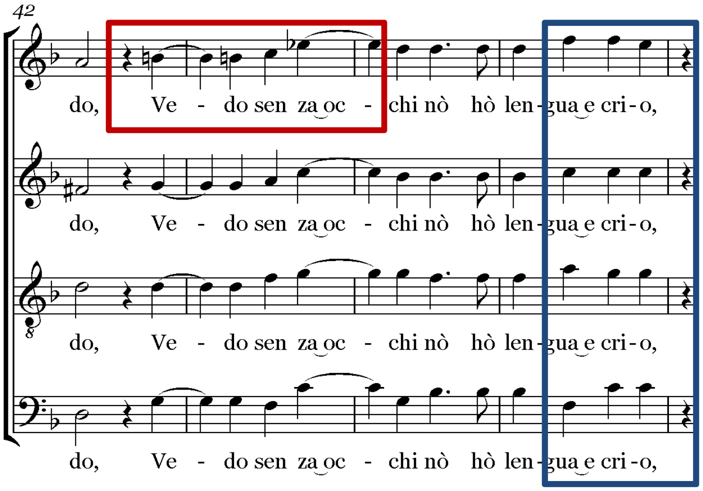
Example 3.23: *Ivo, "Pace non trovo," mm. 36-43. Note stretto-fuga between canto and tenor, with parallel-sixth doubling in the alto.*

Ruffo also sets the line imitatively with a soggetto that, due to its similar contour, James Haar has argued betrays the influence of the other composer (**Ex. 3.24**).[53]


60
Veg - gio senz' oc - chi e non ho lin - gua e gri - do
e non ho lin - gua e gri - do
e non ho lin - gua e gri - do
Veg-gio senz' oc - chi e non ho lin - gua, e non ho lin-gua e gri - do E bra-m
Veg - gio senz' oc - chi e non ho lin - gua e gri - do E

Example 3.24: *Ruffo, "Pace non trovo," mm. 60-68. C.f. soprano melody in* ***Ex. 3.23*** *(red).*

Agostini, meanwhile, outlines a diminished fourth in the soprano line while bringing all the voices to their highest notes in the piece without a proper cadence (**Ex. 3.25**).


42
do, Ve - do sen za oc - chi nò hò len - gua e cri - o,
do, Ve - do sen za oc - chi nò hò len - gua e cri - o,
do, Ve - do sen za oc - chi nò hò len - gua e cri - o,
do, Ve - do sen za oc - chi nò hò len - gua e cri - o,

Example 3.25*: Agostini, "Paxe no trovo," 42-45.*

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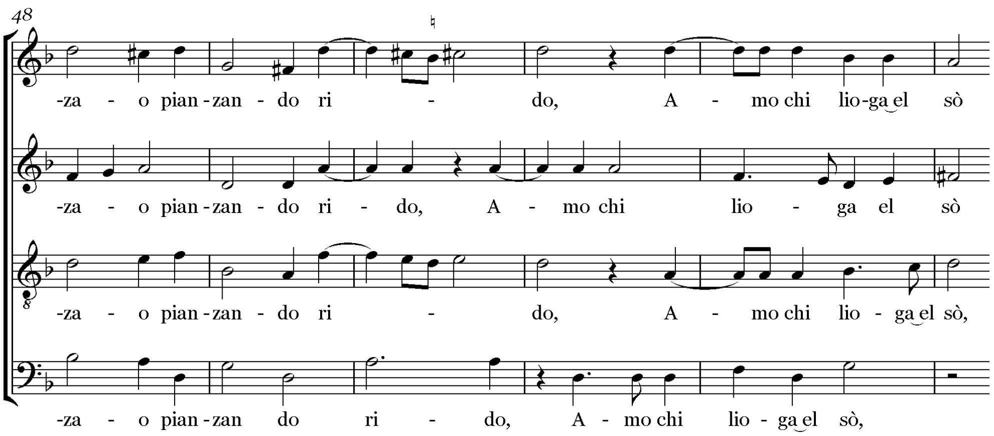
[53] Haar, "Literary and Musical Parody," 99, n. 14.

It is worth noting at this point that, unlike in Ivo's and Ruffo's settings of Petrarch, where these moments are separated in time, in Agostini's setting they follow one right after the other, since what were the first lines of successive structural units in the original poem have been squeezed together to serve as the last line of the second quatrain and the last two lines of the first tercet.

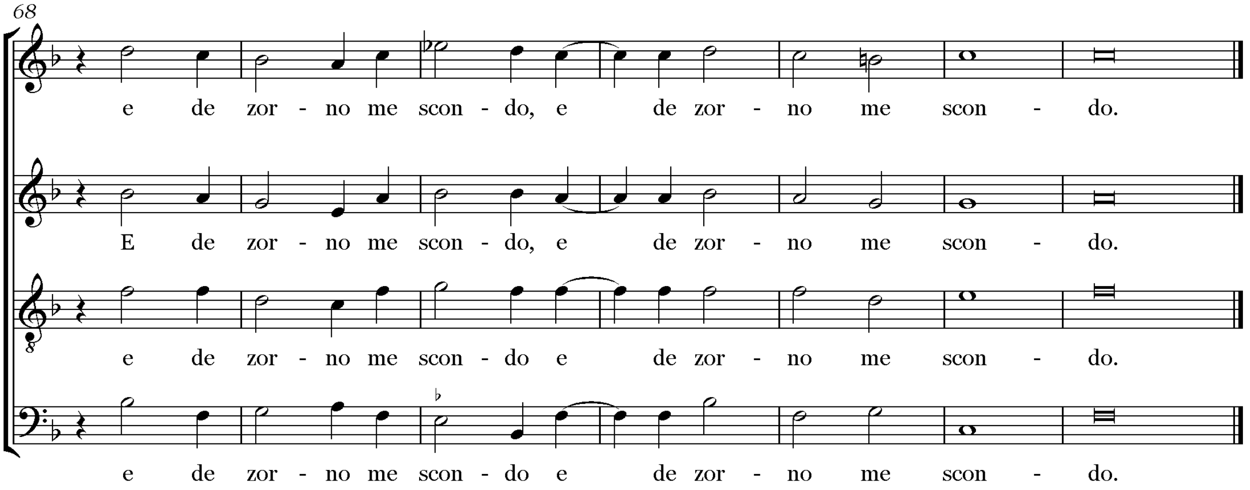
Petrarch	**Calmo**
Pace non trovo, e non ho da far guerra,	Paxe nò trovo, che 'l pan me fa verra,
E temo, e spero, ed ardo, e son un ghiaccio:	E me pelo da fame, e sì no magno,
E volo sopra 'l cielo, e giaccio in terra;	Ho calce bone, e sì mostr'un calcagno,
E nulla stringo, e tutto 'l mondo abbraccio.	E volo col cervelo sotto terra!
Tal m'ha in priggion, che non m'apre, né serra,	Tal me crede à piar che nò m'afferra,
Né per suo mi ritien, né scioglie il laccio,	Nùo in paltan, e in acqua nò me bagno,
E non m'uccide Amor, e non mi sferra;	Ston debole sui pìe, ni voio scagno,
Né mi vuol vivo, né mi trahe d'impaccio.	**Son in preson, e i zaffi no me serra**.
Veggio senz'occhi; e non ho lingua e grido;	*Son vivo tamen son in l'altro mondo,*
E bramo di perir, e cheggio aita;	**Vedo senz' occhi, no ho lengua, e crìo,**
Ed ho in odio me stesso, ed amo altrui:	**Son in forno agiazzào, pianzando rido.**
Pascomi di dolor; **piangendo rido;**	Amo chi lioga el so, buta via 'l mio,
Egualmente mi spiace morte e vita.	E credo a tutti, e de mi no m'infido,
In questo stato son, Donna, per Voi.	E cerco 'l sol, e de zorno me scondo.

Agostini's relatively straight reading of these lines thus creates a heightened narrative arc that climaxes at the end of the first tercet on the text *pianzando rido*. It is at this point that the work's declamatory texture finally breaks down and Agostini introduces a short imitative section—one of the only such sections in the entire collection (**Ex. 3.26**).


48
-za - o pian - zan - do ri - do, A - mo chi lio - ga el sò
-za - o pian - zan - do ri - do, A - mo chi lio - ga el sò
-za - o pian - zan - do ri - do, A - mo chi lio - ga el sò,
-za - o pian - zan do ri - do, A - mo chi lio - ga el sò,

Example 3.26: *Agostini, "Paxe no trovo," 48-53.*

This in turn leads to a rather anti-climactic dénouement; following the cut of Calmo's additional sestet, the remaining sonnet does not quite feel complete on its own, and even Agostini struggles to close the piece successfully: the final cadence, with its long note values, lack of 2-1 scale-degree motion, and lack of any suspension or ornamentation, feels distinctly hollow and perfunctory as a conclusion to such an elaborate and harmonically intricate setting (**Ex. 3.27**).


68
e de zor - no me scon - do, e de zor - no me scon - do.
E de zor - no me scon - do, e de zor - no me scon - do.
e de zor - no me scon - do e de zor - no me scon - do.
e de zor - no me scon - do e de zor - no me scon - do.

Example 3.27: *Agostini, "Paxe no trovo," mm. 68-74.*

This is especially true in the context of the collection as a whole, as *Paxe no trovo* is the longest and most ambitious single setting contained therein. Perhaps this too is a rhetorical device on Agostini's part, but if so, the intention is not clear. It may be, in some sense, an acknowledgement of the fact that the poem has been cut short with respect to the original form printed in the 1553 collection: a musical representation of the improviser/performer made somehow to force an ending at an unnatural point in the poem due to some external constraint, perhaps even a recitation formula or structural plan designed for the performance of a sonnet alone and selected according to the expectation that a parody of Petrarch's *Pace non trovo* would conform to the shape of the original. Caught unawares by the additional tercet, the fictional performer sits a bit too long on the penultimate sonority—perhaps trying to decide if it's worth trying to go on—but ultimately decides against it and sounds the final, bringing the piece to its somewhat unsatisfying conclusion.

3.7 Boccaccio *el magnifico*: musical parody on the literary model

Perhaps the most striking incidence of parody in the entire 1567 collection is the second piece in the collection, following the salutory "Sapiè, cari signori." The text of "Son vecchio inamorao" is, like "Paxe no trovo," a parody of a famous work by one of the pillars of Bembist formalism—in this case an excerpt from Boccaccio's *Decameron* rather than Petrarch's *Canzoniere*.[54] The original *canzone*, "Io mi son giovinetta," comes from the conclusion *Decameron*'s ninth day, where it is sung by the character Neifile at the king's behest following a masked ball and an evening full of songs "more pleasing in words than masterful in execution."[55] The opening refrain and first stanza are as follows:

Boccaccio (c. 1350) / Ferrabosco (1542): "Io mi son giovinetta"

Io mi son giovinetta, e volentieri	I am a young girl, and gladly
m'allegro e canto en la stagion novella,	Do I make merry and sing in the new season,
merzé d'amore e de'dolci pensieri.	Thanks to love and sweet thoughts.
Io vo pe'verdi prati riguardando	I go through the green meadows, looking
i bianchi fiori e' gialli e i vermigli	At the flowers, white, yellow, and vermilion;
le rose in su le spine e i bianchi gigli	At the roses above their thorns, and the white lilies,
e tutti quanti gli vo somigliando	And they all begin to look to me like
al viso di colui che me, amando, [Ferr. *amandomi*]	The face of the one, who, in loving me,
ha presa e terrà sempre, *come quella*	Has caught me and shall hold me forever, *as one*
ch'altro non ha in disio ch'e' suoi piaceri.	*Who has no other desire than his pleasure.*

Neifile's song was famously set to music by the Bolognese composer Domenico Ferrabosco, whose setting appears in Scotto's first book of *note nere* madrigals (RISM B/I 1542^{17}) along with 45 other printed anthologies and at least sixteen manuscript sources between 1542 and 1546. It can thus be considered one of the early madrigal's greatest hits, rivalling Arcadelt's "Il bianco e dolce cigno" in sheer popularity. It even inspired two parody masses by Palestrina, and much later, Morley's English adaptation "Now is the Gentle Season."[56] Ferrabosco's version of the text departs slightly from the original in that he ends midway through the penultimate line, transforming the original *endacasillabe* into a *settenario* (the text absent from Ferrabosco's version is rendered in italics).[57] This truncation was likely carried out for structural reasons: by cutting off the penultimate line before the reintroduction of the refrain's rhyme scheme, Ferrabosco neatly avoids any expectation of a musical refrain and any implication that the setting was meant to work strophically with the rest of the song's text.

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[54] It is worth reiterating here that Boccaccio was held up principally as a model for prose rather than for verse, and this may in fact be the reason Calmo's parody of the poem focuses primarly on the exchange of imagery rather than the exaggeration of style, as discussed below.

[55] "…forse mille canzonette più sollazzevoli di parole che di canto maestrevoli."

[56] John V. Cockshoot, "Ferrabosco, Domenico."

It was surely due to the widespread popularity of the Ferrabosco setting that Calmo chose to parody this text in the 1553 *Rime* print. In fact, such a motivation is not only consistent with Mazzinghi's thesis that Calmo was drawing heavily on contemporary musical repertoire, but may even provide some of the most convincing textual evidence in its favour: it is surely no coincidence that Calmo's parody does not go beyond the point at which Ferrabosco's setting ends, and even concludes with a similar temporal reference:

Calmo (1553) / Agostini (1567): "Son vecchio inamorao"

Son vecchio inamorao, e volentiera	I'm an old man in love, and gladly
M'allegro e canto e sono de lauto[58]	Do I make merry, and sing, and play the lute,
E vo 'nintel mio horto sunando fighi,	And I go into my garden plucking figs--
I bianchi, neri, e zali,	White, black, and yellow--
Puó tutti quanti i dago per trabuto	And I offer them all in tribute
Al viso de Lionora	To Lionora's face
Ch'amando me dessecha d'hora in hora	For loving [her] builds a thirst in me as hours pass.

Unlike the case of "Paxe no trovo," where the primary target of the parody was Petrarch's distinctive poetic style, here we find once again a parody in the vein of Andrea Gabrieli's *giustiniana* parody of "Ancor che col partire." Just as in the other poem, the narrative voice of the lover has been converted into that of the lecherous old man: the *magnifico* character that Calmo had played such an important role in establishing through his theatrical endeavours. Further, as we can see here, he also takes great care to preserve as much of the original verbiage as possible in constructing the parody, although he dispenses with the original rhyme scheme, perhaps to allow for the compression of the poem into seven lines:

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[57] The other variation presented here, where Ferrabosco gives "amandomi" for the equivalent "me amando," is not particularly significant and was likely present in his source text.

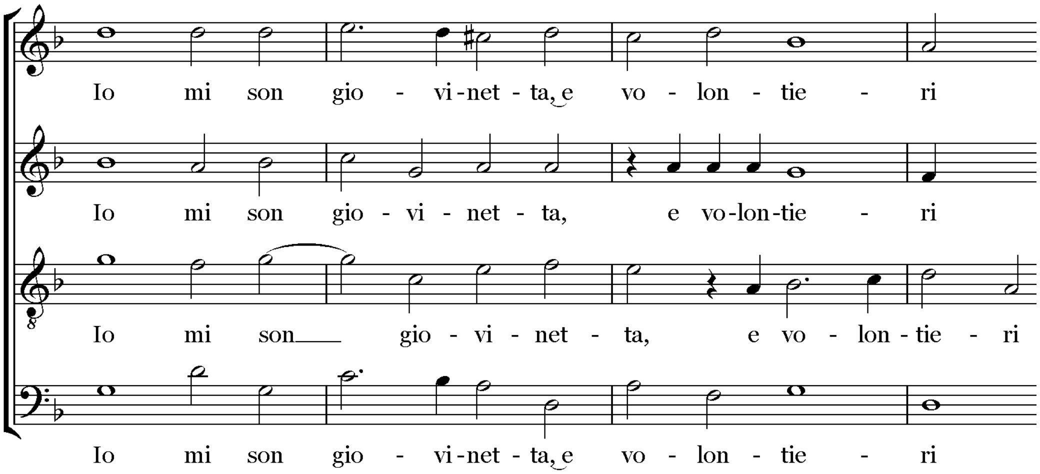
[58] Both "di"and "suono" also appear as Tuscanisms; orthography is not consistent in all parts.

Ferrabosco (1542)	**Calmo (1553) / Agostini (1567)**
Io mi **son** *giovinetta*, **e volentieri**	**Son** *vecchio* inamorao, **e volentiera**
m'allegro e canto en la stagion novella,	**M'allegro e canto** e sono de lauto
merzé d'amore e de'dolci pensieri.	
Io vo *pe'verdi prati* riguardando	**E vo** *'nintel mio horto* sunando fighi,
i bianchi fiori **e' gialli** e i vermigli	**I bianchi**, neri, **e zali,**
le rose in su le spine e i bianchi gigli	
e **tutti quanti** gli vo somigliando	Puó **tutti quanti i** dago per trabuto
al viso di colui **che amandomi**	**Al viso de** Lionora
mi presa e terrà sempre.	**Ch'amando me** dessecha *d'hora in hora*

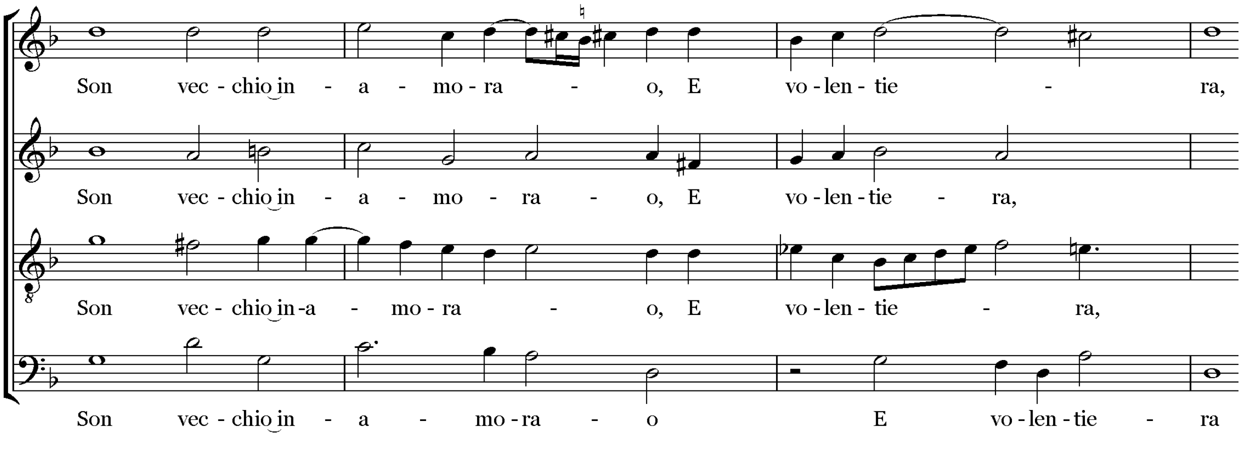
Neifile's central conceit of looking at flowers as reminders of her lover's face has been replaced with an obvious sexual allusion to the fig as female genitalia, which Calmo heightens through the use of a pun on the word *dago*, which can be read as equivalent to either modern Italian *dare*, meaning "to give," or as related to Venetian *daga*, meaning a large sword. It is however worth noting at this point that, despite the transparency of the metaphor Calmo employs in the parody text, he does not—as he did in "Ancor che col partire"—allow this connotative subtext to intrude brazenly into the denotative text. As we will see later, this choice may hinge on the difference between theatrical performance of verse and improvisational recitation in informal settings, and the differing expectations of propriety between three- and four-voice representations of self-accompanied song.

More striking even than the textual similarities, however, is the way in which Agostini, like Gabrieli, chose to extend the literary parody into the realm of contrapuntal borrowing and allusion, creating a kind of pastiche. That Agostini chose to do so with this text in particular should hardly be surprising, given the familiarity that contemporary audiences doubtless had with Ferrabosco's setting of the original text. Agostini's musical borrowing is much more extensive and literal than Gabrieli's, perhaps due to the fact that he is not forced, as Gabrieli was, to reduce the original content from four into three voices. All told, approximately 80% of Agostini's adaptation consists of directly borrowed material, and even the remaining twenty percent contains some allusions to the contrapuntal structure of the source.

Agostini's agenda is clear from the very opening of his setting, which borrows Ferrabosco's nearly verbatim with the addition of a few contrapuntal embellishments along with several of the accidentals that are characteristic of the harmonic language Agostini employs in the *Rime* collection (**Exx. 3.28** & **3.29**).


Io mi son gio - vi-net - ta, e vo - lon - tie - ri
Io mi son gio - vi - net - ta, e vo-lon-tie - ri
Io mi son gio - vi - net - ta, e vo - lon - tie - ri
Io mi son gio - vi-net - ta, e vo - lon - tie - ri

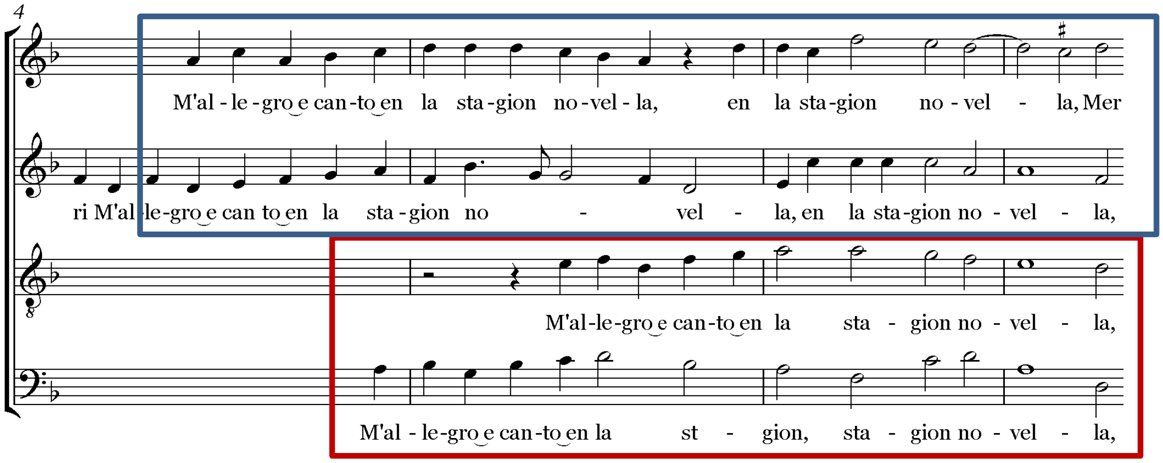
***Example 3.28:** Ferrabosco, "Io mi son giovinetta," mm. 1-4.*


Son vec - chio in - a - mo - ra - o, E vo - len - tie - ra,
Son vec - chio in - a - mo - ra - o, E vo - len - tie - ra,
Son vec - chio in-a - mo - ra - o, E vo - len - tie - ra,
Son vec - chio in - a - mo - ra - o E vo - len - tie - ra

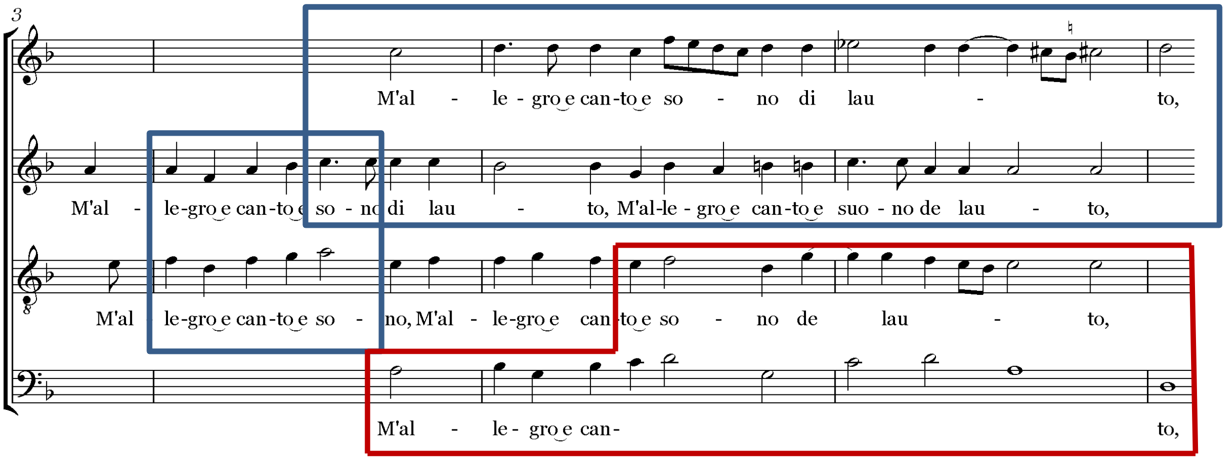
***Example 3.29**: Agostini, "Son vecchio inammorao," mm. 1-4.*

The borrowing continues into the second phrase, although Agostini makes a few minor changes to the texture, conserving Ferrabosco's paired duos but adding a "false" entry to make it seem different.

(**Exx. 3.30 & 3.31**):

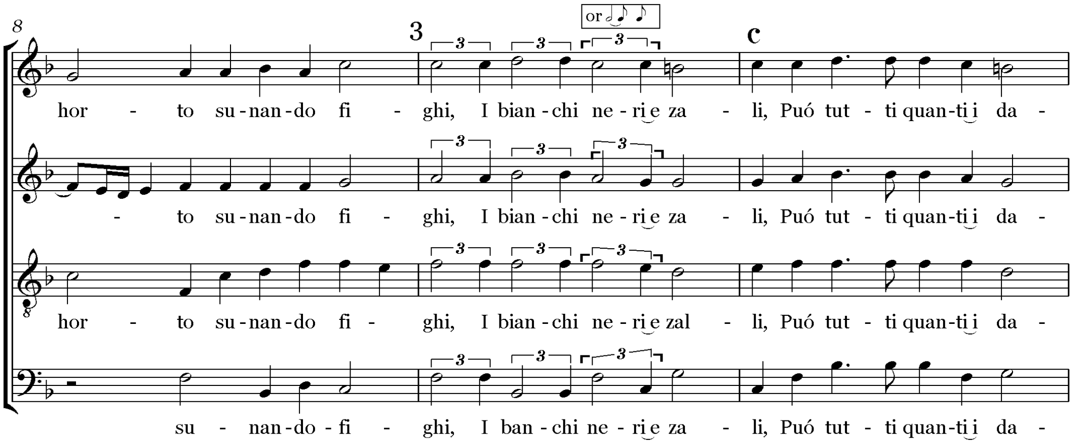

4
M'al - le - gro e can - to en la sta - gion no - vel - la, en la sta - gion no - vel - la, Mer
ri M'al - le - gro e can to en la sta - gion no - vel - la, en la sta - gion no - vel - la,
M'al - le - gro e can - to en la sta - gion no - vel - la,
M'al - le - gro e can - to en la st - gion, sta - gion no - vel - la,

Example 3.30: *Ferrabosco, "Io mi son giovinetta," mm. 4-7.*


3
M'al - le - gro e can - to e so - no di lau - to,
M'al - le - gro e can - to e so - no di lau - to, M'al - le - gro e can - to e suo - no de lau - to,
M'al le - gro e can - to e so - no, M'al - le - gro e can - to e so - no de lau - to,
M'al - le - gro e can - to,

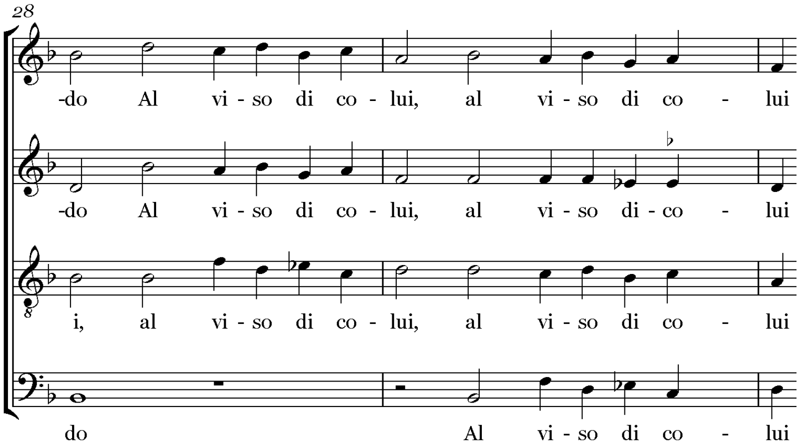
Example 3.31: *Agostini, "Son vecchio inamorao," mm. 4-6. Note the revoicing of the beginning of the first duo with respect to* ***Ex. 3.30****.*

While Ferrabosco's setting is split into two *parti* at the end of the following line, "Merzé d'amore e dei dolci pensieri," Calmo's omission of an equivalent to this line in his verse parody allows Agostini to continue on without pause into the second half of the work. It is, however, at this point that he decides to break off from directly imitating his source material, perhaps inspired by the poet's departure from the structure of the model text at this point: just as Calmo has compressed the poem through the removal of two lines, Agostini reduces the predominantly imitative and rhythmically exciting treatment of the flowers in Ferrabosco's original setting to a brief triple section. The use of coloration in this section on the word *neri* (black) is surely intended by Agostini as a bit of clever *Augenmusik*; it is unclear whether he actually intended for it to affect the rhythm (**Ex. 3.32**):

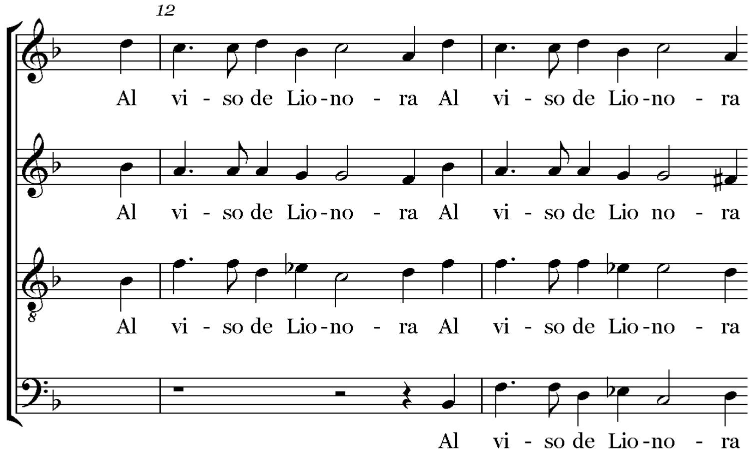

8
3
or
c
hor - to su - nan - do fi - ghi, I bian - chi ne - ri e za - li, Puó tut - ti quan - ti i da -
- to su - nan - do fi - ghi, I bian - chi ne - ri e za - li, Puó tut - ti quan - ti i da -
hor - to su - nan - do fi - ghi, I bian - chi ne - ri e zal - li, Puó tut - ti quan - ti i da -
su - nan - do - fi - ghi, I ban - chi ne - ri e za - li, Puó tut - ti quan - ti i da -

***Example* 3.32:** *Agostini, "Son vecchio inamorao," mm. 8-10.*

Agostini returns to Ferrabosco's model for the final two phrases of his setting, at which point both the original text by Boccaccio and Calmo's parody reveal their central conceit: that it is the face of the beloved that inspires both Neifile's joyful contemplation of the multi-coloured flowers in her meadow and the *magnifico*'s enthusiastic devouring of figs, as seen in **Examples 3.33** and **3.34** on the following page.

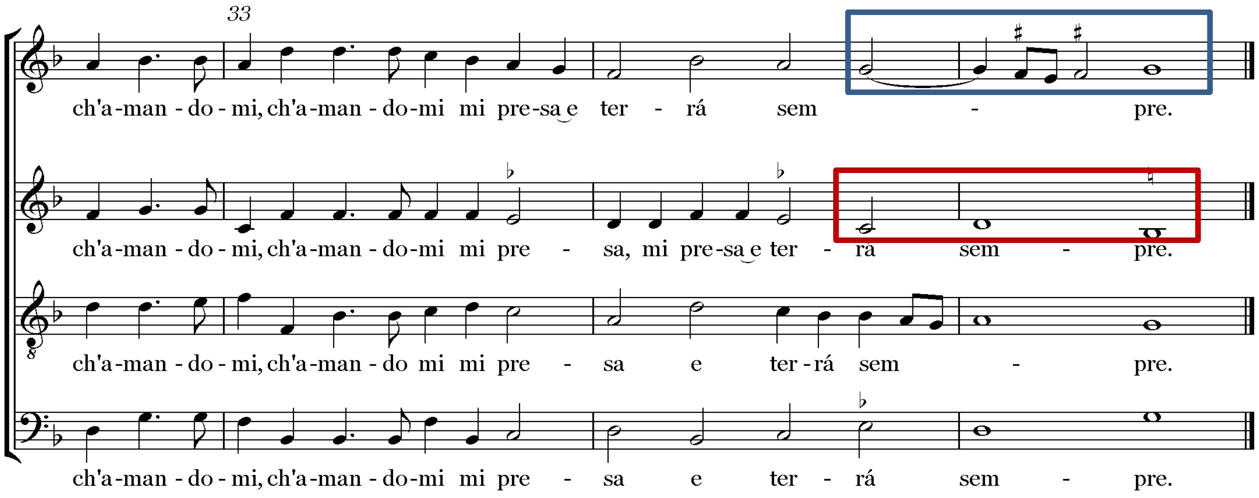

28
-do Al vi - so di co - lui, al vi - so di co - lui
-do Al vi - so di co - lui, al vi - so di - co - lui
i, al vi - so di co - lui, al vi - so di co - lui
do Al vi - so di co - lui

Example 3.33: *Ferrabosco, "Io mi son giovinetta," mm. 28-29.*

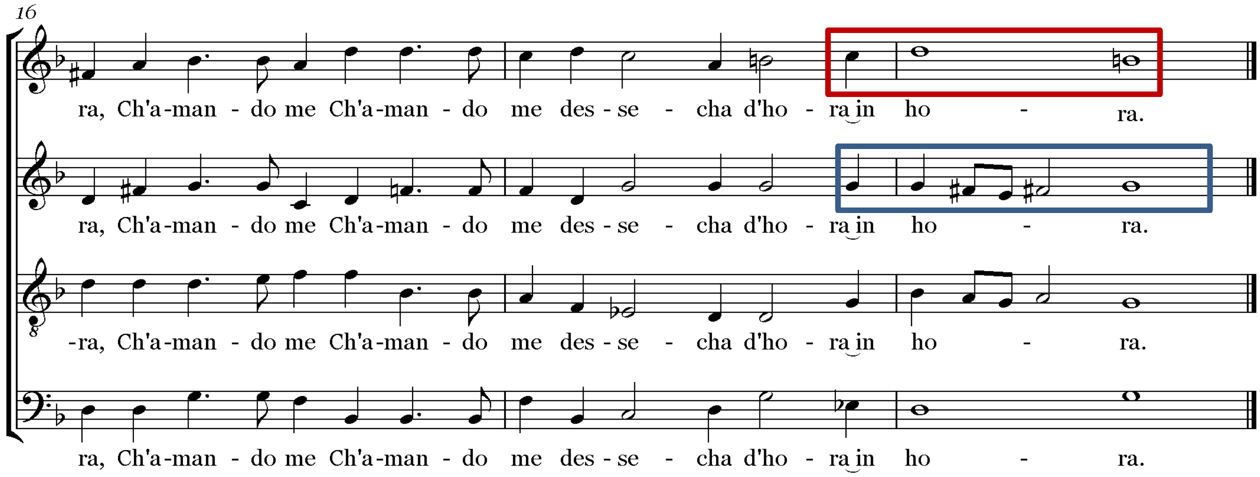

12
Al vi - so de Lio-no - ra Al vi - so de Lio-no - ra
Al vi - so de Lio-no - ra Al vi - so de Lio no - ra
Al vi - so de Lio-no - ra Al vi - so de Lio-no - ra
Al vi - so de Lio-no - ra

Example 3.34: *Agostini, "Son vecchio inamorao," mm. 12-13.*

Agostini continues his borrowing through to the end, once again largely copying Ferrabosco's polyphonic structure through both iterations of the last phrase, with only some rhythmic alteration in the last bars and a cadential voice exchange distinguishing his version from the original (**Exx. 3.35 & 3.36**):


33
ch'a-man - do - mi, ch'a-man - do-mi mi pre-sa e ter - rá sem - pre.
ch'a-man - do - mi, ch'a-man - do-mi mi pre - sa, mi pre-sa e ter - ra sem - pre.
ch'a-man - do - mi, ch'a-man - do mi mi pre - sa e ter-rá sem - pre.
ch'a-man - do - mi, ch'a-man - do-mi mi pre - sa e ter - rá sem - pre.

Example 3.35: *Ferrabosco, "Io mi son giovinetta," mm. 32-35.*


16
ra, Ch'a-man - do me Ch'a-man - do me des - se - cha d'ho - ra in ho - ra.
ra, Ch'a-man - do me Ch'a-man - do me des - se - cha d'ho - ra in ho - ra.
-ra, Ch'a-man - do me Ch'a-man - do me des - se - cha d'ho - ra in ho - ra.
ra, Ch'a-man - do me Ch'a-man - do me des - se - cha d'ho - ra in ho - ra.

Example 3.36: *Agostini, "Son vecchio inamorao," mm. 16-18. Note cadential voice exchange from* ***Ex. 3.35****.*

3.8 Conclusion

The poetic and musical examples presented in this chapter all help to draw a clearer picture of the manner in which improvisation of self-accompanied verse were intimately connected to the Venetian-language repertoire of the 1560s and '70s. Calmo in particular seems to have been a driving figure in this practice, due to his fame as a performer and improviser, the wide-ranging influence of his published verse, and his engagement with the literary and musical high style through parody. Especially striking in this context is the aesthetic and technical continuity between the practices of textual and musical parody, as seen in both Andrea Gabrieli's *giustiniana* rendering of "Ancor che col partire" and in Agostini's reworking of Ferrabosco's "Io mi son giovinetta" in the 1567 *Rime* collection. In both cases the composers treated their contrapuntal source materials in a manner analogous to the way in which Calmo, Doni, and other Renaissance parodists treated the models for their own work. A successful parody not only borrowed material from the source, but borrowed its most salient and identifiable material. Keeping this material as intact as possible not only allows for its identification by the listener as the source of the parody, but serves as a forceful reminder that even the most elevated style requires little more than an occasional tweak in order to be rendered ridiculous.

These two settings also help to highlight the different threads that ran through improvised dialect performance in this period. Gabrieli's *giustiniana*, for all its sophisticated textual and musical engagement with the source text, employs a heightened level of vulgarity that is consistent with the idea of stage performance for the masses. Perhaps this arose out of the goal of rendering such a performance entertaining to those who lacked significant training or experience with the high style. Agostini's four-voice settings, by contrast, maintain an air of respectability even when treating ostensibly salacious subject matter: the metaphor of the fig and pun on the sword, though transparent, are nonetheless restrained within the boundaries of polite discourse and would have been appropriate for performance at an élite social gathering. Furthermore, the humour of "Paxe no trovo" relies so heavily on familiarity with contemporary literary discourse about Petrarch that it could hardly have found much traction outside the academies and informal salons that concerned themselves with such activities.

It is likely no concidence that this difference in register coincides with the difference in the number of voices employed by the composers in setting their texts. Gabrieli's *giustiniana* is at home in the three-voice tradition of *canzone villanesche*, *moresche*, *napoletane*, and other genres that routinely overstep the discursive bounds of the madrigal, while Agostini's four-voice settings, by virtue of their participation in the *madrigale arioso* tradition, seem ideally suited to the sorts of small gatherings represented in contemporary dialogues. Although our lack of information regarding Agostini's activities in this period make ties to any particular group or *letterati* difficult, the next chapter will explore a case in which many more of these details are known and provide a very detailed picture of the audience for which dialect madrigals in this style were doubtless intended.

Chapter 4

Making Private Music Public

ANTONIO MOLINO'S *GREGHESCHE* AND THE VENIER SALON

As documented in the previous chapters, the period from about 1550-1575 was one of previously unparalleled literary and artistic production in the Venetian language. Dialects—with Venetian prominently among them—flourished in print and on the stage, and eminent figures like Andrea Calmo and his associate Antonio Molino led the way in establishing the conventions that surrounded their use in the public sphere.[1] The theatrical use of Venetian, like that of other dialects, became increasingly tied to specific character archetypes that would, by the end of the century, become codified as the standard *maschere* of the *commedia dell'arte*. In addition to its use on the stage, however, Venetian-language music has an important role to play at small social gatherings of cultural elites. At these gatherings Venetian verse was performed both in the self-accompanied *arioso* style outlined in the previous chapter, and in more elaborately composed forms such as those represented in Molino's 1564 *Primo libro delle greghesche*. In this chapter I will discuss several examples of works from the 1564 collection and from Molino's own first book of madrigals, which clearly demonstrate that the Venetian-language repertoire served a complex and multi-valent role within the immediate cultural environment of Venetian music and music-makers.

4.1 "Burlesque" Laments for Adrian Willaert

Perhaps the most notable works in the 1564 *Primo libro delle greghesche* are two musical laments composed in memory of Adrian Willaert, who died in 1562.[2] Below are the texts to the two laments, “Sassi, palae” and “Pianza ‘l Grego Pueta,” respectively set to music by Andrea Gabrieli and Willaert’s nephew Alvise, his sister’s son.[3]

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[1] Calmo is best known now for his *Lettere* (4 vols, 1547-56) and his *Bizzarre, faconde, et ingegnose rime pescatorie* (1553). His career in the theatre is outlined in Paul Castagno, "*Mente teatrale*." A detailed discussion of Calmo, and settings of his poetry are the topic of Chapter 3.

[2] There are five works altogether that memorialise the composer: in addition to the two works discussed

Molino / A. Gabrieli: “Sassi, palae”

Sassi, Palae, sabbion, del Adrian lio;	Rocks, jetties, sand of the Adriatic shore;
Alleghe, Zoncchi, Herbazi chie la stèu;	Seaweed, daffodils, and weeds that grow upon it;
Velme, Barene, chie scundèu	Islets, marshes, cays that shelter
l'Ostregha, 'l cappa, e 'l Passarin polio;	The oyster, the cockle, and the stately flounder;
E vui del valle pesci e d'ogni rio,	And you, fish in the tidewaters and in every stream,
E del mar grandi e puzili chie sèu;	And in the sea, whether large or small;
Scombri, Chieppe, Sardun, chie drio tirèu	Mackerel, shad, sardines that follow behind
Le Syrene dunzell'e ch'a mario;	The mermaids, maiden and married;
E vu fiumi chie dèu tributo al Mari:	And you, rivers that give tribute to the sea:
Piavi, Ladese, Po, Sil, Brenta et Ogio,	Piave, Adige, Po, Sile, Brenta, and Oglio,
Vegni, vegni cha tutti canti a lagrimari	Come here that you may all lament
La morte d'Adrian, del chal me dogio	The death of Adrian, who I regret
Che nol porà mie versi plio lustrari	Shall never again be able decorate my verse,
Cul dulce canto chie rumpe ogni scogio	With sweet song that breaks against the shoals.
O megàlos cordogio!	O great sorrow!
Del mundo tutto chy sarà mo chello	In the whole world who could ever be
Chie in armonia del par vaga cun ello.	His equal in beautiful harmony?

Molino / Alvise Willaert: “Pianza'l grego pueta”

Pianza'l Grego Pueta e'l Mantuan,	Let the Greek Poet, and the Mantuan,
La Fiorentin e tutto canto'l mundo,	And the Florentine, and the whole world weep,
Da puo chie la xe morto chel profundo	Since that profound
Màstora della Musica, Adrian.	Master of Music, Adrian, is dead
Chie la tirà cha in terra, in munte in pian,	For he pulled down to earth, on mountain and plain,
Chell'armonia del cel chia zira in tundo.	That heavenly harmony that circles round.
Cul modo bel à tutti ha mustra'l fundo	With a manner pleasing to all he showed his depth
Tal ch'ogni cor malao xe turnà san.	So that every ill heart turned well.

---

here there is also a motet by Rore and two madrigals, one by Lorenzo Benvenuti and one by Giovanni Battista Conforti. All five are discussed by Katelijne Schiltz in “*Giunto Adrian,*” where she also discusses the issue of sincerity in Rore’s and Gabrieli’s contributions. More recently, Philip Weller has presented on the two *greghesche* and the Rore motet; v. id., “*Vive ‘l profundo Màstora*.” He characterises the language of the former as being partly Bergamasque; this may result from an errant reading of Dolce’s dedication to *La Marianna*, where he mentions Molino speaks Bergamasque and Greek (but not mixed together), v. Dolce, “La Marianna,” 195-97.

[3] Willaert had no children of his own; it appears he took his sister and Alvise into his home following the death of his brother-in-law. He may have officially adopted the boy, which would explain their sharing a surname. Either way, according to the composer’s will, the remainder of his estate (valued at 1600 ducats at the time of his death) was to be passed on to Alvise following the death of his wife. On this, v. Lockwood et al., “Willaert, Adrian,” and Cisilino, *Grechesche*, xiv.

Fra tandi che lo pianze, el pianzo angora;	Among many who mourn him, I mourn him too;
Mi Blessi, chie privao la sun adesso	I, Blessi, who am now deprived
D'un chie cul canto la mio verso honora.	Of one who honours my verse in song.
Esso xe in celo, e vede'l sol appresso,	He is in heaven, and sees the sun in his midst,
E mi xe in terra d'ogni luse fora.	And I am on earth away from any light.
Ah'perchie no xe andà anga mi cun esso?	Alas why did I not also go with him?
Cando sarà concesso	When will it be granted
Veder in chesta vita un'aldro lu,	To see in this life another equal to him--
Chie no la xe sta mai ghel sarà piu.	Which no man ever was and none shall ever be?

It is clear that both pieces indicate heartfelt expressions of loss, though this grief is not entirely untempered by humorous elements. Katelijne Schiltz has argued that Gabrieli's contribution in particular can be read as bordering on the comedic or burlesque.[4] The two principal sources of the comedy, she argues, are the relocation of pastoral lament tropes to reference Venetian geography, and the over-extended invocation of the local wildlife, which intrudes even into the *seconda parte*. Certainly these features stand out when compared to other famous musical *déplorations* in the pastoral tradition, especially older examples such as Josquin's *Nymphes des bois*, which dedicates only the first third of the text and music to such an invocation. It must, however, be noted that there was an overarching tendency toward longer and longer invocations over the course of the sixteenth century, and consequently such a long invocation may not have been particularly marked to audiences in the 1560s.[5] Furthermore, there is nothing that follows the first invocation of Willaert's name that conveys any sense of levity or humour in the face of his death. In any case, the modest humour invoked in these two pieces pales when compared to the much more straightforwardly satirical epigrams and Petrarchan parodies set by Agostini in his collection of *Bizzarre rime*.[6]

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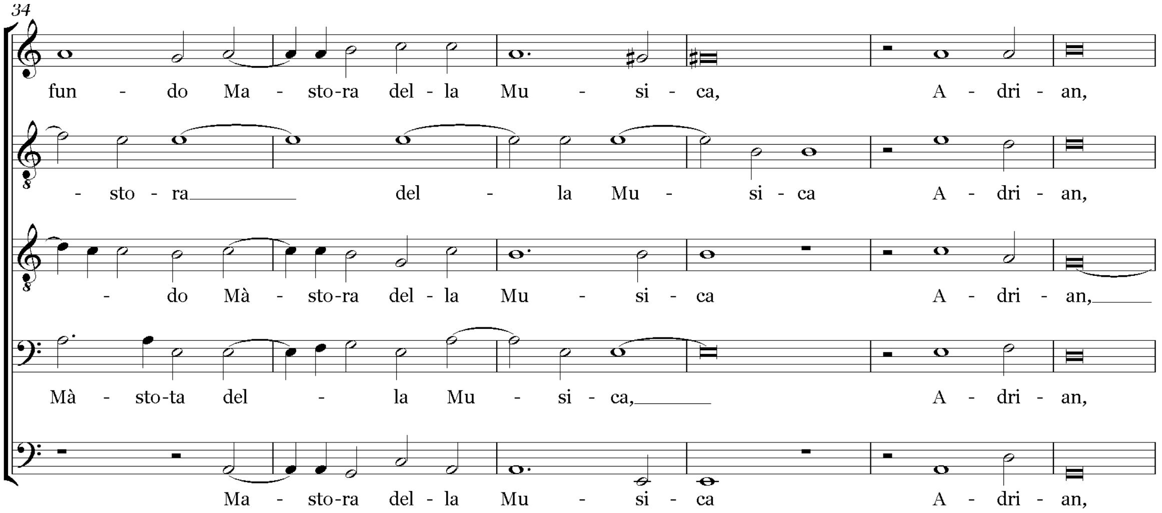
[4] See Schiltz, "'Mi ho scritto'," 370-71, and especially "Tod in Venedig," 363-69. In the latter, Schiltz also orients both poems (along with two which precede them in the collection) within the sphere of Classical animal poetry. I will return to this point later in this chapter. Neither Einstein nor Fabbri acknowledge any comedic potential in these pieces, treating both as entirely serious laments. See Einstein, "The Greghesca," 21-22, and Fabbri, "Fatti e prodezze," 191. Cisilino characterises the entire collection as "una rumorosa manifesta burlesca" (a noisy burlesque outing) in *Grechesche*, xiv.

[5] A concise, if antiquated, overview of this tendency can be found in Norlin, "The Conventions of Pastoral Elegy," especially 296-301.

[6] See, for example, Agostini's setting of "Chi lexe qua," "Varde qua drento" and of Calmo's "Paxe no trovo,"discussed in Sections **3.4** & **3.6**.

There is little in these works' musical style to suggest they were meant to be taken as unserious, even with their invocations of levity. Alvise Willaert's "Pianza 'l Grego Pueta" starts out with lugubrious, descending breves in all voices and maintains a relatively uniform and stately texture throughout. Its most striking feature is in fact a rest in all voices that is immediately followed by a homorhythmic cry of "Adrian!" in the middle of the first *parte* (**Example 4.1**).[7] The effect is anything but subtle, and there is no reason to take the composer's earnest musical expression of sorrow as indicative of anything other than what it purports to be.[8]


34
fun - do Ma - sto-ra del - la Mu - si - ca, A - dri - an,
- sto - ra del - la Mu - si - ca A - dri - an,
- do Mà - sto-ra del - la Mu - si - ca A - dri - an,
Mà - sto-ta del - la Mu - si - ca, A - dri - an,
Ma - sto-ra del - la Mu - si - ca A - dri - an,

Example 4.1: *Alvise Willaert, "Pianza 'l grego pueta," mm. 34-39.*

Gabrieli's "Sassi, palae," at least at first, appears to be a different kettle of fish: he begins his setting of the invocation with rather playful figure in loose imitation that reflects the cheerful landscape of the Adriatic shore and its aquatic inhabitants. He sets the entirety of the *prima parte* in this light, almost carefree style, drawing out the long invocation with frequent changes in voicing and texture and meandering counterpoint before coming to a close with the local mermaids (**Example 4.2**).

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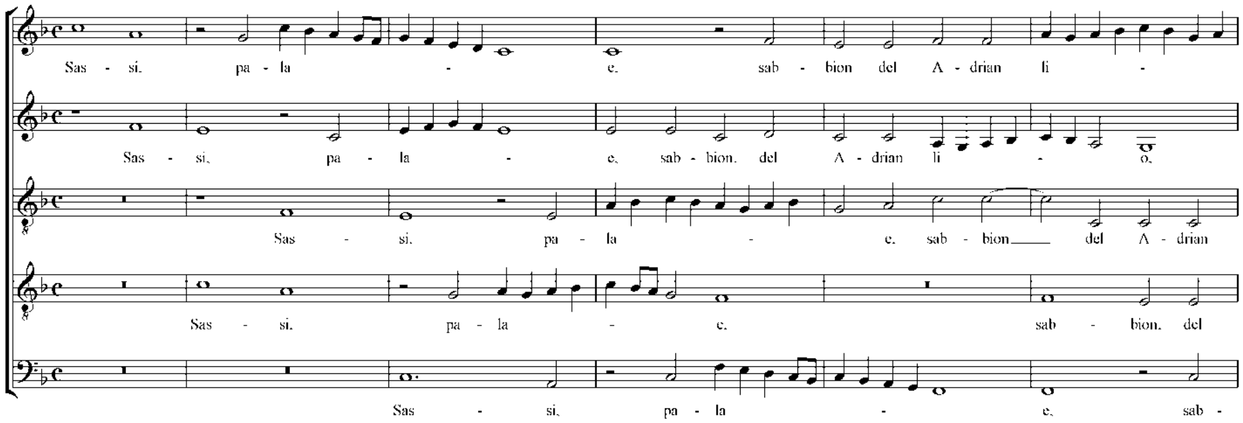
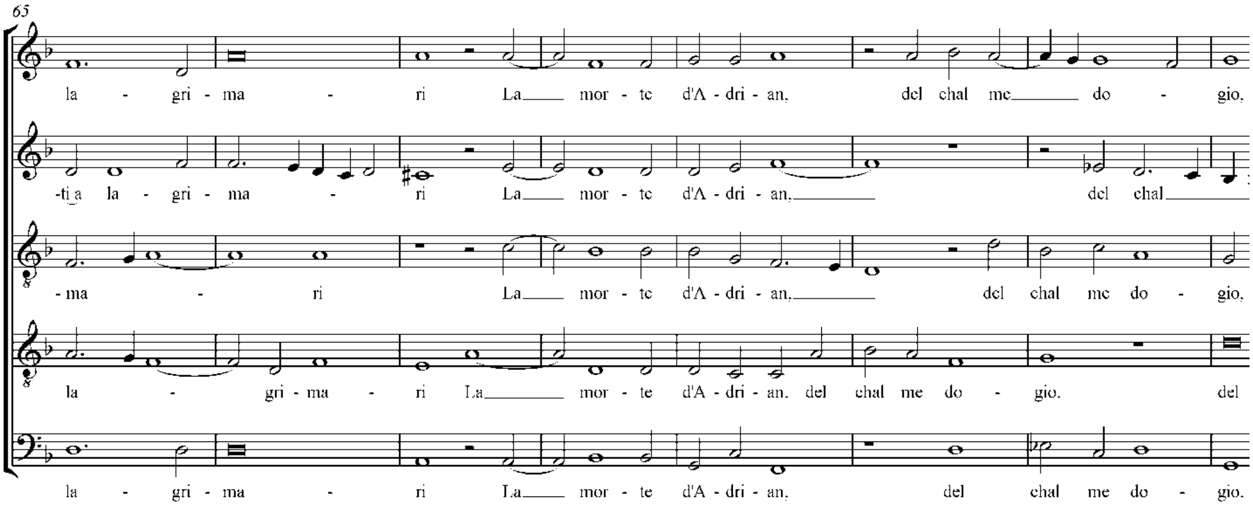
[7] The complete scores of both laments can be found in Part II.

[8] Indeed, it is rather hard to picture Alvise or anyone else outside of a Bret Easton Ellis novel having the kind of ironic detachment to mine this kind of situation for comedy. Schiltz argues that it might have fit into the larger Venetian culture of humorous epitaphs, v. ead., "Tod in Venedig," 172. Epitaphs like Calmo's, however, tend to be for fictional characters and more straightforwardly funny. C.f. Calmo, *Bizzarre rime*, 147-68, and Agostini, nos. 23, 25, and 26 (texts with translations in Appendix A; scores in Part II).


Sas - si. pa - la - e. sab - bion del A - drian li -
Sas - si. pa - la - e. sab - bion. del A - drian li - o.
Sas - si. pa - la - e. sab - bion del A - drian
Sas - si. pa - la - e. sab - bion. del
Sas - si. pa - la - e. sab -

***Example 4.2**: Andrea Gabrieli, "Sassi, palae," mm. 1-6*

Such a breezy first half, however, only serves to set the stage for a musical bait and switch: these denizens of the timeless and pastoral *Adrian lio* (Adriatic shore) are not, after all, the real topic of this piece: it is the mortal Adrian, who has died, and for whom the whole lagoon must mourn. This reframing of the word Adrian in the second half (**Example 4.3**) brings with it a sudden and definitive shift in Gabrieli's musical language that continues for the rest of the piece:


65
la - gri - ma - ri La mor - te d'A - dri - an. del chal me do - gio.
-ti a la - gri - ma - ri La mor - te d'A - dri - an. del chal
- ma - ri La mor - te d'A - dri - an. del chal me do - gio.
la - gri - ma - ri La mor - te d'A - dri - an. del chal me do - gio. del
la - gri - ma - ri La mor - te d'A - dri - an. del chal me do - gio.

***Example 4.3**: Andrea Gabrieli, "Sassi, palae," mm. 65-72*

The pace slows, the texture fills out, and the chromatic palette expands with respect to the *prima parte* thanks to the addition of occasional F- and C-sharps (e.g. m. 67) to the Bb and Eb that appear earlier. Again, although the gambit centres around wordplay, we find an effect that is far from funny.[9]

Faced with two works that depart so significantly from the traditionally perceived role of dialect music in Renaissance culture as purely humorous or lowbrow in its purview, it is worth considering very carefully how exactly they might have come to be, and most particularly *why* such unusual tributes to such an important cultural figure might not only have been considered acceptable, but utterly *apropos*.

4.2 The *Greghesche* and their Sources

As discussed in Chapter 2, these laments appear in the 1564 *Di Manoli Blessi il primo libro delle gregheshe*, which was published by the Gardano press.[10] This publication represents the largest and most diverse single print of polyphonic settings of the Venetian language, comprising a total of thirty-nine works for four or more voices. It contains contributions from twenty different composers, nearly all of whom were clearly tied in some way to the Venetian musical establishment.[11] The print, as discussed in Chapter 1, is named for the specific language it employs: a variety of Venetian intended to represent the speech of ethnic Greeks.[12] This particular ethnolect would have been very familiar to audiences of the time: Greeks made up one of the largest immigrant communities in urban Venice, and Greek-speaking territories comprised by far the largest proportion of Venetian territories abroad.[13]

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[9] Chromatic alterations are widely dispersed in both parts; the complete scores are given in Part II.

[10] The overall musical style of the works in this volume is discussed in Section **2.6**. A (much denigrated) modern edition by Siro Cisilino was published in 1974, once it was discovered that the parts thought to be lost by Einstein were in fact safely housed in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. On this minor controversy, v. Einstein, “The Greghescha,” 21; Fabbri, “Fatti e prodezze,” 182; and especially Albert Seay’s review of the edition in *Notes*, 869. There, Seay misunderstood the reason why the quinto partbook is listed in Vogel as shorter than the others—namely that the first fifteen pieces are for only four voices—and subsequently opened a question as to whether Cisilino had invented parts. Facsimiles of the originals prove that, despite the edition’s numerous faults, all of Cisilino’s notes are indeed faithful to the source.

[11] These range from major celebrities like Willaert and Andrea Gabrieli to relative unknowns like Willaert’s nephew, who has no other known compositions, and his apprentice Daniel Grisonio, who is attested in only one other source. A concise description of the volume and its contributors can be found in the introduction to Siro Cisilino's 1974 edition; v. id., *Grechesche*, v-xiv.

[12] In particular it was supposed to evoke the speech of the *strathioti*, mercenary cavalrymen—usually of Greek or Slavic extraction—who made up an important part of the Venetian land forces, v. Carroll et al., 11. This is truer of the literary corpus than the musical one; the narrative voice employed in the works of the 1564 anthology is fairly inconsistent in its characterisation. Numerous writings by real *strathioti*—primarily in Latin—share space with Molino’s works in Sathas, *Documents inédits*, vols. 7, 8, and 9. See Section **1.7**.

Only four publications containing *gregheschе* are currently known.[14] The first and by far the largest of these is the 1564 anthology, compiled by Andrea Calmo's friend and collaborator Antonio Molino, and credited in this collection under his theatrical pseudonym Manoli Blessi. Molino states in the introduction to the volume that he is the author of all the texts set therein.[15] One of the texts set in the 1564 collection was also set by the Polish composer Francesco Maffon, and appears ten years later in Pietro Antonio Spalenza's first book of four-voice madrigals. Andrea Gabrieli, the 1564 volume's most prolific contributor with seven pieces, later went on to publish a separate volume of three-voice *greghesche* and *giustiniane* in 1571, also on texts written by Molino.[16] This source survives only in a single tenor partbook at the British Library, and for this reason is generally not referred to in any detail in the existing musicological scholarship on the polyphonic *greghesche* or in the philological scholarship on the corresponding literary corpus.[17] Finally, three *greghesche* are included unmarked in Molino's own first book of madrigals, published by Claudio Merulo's press in 1568.[18]

4.3 Molino's *Rumeca linga:* Venetian, Macaronism, or Patois?

As discussed in Chapter 1, Molino refers to the *greghesco* language used in the 1564 print as a

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[13] On this, v. Ersie Burke, "The Greek neighbourhoods," esp. 42-57, and Marc Lauxtermann, "Linguistic Encounters."

[14] Here I refer to musical settings only; there are seven other publications that use the language, along with a character in Dolce's *Le Troiane*. This bibliography is given by Fabbri in "Fatti e prodezze," 184-85.

[15] Molino's authorship of all the texts is explicitly mentioned in his introduction to the 1564 anthology, reproduced in full (with translation) in Appendix B.

[16] Again, Gabrieli makes Molino's authorship of the texts explicit in his introduction, which is reproduced in full (with translation) in Appendix D. This volume is briefly discussed by Merritt in *Andrea Gabrieli: Complete Madrigals*, vol. 2 vii-ix, and by Fabbri in "Fatti e prodezze," 185.

[17] The texts of these pieces are transcribed in Merritt's complete works**.**

[18] A modern critical edition of Molino's *Primo libro* has recently been published by Linda Carroll, Anthony Cummings, Zachary Jones, and Philip Weller. See Carroll et al., eds, *Delightful Madrigals*.

rumeca linga, perhaps deliberately evoking through the term's etymology an image of Venice as the new Rome and the republic's Greek colonies as analogous to the Eastern Empire.[19] Despite its very clear Venetian substrate and very superficial use of Greek features, however, Molino's language has often been referred to in the scholarly literature as a kind of "mixture," "patois," or a take on macaronic verse.[20] The usual comparison is to Teofilo Folengo, whose *maccheronee* included oddly Latinized bits of Mantuan and Tuscan *volgare*.[21] A brief example from Folengo's *Epigrammata* shows just how Latinized his verse was:

AD BOCCALUM	To the Vomiter:
Vidimus, et, pravae si fas est credere, provo: nulla procul dubio pestis amazzat ocam. Noscere vin quare? non Phoebus apena cavallos spronat orizonto, protinus illa bibit. Non igitur mirum tibi si palearia pendent, cui nunquam panzam trovat Apollo vodam.	Let's go, and hard as it is to believe, I'll try—but I rather doubt it's an illness that's cooked your goose. How do I know it's the wine? Phoebus had not yet spurred his horses to the horizon when you started drinking. So don't be surprised if your silo spills some grain, of which Apollo finds no stomach empty. [22]

Folengo's style of macaronism revolves primarily around subsuming the *volgare* into Latinate structures through dubious backformations and constructions by analogy. Few words are borrowed into the substrate language (Latin) unchanged from their original form. This is quite different from Molino's borrowing in the *greghesche*, where relatively few words are borrowed, and these are often left unchanged.[23]

Molino's *rumeca linga* is also quite distinct from the kind of macaronism employed in Cretan Renaissance theatre: there, certain characters, particularly representing the educated classes, would speak in a kind of macaronic verse that combines Cretan Greek with Venetian and Latin borrowings, much closer to the kind of mix described by Einstein, Fabbri, and Weller. Alfred Vincent gives the following example of such usage in the play *Katzourbos*, one of the three surviving comedies from Venetian Crete:

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[19] See Section **1.7**.

[20] Fabbri, for example, rather poetically calls it an "impasto d'invenzione" in "Fatti e prodezze," 191. Philip Weller calls it a "picturesque" mix in "Vive 'l profundo Màstro." Schiltz calls it a "Mischung" of multiple Veneto ("venezianischen") dialects with Greek elements, in "Tod in Venedig," 360.

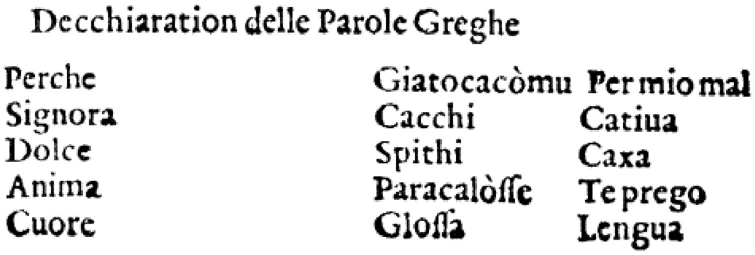
[21] Einstein, "The Greghesca," 20; Cisilino, *Grechesche*, xiv; Weller, "Vive 'l profundo Màstora."

[22] Folengo, *Epigrammata* (ed. Zalengo), 1.26. The (very liberal) translation is mine.

[23] See Section **1.8**.

O giovane malae indolis, fin quando *de skolazeis toútes tis strátes pou krateís;* Non pensi, *de logiázeis.*	O wicked youth, how long will you persist on this path? You don't think, don't consider.[24]

While the macaronism in *Katzourbos* involves more straightforward code-switching—defined most simply as the act of changing languages within a single utterance—than Folengo's style, even without the adaptation of foreign grammatical elements it remains impenetrable to those without considerable facility in both source languages.[25] Molino's *lingua greghesca*, by contrast, contains very little admixture of Greek vocabulary—far less than one would expect, given the name.[26] Furthermore, he took special care in his publications—including the *Fatti e prodezze* and the 1564 *greghesca* anthology—to provide a glossary of imported terms, as seen below in **Figure 4.1**.[27]



Decchiaration delle Parole Greghe

Giathì	Perche	Giatocacòmu	Per mio mal
Chyrazza	Signora	Cacchi	Catiua
Glicchì	Dolce	Spithi	Caxa
Pſicchi	Anima	Paracalòſſe	Te prego
Cardia	Cuore	Gloſſa	Lengua

Figure 4.1*: Glossary of Greek terms from RISM* 1564^{16}*,* Di Manoli Blessi il primo libro delle greghesche *(Venice: Gardano, 1564), 42. Image scanned from Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, SA.76.D.30.*

This kind of limited vocabulary substitution appears primarily designed to keep the language accessible to readers and listeners with little to no knowledge of Greek, while still imbuing the text with the flavour of foreign speech. Given its ready intelligibility to Venetian audiences, it is thus difficult to read the *lingua greghesca* as any kind of pidgin or macaronic construction. Rather, it is quite clearly meant to be read as primarily Venetian, even if it is an ethnically marked variety.

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[24] Vincent, "Comedy," 107. Translation slightly adapted.

[25] A current primer on the phenomenon of code-switching is Woolard, "Codeswitching."

[26] Most have only a few; Alvise Willaert's lament has none at all.

[27] Carroll et al. take the inclusion of such a table to indicate ironic intent, though their rationale in doing so is unclear. Eid., *Delightful Madrigals*, 11.

In opting not to code-switch between Venetian and Greek, Molino keeps things intelligible for a Venetian audience. He does, however, employ several other techniques designed to highlight the foreignness of the speakers. The first and plainest of these are the phonetic shifts meant to represent the Greek accent, and the philologist Lucia Lazzerini has concluded that the regularity of the phonetic shifts in the *greghesco* corpus indicates that Molino had a strong familiarity with ethnic Greeks and the accents they would likely have presented in speaking Venetian.[28] Of course, one did not have to leave Venice to find Greeks—they in fact comprised the largest ethnic minority in the lagoon, thanks to centuries of Venetian colonisation in the Eastern Mediterranean—and any citizen of Venice would likely have been quite familiar with the Republic's Greek citizens.[29] They were not only crucial to both the military and commercial endeavours of the Republic, but also important contributors to high culture as humanists and artists. There are, however, indications that Molino spent considerable time in Venice's Greek holdings during his youth (see below, **4.4**), and that these experiences had a profound effect on his career as a performer.

Last, but perhaps most significant, are the frequent agreement errors in both gender and number that occur throughout the texts. While an unusual accent was usually in itself enough to indicate a fictional speaker's out-group status among Venetians, basic agreement errors like "tutt 'l prim' anni" (singular article with plural noun) and "la mio morte" (masculine possessive with feminine noun and article) exist precisely to demonstrate that the speaker's native language does not originate on the Italian peninsula but rather elsewhere: a native speaker of any Italian *volgare* would have had no trouble adapting their native agreement system to accord with Venetian vocabulary and word forms. Rather, these errors mark the speech as particularly anti-peninsular or even “oriental” in its purview.

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[28] These are given in much detail by Lazzerini, op. cit., 52-66. Further discussion of the language and its attendant literature can be found in Louis Coutelle, *Le greghesco*. A comparison of Molino's language to the unmarked variety of Venetian used by other poets and composers can be found in Section **1.8**.

[29] I mean this here not in the technical sense of *cittadini*, as most Greeks would not have had these privileges.

This anti-peninsular orientation is ideally suited to the *strathioti* whose dialect the *lingua greghesca* was meant to represent. By the sixteenth century these elite cavalrymen made up an important part of Venice’s land forces on the *terra ferma*, defending the republic’s frontiers in the West just as the *akrites* of medieval Byzantine romances protected the Empire’s eastern possessions from the eternal threat of the invading Turks.[30] In the context of increasing Florentine domination of Venetian literary culture, the use of such a marked variety of Venetian could easily have been read in analogous terms: stemming the tide of the Western invader, defending the homeland and its culture even as eventual defeat is all but guaranteed.

4.4 The Life and Works of Antonio Molino

The year of Molino's birth has not come down to us. Einstein proposed a provisional date between 1500 and 1510,[31] though more recent scholars beginning with Fabbri have proposed a date of ca. 1495 on the basis of the following seemingly autobiographical text of a *greghesca* in Molino’s first book of madrigals:

Molino: “Perche de la vertù”

Perche de la vertù nol manchi gnende	So that no virtue might be lacking
A mi Blessi nassuo per imparari	In me, Blessi (born to learn!),
Hò vulesto del musica brancari	I wanted to pick up some music;
Anche'l so contrapunto si eccelende	Even to make such excellent counterpoint
Del mio cervello fazzo e del mio mende	With my brain, and with my mind make
Versi dulc'e suavi e palicari	Verses so sweet, pleasing, and brimming with youthful vigour[33]
Thòra chie passo'l cronni settenari	**Now that I pass the age of seventy,**
Chie me fa tutto bianc'e despussende.[32]	Which makes me pale and impotent.

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[30] Tales featuring the heroic deeds of *akrites* were common among Greek-speaking peoples into the twentieth century. One romance, the *Digenis Akritis*, achieved wide diffusion in medieval Europe, including a manuscript held at Grottaferrata in Rome. A modern edition of this work can be found in Elizabeth Jeffries, *Digenis Akritis*.

[31] See Einstein, “The Greghesca,” 20.

[32] *I dilettevoli madrigali di M. Antonio Molino […]* (Venice: Correggio, 1568). RISM M2947; Vogel 1877

[33] The word “παληκάρι” is a noun, and literally translates to “young man”; as Italian “giovane” functions as both a noun of the same meaning and an adjective meaning “young,” this appears to be either a multilingual pun, a deliberate mistranslation, or a mistake (in descending order of probability). Carroll et al. give “dashing,” but this does not adequately represent the emphasis on youth. Eid., 42 n 110.

Fabbri, and under his influence, Katelijne Schiltz and Linda Carroll, have interpreted the line "thòra chie passo'l cronni settenari" as meaning that the narrator has passed the age of seventy, reflected in the translation above in bold type.[34]

Since Fabbri posited it in 1974, the idea that Molino was in his seventies at the time his first book of madrigals was published has gone unquestioned, mainly since such an interpretation seems reasonable in light of other indications that Molino was already of an advanced age in this period: Molino himself remarks on his "grave età" in the dedication to the first book, and Maddalena Casulana also mentions Molino's "grande età" in her introduction to his second book of madrigals, published the following year.[35] Given the publication date of 1568, such an interpretation would indeed indicate a *terminus ante quem* of 1498 for Molino's birth.

There are two problems with this reading of the line as indicating the author's age. First, Molino is speaking here not in his own voice, but that of a character: Manoli Blessi.[36] And while it is true that Molino was closely identified with this character in his public performances and publications, this does not necessarily mean that he and his alter-ego shared precisely the same age, which may have been invented or exaggerated for comic effect or characterisation.[37] This line can also be interpreted as referring primarily to Socrates, the “gran philosofo d’Athene” mentioned in the second part:

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[34] Fabbri, "I fatti e le prodezze," 187, and Carroll, et al., *The Delightful Madrigals,* 5.

[35] "Hora, perche il Magnifico Messer Antonio Molino, hoggimai di grande età, è dotato de la virtù della Musica, mi ho fatto dono d'alcuni suoi Madrigali composti novamente…" / "Now, because the Magnificent Messer Antonio Molino, already of advanced age, is gifted with some virtue in Music, I have made a gift of some of his newly composed Madrigals…" Maddalena Casulana, introduction to *Di M. Antonio Molino il secondo libro* […] (Venice: Gardano, 1569). RISM M2948; Vogel 1878

[36] The boundary between Molino the man and Blessi the character is admittedly often indistinct. The name Manoli is likely to be an anagram of "A. Molin," and Molino occasionally used only this pseudonym (or greatly emphasised it) in his publications in the lingua greghesca. This led to some historiographical problems, as first Émile Legrand misidentified Blessi as a real person in his 1885 catalogue raisonné of Greek works in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (idem, Bibliographie hellénique, vol. 2, 191-98. This mistake was then transmitted to Constantin Sathas, who reprinted several of Molino's works later in that decade (Sathas, Documents inédits, vols. 7 and 8, liv-lxii, 236-61, 460-542; vol. 9, xxix, 262-80). The eminent Venetian-language scholar Manlio Cortelazzo reported this inaccuracy as recently as 1974: v. idem, "Plurilinguismo celebrativo," 121-26; n. 19. Einstein, presumably because he had access to the 1571 Gabrieli print, made no such mistake. Idem, "The Greghesca and the Giustiniana," 2. Fabbri straightens out the record in "Fatti e prodezze," 183.

Molino: “Perche de la vertù” (cont’d)

Varda chel gran philosofo d'Athene	See that great philosopher of Athens,
Chie volse anche imparar cando moriva	Who even wanted to learn as he was dying,
Cosa chie sempr'al anthropos conviene	Something that always does man good.
Cusi mi'l vogio fare fin chie viva	So would I like to do as long as I live:
Per cavar l'otio chie me sta in le vene	To chase out the idleness in my veins
Chal suol far d'ogni ben l'anima priva.	That usually deprives my spirit of any joy.

After all, it was the age of seventy (and in prison) that Socrates is reported to have first begun to learn to write poetry.[38] As such the specific number may be only symbolic or metaphorical in reference to the Blessi character as narrator or to Molino’s actual person.

Another question, however, lies in interpretation of the line in question. It likely that the words “cronni settenari,” interpreted by Fabbri and Caroll et al. as “seventieth year,” are intended to be read in another way as well. Molino’s romanised “cronni” could indeed stand for Greek “χϱόνοι” (years/age) or “χϱονή” (year-old, f.), but could also stand for Greek “χϱόνιοι” (chronic, habitual, long-continued).[39] “Settenari” poses a further problem for the age hypothesis: it is far closer to settennio” or “settenato,” indicating a period of seven years, than it is to “settantennio” or “settantenato,” indicating seventy. It is difficult to ignore, however, that “settenari” is a standard word all by itself: the plural for “settenario,” a seven-syllable line of Italian verse.[40] Thus “χϱόνιοι settenari” can be read as a perfectly grammatical phrase meaning “usual seven-syllable lines,” which still makes sense in context:

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[37] There are several pieces in the 1564 anthology that paint the narrator as much closer to the aged *magnifico* than the vainglorious *capitano*. *Magnifico* performers played as old men regardless of their actual age.

[38] This episode can be found in Plato’s *Phaedo,* 60d-61b.

[39] The second of these is not a likely candidate due to the syntax: as in English it must directly follow the number in question, i.e. 70 χϱονή γιαγιά (seventy year-old granny). The lack of gender agreement is also problematic in terms of standard speech, though as explained above the *gregheschE* texts tend to use agreement errors in gender and number as a part of the style in order to represent a foreign speaker.

[40] Carroll acknowledges the possibility of an “operative play” on *settenario*, but this has no effect on her translation. Ead. et al., *Delightful Madrigals*, 42 n 113.

Molino: "Perche de la vertù" (revised)

Perche de la vertù nol manchi gnende	So that no virtue might be lacking
A mi Blessi nassuo per imparari	In me, Blessi (born to learn!),
Hò vulesto del musica brancari	I wanted to pick up some music;
Anche'l so contrapunto si eccelende	Even to make such excellent counterpoint
Del mio cervello fazzo e del mio mende	With my brain, and with my mind make
Versi dulc'e suavi e palicari	Verses so sweet, pleasing, and brimming with youthful vigour[42]
Thòra chie passo'l cronni settenari	**Now that I leave behind those old *settenari***
Chie me fa tutto bianc'e despussende.[41]	Which make me blanch and swoon.

The last two verses can thus be read to indicate Molino's progress in learning the art of composition, and his embarrassment at his previous efforts, which no longer hold up. This multi-lingual pun is simply too clever to be an accident, especially given the fact that Molino's status as a learner of counterpoint is further commented upon in the madrigal's second part. By interpreting "cronni settenari" as referring to verse rather than age, we see the two stanzas now share a common theme: the old man shaking off his cobwebs (and old habits) and working feverishly on a newfound hobby. The last few lines of the first stanza, rather than serving purely as a lamentation of the narrator's decrepitude, now work to contrast the narrator's new skill as a composer of high-status polyphony and verse with previous activity as an improviser of *settenari*.

The *settenari* to which Molino alludes would likely have been performed to a number of melodic formulas common at the time, and seem to have formed a part of his early musical training.[43] Implicit in such a comparison is a normative judgement of composed polyphony as superior to improvised self-accompanied recitation, by analogy to the relationship between *settenari* (seven-syllable lines), and the *endecasillabi* (eleven-syllable lines) that constituted the primary building block of the most prestigious poetic forms, such as the *canzona*, the *ottava*, the *ballata*, and the sonnet, of which this text is an example. As if to underline the difference between his old activities and his new ones, Molino provides a rather striking bit of word painting to highlight his "excellent counterpoint," as seen in **Example 4.4**.[44]

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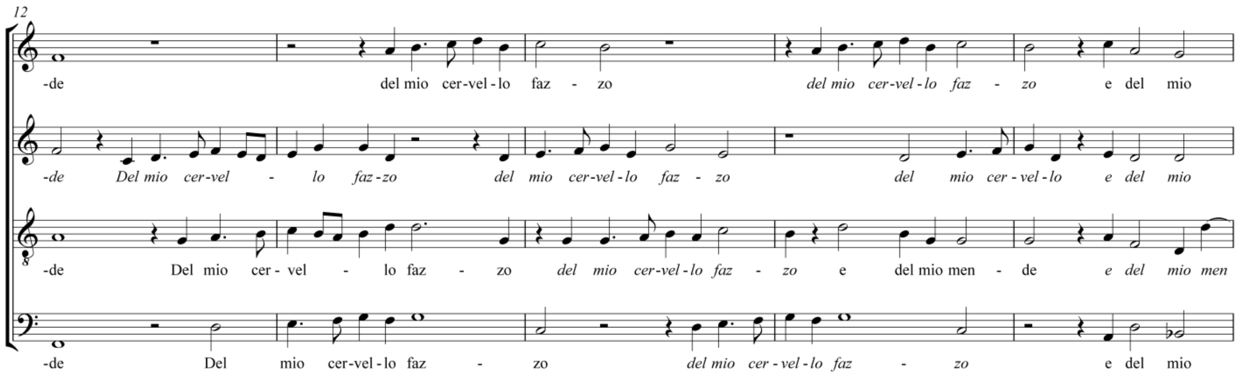
[41] *I dilettevoli madrigali di M. Antonio Molino […] (*Venice: Correggio, 1568). RISM M2947; Vogel 1877

[42] The word "παληκάρι" is a noun, and literally translates to "young man"; as Italian "giovane" functions as both a noun of the same meaning and an adjective meaning "young," this appears to be either a multilingual pun, a deliberate mistranslation, or a mistake (in descending order of probability). Carroll et al. give "dashing," but this does not adequately represent the emphasis on youth. Eid., 42 n 110.

[43] On *improvvisatori* and melodic formulas, see Haar, "Improvisatori," 76-99 and Pirrotta and Provoledo, *Music and Theatre*, 21-36.


12
-de del mio cer-vel-lo faz - zo del mio cer-vel-lo faz - zo e del mio
-de Del mio cer-vel - lo faz-zo del mio cer-vel-lo faz - zo del mio cer-vel-lo e del mio
-de Del mio cer- vel - lo faz - zo del mio cer-vel-lo faz - zo e del mio men - de e del mio men
-de Del mio cer-vel-lo faz - zo del mio cer-vel-lo faz - zo e del mio

Example 4.4: *Antonio Molino, "Perche de la vertù," mm. 12-16. Alto part my reconstruction.*

Interpreting this *greghesca* in terms of Molino's artistic advancement fits quite well with what we know about his life and musical training, the primary evidence regarding which can be found in a few sources, most notably Ludovico Dolce's introduction to Molino's 1561 Ariosto parody, *I fatti e le prodezze di Manoli Blessi Strathioto*. In it, Dolce writes that:

> From the time [Molino] was a boy he always applied himself to the studies that belong to a cultivated person [uomo civile], along with other worthy activities: dancing, acrobatics, playing instruments, singing, and such things. [...] On Corfù and on Crete he began to work on reciting Comedies. Having returned from there, he founded an Academy of music together with frate Armonio and his companions, which was much appreciated by the whole city.[45]

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[44] It should be noted that the original alto part for this work (as for all of Molino's madrigals) has been lost; the reconstruction is mine, completed with an eye toward creating a stacked canon at the 4th below in mm. 13-14 with a repeated module in m. 15 as evidence of Molino's contrapuntal skill. Philip Weller's reconstruction differs somewhat; c.f. Carroll et al., *Delightful Madrigals*, no. 16.

[45] "...da fanciullo si esercitò sempre negli studi, che appartengono a huomo civile: come ad altri esercitii lodati, in ballare, in saltare, sonare, cantare, e in cotai cose. [...] in Corfu e in Candia cominciò a esercitarsi in recitar Commedie. Di donde ritornato, insieme con frate Armonio e con suoi compagni levò un'Academia di musica: la quale era gratissima a tutta la città." Repr. C. Sathas, *L'histoire de la Grèce*, vol. 8, 472.

It is clear then from Dolce's account that Molino had received some degree of musical training even in his youth, and it appears that such training was sufficient for his career on the stage and for his role in helping to establish a musical academy.[46] Given such training, it seems likely that Molino would have been able to perform in the improvisatory recitation style, singing his own verse to the accompaniment of an instrument on stage, or perhaps in more private settings with members of the nobility, to whom Molino was (according to Dolce) "always dear."[47]

Despite this musical facility, however, it appears that Molino did not turn to formal composition and counterpoint until he was already an old man. As he wrote to Maddalena Casulana in the introduction to his first book of madrigals:

> "I would not have dared, my Lady, to bring these musical compositions of mine to light, having reasonably believed that at my advanced age nothing good could emerge from my weak imagination. But considering that your virtue, which acts to set every frigid mind alight with the desire for glory, sparked in me the first lessons in this science, I easily persuaded myself that from such a happy seed (however arid the soil) some good fruit might be born."[48]

Given Molino's choice of metaphor, it would appear that Casulana served as Molino's primary instructor in the art of counterpoint, though it is possible he also received some instruction during his collaboration with *frate* Giovanni Armonio Marso, who served as second organist at San Marco from 1516 until 1552.[49] Casulana is also the dedicatee of several compositions in Molino's first book, and later wrote the introduction to Molino's second book of madrigals when it was published by the Gardano press in 1569.[50]

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[46] What is known of Molino's experiences as a performer on Crete is detailed in Panayotakis, "Le prime rappresentazioni." Carroll et al. provide a comprehensive biography of Armonio, with whom Molino founded the academy, in *Delightful Madrigals*, 6-9.

[47] "...egli fu sempre caro a ciascun nobile..." Repr. C. Sathas, *L'histoire de la Grèce*, vol. 8, 472. Elsewhere, Dolce writes that Molino was himself of noble parentage, v. Dolce, *La Marianna*, 196.

[48] "Io non havrei havuto ardire Signora mia, di mandare questi miei componimenti di Musica in luce, dovendo ben ragionevolmente credere, che in questa mia grave età non potesse dal mio debile ingengno uscire cosa che buona fosse. Ma considerando, che dalla virtù vostra, atta ad accendere ogni fredda mente a disiderio di gloria, sieno stati in me sparsi li primi ammaestramenti di questa scientia, io mi son facilmente persuaso, che da cosi felice seme (quantunque il terreno arido sia) possa ancora esser naro qualche buon frutto." Molino, *I dilettevoli madrigali […]* (Venice: Correggio, 1568). RISM M2947; Vogel 1877.

[49] Carroll et al., *Delightful Madrigals*, 6.

If it is really the case that Molino did not begin learning "serious" counterpoint until he met Casulana, this would indicate that he did not take up the practice until the mid-1560s at the earliest.[51] If this is the case, it may explain the lack of compositions by Molino in the 1564 anthology of *greghesche*: at the time it was produced, he may not yet have been sufficiently advanced in his studies of counterpoint to contribute any of his own works to the volume. It is even conceivable that Molino was inspired to take up the art by his work with so many talented and highly regarded musicians; perhaps he had an eye toward contributing to an eventual *secondo libro di greghesche*, plans for which are at least somewhat implied by the title of the 1564 anthology (*Di Manoli Blessi il primo libro delle greghesche*), but which never materialised.[52]

Molino's compositional style does seem to draw heavily from that of Casulana. His second book of madrigals approaches her style most closely; the first tends to contain less of the rhythmic variety and none of the occasional metre changes that mark many of Casulana's works. In fact, the pieces of Molino's first book are overwhelmingly homorhythmic with very few exceptions. The most dramatic of these exceptions is, in fact, the imitative section in the "autobiographical" *greghesca* ("Perche de la vertù," from Molino's first book) given previously in **Example 4.4**.

Molino also appears to borrow from Casulana's particular harmonic palette, favouring major sonorities above the bass. To this end he marks F and C as sharp in nearly all of the instances where this is permitted by the counterpoint. This results in a number of instances where individual voices move by a chromatic semitone, creating what would now be called chromatic mediant relationships between successive sonorities. **Example 4.5** shows Molino's use of this technique in his *greghesca* "Donna zendila," which was dedicated to Casulana.

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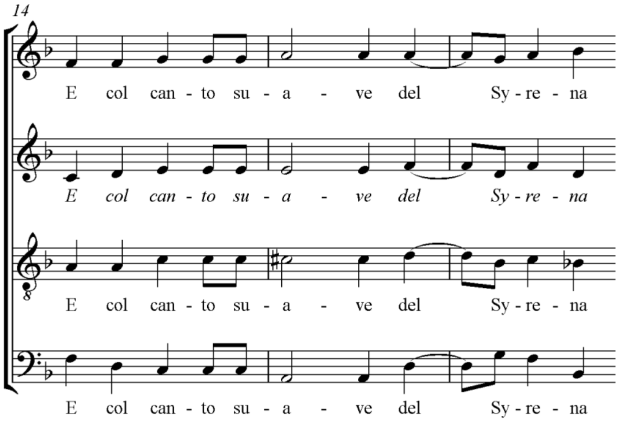
[50] RISM M2948; Vogel 1878

[51] Casulana has a provisional birthdate of c.1544; there are no firm attestations of her presence anywhere prior to about 1566, when her first works appeared in print. From 1569 Casulana is normally referred to as being active in Vicenza; if she was indeed close enough to Molino to be his teacher it might indicate substantial time in Venice in the middle of the decade. For Casulanaa's biography, v. Thomas Bridges, "Casulana, Maddalena."

[52] Aborted plans for a second anthology might also explain Gabrieli's return to the genre in his 1571 print, or even why Molino's own *greghesche* are casually included in his first book of madrigals rather than in another publication. I will return to this latter point below.


14
E col can - to su - a - ve del Sy - re - na
E col can - to su - a - ve del Sy - re - na
E col can - to su - a - ve del Sy - re - na
E col can - to su - a - ve del Sy - re - na

***Example 4.5**: Antonio Molino, "Donna zendila," mm. 14-16.*[53] *Alto part my reconstruction.*

Both the rhythmic and harmonic profiles of Molino's madrigals are also strongly reminiscent of Agostini's settings of the *Bizzarre rime*, discussed in Chapter 3. Given his personal and professional relationship with Calmo, it is certainly possible that Molino knew this collection—which came out the previous year—and was seeking to emulate it to some degree.[54] Indeed, based on the number of composers involved in the 1564 anthology and Molino's description of his musician friends both in his verse and in the introduction to that volume, it seems that Molino had a great many musically sophisticated contacts, any number of whom could have proven influential in the development of his style.

The very stong stylistic connection to Agostini, however, suggests that Molino too was playing at a kind of *arioso* style in his first book of madrigals. In this light it is particularly telling that Molino's *greghesche* are absolutely stylistically consistent with the other madrigals in his first book collection, just as Agostini's Venetian-language settings of Calmo are stylistically consistent with his own second book of four-voice madrigals in the *arioso* style. In both cases the composers seem to be deliberately situating their dialect compositions within the madrigalian tradition without drawing undue attention to the linguistic differences therein. It is perhaps this desire, more than anything else, that Molino was indicating in the autobiographical *greghesca* "Perché de la vertù" discussed above: the adoption of the four-voice *arioso* model was a deliberate choice that, though still situated within an improvisatory kind of performance tradition, was nonetheless sharply distinguished from the bawdier kinds of theatrical perfomances most commonly rendered in three voices such as Andrea Gabrieli's "Ancor che col partire."[55] As the rest of this chapter will show, there is considerable evidence that Molino actively participated in just those kinds of social environments that would have favoured the improvisation of *arioso*-style performances of more sophisticated and literary Venetian-language verse over those *cronni settenari*.

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[53] Once again, the alto part is my own reconstruction.

[54] Molino participated as an actor in Calmo's *La Spagnolas* and *La Rodiana*; Calmo also published a letter to Molino in his *Lettere*, and Molino is further mentioned elsewhere in the volume. Calmo, *Lettere (*ed. Rossi), 33-34; 151, 155. The most thorough documentation of their ties is in Maria Luisa Uberti, "'Un conzontao in openion'." I categorise Molino's compositions with Agostini's in Section **2.1**.

4.5 Molino's Circle, Willaert, and the Venier Family Dog

In the introduction of the 1564 *greghesca* anthology, Molino writes quite warmly of his relationship with the volume's three dedicatees, Paolo Vergelli, Claudio Merulo, and Francesco Bonardo:

> …so my brain and I came to the decision to take out and publish for the world this excellent music that I have had composed by many Excellent Authors of Music on my Verses in our *Rumeca* language; I reckoned this a good contribution to your careers, being such excellent and perfect Musicians as you are: And this is dedicated as much to your skill in music, as it is to your old friendship, and to the conversation and brotherhood that I have with all three of you…[56]

There are several notable things about this passage that seem to give indications about the origin of the volume. First, of course, is the fact that Molino dedicates this volume to these figures in the first place, rather than to a patron who might have been able to front some money for the printing. Molino himself draws attention to this, writing that he is aware that such volumes are normally dedicated to princes, kings, or other bigwigs (*calche Megallos*), but that in this case he has chosen not to do so in favour of his friends.[57]

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[55] Section **3.2**.

[56] The complete text of this introduction, with translation, can be found in Appendix C.

Second is Molino's choice of the word "our" when talking about what is, for all intents and purposes, his own trademarked personal language. Such a use indicates a kind of regularity in their activities together where this language—and by extension these pieces—is concerned. Lastly, Molino's indication that he "had pieces composed" in this language seems to indicate some kind of patronage: surely if all of the pieces in the anthology were gifts from his friends, Molino would have phrased it differently to indicate this.

Recent work on Molino, by Carroll et al. and by Weller, notes that it is very likely that Molino had a regular circle of friends, which included a number of composers and performing musicians, but they take Molino to be the central figure of this circle, rather than allowing for the possibility of his participation in salons headed by more influential figures.[58] There are, however, a number of indications that Molino participated in the salon of Domenico Venier, a Venetian aristocrat and man of letters with whom he seems to have shared a great number of musical and literary contacts. In *City Culture and the Madrigal at Venice*, Martha Feldman proposes the salon of Domenico Venier as a likely performance context for dialect music, citing the specific example of Antonio Barges's 1550 collection of *villotte*, which was dedicated to Girolamo Fenaruolo, a regular member of Venier's cohort.[59] It is very likely that Molino and his associates produced many of the *greghesche* in the 1564 anthology for precisely this context, and that Venier is the deliberately unnamed patron of the publication.

One of the aspects of the 1564 anthology that has drawn the most attention from modern scholars is the inclusion of two pieces, by Adrian Willaert and his pupil Daniel Grisonio, wherein the texts set by both composers employ the narrative voice of a dead dog.[60] These works form a kind of two-part set that begins the five-voice section of the collection, and they are immediately followed by the laments on Willaert’s death. The fact that Willaert’s and Grisonio’s contributions deal with a dead dog tends to give the impression that the laments for the composer are related, or that the four pieces form a kind of farcical lament set. For the reasons I set out later in this chapter, I do not believe this is the editor’s intention: rather, I would suggest that the laments are located together not because they are all laments, but because it seemed natural to include Alvise Willaert’s and Gabrieli’s contributions after Adrian Willaert’s single contribution to the volume. The texts of Grisonio’s and Willaert’s pieces are given below.

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[57] For the exact text, v. Appendix B.

[58] Carroll et al., *Delightful Madrigals,* 55; Weller, "Vive 'l profundo Màstora."

[59] Feldman, *City Culture,* 100. The full title of the Barges print is *Di Antonino Barges maestro di cappella alla Casa grande di Venetia il primo libro de villotte a quatro voci con un'altra canzon della galina novamente composte & date in luce* (Venice: Gardano, 1550). RISM B/I 1550^{18}. As Feldman notes, the collection contains texts in both Neapolitan and *terra ferma* Veneto dialects.

Molino / Daniel Grisonio: “Vu ha ben casun”

Vu hà ben casun del pianzer la mio morte,	You have good reason to lament my death,
Dulce padrun. Oldra esser cagnol raro,	Dear master. In addition to being a rare pup,
Ve amava tando canto ve fu caro,	I loved you as much as you cared for me,
Fin c'hà piasesto alla mia dura sorte,	Until it pleased my cruel fate
Sta cosa sulla el cor vel diè far forte,	(Now this should strengthen your heart
E rallegrar, che Giove un aldro paro[61]	And cheer you) that Jove [gave][63] a new form
A mi (d'Agusto e mango del Zenaro	To me (seen to us in August, but less in January)
Nol visto), e si m'hà tulto in la so corte,	And thus he took me into its court,[64]
Unde straluso[62] fra chel chiare stelle	So that I am remade among those bright stars,
Arende chella bestia de chel can,	Near that beast of a dog
Chie à chesti tembi fa suar la pelle,	Who makes people sweat this time of year.
No stè plio de mal cor, chie vivo e san	Don't be broken-hearted, for I am alive and
Mel trovo, e cheste xe vere novelle,	Well. And here's the real news:
Chie cha su no sel vive d'acha e pan,	Up here we don't live on bread and water.
Mil sarò tando human,	I'll be very friendly
Per vui cun chel canicula ribaldo	On your behalf with that lowly mutt,
Chie mai no lassarò vel fazza caldo.	So that I never let your face get flushed.

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[60] The inclusion of this work of Willaert’s immediately preceding the two *déplorations* has led to some speculation that it is the composer’s last work; v. Schiltz, “Tod in Venedig,”369; Cisilino, *Grechesche*, xiv; Fabbri, “Fatti e prodezze,”

[61] “Paro” could indicate either “companion” or “appearance” as written, but “appearance” tends to make more sense, as the dog’s new companion (the Dog Star Sirius) is certainly visible in the months referred to.

[62] Reading an extended meaning of Italian “strabuzzo” (to roll one’s eyes, but secondarily to change or transform) via attested Milanese “straluzzo.”

[63] This sentence lacks a main verb; this seems the likeliest meaning.

[64] Regardless of grammatical ambiguities, the intention is clearly a catasterism.

Molino / Adrian Willaert: “Dulce padrun”

Dulce padrun, mi ho cognosuo cha in celo	Sweet master, I have come to know here in heaven
Chie un caldo ti l'habuo frevuso in panza	That a feverish heat has struck your belly
Chal te punzeva, co fa 'l spad'e lanza	That pierces you like a sword or a lance
Si ben chie tel suava 'l carne 'l pelo.	So much that your flesh swelters.
Mo mi, chie t'ho amà sempre del bun zelo	Now I, who have always loved you with zeal
Cul canicula ho fado mio pusanza	Have used my influence over the dog star
Tando chiel caldo fora del so usanza	Such that the unusual heat
La xe anda via currand'a remi'a velo.	Has fled by oar and sail.
Nol creder chie sia cassia o 'l mendesina,	Don't think that it was the cassia or the medicine,
Cure e syropii, pirule ò bursette,	The salves or syrups, the pills or poultices,
Chie dal fevre fogusa t'ha gario:	That cured you of this fiery fever:
Mi xe stà chel c'ha fado dulceghina	I was the one who made sweetness
Vegnir so bucca al can cul carezzette.	Come upon that dog's mouth with gentle caresses.
Va pia mo dal giatròs to sold'in drio.	Now go get your money back from the doctor.
Padrun resta cun Dio.	Master, rest with God.
Mi no tel porrò dir plio veritae	I can't stay to tell you any more truths
Per fin chie no la turna l'aldro istae;	At least not until summer returns again;
Via da cheste cundrae	From these regions I will depart
Andemo all'aldro polo cun sto can.	To the other side of the world with this dog.
Me recumando a vui, te baso'l man.	I wish you well, and kiss your hand.

Here we have two laments with a much more plainly comedic intent than the two laments for Willaert which follow them in the collection. Katelijne Schiltz has rightly pointed out that these poems participate in a long tradition of animal laments, dating back to such classical examples as Catullus’s lament for Lesbia’s dead sparrow in his *Carmina* (no. 3) and Corinna’s lament for her dead parrot in Book II of Ovid’s *Amores*.[65] Many such laments, she goes on to show, occasionally employ the narrative voice of the deceased pet.[66] In more recent humanistic literature, Giovanni Pontano’s poem *De canicula* relates the history of Sirius itself by invoking similar tropes.[67]

These two works are clearly related through their references to the same dog, and it is reasonable to assume that Molino expected the audience of the second piece to be familiar with that of the first, as it is quite difficult to grasp the meaning of the text without it. They also share, perhaps as a kind of pun, the form of a *sonetto caudato* (i.e. with a "tail"). This does not necessarily mean, however, that they were necessarily composed together, or even meant to be sung together as a set. The rubrics given in the partbooks suggest these two appearances of the dead dog to be a month apart, with the first in July and the second in August.[68] And while it is tempting to think that they were meant to be performed together, there are few compelling musical reasons to do so: the relationship between the finals of the two pieces is odd for a unified cycle, and Willaert's piece is significantly more demanding musically than Grisonio's.

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[65] Schiltz, “Mi ho scritto,” 370; “Tod in Venedig,” 364-66.

[66] Schiltz, “Tod in Venedig,” 366.

[67] Pontano, *Urania*, fol. 65b.

There is, however, no reason not to suppose that the two pieces were written by Grisonio and Willaert in successive months. It may be that Willaert's significantly more demanding contribution was intended to one-up his student's composition, but it may also be that the success of the first piece led to a new commission by the same patron. There is good reason to think this patron was Domenico Venier or one of his close associates, given the textual resonances between Grisonio's piece in particular with the following poem, attributed to Domenico's nephew Maffeo.[69]

Maffeo Venier: "Un povero anemal"

Un povero anemal, una bestiola,	A poor animal, a critter;
Che no haveva altro ben, né ghe n'aspetto,	(I had no other affection, nor do I expect it)
Morte l'ha tolto a fin, che per despetto	Death took him, so that I, in the face of it,
M'appicasse drio d'esso per la golla.	Would be caught afterward by the throat.
Un can, che stava sempre con mi a tola,	A dog, who was always with me at the table,
E che dormiva nel mio proprio letto.	And who slept in my own bed.
Ha piaso alla mia stella, al mio pianetto,	It so pleased my star, my planet,
Che fazza sta restante vita sola.	That I live this remaining life alone.
Non so come l'intenso mio dolor	I do not know how this intense pain of mine
No fesse che morisse anche mi drio.	Did not cause my own death after his.
Come el pensarlo no me crepa el cuor!	How thinking of it does not break my heart!
O gramo al mondo, misero Maffio,	Oh wretch in this world, miserable Maffeo,
O sorte, o ciel, che me podeu più tuor	Oh fate, oh heaven, what more can you take
Per cavarve la sé del fatto mio?[70]	To satisfy yourselves in my regard?

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[68] *La prima apparition del cangolo nel mese di Luio* and *La seconda apparition del cagnolo nel mese d'Agosto, respectively*.

[69] Maffeo Venier is best known for his scandalous exchanges of verse with the courtesan Veronica Franco, who frequented his uncle's salon in the early 1570s. On this, v. Dolora Chapelle Wojciehowski, "Veronica Franco vs. Maffeo Venier."

[70] Venier (ed. Attilio Carminati), *Canzoni e sonetti*, 87.

The text of Grisionio's setting seems to make for an excellent and systematic response to Maffeo's lament above: the departed dog addresses his master's pain at separation by assuring that his new situation is one of happiness and wellbeing, explains that fate decided to separate him from his old master in order to provide him with a new one (and an important duty to fulfill), and strongly echoes Maffeo's astronomical language, taking the metaphor of the star as fate and turning it into a literal destination, where the dog can continue to watch over his master in his new form as companion to the Dog Star Sirius.

Positing "Vu hà ben casun" as a response to Maffeo's poem does raise the interesting issue of chronology: Grisonio's setting almost certainly preceded Willaert's, for which there is a *terminus ante quem* of 1562 (Willaert died in December of that year). Maffeo Venier, born in 1550, would thus have been approximately eleven years old at the time of these works' composition.[71] Maffeo's age at the time is not, however, a barrier to this hypothesis: animal laments such as those by Catullus and Ovid would certainly have formed a part of young Maffeo's curriculum, and it would be no surprise to find him participating in the genre, perhaps even as an exercise lamenting a fictional pet.

The poem set by Willaert continues the narrative of the dog, although it appears to refer to a different event: here the master is overcoming an illness, rather than specifically mourning over the death of the pet.[72] The works in question may have been directly commissioned by Domenico, or perhaps by his close friend and associate Girolamo Molino.[73] Though Girolamo appears to have had no familial relationship with Antonio, they were almost certainly acquainted: Antonio set several of Girolamo's poems to music in his first book of madrigals.[74]

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[71] Feldman identifies a "Maffio" mentioned in a 1537 letter by Aretino as Maffeo Venier; this is however a mistake. Ead., *City Culture*, 87 n 14.

[72] In this case the master may be Domenico himself; he makes references to his physical ailments in a number of his poems, and indeed in one canzona laments that, though he finds some relief from his suffering in music and entertainment, it doesn't last long. Unfortunately, few of Domenico Venier's poems can be found in modern edition. The *canzona* in question appears in print only as the last entry in Pierantonio Serassi's 1751 collection, which remains by far the most comprehensive source of Venier's lyric poetry. See Serassi (ed), *Rime di Domenico Veniero*, 193-98.

[73] On Girolamo Molino and Venier, v. Martha Feldman, *City Culture*, 85.

The above scenario provides possible answers to a number of questions, raised both at the beginning of this chapter and elsewhere in the musicological literature. First, Venier's possible commissioning of these works from Grisonio and Willaert to respond to his nephew's poem would be further evidence in favour of the hypothesis—suggested by the suspiciously deliberate disavowal in the introduction—that many of the works in the 1564 *greghesca* anthology were in fact commissioned by a patron (*calche Megallos*) rather than donated by the composers simply to appear in print. It would also indicate Willaert's direct participation in Venier's circle, over and above the "suggestive proximity" Feldman documents in her own work on Venier.[75] Lastly, when viewed in conjunction with Alvise Willaert's "Pianza 'l grego pueta," which specifically references Willaert having set Molino's poetry in the past, it suggests the *greghesche* were performed in a stable social space where in which such references would be meaningful.

4.6 Molino and the *Donne zendile*

This stable social space appears to have had a wide variety of regular participants; in addition to Venier, Girolamo Molino, Willaert, and Gabrieli we can also add Lodovico Dolce—certainly a close associate of Molino's—as he was documented as participating in Venier's circle in a letter by Aretino.[76] Venier and Molino also shared an affinity for talented female musicians, and it appears that here too they had a number of common acquaintances, including especially a number of women—primarily musicians—who were present in Venice during the 1550s and

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[74] Bonnie Blackburn has suggested to me that the two Molinos belonged to separate branches of the family: a patrician line (Girolamo) and a cadet line without high noble status (Antonio). Antonio's precise social standing is unclear; in his introduction to the *Fatti e prodezze* Dolce calls Molino a "honoratissimo cittadino di questa città" (most honoured citizen of this city). Carroll et al. question whether this referred to the rather heterogeneous body of Venetian *cittadini* in the sixteenth century or the more exclusive class of *cittadini originari*, who held higher standing and were eligible for important government positions; eid., *Delightful Madrigals*, 5 n 9. Dolce's dedication for *La Marianna*, if it is to be taken as fact rather than flattery, heavily implies the latter. Id., *La Marianna,* 195.

[75] Feldman, *City Culture*, 92.

[76] Feldman, *City Culture*, 87.

‘60s.

There are three *gregheschе* in the 1564 anthology that praise a female singer by the name of Verzinia/Virginia. Another reference, possibly to the same person, can be found in Molino's 1561 Ariosto parody, *I fatti e le prodezze di Manoli Blessi*.[77] Anthony Newcomb has connected these references to the singer Virginia Vagnoli, who was probably present in Venice from c. 1555-66, the same timeframe as the musical activities documented in the print.[78] Martha Feldman has also shown that Vagnoli probably participated in Venier's circle, since Venier wrote a poem in praise of her musical ability.[79]

Molino's first book of madrigals provides one more piece of evidence that strengthens the case for his participation in Venier’s salon: a *greghesca* dedicated to “Cinzia Brazzoduro,” whom I take to be the Vicentine noblewoman Cinzia Braccioduro-Garzadori (**Figure 4.2**).[80]

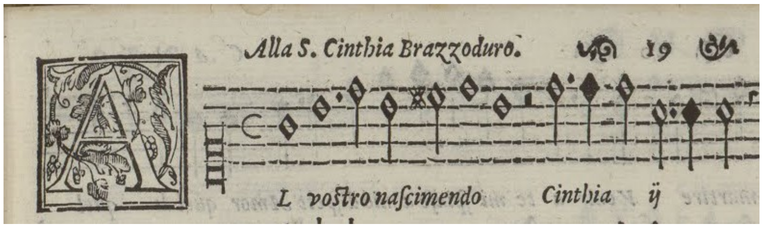

Figure 4.2: *Detail of Molino's "Al vostro nascimendo," with rubric dedication to "S. Cinthia Brazzoduro". From Molino,* I dilettevoli madrigali *(Venice: Correggio, 1568), 19 (canto). RISM A/I M2947.*

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[77] The Verzinia in the *Fatti e prodezze* sings and plays the horn and viol. She is also described as the Queen of Iceland; v. Fabbri, “Fatti e prodezze,” 194. In one *greghesca* set by Annibale Padovano “Mi ho scritto e sempre scrivo” she is similarly referred to as the “queen of singing and playing”(rezina del cantari e del sunari). She is also mentioned in “Mi xe stao” (Gabrieli), and “Verzinia, chy cercasse” (Giosefo da Lucca). I provide complete texts and translations for these in Appendix B.

[78] Newcomb, “Courtesans, Muses, or Musicians,” 108 and 114 n 47.

[79] Alfredo Saviotti, “Un' Artista del cinquecento,” cited by Feldman, *City Culture*, 104.

[80] Carroll et al. suggest the Cinzia Brazzoduro named in Molino’s first book is a courtesan on the basis of her title—*signora*—and her surname; the Brazzoduro (or Braccioduro) family were primarily mercenaries and not of particularly high social standing. Eid., 49 n 129. There is, however, a Countess Cinzia Braccioduro-Garzadori, also called Cinzia Thiene Braccioduro, who is very likely the same person: v. Franco Tomasi, “Due antologie liriche.”

Sonnets in Brazzoduro's praise were also written by Domenico Venier's nephew Marco and by Girolamo Molino, which are preserved in a manuscript at the Biblioteca Marciana.[81] Given Girolamo's death in 1569, she must have been affiliated with Venier's circle some time before this, possibly in the mid-1560s. This would be consistent with the date of Antonio Molino's first book of madrigals (1568), and the fact that Molino chose to dedicate a *greghesca* rather than a standard madrigal to her seems a likely indicator of her participation in the social events that involved performance of *gregesche* during that period.

In addition to those works dedicated to Maddalena Casulana and Cinzia Brazzoduro, five of the madrigals in Molino's first book (1568) are dedicated to a woman by the name of Chiaretta Pisana.[82] Given the short time separating Molino's first book of madrigals from the 1564 *greghesche* anthology, it seems exceedingly likely that this is the same Chiara or Chiaretta addressed in four of the works from that collection.[83]

The text for one of those pieces in the 1564 anthology, set by Paolo Vergelli, is given below. It rather clearly references musical activities of Molino's usual circle:

Molino / Paolo Vergelli: "Paulo come 'l polo"

Paulo come'l polo	Paolo, just as the north star
Xe de la tramundana	is an otherworldly thing
Chie mustr'al marinari	that shows the sailors
El dritta via e nol strana	the right way and not the wrong,
Cosi anghe a chesta bella Chiara	So has he shown to this lovely Chiara
G'ha mustrà'l via zusta del bun cantari	The proper way of good singing,
Chie thorà un armonia	So that he now has her make
Fa far de meli piena	A honey-filled harmony
Chie par una syrena	That makes her seem a siren,

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[81] Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana It. XI, 272 (6645).

[82] Carroll et al. list only two, madrigals 8 & 10. Eid., *Delightful Madrigals*, 22. This is clearly an error resulting from the fact that Merulo only printed dedicatory rubrics at the top of a given page; nos. 9 and 11, while they do not have dedicatory rubrics themselves, are meant to share in those of nos. 8 & 10. This intention is made clear by the dedicatory rubric that appears at the top of page 9 but in the middle of madrigal no. 11, which goes over a page break. This rubric most likely extends to no. 12, which shares that page.

[83] These are: "Chel bello Epithimia"(Wert), "Pavolo come 'l polo"(Vergelli), "No fo di tal beltae"(Fiesco), and "Como viver mil posso" (Gabrieli). I give complete texts and translations for these in Appendix B.

Und'è fatto mio cori	And my heart is made
Presun del dio d'amori	Prisoner of the god of love.

The Paolo referenced in the poem is almost certainly the composer, whom Molino praises for his excellent musicianship both in the text to this piece and in the volume's dedication.[84] The text also makes clear that Chiaretta has been a beneficiary of Vergelli's musical tutelage or at least his compositional skill, indicating her own musical ability and most likely a regular presence as a beautiful (or even coquettish) performer in the cultural spaces Molino frequented.

The *greghesche* that reference Chiaretta in the 1564 anthology, and some of the madrigals dedicated to her in Molino's first book, tend to share a lighthearted, teasing, occasionally ironic tone that seems absent in the more straightforward praise seen in the *greghesche* in that collection dedicated to Virginia (Vagnoli), and in Molino's own compositions dedicated to Casulana and Cinzia Brazzoduro (which also include two *greghesche*).[85] Perhaps the most playful is the following madrigal text from Molino's first book:

Antonio Molino: "Bella come voi"

Bella come voi, bella,	As lovely as you, lovely,
Donna mai non vid'io nel mondo, bella.	I've never seen in the world, lovely.
Et se glie pur che sia fra l'altre, bella	And if there were one among them, lovely
Vostra beltà la fa parer men bella	Your loveliness makes her seem less lovely.
Dunque de le piu belle, la piu bella	So, loveliest of the most lovely,
Voi sete al mondo l'unica mia bella.	In this world you are my only lovely.

Another example of playful interaction between Molino's narrator and Chiaretta is set by Wert in the 1564 anthology:

Molino / Giaches de Wert: "Chel bello Epithimia"

Chel bello Epithimia Chiaretta	That lovely Desire, Chiaretta,
Chie mettessi in la mio petto xe si possente e forte	That you put in my breast is so powerful and mighty
Chie mel tira alla morte	That it drags me toward death.
Nol voria descovriri	Though I did not wish to reveal it,
Mo vui chie tutto sà, mio rubinetto	I want you to know it all now, my little ruby:

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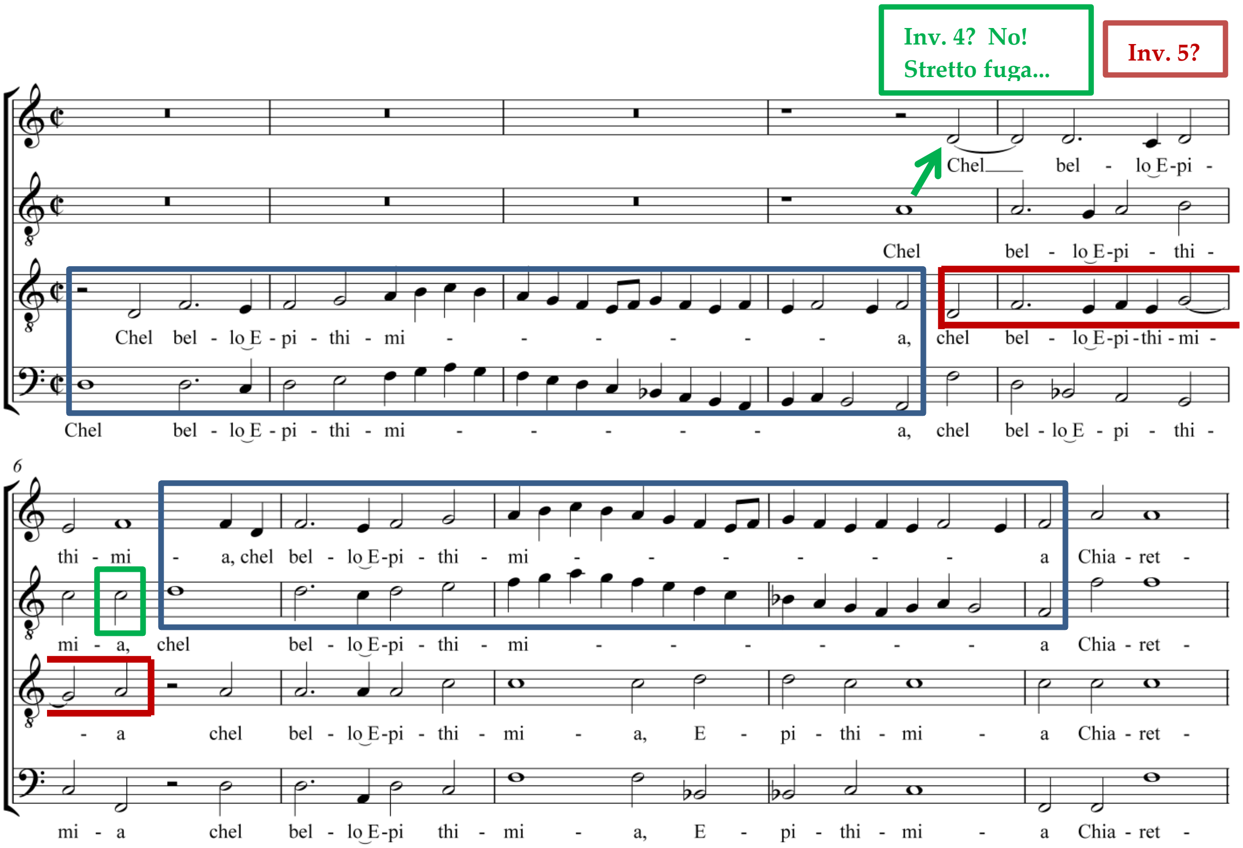
[84] The dedication is provided in full, with translation, in Appendix B.

[85] In Verzinia's case, Padovano's "Mi ho scritto" is very reminiscent of the high style; its first two phrases are set imitatively and it exhibits a variety of textures, including a brief passage in triple metre. A complete score for this work can be found in Cisilino, ed., *Grecheschе*, 25-27.

Certo gran torto avèu	You surely did a great wrong
A no calarm'un poco mie martiri	By not assuaging one bit the torments
Chie sul mio dosso gravemende stèu	That weighed gravely on my back,
Zachie sun fatto aldr'homo chie no giera	So that I have become a different man than I once was.
La vongio dir mo vera	I want to tell you the truth now,
E gnende del busia	And it is no lie:
Vu xel casun de tutta 'l pena mia.	You're the cause of all my suffering.

Molino's text presents a gentle subversion of the typical madrigalian conceit of concealed love from afar: the narrator not only openly declares his feelings to the object of his affection, but goes on to gently recriminate her for her failure to recognise and respond to his desires. Wert employs a similar tactic in his musical setting of the text, playing with typical musical gestures from the high style and subverting their usual meaning through gentle distortions. This treatment is evident from the very beginning of the piece (**Example 4.6)**, which opens with a very long melismatic duo (blue) in the bass and tenor on the word *epithimia* (ἐπιθυμία).


Inv. 4? No!
Stretto fuga...
Inv. 5?
Chel bel - lo E-pi -
Chel bel - lo E-pi - thi -
Chel bel - lo E - pi - thi - mi - - - - - - a, chel bel - lo E-pi-thi-mi -
Chel bel - lo E - pi - thi - mi - - - - - a, chel bel - lo E - pi - thi -
6
thi - mi - a, chel bel - lo E-pi - thi - mi - - - - - - a Chia - ret -
mi - a, chel bel - lo E-pi - thi - mi - - - - - - a Chia - ret -
- a chel bel - lo E-pi - thi - mi - a, E - pi - thi - mi - a Chia - ret -
mi - a chel bel - lo E-pi thi - mi - a, E - pi - thi - mi - a Chia - ret -

***Example 4.6**: Giaches de Wert, "Chel bello Epithimia," mm. 1-10.*

Immediately after the alto enters in m. 4, however, things begin to go awry. The soprano enters on a D above the alto's A, seemingly indicating the possibility of hearing the original duo inverted at the fourth, but this possibility is foiled by the tenor's repetition of the first few notes of its tune (red), suggesting instead an inversion at the fifth before breaking off. The soprano, as if unbalanced by the tenor's aborted restatement, sits on the D for an extra half note and begins imitating the alto instead, turning the duo into a brief *stretto fuga* at the fourth (green) rather than an inversion of the opening duo.[86] This of course cannot continue, since the long melisma of the alto part does not follow the rules for improvised canon: it would, if allowed to go on, create a second between the alto and soprano on the second beat of m. 6 (green). This forces the soprano to stop short and restart the phrase, this time copying the long tenor/bass module verbatim with new accompaniment in the lower voices (mm. 6-10, blue).

This kind of opening alludes to serious compositional craft—paired duos in imitation, contrapuntal inversion, *stretto fuga*—while at the same time undermining it with the false start in the uppermost voices and the relative artlessness of the long opening melisma. In fact, this musical treatment is an excellent musical complement to the opening line of the text: while the use of a Greek word for love rather than the Italian "desire," or "amore" might initially appear to indicate an elevated discourse around Bembist ideals of Platonic love, Plato describes *epithimia* in his *Symposium* as the lowest form of passion; it is purely physical and devoid of reason.[87] The more generically appropriate choices, *eros* and *philia*, are deliberately avoided in favour of something lesser, just as the counterpoint undermines its own attempt at sophistication. But once again, it is only the properly educated who can discern the game.

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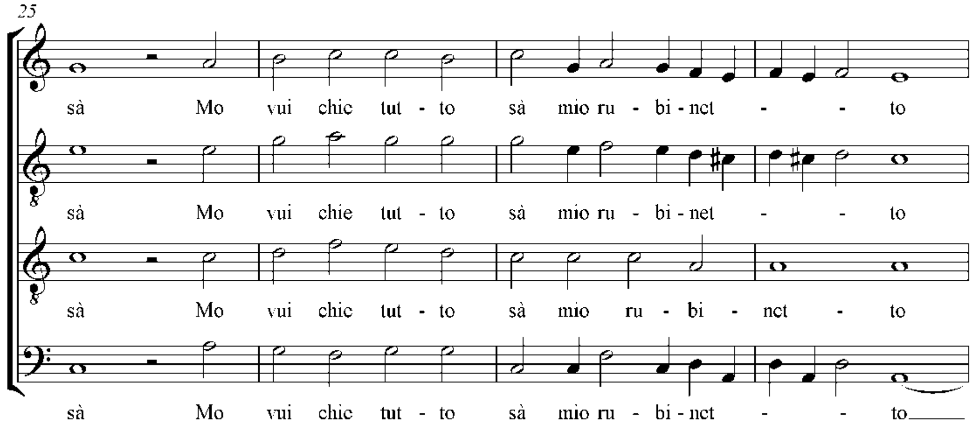
[86] The term stretto fuga, referring to a system for improvising two-voice canon, was coined by John Milsom; v. id., "'Imitatio,' 'Intertextuality,' and early Music,"146–51, where he gives the rules for stretto fuga at the fifth. See also Peter Schubert, *Modal Counterpoint*, 156–59. The process and its application to chant paraphrase are discussed in Julie Cumming, "Renaissance Improvisation and Musicology," and in the context of composition and part restoration in ead., "Composing Imitative Counterpoint around a Cantus Firmus." The possibility of stretto fuga for multiple voices is discussed in id., "From Improvisation to Composition: Three Case Studies." Schubert and Cumming have also presented widely on this topic; v. eid., "Patterns of Imitation, 1450–1508."

[87] W.J. Cummins, "'Eros', 'Epithumia', and 'Philia' in Plato," 10.

Another gesture with which Wert might be seen to undermine good musical taste is with the "Venetian trill," which appears at a number of points in the piece. This motion is first introduced as a playful gesture, when the narrator refers to Chiaretta as his "rubinetto" (little ruby; **Example 4.7**). As this "Venetian trill" appears in other *gregheschi* in the 1564 collection primarily to set text focused on longing and sexual desire, it can only be assumed that Wert is invoking it deliberately as a depiction of the narrator's frustration.[88]


25
sà Mo vui chic tut - to sà mio ru - bi - nct - - to
sà Mo vui chie tut - to sà mio ru - bi - net - - to
sà Mo vui chic tut - to sà mio ru - bi - nct - to
sà Mo vui chic tut - to sà mio ru - bi - nct - - to

***Example 4.7**: Wert, "Chel bello Epithimia," mm. 25-29.*

This identification with pent-up, frenzied eroticism is further strengthened as Wert continues to employ the gesture in contexts related to the narrator's suffering, such as on "martiri"(sufferings; **Example 4.8**), and then finally in its most extended form to conclude the piece on "pena mia" (my pain; **Example 4.9**). Through the repeated use of the "Venetian trill" to draw connections between these lines of text, Wert is able to very effectively communicate his narrator's erotic desire: each invocation of the lecherous old man's verbal tic allows his half-concealed erotic desire to burst forth from its coded subtext and threaten the very game itself.

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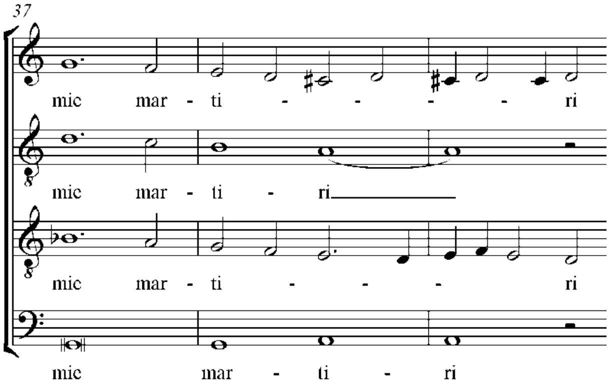
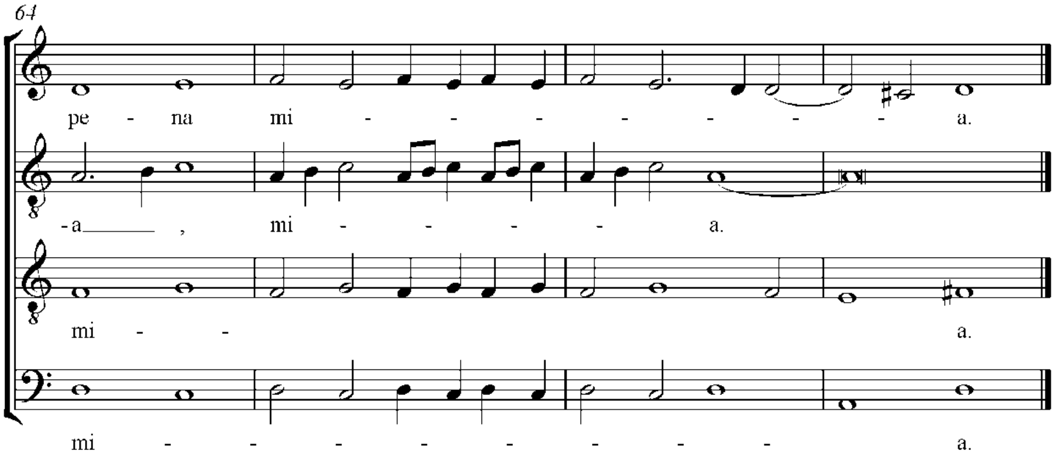
[88] See the discussion of the "Venetian trill" in Section **2.4**.



***Example 4.8**: Wert, "Chel bello Epithimia," mm. 37-39.*



***Example 4.9**: Wert, "Chel bello Epithimia," mm. 64-67.*

The idea that composers of madrigals used musical texture to connect related concepts over long distances is one I have explored in previous research, and this particular case seems to indicate that particular kinds of contrapuntal gestures were capable of carrying meaning between texts as well as within them.[89] But beyond this semantic function, the deliberately exaggerated nature of the trill serves to undermine the work's very musical construction: it mars the texture of what would otherwise be relatively standard—if simple—madrigalistic writing, deliberately throwing the performers and listeners off-balance just at the moments where it threatens to expose the erotic conceit. But like the slightly mangled point of imitation that begins the piece, an intuitive understanding of normative writing is required in order for the device to be effective.

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[89] Daniel Donnelly, "The Madrigal as Literary Criticism," 65-89.

"Chel bello Epithimia" is, in fact, an excellent musical analogy for Chiaretta Pisana herself, for unlike the other *donne zendile* (noble ladies) with whom Molino was acquainted—Maddalena Casulana (whom he addresses as such), Cinzia Brazzoduro-Garzadori (who was actually an aristocrat), and Virginia Vagnoli (who eventually married into the Striggio family)—Chiaretta Pisana seems to have been a courtesan. She is described as follows in an undated (but likely contemporary) catalogue of Venice's many female entertainers: "Chiaretta Pisana, at the ponte dell'Aseo; procurer [is] her mother Orsa; knows how to play and sight sing."[90] Her company appears to have cost one *scudo*.[91]

The list (on which Chiaretta is number seventy-five out of over two hundred), is currently held at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität in Munich. Though it is impossible to be completely certain that this refers to the same Chiaretta Pisana that is mentioned in the *gregesche* and in Molino's madrigals, the fact that her musicianship is specifically referred to makes it very likely. And though the print is unfortunately undated, in the introduction to a modern edition of the list curated by Mirella Toso Ambrosini, Silvio Ceccato suggests it was probably printed before 1565.[92] If this is the case, it seems almost certain that it refers to the same woman, and it is very likely that, along with Molino, Virginia Vagnoli, and the many contributors to the 1564 anthology, she participated in the *greghesca* performances that occurred at the Venier salon.

4.7 Conclusion

Identifying the Venier salon as a possible performance context for the *greghesche*, and Venier himself as a likely unnamed patron behind its publication, goes a long way toward explaining many of the volume's unusual features: the participation by a variety of composers who may have passed through the salon during the period of Molino's regular attendance; the references to specific people which occur in a full quarter of the pieces; the tendency of both text and music across the volume to reference and undermine the kind of elevated models Venier and his associates sponsored; and certainly not least the seemingly paradoxical inclusion of two rather serious dialect laments for a major cultural figure immediately after two laments for a dead dog.

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[90] "Chiaretta Pisana, sta al ponte dell'Aseo, pieza so mare Orsa, sa sonar e cantar per rason de canto." Mirella Toso Abrosini, ed., *Catalogo di tutte le principal et più honorate cortigiane di Venezia*, no. 75.

[91] This is the lowerst price recorded on the list; most women on it charged between 3 and 5 *scudi*. For reference, the master builders employed by the Scuola di San Rocco in the 1560s earned 30 soldi per diem, equal to ¼ of a *scudo*. Brian Pullman, "Wage Earners and the Venetian Economy," 157.

[92] Ceccato, introduction to Ambrosini, ed., *Catalogo di tutte le principal et più honorate cortigiane di Venezia*, i.

But this paradox turns out to be entirely natural since, as we have seen, the 1564 anthology represents far more than just the artistic activities of a particular group of people. It is, as Molino writes in the introduction, a testament to friendship and to the variety of life experiences that friends experience together, from a young boy's lament for a dog, to playful flirtation with a pretty courtesan, to genuine despair upon the loss of one of their own.

The very personal nature of this collection may also help to explain why Molino may have been upset to find pieces from this period of collaboration printed in Bellavere's 1570 *Primo libro delle Iustiniane*. In putting together the 1564 *Primo libro delle greghesche* Molino's intention seems to have been to publish a group of pieces that were poetically and musically distinct from the dialect repertoire of his time: Venice and *venezianità* elevated to something approaching the high style while still maintaining the sense of informality and community that surrounded the creation of its constituent works. If, as the text to "Perché de la vertu" suggests, he was particularly proud of his recent efforts in elevating the poetic and musical style of performances in his native language, he might even have viewed the publication of this private three-voice repertoire as an aesthetic step backward as well as a betrayal on Bellavere's part. Even if this is the case, however, we must be grateful to Bellavere for taking action: without the 1570 *Primo libro delle Iustiniane* to spur Molino and Gabrieli to action, the three-voice tradition might never have survived, and our picture of the musical activities of Molino and his companions at the Venier salon would have remained all the more incomplete.

Conclusions

The preceding four chapters have raised a number of important issues relating not only to the corpus of Venetian-language polyphony that is the primary subject of this dissertation, but also to the broader dialect repertoire and the madrigal itself. This conclusion will briefly summarise the main findings of the principal investigations by topic, and conclude with a discussion of possible broader applications for the methods and ideas generated by this project.

Language, Genre and Musical Style

As the first chapter of this dissertation made clear, Italian Renaissance music printers considered genre to be primarily determined by a given work's language and text type, and only after these features were accounted for could any further distinctions be made in a given repertoire on the basis of shared musical features. Language is a necessary first step in any attempt at generic categorisation for Italian Renaissance polyphony that is meant to remain consistent with the types of labels and classifications used at the time. Furthermore, linguistic distinctions of this type extend even to particular marked varieties of a given language, such as in the case of the Greek-inflected variety Venetian employed in the *gregheschei*, or the several other ethnically marked vernaculars used in works of the time (e.g. *todesche*, *moresche*).

The second chapter demonstrated that such language-based determinations of genre cannot, however, account for musical variety within a given genre, or similarities in musical style across linguistic boundaries. Linguistically unified genres can be both musically uniform—as in the case of the *giustiniane*—and musically diverse. The *greghesche*, for example, demonstrate a wide variety of musical styles that include *giustiniana*-like three-voice works (*villotte alla veneziana*), predominantly homophonic *arioso*-style four-voice works (*arie veneziane*), and more typically madrigalian compositions that employ frequent imitation and varied musical textures (*madrigali* *grechi*). In this way the *greghesche* are emblematic of the entire Venetian-language corpus in this period: all of the Venetian language works printed between 1564 and 1575 can be assigned to one of the three musically defined categories in which the *greghesche* participate. The entire Venetian-language corpus can therefore be divided along musical lines into three stylistically consistent sub-groups, each of which corresponds to a particular performance context: theatrical performance, informal poetic recitation, and commissioned performances for an aesthetically engaged patron.

All three of these categories have important ties to other musical genres outside the Venetian-language corpus: the *villotte alla veneziana* represent a distinct tradition of self-accompanied song, and although they share some features with the more widely popular corpus of Neapolitan-style *villanesche*, their relative lack of phrase-level repetition and frequent use of extended melismatic passages were almost certainly what led Zarlino to single them out as "different" from Tuscan and Neapolitan songs in his *Institutioni harmoniche* of 1558.[1] The *arie veneziane*, with their predominantly homophonic textures and frequent use of chromatic "note infilzae," on the other hand, seem to be clear descendents of the mid-century tradition of *madrigali ariosi*, especially given the participation of Lodovico Agostini in that earlier tradition and the stylistic consistency present between his contribution to the *Terzo libro delle muse*, his second book of four-voice madrigals, and his four-voice settings of Calmo's *Rime* (Chapter 3). The *greghesche* of the 1564 *Primo libro*, by contrast, seem clearly intended to invoke and comment upon the high madrigalian style. It is surely for this reason that Andrea Gabrieli called them "madrigali grechi" in the dedication to his later collection of three-voice *greghesche* and *giustiniane*, and this engagement with the high style was almost certainly the result of their genesis in the musically sophisticated environment of the Venier salon (Chapter 4).

Improvisation and Parody

The close association of the three-voice *greghesche and giustiniane* with the stage performances of

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[1] Gioseffo Zarlino, *Istitutioni harmoniche*, IV, 297.

Andrea Calmo and Antonio Molino and the narrative voice of the *magnifico*, the Captain, or the love-struck old man is one of the defining characteristics of this sub-group of the Venetian repertoire, and one that has already been known to musicologists for some time thanks to the efforts of Nino Pirrotta in particular.[2] It is possible that this theatrical environment is responsible for musical features like the extended melisma that pervade much of this repertoire, and it is also likely that the characteristic "stammering" that the *giustiniane* employ during these passages had its origins on the stage.

As shown by the example of Andrea Gabrieli's parody of Rore's "Ancor che col partire," (Chapter 3) the theatrical model of improvised performance presented rich opportunities for parody of the high style that included the possibility of contrapuntal borrowing and musical adaptation. Gabrieli's appropriation and manipulation of the most salient musical gestures of Rore's original madrigal shows a deep engagement with that work, and mimic's the poet's agenda of maintaining a text as structurally and lexically close to the original as possible in order to highlight the few key substitutions that are the principal source of the setting's comedy.

A parallel but no less important tradition of improvised parody can be found in the informal self-accompanied recitation represented most clearly by Agostini in his four-voice settings of Calmo's *Rime* (Chapter 3). As a reflection of the common practice of performing improvised verse at social gatherings, Agostini's *Rime* give us a clear sense of the way in which performers would have constructed new poems and musical works out of tropes and commonplaces drawn from popular pre-existing works as a kind of pastiche. Just as Calmo drew on the contemporary musical repertoire for inspiration in many of the poems in his 1553 *Rime*, so too does Agostini rework Calmo's own verse in many of the settings in his collection. In publishing a piece like "Varde quà drento" directly after the model "Chi lexe quà," Agostini shows just how Renaissance improvisers could and did respond to pre-existing works with their own on-the-spot creations.

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[2] Pirrotta, "Commedia dell'Arte and Opera," 309, and *Music and Theatre*, 103-106.

The relative lack of polish in these response works is thus not the "degradation" that scholars like Bombi attribute to an unskilled collaborator, but rather an evocation of an improvised style and the inevitable imperfections that arise when composing verse and music together *ex tempore*.[3] Further, the engagement with contemporary literary criticism shown in Calmo's parody of Petrarch's "Pace non trovo," his faux-analysis of his own parody, and Agostini's subsequent musical setting of that work conclusively show that abstract stylistic elements such as the Petrarchan antithesis or even literary analysis itself could be construed as appropriate target for parody.

Civic Identity

The aesthetic choice to use the Venetian language is tightly bound up with notions of civic identity and the Myth of Venice itself. As shown in the first chapter, the special status of Venetian in the political and economic functioning of the republic and its day-to-day use by the city's relatively large patrician class allowed the language to maintain a certain degree of cultural prestige even as literary Tuscan became the accepted norm for élite literary and musical production. As the language of governance and administration for Venice's *Stato da mar*, furthermore, the use of Venetian as spoken by the republic's many ethnic Greeks was a reminder of the city's power and prosperity, and of its mythological status as the heir to Rome and Constantinople.

The status of Venetian as a *lingua franca* for the republic's many immigrants and ethnic minorities also makes it uniquely appropriate for use in lamenting the death of a figure like Adrian Willaert, who despite coming to Venice from abroad was central to its musical life for decades (Chapter 4). Like Molino's fictional *strathioto* Manoli Blessi, whose home city of Nafplion had long been lost to the Turks, it was Willaert's dedication to the republic and its institutions rather than the location of his birth that was the true measure of his belonging. The use of Venetian to mourn the departed master was also, in addition to serving as a sign of his integration into the city's cultural life, a testament to the close bonds of friendship and camaraderie that characterised the Venier salon and the many people who frequented it. Venetian was, after all, the language of family and friendship, of love and loss, of casual conversation and intimate desire. It is in this way the 1564 *Primo libro delle greghesche* serves perhaps its most meaningful role, as a record of lives lived in Venice, in the language in which life was lived. For a figure like Willaert, one would be hard-pressed to find a more fitting tribute.

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[3] Andrea Bombi, "Una satisfation," 37 & 41.

Broader Possibilities

Venetian is, of course, only one of many languages set to music in the Renaissance. In the Italian context alone, there exists a substantial repertoire of works in "dialect" that would surely benefit from a deeper and more methodical evaluation than has yet been undertaken in the scholarly literature. A necessary first step in any such undertaking is, however, a critical re-evaluation of longstanding assumptions about the use of dialect in cultural production. Dialect is not, as the laments for Willaert in the 1564 *greghesca* anthology show, always meant to be understood as humorous or burlesque. Even when dialect works do employ humour or lower registers, this is not necessarily an indication of a "light" or otherwise unserious aesthetic agenda. Things are, thankfully, beginning to change in this respect. My colleague Zoey Cochran has produced an excellent study of the use of Neapolitan in eighteenth century opera that conclusively shows that Neapolitan-speaking characters represented therein are not any more likely to be humorous than their Tuscan-speaking counterparts.[4] It is my sincere hope that other dialect repertoires, such as the Bolognese-language operas of the seventeenth century, receive similarly thorough studies of their use of language.

The question of ethnically marked speech raised by the *greghesche* is also of great import in many areas of musicological inquiry. Beyond the spectre of blackface minstrelsy, perhaps unintentionally raised by Linda Carroll in her unusual use of eye-dialect to translate Molino's poetry (Chapter 1), there are a number of other examples of ethnically marked speech set to music. Larry Hamberlin treats several such varieties in early twentieth-century American popular song in his book *Tin Pan Opera*. These include not only the narrative voices of African Americans, but also of native speakers of Japanese and Italian. It is with this last group that we find the greatest parallel with Venetian Greeks: a large immigrant population familiar to native audiences, which could paradoxically represent both working-class vulgarity and international high culture in the form of opera.[5] To find the same kind of simultaneous "sacralisation" and "popularisation" Hamberlin does in the American treatment of Puccini's operas in popular song, one need hardly look further than Wert's "Chel bello Epithimia" (Chapter 4).

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[4] Cochran, "From the History of Language to the History of Opera: Understanding Tuscan in the *commedeja pe 'mmuseca'*."

The study of these repertoires may find considerable use for the theoretical framework of multimodality, which originated in communication theory but has very recently been applied to the study of early music by Kate Maxwell and others.[6] Multimodality refers not to modes in the music-theoretical sense, but rather to the multiplicity of pathways (or modalities) by which semiotic information is transmitted.[7] This includes not only the spoken word or sound, but the gestural, visual, written, three-dimensional, and other contextual means by which meaning is produced. And even as all transmission entails some loss of signal—no musical document records all possible contextual information—there are still a number of ways in which a source can inform our interpretation of its message beyond the content of its text.

The construction of the 1564 *Primo libro selle greghesche*, for example, tells us something about the relationship of Adrian Willaert to the rest of Molino's circle even as the composer goes unmentioned in the volume's dedication (Chapter 4). The binding together of Gabrieli's *Greghesche et Iustiniane* with five volumes of Neapolitan *villotte* gives us not only an idea for the performance context of those works, but an ideal foil for understanding what would have made the Venetian-language works distinct in such a context (Chapter 2). The connection of Agostini's *Rime* to the *arioso* tradition allows for a reading of the Pseudo-Calmo poems as *ex tempore* pastiche responses rather than derivative pap (Chapter 3). The publication timeline of the 1570 *Primo libro delle Iustiniane* and Gabrieli's 1571 *Greghesche et Iustiniane*, meanwhile, sheds additional light on the information Gabrieli relates in the dedication to the latter print, and in so doing suggests a story of competition and betrayal that might otherwise go untold (Chapter 2). As Maxwell points out, of course, the information on which this last story is based does not constitute a message, but a signal: the story itself is my own creation and may or may not be "true" in any strict sense. Then again, the same can be said of my own relation of that story to the readers of this dissertation.[8]

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[5] Hamberlin, *Tin Pan Opera*, 15-70.

[6] Maxwell et al., "Performance on the page"; Maxwell and Simpson, "Page, Performance, and Play"; Maxwell, "Multimodality and Medieval Music in Sound and Manuscript"; Georgios Potamias, "Multimodal Representation of a Medieval Byzantine Text"; Robin Rolfhamre, "Sexy Ornaments."

[7] Maxwell, "Multimodality and Medieval Music in Sound and Manuscript."

The utility of multimodality in the study of dialect music, as I see it, is precisely that the signal—or at least the signal as we have traditionally understood it—has long been subjected to a degree of cultural noise that has made its interpretation unusually challenging. The cultural narrative of dialect as "less than," as a corrupt or inadequate form of the standard, has bled into the interpretation of dialect works like a radio station from a neighbouring town. Yet with each additional mode of inquiry to which we subject the evidence that has come down to us, the signal gets that much stronger. And while we may never be able to rid ourselves of the static entirely, there are surely many surprising things yet to be heard in what we've been listening to all this time.

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[8] Maxwell et al., "Performance on the Page," 2-3.

Appendix A
Dedication and Texts from Agostini's 1567 *Bizzarre rime*

Dedication

ALL'INZEGNOZO, E DELICAO
Poeta Bizzarrro M. Andrea Calmo,
Suo affetionao.

L'e un' qualche sie' meia de tempo fradel caro, dolce amigo, e amorevole, che tra certe mie scritture me venne alle man el delettevole, e apresiao volume delle vostre rime Bizzarre, e si per el titolo dell'opera, come anco per veder el vostro nome, che sempre hò riverio metandome Bizzaramente à lezer me impì el cao de si dolce Bizzarìa, che me saltete un Bizzarro humor de voler far opera, che'l mondo d'aspuó l'haverle viste, lette, e considerae le podesse anco galder' in Musica, e cantarle, e così con le chiave ordinarie del be mole, e quadro averzando il ferigno dell'armonia, e cavando fuora un sacho de note infilzae, hò cercao accompagnar i vostri inzegnosi concetti con queste allegrissime mio solse, de muodo, che hò speranza de haver dao al mondo una sadisfation de mezo saor, e perche piu hò caro la gratia vostra, che quella di qual se voia Poeta, che vive, e perche no me deletto de desmestegarme con i massa grandi, e perche anco la cosa in se stessa el ricerca, hò volesto dedicarle, darle, e donarle à vu zentilissimo Spirito, e meritevole; perche ò certo che se qualcun le volesse biasmare, o ponzer, come s'usa, che vu da pratico ghe batterè d'un Epitaphio in tel mustazzo, e'l confinarè in terra ferma. Degneve donca in tel convito sontuosissimo delle vostre vertu accettar sto saor, sto guazzetto, e sta menestra de minime, crome, e semicrome, tanto piu che la principal sustantia de sto cibo ven dalla neta, e monda cusina del vostro intelletto, e in scambio del rengratiarme, che non s'usa piu, cantelle, felle cantar e deve spasso, che haverò a caro de haverve compiasesto in la solfa, cosi come vu me havè sadisfatto a mi, e à tutto el mondo in tel vostro bellissimo poetizar, recordandove però, che in la theorica de ste mia diatoniche, e miste note trovarè arescosa la mia grandissima affition, e con sti saori e ve lasso, e à vu me raccomando à note negre.

Di Milano il di 15 Mazo, 1567.
Delle vostre Bizzarre poesie suiserao,
Ludovico Agostino Ferrarese.

***

TO THE INGENIOUS AND EXQUISITE
Bizarre Poet M. Andrea Calmo,
His fond friend.

It's been a fair bit of time, dear brother, sweet and lovable friend, that among some of my writings your enjoyable and much-valued volume of *Bizzarre rime* came to my hand; and owing both to the title of the work, and to your name—which I've always revered—in Bizzarely applying myself to reading it my head filed me with such sweet Bizzarity that a Bizzrre mood came upon me to make a work out of it, so that the whole world, after seeing, reading, and considering your verses could also drape them in Music and sing them. And so, while employing the ordinary signatures of B-flat and B-natural, opening up some savage harmonies and drawing out of them some piercing notes, I have sought to accompany your ingenious concepts with these most cheerful sauces of mine in such a manner that I hope to have given to the world a halfway flavourful dish. And because I hold your graces more dear than those of any other living Poet, and because I don’t care to ingratiate myself with too-great men, and also because the thing itself demands it, I wanted to dedicate, give, and present these works to you, most noble and honourable Spirit; because I am certain that if someone wished to denounce or attack them, as happens now and then, that you’d smack them right in the mug with an Epitaph and keep them to the mainland. Please then deem this taste, this snack, this soup of minims, semiminims, and fusae worthy of acceptance into your great banquet of virtues, so much the more because the principal substance of this food comes from the clean and tidy kitchen of your intellect; and instead of rewarding me, which is no longer the custom, sing them, have them sung, and have fun, for I am happy to have pleased you in song, just has you have satisfied me and the rest of the world with your excellent poetry. Remember, though, that in the theory of these diatonic and mixed notes of mine you’ll find concealed my great affection. And with these flavours I leave you, and wish you well in black notes.

In Milan, the day of 15 March, 1567.
Most enamoured of your poetry,
Lodovico Agostini the Ferrarese.

Texts

I

Sapiè cari Signori	Know, dear Sirs,
Che queste bizzarie	That these bizarrities
E xè de varij autori	Are by various authors,
Che per contento sol de li so cori	Who just for their hearts' satisfaction
S'è tolto spasso con ste fantasie	Have taken up diversion with these fantasies,
Cose digan d'andar de piu saori	Which they say come in many flavours.

II

Son vecchio inamorao, e volentiera	I'm an old man in love, and gladly
M'allegro e canto e sono de lauto[*]	Do I make merry, and sing, and pluck the lute,
E vo 'nintel mio horto sunando fighi,	And I go into my garden plucking figs--
I bianchi, neri, e zali,	White, black, and yellow--
Puó tutti quanti i dago per trabuto	But I seek them all out in tribute
Al viso de Lionora	To Lionora's face
Ch'amando me dessecha d'hora in hora	For loving [her] builds a thirst in me as hours pass.

III

Amor che stastu à far orbo zuetta	Love, what are you doing, you blind little flirt?
Che ti no cori presto con l'archetto	Why don't you run now with your bow
E mazar sta poltrona maladetta.	And strike down this cursed wretch.
Credo che ti ha paura poveretto,	I think she is afraid of you, poor thing,
E può ti bravi con questo e quello	And so she taunts you with this and that,
Che la to vita no val un marchetto.	That your life isn't worth a dime.[†]

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[*] Both “di”and “suono” also appear as Tuscanisms.

[†] “Marchetto” also carries implications of prostitution: “fare marchette” = “turning tricks”

Ti priego và in mal'hora suso'n cielo
No m'intrigar a far la mia vendetta
Cotra sta cagna, che me dà martello,
A dolorosa trista derelita,
Che tante volte m'hà dao parole
Quando ti gieri al balcon de sofita.

I beg you, piss off up there into the sky;
Don't get me confused as I take my revenge
Against this bitch, who bedevils me.
Ah, sad, miserable reject,
Who many times spoke to me
When you were on the upper balcony.

Ti m'hà struchao in tei occhi cevole,
E può ficao scalognette in gola,
In cambio de riose e di viole.
Al manco te tocass'io la man sola,
E fà può del mio cor tripe e soffrito
E del mio corpo taia una bresiola

You took me in with those pleasant eyes,
And then disgraced me with your throat,
In exchange for roses and violets.
If I could only touch your hand,
Then go ahead and turn my heart to tripe and stew
And cut a steak from my body.[*]

El savio dise ben come xe scrito:
No t'infidar de femina barbua,
Ch'inganeria un dottor anche un remito
D'instae le fredde e d'inverno lesua.

The wise man says, as it is written:
Don't trust a devious woman.[†]
For she can fool a doctor or a hermit;
In summer she's cold and in winter, boiled.

IV

Co vardo donna vostr'alma beltae,
Sento schitarme il cor de suavitae,
Deh vita alabastrina.
A me m'ò frescha riosa d'ameschina

When I look upon, Lady, your noble beauty
I feel my heart skip from pleasure;
Ah, fair love.
I have but the rosewater of servitude.[‡]

V

Madonna con Amore si me fà beffe,
E pia del mio dolor mille sollazzi,
Onde si un di m'hà metto [m'ameto]
Ghe trazerò in tel viso el mio braghetto.

My lady you keep toying with my affection,
And taking pleasure in my pain,
Such that one day I'll get so angry
That I'll open my fly in your face

VI

Andè canti dolenti, e corre forte,
Chriè misericordia de mie mali.
Andè suspiri, e tacheve alle porte,
E rogni co fà proprio i anemali;
Andè lagreme zonte dalla Morte
E chrese ghe à Madonna i so canali;
Andè cuor à digand'in ogni luogo,
Ch'al mio bragheto gh'è stà messo'l fuogo.

Go, doleful songs and run fast,
Cry mercy for my ills.
Go, sighs, and knock on doors,
And mewl just like the animals;
Go, tears, brought about by Death
And augment my Lady's canals;
Go heart, proclaiming everywhere
That a fire's been lit in my pants

VII

Dame soccorso Amor, zàche ti vedi,
Che madonna me scampa sempre mai,
E pur ti no mel credi.
Caro fiò no star pi, tragh'una frezza,
Azzò che la se infiamma del mio fuogo,
Onde dì, e notte mi no trovo luogo.

Give me aid, Love, since you see
That my lady always flees from me,
And moreover you don't believe me.
Dear child don't just stand there, fire an arrow
So that she gets so enflamed by my fire
That night and day I find no rest.

---

[*] Literally bresiola/bresaola is a cured, salted loin of beef.

[†] "Barbua" literally means "bearded."

[‡] A play on "essere rose e fiori (viole)," meaning to be vastly inferior to another.

VIII

Raisetta dolce, e cara,
Se sola di beltae
Avanzè qual se voia damma ò dea,
Perche seu cruda, e avara,
Dura senza pietae,
Asiando una Medusa, anzi Medea,
Che slanza cinque dea
Per trappassarmi il cuore?

Deh vita alabastrina,
Riosetta d'ameschina,
Perche tanto martir à un che muore?
Se ben sarò slonzao
Ve vorò sempre ben fin c'havrò fiao.

Canxon và traghetando da Madonna,
Di che d'inverno suo,
E s'ella non m'aida andrò in bruo.

Raisetta, sweet and dear,
If only in your beauty,
You approach any lady or goddess,
Why then are you cruel and greedy,
Hard and pitiless,
Resembling a Medusa, or even Medea,
Who pierces me with five fingers
To transfix my heart?

Ah, alabaster darling,
Little rose of Damascus,
Why punish so gravely one who is dying?
For even as I am afflicted
I will love you as long as I have breath.

Song, sail along to my Lady,
Tell her I'm sweating in this winter,
And if she doesn't help I'm cooked.

IX

Occhi lusenti, onesti, e amorosetti,
Occhi soavi, e cari,
Occhi sereni, vagh'e lizadretti;
Occhi bei neri, e chiari,
Daspuò, che nò ve vezo,
Stò mal, i mò stò pezo:
Deh occhi fè retorno,
Azzò nò mora un zorno.

O eyes, shining, honest, amorous
O eyes, gentle and dear,
O eyes, serene and lovely and spritely;
Beautiful eyes, dark and clear,
Since I see you no longer,
I am unwell, and grow ever worse:
Alas, eyes, return to me
So that I don't die one day.

X

Amor m'hà bastonat cum la so mescola
Per u viset de merda d'ina zovena,
Che m'hà scarpat tugh'ol polmon cum l'anema
senza podì mai dì, che fet mandragola
Me sborì ados, che mai senti tal furia,
Dof che son pez che l'asen dol Mercurio.

Love has clubbed me with his mixing spoon
Just for you, repulsive girl,
So hard that he knocked the wind out of me,
Never warning that he'd make a mandrake leap upon
Me with such fury as I've never felt;
Surely I'm worse off than the Cyllenian ass.

XI

Se v'amo, e adoro ò viso inzucherao,
Perche me steu à dar la mar d'Orlando
Tutto'l zorno soiando;
Deh per vu vita mia
No fiè cason, che vagh'in zeladia.

If I love and adore you, my sugar-face,
Why do you stand there taunting me,
Carrying on all day;
Ah, for you my love
There need be no reason but that you are beautiful in your cuelty.

XII

Quante volte rasono mi soletto,
A che muodo Cupido m'hà truffao,
E d'huomo rational, con buon inzegno
Son proprio puttin senza prudentia,
E zà otto cento dì von suspirando
La mia sorte cattiva, e tristi zorni.

How many times do I think, all alone,
Of how Cupid swindled me;
Once a reasonable man with good sense,
I am now a guileless child.
For eight hundred days have I sighed
Over my terrible fate and sombre days.

XIII

Horsu nò me tegnir Amor stentando
Pien di ferie, che me trapassa el cuor
Dimme caro fradello
Astu provao mai simil dolor,
Quest'è ni bon, ni bello
Farme viver pianzando,
A te mi raccomando,
Ch'el contrastar nò val à to possanza,
Che troppo ponze la to cruda lanza.

Come on, Love, don’t keep me down,
Full of wounds that pierce my heart.
Tell me, dear brother,
Have you ever felt such pain?
It is neither good nor agreeable
To make me live, weeping.
Please heed my words,
For standing against me is unworthy of your power,
And your cruel lance pierces so dreadfully.

XIV

Paxe nò trovo, ch'el pan me fa verra,
E me pelo da fame, e si nò magno,
Ho calce bone, e si mostr'un calcagno,
E volo col cervelo sotto terra?
Tal me cred à piar che nò m'afferra,
Nuò in paltan, e in acqua nò me bagno,
Son debole sui piè, ni voio scagno,
Son in preson, e i zaffi no me serra,
Son vivo tamen son in l'altro mondo,
Vedo senza occhi nò hò lengua, e crio,
Son in forno agiazzao pianzando rido,
Amo chi luoga el so, buta via'l mio,
E credo à tutti, e de mi nò m'infido,
E cerco'l sol, e de zorno me scondo.

I find no peace, for bread makes war on me,
I tear my hair out from hunger, yet I do not eat,
I have good shoes, and yet I show my heel,
And I fly with my brain under the earth!
So that whoever thinks to reach me cannot.
I swim in the lagoon, and don’t get wet;
I’m weak on my feet, but want no stool;
I am in prison, and the ropes don’t bind me;
I am alive, and in the great beyond;
I see without eyes; I have no tongue and cry;
I am in a frigid oven; I laugh as I weep;
I love those who set things in order, and toss away what’s mine;
I believe everyone and don’t trust myself;
I seek the sun, and hide in the day.

XV

Che nasce diè morì care persone;
Pur m'hà grievao andà cusì d'instae,
Senza cercà do fette de Pipone

Those who are born must die, dear people;
Yet it weighed upon me to go in the summer,
Without having even a bit of melon.

XVI

Cupìdo fiò di donna Citarea,
Me manazza de driò col cinque dea,
Mi me ghe volto, e digo
Che quel che ve vol ben nol stimo un figo.

Cupid, son of the Citarean lady,[*]
Threatens me from behind with five fingers,
I turn around and say
That I don't give a fig about your wishes.

XVII

Chi lexe quà considera ben tutto,
A che muodo se muor miseramente
Choè stao costu, che xè in st'arca presente
Allegreto Galdin tragando un rutto.

Whoever reads this consider well
The manner of miserable death
That befell the man who is here in this tomb:
Cheerful Galdin who let loose a belch.

XVIII

Vardè quà drento,
Che'l ghe xè ser Gregheto,
Che per insir di stento
Morì tragando un peto.

Look in here,
There was a Greek gentleman
Who to escape from his suffering
Died breaking wind.

---

[*] In the foundation myth of Citerea / Citara, Venus caused a spring to well up from hear tears upon the death of Adonis.

XIX

Questi sono saltaori à cavallo.	These are the acrobats on horseback.
Non è pi dolce cose del saltare	There is nothing better than acrobatics
A caval donne belle in fede mia,	On a horse, lovely ladies, on my faith,
Che cavalcando si può contentare	For while riding one can satisfy
Con gran dolcezza la so fantasia,	His whims with great sweetness,
E tanto piu quando nel zirare	And so much more when, going around,
Il saltaor lo fà con lizzadria:	The acrobat does it with grace.
Perche chi fa chi sente, vede, & alde	Such that whoever feels, sees, and hears it
D'infinita dolcezza, e piaser galde.	Enjoys infinite sweetness and pleasure.

Appendix B
Dedication and Texts from the 1564
Di Manoli Blessi il primo libro delle greghesche

Dedication

ALLI ECCELLENDI MUSICHI
Messer Paolo Vergeli, M. Claudio da Currezo, M. Francesco Bunaldi.

Essendo sta sembre mai chesta costumanza del vecchi andighi e del muderni scrivauri servao, Affendimu misser Paulo, m. Claudio, e m. Francesco, infra tutti candi li aldri amisi a mi carissimi, de mandari sul pumblico le fantige de li sui frognimi inzegni, sutto la favur e prottetiun del Principi, del Re, e del Imperaduri, overamende de calche Megallos, grando persunazo, a fin chie’l valur el grandezza de chesti; da la invidia, e da le false calunnie del cativi reprensuri, li habbia à defender e far restar seguri. Mi, mo, no seghitando li costume de chesti; hò pinsao, de prucederi aldramende, in mandar fora in luse per la mundo, cheste mie fantighe, perchie mi la stimo se habbiano à indrizzari, e dedicari le opera a chelli che siano iteligenti de chella material chie esse trattano; Parendo a mi chesti chie intitulano nel primo modo, frutti del inzegni soi tìpota gnende dessumegiai da colù chie vulesse dari a vederi, a fari giuditio de l’arte de un statua del fidia, del Policletto ò della Sansovin, a una favro, ò à calche aldro artesano del varia e diversa profession dal desegno, talmende chie costui no sel truvasse atto a decerniri e cognusseri l’arte del scoltura, gnanghe del pittura à intenderi la bellezza de un figura del man del Rafael ò del Tician; cusi anga mi fra mi cun la mio cervello inseme, havemo deliberao de cavar fora e pumblicari al mundo chesta musica per mi fada cumponere da multo Eccellendi Autturi del Musica sora li mie Versi e Rime della Rumeca linga nostra, hò giudicao chesta esser dunatiun multo cuveniende alla vostra profession, esendo l’uno, è, laldro de vui cussi eccellende e perfetto Musico, como chie seu: E chesto xe canto al vostro valori del Musica, alla chal se azunze puo l’andiga amicitia, e, cuversation e fradellanza chie mi havèu con tutti tre vui, unde, mi essendo sta spento, è cazzào dal’ meriti del vostre Virtue, mel par rasunevelmende esser mosso à farve chesta dedication la chelle, paracollòsso vel prego, no alla umellezza del duno, mo alla gligora presta, e prunta vulundae del donaùro resgardando, vel paisa cun piasevule allegro viso de accettari. E alla vostra buna gratia mi medemo cun l’opera recumando.

Vostro Manoli Blessi.

***

To the Excellent Musicians
Messer Paolo Vergelli, M. Claudio de Correggio, M. Francesco Bonardo

There having always been this custom among the ancient and modern authors—my Lords M. Paolo, M. Claudio, and M. Francesco, along with all my other dear friends—to bestow upon the public the works of one’s own ingenuity under the protection of Princes, Kings, or Emperors, or other bigwigs or grand personages (insomuch as one values the greatness of these types), in order to defend them and keep them safe against resentment, defamation, or wicked censorship. I, now, am not following the custom of these people; I thought to proceed otherwise in bringing these efforts of mine to light, because I greatly

appreciate being able to address and dedicate these works to those who are knowledgable about the material contained therein. It seems to me that those who make their dedications of the fruits of their ingenuity in the earlier manner differ not at all from someone who wishes to invite the judgement of a statue by Phidias or Polyclitus or Sansovino from a builder, or from another artisan from some other profession outside of the visual arts, such that the person finds himself not only unable to understand or appreciate the art of sculpture, but even in painting unable comprehend the beauty of a figure from the hand of Raphael or Titian. Therefore me, my brain, and I decided to bring out this music, which I had composed on my verses in our *rumeca linga* by many Excellent Authors of Music, and publish it for the world. I have judged it to be a gift most appropriate to your profession, as you are all such excellent and perfect Musicians: And this is how much I value your Musical worth, and our long friendship, and the conversations and fraternity I have shared with all three of you—so much that I feel hounded and diminished by the heights of your virtues—that it seems reasonable for me to be moved to make this dedication to you; and I hope that, observing not the humble nature of the gift, but the quick and ready intention of the giver, it pleases you to accept it with a cheerful face. And in your good graces I wish you well with this work.

Your Manoli Blessi

Texts

	I	
Madonn’hormai mil vedo	**Rore**	My lady, now I see
Chie tipota’l mio piando,		That never does my weeping,
Gne la pregarave tando,		Nor all my beseeching,
Nol move chel to cori del diamande.		Move that diamond heart of yours.
Mi chie xe bun amande,		I, who am a good lover,
Fidel morir mel vedi sul to fazza.		Am seen to die, faithful, in your sight.
E cumpassiun alguna		And no pity at all
De mi nol'have gnende crudellazza.		Do you have for me, cruel thing.
O mia cacchi forduna,		O my ill fate,
Tigra vu xè pur certo.		You are surely a tigress.
Ah’dura sorte,		Ah harsh fate,
Ch’aidarm’aldri no pol chie vu’o la morte		For no one can aid me but you, or death.

	II	
Chel bello Epithimia Chiaretta,	**Wert**	That beautiful desire, Chiaretta,
Chie mettessi in la mio petto xe si possente e forte		That you placed in my breast is so powerful
Chie mi tira alla morte.		That it pulls me to my death.
Nol voria discovriri,		I did not want to disclose it,
Mo vui chie tutto sà mio rubinetto:		But now I want you to know it all, my little ruby:
Certo gran torto havèu		For you surely did a great wrong
A no calarm'un poco mie martiri,		In not assuaging my sufferings one bit,
Chie sul mio dosso gravemende stèu		So that they weighed gravely on my back
Zachie sun fatto aldr’homo che no giera.		And I was made a different man than I ever was.
La vongio dir mo vera,		I want to tell you the truth now,
E gnende del busia,		And it’s no lie,
Vu xe’l casun de tutta ‘l pena mia.		You are the cause of all my pain.

III

Gabrieli

Cando pinso al turmendo
Chie ti mel dastu, amori,
Thòra chiel me xe rotta
Mio lanza e mio cavallo scamba via,
Chie nol posso far botta
Gnesuna chie bon sia,
Irteme tanda stinza dendro’l cori
Chie moro del dolori.
Haimena, se t’havesse
Sul man, o chie pulesse
Zunzerte cul spathia un zurno, marioletto,
Tel tangiarave’l viso al to despetto

When I think of the torment
That you give me, love,
Now that my lance
Has broken and my horse run off,
So that I cannot strike
Anything worthwhile,*
A great agitation comes into my heart
So that I die from the pain.
Alas, if I had you
In hand, or if I could
Reach you with my sword one day, little rascal,
I'd prick your face, much to your chagrin.

IV

Bonaldi

Amur, se mi tel dao tutti'l prim'anni
E mai no l'inscio del to paese
Chie steva como'l fior del ogni mese
A soffrir la turmendo cul affanni,
Thòra chie mi scambiao prossopo e panni
E chiel mio rede no pol star plio tese,
Paracalòsse no mel far uffese
Chie nol posso pandir plio pene e danni.

Denime plio san pròtta cavagliero,
De vegnir mattasèna in cumpagnia.
Mi gèros e pesocco e ti lizero;
Tòte la bulzonavi el carne mia.
Mo thòra chesto cor, como sparvero,
Per despetto me'l branghi e porti via
E dastu in man d'un fia.
Che me la scarza stil fa sta mattezza,
Cul vegno'in cel te rumpo l'arco el frezza.

Love, if I gave you all my early years
And yet never entered your country
Since I was [pungent] like the marigold
And suffered that torment with great anxiety,
Now that I've changed my face and clothes
And my heir hasn't long to wait,
For pity's sake don't slight me,
Since I can't take any more pain and abuse.

Give me again the health I had before, sir,
To go to bed with some company.
I am old and heavy and you are light;
So strip away my flesh.
For now, like a sparrowhawk,
You spitefully claw out this heart and carry it off
To place in the hand of a girl.
And if you're stingy with me in this madness
When I come to heaven I'll bust your bow and
arrows.

V

Gabrieli

Saranda volte e plio
Mi te la ditto e dingo,
Fanduglin vecchio sbingo.
Nol frizzar pi mio cor, nol dar imbazzo
Chie a Bacco cumbagnazzo*
Thòra vongio serviri.
Chie nol posso soffriri
Plio tande dongie indosso
E tando peso.
Basta, ti mel la inteso?
Lassarmel star; se no chie tel prumetto
Darte sul mio zenocchi un cavalletto.

Forty times and more
I have told you and tell you,
Mad old fop.
Sting no more my heart, nor bore me
For it's Bacchus, my sybarite companion,
Whom I now wish to serve.
For I can suffer
No longer so many pains upon me
And so much weight.
Enough, you understand me?
Let me be; if not I promise you
You'll have my knee where a horse should be.

VI
Bertoldi

Chie val cu la candari
Mover li sassi e'l duri cor ghiazzai
Far teneri vegnir et impizzai.
Et chie se legra 'l zende
Del piaser chie la sende
Se i micron punto d'hora
Morte cazza 'l Psicchi del panza fora.

He who is good at singing
Moves stones, and makes cold, frozen hearts
Become tender and enflamed.
And he who cheers the people,
By the pleasure they feel,
Even if for small bits of time,
Their thoughts drive Death right out from the gut.

VII
Schiavetti

Giathi tanda fandiga
Vostu chie ve la dinga,
Gran torto havèu segnora
Pagari del marturi
La vostro serviduri,
Chie tando ben vel serve da tutt'hora,
Nol dar casun chiel mora.
Se pur volèu se spazza
Da vu int'una mumendo,
Averzi vostro brazza,
Strenzilo forte appresso, e dai turmendo
Chiel morirà cuntendo.

Because it takes so much effort
For you to make money,
You make a great error, lady,
Paying for the efforts
Of your servant,
Who has always served you so well,
Without a thought for his own death.
But should you want to rid yourself of him
In but a moment,
Open up your arms,
And hold him fast against you;
He'll die happily from the torment.

VIII
Padovano

Mi ho scritto e sembre scrivo
Greghe rime galande,
Chie cando sarò morto
Mel farà parer vivo.
O chie zoia e cunforto sarà chesto,
Verzinia, al mio moriri.
Se chelle mo nol piasera a la zende
Mi no mel curo gnende:
Pur chie a vui sula possa sadisfari
Rezina del cantari e del sunari.

I have written and keep writing
Gallant Greek rhymes,
Which, when I am dead,
Will make me seem alive.
Oh what joy and comfort this will be,
Virginia, at my death.
And if the people don't like them
I won't care a bit:
So long as they can satisfy you alone,
Queen of singing and playing music.

IX
Porta

O chyrazza glicchi galande e bella
Cando sarà chel chie veda e senda
Chel to bochin candar e far cuntenda
La mia Psicchi, chie dendro mel martella?
Vien zurno chiaro a farme veder chella
Unde ch'amor el so fasella ardenda impizza
E fa chiel mio cardia devenda
Brunza del fogo e scotta la buella.

Giastocacòmu tardi el vegnerastu,
Giathi el cacchi forduna havè zurao
Slongar cul tembo l'hure c'hà vegniri.
Prengaro tando Giòve,
E mi ghidao sarò in so spithi,
A vederla e sendiri
Candar chelli susbiri
Amorusi e sonar sul viola in tembo,
Al despetto de ti forduna e tembo.

O sweet lady, amorous and lovely,
When will it be that I will see and hear
Your little mouth sing, and make content
My soul, which aches inside me?
Come, bright day and let me see her,
So that love will nock his burning arrow
And make by heart turn
Bronze in the fire, and singe my gut.

To my dismay you are late in coming,
Because you, Misfortune, have sworn
To lengthen the time until the appointed hour.
I will pray to Jove,
And I will be tossed into her house,
To see and hear her
Sing with those amorous sighs,
And play the viola in time;
Much to your chagrin, Fortune and Time.

	X	
Donna se l'occhio mio no varda sembre	**Merulo**	Lady, if my eye does not always gaze upon
Chel to caro volto,		That dear face of yours,
Chie la mio cor m'ha tolto,		Which has taken my heart away,
Viver nol posso; se til scundarastu		I cannot live; if you hide it
Moriri mel farastu.		You will make me die
	XI	
Amanti el vongio diri	**Renaldi**	Lover, I want to say
Tando chie mi sia indeso,		What’s on my mind,
E no dirò'l bisia mo del certezza:		And I won’t lie now for sure:
Chie truvar no se pol tanda chiarezza		It’s impossible to find enough brightness
Sul sol cando xe pien		In the sun itself, even when it is full
Del luse in la seren,		Of light in the heavens,
Chiel possa sumeggari		That can compare to
Al razzi dulci e chiari		The sweet, bright rays
De chesta Chiara bella,		Of this lovely Chiara,
Chie venze ogn'aldra stella.		Who surpasses every other star.
Mo cando canta è sona		Now when she sings and plays
Cul armolia si bona		With such good harmony
Avanti el despartiri:		Before we go our separate ways:
O chie dulce moriri.		Oh what sweet death.
	XII	
Mi xe stao in tutte cande	**Gabrieli**	I have been in all the
Catro barte del mundo		Four parts of the world
Cercand'in tundo in tundo:		Searching around and around:
E l'ostro e'l tramundana,		In the south and the north,
El pulende el levande,		The west and the east,
Nol visto mai fra tande		I have never seen among so many
Donna chie del vertu sia plio surana		A woman who is more perfect in virtue.
Unde la benedigo mio stella,		Thus I bless my star,
Mio vendura,		My fortune,
E mio destin amingo,		And my friendly destiny,
Chie mel fado vegniri al dir		Which made me come to hear
Chesta Verzinia in mio vecchiezza,		This Verzinia in my old age,
Per far satiar mio cor del so dulcezza.		And have my heart satisfied with her sweetness.
Cusì pulesse haveri		I wish could have,
In mio burchella e barca		On my barge and boat
El musa del Pedrarca,		Petrarch's own muse,
Chie ‘l farave sendiri,		So I could have her hear,
Chie dendro ‘l so bel viso		For in her lovely face
Sta tutto canto ‘l ben del parandiso.		Is all the goodness of paradise.
	XIII	
Pavolo come'l polo	**Vergelli**	Paolo, just as the north star
Xe de la tramundana		Is an otherworldly thing
Chie mustr'al marinari		That shows the sailors
El dritta via e nol strana		The right way and not the wrong,
Cosi anghe a chesta bella Chiara		So has he shown to this lovely Chiara
G'ha mustrà'l via zusta del bun cantari		The proper way of good singing,
Chie thòra un armonia		So that he now has her make
Fa far de meli piena		A honey-filled harmony
Chie par una syrena		That makes her seem a siren,
Und'è fatto mio cori		And my heart is made
Presun del dio d'amori		Prisoner of the god of love.

XIV
Grisonio

Vu hà ben casun del pianzer la mio morte,
Dulce padrun. Oldra esser cagnol raro,
Ve amava tando canto ve fu caro,
Fin c'hà piasesto alla mia dura sorte.
Sta cosa sulla el cor vel diè far forte
E rallegrar: Che [g]iove un aldro paro
A mi d'Agusto e mango del Zenaro
Nol visto, e si m'hà tulto in la so corte,

Unde straluso fra chel chiare stelle
Arende chella bestia de chel can
Chie à chesti tembi fa suar la pelle.
No stè plio de mal cor, chie vivo e san
Mel trovo. E cheste xe vere novelle:
Chie cha su no sel vive d'acha e pan.
Mil sarò tando human
Per vui cun chel canicula ribaldo
Chie mai no lassarò vel fazza caldo.

You have good reason to lament my death,
Dear master. In addition to being a rare pup,
I loved you as much as you cared for me,
Until it pleased my cruel fate
(Now this should strengthen your heart
And cheer you) that Jove [gave] a new form
To me (seen to us in August, but less in January)
And thus he took me into its court,

So that I am remade among those bright stars,
Near that beast of a dog
Who makes people sweat this time of year.
Don't be broken-hearted, for I am alive and
Well. And here's the real news:
Up here we don't live on bread and water.
I'll be very friendly
On your behalf with that lowly mutt,
So that I never let your face get flushed.

XV
Adrian
Willaert

Dulce padrun,
Mi ho cognosuo cha in celo
Chie un caldo ti l'habuo frevuso in panza
Chal te punzeva, co fa 'l spad'e lanza
Si ben chie tel suava 'l carne 'l pelo
Mo mi, chie t'ho amà sempre del bun zelo
Cul canicula ho fado mio pusanza
Tando chiel caldo fora del so usanza
La xe anda via currand'a remi'a velo
Nol creder chie sia cassia o 'l mendesina
Cure e syropii, pirule ò bursette
Chie dal fevre fogusa t'ha gario:

Mi xe stà chel c'ha fado dulceghina
Vegnir so bucca al can cul carezzette.
Va pia mo dal giatròs to sold'in drio
Padrun resta cun Dio
Mi no tel porrò dir plio veritae
Per fin chie no la turna l'aldro istae
Via da cheste cundrae
Andemo all'aldro polo cun sto can
Me recumando a vui, te baso'l man.

Sweet master,
I have come to know here in heaven
That a feverish heat has struck your belly
That pierces you like a sword or a lance
So much that your flesh swelters.
Now I, who have always loved you with zeal
Have used my influence over the dog days
Such that this unusual heat
Has fled with hoisted sail and oars to the sky.
Don't think that it was the cassia or the medicine,
The salves or syrups, the pills or poultices,
That cured you of this fiery fever:

I was the one who made sweetness come
Upon that dog's mouth with gentle caresses.
Now go get your money back from the doctor.
Master, rest with God.
I can't stay to tell you any more truths
At least not until summer returns again;
From these regions I will depart
To the other side of the world with that dog.
I wish you well, and kiss your hand.

XVI
Gabrieli

Sassi, Palae, sabbion, del Adrian lio
Alleghe, Zoncchi, Herbazi chie la stèu
Velme, Barene, chie scundèu
l'Ostregha, 'l cappa, e 'l Passarin polio,
E vui del valle pesci e d'ogni rio
E del mar grandi e puzili chie sèu
Scombri, Chieppe, Sarun, chie drio tirèu,
Le Syrene dunzell'e ch'a mario

Rocks, jetties, sand of the Adriatic shore;
Seaweed, daffodils, and weeds that grow upon it;
Islets, marshes, cays that shelter
The oyster, the cockle, and the stately flounder;
And you, fish in the tidewaters, in every stream,
And in the sea, whether large or small;
Mackerel, shad, sardines that follow behind
The mermaids, maiden and married;

E vu fiumi chie dèu tributo al Mari
Piavi, Ladese, Po, Sil, Brenta et Ogio,
Vegni, vegni cha tutti canti a lagrimari
La morte d'Adrian, del chal me dogio
Che nol porà mie versi plio lustrari
Cul dulce canto chie rumpe ogni scogio

O megàlos cordogio
Del mundo tutto chy sarà mo chello?
Chie in armonia del par vaga cun ello.

And you, rivers that give tribute to the sea
Piave, Adige, Po, Sile, Brenta, and Oglio,
Come here that you may all lament
The death of Adrian, who I regret
Shall never again be able decorate my verse,
With sweet song that breaks against the shoals.

O great sorrow!
In the whole world who could ever be
His equal in beautiful harmony?

XVII
Alvise Willaert

Pianza'l Grego Pueta e'l Mantuan
La Fiorentin e tutto canto'l mundo
Da puo chie la xe morto chel profundo
Màstora della Musica, Adrian,
Chie la tirà cha in terra, in munte in pian
Chell'armonia del cel chie zira in tundo
Cul modo bel à tutti ha mustra'l fundo
Tal ch'ogni cor malao xe turnà san.

Fra tandi che lo pianze, el pianzo angora
Mi Blessi, chie privao la sun adesso
D'un chie cul canto la mio verso honora
Esso xe in celo, e vede'l sol appresso
E mi xe in terra d'ogni luse fora.
Ah' perchie no xe andà anga mi cun esso
Cando sarà concesso
Veder in chesta vita un'aldro lu,
Chie no la xe sta mai gnel sarà piu.

Let the Greek Poet and the Mantuan,
And the Florentine, and the whole world weep
Since that profound
Master of Music, Adrian, is dead.
He pulled down to earth, on mountain and plain,
That heavenly harmony that circles round.
In a manner pleasing to all he showed his depth
So that every ill heart turned well.

Among many who mourn him, I mourn him too;
I, Blessi, who am now deprived
Of one who honours my verse in song
He is in heaven, and sees the sun in his midst
And I am on earth away from any light.
Alas why did I not also go with him?
When will it be granted
To see in this life another equal to him--
Which no man ever was and none shall ever be?

XVIII
Fiesco

No fo di tal beltae
Donna la sia pur stà lizadra e bella
In chesta e in aldra etae,
Canto chesta Chiaretta cara e bella,
Chie venze le presende e le passae
E luse plio chiel sol e ogn'aldra stella
Adunga el so beltae
Me mazza'l cori e mel fa servo d'ella

There was never a lady of such beauty
Nor one so graceful and lovely
In this or any other age
As much as dear, lovely Chiaretta
Who surpasses all present and past
And shines brighter than the sun and every star
Therefore her beauty
Slays my heart and makes me her slave

XIX
Spontoni

Li modi varij
E d'achistar honori:
Chy per so inzegno e chy per la so man;
Chy'l cerca per la Musica favori;
Chi xe Pueta, e chy xe zaratan;
Chy'l cumbatte col buffali e cun tori;
Chy curre forte al palio e chi va pian;
E mi, sgiunfando'l piva e alzando'l foli,
Vongio lustrar, li fatti del Manoli.

There are various ways
Of acquiring honours:
One earns it by his ingenuity and one by his hand;
One seeks favours in music;
One is a poet, one is a charlatan;
One battles buffalo and bulls;
One runs hard at the palio, and one goes gently;
And I, inflating the the bagpipe and raising the bellows,
Wish to illustrate the deeds of Manoli.

Vegni un Cavalleri, e donne belle;
Tutti per vostra grantia ad'ascultarme,
Ch'al son la sentirèu del campanelle
Chesto Rumanzo del Amur e d'arme,
Tal chie porèu tangiar fogie nuvelle
Del verde lauraner e incuranarme.
Porà mo navegar mio pizzol barca
Insieme cun l'Ancroia, e cul Pedrarca.

Come here, Sir, and lovely ladies;
All by your grace listen to me,
For at the sound of the bells you will hear
This Romance of Love and arms,
So that you will be able to cut new leaves
From the green laurel and crown me.
Now even my small boat will be able to sail
With the likes of Ancroia and Petrarch.

XX
Gabrieli

Como viver mil posso
Chiara zendil signora
S'a un sgardo sol d'amori
M'havè ruba'l mio cori

How can I live,
Chiara, noble lady,
If at a single loving glance
You've robbed me of my heart?

XXI
Taglia

Donna curtese, e bella
Del mundo sol no chie lusende stella
Da puo chie mi la visto in to bel viso
Tutto'l mio ben vu xe mio parandiso
E s'ello in aldra fazza par chie sia
Xe la retratto de vu donna mia.

Gracious and beautiful lady,
Above the world there can be no brighter star
Than I have seen in your face
You are the whole of my goodness, my paradise.
And if I see it in another face, it's because
It's the image of you, my lady.

XXII
Bell'avere

Vu la vedèu madonna
Chie furia chie dolur chie fogo è chesto
Cosi foguso e presto
Ah'crudelazza, donna
Chie a darmel morte vu xe tando alligra
Co xe al magnar un Tigre
No la xe bun st'avando
Gne gloria vostra tando
Se morirò per vui, chie sel dirà?
Fede in mi tropp'e in vu mango pietà

Have you seen it, my lady?
What fury, what pain, what flame is this,
So fiery and ready?
Ah, cruelty, lady,
For in giving me death you have as much joy
As a tiger at his meal.
It isn't good to have it,
Nor very dignified.
If I die for you, what will they say?
I had too much faith and you too little pity.

XXIII
Giosefo da Lucca

Verzinia, chy cercasse tutto 'l nostro mundo
Cusi la vecchio, co la novo
Nol trovarave como mi nol trovo
Un viso bell'e hunest canto'l vostro
Gnel purave cundar lenga ne ingiostro
Vostra vertù, cal fà chiel cor renovo
E dendro 'l mio cor mi la sendo e provo
Scaldar la bora et agghiazzarme l'ostro.

Verzinia, whoever should search the whole world,
Both the old and the new,
Would not find you as I have.
A face as lovely and honest as yours
Nor could one measure with paper and ink
Your virtue, which makes the heart renew,
And inside my heart I feel
Warmed by the north wind and frozen by the south.

Volzeve cha Pueri in lauranai
Tutti in alzar sta Dea cun li sunetti
Canzun terzetti, Stantie e Madrigai
Chie mi se ben no sun de chei perfetti
Farò'l mio parte canto fese mai
Tutti'l Pueti vecchi e zuvenetti.

Here boys go about in the laurels,
All praising this goddess with sonnets,
Canzonas, tercets, stanzas, and madrigals,
So I, even as I’m not among these greats,
Will do my part as much as ever did
All the poets, old and young.

XXIV

Renaldi

O mio pinsar, del gran dulcezza stivo,
Chie mel purtasti del muntagna in cima,
Unde 'l mio donna mel destrunze e lima
Si forte la mia cor chie a pena vivo;
El mal mel strinze, e dal pianto una rivo
Fazzo, chie no son mi plio como 'l prima.
Mo sun chal mumia chie morta se stima,
Chie cusi 'l pias'amur per mi cattivo

Mil vivo sulo del speranza freda
Chie madonna mel vongia un di cavari
Dal morte, mo nol so se mi la creda;
Dunbito chal Phetunte del ruinari
A basso e chie in plio pezzi ognun mel veda
Co sel vede in moruna e in caviari

Oh my thoughts, full such of great sweetness,
Which bring me to the peak of the mountain
Where my lady destroys me and wears down
My heart so forcefully that I live in suffering;
Pain grips me and out of my weeping a river
Flows, such that I am no longer as I was.
Now I’m some mummy who loves death,
So pleasing is love that is bad for me.

I live only in cold hope
That my lady will one day save me
From death, but I don’t know if I believe it;
Doubt, like ruinous Phaëthon,
Brings me down and I go to pieces,
As one sees with a sturgeon and its caviar.

XXV

Schiavetti

Deh' no far chie si vodo
Staga'l to furno cara furnarella
Nol esser plio cun mi tando crudella
Vu me la vedi pur chie sun famào
E chie 'l mio pan si gasta
E za 'l cognusi chiel xe stralevào
E la sastu'angh'è basta
Cant'hora xe chie lhò domà la pasta
Mo per farme despetto al infornari
Ti no vol pur la palla in man piari

Ah, don’t let your oven
Go empty, dear baker,
Nor be so cruel with me;
You see me because I’m hungry
And because my bread is ready;
You see here how it’s fully risen.
And here you are too, and I’ve
Already kneaded my dough enough.
But now you spite me at the baking
And won’t even take the ball in your hand.

XXVI

Yvo de Vento

Bataglia strathiotesca

Cando la bun caval sente 'l trumbetta
Sunar trun trun trun al arme al arme
Alza la testa, scurlando 'l crin al urdene s'asetta
Per far botte, come fa 'l tempesta,
Sbruffando 'l naso el bucca, fa 'l zuetta,
De chà de là, saltando sta in aspetto de scundrari
E chi s'atacca, la fa sospiri.

Strathioto battle

When the good horse hears the trumpet
Sound trun trun trun to arms to arms
He lifts his head, tossing his mane, and gets set
To beat his hooves like a storm,
Snorting with nose and mouth, he plays the owl
Leaping here and there, awaiting the charge
And whoever is strapped to him, makes him sigh.

XXVII

Gabrieli

Dialogo

Cari cumbagni
Chie vol dir chie stèu cusì pensusi
E larghi da la zende cha su la strada
Unde xe ‘l vostro mende
Xe fursi persa?
O ‘l cel pur strolonghèu?
Chello tiflos pedi chiè l’ale aveu
Sul cor ha messo un frizza si punzende
Chie sia cavarla no vien ca presende
Chie xel casun nu morti ‘l vedereu
Da sto fraschetto anga nu punti semo
Vegnì ch’andem a piar un mendesina
Chie fa gariri tutti el namurai

Dialogue

Dear companions,
What is it mean that you’re so lost in thought
And far from the people here on that path
Where your mind wanders?
Have you perhaps lost it?
Or are you doing astrology?
Has that blind, winged child
Has put an arrow in your heart so piercing
That digging it out keeps you away, and
That’s is the reason you’re dead to us?
We’re also on edge with that birdbrain,
So let’s go take a medicine
That cures all lovers

Maccari a spime gligora e truvemo
Remedio al cor chie sta in fusina
De la Vulcan li sbiriti dannai
Andemo ch'oramai
Xe tembo da garir al so despetto
De chest'amor ribald' e maledetto

Come along now and let's find
A remedy for a heart under seige
From Vulcan's damned spirits.
Let's go, for it's long past
Time to cure ourselves and spite
This cursed, ribald love.

Dialogo

XXVIII
Merulo

Cor mio, senza cervello
Pu pais allegro tando
Al mio caro tinello,
Gligora tornerastu a mi cul piando
Mel piase 'l pianto plio chiel pan nuvello
Dunga magni el doluri?
Si, chie 'l pasti miuri
Nol da chesto amur fello
Chiè sarà a nol magnari sel pasti fa crepari
O tiran furioso
Chie mai 'l dastu reposo
E se tal volda ti la sporzi 'l meli
Tutto xe pien del feli

My dear brainless love,
Where are you going so cheerfully?
To my beloved pantry.
Soon you return to me with a cry;
I like to cry more than fresh bread
So do you eat pain?
Yes, for the best food
Comes from cruel love.
And what will we eat if the food is lethal?
Oh you mad tyrant,
You never leave me be.
And what about having an apple?
Everything is full of cruelty.

Dialogo

XXIX
Padovano

Benedetta el gregaria
Con colu chie la fe prima
Che fo Giove d'alta cima
Chal ghe de 'l genealogia
Benedetta el gregaria.

Blessed be Greekness
And he who first made it.
That was Jove on high,
Who gave his genealogy.
Blessed be Greekness.

Dialogo

XXX
Padovano

O vui Greghette belle innamorae,
Chie rosignol pareu su la candari:
Anga nu semo del vostre cundrae,
Bun greghi candarini e palicari.

Vegni con nui del pari
Chie dolcemende insieme candaremo.
Cusi nui far volemo
Da puo chie 'l zendilezza el curtesia vostra
Ne invidia a star in cumbagnia.

Cantemo donga de chal dio d'amore
Chie del mundo è signore.

Amur sia benedetto,
L'arco, e'l bolzun chie passa 'l nostro petto,
E del persone vili
Nel fa vegnir zendili.

O you beautiful Greek women in love,
Who resemble nightingales in your singing:
We too are from your country,
Good Greek singers and lads.

Come with us, who match you,
So that we may sing sweetly together
That's what we want to do
Since your nobility and courtesy
Make us desire to be in your company.

So let's sing of that god of love
who is lord of the world.

Blessed be love,
The bow, and the bolt that pierce our breast,
And make coarse persons
Become well-mannered.

Appendix C
Dedication and Selected Texts from Molino's 1568 *I dilettevoli madrigali…libro primo*

Dedication

ALLA S. MADDALENA
CASULANA

Io non havrei havuto ardire, Signora mia, di mandare questi miei componimenti di Musica in luce, dovendo ben ragionevolmente credere, che in questa mia grave età non potesse dal mio debile ingegno uscire cosa che buona fosse. Ma considerando, che dalla virtù vostra, atta ad accendere ogni fredda mente a disiderio di gloria, sieno stati in me sparsi li primi ammaestramenti di questa scientia, io mi son facilmente persuaso, che da cosi felice seme (quantunque il terreno arido sia) possa ancora esser nato qualche buon frutto. Onde non ho dubitato di darne al mondo questo poco sagio, si perche egli conosca in me la vostra singolar virtù, & si ancora per dare io à voi, col farvene dono, qualche testimonio dalla mia gratitudine. Ricevete adunque in questo picciol segno la gradezza dell'animo mio; & tenetemi vivo nella vostra buona gratia, che il signor Iddio vi doni felicità con forme à i meriti vostri.

Vostro.

Antonio Molino.

***

TO THE LADY MADDALENA
CASULANA

I would not have dared, my Lady, to bring these musical compositions of mine to light, having reasonably believed that at my advanced age nothing good could emerge from my weak imagination. But considering that your virtue, which acts to set every frigid mind alight with the desire for glory, sparked in me the first lessons in this science, I easily persuaded myself that from such a happy seed (however arid the soil) some good fruit might be born. Thus I didn't have any doubt in giving to the world this little specimen: so that it could come to know, through me, your singular virtue; and also so that I could express to you, in offering it to you, some evidence of my gratitude. Accept, then, in this small sign the gratitude of my soul, and keep me in your thoughts and good graces; may God grant you happiness commensurate to your merits.

Yours.

Antonio Molino.

Texts (*Greghesche* only)

III

Alla S. Maddalena
Donna zendila d'ogni virtù piena
D'hunestà, d'humeltà, del curtesia,
Plio chie Lugretia cun la Greca Argia
Chie per l'andra morir no ghel so pena
E col canto suave del Syrena
Vul seu si dulce in la psicchi armonia
Chie ciascun buta lagrime e voria
Sempre ascultarte ò cara Maddalena

Qual altra donna mai plio se la visto
Descazzar cul so gorza tremulande
Como fa vui dal cor pensier tristo
Nessuna duncha segui e sia custande
Sul bon costumi chie til farà achisto
Del ciel, Colma del doni e gratie tande.

Noble lady, brimming with every virtue:
Of honesty, humility, and courtesy have you
More than Lucretia and the Greek Argea,
So that for this man death has not its pain.
And with that charming Siren song
Such sweet harmony flows from your mind
That all who listen spill tears and wish
To listen to you always, dear Maddalena.

For no other lady has ever been known
To give chase with her trembling throat
And drive melancholy from the heart.
You are second to none; and may you ever keep up
These good works so that you are taken up
Into heaven, epitome of countless graces.

XVIII

Perche de la vertù nol manchi gnende
A mi Blessi, nassuo per imparari,
Hò vulesto del musica brancari;
Anche'l so contrapunto si eccelende
Del mio cervello fazzo, e del mio mende
Versi dulc'e suavi e palicari,
Thòra chie passo'l cronni settenari
Chie me fa tutto bianc'e despussende.

Varda chel gran philosofo d'Athene,
Chie volse anche imparar cando moriva:
Cosa chie sempr'al anthropos conviene.
Cusi mi'l vogio fare fin chie viva,
Per cavar l'otio chie me sta in le vene
Chal suol far d'ogni ben l'anima priva.

So that no virtue might be lacking
In me, Blessi—born to learn!—
I wanted to pick up some music;
Even to make such excellent counterpoint
With my brain, and with my mind
To make verses: sweet, pleasing, and youthful,
Such that I surpass those old settenari
That turn me white and make me swoon.

See that great philosopher of Athens,
Who even wanted to learn as he was dying:
Something that always does man good.
So would I like to do as long as I live,
To chase out the idleness in my veins
That usually deprives my spirit of any joy.

XXV

Alla S. Cinthia Brazzoduro
Al vostro nascimendo
Cinzia, la Dea d'amori
Vel dete del bellezza i primi honori.
E Diana con ella
Vel fese tant' honesta canto bella.
Palla vel fe sapiende,
E Mercurio lochende.
So gratie al fin puo vel donò ogni stella,
Tal chie de vui da l'Indo fin a Thile
Donna non è plio degna e plio zendile.

At your birth
Cynthia, the Goddess of love
Gave you the first honours in beauty.
And Diana with her
Made you as honest as you are lovely.
Pallas made you wise,
And Mercury eloquent.
In the end every star gave you its graces,
Such that from the Indus all the way to Thule
There is no lady more worthy or noble.

Appendix D
Dedication from Andrea Gabrieli's 1571 *Greghesche et Iustiniane…à tre voci*

Dedication

AL CLARISS: S: HIERONIMO ORIO
Proveditor Dignissimo Delle Gambarare.

Essendomi M. Antonio Molino, cognominato Burchiela, stato sempre, come padre, e signore, per le soe singolari virtù; & havendo io gia questi anni adietro composta la Musica sovra alcuni suoi Madrigali Grechi, posti alle stampe dal Gardano, sotto titolo di Manoli Blesi, ha paruto ancora al presente al detto M. Antonio di donarmi alcuni suoi libretti di Terzi, per me composti, & alcuni appresso per lui fatti alla Greca piacevoli. Egli adunque mi pregò, ch'io li facessi stampare, ma sopra tutto ch'io gli dedicasi alla S. V. Cl. Onde con tal commissione, & con quella fidanza, ch'aver suole il servitore col suo signore, à lei gli ho volute indrizzare, per mostrarle un segno dell'ardente affetione, e riverenza che porto à V. S. Cl. perche essa li goda insieme con gli amici suoi virtuosi. Però[*] ella le riceverà con lieto volto, se ben picciol dono all'alto merito suo; basciandole le mani insieme col suo M. Antonio, & pregandole ogni felicità.

Di V. Cl. S. servitore
Andrea Gabrieli.

***

TO THE MOST EMINENT HIERONIMO ORIO
Most worthy Superintendant of Gambarare

As M. Antonio Molino, called "Burchiella," has always been a gentleman and a father to me due to his singular virtue, and as I had already composed, several years ago, some music for a few of his Greek Madrigals, which were published by Gardano under the name Manoli Blessi, it occurred to the abovementioned M. Antonio recently to present me with some books of terzi which I had composed, some of which had been written by him in that pleasing Greek manner. And he thus asked me to have them printed, but above all that I dedicate them to your most eminent personage. Thus with such a task undertaken, and with that faith that a servant ought to have in his lord, he wished to address these works to you as a sign of his most ardent affection, and of the reverence that he has for your eminence, in order that you might enjoy them together with your virtuous friends. [I hope] you receive it with a happy face, even as it is a small gift for one of such high merit; kissing your hands with M. Antonio, and wishing you every happiness.

The servant of your eminence,
Andrea Gabrieli.

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[*] This is most likely a misprint for "spero" or "prego."

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RISM B/I 1571^{6}

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RISM B/I 1567^{17}

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Part II: Scores

Editorial Note

All transcriptions in **Part II** employ original note values. Original cleffing and mensuration signs are given in the incipit for all works save Ferrabosco's "Io mi son giovinetta," which was adapted from the modern edition in the composer's complete works rather than transcribed from the source.

In cases of musical errors or misprints, the location of editorial revision is marked by round brackets and the nature of the error in the source is described in boxed text. Textual inconsistencies, particularly spelling differences among the parts of the same work, have been left as they were in the original source.

For works missing a voice, a new voice has been composed and rendered in smaller type. Additional editorial text not present in the source has been rendered in italics.

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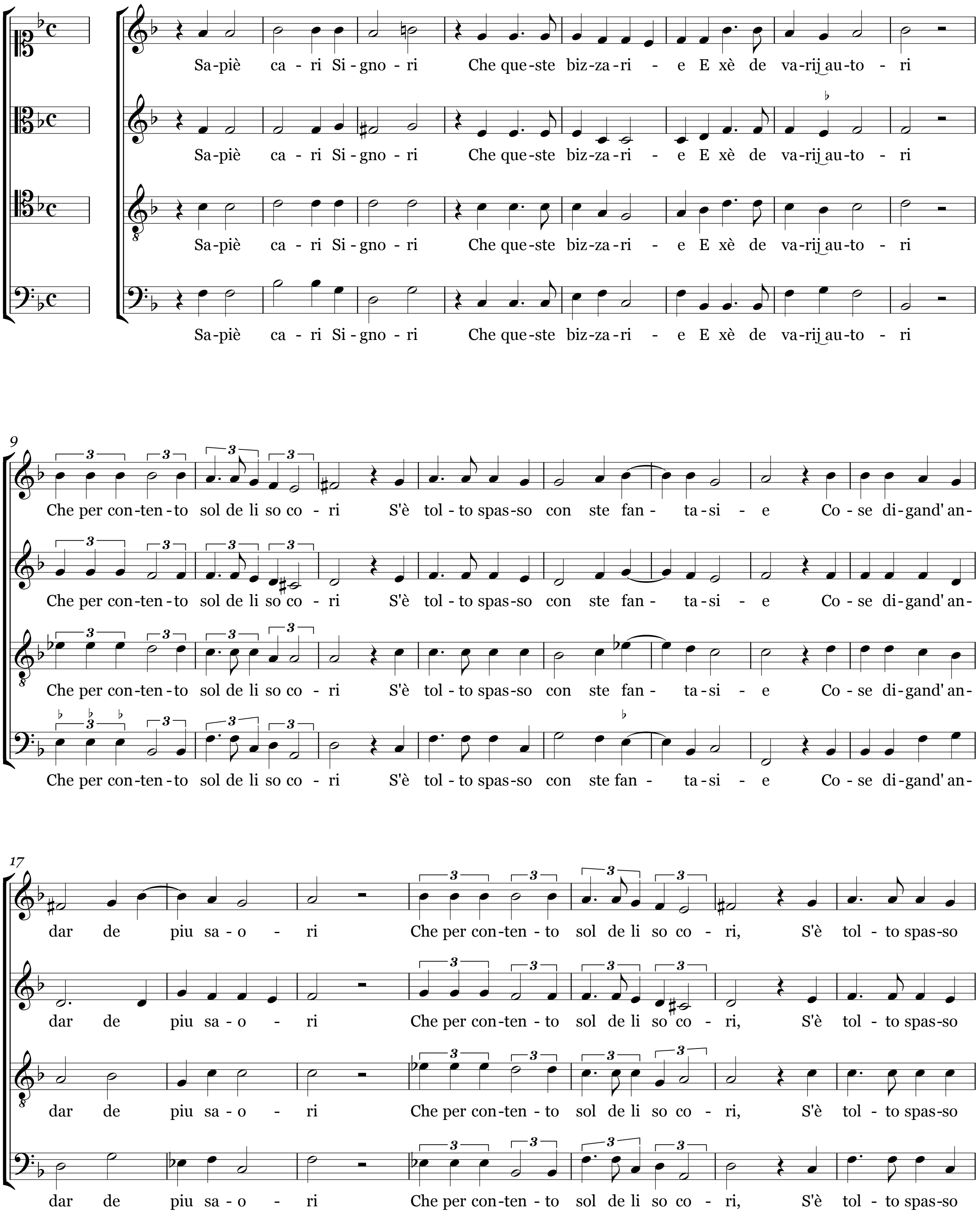
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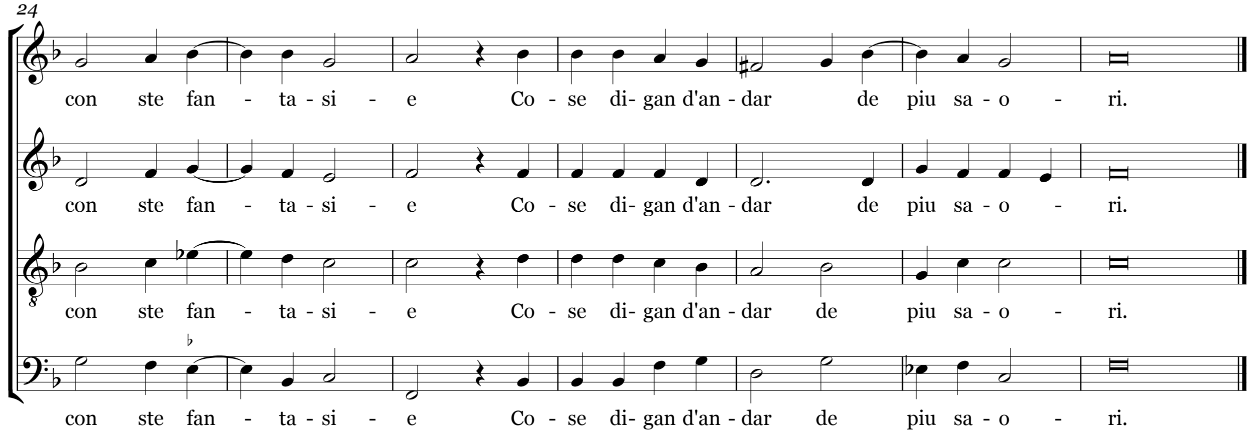
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Son vecchio innamorao

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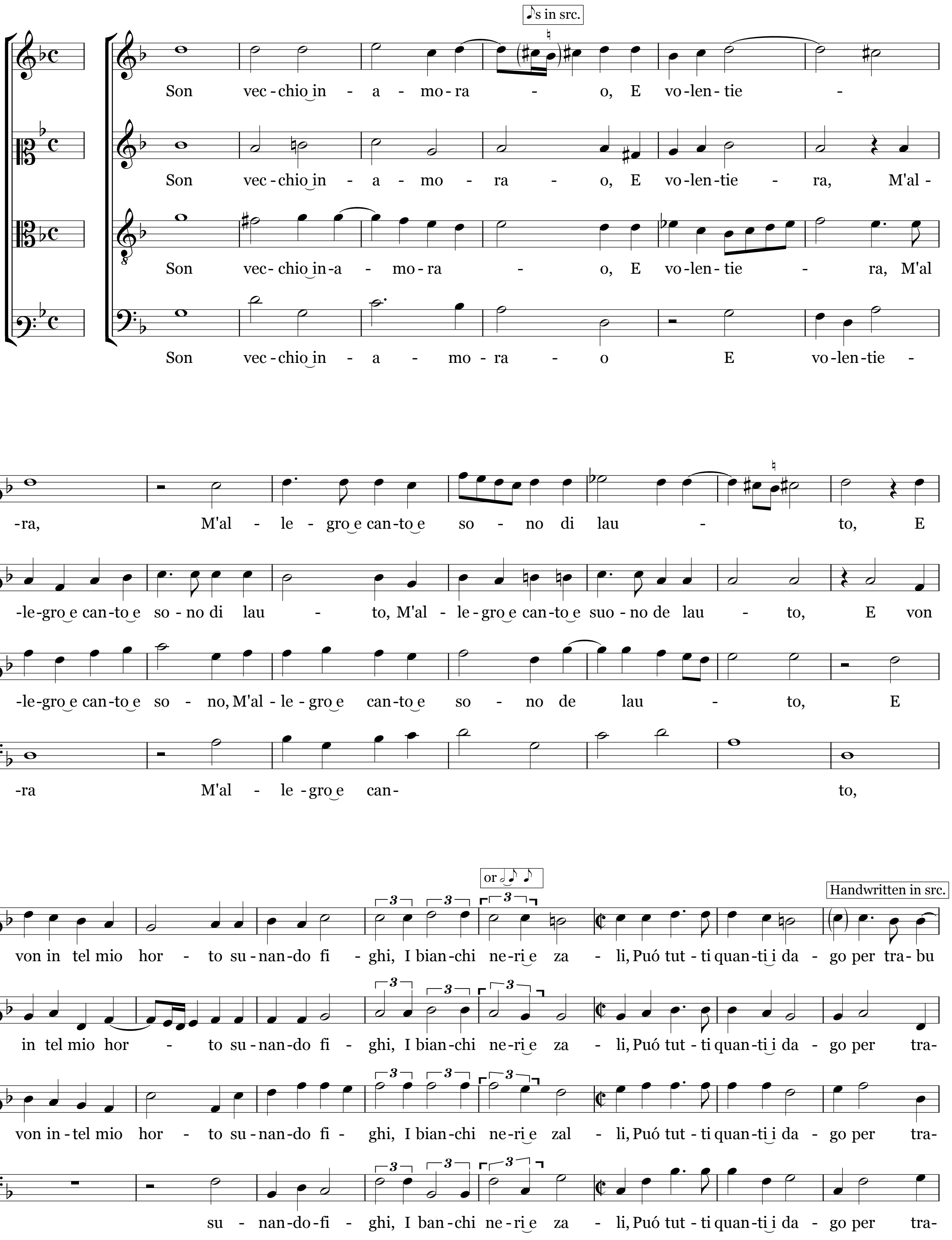
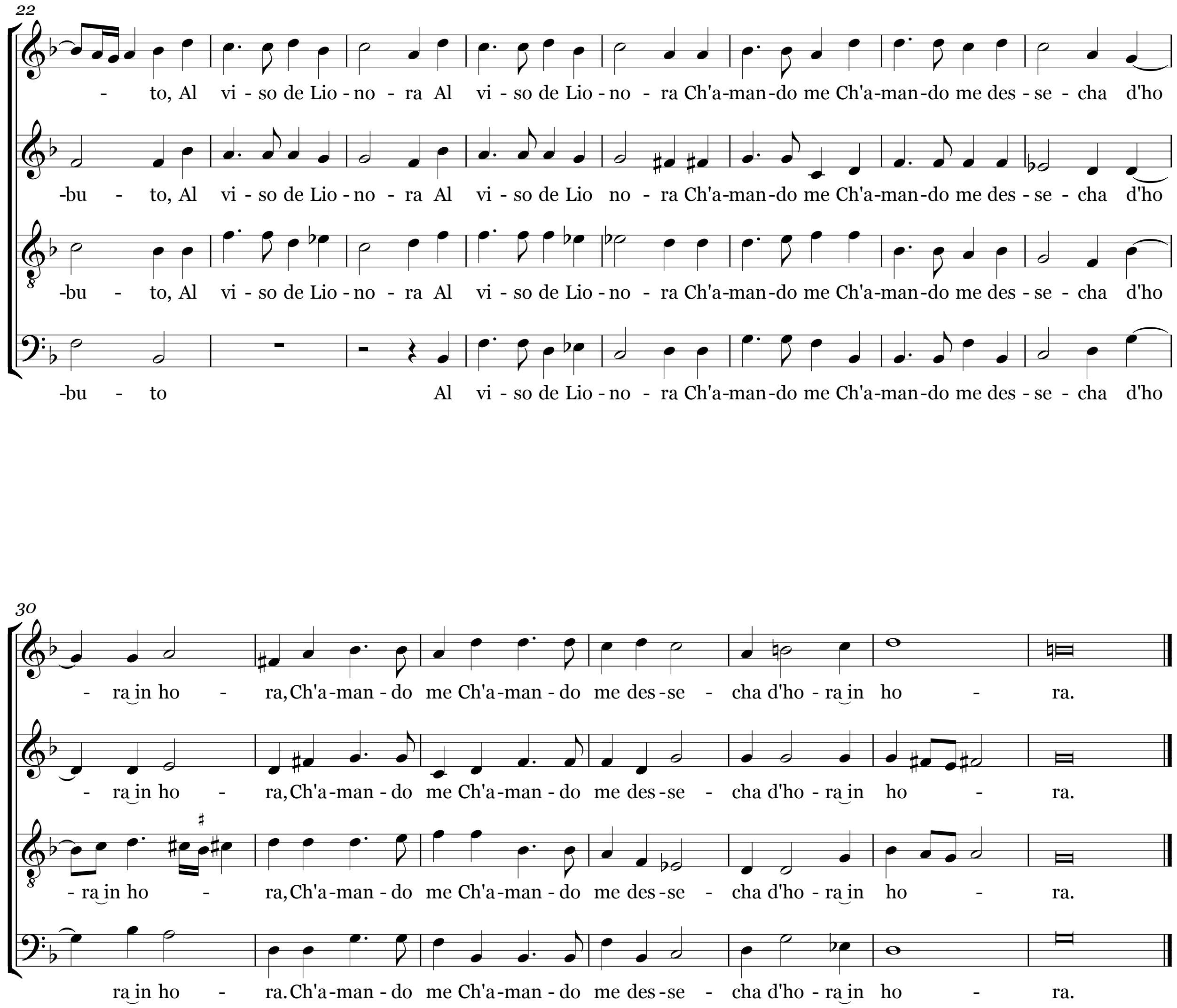
(Milan: Pozzo, 1567) RISM A/I A401, 2.

Lodovico Agostini

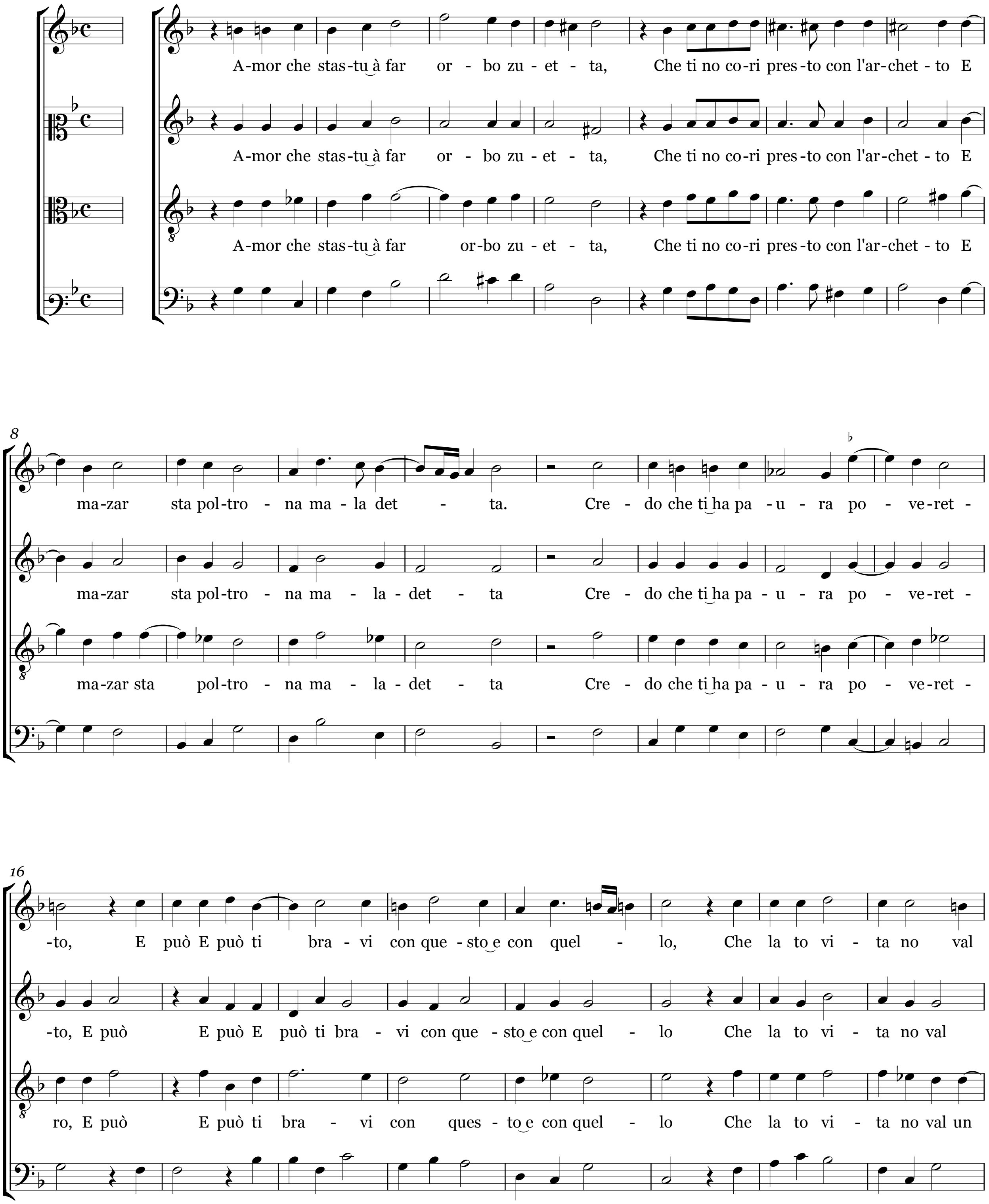

♪s in src.
Son vec-chio in - a - mo-ra - o, E vo-len-tie -
Son vec-chio in - a - mo - ra - o, E vo-len-tie - ra, M'al -
Son vec-chio in-a - mo-ra - o, E vo-len-tie - ra, M'al
Son vec-chio in - a - mo-ra - o E vo-len-tie -
7
-ra, M'al - le - gro e can-to e so - no di lau - to, E
-le-gro e can-to e so-no di lau - to, M'al - le-gro e can-to e suo-no de lau - to, E von
-le-gro e can-to e so - no, M'al - le - gro e can-to e so - no de lau - to, E
-ra M'al - le - gro e can- to,
14
or
Handwritten in src.
von in tel mio hor - to su-nan-do fi - ghi, I bian-chi ne-ri e za - li, Puó tut - ti quan-ti i da - go per tra-bu
in tel mio hor - to su-nan-do fi - ghi, I bian-chi ne-ri e za - li, Puó tut - ti quan-ti i da - go per tra-
von in-tel mio hor - to su-nan-do fi - ghi, I bian-chi ne-ri e zal - li, Puó tut - ti quan-ti i da - go per tra-
su - nan-do-fi - ghi, I ban-chi ne-ri e za - li, Puó tut - ti quan-ti i da - go per tra-

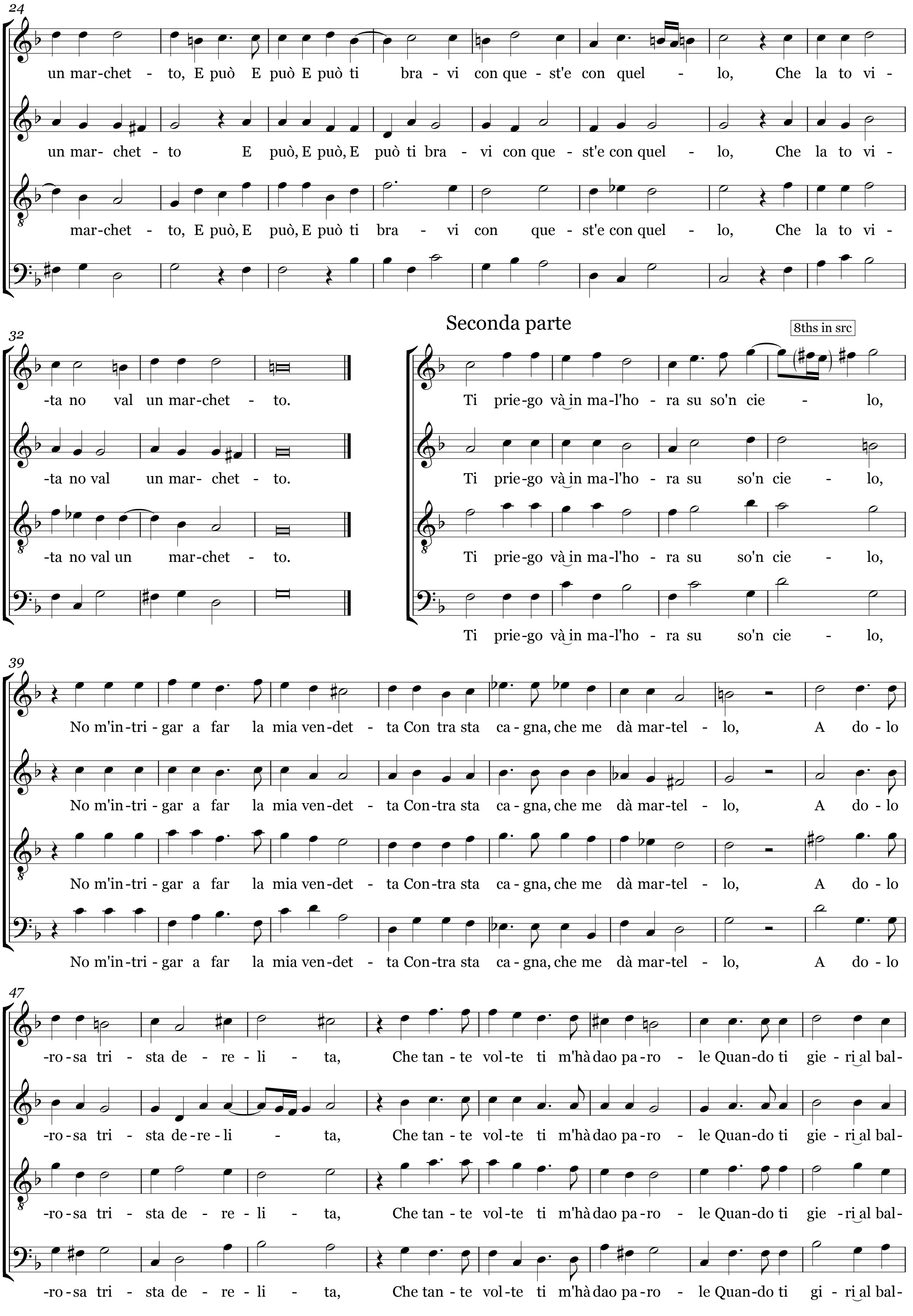

22
- to, Al vi - so de Lio - no - ra Al vi - so de Lio - no - ra Ch'a-man-do me Ch'a-man-do me des - se - cha d'ho
-bu - to, Al vi - so de Lio - no - ra Al vi - so de Lio no - ra Ch'a-man-do me Ch'a-man-do me des - se - cha d'ho
-bu - to, Al vi - so de Lio - no - ra Al vi - so de Lio - no - ra Ch'a-man-do me Ch'a-man-do me des - se - cha d'ho
-bu - to Al vi - so de Lio - no - ra Ch'a-man-do me Ch'a-man-do me des - se - cha d'ho
30
- ra in ho - ra, Ch'a-man - do me Ch'a-man - do me des-se - cha d'ho - ra in ho - ra.
- ra in ho - ra, Ch'a-man - do me Ch'a-man - do me des-se - cha d'ho - ra in ho - ra.
- ra in ho - ra, Ch'a-man - do me Ch'a-man - do me des-se - cha d'ho - ra in ho - ra.
ra in ho - ra. Ch'a-man - do me Ch'a-man - do me des-se - cha d'ho - ra in ho - ra.

Amor che stastu à far

Musica...sopra le rime bizzarre di M. Andrea Calmo
(Milan: Pozzo, 1567) RISM A/I A401, 3-6.

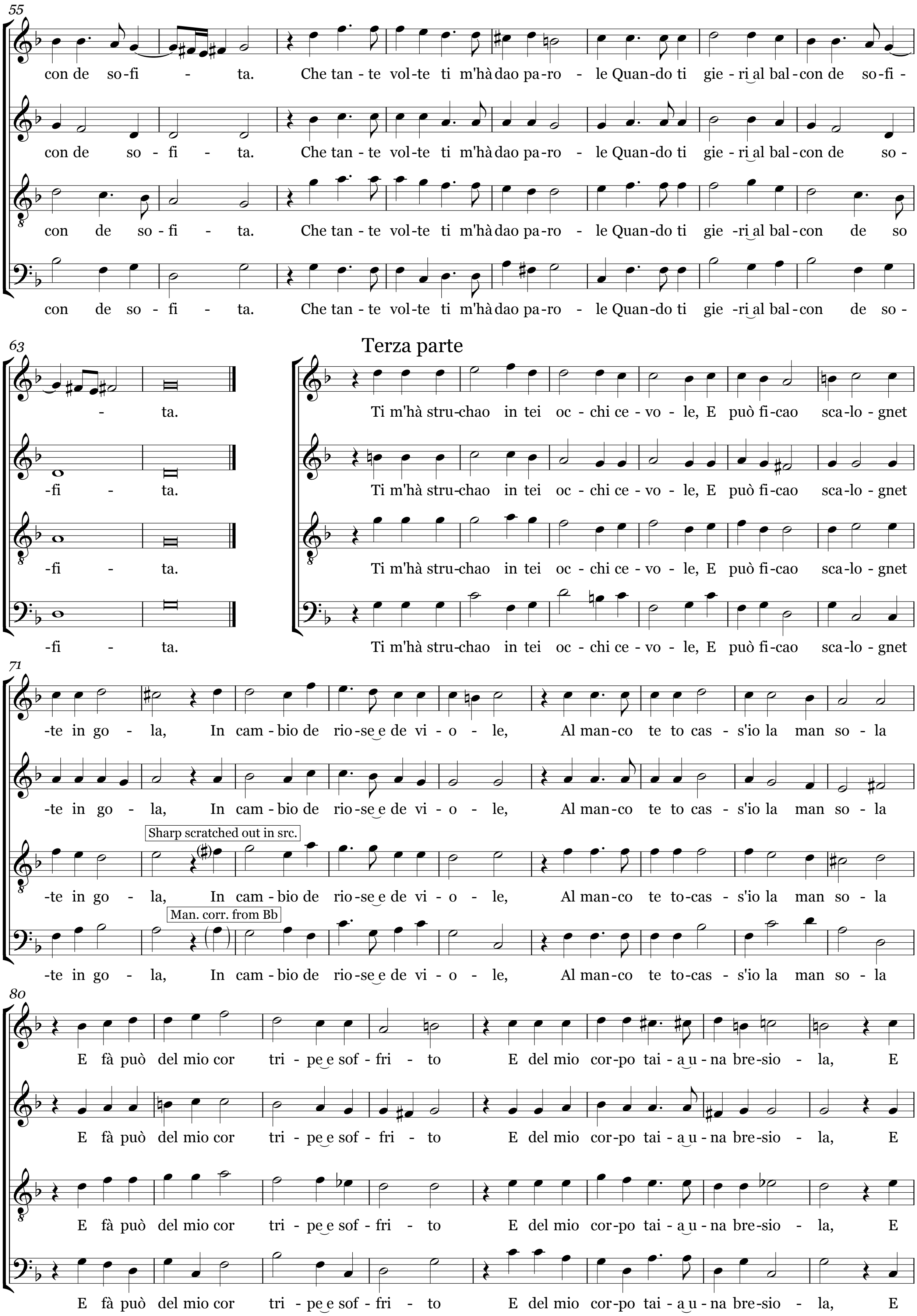
Lodovico Agostini

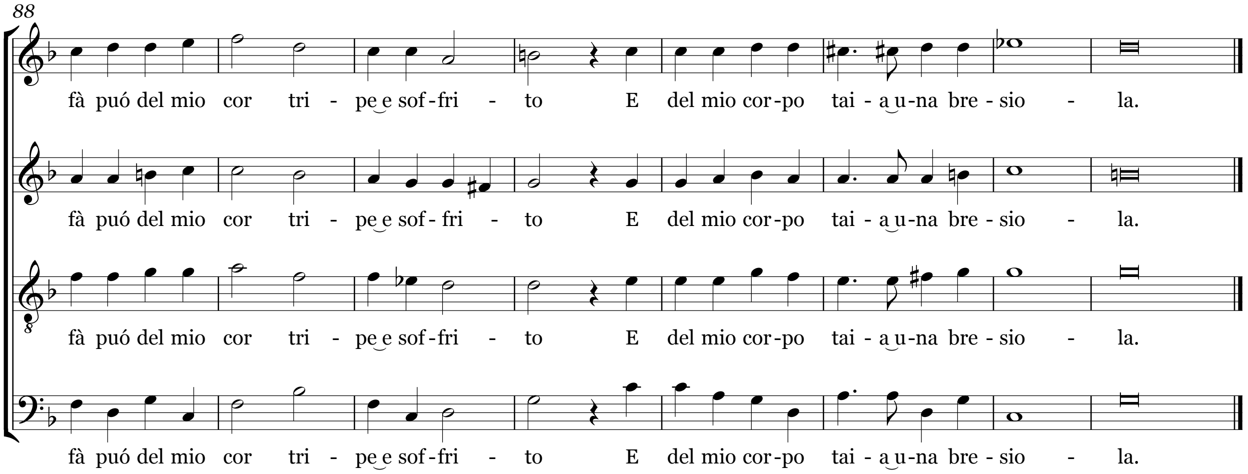

A-mor che stas-tu à far or - bo zu - et - ta, Che ti no co-ri pres-to con l'ar-chet - to E
A-mor che stas-tu à far or - bo zu - et - ta, Che ti no co-ri pres-to con l'ar-chet - to E
A-mor che stas-tu à far or-bo zu - et - ta, Che ti no co-ri pres-to con l'ar-chet - to E
8
ma-zar sta pol-tro - na ma - la det - ta. Cre - do che ti ha pa - u - ra po - ve-ret -
ma-zar sta pol-tro - na ma - la - det - ta Cre - do che ti ha pa - u - ra po - ve-ret -
ma-zar sta pol-tro - na ma - la - det - ta Cre - do che ti ha pa - u - ra po - ve-ret -
16
-to, E può E può ti bra - vi con que - sto e con quel - lo, Che la to vi - ta no val
-to, E può E può E può ti bra - vi con que - sto e con quel - lo Che la to vi - ta no val
ro, E può E può ti bra - vi con ques - to e con quel - lo Che la to vi - ta no val un



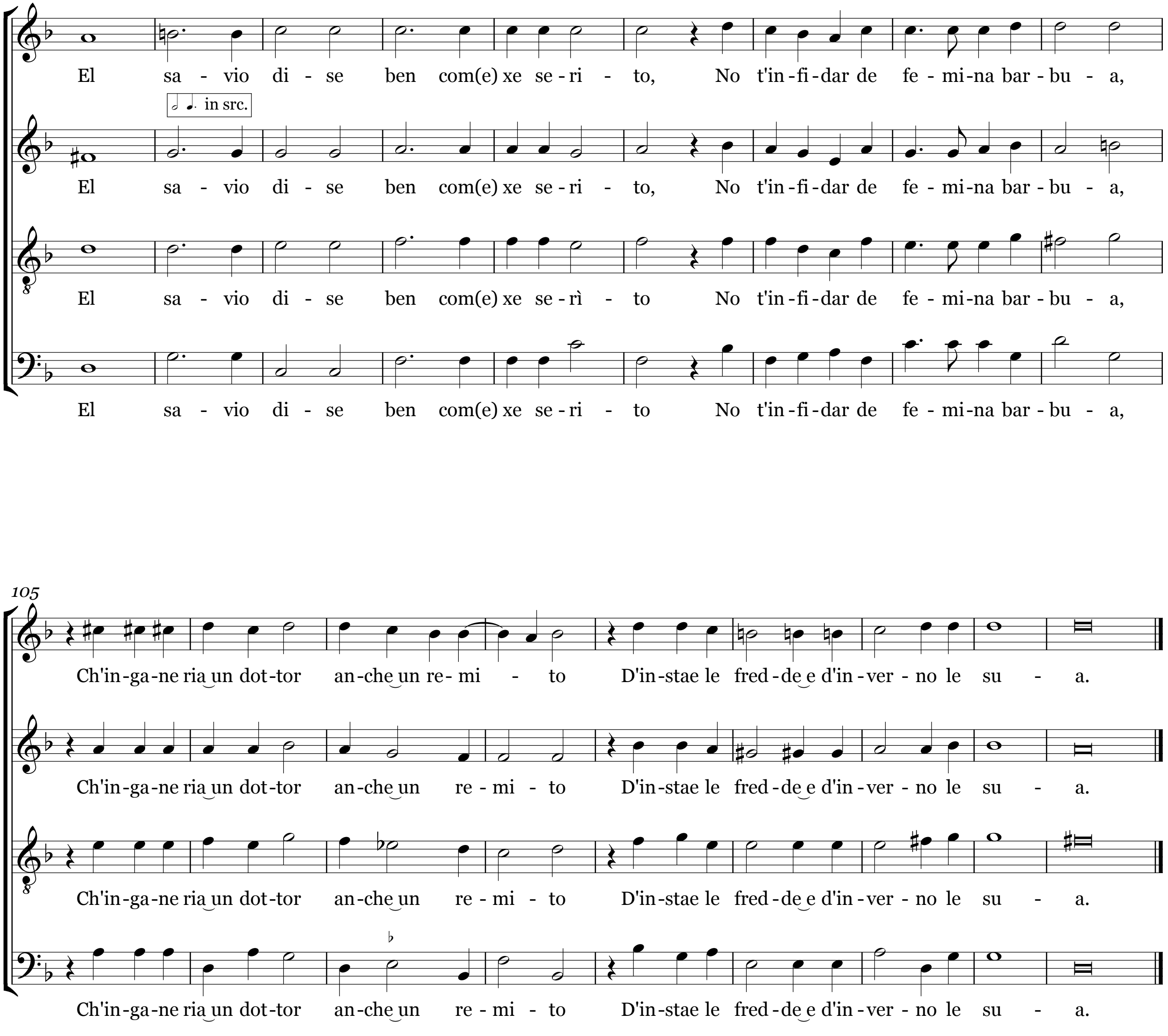
Seconda parte

24
un mar-chet - to, E può E può E può ti bra - vi con que - st'e con quel - lo, Che la to vi -
un mar- chet - to E può, E può, E può ti bra - vi con que - st'e con quel - lo, Che la to vi -
mar-chet - to, E può, E può, E può ti bra - vi con que - st'e con quel - lo, Che la to vi -
32
-ta no val un mar-chet - to.
-ta no val un mar- chet - to.
-ta no val un mar-chet - to.
8ths in src
Ti prie-go và in ma-l'ho - ra su so'n cie - lo,
Ti prie-go và in ma-l'ho - ra su so'n cie - lo,
Ti prie-go và in ma-l'ho - ra su so'n cie - lo,
Ti prie-go và in ma-l'ho - ra su so'n cie - lo,
39
No m'in-tri - gar a far la mia ven-det - ta Con tra sta ca - gna, che me dà mar-tel - lo, A do - lo
No m'in-tri - gar a far la mia ven-det - ta Con-tra sta ca - gna, che me dà mar-tel - lo, A do - lo
No m'in-tri - gar a far la mia ven-det - ta Con-tra sta ca - gna, che me dà mar-tel - lo, A do - lo
No m'in-tri - gar a far la mia ven-det - ta Con-tra sta ca - gna, che me dà mar-tel - lo, A do - lo
47
-ro - sa tri - sta de - re - li - ta, Che tan - te vol-te ti m'hà dao pa-ro - le Quan-do ti gie - ri al bal-
-ro - sa tri - sta de-re - li - ta, Che tan - te vol-te ti m'hà dao pa-ro - le Quan-do ti gie - ri al bal-
-ro - sa tri - sta de - re - li - ta, Che tan - te vol-te ti m'hà dao pa-ro - le Quan-do ti gie - ri al bal-
-ro - sa tri - sta de - re - li - ta, Che tan - te vol-te ti m'hà dao pa-ro - le Quan-do ti gi - ri al bal-


55
con de so-fi - ta. Che tan-te vol-te ti m'hà dao pa-ro - le Quan-do ti gie-ri al bal-con de so-fi -
con de so - fi - ta. Che tan-te vol-te ti m'hà dao pa-ro - le Quan-do ti gie-ri al bal-con de so -
con de so - fi - ta. Che tan-te vol-te ti m'hà dao pa-ro - le Quan-do ti gie -ri al bal-con de so
con de so - fi - ta. Che tan-te vol-te ti m'hà dao pa-ro - le Quan-do ti gie -ri al bal-con de so -
63
- ta.
-fi - ta.
-fi - ta.
-fi - ta.
Terza parte
Ti m'hà stru-chao in tei oc - chi ce - vo - le, E può fi-cao sca-lo - gnet
Ti m'hà stru-chao in tei oc - chi ce - vo - le, E può fi-cao sca-lo - gnet
Ti m'hà stru-chao in tei oc - chi ce - vo - le, E può fi-cao sca-lo - gnet
Ti m'hà stru-chao in tei oc - chi ce - vo - le, E può fi-cao sca-lo - gnet
71
-te in go - la, In cam - bio de rio-se e de vi - o - le, Al man-co te to cas - s'io la man so - la
-te in go - la, In cam - bio de rio-se e de vi - o - le, Al man-co te to cas - s'io la man so - la
Sharp scratched out in src.
-te in go - la, In cam - bio de rio-se e de vi - o - le, Al man-co te to-cas - s'io la man so - la
Man. corr. from Bb
-te in go - la, In cam - bio de rio-se e de vi - o - le, Al man-co te to-cas - s'io la man so - la
80
E fà può del mio cor tri - pe e sof - fri - to E del mio cor-po tai - a u - na bre-sio - la, E
E fà può del mio cor tri - pe e sof - fri - to E del mio cor-po tai - a u - na bre-sio - la, E
E fà può del mio cor tri - pe e sof - fri - to E del mio cor-po tai - a u - na bre-sio - la, E
E fà può del mio cor tri - pe e sof - fri - to E del mio cor-po tai - a u - na bre-sio - la, E


88
fà puó del mio cor tri - pe‿e sof - fri - to E del mio cor - po tai - a‿u - na bre - sio - la.
fà puó del mio cor tri - pe‿e sof - fri - to E del mio cor - po tai - a‿u - na bre - sio - la.
fà puó del mio cor tri - pe‿e sof - fri - to E del mio cor - po tai - a‿u - na bre - sio - la.
fà puó del mio cor tri - pe‿e sof - fri - to E del mio cor - po tai - a‿u - na bre - sio - la.

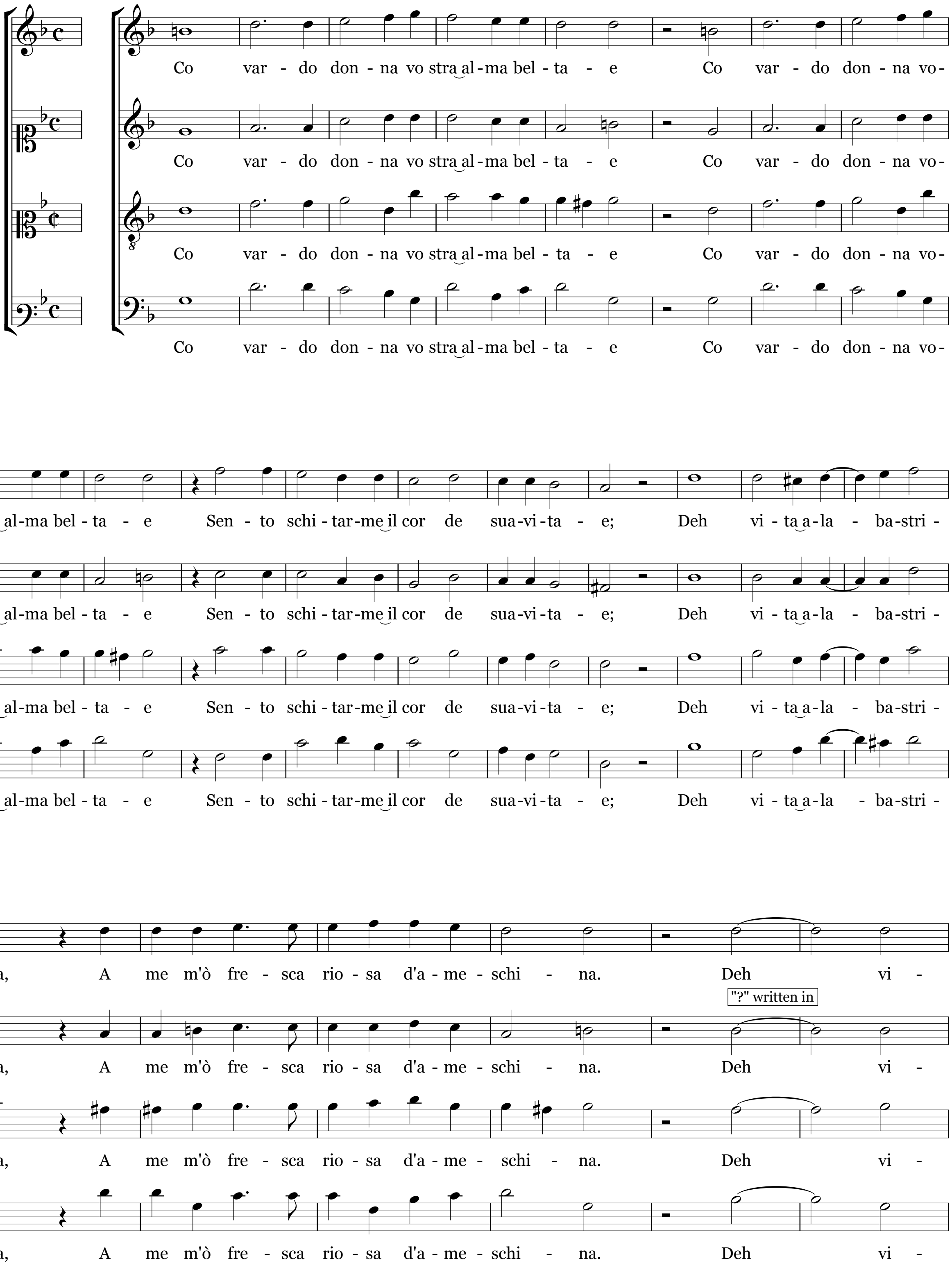
Quarta parte

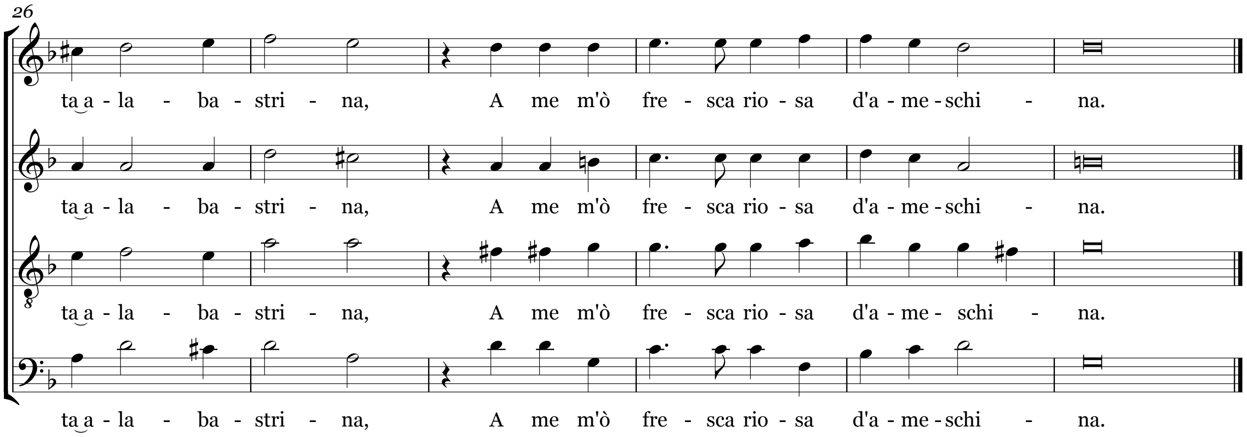

96
El sa - vio di - se ben com(e) xe se - ri - to, No t'in - fi - dar de fe - mi - na bar - bu - a,
in src.
El sa - vio di - se ben com(e) xe se - ri - to, No t'in - fi - dar de fe - mi - na bar - bu - a,
El sa - vio di - se ben com(e) xe se - rì - to No t'in - fi - dar de fe - mi - na bar - bu - a,
El sa - vio di - se ben com(e) xe se - ri - to No t'in - fi - dar de fe - mi - na bar - bu - a,
105
Ch'in - ga - ne ria‿un dot - tor an - che‿un re - mi - to D'in - stae le fred - de‿e d'in - ver - no le su - a.
Ch'in - ga - ne ria‿un dot - tor an - che‿un re - mi - to D'in - stae le fred - de‿e d'in - ver - no le su - a.
Ch'in - ga - ne ria‿un dot - tor an - che‿un re - mi - to D'in - stae le fred - de‿e d'in - ver - no le su - a.
Ch'in - ga - ne ria‿un dot - tor an - che‿un re - mi - to D'in - stae le fred - de‿e d'in - ver - no le su - a.

Co vardo, donna

Musica...sopra le rime bizzarre di M. Andrea Calmo
(Milan: Pozzo, 1567) RISM A/I A401, 7.

Lodovico Agostini

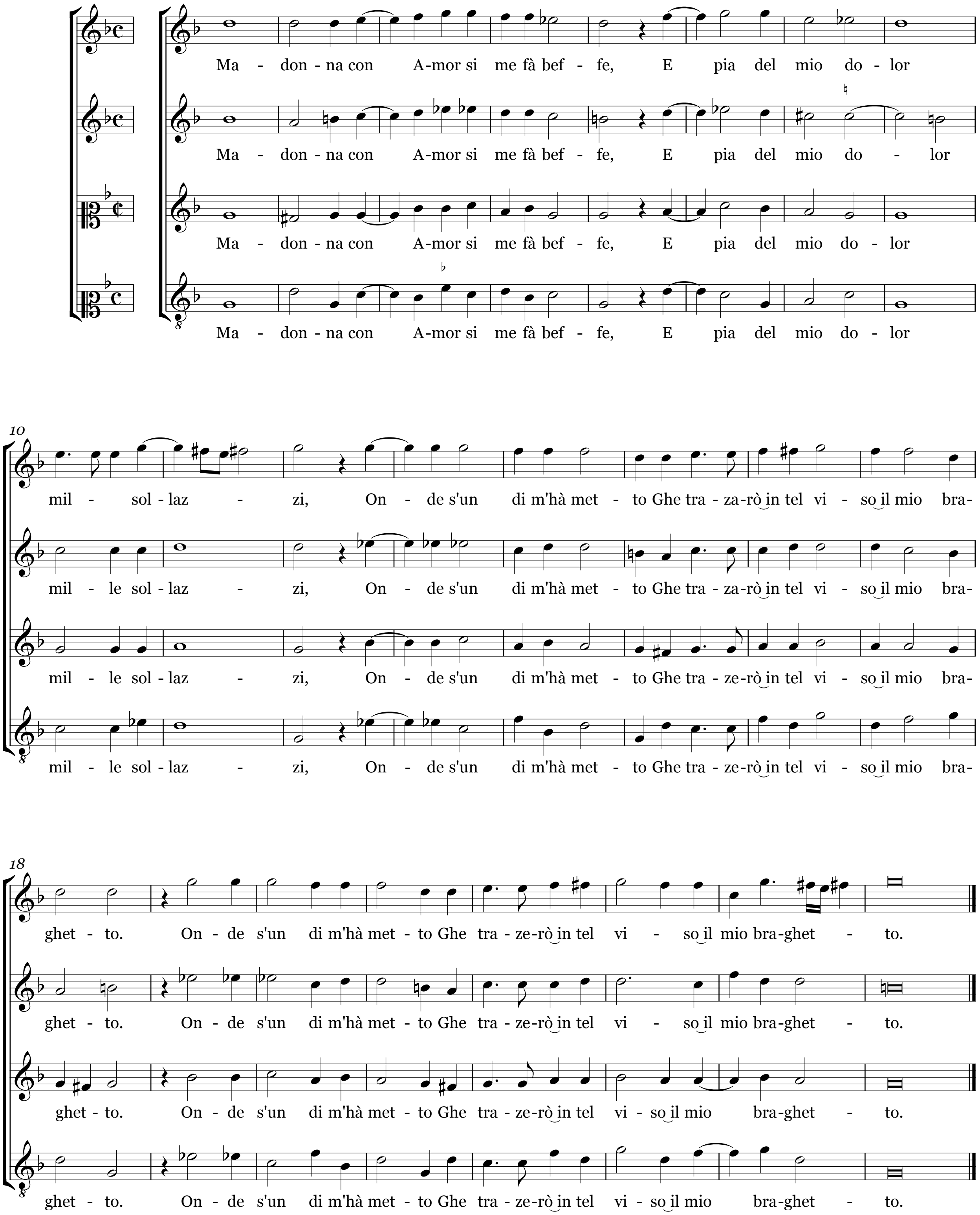

Co var - do don - na vo stra al - ma bel - ta - e Co var - do don - na vo-
10
stra al - ma bel - ta - e Sen - to schi - tar - me il cor de sua - vi - ta - e; Deh vi - ta a - la - ba - stri -
20
na, A me m'ò fre - sca rio - sa d'a - me - schi - na. Deh vi -
"?" written in


26
ta a - la - ba - stri - na, A me m'ò fre - sca rio - sa d'a - me - schi - na.
ta a - la - ba - stri - na, A me m'ò fre - sca rio - sa d'a - me - schi - na.
ta a - la - ba - stri - na, A me m'ò fre - sca rio - sa d'a - me - schi - na.
ta a - la - ba - stri - na, A me m'ò fre - sca rio - sa d'a - me - schi - na.

Madonna con Amor

Musica...sopra le rime bizzarre di M. Andrea Calmo
(Milan: Pozzo, 1567) RISM A/I A401, 8.

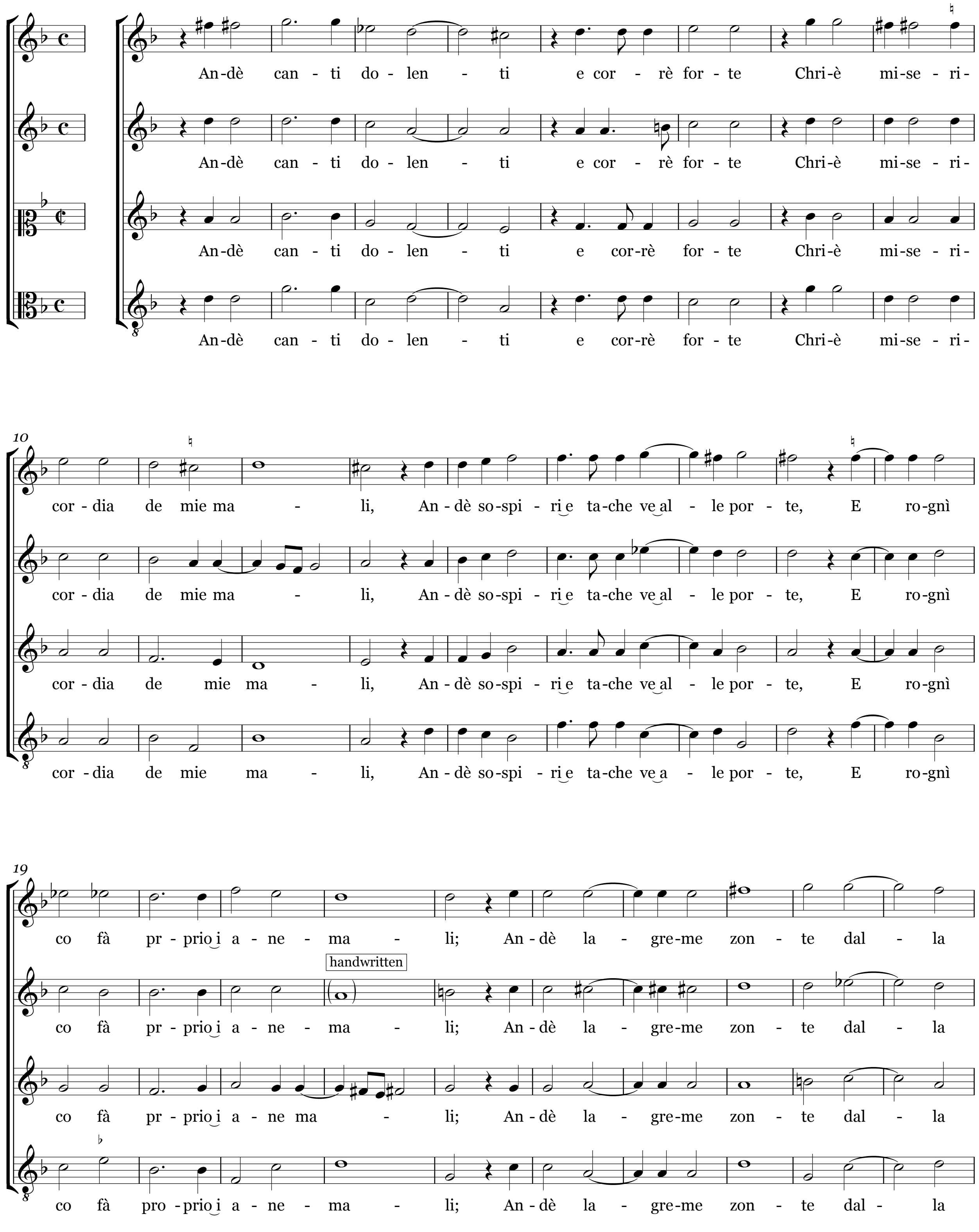
Lodovico Agostini

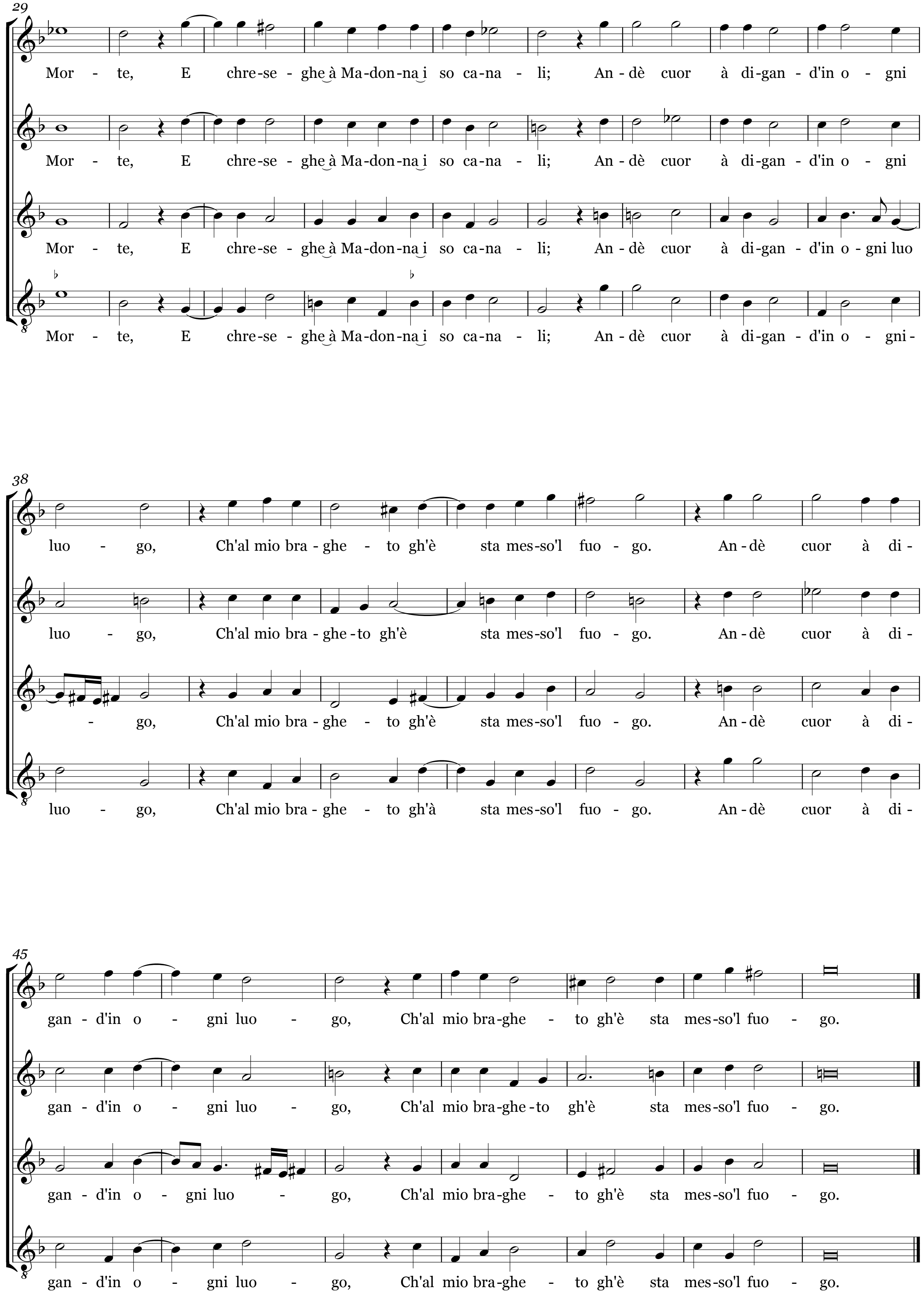

Ma - don - na con A-mor si me fà bef - fe, E pia del mio do - lor
Ma - don - na con A-mor si me fà bef - fe, E pia del mio do - lor
Ma - don - na con A-mor si me fà bef - fe, E pia del mio do - lor
Ma - don - na con A-mor si me fà bef - fe, E pia del mio do - lor
10
mil - sol - laz - zi, On - de s'un di m'hà met - to Ghe tra - za-rò in tel vi - so il mio bra-
mil - le sol - laz - zi, On - de s'un di m'hà met - to Ghe tra - za-rò in tel vi - so il mio bra-
mil - le sol - laz - zi, On - de s'un di m'hà met - to Ghe tra - ze-rò in tel vi - so il mio bra-
mil - le sol - laz - zi, On - de s'un di m'hà met - to Ghe tra - ze-rò in tel vi - so il mio bra-
18
ghet - to. On - de s'un di m'hà met - to Ghe tra - ze-rò in tel vi - so il mio bra-ghet - to.
ghet - to. On - de s'un di m'hà met - to Ghe tra - ze-rò in tel vi - so il mio bra-ghet - to.
ghet - to. On - de s'un di m'hà met - to Ghe tra - ze-rò in tel vi - so il mio bra-ghet - to.
ghet - to. On - de s'un di m'hà met - to Ghe tra - ze-rò in tel vi - so il mio bra-ghet - to.

Andè canti dolenti

Musica...sopra le rime bizzarre di M. Andrea Calmo
(Milan: Pozzo, 1567) RISM A/I A401, 9-10.

Lodovico Agostini

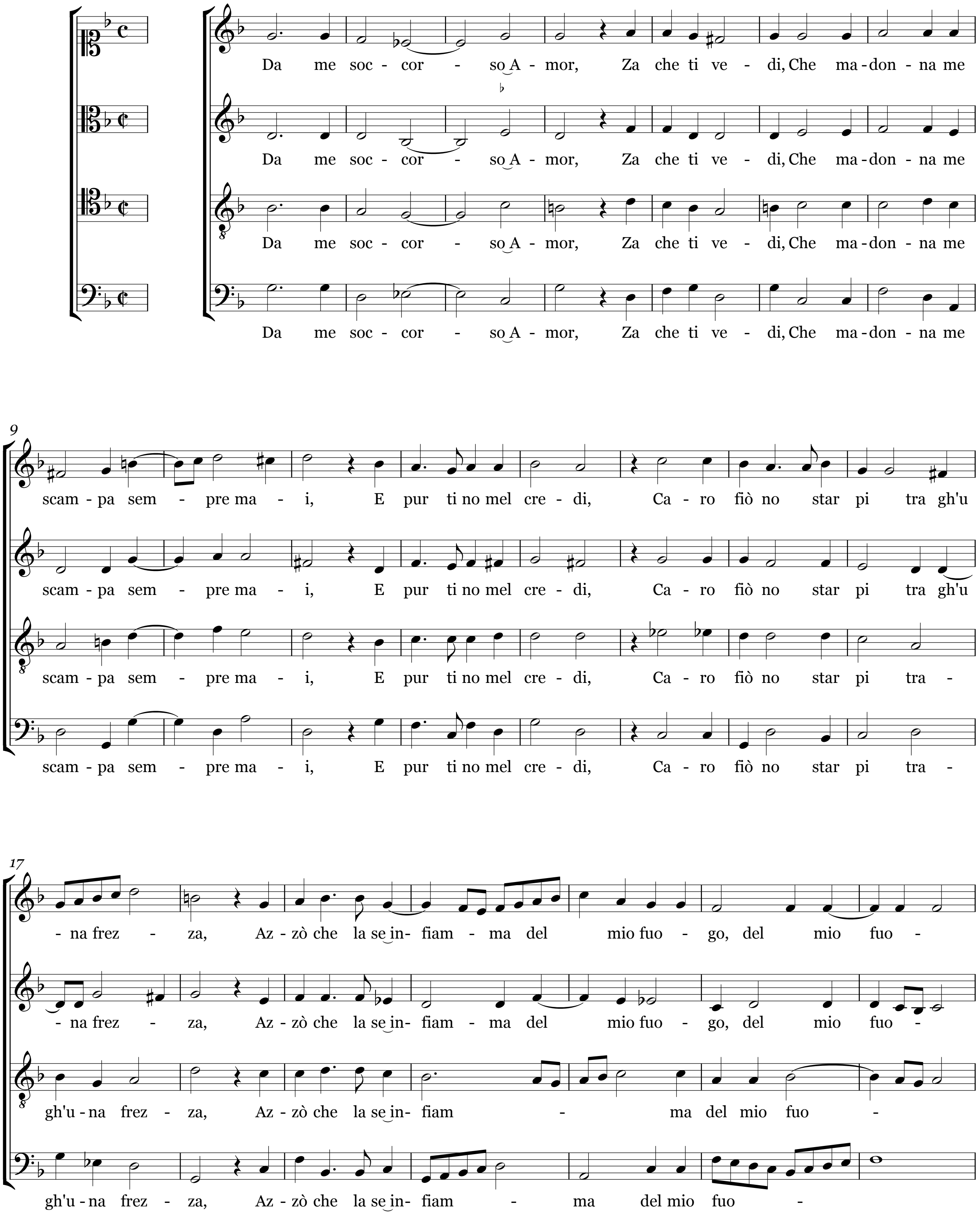

An-dè can - ti do - len - ti e cor - rè for - te Chri-è mi-se - ri-
An-dè can - ti do - len - ti e cor - rè for - te Chri-è mi-se - ri-
An-dè can - ti do - len - ti e cor-rè for - te Chri-è mi-se - ri-
An-dè can - ti do - len - ti e cor-rè for - te Chri-è mi-se - ri-
10
cor - dia de mie ma - li, An - dè so-spi - ri e ta-che ve al - le por - te, E ro-gnì
cor - dia de mie ma - li, An - dè so-spi - ri e ta-che ve al - le por - te, E ro-gnì
cor - dia de mie ma - li, An - dè so-spi - ri e ta-che ve al - le por - te, E ro-gnì
cor - dia de mie ma - li, An - dè so-spi - ri e ta-che ve a - le por - te, E ro-gnì
19
co fà pr - prio i a - ne - ma - li; An - dè la - gre-me zon - te dal - la
handwritten
co fà pr - prio i a - ne - ma - li; An - dè la - gre-me zon - te dal - la
co fà pr - prio i a - ne ma - li; An - dè la - gre-me zon - te dal - la
co fà pro - prio i a - ne - ma - li; An - dè la - gre-me zon - te dal - la

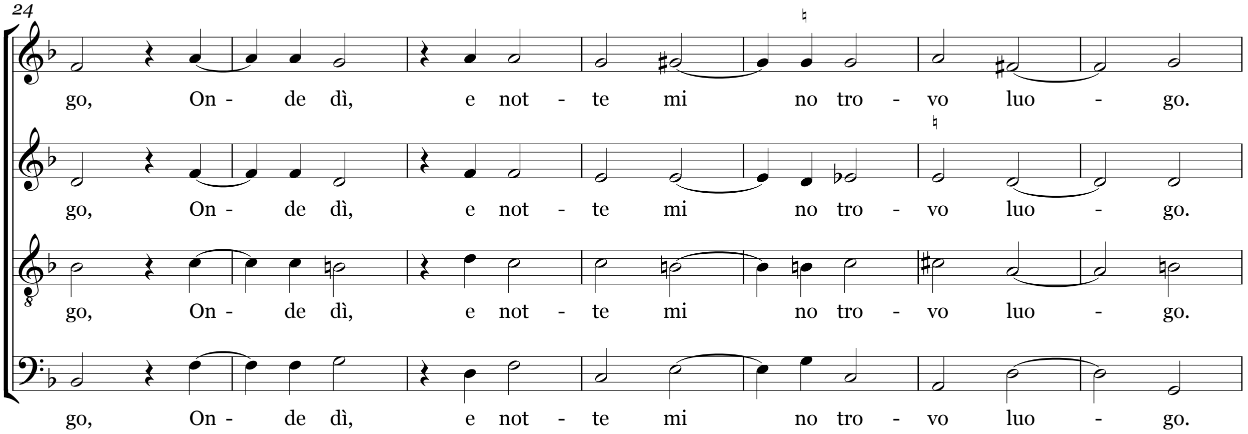

29
Mor - te, E chre-se - ghe à Ma-don-na i so ca-na - li; An - dè cuor à di-gan - d'in o - gni
Mor - te, E chre-se - ghe à Ma-don-na i so ca-na - li; An - dè cuor à di-gan - d'in o - gni
Mor - te, E chre-se - ghe à Ma-don-na i so ca-na - li; An - dè cuor à di-gan - d'in o - gni luo
Mor - te, E chre-se - ghe à Ma-don-na i so ca-na - li; An - dè cuor à di-gan - d'in o - gni-
38
luo - go, Ch'al mio bra - ghe - to gh'è sta mes-so'l fuo - go. An - dè cuor à di-
luo - go, Ch'al mio bra - ghe - to gh'è sta mes-so'l fuo - go. An - dè cuor à di-
- go, Ch'al mio bra - ghe - to gh'è sta mes-so'l fuo - go. An - dè cuor à di-
luo - go, Ch'al mio bra - ghe - to gh'à sta mes-so'l fuo - go. An - dè cuor à di-
45
gan - d'in o - gni luo - go, Ch'al mio bra-ghe - to gh'è sta mes-so'l fuo - go.
gan - d'in o - gni luo - go, Ch'al mio bra-ghe - to gh'è sta mes-so'l fuo - go.
gan - d'in o - gni luo - go, Ch'al mio bra-ghe - to gh'è sta mes-so'l fuo - go.
gan - d'in o - gni luo - go, Ch'al mio bra-ghe - to gh'è sta mes-so'l fuo - go.

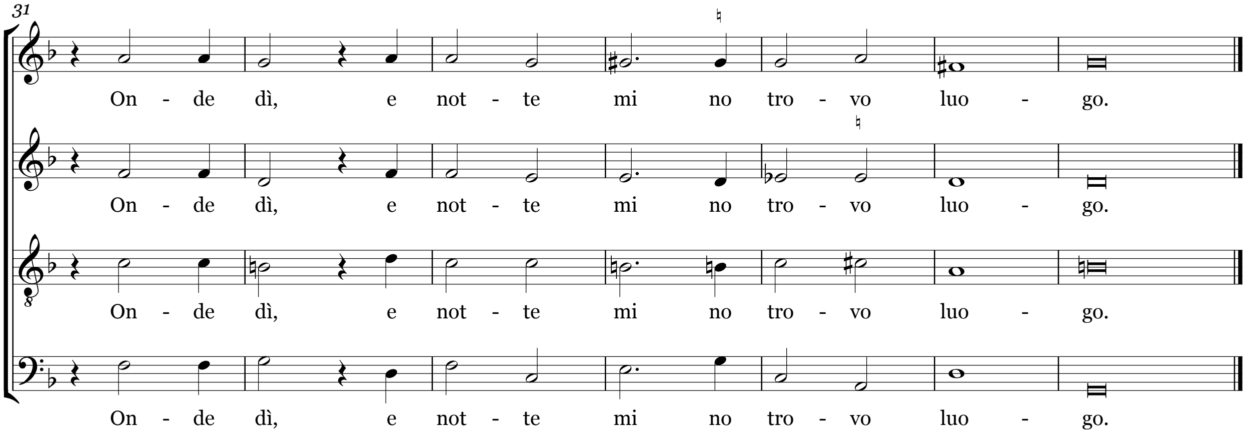
Da me soccorso, Amor

Musica...sopra le rime bizzarre di M. Andrea Calmo
(Milan: Pozzo, 1567) RISM A/I A401, 11.

Lodovico Agostini


Da me soc - cor - so A - mor, Za che ti ve - di, Che ma - don - na me
Da me soc - cor - so A - mor, Za che ti ve - di, Che ma - don - na me
Da me soc - cor - so A - mor, Za che ti ve - di, Che ma - don - na me
Da me soc - cor - so A - mor, Za che ti ve - di, Che ma - don - na me
9
scam - pa sem - pre ma - i, E pur ti no mel cre - di, Ca - ro fiò no star pi tra gh'u
scam - pa sem - pre ma - i, E pur ti no mel cre - di, Ca - ro fiò no star pi tra gh'u
scam - pa sem - pre ma - i, E pur ti no mel cre - di, Ca - ro fiò no star pi tra -
scam - pa sem - pre ma - i, E pur ti no mel cre - di, Ca - ro fiò no star pi tra -
17
- na frez - za, Az - zò che la se in- fiam - ma del mio fuo - go, del mio fuo -
- na frez - za, Az - zò che la se in- fiam - ma del mio fuo - go, del mio fuo -
gh'u - na frez - za, Az - zò che la se in- fiam - ma del mio fuo -
gh'u - na frez - za, Az - zò che la se in- fiam - ma del mio fuo -

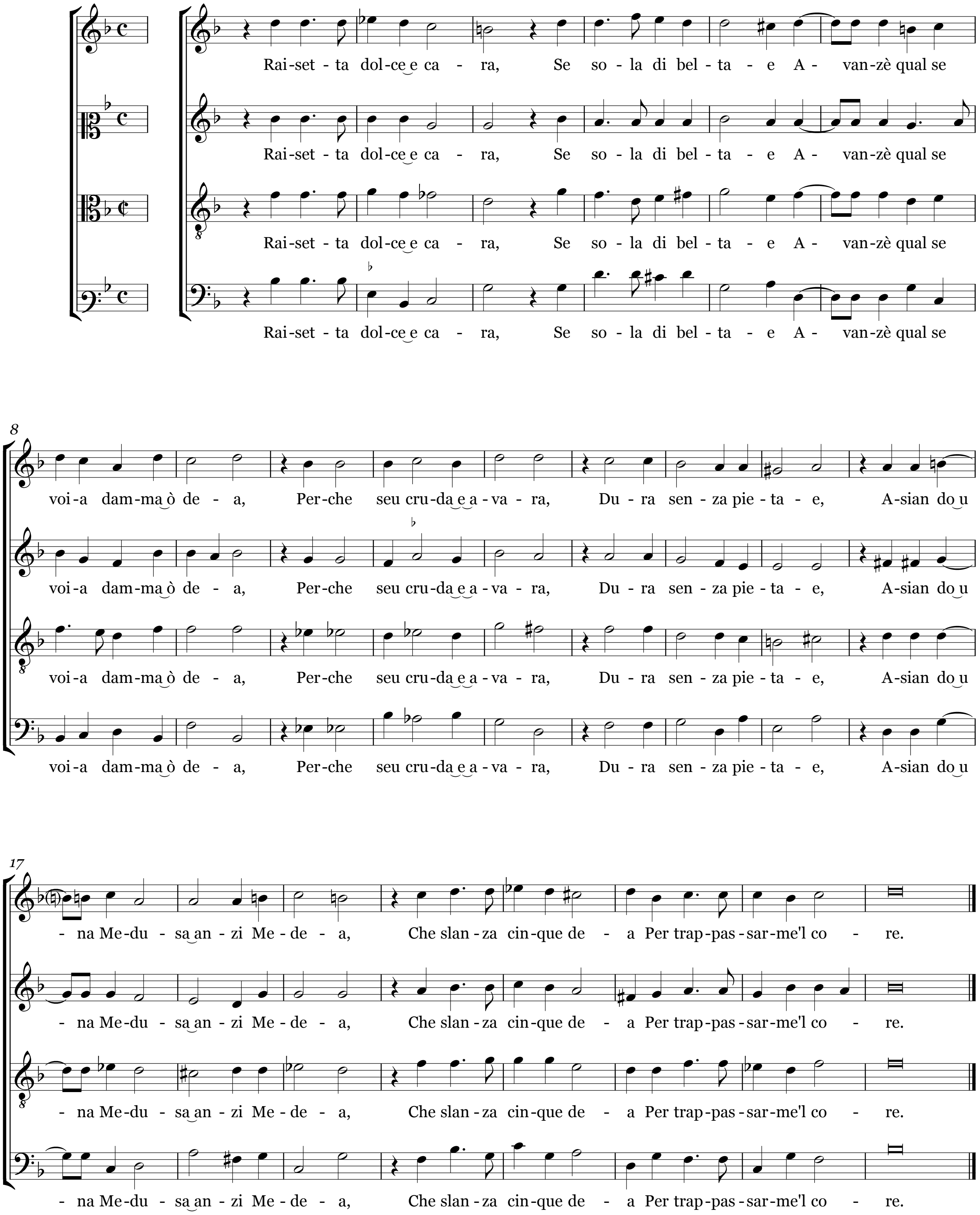

24
go, On - de dì, e not - te mi no tro - vo luo - go.
go, On - de dì, e not - te mi no tro - vo luo - go.
go, On - de dì, e not - te mi no tro - vo luo - go.
go, On - de dì, e not - te mi no tro - vo luo - go.


31
On - de dì, e not - te mi no tro - vo luo - go.
On - de dì, e not - te mi no tro - vo luo - go.
On - de dì, e not - te mi no tro - vo luo - go.
On - de dì, e not - te mi no tro - vo luo - go.

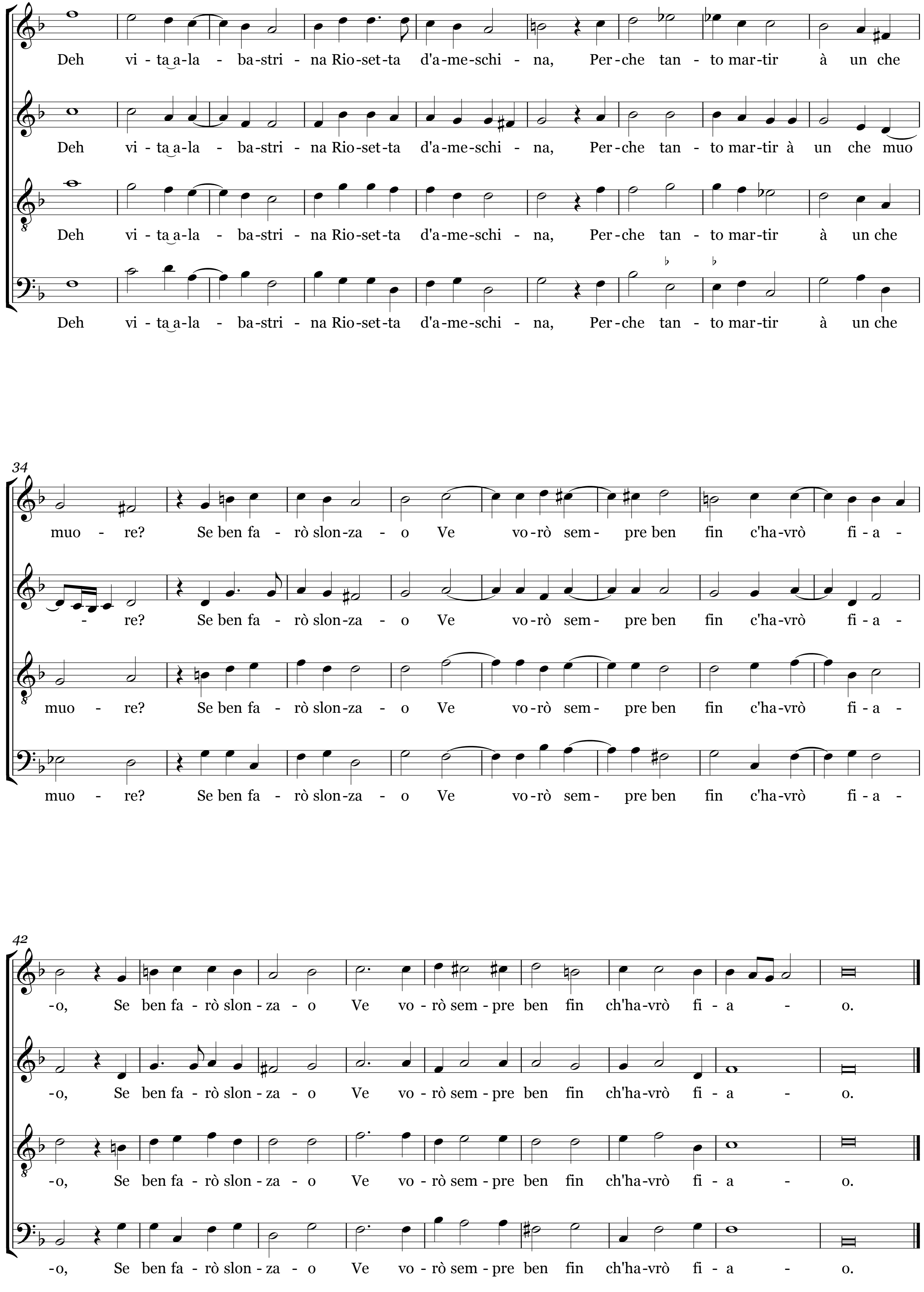
Raisetta dolce e cara

Musica...sopra le rime bizzarre di M. Andrea Calmo
(Milan: Pozzo, 1567) RISM A/I A401, 12-14.

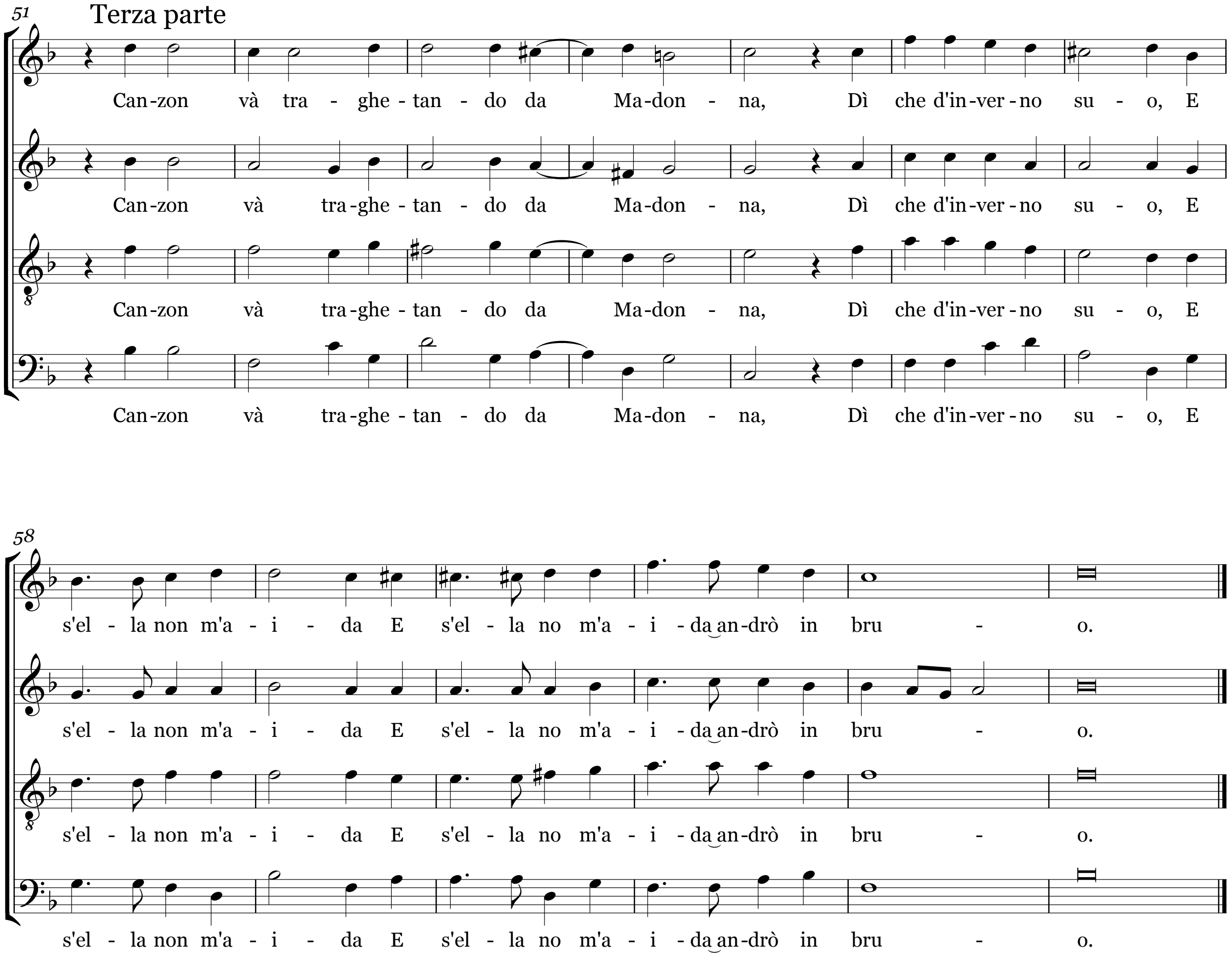
Lodovico Agostini


Rai-set - ta dol-ce‿e ca - ra, Se so - la di bel - ta - e A - van-zè qual se
8
voi-a dam-ma‿ò de - a, Per-che seu cru-da‿e‿a - va - ra, Du - ra sen - za pie - ta - e, A-sian do‿u
17
- na Me-du - sa‿an - zi Me - de - a, Che slan - za cin-que de - a Per trap-pas - sar-me'l co - re.

Seconda parte


25
Deh vi-ta a-la - ba-stri - na Rio-set-ta d'a-me-schi - na, Per-che tan - to mar-tir à un che
Deh vi-ta a-la - ba-stri - na Rio-set-ta d'a-me-schi - na, Per-che tan - to mar-tir à un che muo
34
muo - re? Se ben fa - rò slon-za - o Ve vo-rò sem- pre ben fin c'ha-vrò fi-a -
- re? Se ben fa - rò slon-za - o Ve vo-rò sem- pre ben fin c'ha-vrò fi-a -
42
-o, Se ben fa-rò slon - za - o Ve vo - rò sem - pre ben fin ch'ha-vrò fi - a - o.

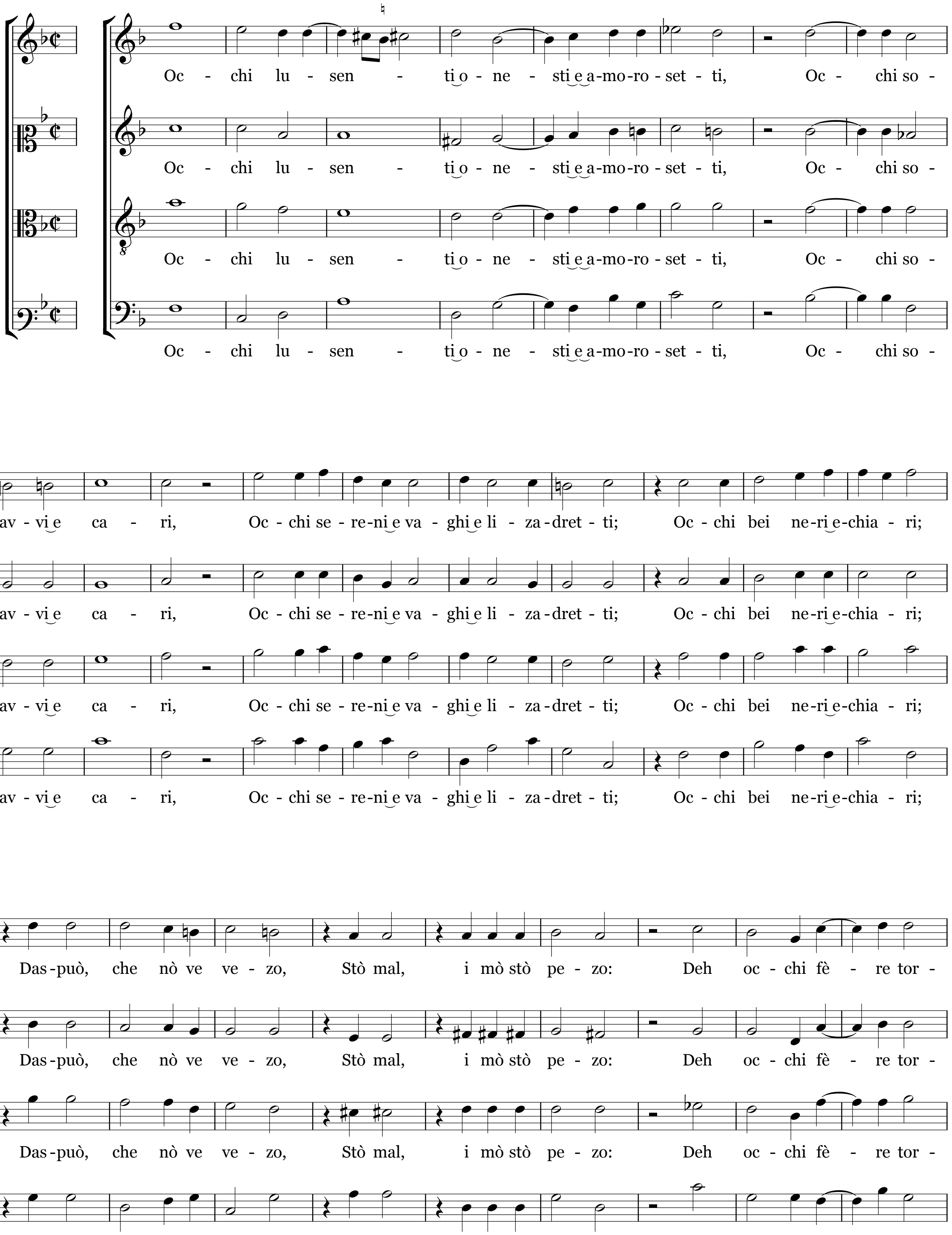
Terza parte

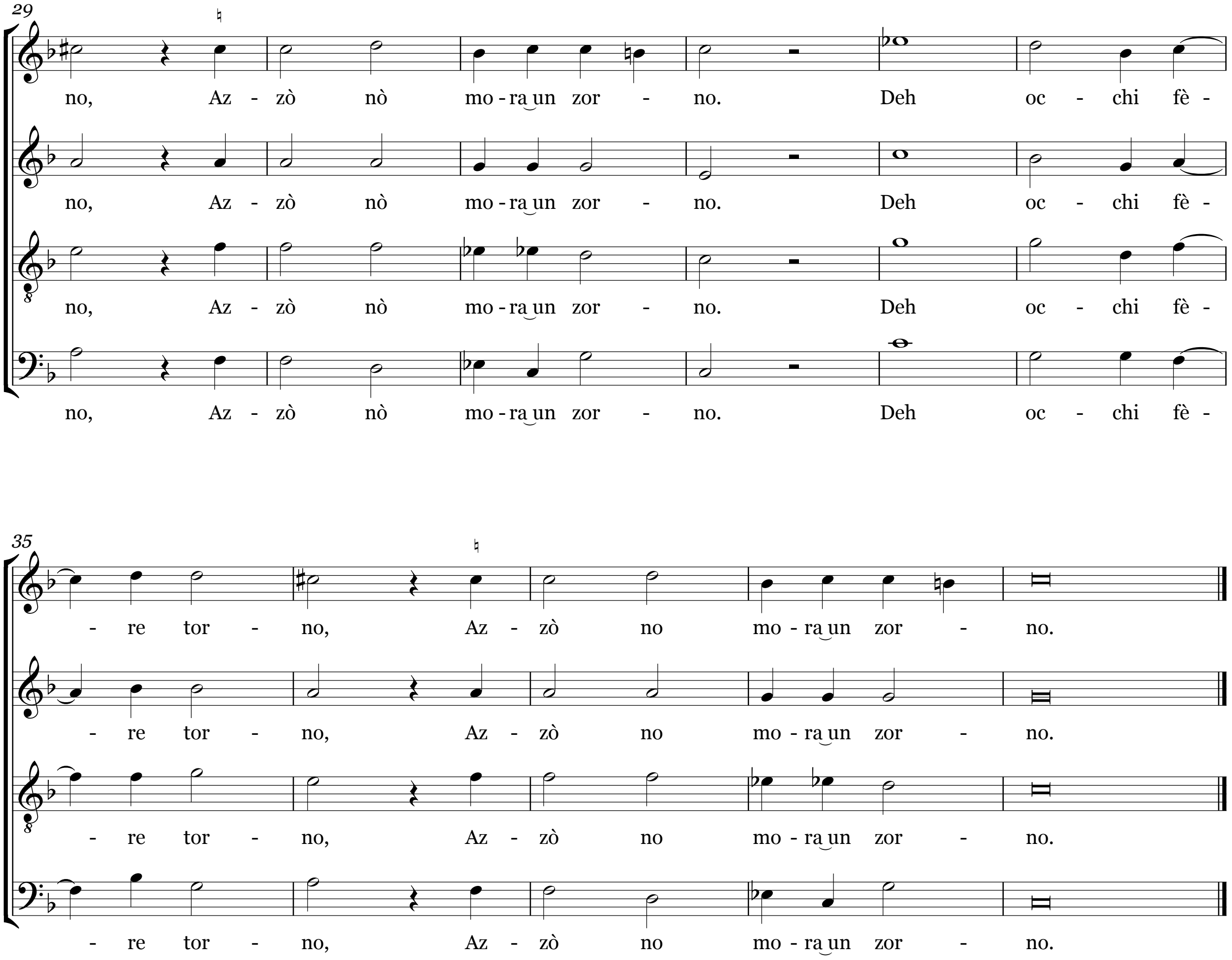

51
Can-zon và tra-ghe-tan-do da Ma-don-na, Dì che d'in-ver-no su-o, E
58
s'el-la non m'a-i-da E s'el-la no m'a-i-da‿an-drò in bru-o.

Occhi lusenti

Musica...sopra le rime bizzarre di M. Andrea Calmo
(Milan: Pozzo, 1567) RISM A/I A401, 15.

Lodovico Agostini

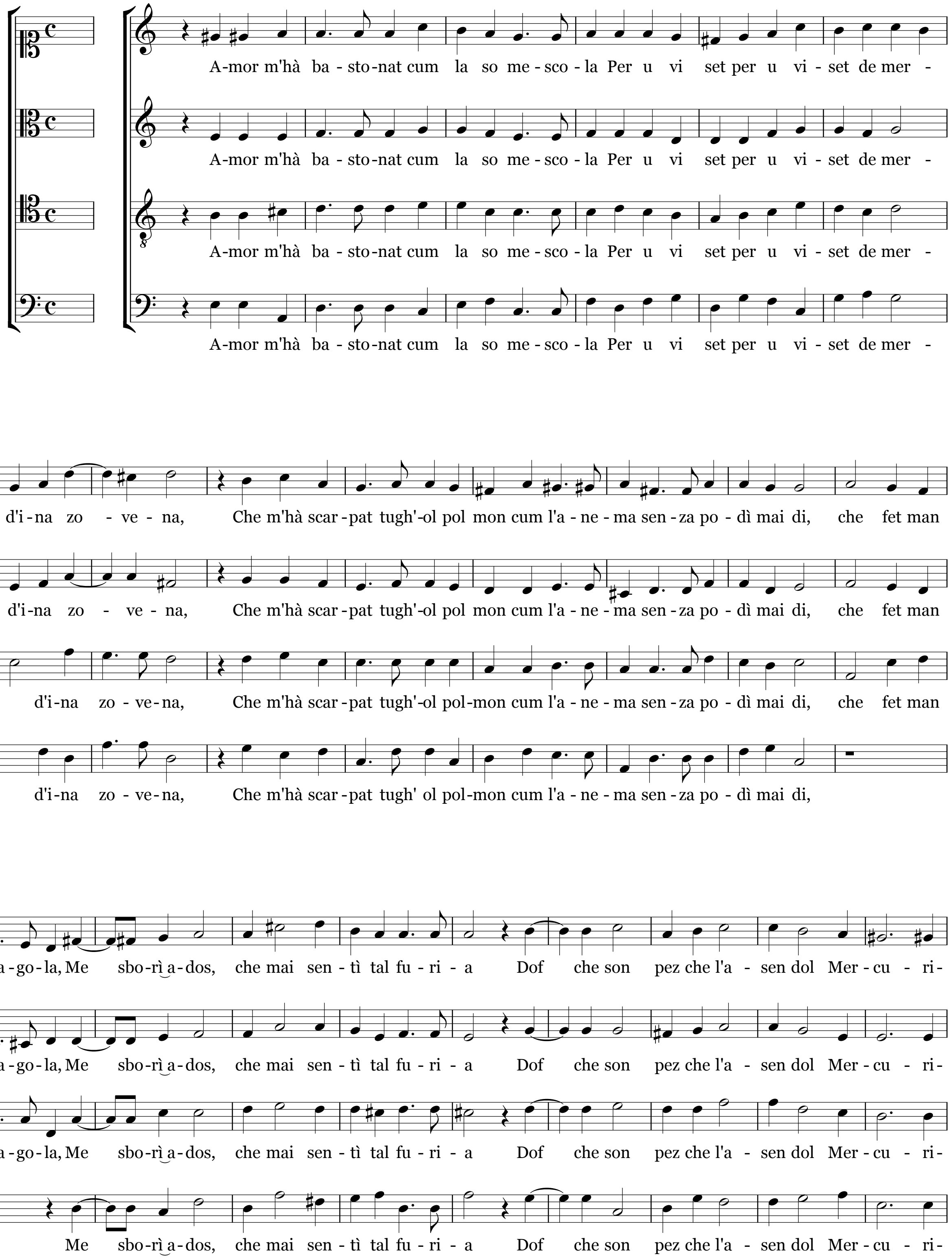

Oc - chi lu - sen - ti‿o - ne - sti‿e‿a-mo-ro - set - ti, Oc - chi so -
Oc - chi lu - sen - ti‿o - ne - sti‿e‿a-mo-ro - set - ti, Oc - chi so -
Oc - chi lu - sen - ti‿o - ne - sti‿e‿a-mo-ro - set - ti, Oc - chi so -
Oc - chi lu - sen - ti‿o - ne - sti‿e‿a-mo-ro - set - ti, Oc - chi so -
10
-av - vi‿e ca - ri, Oc - chi se - re-ni‿e va - ghi‿e li - za-dret - ti; Oc - chi bei ne-ri‿e-chia - ri;
-av - vi‿e ca - ri, Oc - chi se - re-ni‿e va - ghi‿e li - za-dret - ti; Oc - chi bei ne-ri‿e-chia - ri;
-av - vi‿e ca - ri, Oc - chi se - re-ni‿e va - ghi‿e li - za-dret - ti; Oc - chi bei ne-ri‿e-chia - ri;
-av - vi‿e ca - ri, Oc - chi se - re-ni‿e va - ghi‿e li - za-dret - ti; Oc - chi bei ne-ri‿e-chia - ri;
20
Das-può, che nò ve ve - zo, Stò mal, i mò stò pe - zo: Deh oc - chi fè - re tor -
Das-può, che nò ve ve - zo, Stò mal, i mò stò pe - zo: Deh oc - chi fè - re tor -
Das-può, che nò ve ve - zo, Stò mal, i mò stò pe - zo: Deh oc - chi fè - re tor -
Das-può, che nò ve ve - zo, Stò mal, i mò stò pe - zo: Deh oc - chi fè - re tor -

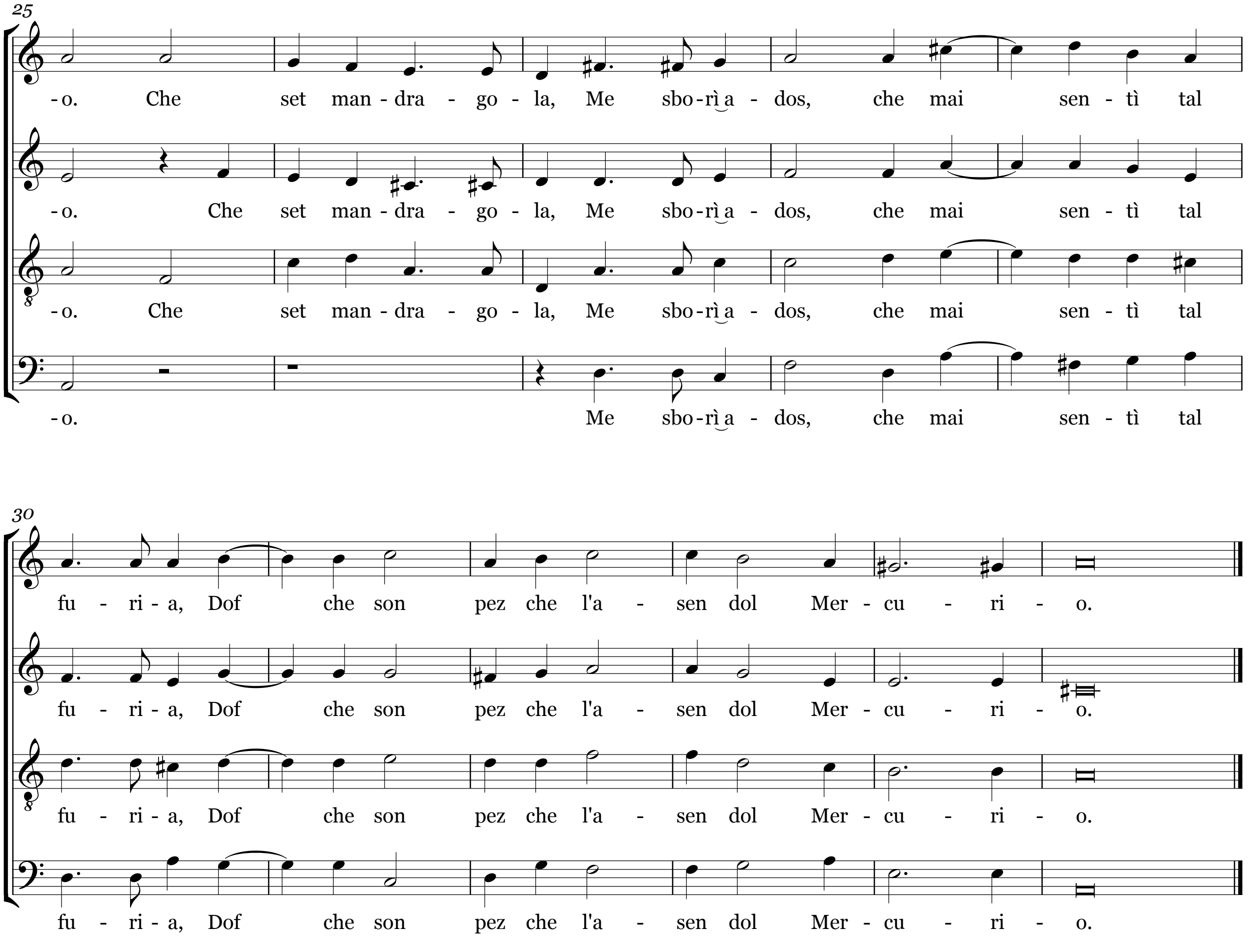

29
no, Az - zò nò mo - ra un zor - no. Deh oc - chi fè -
no, Az - zò nò mo - ra un zor - no. Deh oc - chi fè -
no, Az - zò nò mo - ra un zor - no. Deh oc - chi fè -
no, Az - zò nò mo - ra un zor - no. Deh oc - chi fè -
35
- re tor - no, Az - zò no mo - ra un zor - no.
- re tor - no, Az - zò no mo - ra un zor - no.
- re tor - no, Az - zò no mo - ra un zor - no.
- re tor - no, Az - zò no mo - ra un zor - no.

Amor m'hà bastonat

Musica...sopra le rime bizzarre di M. Andrea Calmo
(Milan: Pozzo, 1567) RISM A/I A401, 16.

Lodovico Agostini

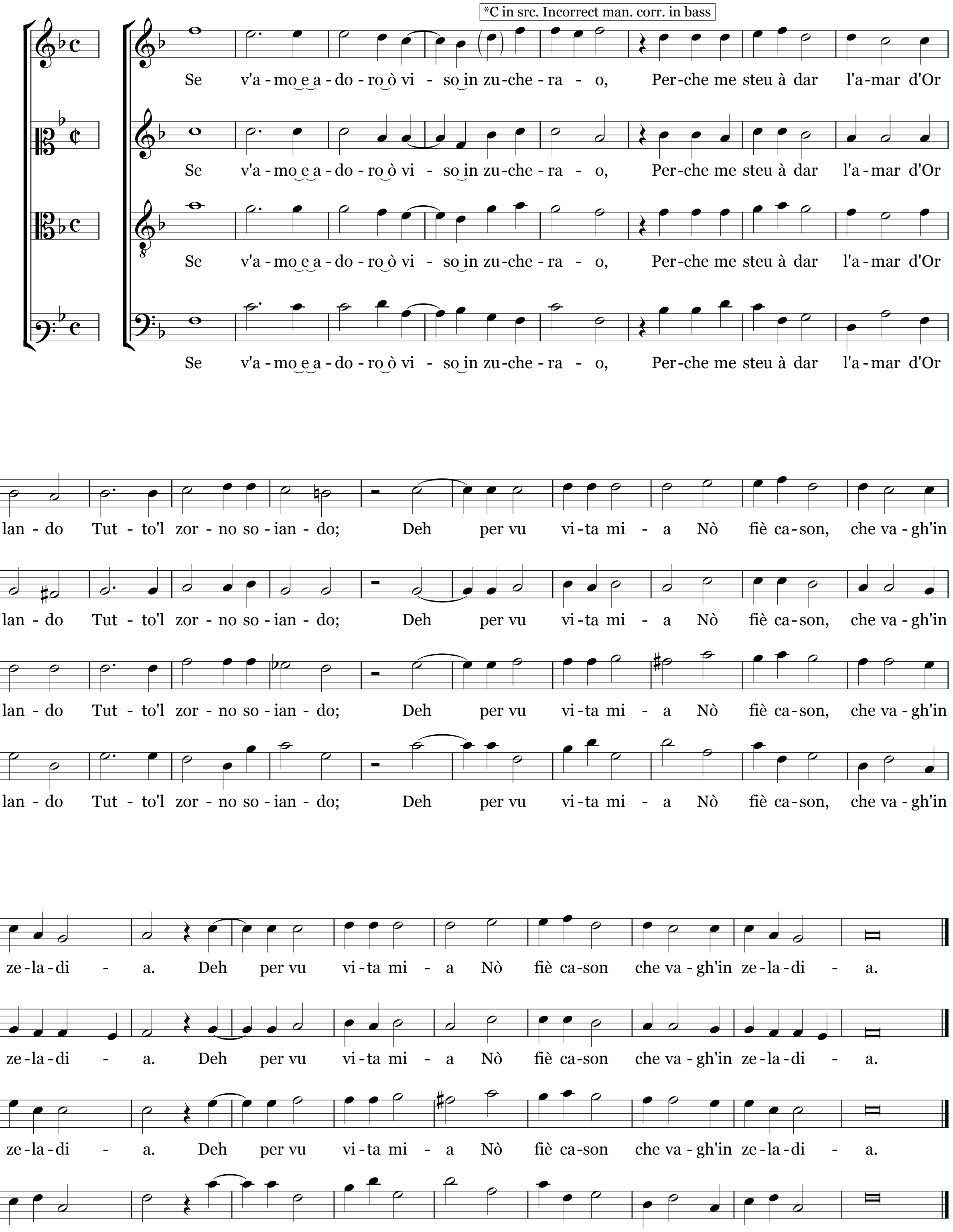

A-mor m'hà ba - sto-nat cum la so me - sco - la Per u vi set per u vi - set de mer -
8
da d'i-na zo - ve - na, Che m'hà scar - pat tugh'-ol pol mon cum l'a - ne - ma sen - za po - dì mai di, che fet man
-da d'i-na zo - ve-na, Che m'hà scar - pat tugh'-ol pol-mon cum l'a - ne - ma sen - za po - dì mai di, che fet man
-da d'i-na zo - ve-na, Che m'hà scar - pat tugh' ol pol-mon cum l'a - ne - ma sen - za po - dì mai di,
16
-dra - go - la, Me sbo-rì a-dos, che mai sen - tì tal fu - ri - a Dof che son pez che l'a - sen dol Mer - cu - ri-
Me sbo-rì a-dos, che mai sen - tì tal fu - ri - a Dof che son pez che l'a - sen dol Mer - cu - ri-


25
-o. Che set man - dra - go - la, Me sbo - rì a - dos, che mai sen - tì tal
-o. Che set man - dra - go - la, Me sbo - rì a - dos, che mai sen - tì tal
-o. Che set man - dra - go - la, Me sbo - rì a - dos, che mai sen - tì tal
-o. Me sbo - rì a - dos, che mai sen - tì tal
30
fu - ri - a, Dof che son pez che l'a - sen dol Mer - cu - ri - o.
fu - ri - a, Dof che son pez che l'a - sen dol Mer - cu - ri - o.
fu - ri - a, Dof che son pez che l'a - sen dol Mer - cu - ri - o.
fu - ri - a, Dof che son pez che l'a - sen dol Mer - cu - ri - o.

Se v'amo e adoro

Musica...sopra le rime bizzarre di M. Andrea Calmo
(Milan: Pozzo, 1567) RISM A/I A401, 17.

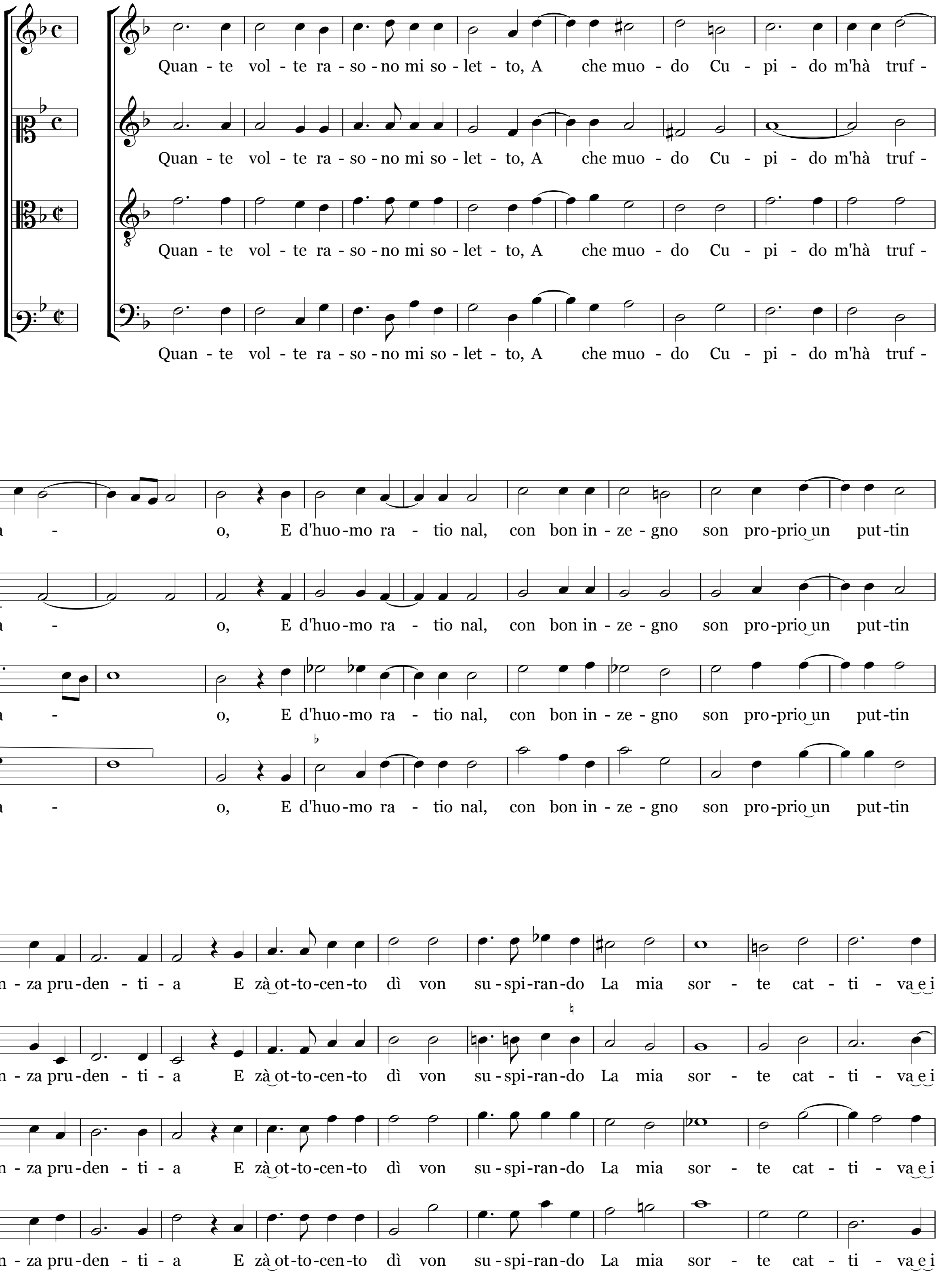
Lodovico Agostini

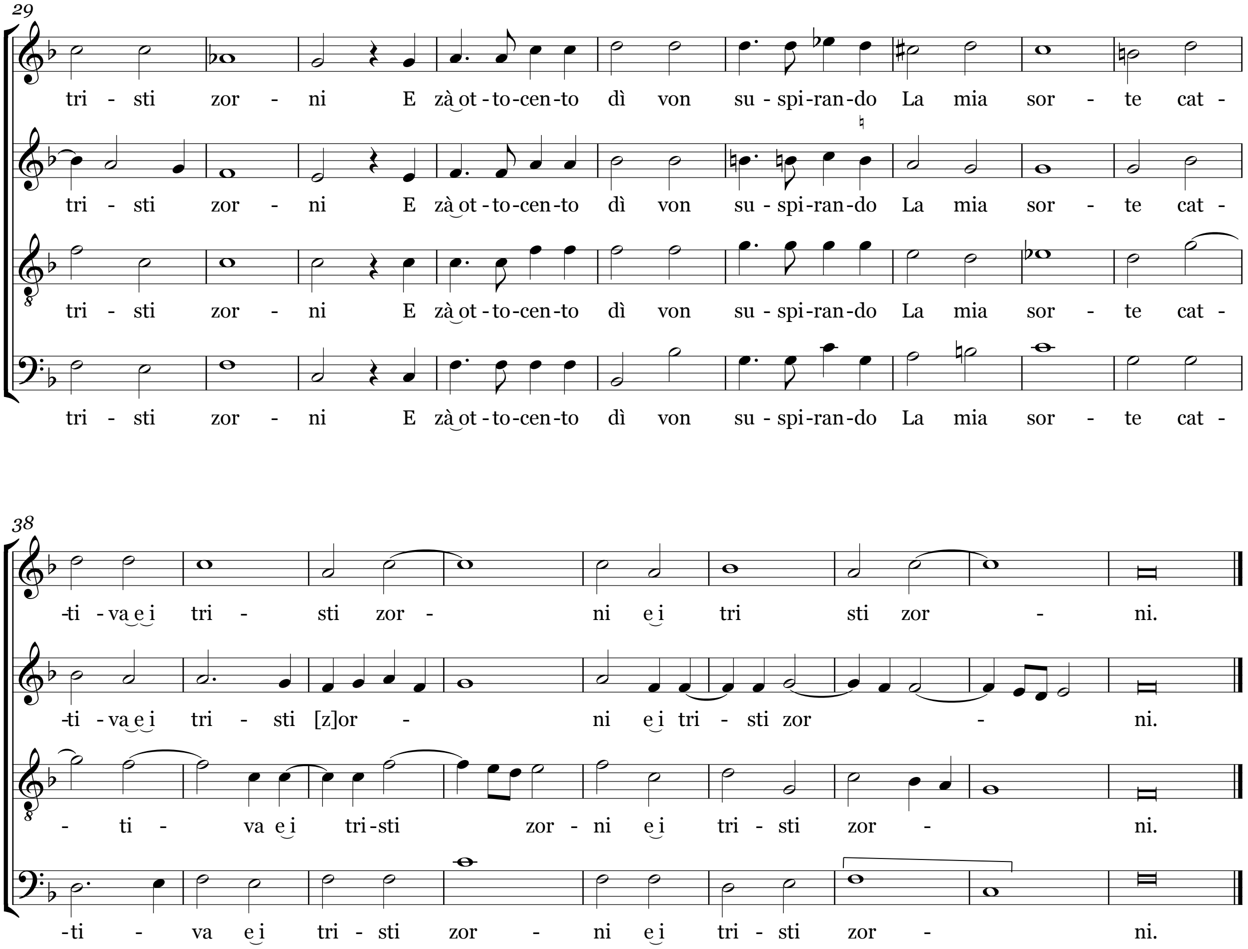

*C in src. Incorrect man. corr. in bass
Se v'a - mo e a - do - ro ò vi - so in zu-che - ra - o, Per-che me steu à dar l'a-mar d'Or
10
lan - do Tut - to'l zor - no so - ian - do; Deh per vu vi-ta mi - a Nò fiè ca-son, che va - gh'in
20
ze-la-di - a. Deh per vu vi-ta mi - a Nò fiè ca-son che va - gh'in ze-la-di - a.

Quante volte rasono mi soletto

Musica...sopra le rime bizzarre di M. Andrea Calmo
(Milan: Pozzo, 1567) RISM A/I A401, 18.

Lodovico Agostini

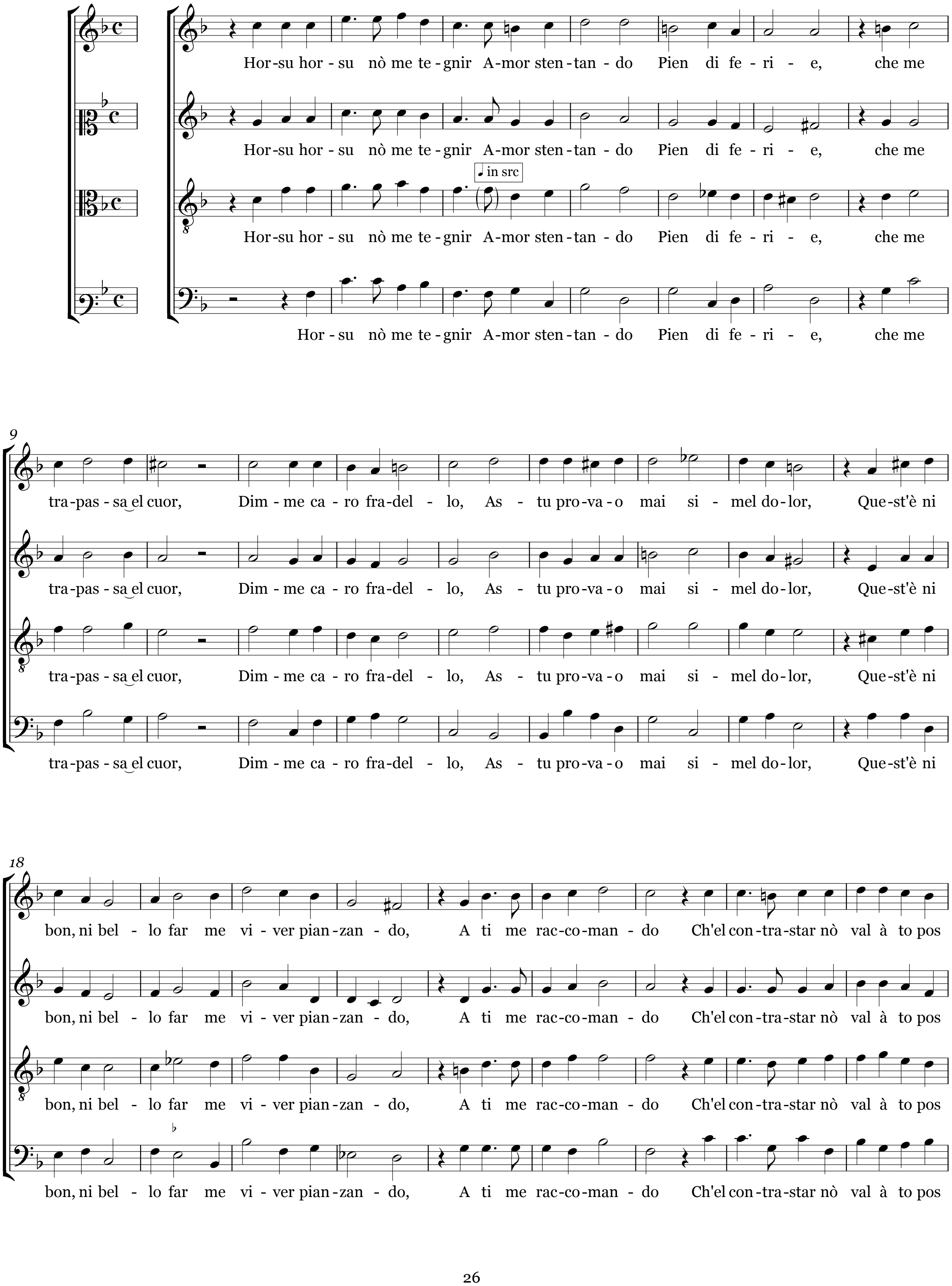

Quan - te vol - te ra - so - no mi so - let - to, A che muo - do Cu - pi - do m'hà truf -
10
-fa - o, E d'huo - mo ra - tio nal, con bon in - ze - gno son pro - prio un put - tin
19
sen - za pru - den - ti - a E zà ot - to - cen - to dì von su - spi - ran - do La mia sor - te cat - ti - va e i


29
tri - sti zor - ni E zà ot - to - cen - to dì von su - spi - ran - do La mia sor - te cat -
tri - sti zor - ni E zà ot - to - cen - to dì von su - spi - ran - do La mia sor - te cat -
tri - sti zor - ni E zà ot - to - cen - to dì von su - spi - ran - do La mia sor - te cat -
tri - sti zor - ni E zà ot - to - cen - to dì von su - spi - ran - do La mia sor - te cat -
38
-ti - va e i tri - sti zor - ni e i tri sti zor - ni.
-ti - va e i tri - sti [z]or - ni e i tri - sti zor - ni.
- ti - va e i tri - sti zor - ni e i tri - sti zor - ni.
-ti - va e i tri - sti zor - ni e i tri - sti zor - ni.

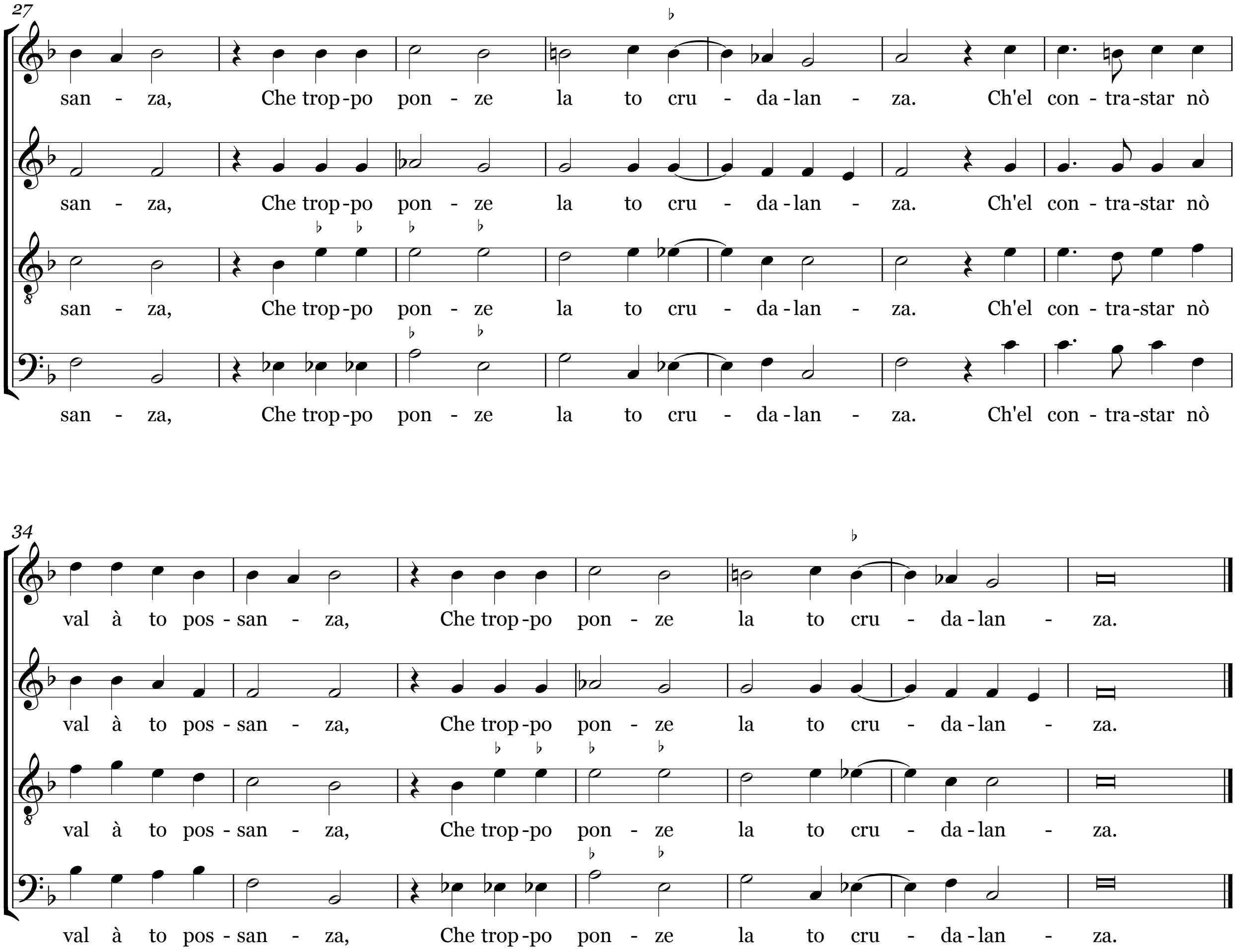
Horsu nò me tegnir

Musica...sopra le rime bizzarre di M. Andrea Calmo
(Milan: Pozzo, 1567) RISM A/I A401, 19-20.

Lodovico Agostini



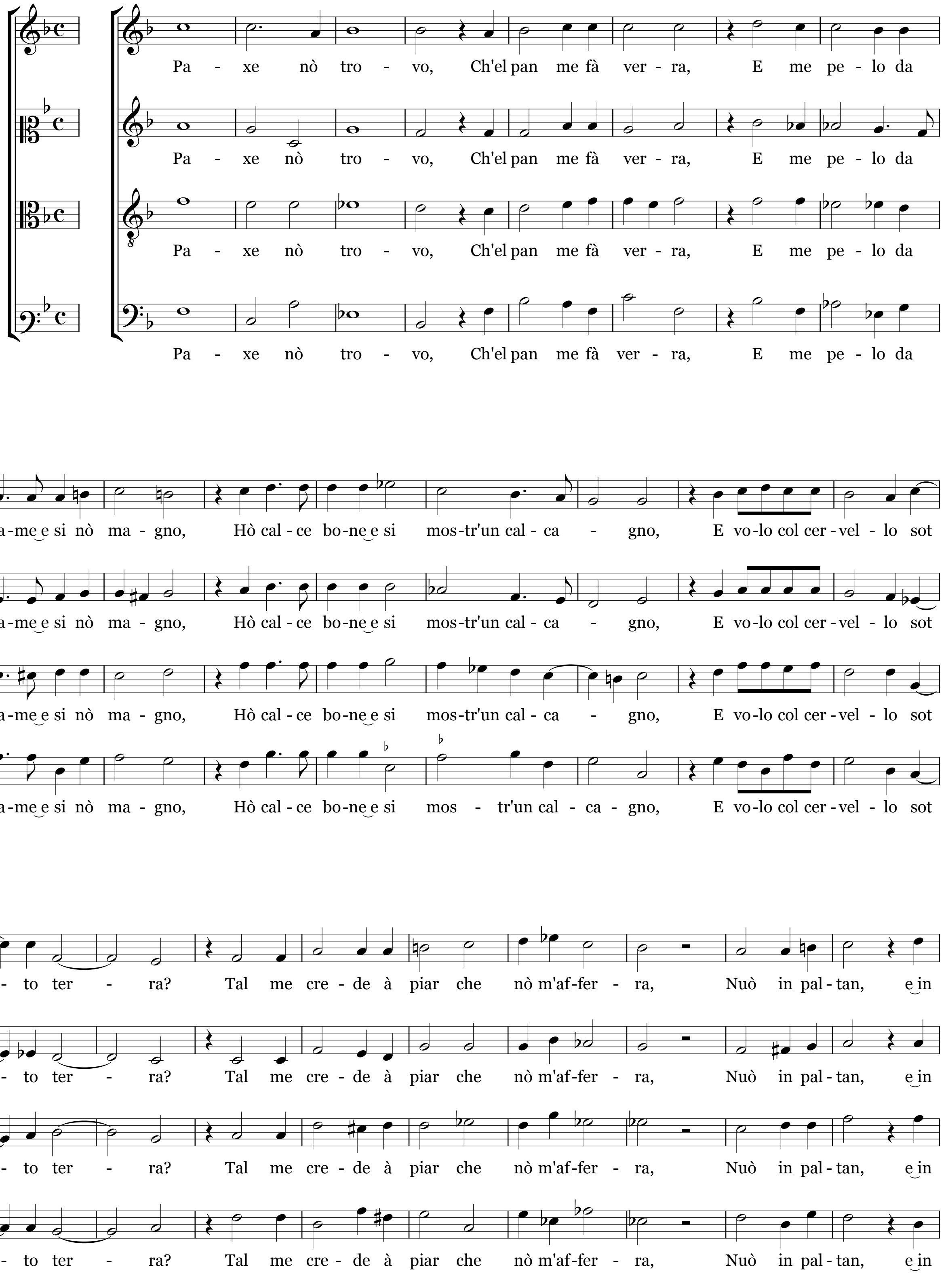
♩ in src
Hor-su hor - su nò me te - gnir A-mor sten-tan - do Pien di fe - ri - e, che me
Hor-su hor - su nò me te - gnir A-mor sten-tan - do Pien di fe - ri - e, che me
Hor-su hor - su nò me te - gnir A-mor sten-tan - do Pien di fe - ri - e, che me
Hor - su nò me te - gnir A-mor sten-tan - do Pien di fe - ri - e, che me
9
tra-pas - sa el cuor, Dim - me ca - ro fra-del - lo, As - tu pro-va - o mai si - mel do-lor, Que-st'è ni
tra-pas - sa el cuor, Dim - me ca - ro fra-del - lo, As - tu pro-va - o mai si - mel do-lor, Que-st'è ni
tra-pas - sa el cuor, Dim - me ca - ro fra-del - lo, As - tu pro-va - o mai si - mel do-lor, Que-st'è ni
tra-pas - sa el cuor, Dim - me ca - ro fra-del - lo, As - tu pro-va - o mai si - mel do-lor, Que-st'è ni
18
bon, ni bel - lo far me vi - ver pian-zan - do, A ti me rac-co-man - do Ch'el con-tra-star nò val à to pos
bon, ni bel - lo far me vi - ver pian-zan - do, A ti me rac-co-man - do Ch'el con-tra-star nò val à to pos
bon, ni bel - lo far me vi - ver pian-zan - do, A ti me rac-co-man - do Ch'el con-tra-star nò val à to pos
bon, ni bel - lo far me vi - ver pian-zan - do, A ti me rac-co-man - do Ch'el con-tra-star nò val à to pos

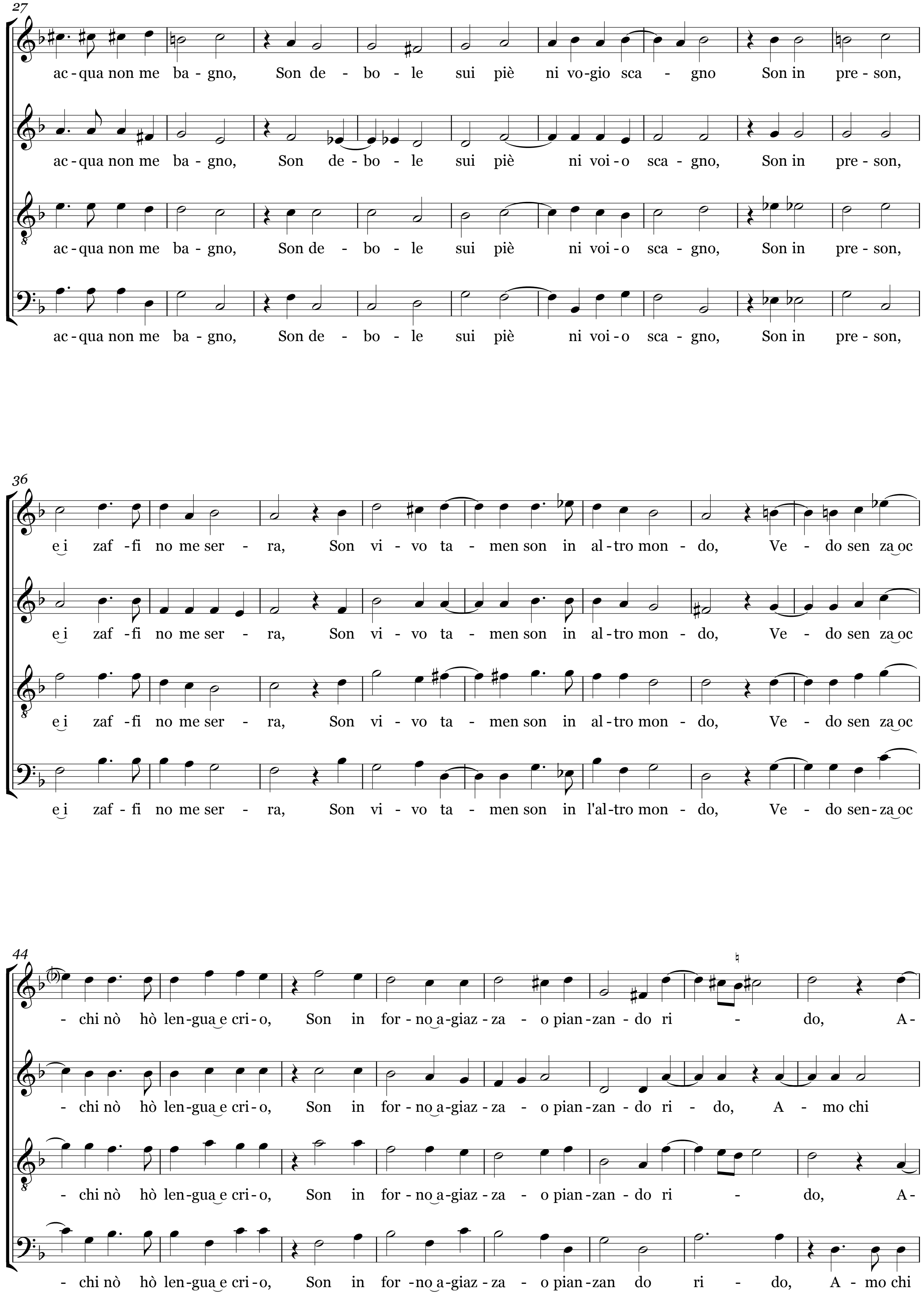

27
san - za, Che trop-po pon - ze la to cru - da-lan - za. Ch'el con - tra-star nò
san - za, Che trop-po pon - ze la to cru - da-lan - za. Ch'el con - tra-star nò
san - za, Che trop-po pon - ze la to cru - da-lan - za. Ch'el con - tra-star nò
san - za, Che trop-po pon - ze la to cru - da-lan - za. Ch'el con - tra-star nò
34
val à to pos-san - za, Che trop-po pon - ze la to cru - da-lan - za.
val à to pos-san - za, Che trop-po pon - ze la to cru - da-lan - za.
val à to pos-san - za, Che trop-po pon - ze la to cru - da-lan - za.
val à to pos-san - za, Che trop-po pon - ze la to cru - da-lan - za.

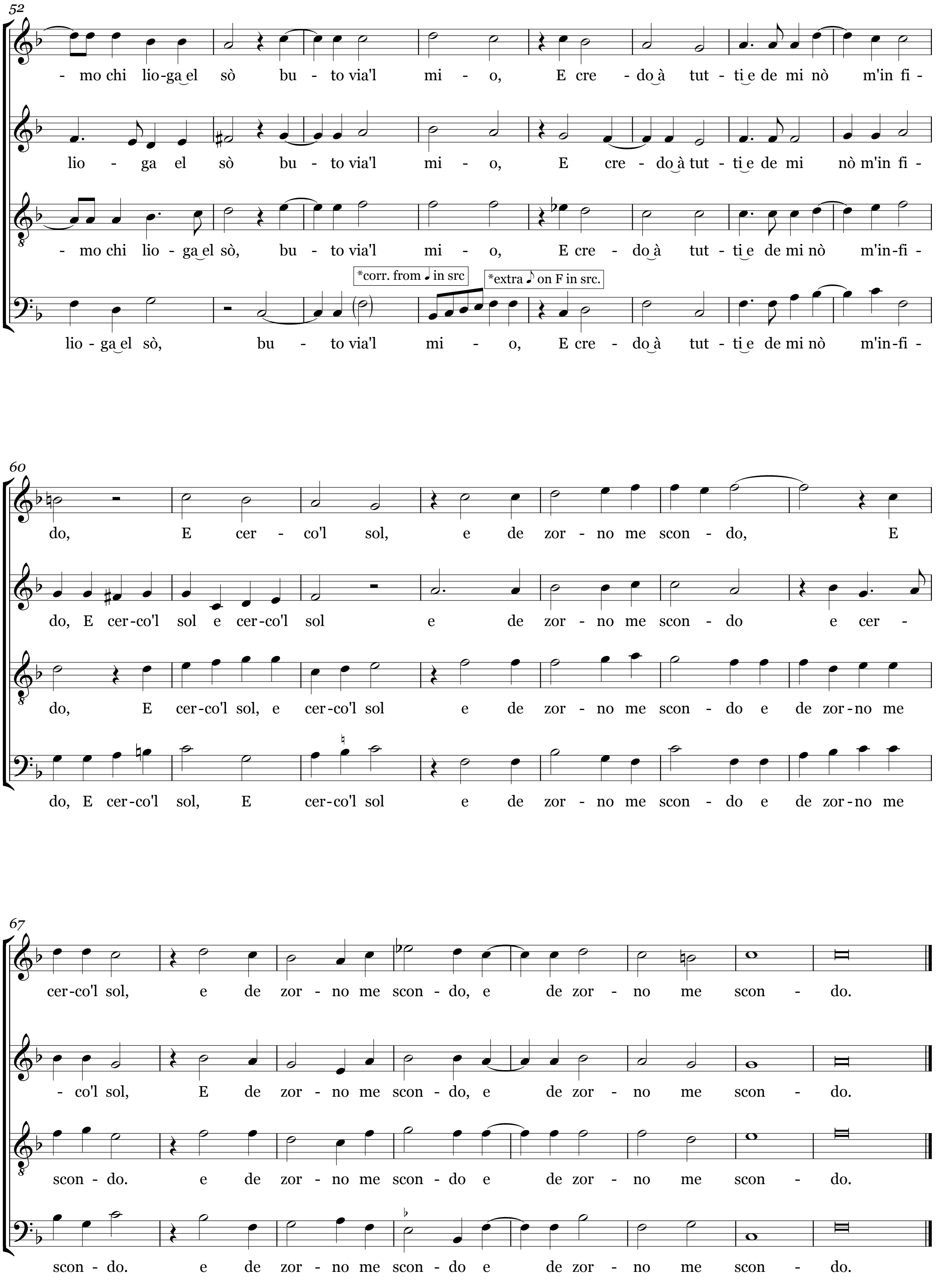
Paxe no trovo

Musica...sopra le rime bizzarre di M. Andrea Calmo
(Milan: Pozzo, 1567) RISM A/I A401, 21-22.

Lodovico Agostini


Pa - xe nò tro - vo, Ch'el pan me fà ver - ra, E me pe - lo da
Pa - xe nò tro - vo, Ch'el pan me fà ver - ra, E me pe - lo da
Pa - xe nò tro - vo, Ch'el pan me fà ver - ra, E me pe - lo da
Pa - xe nò tro - vo, Ch'el pan me fà ver - ra, E me pe - lo da
10
fa - me e si nò ma - gno, Hò cal - ce bo - ne e si mos - tr'un cal - ca - gno, E vo - lo col cer - vel - lo sot
fa - me e si nò ma - gno, Hò cal - ce bo - ne e si mos - tr'un cal - ca - gno, E vo - lo col cer - vel - lo sot
fa - me e si nò ma - gno, Hò cal - ce bo - ne e si mos - tr'un cal - ca - gno, E vo - lo col cer - vel - lo sot
fa - me e si nò ma - gno, Hò cal - ce bo - ne e si mos - tr'un cal - ca - gno, E vo - lo col cer - vel - lo sot
18
- to ter - ra? Tal me cre - de à piar che nò m'af - fer - ra, Nuò in pal - tan, e in
- to ter - ra? Tal me cre - de à piar che nò m'af - fer - ra, Nuò in pal - tan, e in
- to ter - ra? Tal me cre - de à piar che nò m'af - fer - ra, Nuò in pal - tan, e in
- to ter - ra? Tal me cre - de à piar che nò m'af - fer - ra, Nuò in pal - tan, e in

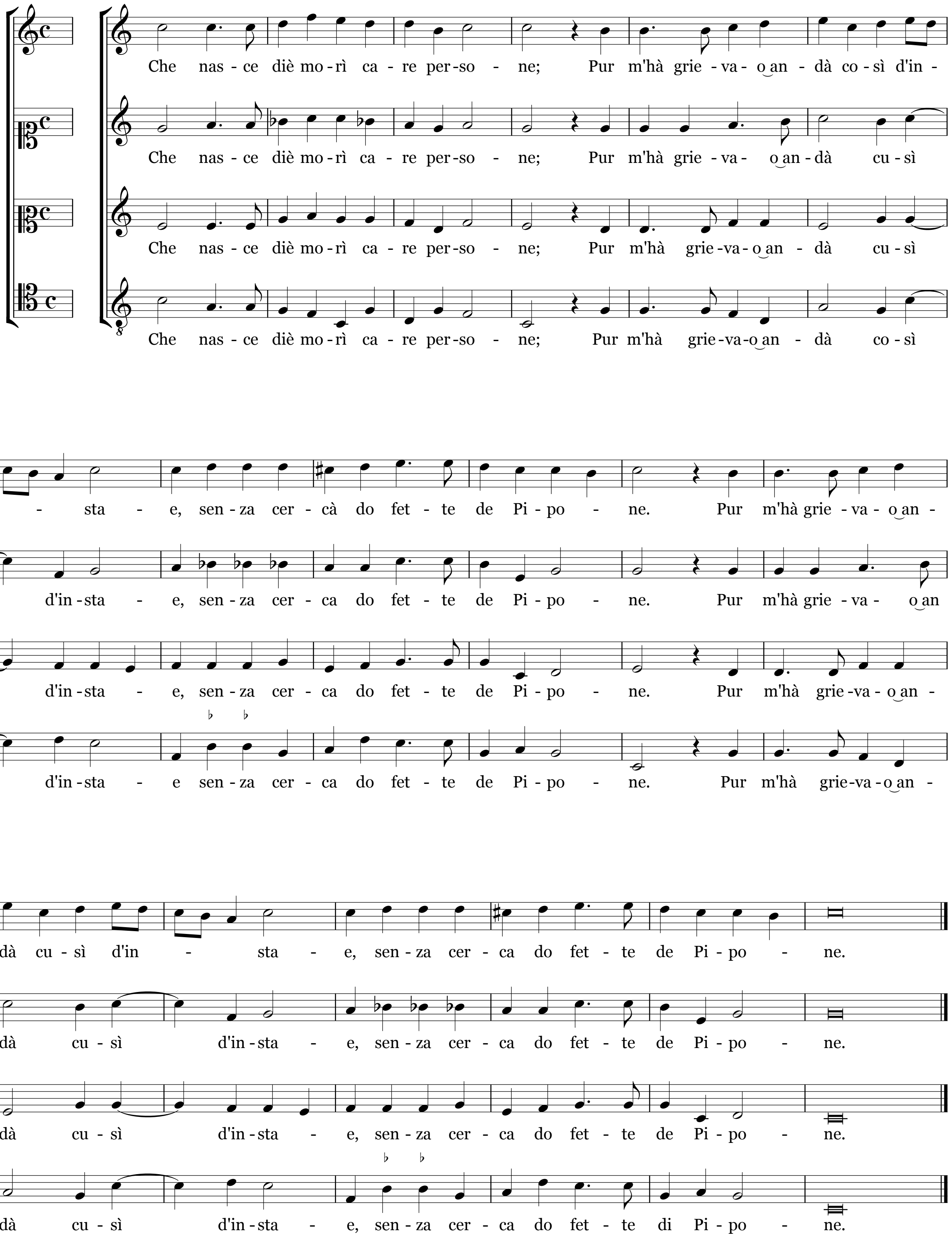

27
ac-qua non me ba-gno, Son de-bo-le sui piè ni vo-gio sca-gno Son in pre-son,
ac-qua non me ba-gno, Son de-bo-le sui piè ni voi-o sca-gno, Son in pre-son,
ac-qua non me ba-gno, Son de-bo-le sui piè ni voi-o sca-gno, Son in pre-son,
ac-qua non me ba-gno, Son de-bo-le sui piè ni voi-o sca-gno, Son in pre-son,
36
e i zaf-fi no me ser-ra, Son vi-vo ta-men son in al-tro mon-do, Ve-do sen za oc
e i zaf-fi no me ser-ra, Son vi-vo ta-men son in al-tro mon-do, Ve-do sen za oc
e i zaf-fi no me ser-ra, Son vi-vo ta-men son in al-tro mon-do, Ve-do sen za oc
e i zaf-fi no me ser-ra, Son vi-vo ta-men son in l'al-tro mon-do, Ve-do sen-za oc
44
-chi nò hò len-gua e cri-o, Son in for-no a-giaz-za-o pian-zan-do ri-do, A-
-chi nò hò len-gua e cri-o, Son in for-no a-giaz-za-o pian-zan-do ri-do, A-mo chi
-chi nò hò len-gua e cri-o, Son in for-no a-giaz-za-o pian-zan-do ri-do, A-
-chi nò hò len-gua e cri-o, Son in for-no a-giaz-za-o pian-zan do ri-do, A-mo chi


52
- mo chi lio-ga el sò bu - to via'l mi - o, E cre - do à tut - ti e de mi nò m'in fi -
lio - ga el sò bu - to via'l mi - o, E cre - do à tut - ti e de mi nò m'in fi -
- mo chi lio - ga el sò, bu - to via'l mi - o, E cre - do à tut - ti e de mi nò m'in-fi -
*corr. from ♩ in src
*extra ♪ on F in src.
lio - ga el sò, bu - to via'l mi - o, E cre - do à tut - ti e de mi nò m'in-fi -
60
do, E cer - co'l sol, e de zor - no me scon - do, E
do, E cer-co'l sol e cer-co'l sol e de zor - no me scon - do e cer -
do, E cer-co'l sol, e cer-co'l sol e de zor - no me scon - do e de zor-no me
do, E cer-co'l sol, E cer-co'l sol e de zor - no me scon - do e de zor-no me
67
cer-co'l sol, e de zor - no me scon - do, e de zor - no me scon - do.
- co'l sol, E de zor - no me scon - do, e de zor - no me scon - do.
scon - do. e de zor - no me scon - do e de zor - no me scon - do.
scon - do. e de zor - no me scon - do e de zor - no me scon - do.

Che nasce diè morì

Musica...sopra le rime bizzarre di M. Andrea Calmo
(Milan: Pozzo, 1567) RISM A/I A401, 23.

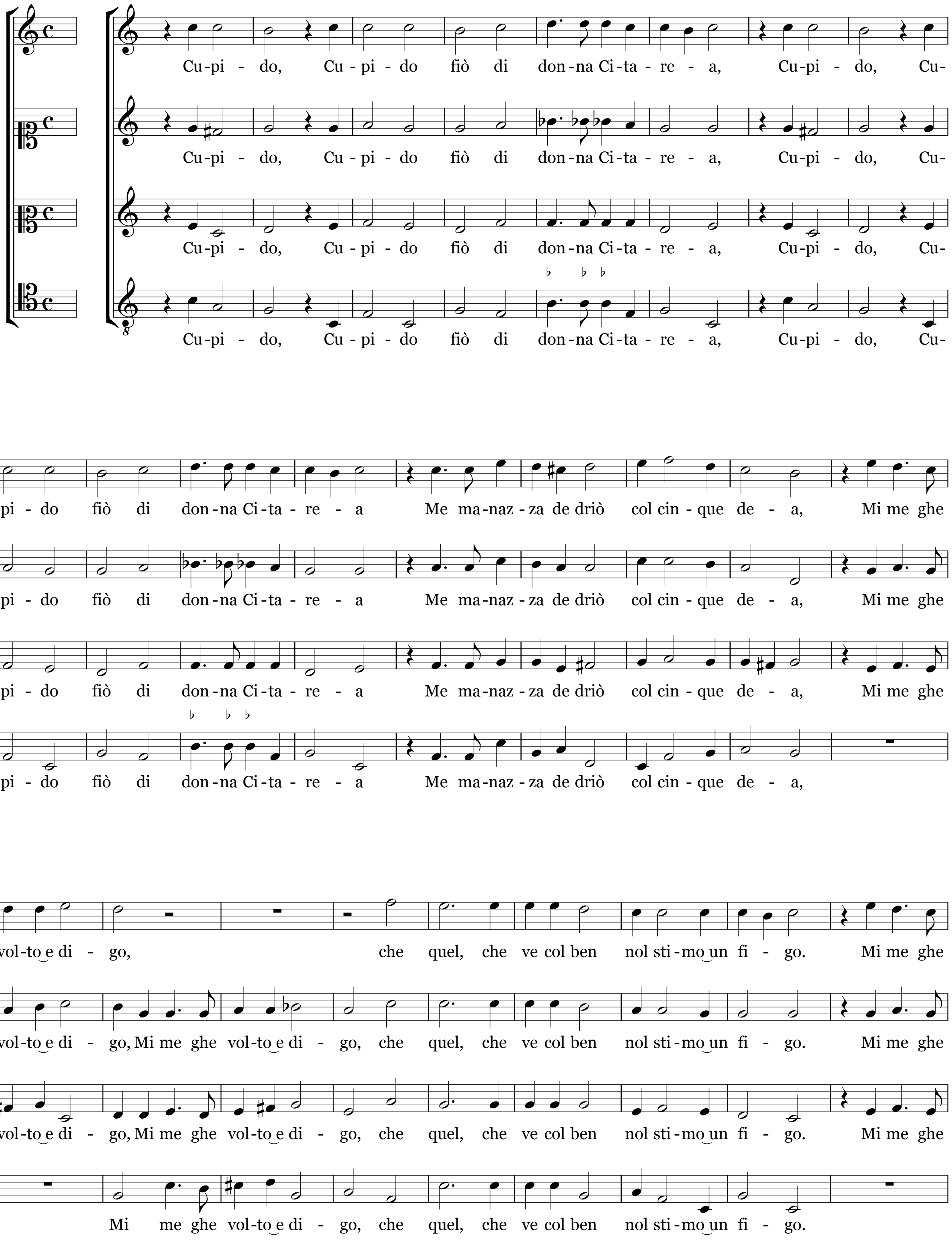
Lodovico Agostini

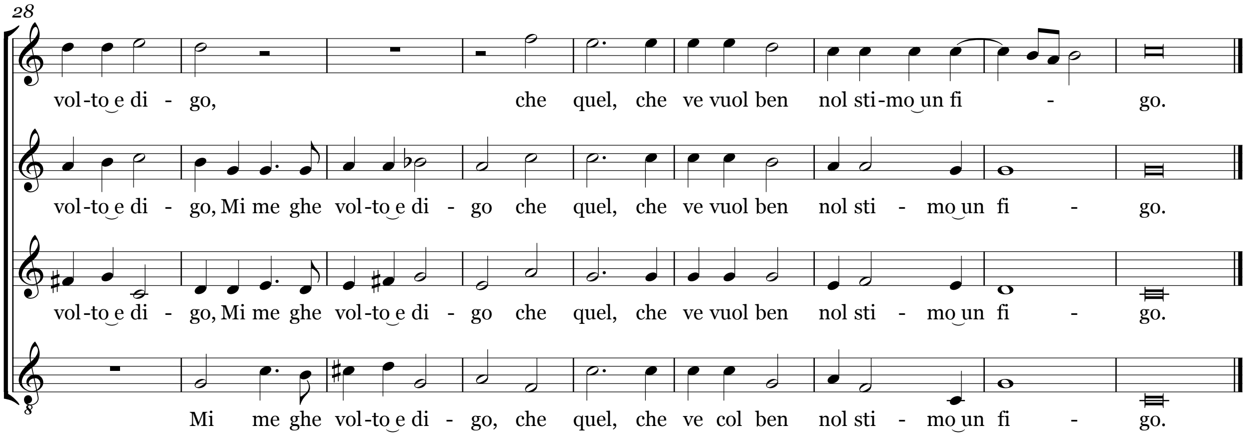

Che nas - ce diè mo - rì ca - re per - so - ne; Pur m'hà grie - va - o‿an - dà co - sì d'in -
Che nas - ce diè mo - rì ca - re per - so - ne; Pur m'hà grie - va - o‿an - dà cu - sì
Che nas - ce diè mo - rì ca - re per - so - ne; Pur m'hà grie - va - o‿an - dà cu - sì
Che nas - ce diè mo - rì ca - re per - so - ne; Pur m'hà grie - va - o‿an - dà co - sì
8
- sta - e, sen - za cer - cà do fet - te de Pi - po - ne. Pur m'hà grie - va - o‿an -
d'in - sta - e, sen - za cer - ca do fet - te de Pi - po - ne. Pur m'hà grie - va - o‿an
d'in - sta - e, sen - za cer - ca do fet - te de Pi - po - ne. Pur m'hà grie - va - o‿an -
d'in - sta - e sen - za cer - ca do fet - te de Pi - po - ne. Pur m'hà grie - va - o‿an -
14
-dà cu - sì d'in - sta - e, sen - za cer - ca do fet - te de Pi - po - ne.
-dà cu - sì d'in - sta - e, sen - za cer - ca do fet - te de Pi - po - ne.
-dà cu - sì d'in - sta - e, sen - za cer - ca do fet - te de Pi - po - ne.
-dà cu - sì d'in - sta - e, sen - za cer - ca do fet - te di Pi - po - ne.

Cupido fiò di donna Citarea

Musica...sopra le rime bizzarre di M. Andrea Calmo
(Milan: Pozzo, 1567) RISM A/I A401, 24.

Lodovico Agostini

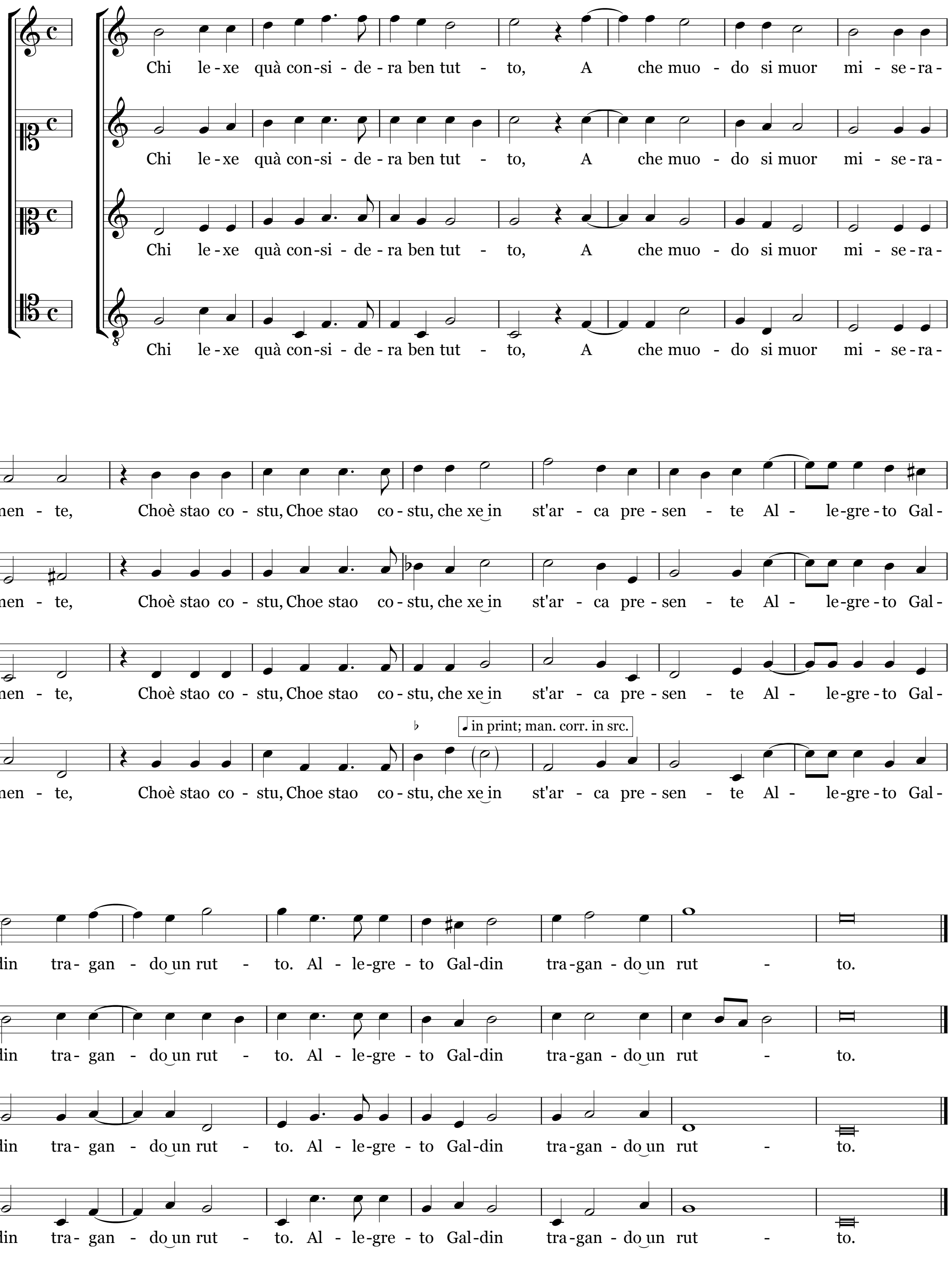

Cu-pi - do, Cu - pi - do fiò di don-na Ci-ta - re - a, Cu-pi - do, Cu-
Cu-pi - do, Cu - pi - do fiò di don-na Ci-ta - re - a, Cu-pi - do, Cu-
Cu-pi - do, Cu - pi - do fiò di don-na Ci-ta - re - a, Cu-pi - do, Cu-
Cu-pi - do, Cu - pi - do fiò di don-na Ci-ta - re - a, Cu-pi - do, Cu-
10
-pi - do fiò di don-na Ci-ta - re - a Me ma-naz - za de driò col cin - que de - a, Mi me ghe
-pi - do fiò di don-na Ci-ta - re - a Me ma-naz - za de driò col cin - que de - a, Mi me ghe
-pi - do fiò di don-na Ci-ta - re - a Me ma-naz - za de driò col cin - que de - a, Mi me ghe
-pi - do fiò di don-na Ci-ta - re - a Me ma-naz - za de driò col cin - que de - a,
19
vol-to e di - go, che quel, che ve col ben nol sti-mo un fi - go. Mi me ghe
vol-to e di - go, Mi me ghe vol-to e di - go, che quel, che ve col ben nol sti-mo un fi - go. Mi me ghe
vol-to e di - go, Mi me ghe vol-to e di - go, che quel, che ve col ben nol sti-mo un fi - go. Mi me ghe
Mi me ghe vol-to e di - go, che quel, che ve col ben nol sti-mo un fi - go.


28
vol-to e di - go, che quel, che ve vuol ben nol sti-mo un fi - go.
vol-to e di - go, Mi me ghe vol-to e di - go che quel, che ve vuol ben nol sti - mo un fi - go.
vol-to e di - go, Mi me ghe vol-to e di - go che quel, che ve vuol ben nol sti - mo un fi - go.
Mi me ghe vol-to e di - go, che quel, che ve col ben nol sti - mo un fi - go.
8

Chi lexe quà

Musica...sopra le rime bizzarre di M. Andrea Calmo
(Milan: Pozzo, 1567) RISM A/I A401, 25.

Lodovico Agostini

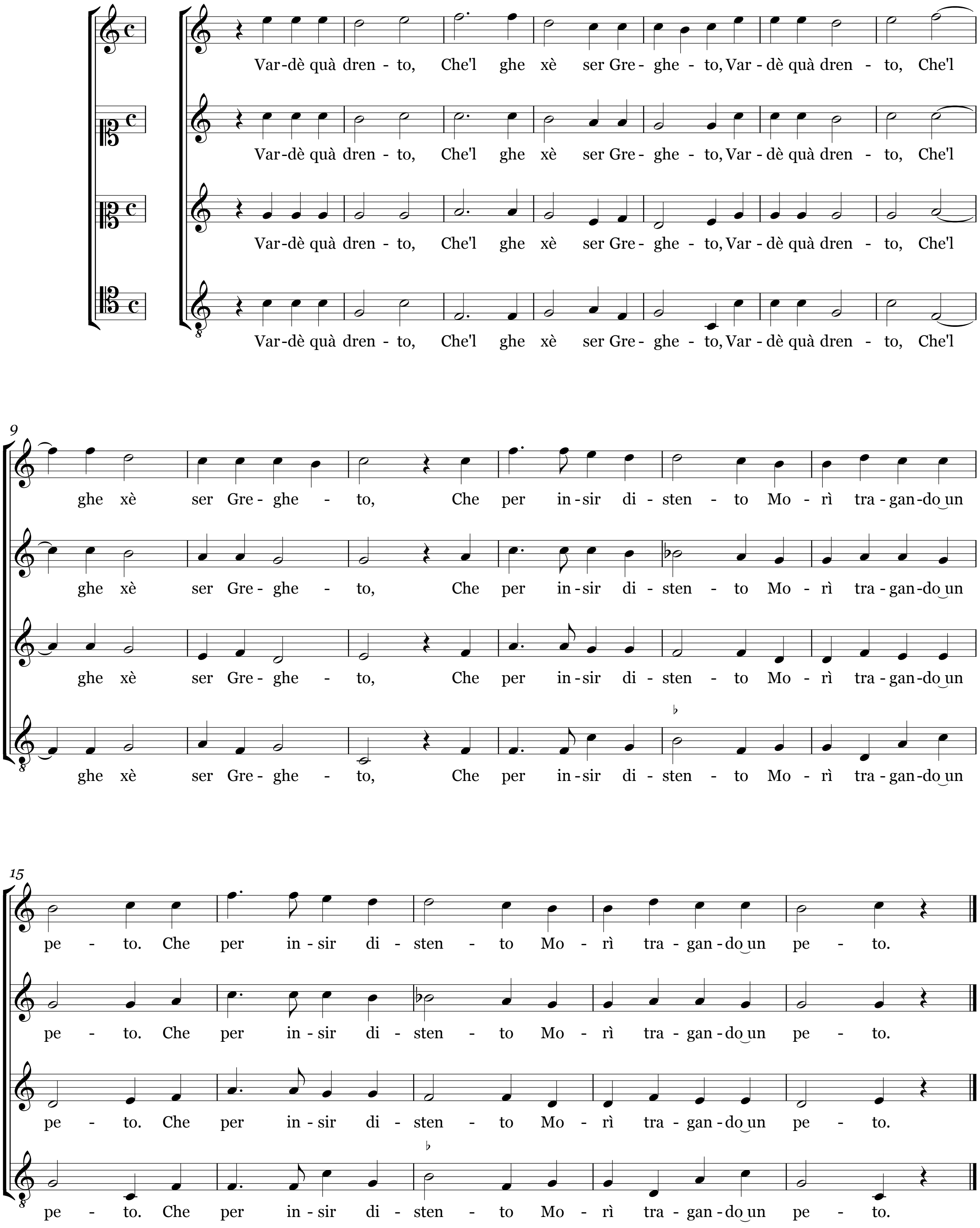

Chi le-xe quà con-si-de-ra ben tut-to, A che muo-do si muor mi-se-ra-
9
men-te, Choè stao co-stu, Choe stao co-stu, che xe in st'ar-ca pre-sen-te Al-le-gre-to Gal-
♩ in print; man. corr. in src.
16
din tra-gan-do un rut-to. Al-le-gre-to Gal-din tra-gan-do un rut-to.

Vardè quà drento

Musica...sopra le rime bizzarre di M. Andrea Calmo

(Milan: Pozzo, 1567) RISM A/I A401, 26.

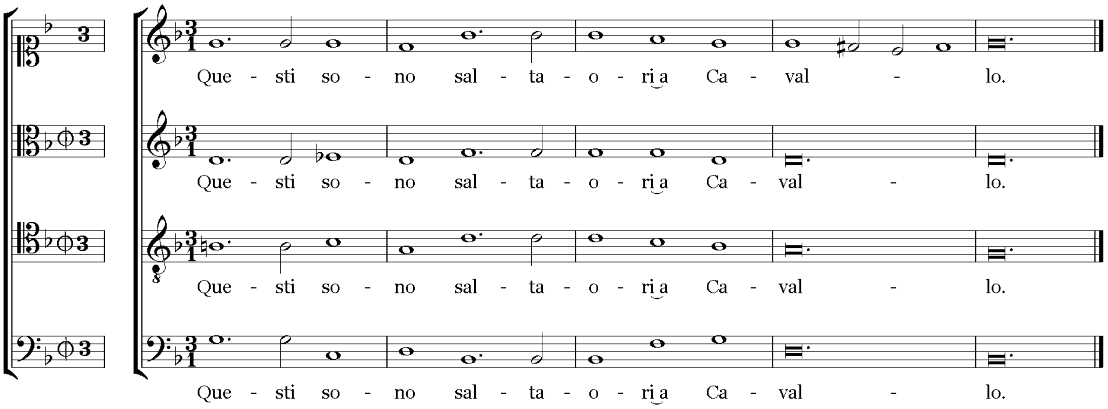
Lodovico Agostini


Var-dè quà dren - to, Che'l ghe xè ser Gre- ghe - to, Var - dè quà dren - to, Che'l
Var-dè quà dren - to, Che'l ghe xè ser Gre- ghe - to, Var - dè quà dren - to, Che'l
Var-dè quà dren - to, Che'l ghe xè ser Gre- ghe - to, Var - dè quà dren - to, Che'l
Var-dè quà dren - to, Che'l ghe xè ser Gre- ghe - to, Var - dè quà dren - to, Che'l
9
ghe xè ser Gre- ghe - to, Che per in-sir di- sten - to Mo - rì tra - gan-do‿un
ghe xè ser Gre- ghe - to, Che per in-sir di- sten - to Mo - rì tra - gan-do‿un
ghe xè ser Gre- ghe - to, Che per in-sir di- sten - to Mo - rì tra - gan-do‿un
ghe xè ser Gre- ghe - to, Che per in-sir di- sten - to Mo - rì tra - gan-do‿un
15
pe - to. Che per in-sir di - sten - to Mo - rì tra - gan - do‿un pe - to.
pe - to. Che per in-sir di - sten - to Mo - rì tra - gan - do‿un pe - to.
pe - to. Che per in-sir di - sten - to Mo - rì tra - gan - do‿un pe - to.
pe - to. Che per in-sir di - sten - to Mo - rì tra - gan - do‿un pe - to.

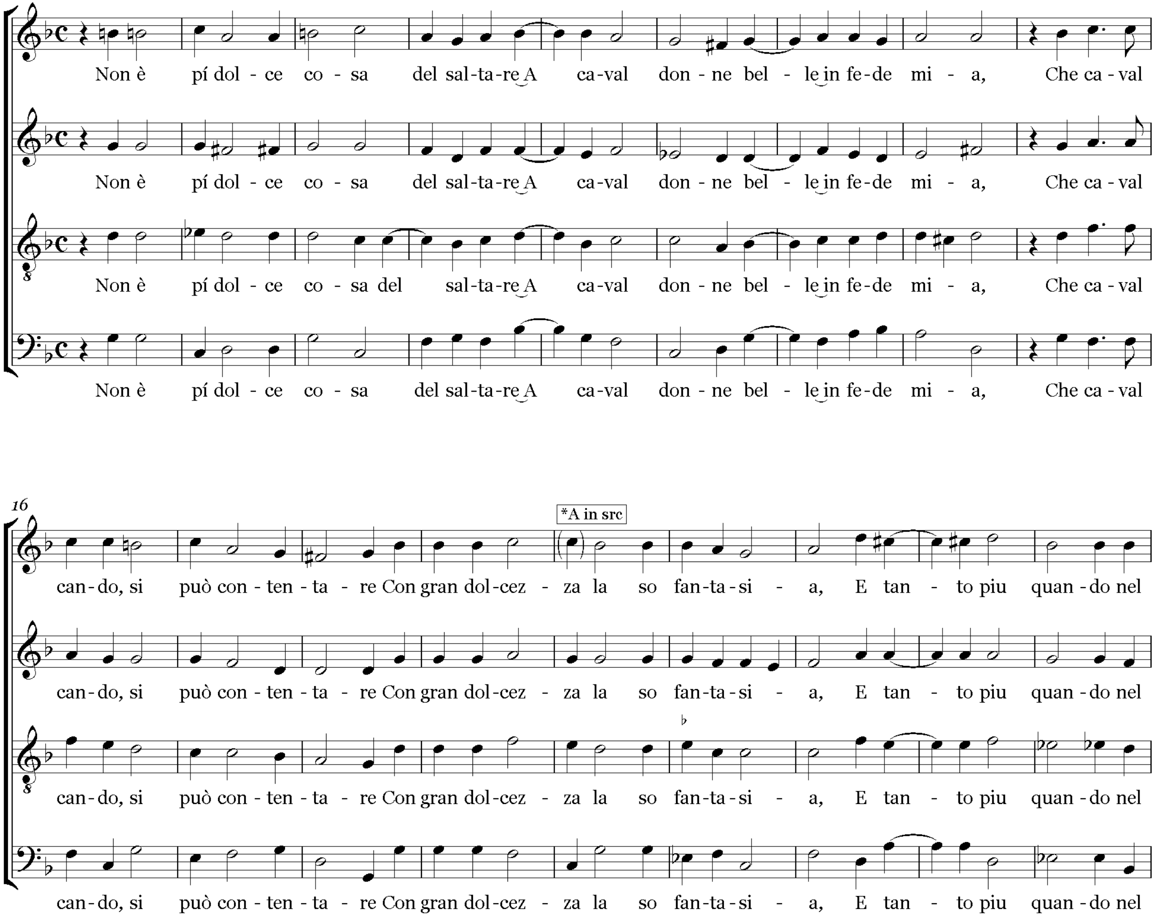
Questi sono saltaori a Cavallo

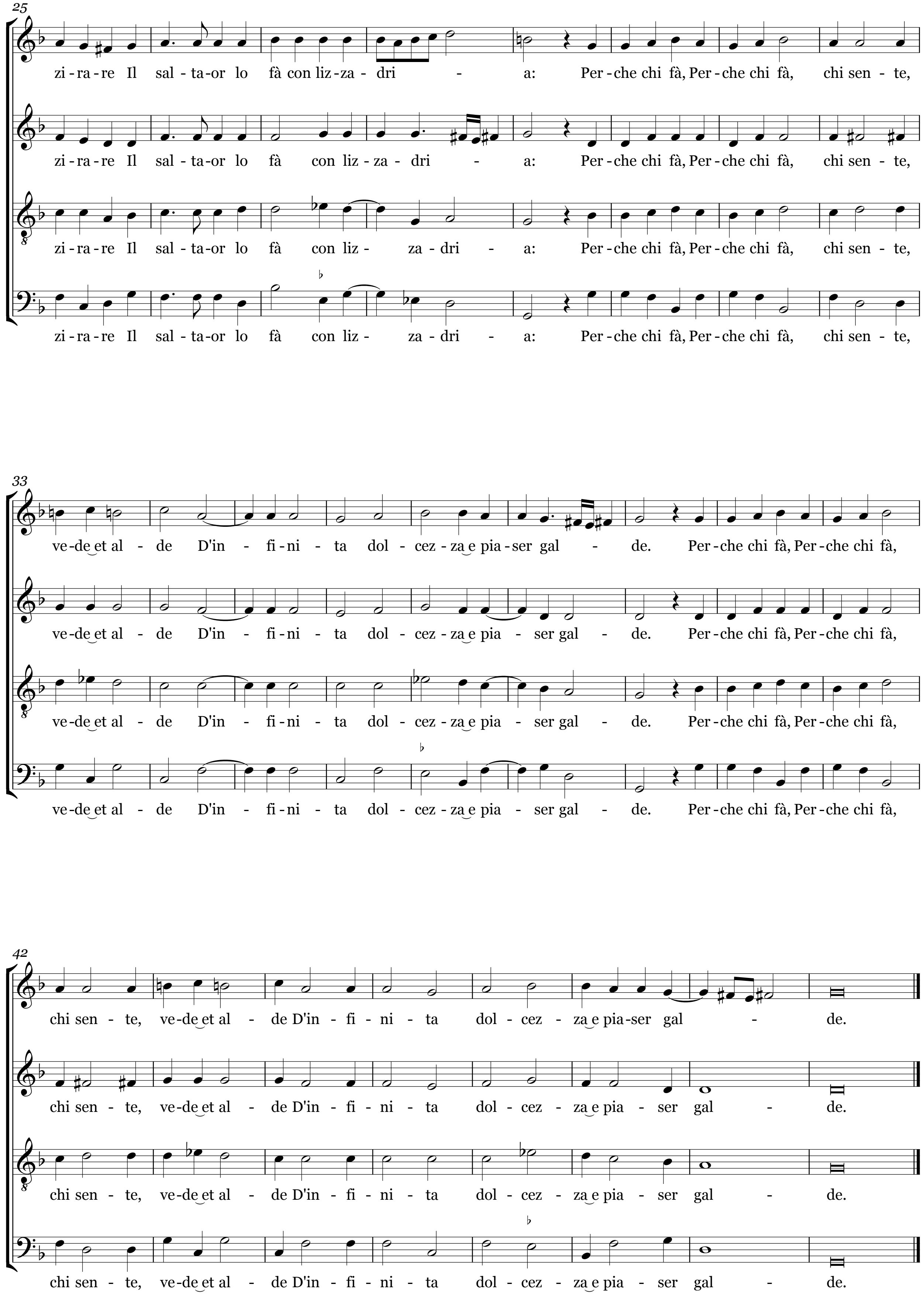
Musica...sopra le rime bizzarre di M. Andrea Calmo
(Milan: Pozzo, 1567) RISM A/I A401, 27-28.

Lodovico Agostini


Que - sti so - no sal - ta - o - ri a Ca - val - lo.
Que - sti so - no sal - ta - o - ri a Ca - val - lo.
Que - sti so - no sal - ta - o - ri a Ca - val - lo.
Que - sti so - no sal - ta - o - ri a Ca - val - lo.

Seconda parte

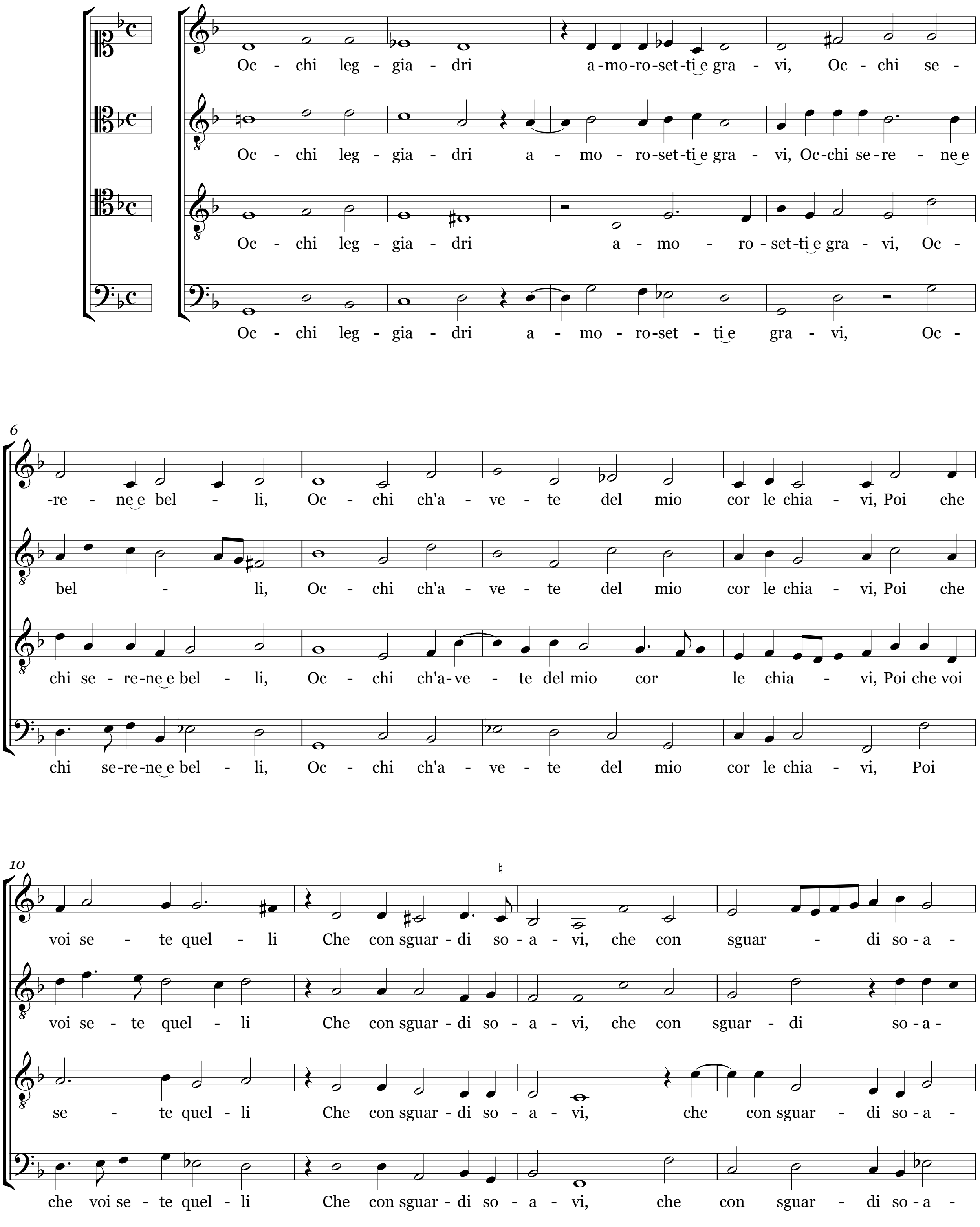

7
Non è pí dol - ce co - sa del sal-ta-re A ca-val don - ne bel - le in fe-de mi - a, Che ca - val
Non è pí dol - ce co - sa del sal-ta-re A ca-val don - ne bel - le in fe-de mi - a, Che ca - val
Non è pí dol - ce co - sa del sal-ta-re A ca-val don - ne bel - le in fe-de mi - a, Che ca - val
Non è pí dol - ce co - sa del sal-ta-re A ca-val don - ne bel - le in fe-de mi - a, Che ca - val
16
*A in src
can-do, si può con - ten - ta - re Con gran dol-cez - za la so fan-ta-si - a, E tan - to piu quan-do nel
can-do, si può con - ten - ta - re Con gran dol-cez - za la so fan-ta-si - a, E tan - to piu quan-do nel
can-do, si può con - ten - ta - re Con gran dol-cez - za la so fan-ta-si - a, E tan - to piu quan-do nel
can-do, si può con - ten - ta - re Con gran dol-cez - za la so fan-ta-si - a, E tan - to piu quan-do nel


25
zi - ra - re Il sal - ta - or lo fà con liz - za - dri - a: Per - che chi fà, Per - che chi fà, chi sen - te,
zi - ra - re Il sal - ta - or lo fà con liz - za - dri - a: Per - che chi fà, Per - che chi fà, chi sen - te,
zi - ra - re Il sal - ta - or lo fà con liz - za - dri - a: Per - che chi fà, Per - che chi fà, chi sen - te,
zi - ra - re Il sal - ta - or lo fà con liz - za - dri - a: Per - che chi fà, Per - che chi fà, chi sen - te,
33
ve - de‿et al - de D'in - fi - ni - ta dol - cez - za‿e pia - ser gal - de. Per - che chi fà, Per - che chi fà,
ve - de‿et al - de D'in - fi - ni - ta dol - cez - za‿e pia - ser gal - de. Per - che chi fà, Per - che chi fà,
ve - de‿et al - de D'in - fi - ni - ta dol - cez - za‿e pia - ser gal - de. Per - che chi fà, Per - che chi fà,
ve - de‿et al - de D'in - fi - ni - ta dol - cez - za‿e pia - ser gal - de. Per - che chi fà, Per - che chi fà,
42
chi sen - te, ve - de‿et al - de D'in - fi - ni - ta dol - cez - za‿e pia - ser gal - de.
chi sen - te, ve - de‿et al - de D'in - fi - ni - ta dol - cez - za‿e pia - ser gal - de.
chi sen - te, ve - de‿et al - de D'in - fi - ni - ta dol - cez - za‿e pia - ser gal - de.
chi sen - te, ve - de‿et al - de D'in - fi - ni - ta dol - cez - za‿e pia - ser gal - de.

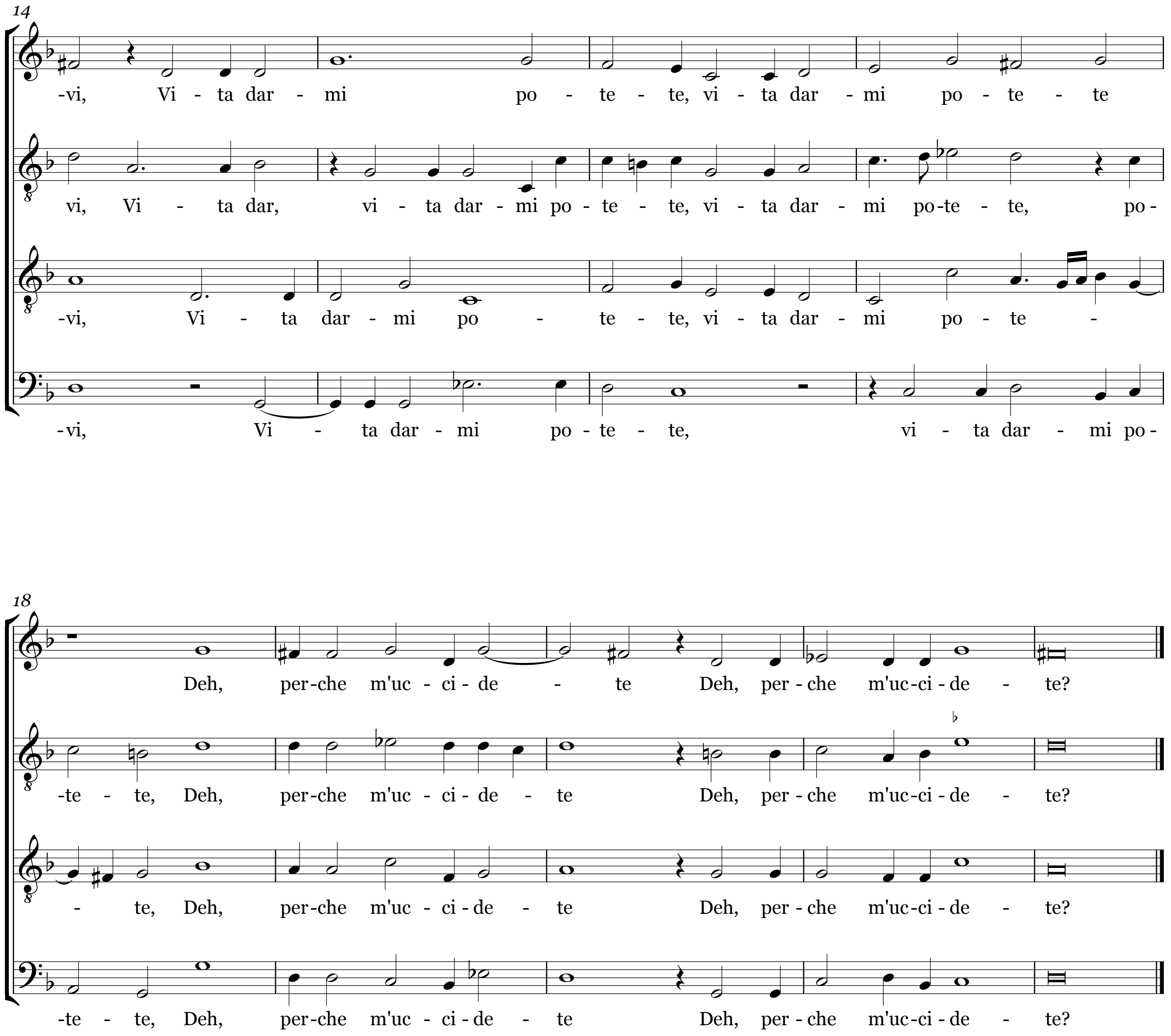
Occhi leggiadri

Madrigali aierosi a quatro voci
(Venice: Gardano, 1558) RISM B/I 1558/12, 17-18.

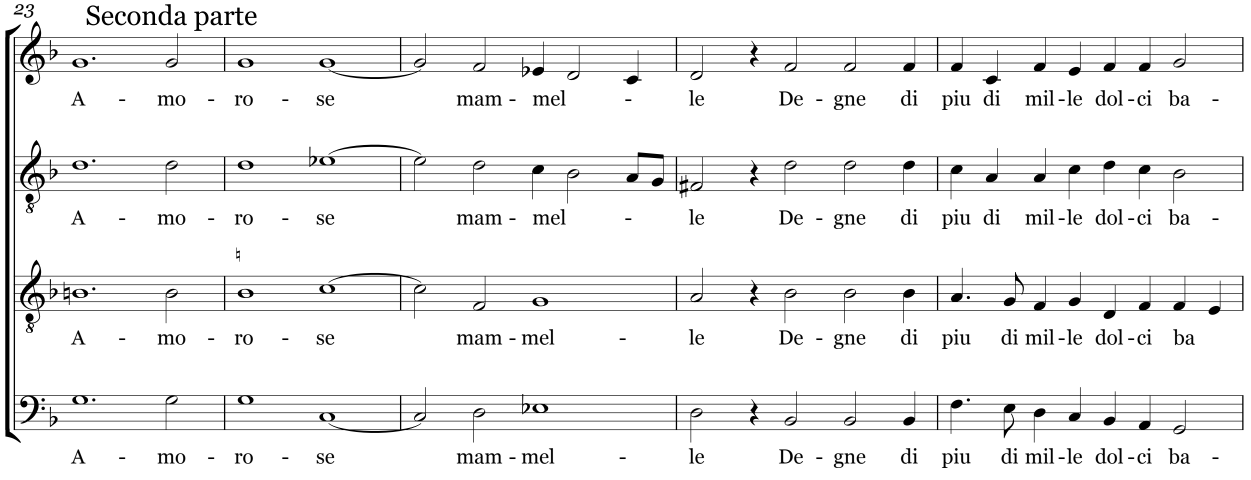
Bernardo Lupacchino

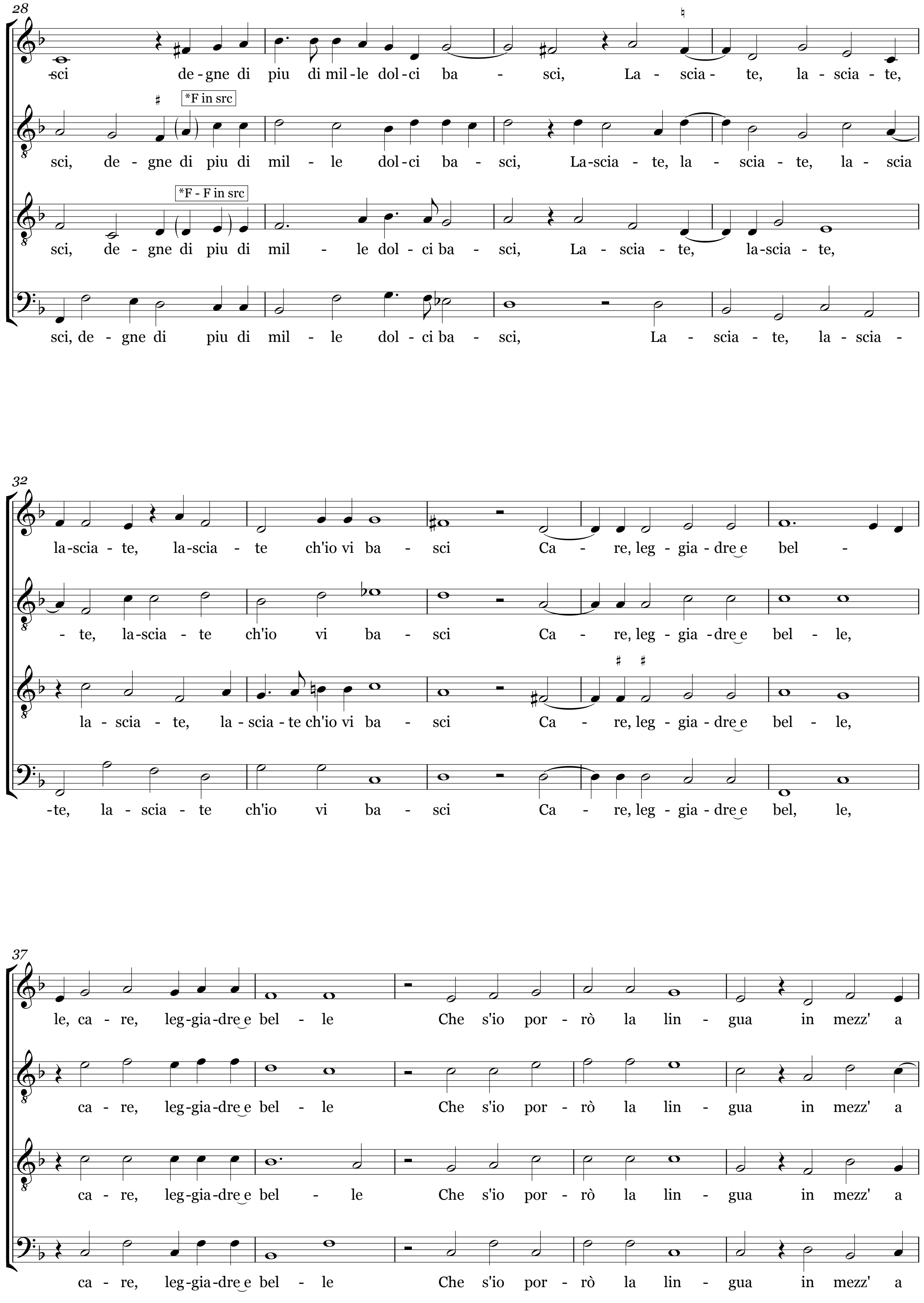


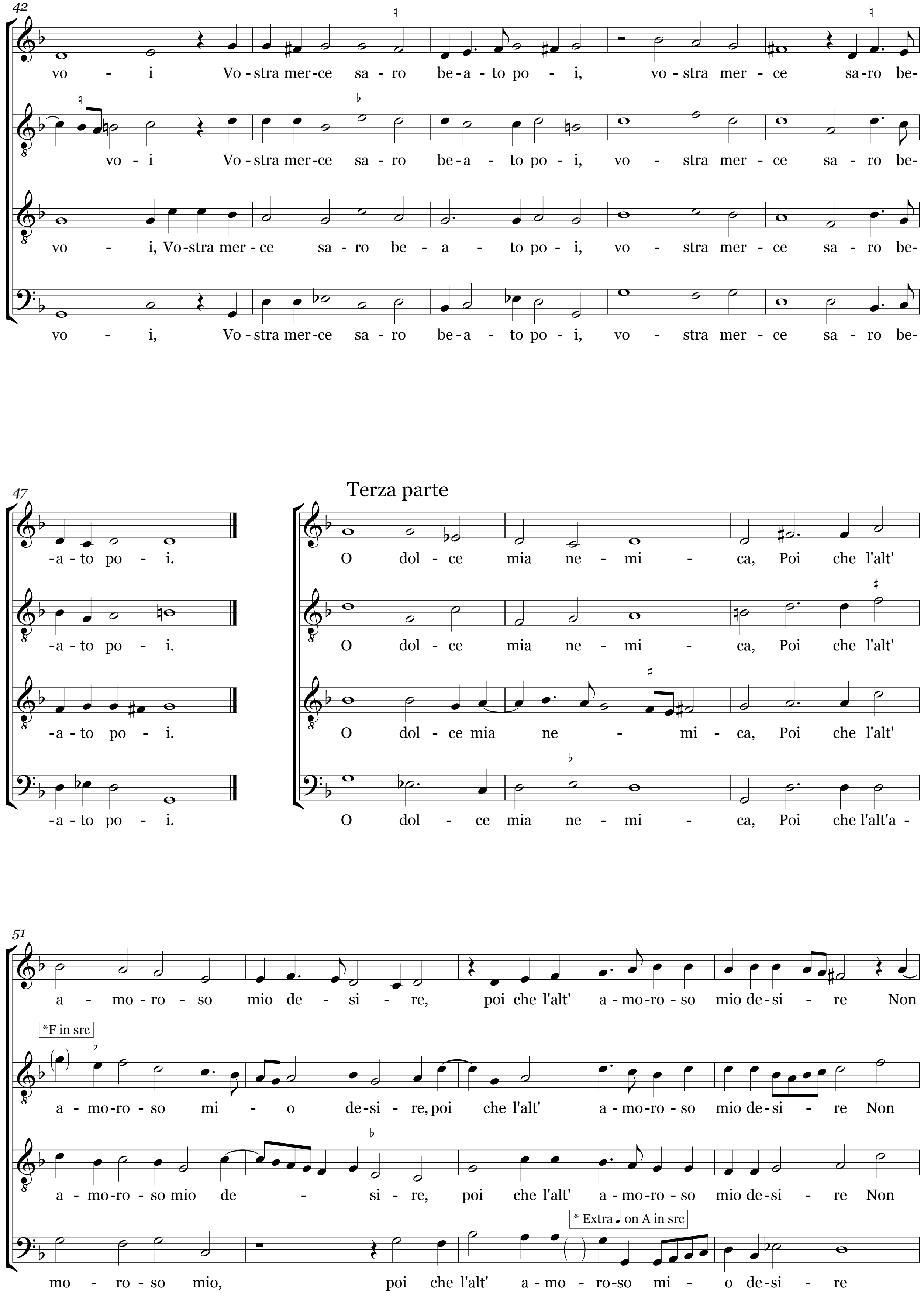
Oc - chi leg - gia - dri a-mo-ro-set-ti e gra - vi, Oc - chi se -
Oc - chi leg - gia - dri a - mo - ro-set-ti e gra - vi, Oc-chi se-re - ne e
Oc - chi leg - gia - dri a - mo - ro-set-ti e gra - vi, Oc -
Oc - chi leg - gia - dri a - mo - ro-set - ti e gra - vi, Oc -
6
-re - ne e bel - li, Oc - chi ch'a - ve - te del mio cor le chia - vi, Poi che
bel - li, Oc - chi ch'a - ve - te del mio cor le chia - vi, Poi che
chi se - re-ne e bel - li, Oc - chi ch'a-ve - te del mio cor le chia - vi, Poi che voi
chi se-re-ne e bel - li, Oc - chi ch'a - ve - te del mio cor le chia - vi, Poi
10
voi se - te quel - li Che con sguar - di so - a - vi, che con sguar - di so - a -
voi se - te quel - li Che con sguar - di so - a - vi, che con sguar - di so - a -
se - te quel - li Che con sguar - di so - a - vi, che con sguar - di so - a -
che voi se - te quel - li Che con sguar - di so - a - vi, che con sguar - di so - a -

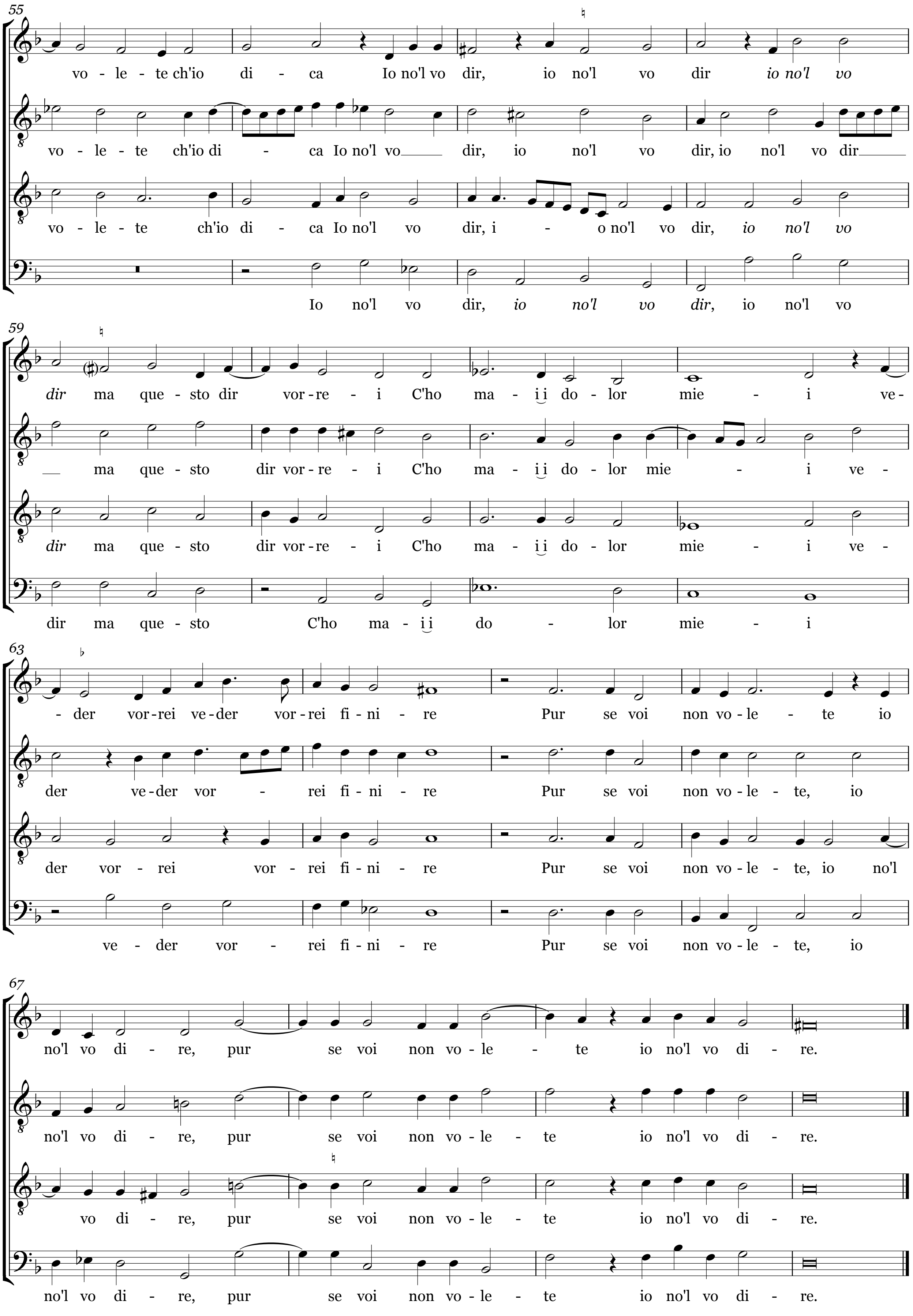

14
-vi, Vi - ta dar - mi po - te - te, vi - ta dar - mi po - te - te
vi, Vi - ta dar, vi - ta dar - mi po - te - te, vi - ta dar - mi po-te - te, po-
-vi, Vi - ta dar - mi po - te - te, vi - ta dar - mi po - te -
-vi, Vi - ta dar - mi po - te - te, vi - ta dar - mi po-
18
Deh, per-che m'uc - ci - de - te Deh, per - che m'uc-ci - de - te?
-te - te, Deh, per-che m'uc - ci - de - te Deh, per - che m'uc-ci - de - te?
- te, Deh, per-che m'uc - ci - de - te Deh, per - che m'uc-ci - de - te?
-te - te, Deh, per-che m'uc - ci - de - te Deh, per - che m'uc-ci - de - te?

Seconda parte


23
A - mo - ro - se mam - mel - le De - gne di piu di mil-le dol-ci ba -
A - mo - ro - se mam - mel - le De - gne di piu di mil-le dol-ci ba -
A - mo - ro - se mam - mel - le De - gne di piu di mil-le dol-ci ba
A - mo - ro - se mam - mel - le De - gne di piu di mil-le dol-ci ba -


28
sci de - gne di piu di mil - le dol - ci ba - sci, La - scia - te, la - scia - te,
*F in src
sci, de - gne di piu di mil - le dol - ci ba - sci, La - scia - te, la - scia - te, la - scia
*F - F in src
sci, de - gne di piu di mil - le dol - ci ba - sci, La - scia - te, la - scia - te,
sci, de - gne di piu di mil - le dol - ci ba - sci, La - scia - te, la - scia -
32
la - scia - te, la - scia - te ch'io vi ba - sci Ca - re, leg - gia - dre e bel -
- te, la - scia - te ch'io vi ba - sci Ca - re, leg - gia - dre e bel - le,
la - scia - te, la - scia - te ch'io vi ba - sci Ca - re, leg - gia - dre e bel - le,
-te, la - scia - te ch'io vi ba - sci Ca - re, leg - gia - dre e bel, le,
37
le, ca - re, leg - gia - dre e bel - le Che s'io por - rò la lin - gua in mezz' a
ca - re, leg - gia - dre e bel - le Che s'io por - rò la lin - gua in mezz' a
ca - re, leg - gia - dre e bel - le Che s'io por - rò la lin - gua in mezz' a
ca - re, leg - gia - dre e bel - le Che s'io por - rò la lin - gua in mezz' a

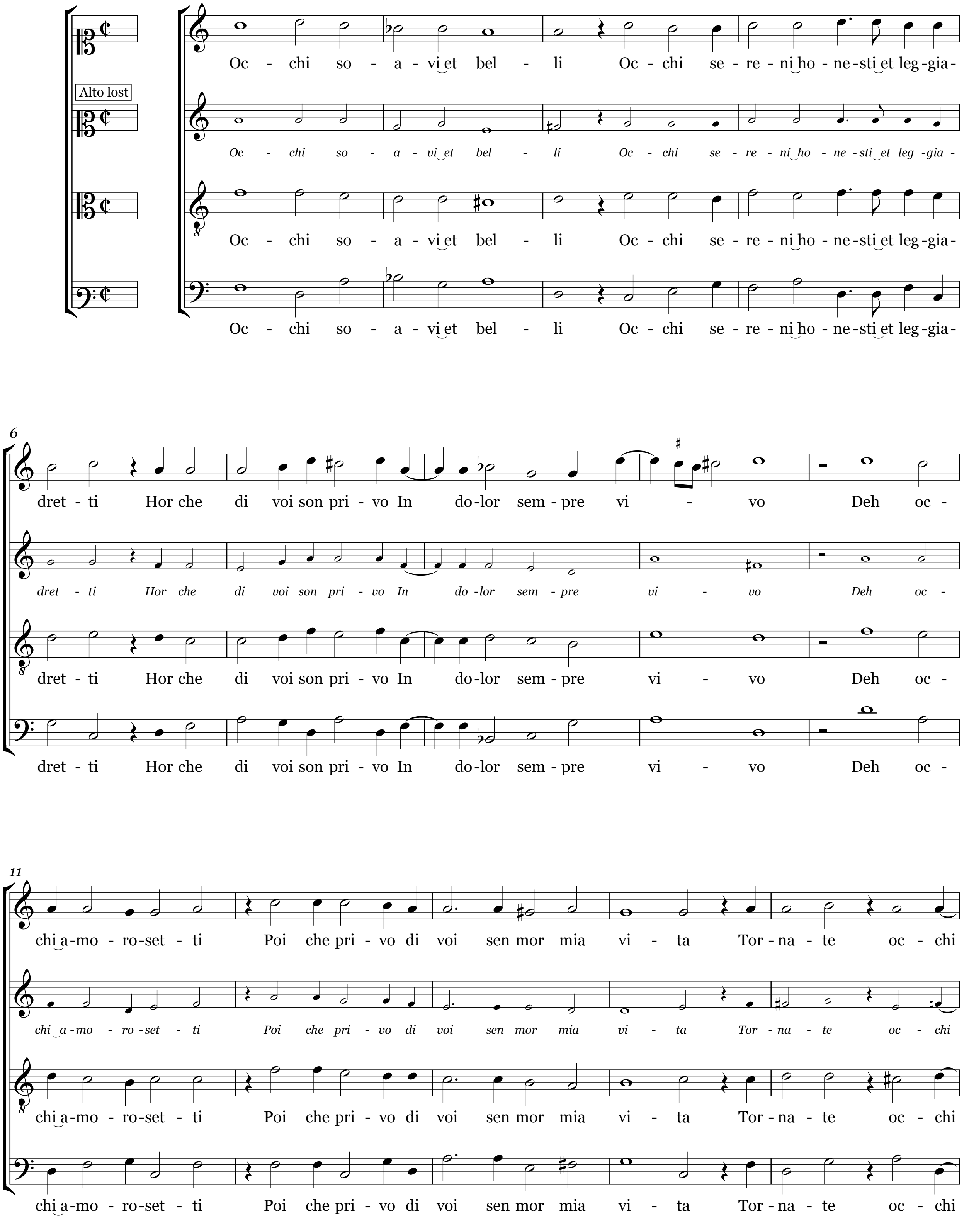

42
vo - i Vo-stra mer-ce sa-ro be-a-to po - i, vo-stra mer - ce sa-ro be-
vo - i Vo-stra mer-ce sa - ro be-a - to po - i, vo - stra mer - ce sa - ro be-
vo - i, Vo-stra mer - ce sa - ro be - a - to po - i, vo - stra mer - ce sa - ro be-
vo - i, Vo-stra mer-ce sa - ro be-a - to po - i, vo - stra mer - ce sa - ro be-
47
-a - to po - i.
-a - to po - i.
-a - to po - i.
-a - to po - i.
Terza parte
O dol - ce mia ne - mi - ca, Poi che l'alt'
O dol - ce mia ne - mi - ca, Poi che l'alt'
O dol - ce mia ne - mi - ca, Poi che l'alt'
O dol - ce mia ne - mi - ca, Poi che l'alt'a -
51
a - mo-ro - so mio de - si - re, poi che l'alt' a - mo-ro - so mio de-si - re Non
*F in src
a - mo-ro - so mi - o de-si - re, poi che l'alt' a - mo-ro - so mio de-si - re Non
a - mo-ro - so mio de - si - re, poi che l'alt' a - mo-ro - so mio de-si - re Non
* Extra ♩ on A in src
mo - ro - so mio, poi che l'alt' a - mo - ro-so mi - o de-si - re

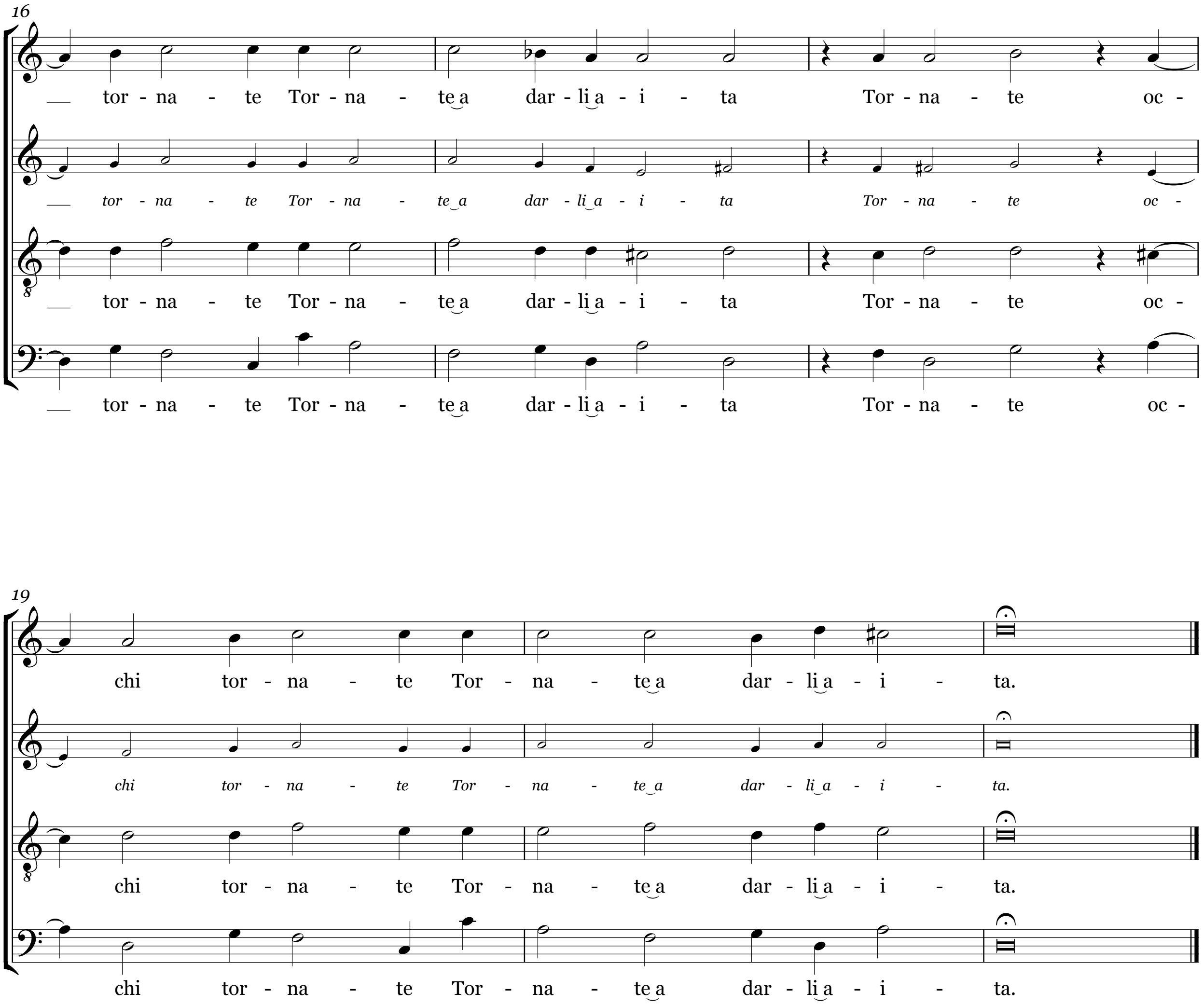

55
vo - le - te ch'io di - ca Io no'l vo dir, io no'l vo dir io no'l vo
vo - le - te ch'io di - ca Io no'l vo dir, io no'l vo dir, io no'l vo dir
vo - le - te ch'io di - ca Io no'l vo dir, i - o no'l vo dir, io no'l vo
Io no'l vo dir, io no'l vo dir, io no'l vo
59
dir ma que - sto dir vor - re - i C'ho ma - i i do - lor mie - i ve -
ma que - sto dir vor - re - i C'ho ma - i i do - lor mie - i ve -
dir ma que - sto dir vor - re - i C'ho ma - i i do - lor mie - i ve -
dir ma que - sto C'ho ma - i i do - lor mie - i
63
- der vor - rei ve - der vor - rei fi - ni - re Pur se voi non vo - le - te io
der ve - der vor - rei fi - ni - re Pur se voi non vo - le - te, io
der vor - rei vor - rei fi - ni - re Pur se voi non vo - le - te, io no'l
ve - der vor - rei fi - ni - re Pur se voi non vo - le - te, io
67
no'l vo di - re, pur se voi non vo - le - te io no'l vo di - re.
no'l vo di - re, pur se voi non vo - le - te io no'l vo di - re.
vo di - re, pur se voi non vo - le - te io no'l vo di - re.
no'l vo di - re, pur se voi non vo - le - te io no'l vo di - re.

Occhi soavi

Il terzo libro delle muse
(Rome: Barré, 1562) RISM B/I 1562/7, 23.

Lodovico Agostini

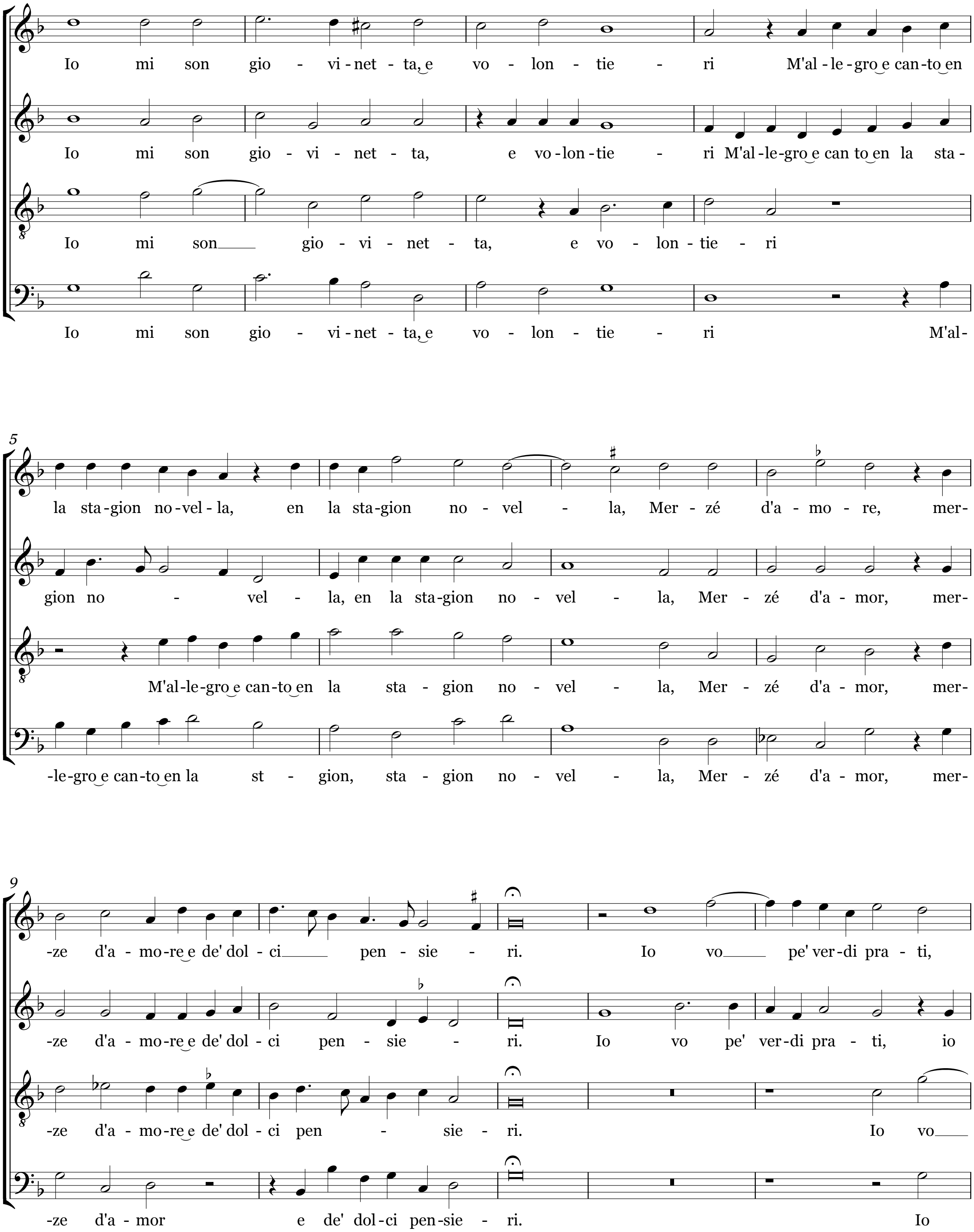

Alto lost
Oc - chi so - a - vi et bel - li Oc - chi se - re - ni ho - ne - sti et leg - gia -
6
dret - ti Hor che di voi son pri - vo In do - lor sem - pre vi - vo Deh oc -
11
chi a - mo - ro - set - ti Poi che pri - vo di voi sen mor mia vi - ta Tor - na - te oc - chi

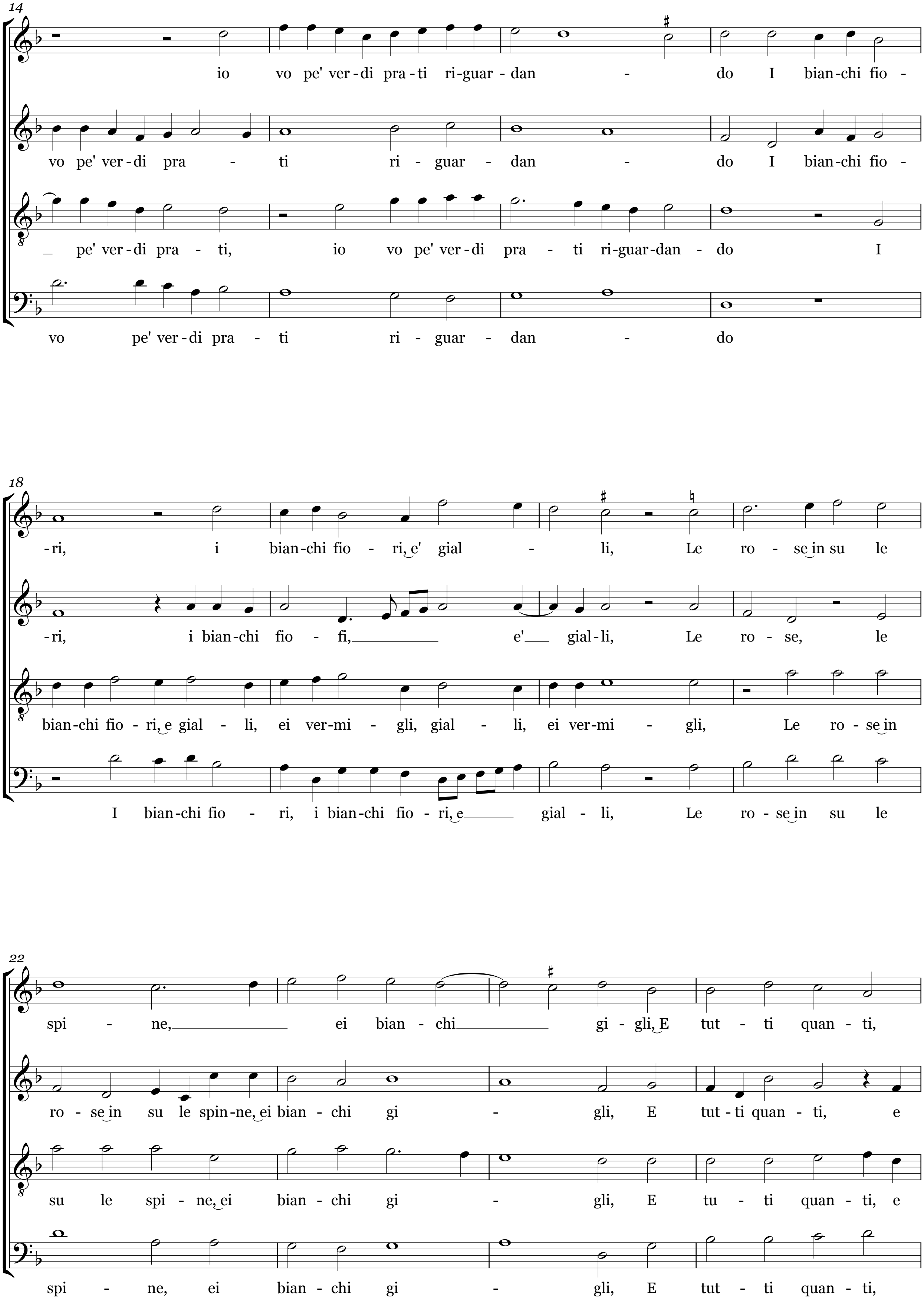

16
tor - na - te Tor - na - te a dar - li a - i - ta Tor - na - te oc -
19
chi tor - na - te Tor - na - te a dar - li a - i - ta.

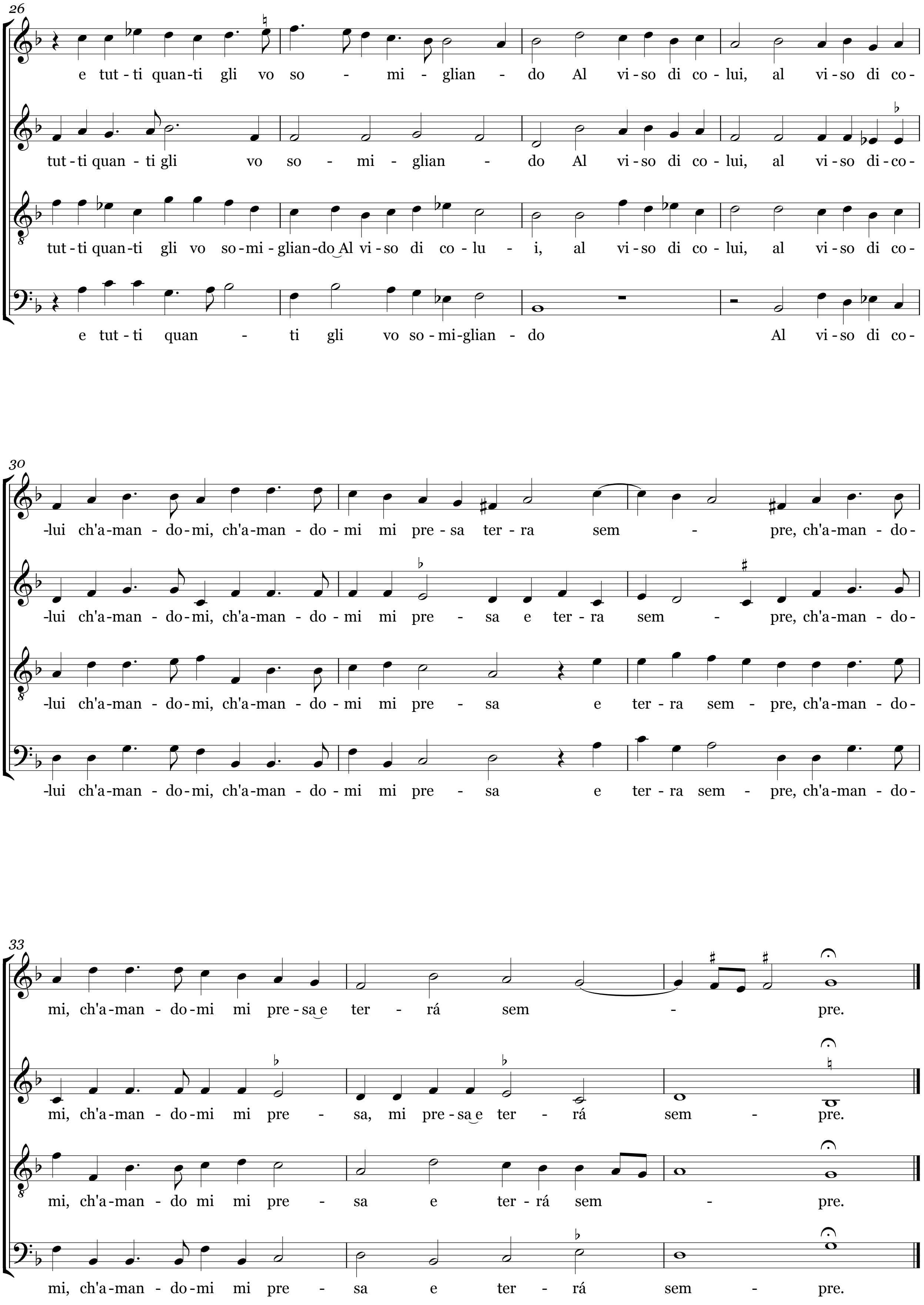
Io mi son Giovinetta

Adapted from Ferrabosco, *Opera Omnia*
CMM 102, ed. R. Charteris

Domenico Ferrabosco


Io mi son gio - vi-net - ta‿e vo - lon - tie - ri M'al - le - gro‿e can - to‿en
Io mi son gio - vi - net - ta, e vo - lon - tie - ri M'al - le - gro‿e can to‿en la sta -
Io mi son___ gio - vi - net - ta, e vo - lon - tie - ri
Io mi son gio - vi - net - ta‿e vo - lon - tie - ri M'al-
5
la sta - gion no - vel - la, en la sta - gion no - vel - la, Mer - zé d'a - mo - re, mer-
gion no - vel - la, en la sta - gion no - vel - la, Mer - zé d'a - mor, mer-
M'al - le - gro‿e can - to‿en la sta - gion no - vel - la, Mer - zé d'a - mor, mer-
-le - gro‿e can - to‿en la st - gion, sta - gion no - vel - la, Mer - zé d'a - mor, mer-
9
-ze d'a - mo - re‿e de' dol - ci___ pen - sie - ri. Io vo___ pe' ver - di pra - ti,
-ze d'a - mo - re‿e de' dol - ci pen - sie - ri. Io vo pe' ver - di pra - ti, io
-ze d'a - mo - re‿e de' dol - ci pen - sie - ri. Io vo___
-ze d'a - mor e de' dol - ci pen - sie - ri. Io

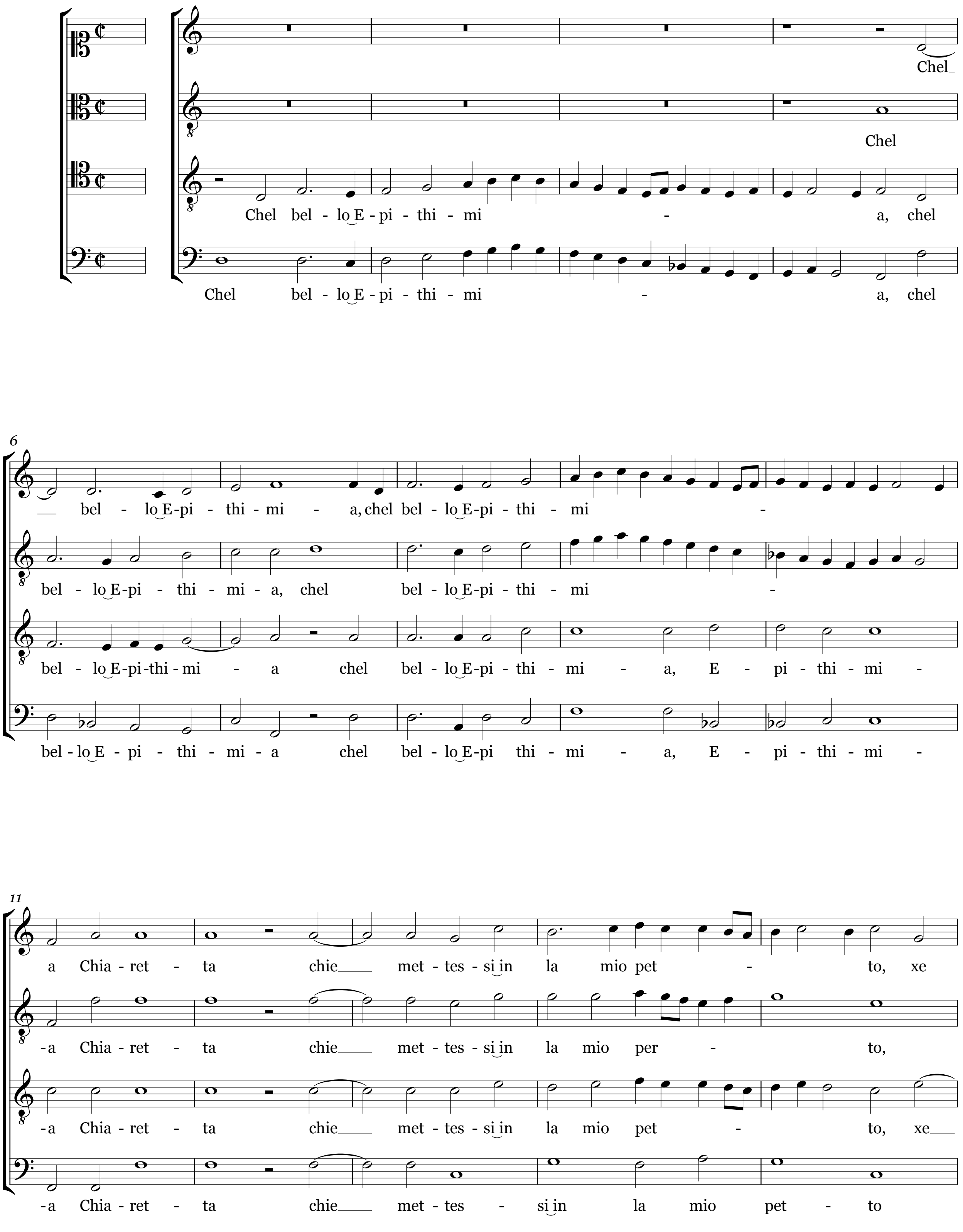

14
io vo pe' ver-di pra-ti ri-guar-dan - do I bian-chi fio -
vo pe' ver-di pra - ti ri - guar - dan - do I bian-chi fio -
_ pe' ver-di pra - ti, io vo pe' ver-di pra - ti ri-guar-dan - do I
vo pe' ver-di pra - ti ri - guar - dan - do
18
-ri, i bian-chi fio - ri‿e' gial - li, Le ro - se‿in su le
-ri, i bian-chi fio - fi, e' gial-li, Le ro-se, le
bian-chi fio - ri‿e gial - li, ei ver-mi - gli, gial - li, ei ver-mi - gli, Le ro - se‿in
I bian-chi fio - ri, i bian-chi fio - ri‿e gial - li, Le ro - se‿in su le
22
spi - ne, ei bian - chi gi - gli‿E tut - ti quan - ti,
ro - se‿in su le spin-ne‿ei bian - chi gi - gli, E tut-ti quan - ti, e
su le spi - ne‿ei bian - chi gi - gli, E tu - ti quan - ti, e
spi - ne, ei bian - chi gi - gli, E tut - ti quan - ti,

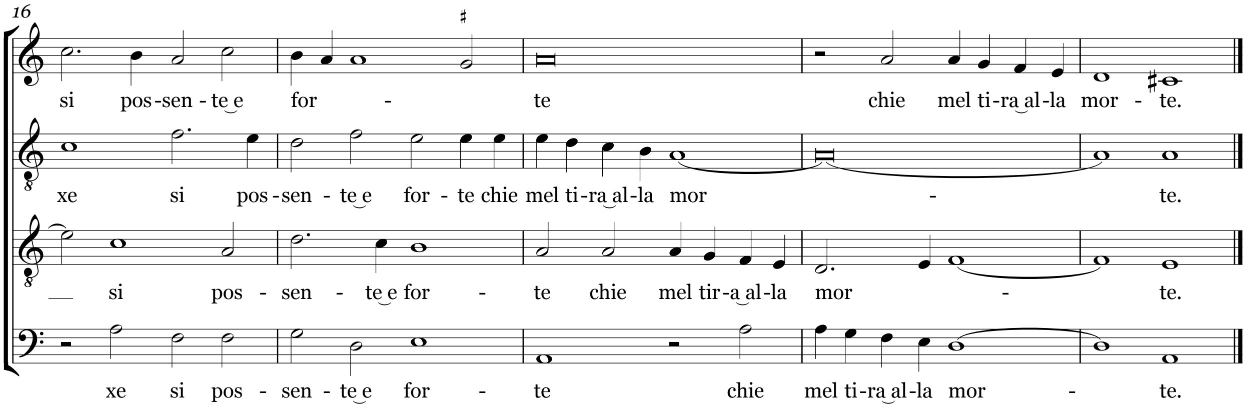

26
e tut - ti quan - ti gli vo so - mi - glian - do Al vi - so di co - lui, al vi - so di co-
tut - ti quan - ti gli vo so - mi - glian - do Al vi - so di co - lui, al vi - so di - co-
tut - ti quan - ti gli vo so - mi - glian - do‿Al vi - so di co - lu - i, al vi - so di co - lui, al vi - so di co-
e tut - ti quan - ti gli vo so - mi - glian - do Al vi - so di co-
30
-lui ch'a - man - do - mi, ch'a - man - do - mi mi pre - sa ter - ra sem - pre, ch'a - man - do-
-lui ch'a - man - do - mi, ch'a - man - do - mi mi pre - sa e ter - ra sem - pre, ch'a - man - do-
-lui ch'a - man - do - mi, ch'a - man - do - mi mi pre - sa e ter - ra sem - pre, ch'a - man - do-
-lui ch'a - man - do - mi, ch'a - man - do - mi mi pre - sa e ter - ra sem - pre, ch'a - man - do-
33
mi, ch'a - man - do - mi mi pre - sa‿e ter - rá sem - pre.
mi, ch'a - man - do - mi mi pre - sa, mi pre - sa‿e ter - rá sem - pre.
mi, ch'a - man - do mi mi pre - sa e ter - rá sem - pre.
mi, ch'a - man - do - mi mi pre - sa e ter - rá sem - pre.

Chel bello Epithimia

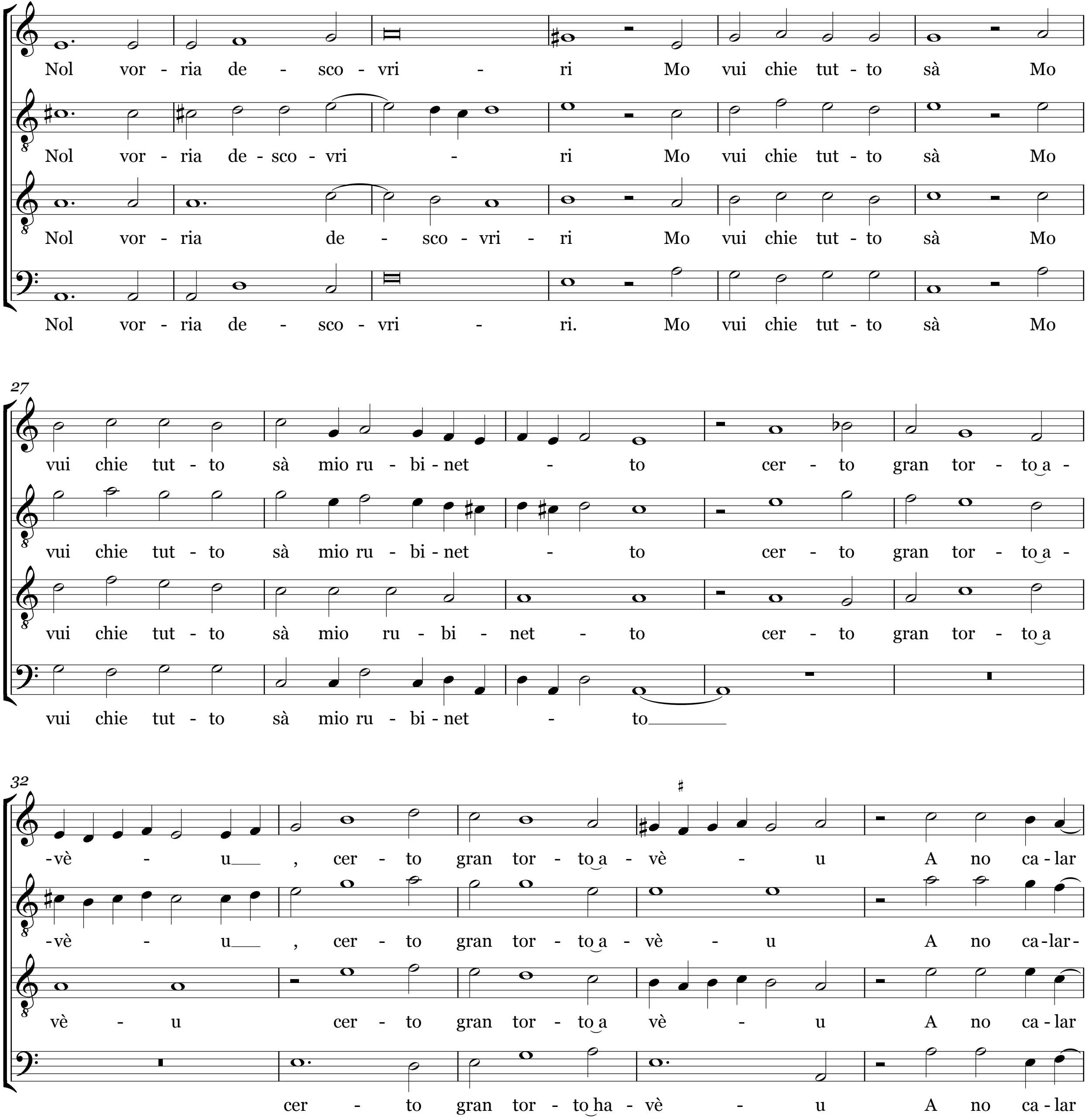
Di Manoli Blessi il primo libro delle greghesche
(Venice: Gardano, 1564) RISM B/I 1564/16, 2.

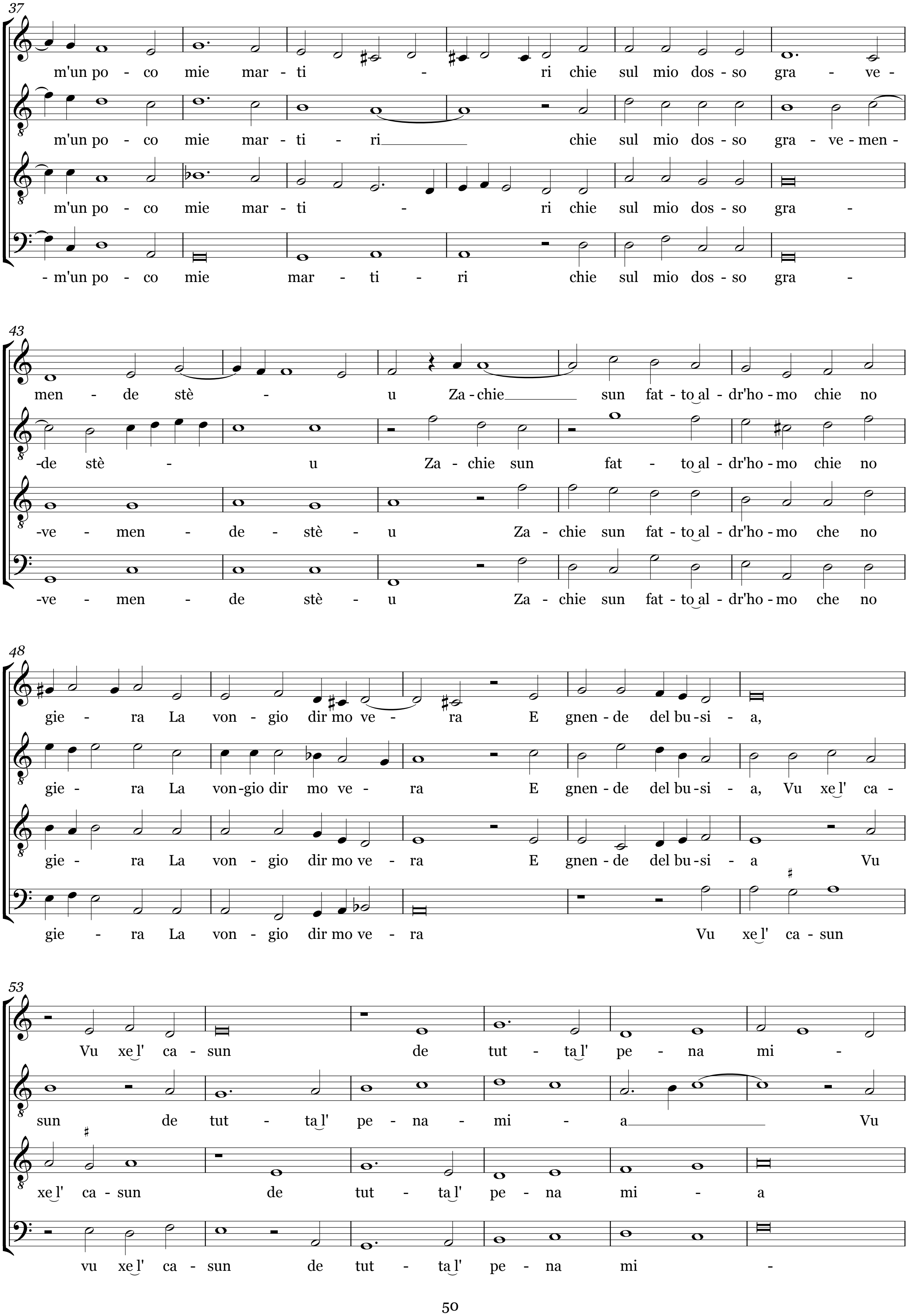
Giaches de Wert

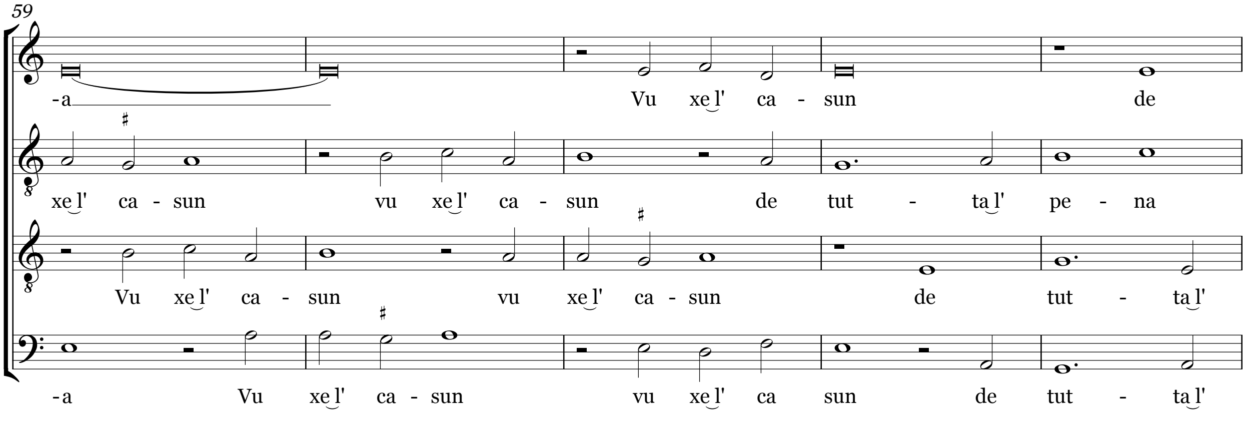

Chel bel - lo E - pi - thi - mi - a, chel bel - lo E-pi - thi - mi - a, chel bel - lo E-pi - thi - mi -
Chel bel - lo E-pi - thi - mi - a, chel bel - lo E-pi - thi - mi -
Chel bel - lo E - pi - thi - mi - a, chel bel - lo E-pi-thi-mi - a chel bel - lo E-pi - thi - mi - a, E - pi - thi - mi -
Chel bel - lo E - pi - thi - mi - a, chel bel - lo E - pi - thi - mi - a chel bel - lo E-pi thi - mi - a, E - pi - thi - mi -
6
11
a Chia - ret - ta chie met - tes - si in la mio pet - to, xe
-a Chia - ret - ta chie met - tes - si in la mio per - to,
-a Chia - ret - ta chie met - tes - si in la mio pet - to, xe
-a Chia - ret - ta chie met - tes - si in la mio pet - to

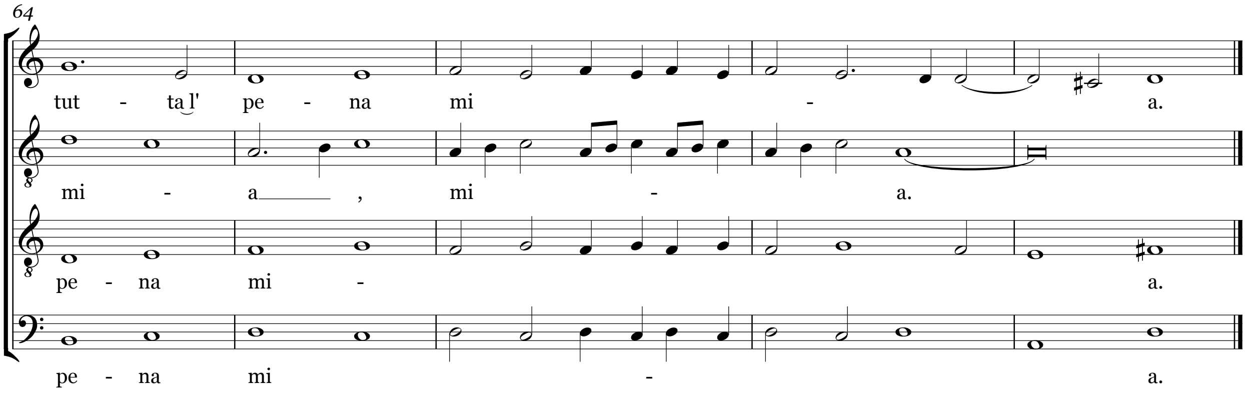

16
si pos-sen-te e for - te chie mel ti-ra al-la mor - te.
xe si pos-sen-te e for-te chie mel ti-ra al-la mor - te.
si pos-sen-te e for - te chie mel tir-a al-la mor - te.
xe si pos-sen-te e for - te chie mel ti-ra al-la mor - te.

Seconda parte


21
Nol vor-ria de - sco-vri - ri Mo vui chie tut-to sà Mo
Nol vor-ria de-sco-vri - ri Mo vui chie tut-to sà Mo
Nol vor-ria de - sco-vri - ri Mo vui chie tut-to sà Mo
Nol vor-ria de - sco-vri - ri. Mo vui chie tut-to sà Mo
27
vui chie tut-to sà mio ru-bi-net - to cer-to gran tor-to a-
vui chie tut-to sà mio ru-bi-net - to cer-to gran tor-to a-
vui chie tut-to sà mio ru-bi-net - to cer-to gran tor-to a
vui chie tut-to sà mio ru-bi-net - to
32
-vè - u , cer-to gran tor-to a-vè - u A no ca-lar
-vè - u , cer-to gran tor-to a-vè - u A no ca-lar-
vè - u cer-to gran tor-to a vè - u A no ca-lar
cer - to gran tor-to ha-vè - u A no ca-lar


37
m'un po - co mie mar - ti - ri chie sul mio dos - so gra - ve -
m'un po - co mie mar - ti - ri chie sul mio dos - so gra - ve - men -
m'un po - co mie mar - ti - ri chie sul mio dos - so gra -
- m'un po - co mie mar - ti - ri chie sul mio dos - so gra -
43
men - de stè - u Za - chie sun fat - to al - dr'ho - mo chie no
-de stè - u Za - chie sun fat - to al - dr'ho - mo chie no
-ve - men - de - stè - u Za - chie sun fat - to al - dr'ho - mo che no
-ve - men - de stè - u Za - chie sun fat - to al - dr'ho - mo che no
48
gie - ra La von - gio dir mo ve - ra E gnen - de del bu - si - a,
gie - ra La von-gio dir mo ve - ra E gnen - de del bu - si - a, Vu xe l' ca -
gie - ra La von - gio dir mo ve - ra E gnen - de del bu - si - a Vu
gie - ra La von - gio dir mo ve - ra Vu xe l' ca - sun
53
Vu xe l' ca - sun de tut - ta l' pe - na mi -
sun de tut - ta l' pe - na - mi - a Vu
xe l' ca - sun de tut - ta l' pe - na mi - a
vu xe l' ca - sun de tut - ta l' pe - na mi -

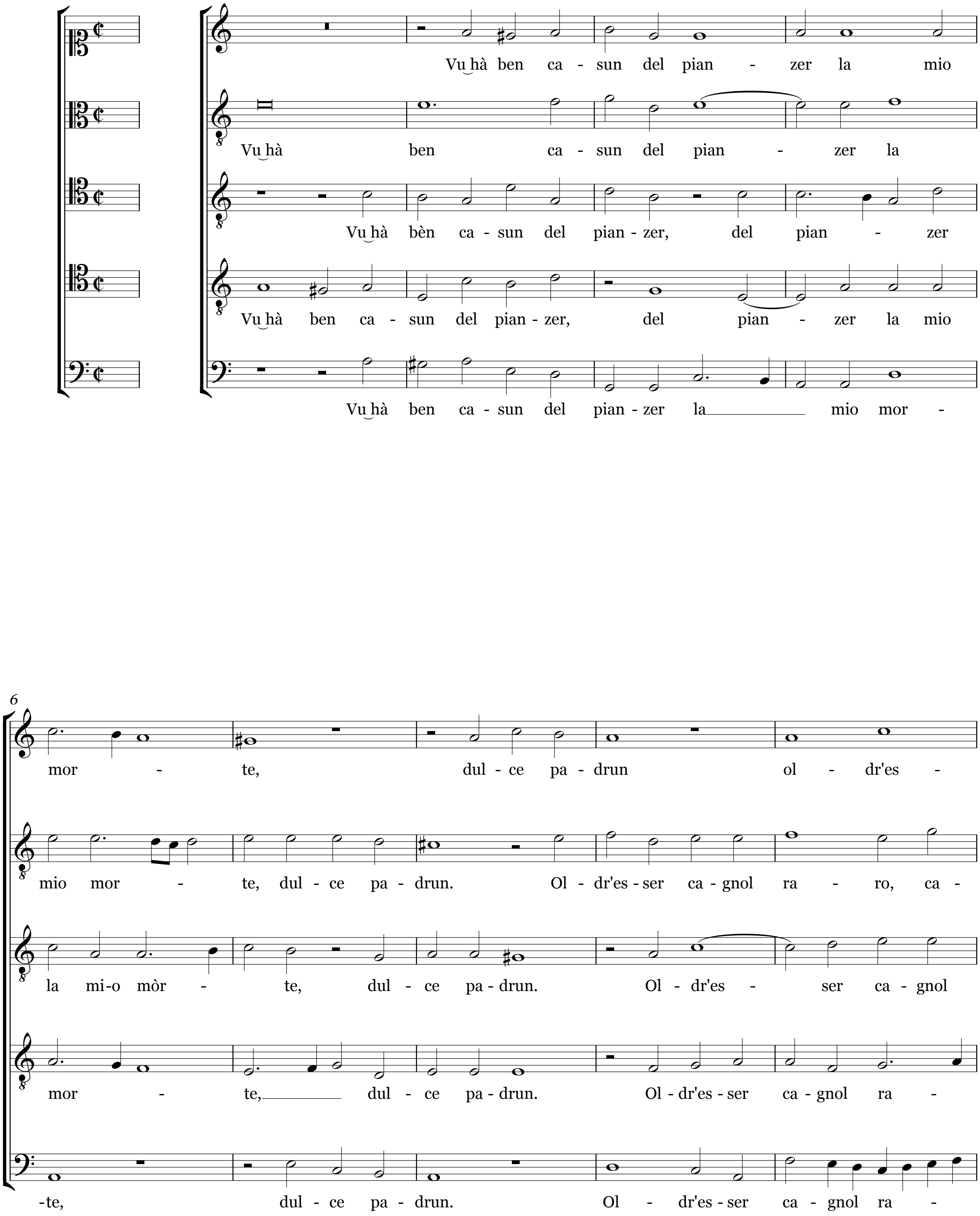

59
-a
Vu xe l' ca - sun de
xe l' ca - sun vu xe l' ca - sun de tut - ta l' pe - na
Vu xe l' ca - sun vu xe l' ca - sun de tut - ta l'
-a Vu xe l' ca - sun vu xe l' ca sun de tut - ta l'


64
tut - ta l' pe - na mi - a.
mi - a, mi - a.
pe - na mi - a.
pe - na mi - a.

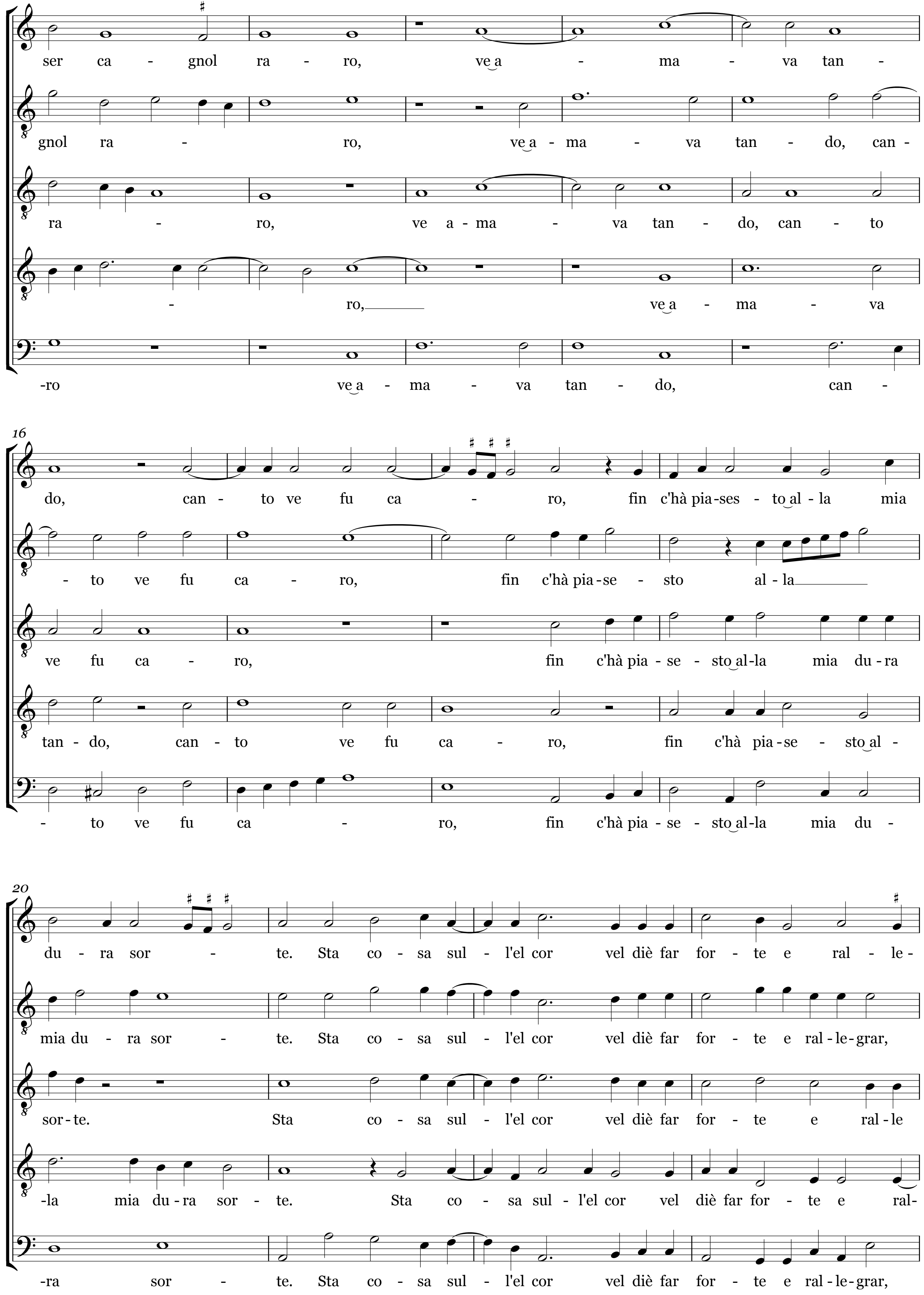
Prima apparition del Cagnolo del mese di luio

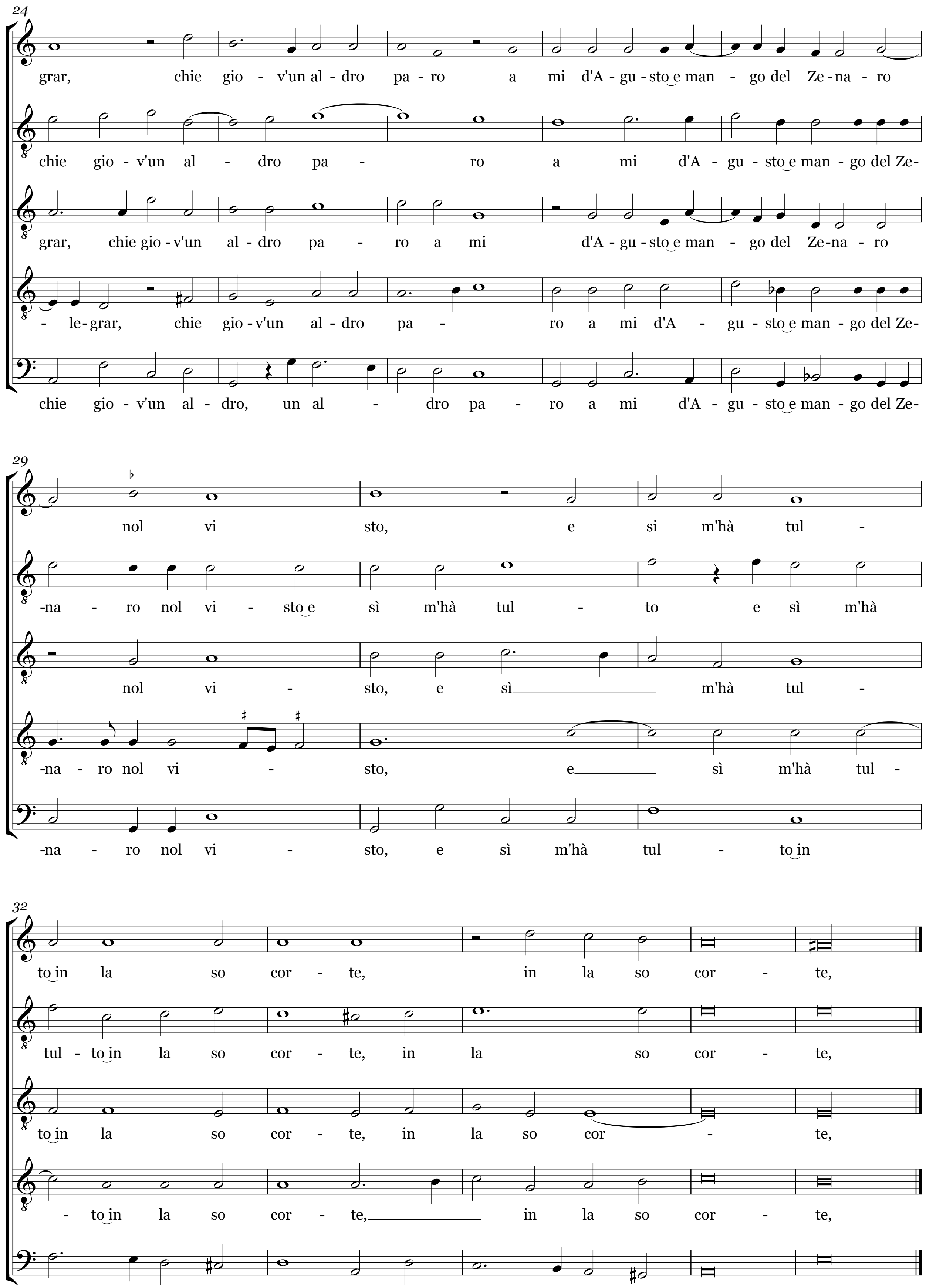
Di Manoli Blessi il primo libro delle greghesche
(Venice: Gardano, 1564) RISM B/I 1564/16, 16-17.

Daniel Grisonio

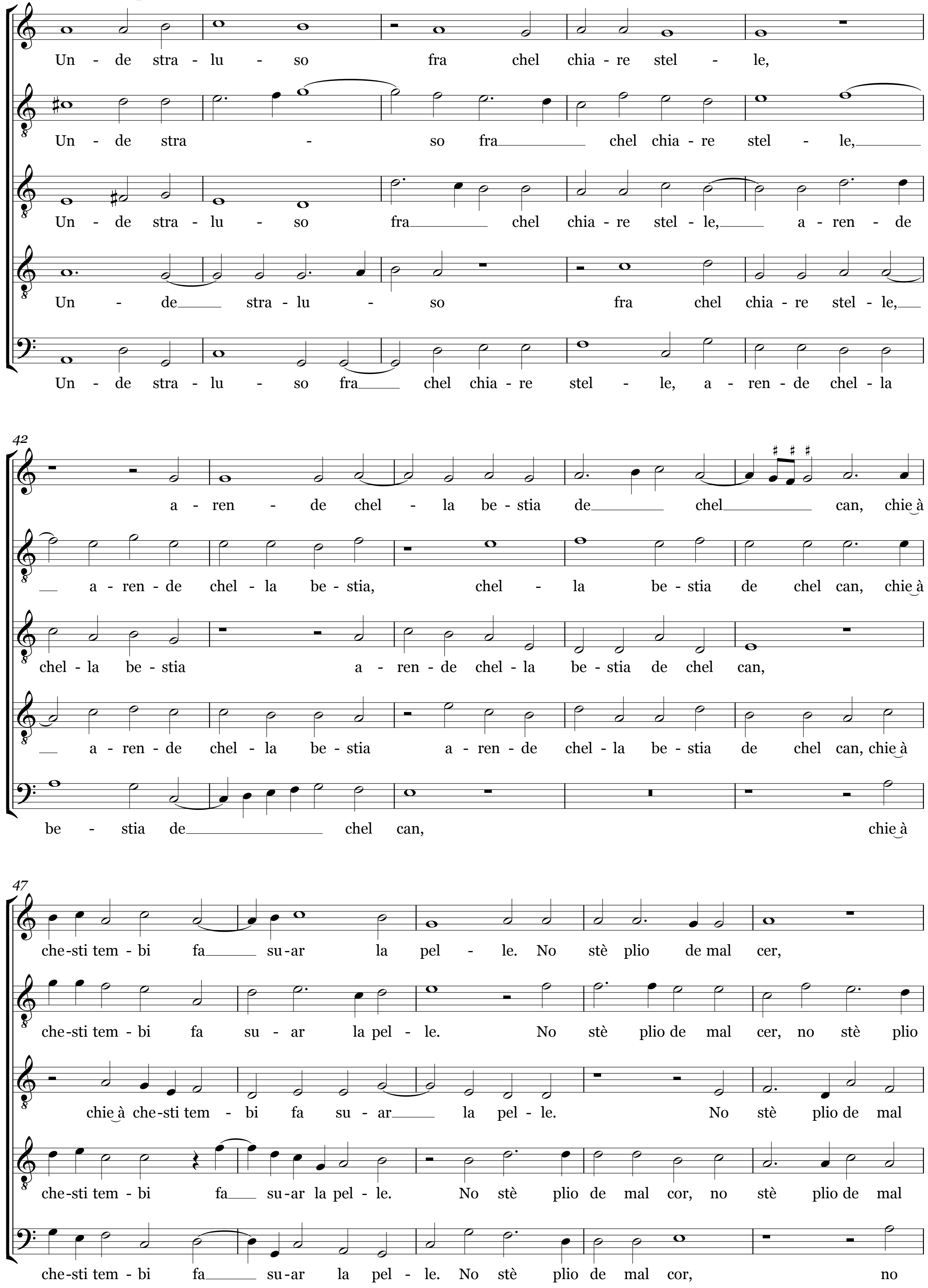


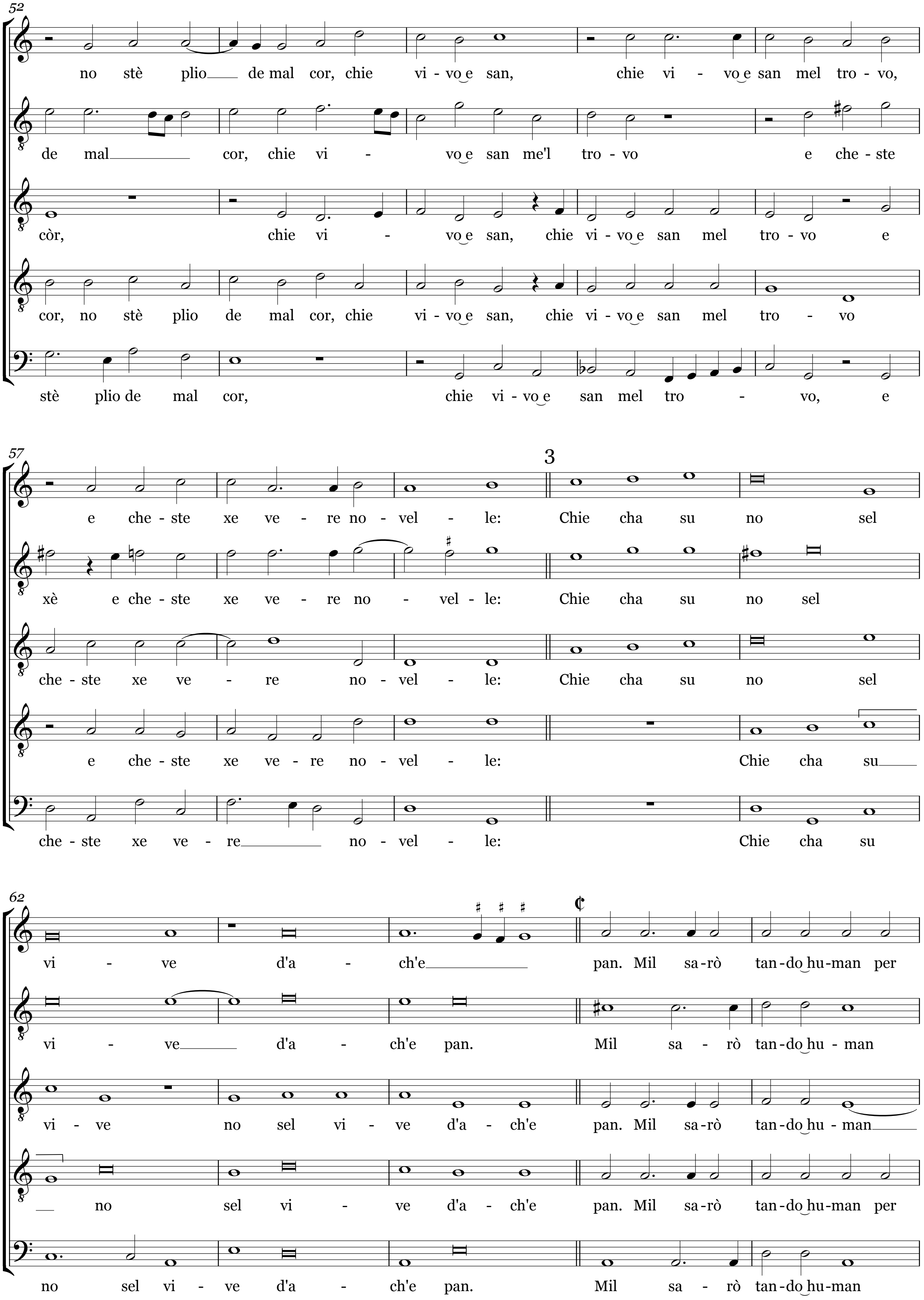
Vu‿hà ben ca - sun del pian - zer la mio
Vu‿hà ben ca - sun del pian - zer la
Vu‿hà bèn ca - sun del pian - zer, del pian - zer
Vu‿hà ben ca - sun del pian - zer, del pian - zer la mio
Vu‿hà ben ca - sun del pian - zer la mio mor -
6
mor - te, dul - ce pa - drun ol - dr'es -
mio mor - te, dul - ce pa - drun. Ol - dr'es - ser ca - gnol ra - ro, ca -
la mi-o mòr - te, dul - ce pa - drun. Ol - dr'es - ser ca - gnol
mor - te, dul - ce pa - drun. Ol - dr'es - ser ca - gnol ra -
-te, dul - ce pa - drun. Ol - dr'es - ser ca - gnol ra -

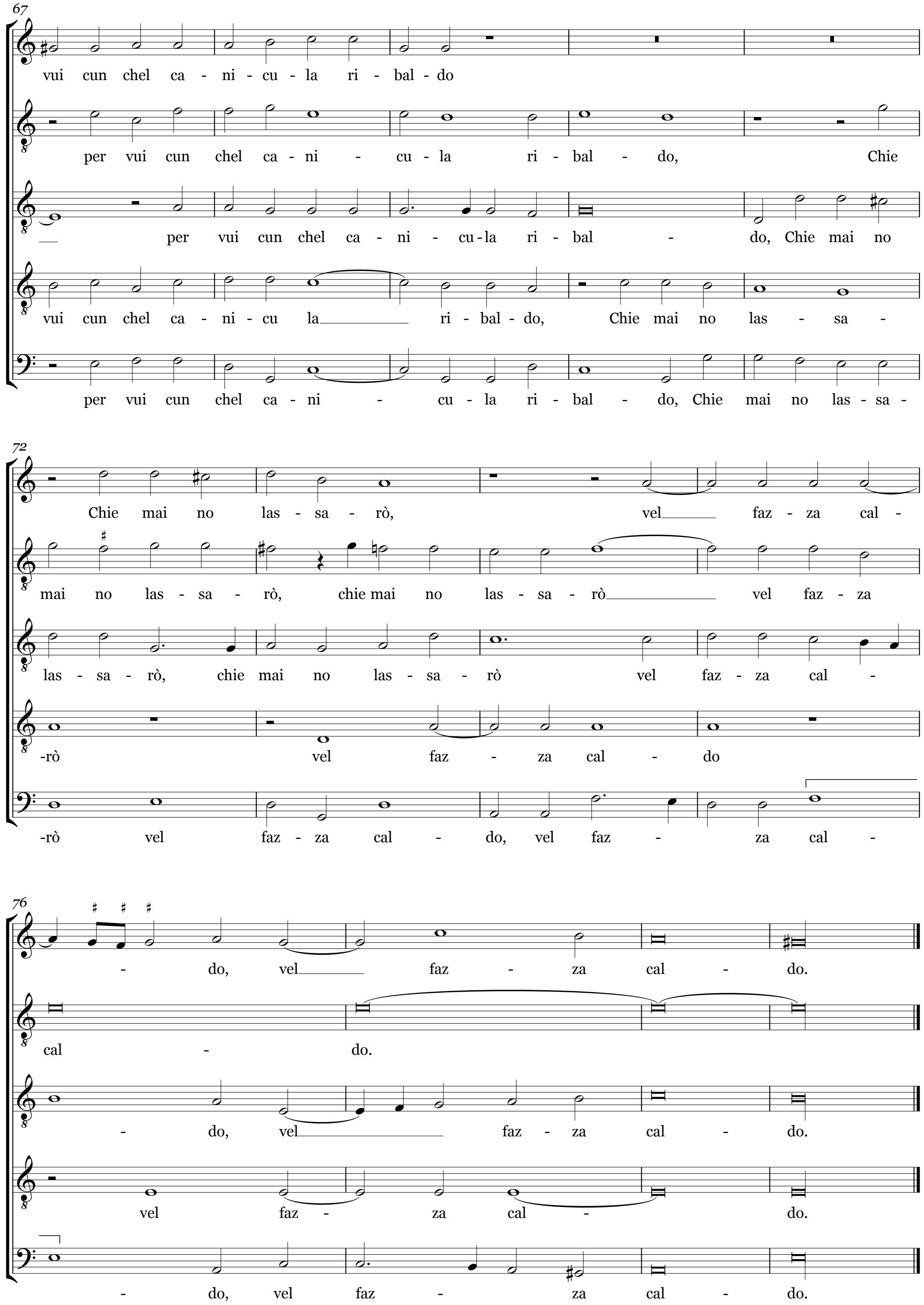

11
ser ca - gnol ra - ro, ve͜ a - ma - va tan -
gnol ra - ro, ve͜ a - ma - va tan - do, can -
ra - ro, ve a - ma - va tan - do, can - to
- ro,
ve͜ a - ma - va
-ro ve͜ a - ma - va tan - do, can -
16
do, can - to ve fu ca - ro, fin c'hà pia-ses - to͜ al - la mia
- to ve fu ca - ro, fin c'hà pia-se - sto al - la
ve fu ca - ro, fin c'hà pia - se - sto͜ al-la mia du-ra
tan - do, can - to ve fu ca - ro, fin c'hà pia-se - sto͜ al -
- to ve fu ca - ro, fin c'hà pia - se - sto͜ al-la mia du -
20
du - ra sor - te. Sta co - sa sul - l'el cor vel diè far for - te e ral - le -
mia du - ra sor - te. Sta co - sa sul - l'el cor vel diè far for - te e ral-le-grar,
sor-te. Sta co - sa sul - l'el cor vel diè far for - te e ral-le
-la mia du-ra sor - te. Sta co - sa sul - l'el cor vel diè far for - te e ral-
-ra sor - te. Sta co - sa sul - l'el cor vel diè far for - te e ral-le-grar,


24
grar, chie gio - v'un al - dro pa - ro a mi d'A - gu - sto e man - go del Ze - na - ro
chie gio - v'un al - dro pa - ro a mi d'A - gu - sto e man - go del Ze-
grar, chie gio - v'un al - dro pa - ro a mi d'A - gu - sto e man - go del Ze - na - ro
- le - grar, chie gio - v'un al - dro pa - ro a mi d'A - gu - sto e man - go del Ze-
chie gio - v'un al - dro, un al - dro pa - ro a mi d'A - gu - sto e man - go del Ze-
29
nol vi sto, e si m'hà tul -
-na - ro nol vi - sto e sì m'hà tul - to e sì m'hà
nol vi - sto, e sì m'hà tul -
-na - ro nol vi - sto, e sì m'hà tul -
-na - ro nol vi - sto, e sì m'hà tul - to in
32
to in la so cor - te, in la so cor - te,
tul - to in la so cor - te, in la so cor - te,
to in la so cor - te, in la so cor - te,
- to in la so cor - te, in la so cor - te,
la so cor - te, in la so cor - te,

Seconda parte


37
Un - de stra - lu - so fra chel chia - re stel - le,
Un - de stra - so fra chel chia - re stel - le,
Un - de stra - lu - so fra chel chia - re stel - le, a - ren - de
Un - de stra - lu - so fra chel chia - re stel - le,
Un - de stra - lu - so fra chel chia - re stel - le, a - ren - de chel - la
42
a - ren - de chel - la be - stia de chel can, chie à
a - ren - de chel - la be - stia, chel - la be - stia de chel can, chie à
chel - la be - stia a - ren - de chel - la be - stia de chel can,
a - ren - de chel - la be - stia a - ren - de chel - la be - stia de chel can, chie à
be - stia de chel can, chie à
47
che - sti tem - bi fa su - ar la pel - le. No stè plio de mal cer,
che - sti tem - bi fa su - ar la pel - le. No stè plio de mal cer, no stè plio
chie à che - sti tem - bi fa su - ar la pel - le. No stè plio de mal
che - sti tem - bi fa su - ar la pel - le. No stè plio de mal cor, no stè plio de mal
che - sti tem - bi fa su - ar la pel - le. No stè plio de mal cor, no

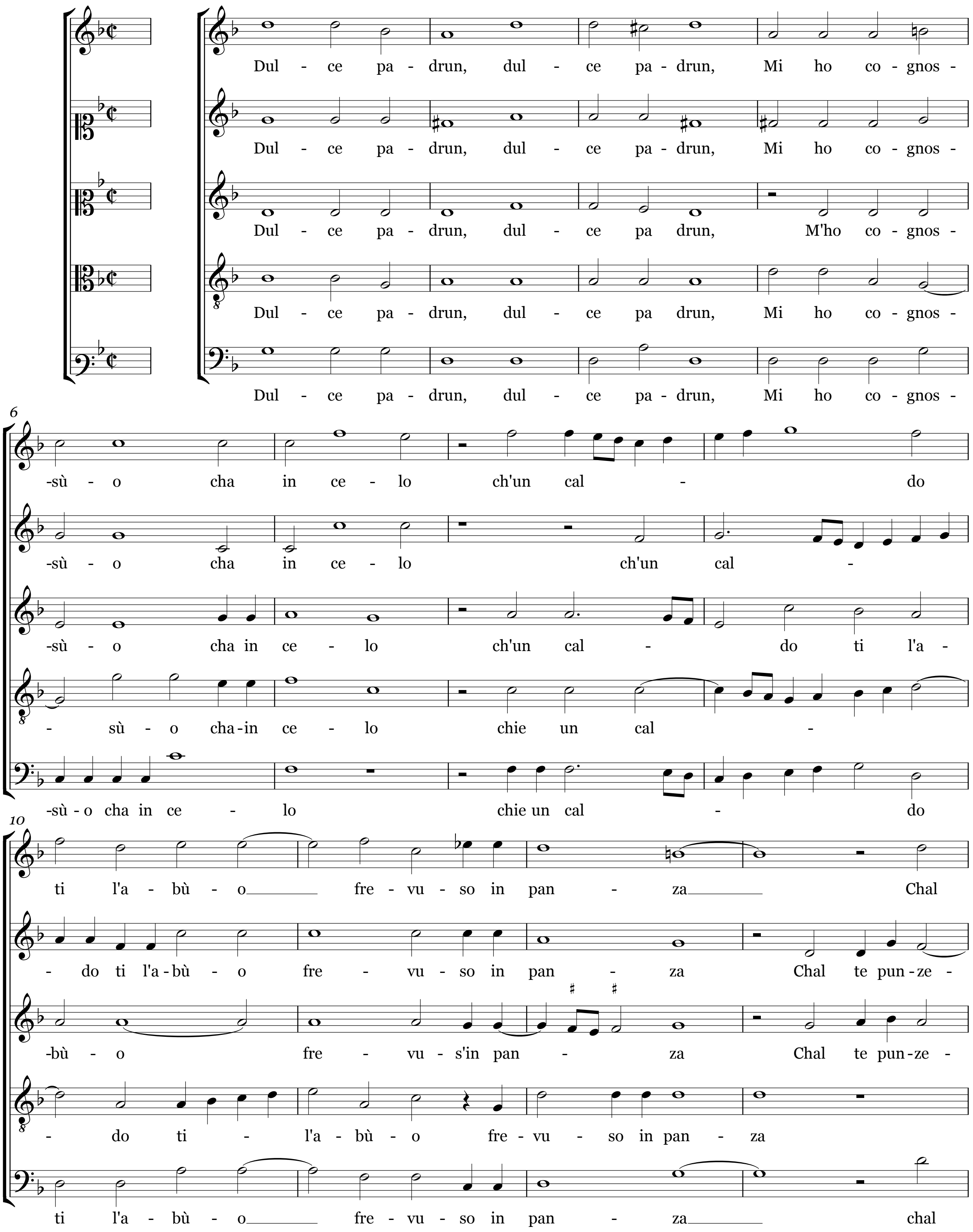

52
no stè plio de mal cor, chie vi-vo e san, chie vi - vo e san mel tro-vo,
de mal cor, chie vi - vo e san me'l tro-vo e che-ste
còr, chie vi - vo e san, chie vi-vo e san mel tro-vo e
cor, no stè plio de mal cor, chie vi-vo e san, chie vi-vo e san mel tro - vo
stè plio de mal cor, chie vi-vo e san mel tro - vo, e
57
3
e che-ste xe ve - re no-vel - le: Chie cha su no sel
xè e che-ste xe ve - re no - vel - le: Chie cha su no sel
che-ste xe ve - re no-vel - le: Chie cha su no sel
e che-ste xe ve-re no-vel - le: Chie cha su
che-ste xe ve - re no-vel - le: Chie cha su
62
vi - ve d'a - ch'e pan. Mil sa-rò tan-do hu-man per
vi - ve d'a - ch'e pan. Mil sa - rò tan-do hu-man
vi - ve no sel vi - ve d'a - ch'e pan. Mil sa-rò tan-do hu-man
no sel vi - ve d'a - ch'e pan. Mil sa-rò tan-do hu-man per
no sel vi - ve d'a - ch'e pan. Mil sa - rò tan-do hu-man

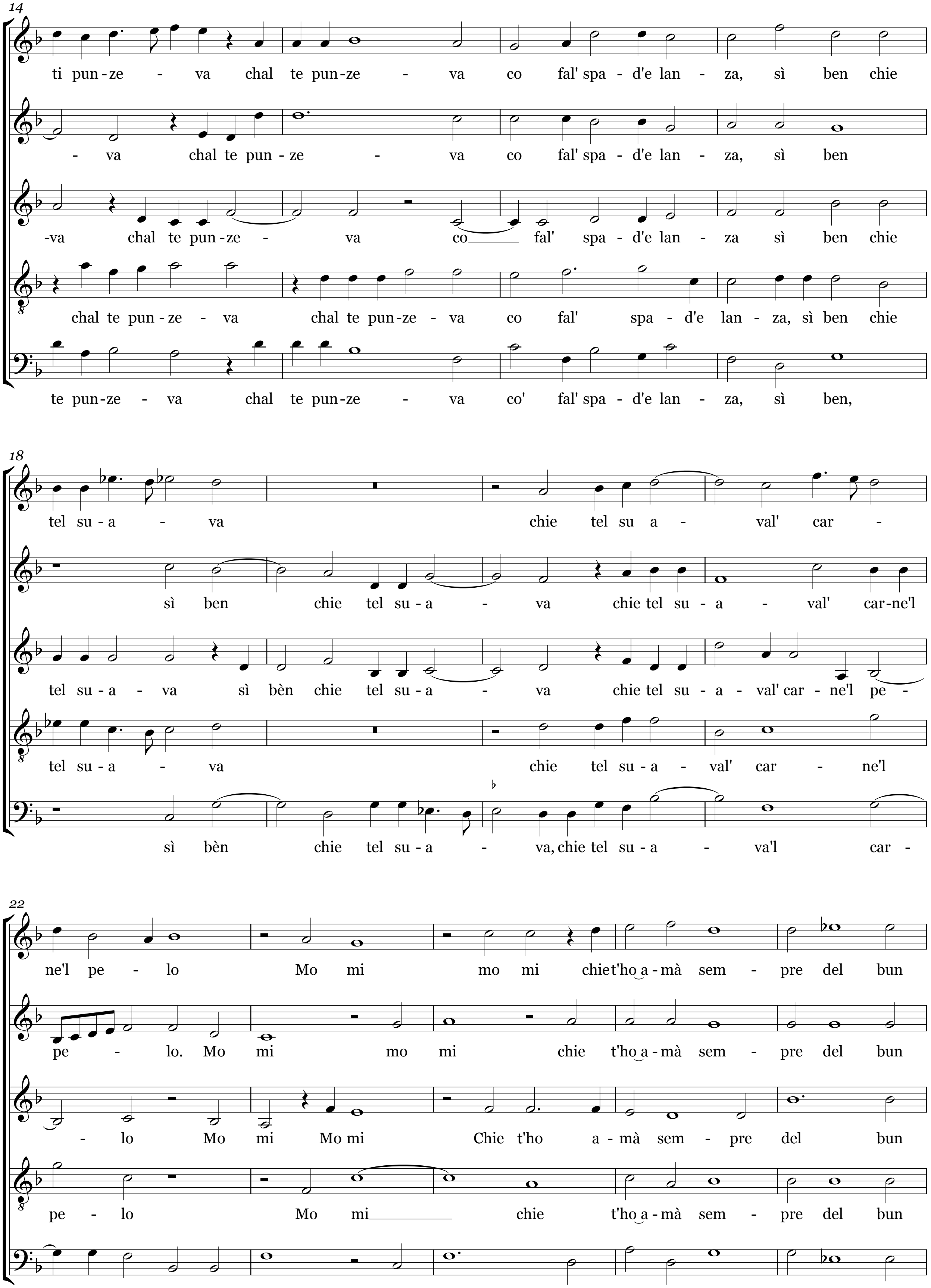

67
vui cun chel ca - ni - cu - la ri - bal - do
per vui cun chel ca - ni - cu - la ri - bal - do, Chie
per vui cun chel ca - ni - cu - la ri - bal - do, Chie mai no
vui cun chel ca - ni - cu la ri - bal - do, Chie mai no las - sa -
per vui cun chel ca - ni - cu - la ri - bal - do, Chie mai no las - sa -
72
Chie mai no las - sa - rò, vel faz - za cal -
mai no las - sa - rò, chie mai no las - sa - rò vel faz - za
las - sa - rò, chie mai no las - sa - rò vel faz - za cal -
-rò vel faz - za cal - do
-rò vel faz - za cal - do, vel faz - za cal -
76
- do, vel faz - za cal - do.
cal - do.
- do, vel faz - za cal - do.
vel faz - za cal - do.
- do, vel faz - za cal - do.

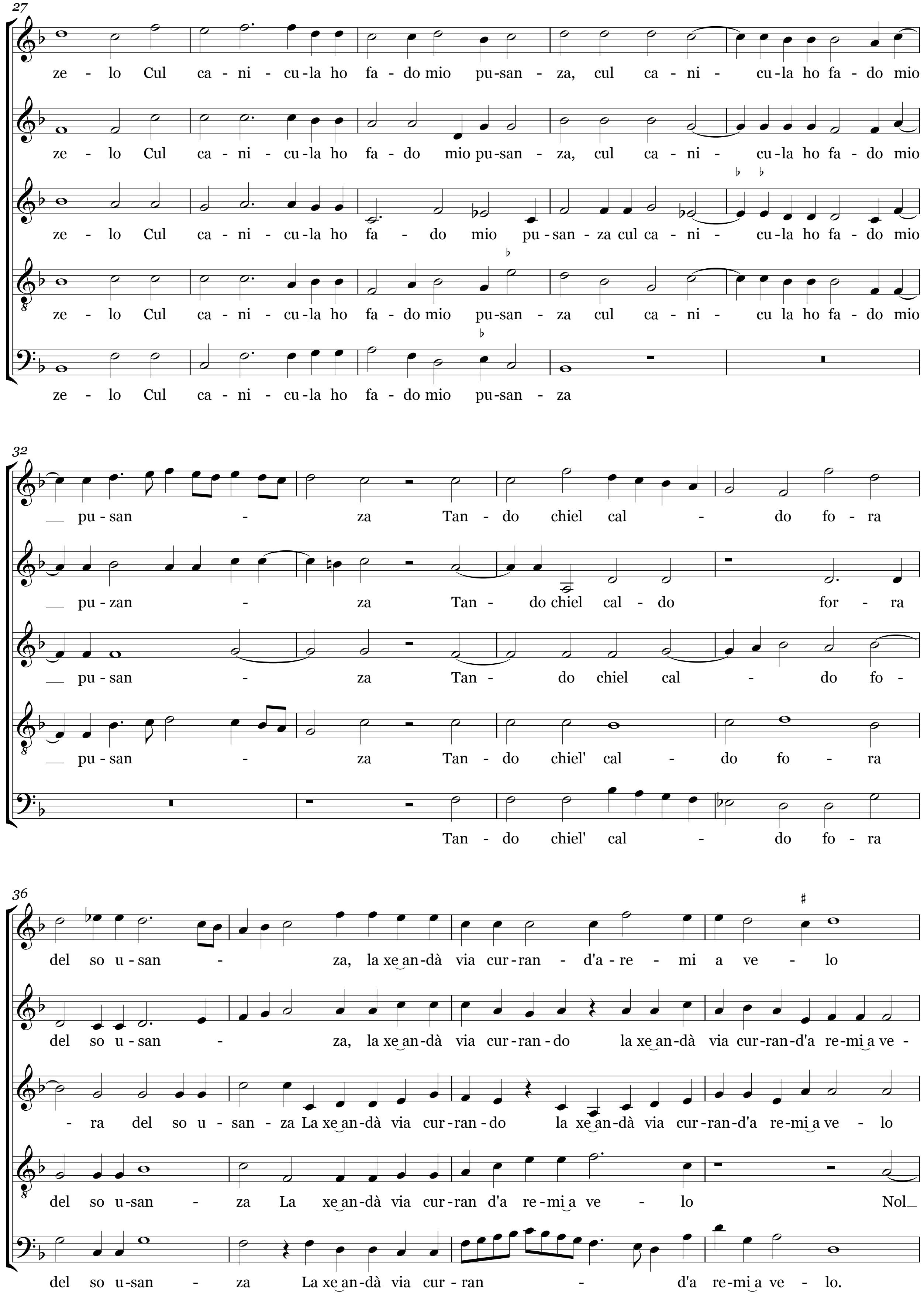
Seconda apparition del Cagnolo del mese de Agosto

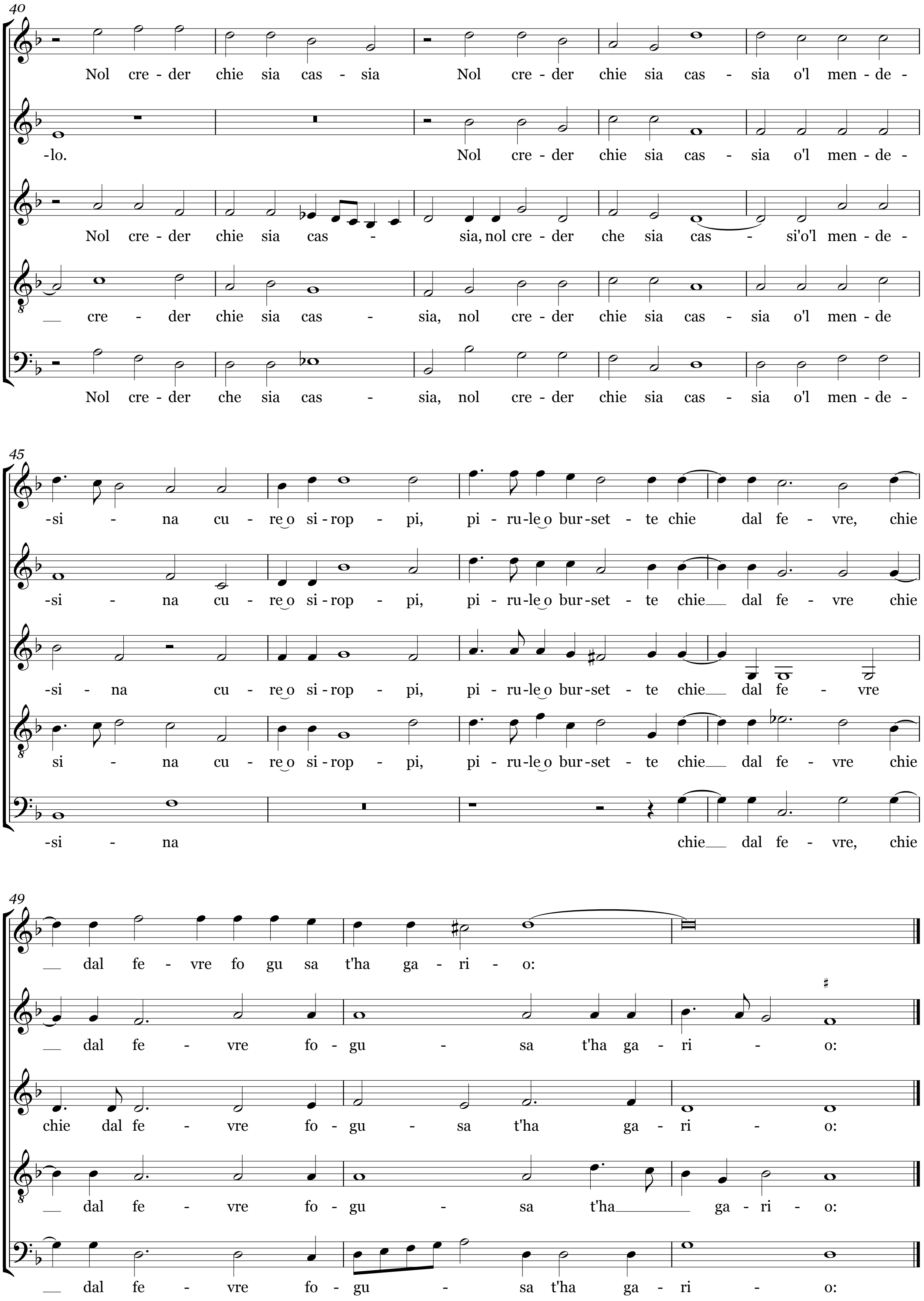
Di Manoli Blessi il primo libro delle greghesche
(Venice: Gardano, 1564) RISM B/I 1564/16, 18-19.

Adrian Willaert

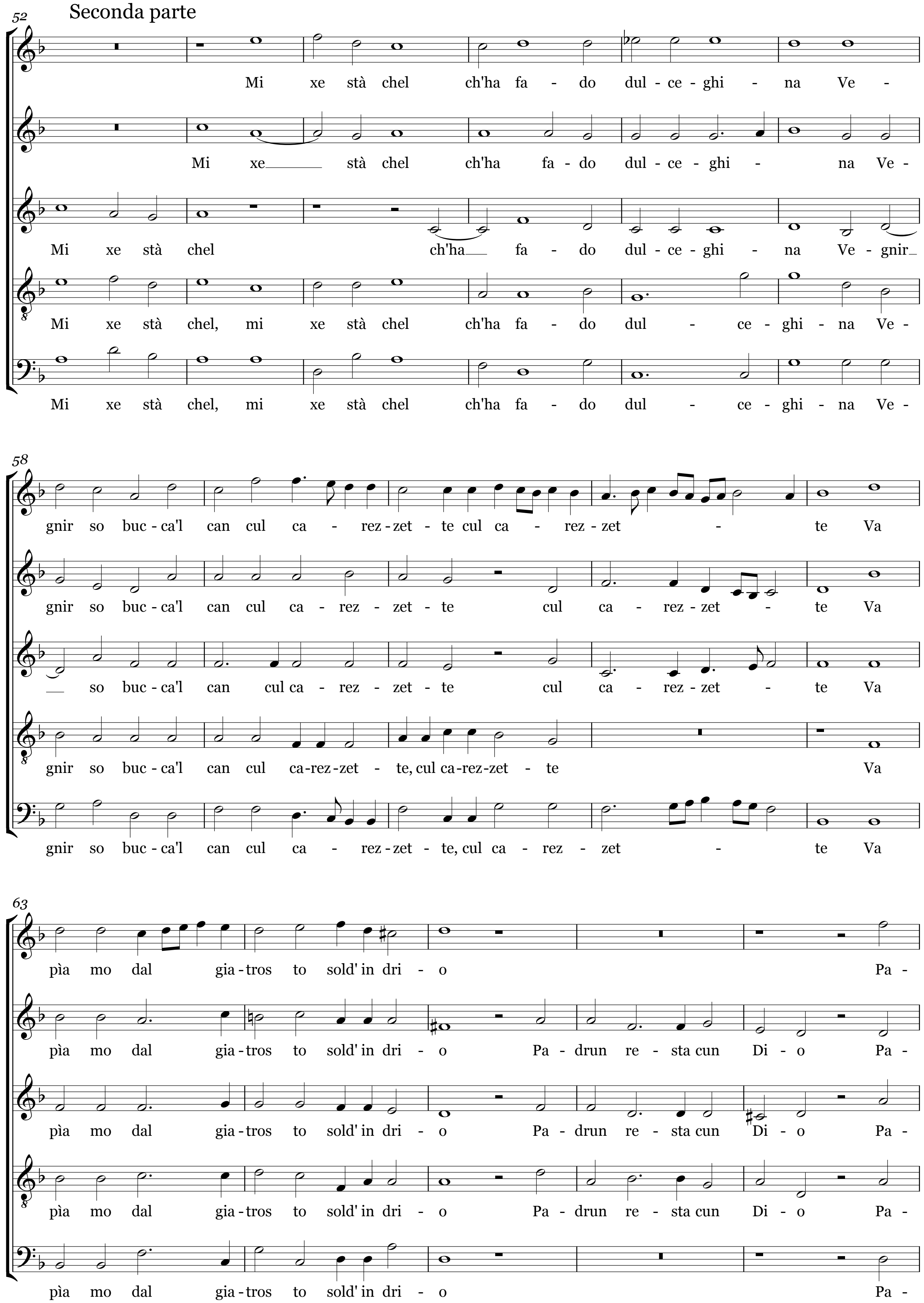

Dul - ce pa - drun, dul - ce pa - drun, Mi ho co - gnos -
Dul - ce pa - drun, dul - ce pa - drun, Mi ho co - gnos -
Dul - ce pa - drun, dul - ce pa drun, M'ho co - gnos -
Dul - ce pa - drun, dul - ce pa drun, Mi ho co - gnos -
Dul - ce pa - drun, dul - ce pa - drun, Mi ho co - gnos -
6
-sù - o cha in ce - lo ch'un cal - do
-sù - o cha in ce - lo ch'un cal -
-sù - o cha in ce - lo ch'un cal - do ti l'a -
- sù - o cha-in ce - lo chie un cal -
-sù - o cha in ce - lo chie un cal - do
10
ti l'a - bù - o fre - vu - so in pan - za Chal
- do ti l'a - bù - o fre - vu - so in pan - za Chal te pun-ze -
-bù - o fre - vu - s'in pan - za Chal te pun-ze -
- do ti - l'a - bù - o fre - vu - so in pan - za
ti l'a - bù - o fre - vu - so in pan - za chal

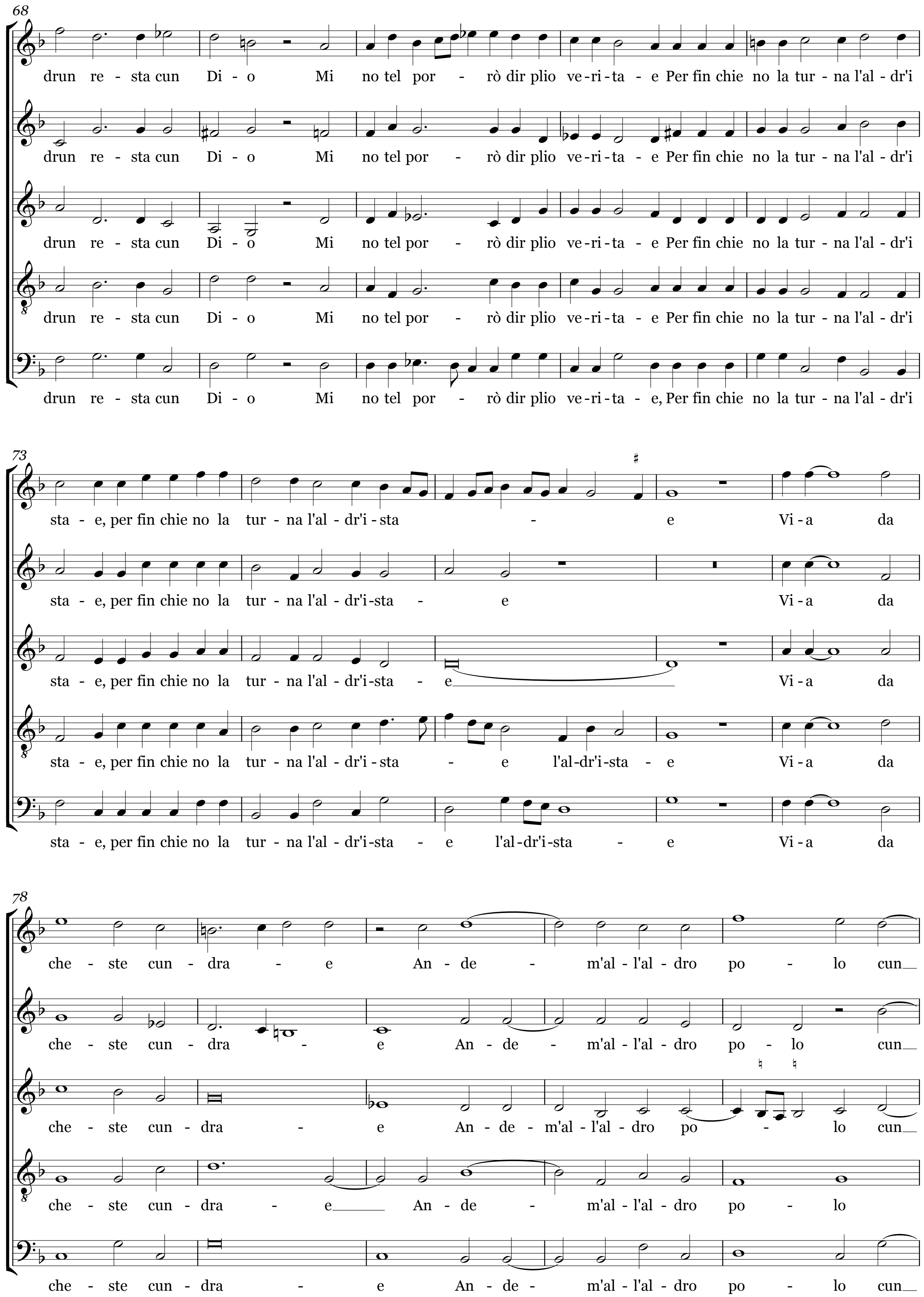

14
ti pun - ze - va chal te pun - ze - va co fal' spa - d'e lan - za, sì ben chie
- va chal te pun - ze - va co fal' spa - d'e lan - za, sì ben
-va chal te pun - ze - va co fal' spa - d'e lan - za sì ben chie
chal te pun - ze - va chal te pun - ze - va co fal' spa - d'e lan - za, sì ben chie
te pun - ze - va chal te pun - ze - va co' fal' spa - d'e lan - za, sì ben,
18
tel su - a - va chie tel su a - val' car -
sì ben chie tel su - a - va chie tel su - a - val' car - ne'l
tel su - a - va sì bèn chie tel su - a - va chie tel su - a - val' car - ne'l pe -
tel su - a - va chie tel su - a - val' car - ne'l
sì bèn chie tel su - a - va, chie tel su - a - va'l car -
22
ne'l pe - lo Mo mi mo mi chie t'ho a - mà sem - pre del bun
pe - lo. Mo mi mo mi chie t'ho a - mà sem - pre del bun
- lo Mo mi Mo mi Chie t'ho a - mà sem - pre del bun
pe - lo Mo mi chie t'ho a - mà sem - pre del bun
- ne'l pe - lo. Mo mi, mo mi chie t'ho a - mà sem - pre del bun

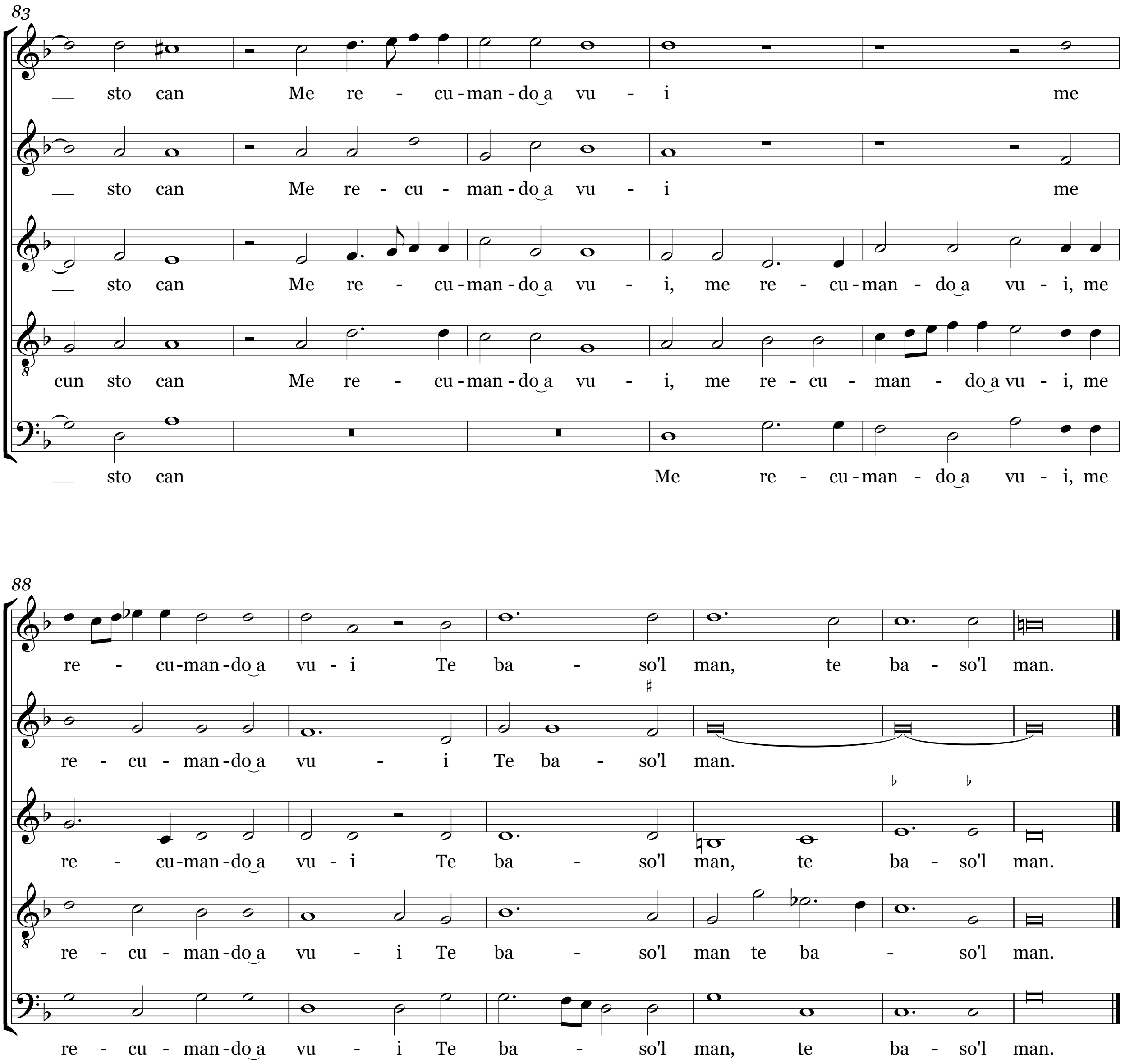
27
ze - lo Cul ca - ni - cu - la ho fa - do mio pu - san - za, cul ca - ni - cu - la ho fa - do mio
ze - lo Cul ca - ni - cu - la ho fa - do mio pu - san - za, cul ca - ni - cu - la ho fa - do mio
ze - lo Cul ca - ni - cu - la ho fa - do mio pu - san - za cul ca - ni - cu - la ho fa - do mio
ze - lo Cul ca - ni - cu - la ho fa - do mio pu - san - za cul ca - ni - cu la ho fa - do mio
ze - lo Cul ca - ni - cu - la ho fa - do mio pu - san - za
32
pu - san - za Tan - do chiel cal - do fo - ra
pu - zan - za Tan - do chiel cal - do for - ra
pu - san - za Tan - do chiel cal - do fo -
pu - san - za Tan - do chiel' cal - do fo - ra
Tan - do chiel' cal - do fo - ra
36
del so u - san - za, la xe‿an - dà via cur - ran - d'a - re - mi a ve - lo
del so u - san - za, la xe‿an - dà via cur - ran - do la xe‿an - dà via cur - ran - d'a re - mi‿a ve -
- ra del so u - san - za La xe‿an - dà via cur - ran - do la xe‿an - dà via cur - ran - d'a re - mi‿a ve - lo
del so u - san - za La xe‿an - dà via cur - ran d'a re - mi‿a ve - lo Nol
del so u - san - za La xe‿an - dà via cur - ran - d'a re - mi‿a ve - lo.


40
Nol cre-der chie sia cas - sia Nol cre-der chie sia cas - sia o'l men-de-
-lo. Nol cre-der chie sia cas - sia o'l men-de-
Nol cre-der chie sia cas - sia, nol cre-der che sia cas - si'o'l men-de-
cre - der chie sia cas - sia, nol cre-der chie sia cas - sia o'l men-de
Nol cre-der che sia cas - sia, nol cre-der chie sia cas - sia o'l men-de-
45
-si - na cu-re o si-rop - pi, pi-ru-le o bur-set - te chie dal fe - vre, chie
-si - na cu-re o si-rop - pi, pi-ru-le o bur-set - te chie dal fe - vre chie
-si - na cu-re o si-rop - pi, pi-ru-le o bur-set - te chie dal fe - vre
si - na cu-re o si-rop - pi, pi-ru-le o bur-set - te chie dal fe - vre chie
-si - na chie dal fe - vre, chie
49
dal fe - vre fo gu sa t'ha ga - ri - o:
dal fe - vre fo-gu - sa t'ha ga - ri - o:
chie dal fe - vre fo-gu - sa t'ha ga - ri - o:
dal fe - vre fo-gu - sa t'ha ga - ri - o:
dal fe - vre fo-gu - sa t'ha ga - ri - o:

Seconda parte


52
Mi xe stà chel ch'ha fa - do dul - ce - ghi - na Ve - gnir so buc - ca'l can cul ca - rez - zet - te cul ca - rez - zet - te Va pìa mo dal gia - tros to sold' in dri - o Pa -
58
63
Pa - drun re - sta cun Di - o

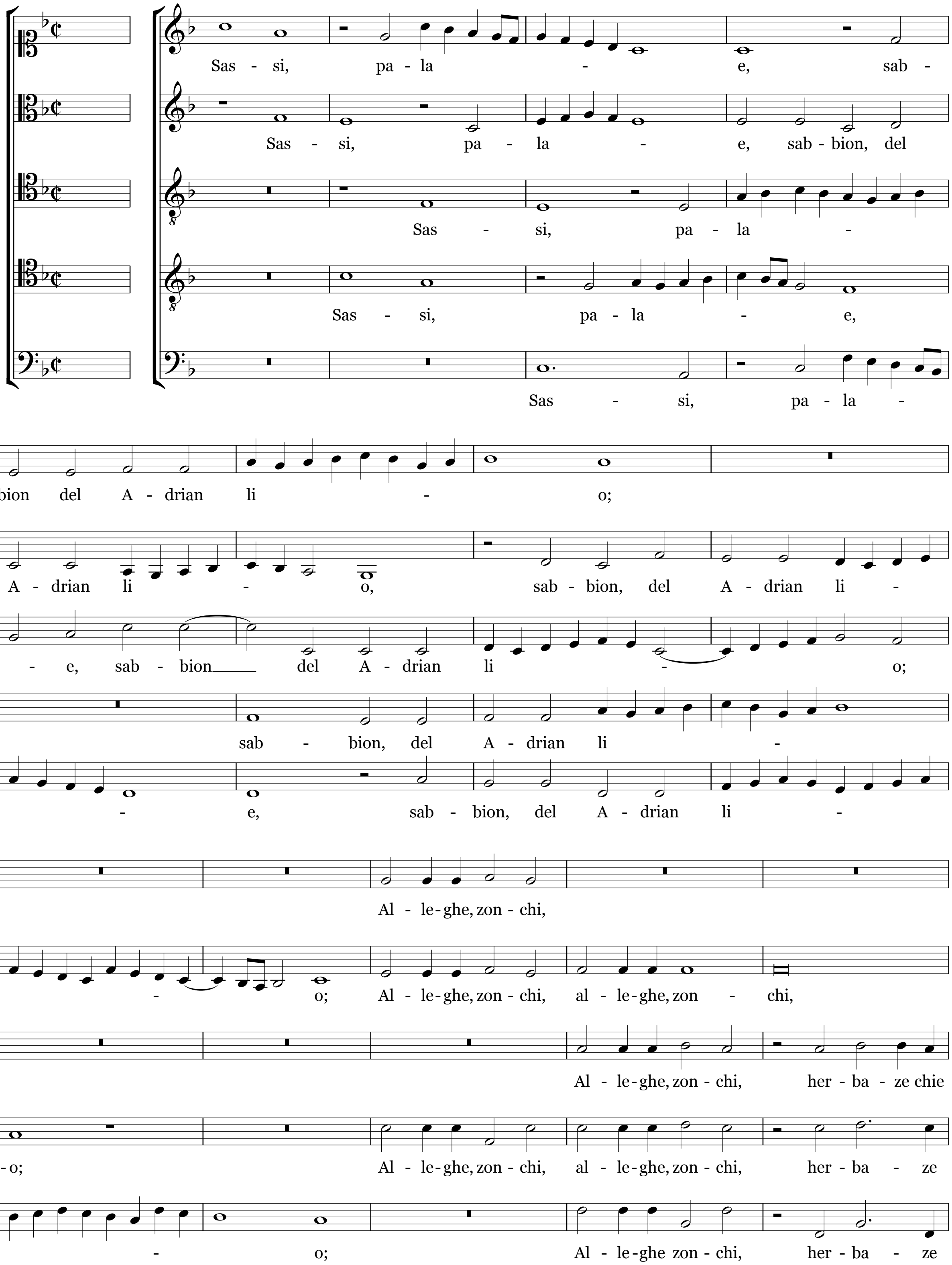

68
drun re - sta cun Di - o Mi no tel por - rò dir plio ve-ri-ta - e Per fin chie no la tur - na l'al - dr'i
drun re - sta cun Di - o Mi no tel por - rò dir plio ve-ri-ta - e Per fin chie no la tur - na l'al - dr'i
drun re - sta cun Di - o Mi no tel por - rò dir plio ve-ri-ta - e Per fin chie no la tur - na l'al - dr'i
drun re - sta cun Di - o Mi no tel por - rò dir plio ve-ri-ta - e Per fin chie no la tur - na l'al - dr'i
drun re - sta cun Di - o Mi no tel por - rò dir plio ve-ri-ta - e, Per fin chie no la tur - na l'al - dr'i
73
sta - e, per fin chie no la tur - na l'al - dr'i - sta - e Vi - a da
sta - e, per fin chie no la tur - na l'al - dr'i-sta - e Vi - a da
sta - e, per fin chie no la tur - na l'al - dr'i-sta - e Vi - a da
sta - e, per fin chie no la tur - na l'al - dr'i - sta - e l'al-dr'i-sta - e Vi - a da
sta - e, per fin chie no la tur - na l'al - dr'i-sta - e l'al-dr'i-sta - e Vi - a da
78
che - ste cun - dra - e An - de - m'al - l'al - dro po - lo cun
che - ste cun - dra - e An - de - m'al - l'al - dro po - lo cun
che - ste cun - dra - e An - de - m'al - l'al - dro po - lo cun
che - ste cun - dra - e An - de - m'al - l'al - dro po - lo
che - ste cun - dra - e An - de - m'al - l'al - dro po - lo cun

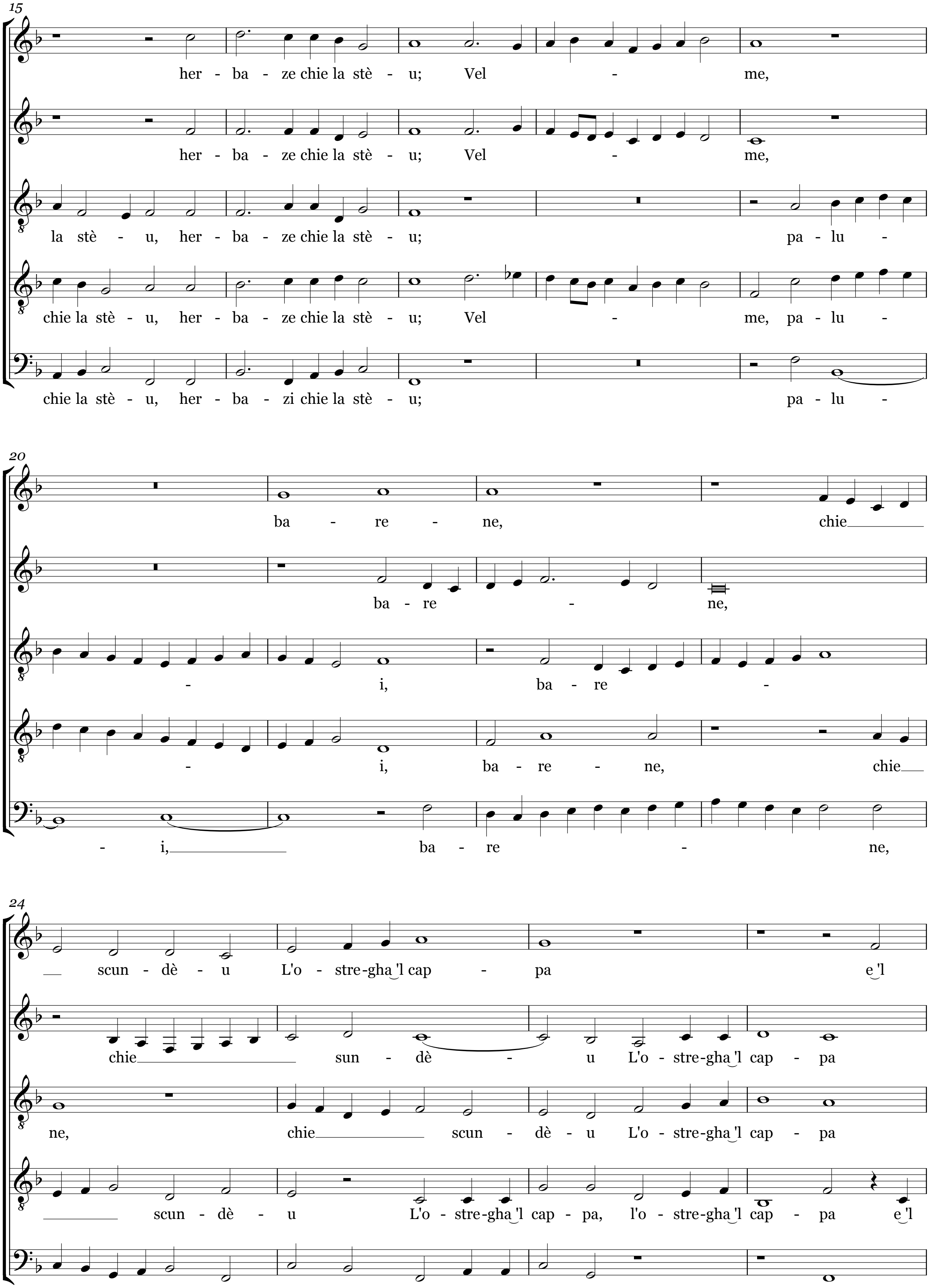

83
__ sto can Me re - cu - man - do͜ a vu - i me
__ sto can Me re - cu - man - do͜ a vu - i me
__ sto can Me re - cu - man - do͜ a vu - i, me re - cu - man - do͜ a vu - i, me
cun sto can Me re - cu - man - do͜ a vu - i, me re - cu - man - do͜ a vu - i, me
__ sto can Me re - cu - man - do͜ a vu - i, me
88
re - cu - man - do͜ a vu - i Te ba - so'l man, te ba - so'l man.
re - cu - man - do͜ a vu - i Te ba - so'l man.
re - cu - man - do͜ a vu - i Te ba - so'l man, te ba - so'l man.
re - cu - man - do͜ a vu - i Te ba - so'l man te ba - so'l man.
re - cu - man - do͜ a vu - i Te ba - so'l man, te ba - so'l man.

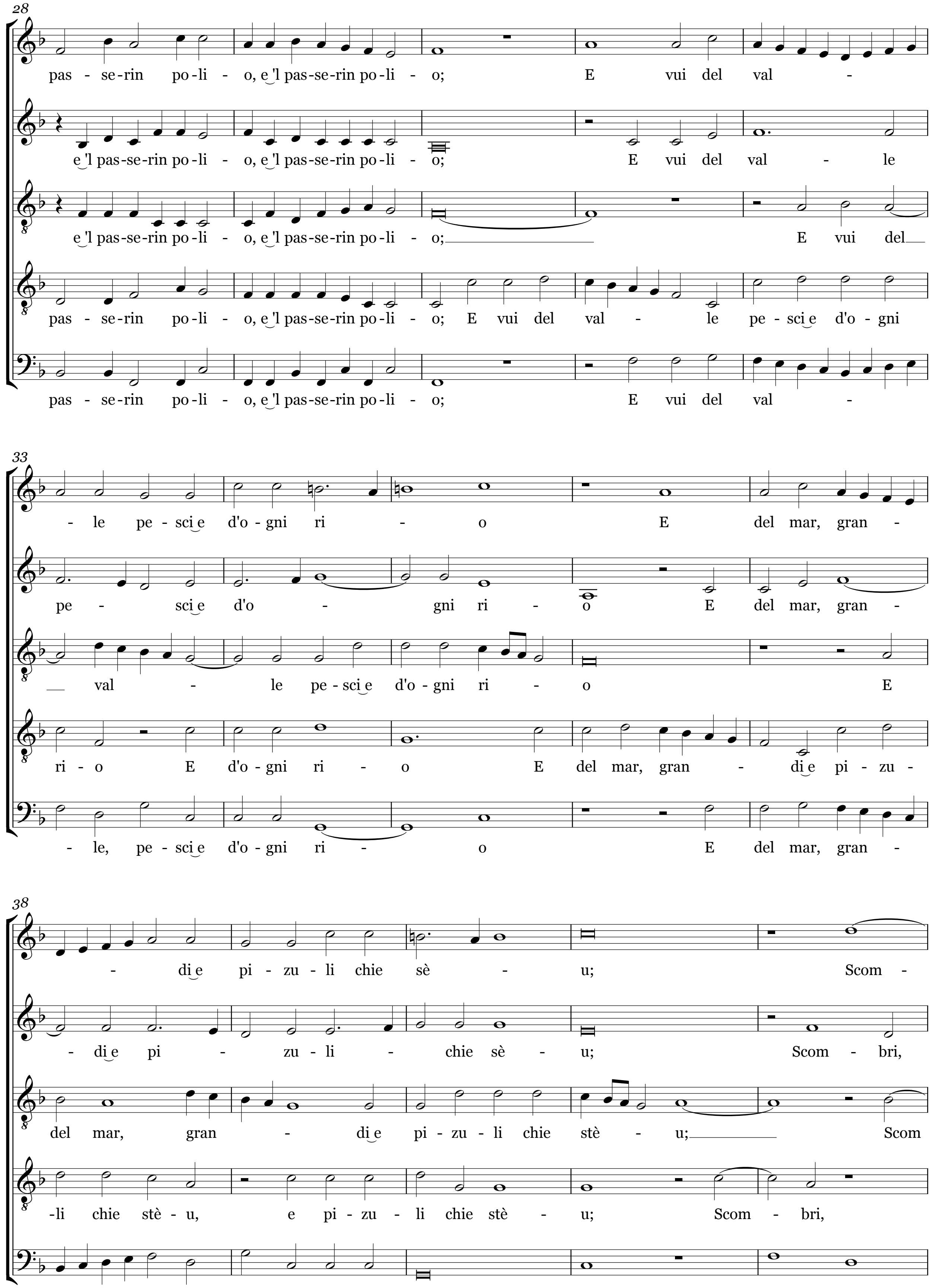
Sopra la morte d'Adriano

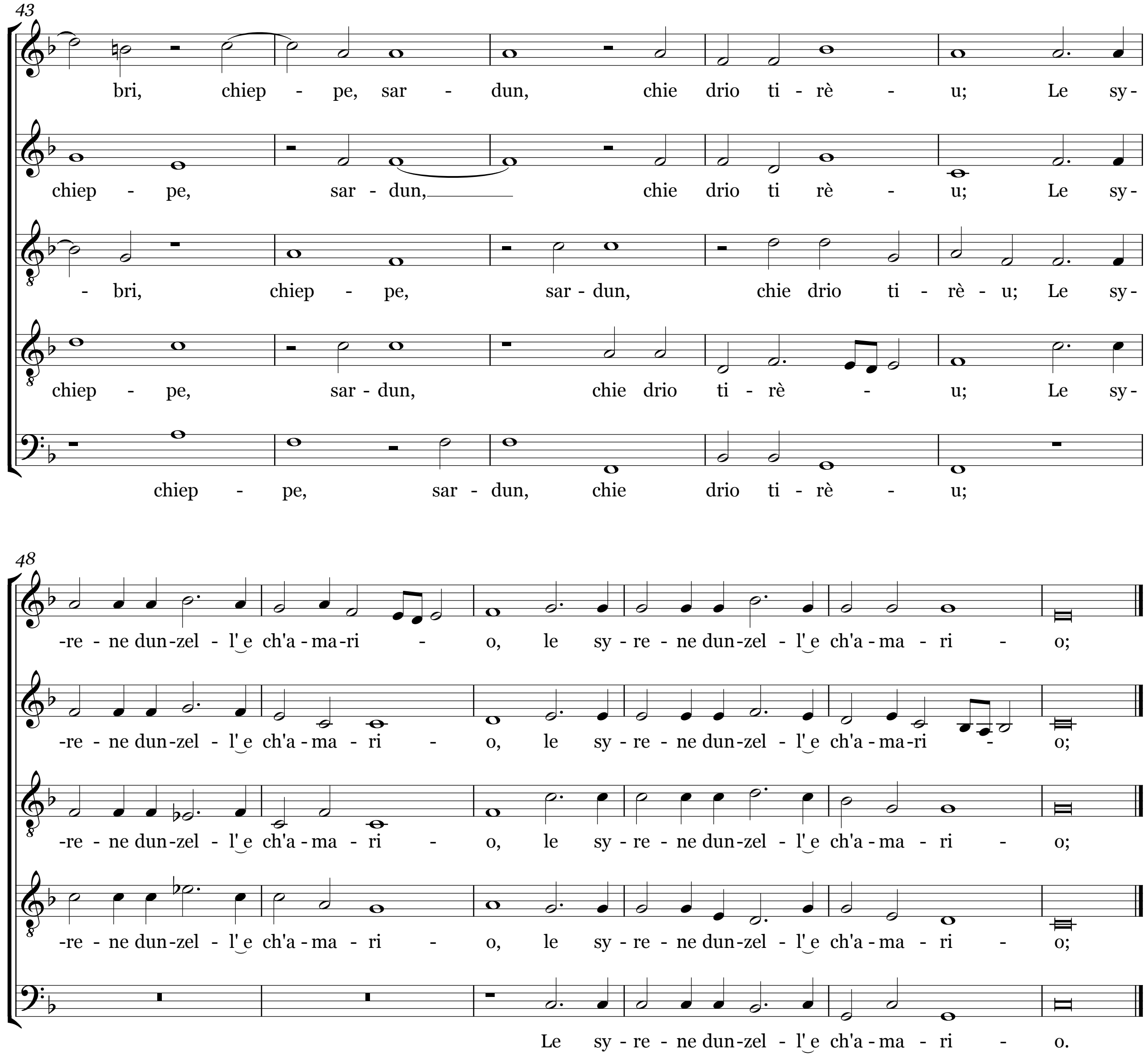
Di Manoli Blessi il primo libro delle greghesche
(Venice: Gardano, 1564) RISM B/I 1564/16, 20-21.

Andrea Gabrieli

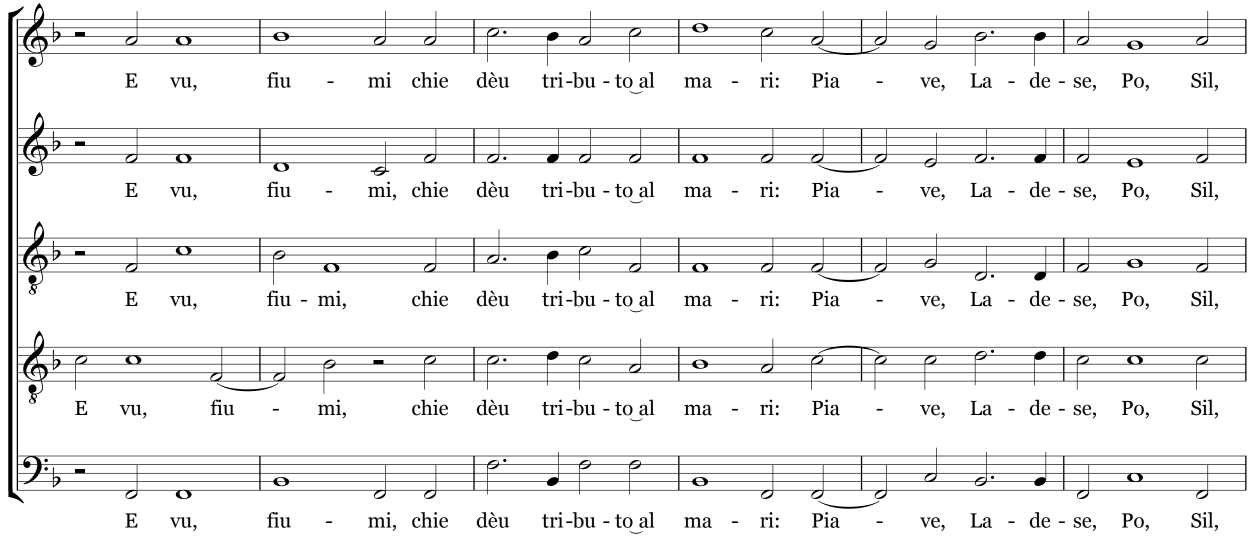

Sas - si, pa - la - e, sab -
Sas - si, pa - la - e, sab - bion, del
Sas - si, pa - la -
Sas - si, pa - la - e,
Sas - si, pa - la -
6
bion del A - drian li - o;
A - drian li - o, sab - bion, del A - drian li -
- e, sab - bion del A - drian li - o;
sab - bion, del A - drian li -
- e, sab - bion, del A - drian li -
10
Al - le - ghe, zon - chi,
- o; Al - le - ghe, zon - chi, al - le - ghe, zon - chi,
Al - le - ghe, zon - chi, her - ba - ze chie
- o; Al - le - ghe, zon - chi, al - le - ghe, zon - chi, her - ba - ze
- o; Al - le - ghe zon - chi, her - ba - ze

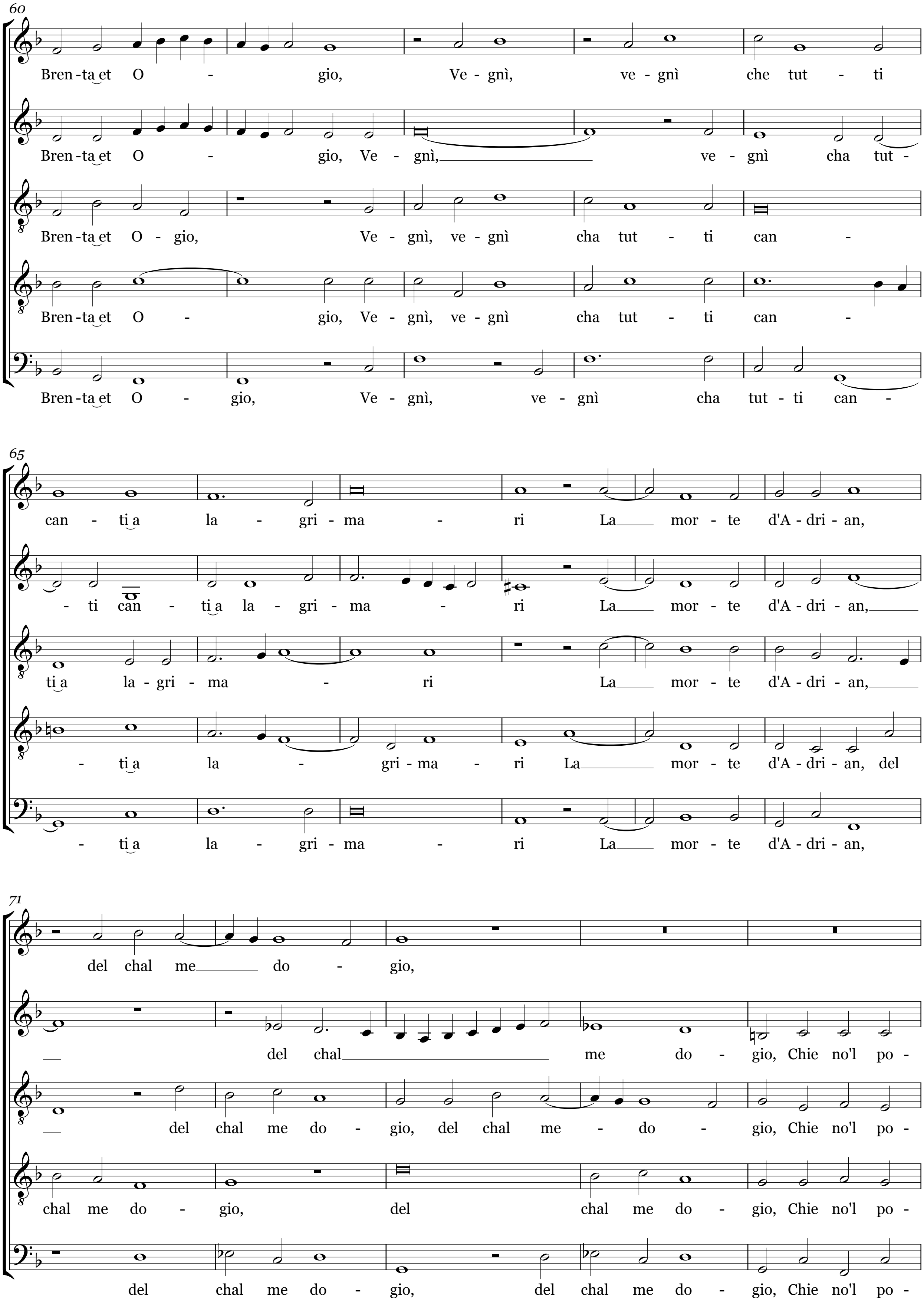

15
her - ba - ze chie la stè - u; Vel - me,
her - ba - ze chie la stè - u; Vel - me,
la stè - u, her - ba - ze chie la stè - u; pa - lu -
chie la stè - u, her - ba - ze chie la stè - u; Vel - me, pa - lu -
chie la stè - u, her - ba - zi chie la stè - u; pa - lu -
20
ba - re - ne, chie
ba - re - ne,
- i, ba - re -
- i, ba - re - ne, chie
- i, ba - re - ne,
24
scun - dè - u L'o - stre-gha 'l cap - pa e 'l
chie sun - dè - u L'o - stre-gha 'l cap - pa
ne, chie scun - dè - u L'o - stre-gha 'l cap - pa
scun - dè - u L'o - stre-gha 'l cap - pa, l'o - stre-gha 'l cap - pa e 'l
chie scun - dè - u L'o - stre-gha 'l cap - pa e 'l

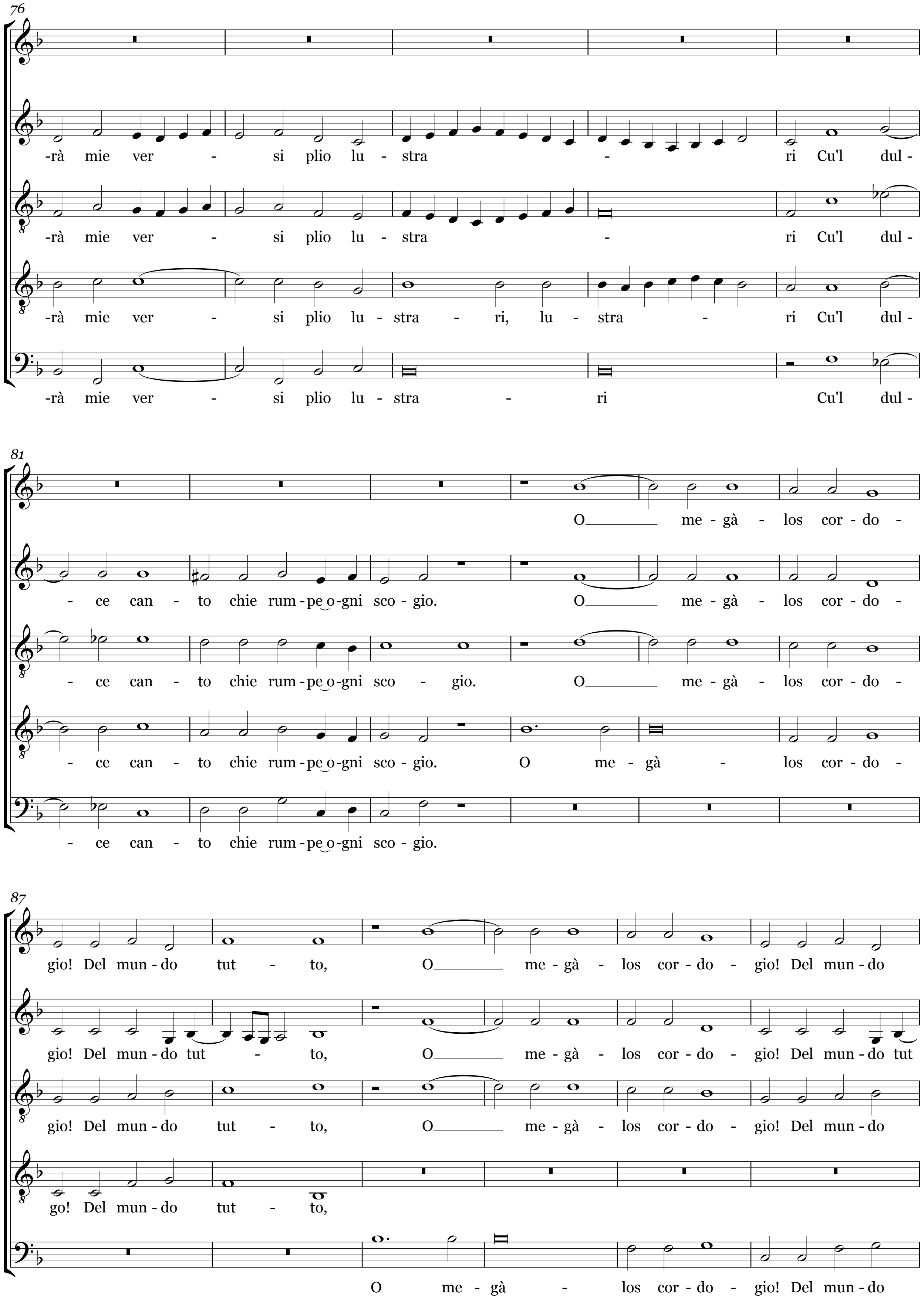

28
pas - se-rin po-li - o, e‿'l pas-se-rin po-li - o; E vui del val -
e‿'l pas-se-rin po-li - o, e‿'l pas-se-rin po-li - o; E vui del val - le
e‿'l pas-se-rin po-li - o, e‿'l pas-se-rin po-li - o; E vui del
pas - se-rin po-li - o, e‿'l pas-se-rin po-li - o; E vui del val - le pe - sci‿e d'o-gni
pas - se-rin po-li - o, e‿'l pas-se-rin po-li - o; E vui del val -
33
- le pe - sci‿e d'o-gni ri - o E del mar, gran -
pe - sci‿e d'o - gni ri - o E del mar, gran -
val - le pe - sci‿e d'o-gni ri - o E
ri - o E d'o-gni ri - o E del mar, gran - di‿e pi - zu -
- le, pe - sci‿e d'o-gni ri - o E del mar, gran -
38
- di‿e pi - zu - li chie sè - u; Scom -
- di‿e pi - zu - li - chie sè - u; Scom - bri,
del mar, gran - di‿e pi - zu - li chie stè - u; Scom
-li chie stè - u, e pi - zu - li chie stè - u; Scom - bri,
- di‿e pi - zu - li chie sè - u; Scom - bri,

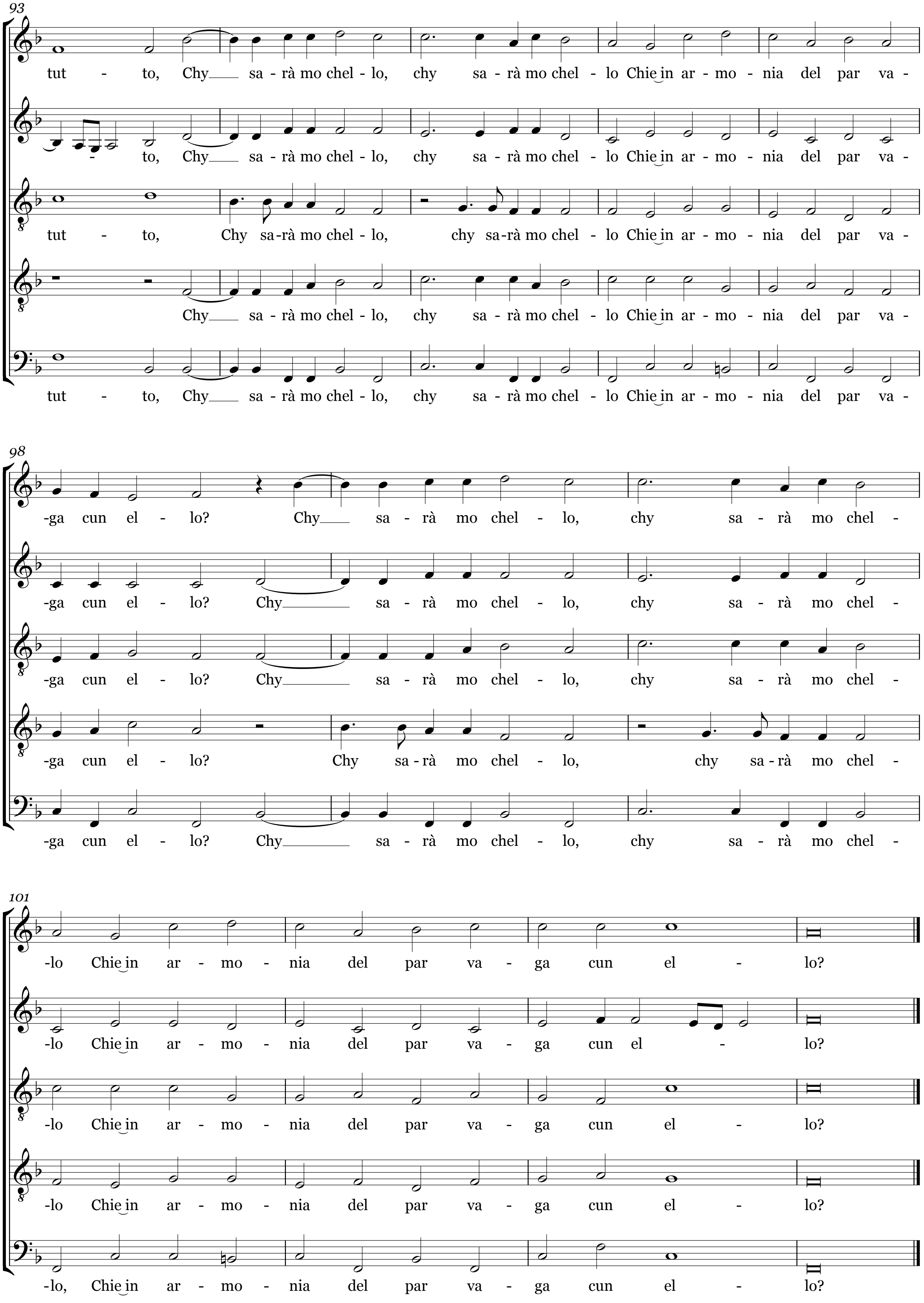

43
bri, chiep - pe, sar - dun, chie drio ti - rè - u; Le sy-
chiep - pe, sar - dun, chie drio ti rè - u; Le sy-
- bri, chiep - pe, sar - dun, chie drio ti - rè - u; Le sy-
chiep - pe, sar - dun, chie drio ti - rè - u; Le sy-
chiep - pe, sar - dun, chie drio ti - rè - u;
48
-re - ne dun - zel - l'‿e ch'a - ma - ri - o, le sy - re - ne dun - zel - l'‿e ch'a - ma - ri - o;
-re - ne dun - zel - l'‿e ch'a - ma - ri - o, le sy - re - ne dun - zel - l'‿e ch'a - ma - ri - o;
-re - ne dun - zel - l'‿e ch'a - ma - ri - o, le sy - re - ne dun - zel - l'‿e ch'a - ma - ri - o;
-re - ne dun - zel - l'‿e ch'a - ma - ri - o, le sy - re - ne dun - zel - l'‿e ch'a - ma - ri - o;
Le sy - re - ne dun - zel - l'‿e ch'a - ma - ri - o.

Seconda parte


54
E vu, fiu - mi chie dèu tri - bu - to‿al ma - ri: Pia - ve, La - de - se, Po, Sil,
E vu, fiu - mi, chie dèu tri - bu - to‿al ma - ri: Pia - ve, La - de - se, Po, Sil,
E vu, fiu - mi, chie dèu tri - bu - to‿al ma - ri: Pia - ve, La - de - se, Po, Sil,
E vu, fiu - mi, chie dèu tri - bu - to‿al ma - ri: Pia - ve, La - de - se, Po, Sil,
E vu, fiu - mi, chie dèu tri - bu - to‿al ma - ri: Pia - ve, La - de - se, Po, Sil,

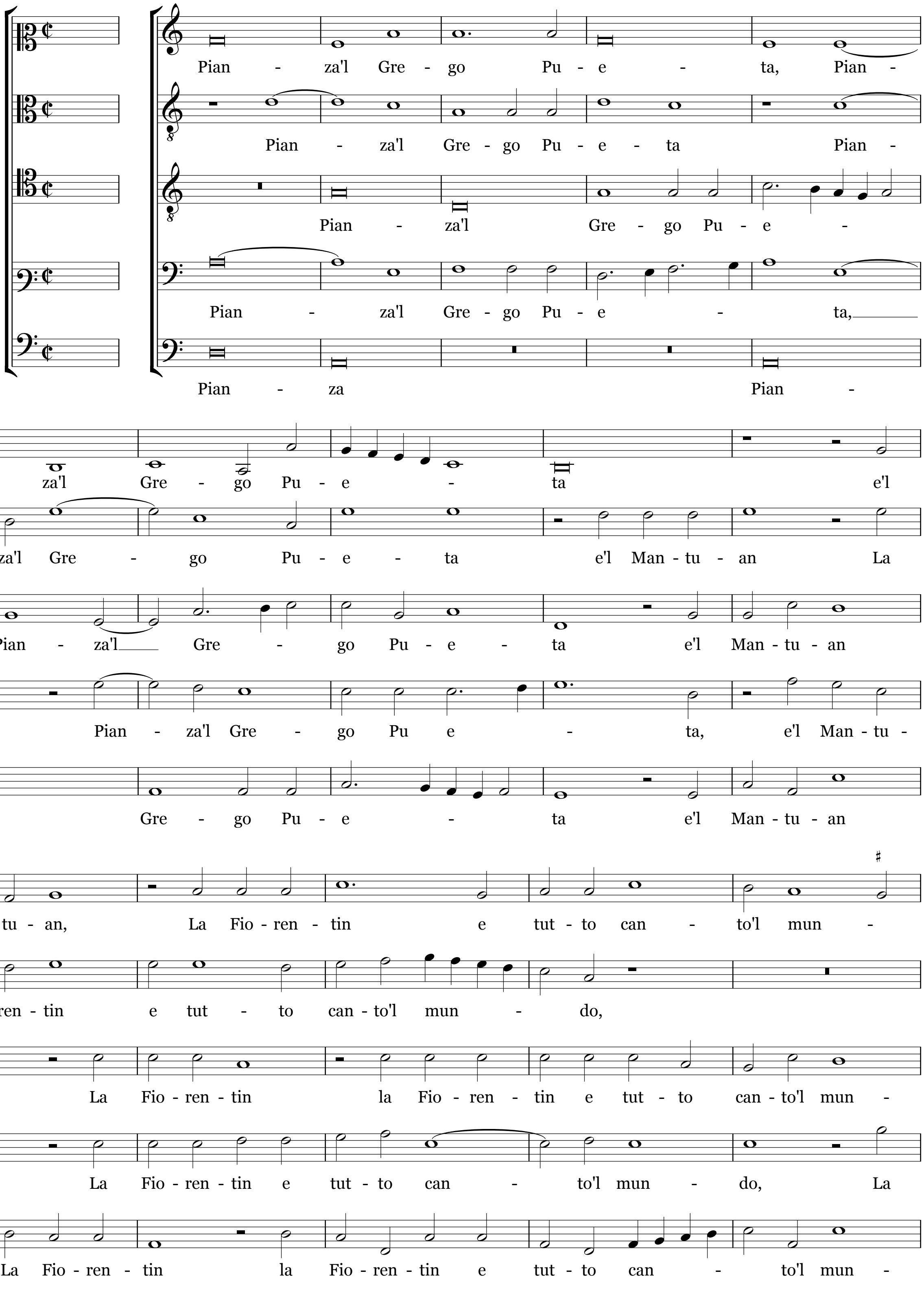

60
Bren-ta et O - gio, Ve-gnì, ve-gnì che tut - ti
Bren-ta et O - gio, Ve - gnì, ve-gnì cha tut -
Bren-ta et O - gio, Ve-gnì, ve-gnì cha tut - ti can -
Bren-ta et O - gio, Ve-gnì, ve-gnì cha tut - ti can -
Bren-ta et O - gio, Ve-gnì, ve-gnì cha tut-ti can -
65
can - ti a la - gri-ma - ri La mor-te d'A-dri-an,
- ti can - ti a la - gri - ma - ri La mor-te d'A-dri-an,
ti a la-gri-ma - ri La mor-te d'A-dri-an,
- ti a la - gri-ma - ri La mor-te d'A-dri-an, del
- ti a la - gri-ma - ri La mor-te d'A-dri-an,
71
del chal me do - gio,
del chal me do - gio, Chie no'l po -
del chal me do - gio, del chal me - do - gio, Chie no'l po -
chal me do - gio, del chal me do - gio, Chie no'l po -
del chal me do - gio, del chal me do - gio, Chie no'l po -

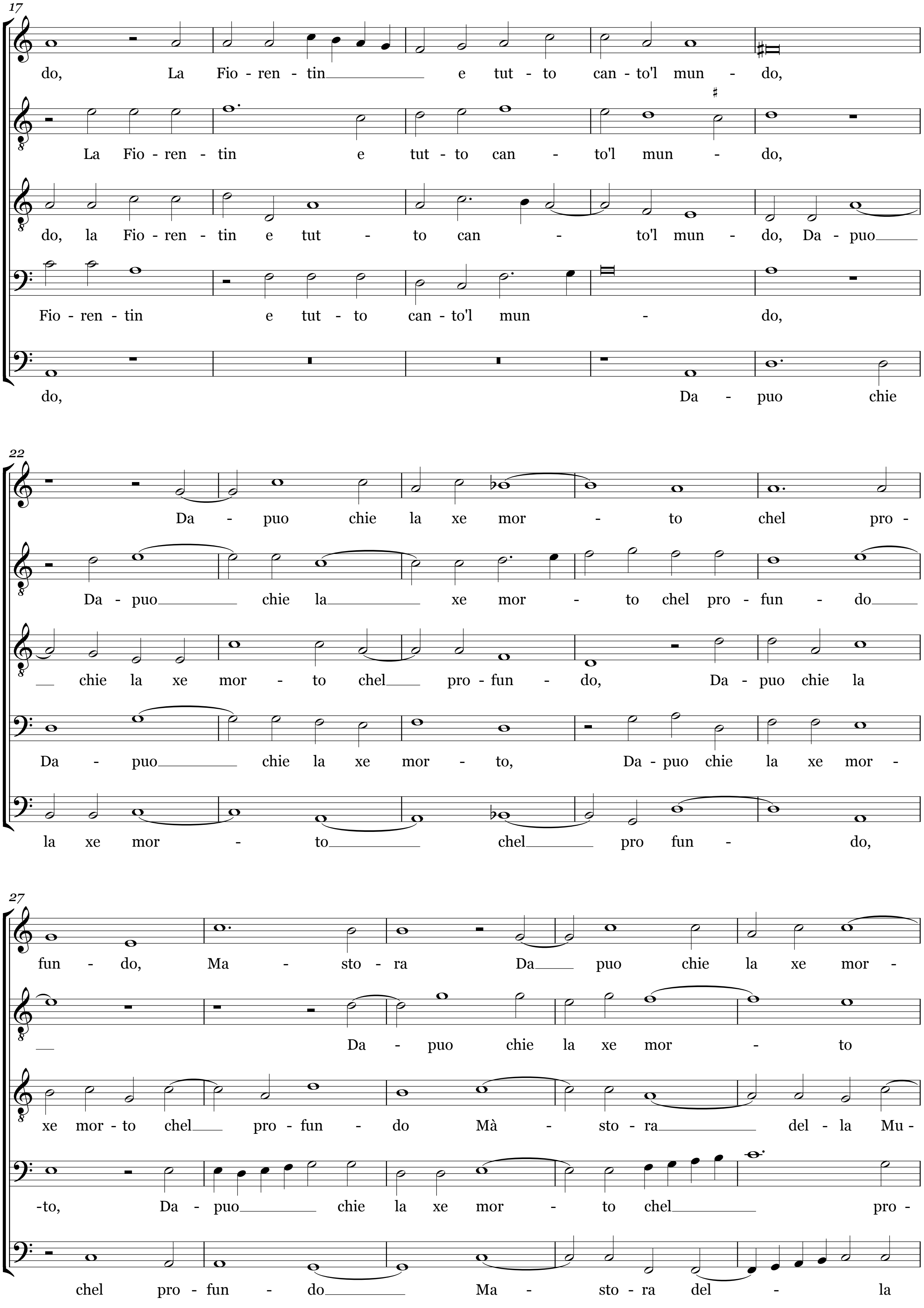

76
-rà mie ver - si plio lu - stra - ri Cu'l dul -
-rà mie ver - si plio lu - stra - ri Cu'l dul -
-rà mie ver - si plio lu - stra - ri, lu - stra - ri Cu'l dul -
-rà mie ver - si plio lu - stra - ri Cu'l dul -
81
O me - gà - los cor - do -
- ce can - to chie rum - pe o - gni sco - gio. O me - gà - los cor - do -
- ce can - to chie rum - pe o - gni sco - gio. O me - gà - los cor - do -
- ce can - to chie rum - pe o - gni sco - gio. O me - gà - los cor - do -
- ce can - to chie rum - pe o - gni sco - gio.
87
gio! Del mun - do tut - to, O me - gà - los cor - do - gio! Del mun - do
gio! Del mun - do tut - to, O me - gà - los cor - do - gio! Del mun - do tut
gio! Del mun - do tut - to, O me - gà - los cor - do - gio! Del mun - do
go! Del mun - do tut - to,
O me - gà - los cor - do - gio! Del mun - do

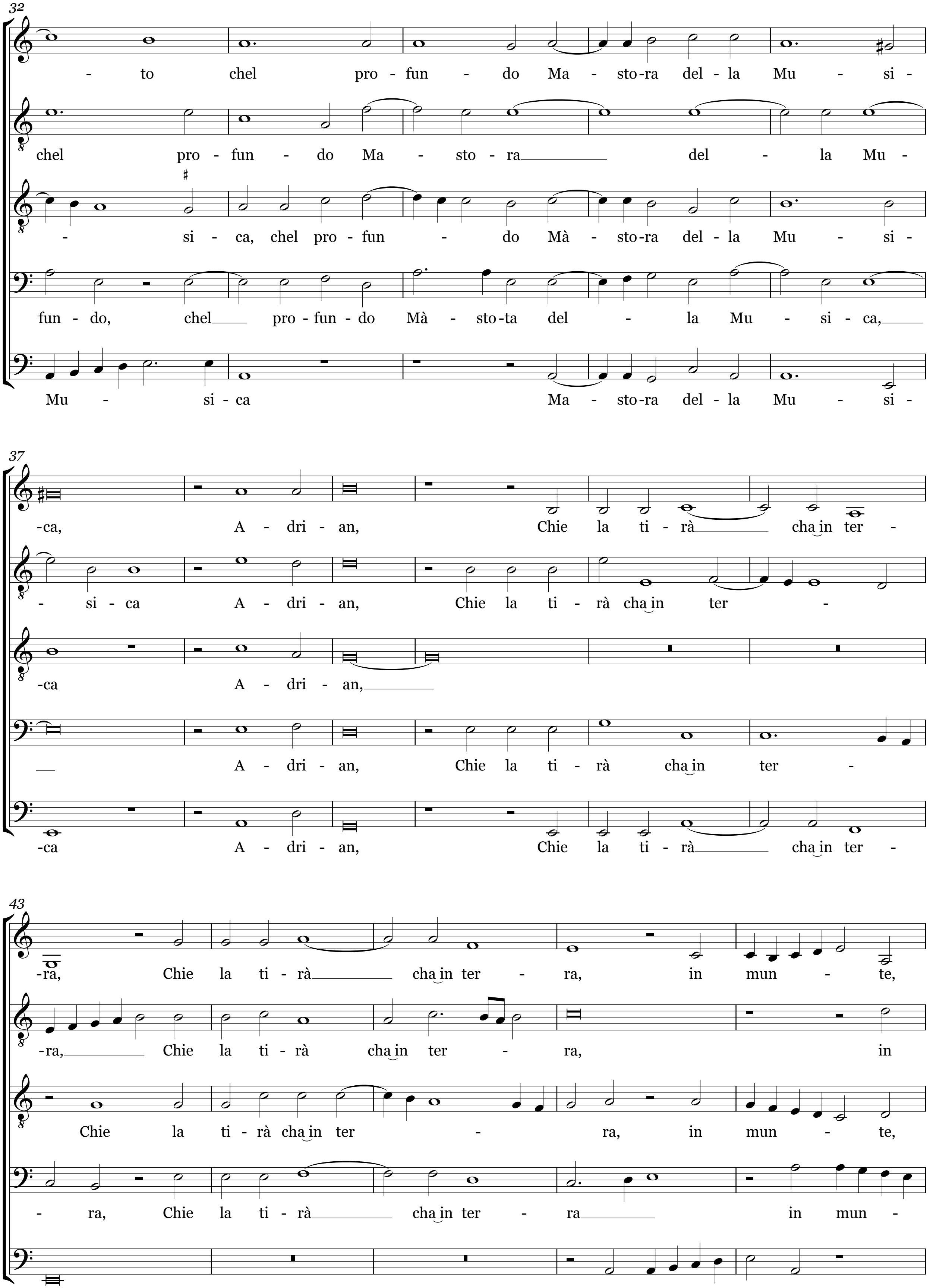

93
tut - to, Chy sa - rà mo chel - lo, chy sa - rà mo chel - lo Chie‿in ar - mo - nia del par va -
- to, Chy sa - rà mo chel - lo, chy sa - rà mo chel - lo Chie‿in ar - mo - nia del par va -
tut - to, Chy sa-rà mo chel - lo, chy sa-rà mo chel - lo Chie‿in ar - mo - nia del par va -
Chy sa - rà mo chel - lo, chy sa - rà mo chel - lo Chie‿in ar - mo - nia del par va -
tut - to, Chy sa - rà mo chel - lo, chy sa - rà mo chel - lo Chie‿in ar - mo - nia del par va -
98
-ga cun el - lo? Chy sa - rà mo chel - lo, chy sa - rà mo chel -
-ga cun el - lo? Chy sa - rà mo chel - lo, chy sa - rà mo chel -
-ga cun el - lo? Chy sa - rà mo chel - lo, chy sa - rà mo chel -
-ga cun el - lo? Chy sa-rà mo chel - lo, chy sa-rà mo chel -
-ga cun el - lo? Chy sa - rà mo chel - lo, chy sa - rà mo chel -
101
-lo Chie‿in ar - mo - nia del par va - ga cun el - lo?
-lo Chie‿in ar - mo - nia del par va - ga cun el - lo?
-lo Chie‿in ar - mo - nia del par va - ga cun el - lo?
-lo Chie‿in ar - mo - nia del par va - ga cun el - lo?
-lo, Chie‿in ar - mo - nia del par va - ga cun el - lo?

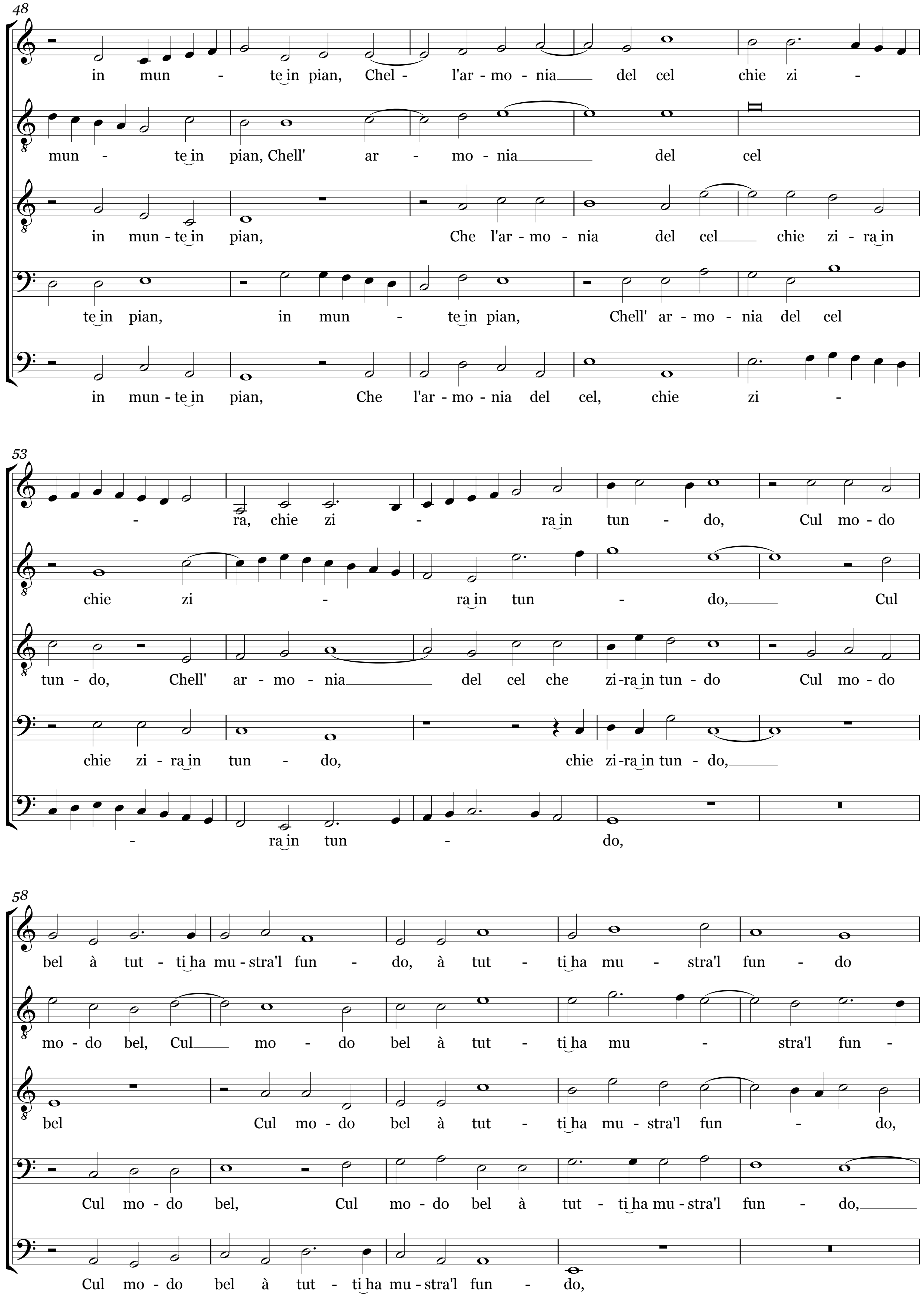
Nella morte d'Adrian

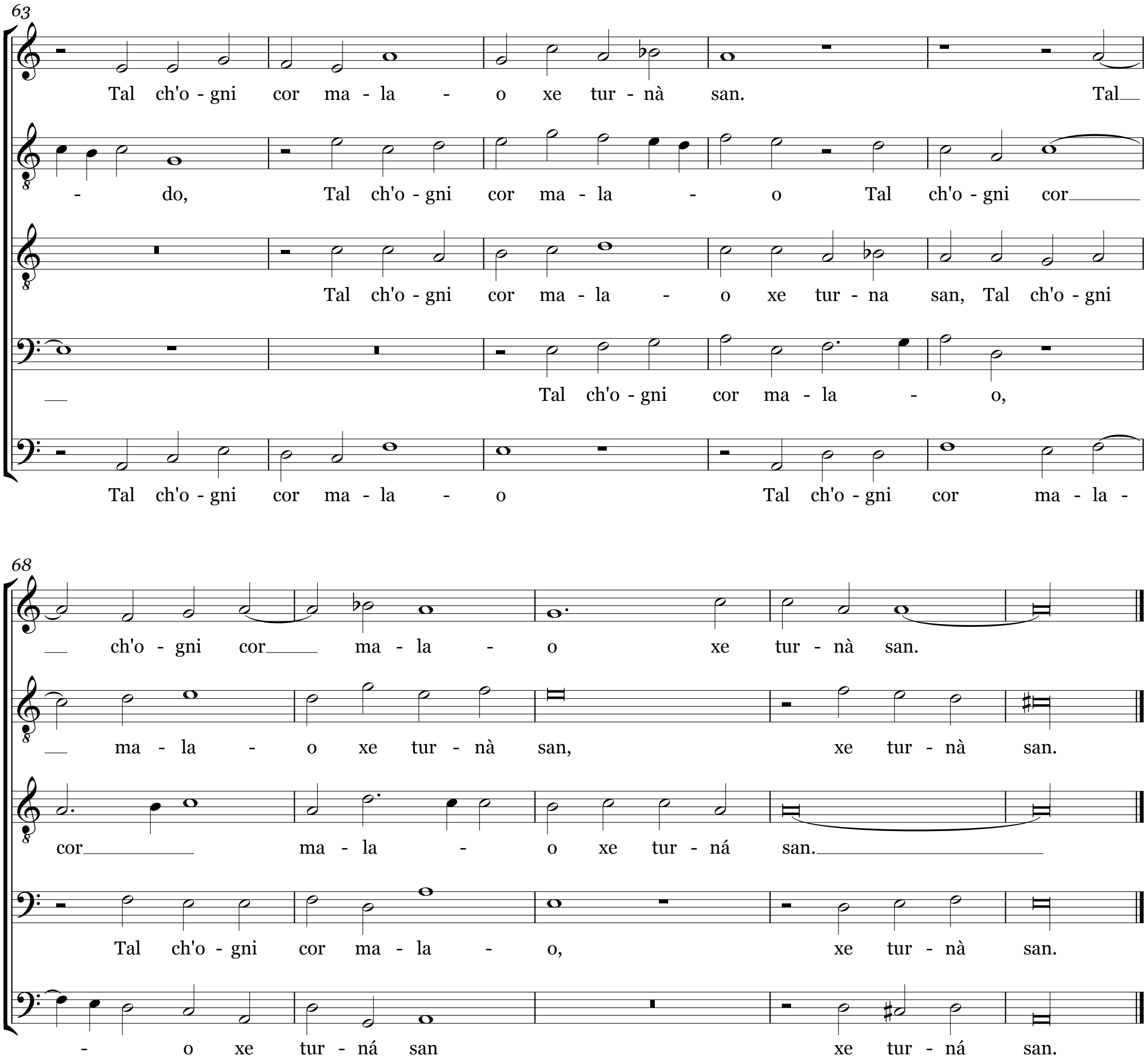
Alvise Willaert


Pian - za'l Gre - go Pu - e - ta, Pian - za'l Gre - go Pu - e - ta e'l Man - tu - an, La Fio - ren - tin e tut - to can - to'l mun -
Pian - za'l Gre - go Pu - e - ta Pian - za'l Gre - go Pu - e - ta e'l Man - tu - an La Fio - ren - tin e tut - to can - to'l mun - do,
Pian - za'l Gre - go Pu - e - ta, Pian - za'l Gre - go Pu - e - ta e'l Man - tu - an La Fio - ren - tin la Fio - ren - tin e tut - to can - to'l mun -
Pian - za'l Gre - go Pu - e - ta, Pian - za'l Gre - go Pu e - ta, e'l Man - tu - an, La Fio - ren - tin e tut - to can - to'l mun - do, La
Pian - za Pian - za'l Gre - go Pu - e - ta e'l Man - tu - an La Fio - ren - tin la Fio - ren - tin e tut - to can - to'l mun -
7
12

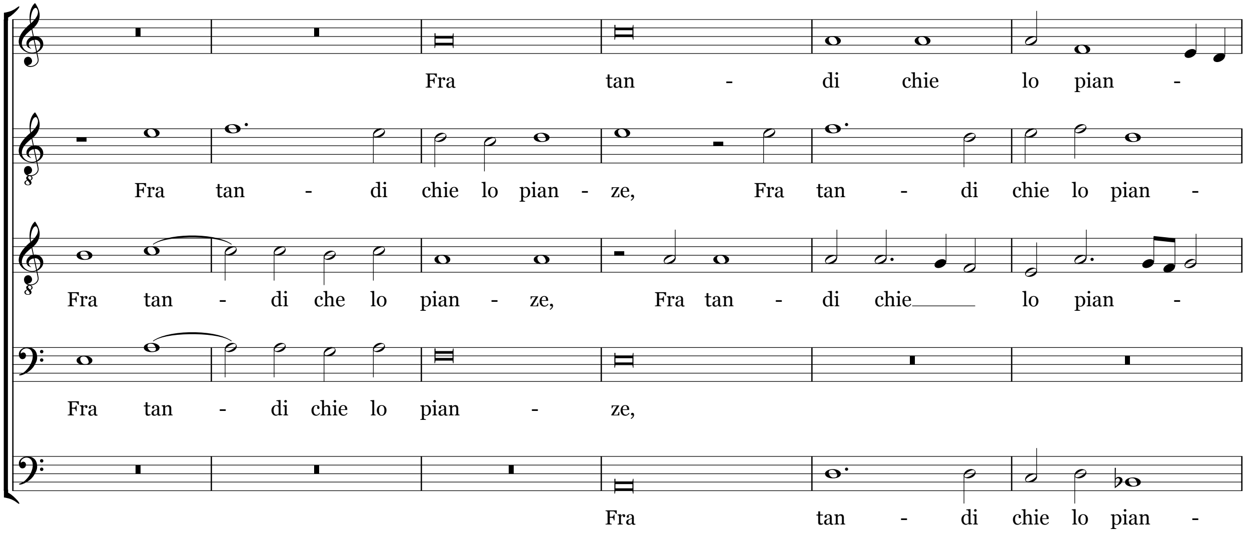

17
do, La Fio - ren - tin e tut - to can - to'l mun - do,
La Fio - ren - tin e tut - to can - to'l mun - do,
do, la Fio - ren - tin e tut - to can - to'l mun - do, Da - puo
Fio - ren - tin e tut - to can - to'l mun - do,
do, Da - puo chie
22
Da - puo chie la xe mor - to chel pro -
Da - puo chie la xe mor - to chel pro - fun - do
chie la xe mor - to chel pro - fun - do, Da - puo chie la
Da - puo chie la xe mor - to, Da - puo chie la xe mor -
la xe mor - to chel pro fun - do,
27
fun - do, Ma - sto - ra Da puo chie la xe mor -
Da - puo chie la xe mor - to
xe mor - to chel pro - fun - do Mà - sto - ra del - la Mu -
-to, Da - puo chie la xe mor - to chel pro -
chel pro - fun - do Ma - sto - ra del - la

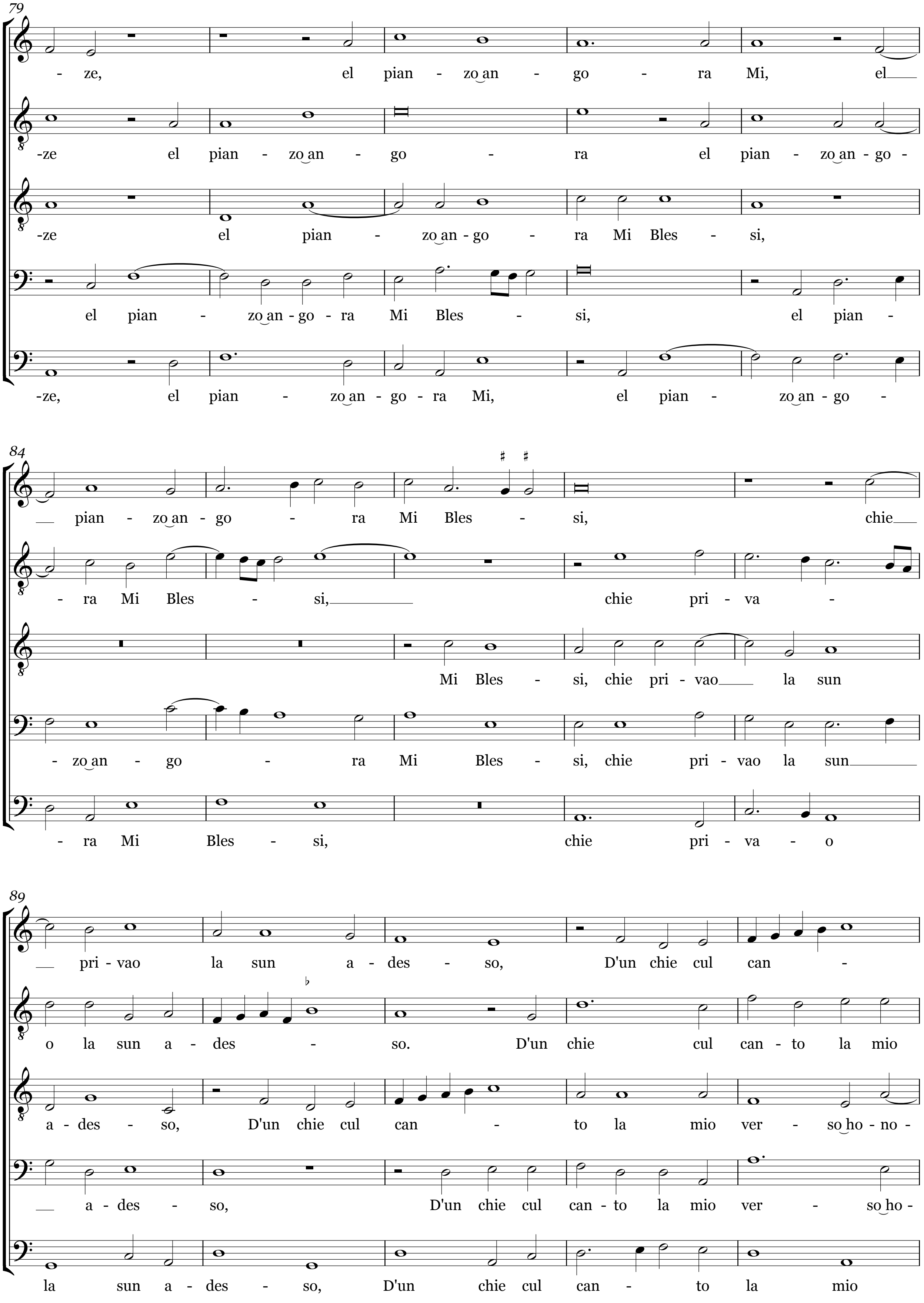

32
- to chel pro - fun - do Ma - sto-ra del - la Mu - si -
chel pro - fun - do Ma - sto - ra del - la Mu -
- si - ca, chel pro - fun - do Mà - sto-ra del - la Mu - si -
fun - do, chel pro - fun - do Mà - sto-ta del - la Mu - si - ca,
Mu - si - ca Ma - sto-ra del - la Mu - si -
37
-ca, A - dri - an, Chie la ti - rà cha in ter -
- si - ca A - dri - an, Chie la ti - rà cha in ter -
-ca A - dri - an,
A - dri - an, Chie la ti - rà cha in ter -
-ca A - dri - an, Chie la ti - rà cha in ter -
43
-ra, Chie la ti - rà cha in ter - ra, in mun - te,
-ra, Chie la ti - rà cha in ter - ra, in
Chie la ti - rà cha in ter - ra, in mun - te,
- ra, Chie la ti - rà cha in ter - ra in mun -
-ra in mun - te,

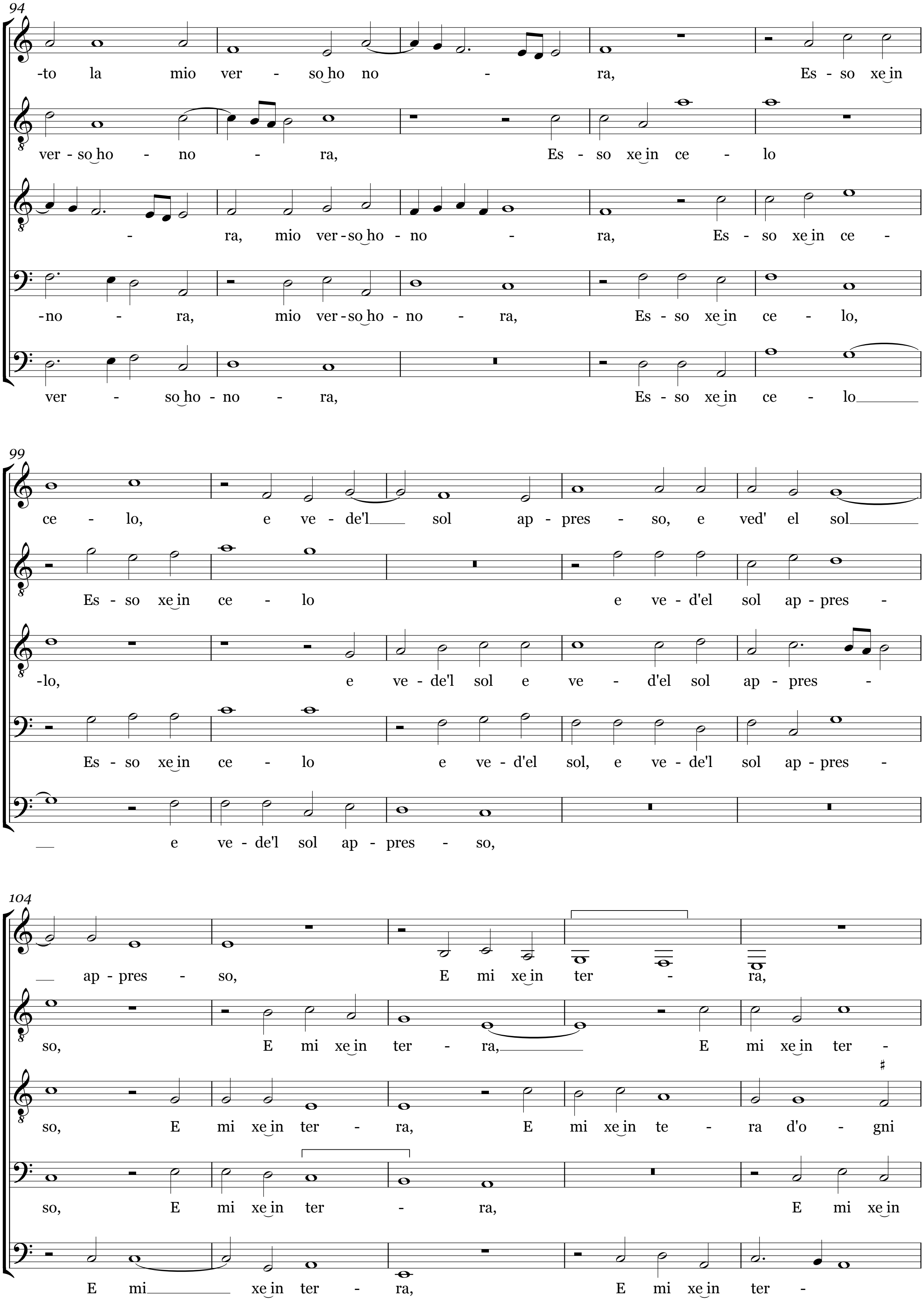

48
in mun - te in pian, Chel - l'ar - mo - nia del cel chie zi -
mun - te in pian, Chell' ar - mo - nia del cel
in mun - te in pian, Che l'ar - mo - nia del cel chie zi - ra in
te in pian, in mun - te in pian, Chell' ar - mo - nia del cel
in mun - te in pian, Che l'ar - mo - nia del cel, chie zi -
53
- ra, chie zi - ra in tun - do, Cul mo - do
chie zi - ra in tun - do, Cul
tun - do, Chell' ar - mo - nia del cel che zi - ra in tun - do Cul mo - do
chie zi - ra in tun - do, chie zi - ra in tun - do,
- ra in tun - do,
58
bel à tut - ti ha mu - stra'l fun - do, à tut - ti ha mu - stra'l fun - do
mo - do bel, Cul mo - do bel à tut - ti ha mu - stra'l fun -
bel Cul mo - do bel à tut - ti ha mu - stra'l fun - do,
Cul mo - do bel, Cul mo - do bel à tut - ti ha mu - stra'l fun - do,
Cul mo - do bel à tut - ti ha mu - stra'l fun - do,

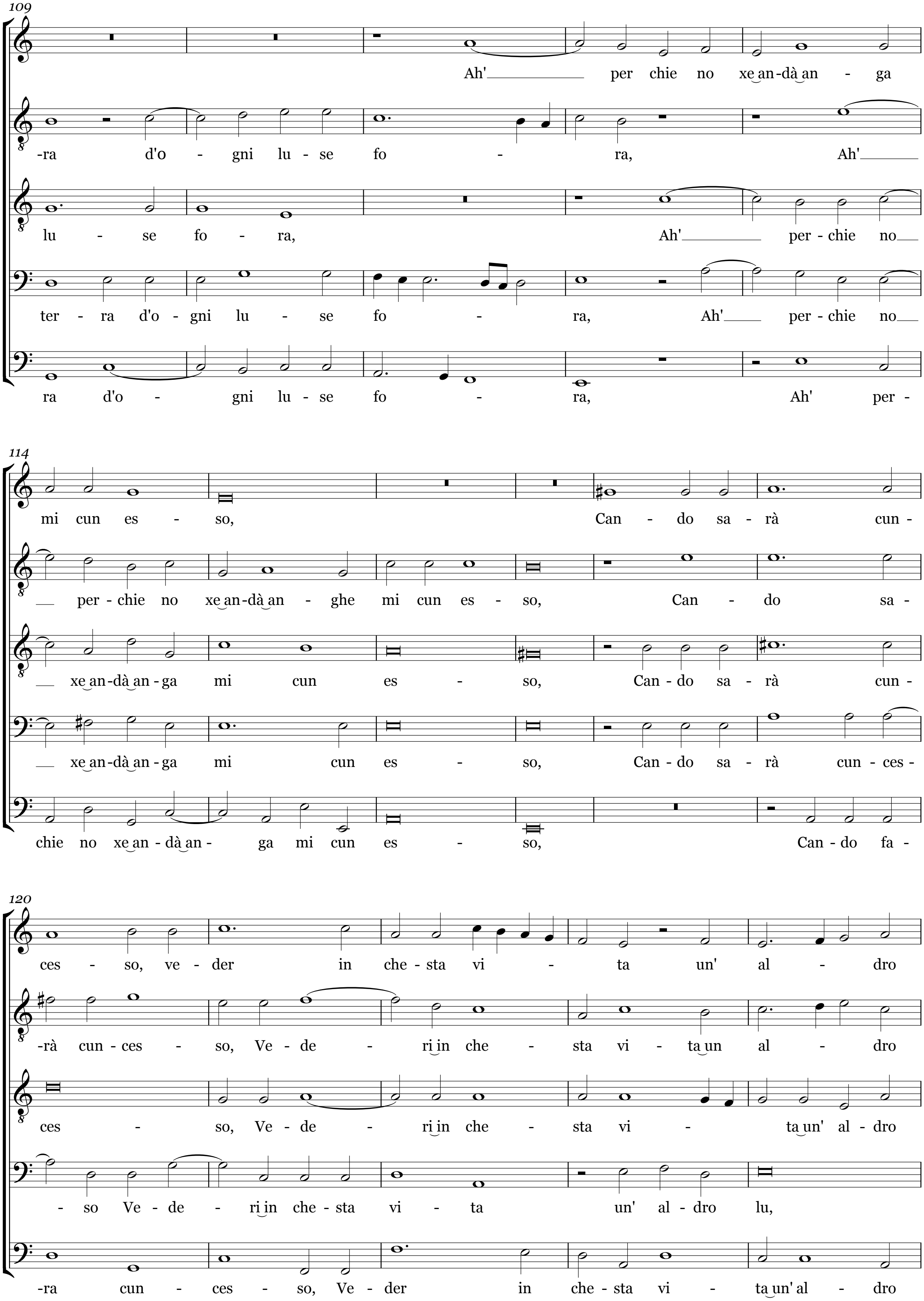

63
Tal ch'o - gni cor ma - la - o xe tur - nà san. Tal
- do, Tal ch'o - gni cor ma - la - o Tal ch'o - gni cor
Tal ch'o - gni cor ma - la - o xe tur - na san, Tal ch'o - gni
Tal ch'o - gni cor ma - la - o,
Tal ch'o - gni cor ma - la - o Tal ch'o - gni cor ma - la -
68
ch'o - gni cor ma - la - o xe tur - nà san.
ma - la - o xe tur - nà san, xe tur - nà san.
cor ma - la - o xe tur - ná san.
Tal ch'o - gni cor ma - la - o, xe tur - nà san.
- o xe tur - ná san xe tur - ná san.

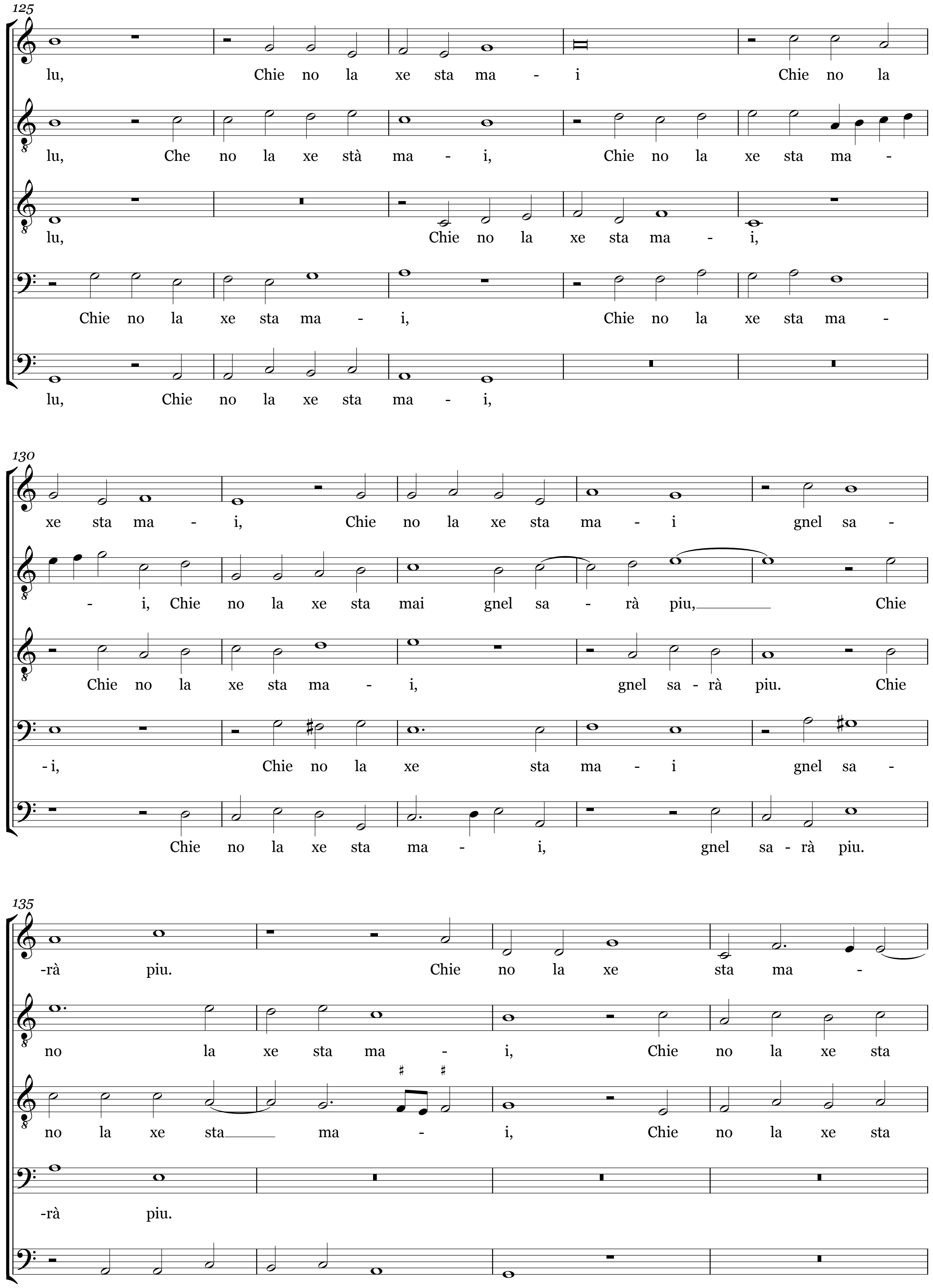
Seconda parte

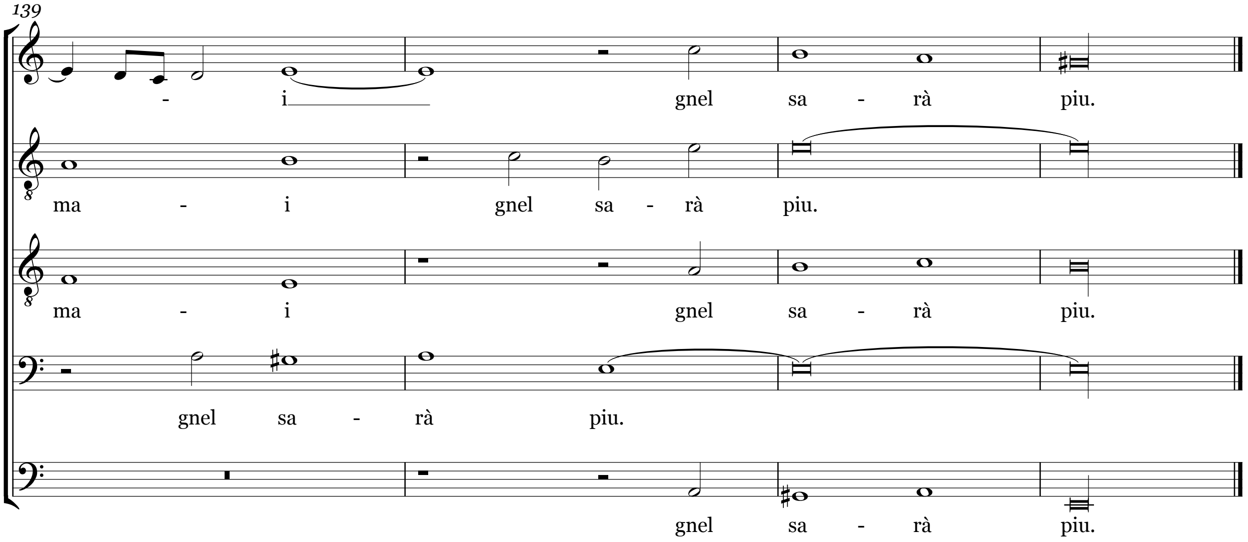

73
Fra tan - di chie lo pian -
Fra tan - di chie lo pian - ze, Fra tan - di chie lo pian -
Fra tan - di che lo pian - ze, Fra tan - di chie lo pian -
Fra tan - di chie lo pian - ze,
Fra tan - di chie lo pian -


79
- ze, el pian - zo an - go - ra Mi, el
-ze el pian - zo an - go - ra el pian - zo an - go -
-ze el pian - zo an - go - ra Mi Bles - si,
el pian - zo an - go - ra Mi Bles - si, el pian -
-ze, el pian - zo an - go - ra Mi, el pian - zo an - go -
84
pian - zo an - go - ra Mi Bles - si, chie
- ra Mi Bles - si, chie pri - va -
Mi Bles - si, chie pri - vao la sun
- zo an - go - ra Mi Bles - si, chie pri - vao la sun
- ra Mi Bles - si, chie pri - va - o
89
pri - vao la sun a - des - so, D'un chie cul can -
o la sun a - des - so. D'un chie cul can - to la mio
a - des - so, D'un chie cul can - to la mio ver - so ho - no -
a - des - so, D'un chie cul can - to la mio ver - so ho -
la sun a - des - so, D'un chie cul can - to la mio


94
-to la mio ver - so‿ho no - ra, Es - so xe‿in
ver - so‿ho - no - ra, Es - so xe‿in ce - lo
- ra, mio ver - so‿ho - no - ra, Es - so xe‿in ce -
-no - ra, mio ver - so‿ho - no - ra, Es - so xe‿in ce - lo,
ver - so‿ho - no - ra, Es - so xe‿in ce - lo
99
ce - lo, e ve - de'l sol ap - pres - so, e ved' el sol
Es - so xe‿in ce - lo e ve - d'el sol ap - pres -
-lo, e ve - de'l sol e ve - d'el sol ap - pres -
Es - so xe‿in ce - lo e ve - d'el sol, e ve - de'l sol ap - pres -
e ve - de'l sol ap - pres - so,
104
ap - pres - so, E mi xe‿in ter - ra,
so, E mi xe‿in ter - ra, E mi xe‿in ter -
so, E mi xe‿in ter - ra, E mi xe‿in te - ra d'o - gni
so, E mi xe‿in ter - ra, E mi xe‿in
E mi xe‿in ter - ra, E mi xe‿in ter -


109
Ah' per chie no xe an-dà an - ga
-ra d'o - gni lu-se fo - ra, Ah'
lu - se fo - ra, Ah' per-chie no
ter - ra d'o - gni lu - se fo - ra, Ah' per-chie no
ra d'o - gni lu-se fo - ra, Ah' per -
114
mi cun es - so, Can - do sa - rà cun -
per-chie no xe an-dà an - ghe mi cun es - so, Can - do sa -
xe an-dà an-ga mi cun es - so, Can-do sa - rà cun -
xe an-dà an-ga mi cun es - so, Can-do sa - rà cun-ces -
chie no xe an - dà an - ga mi cun es - so, Can-do fa -
120
ces - so, ve - der in che-sta vi - ta un' al - dro
-rà cun-ces - so, Ve - de - ri in che - sta vi - ta un al - dro
ces - so, Ve - de - ri in che - sta vi - ta un' al-dro
- so Ve - de - ri in che-sta vi - ta un' al-dro lu,
-ra cun - ces - so, Ve - der in che-sta vi - ta un' al - dro

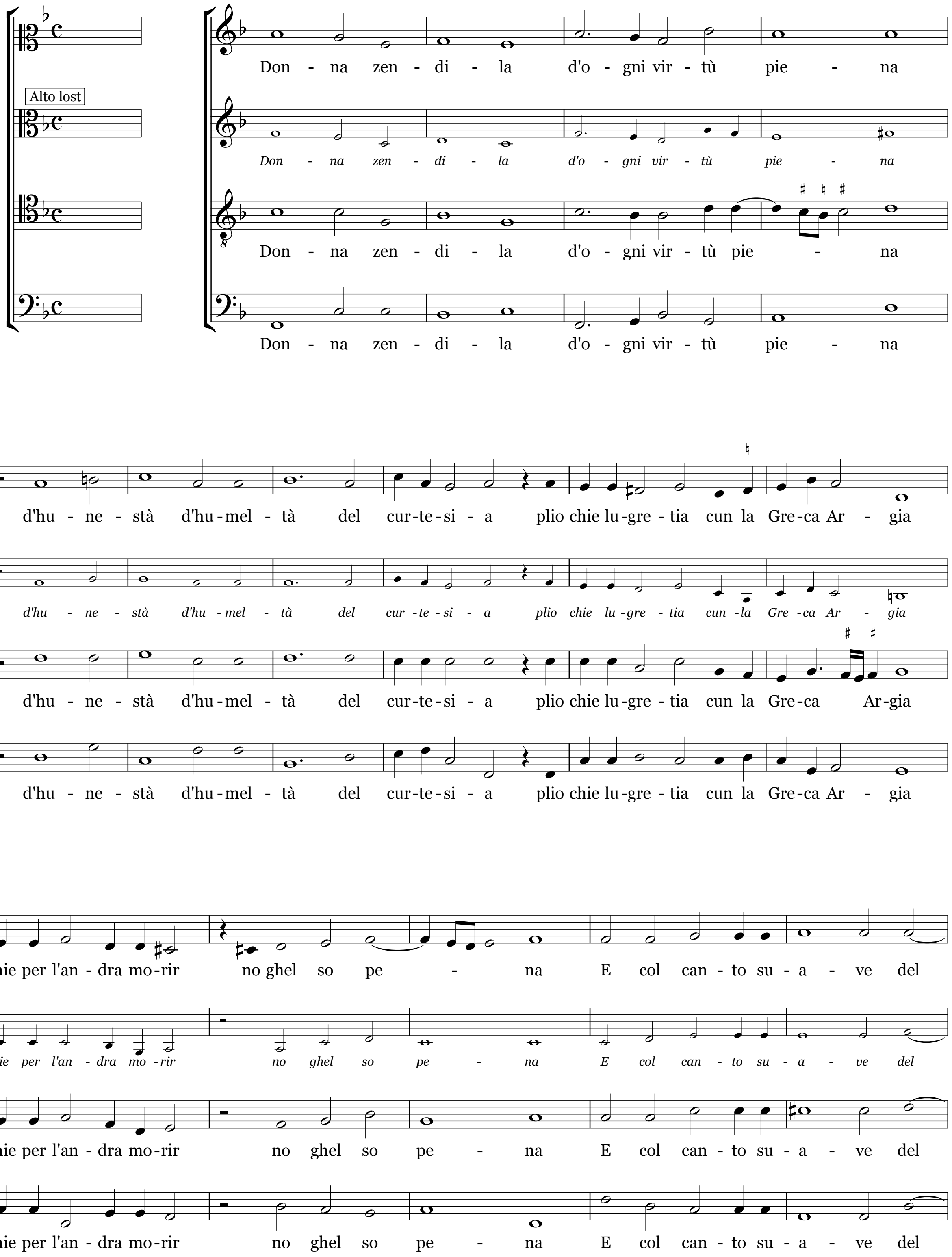

125
lu, Chie no la xe sta ma - i Chie no la
lu, Che no la xe stà ma - i, Chie no la xe sta ma -
lu, Chie no la xe sta ma - i,
Chie no la xe sta ma - i, Chie no la xe sta ma -
lu, Chie no la xe sta ma - i,
130
xe sta ma - i, Chie no la xe sta ma - i gnel sa -
- i, Chie no la xe sta mai gnel sa - rà piu, Chie
Chie no la xe sta ma - i, gnel sa- rà piu. Chie
- i, Chie no la xe sta ma - i gnel sa -
Chie no la xe sta ma - i, gnel sa - rà piu.
135
-rà piu. Chie no la xe sta ma -
no la xe sta ma - i, Chie no la xe sta
♯ ♯
no la xe sta ma - i, Chie no la xe sta
-rà piu.
Chie no la xe sta ma - i,

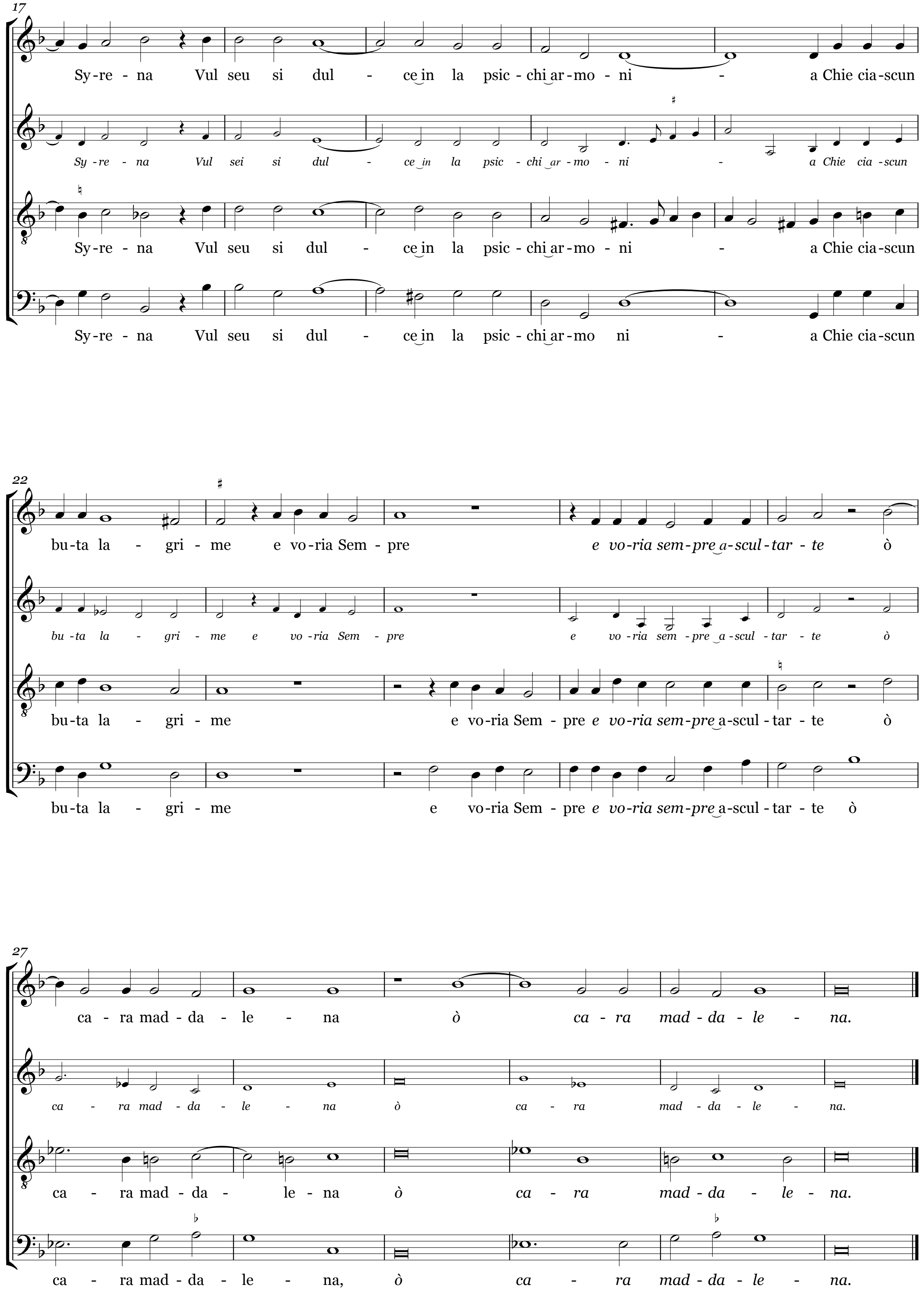

139
- i gnel sa - rà piu.
ma - i gnel sa - rà piu.
ma - i gnel sa - rà piu.
gnel sa - rà piu.
gnel sa - rà piu.

Donna zendila

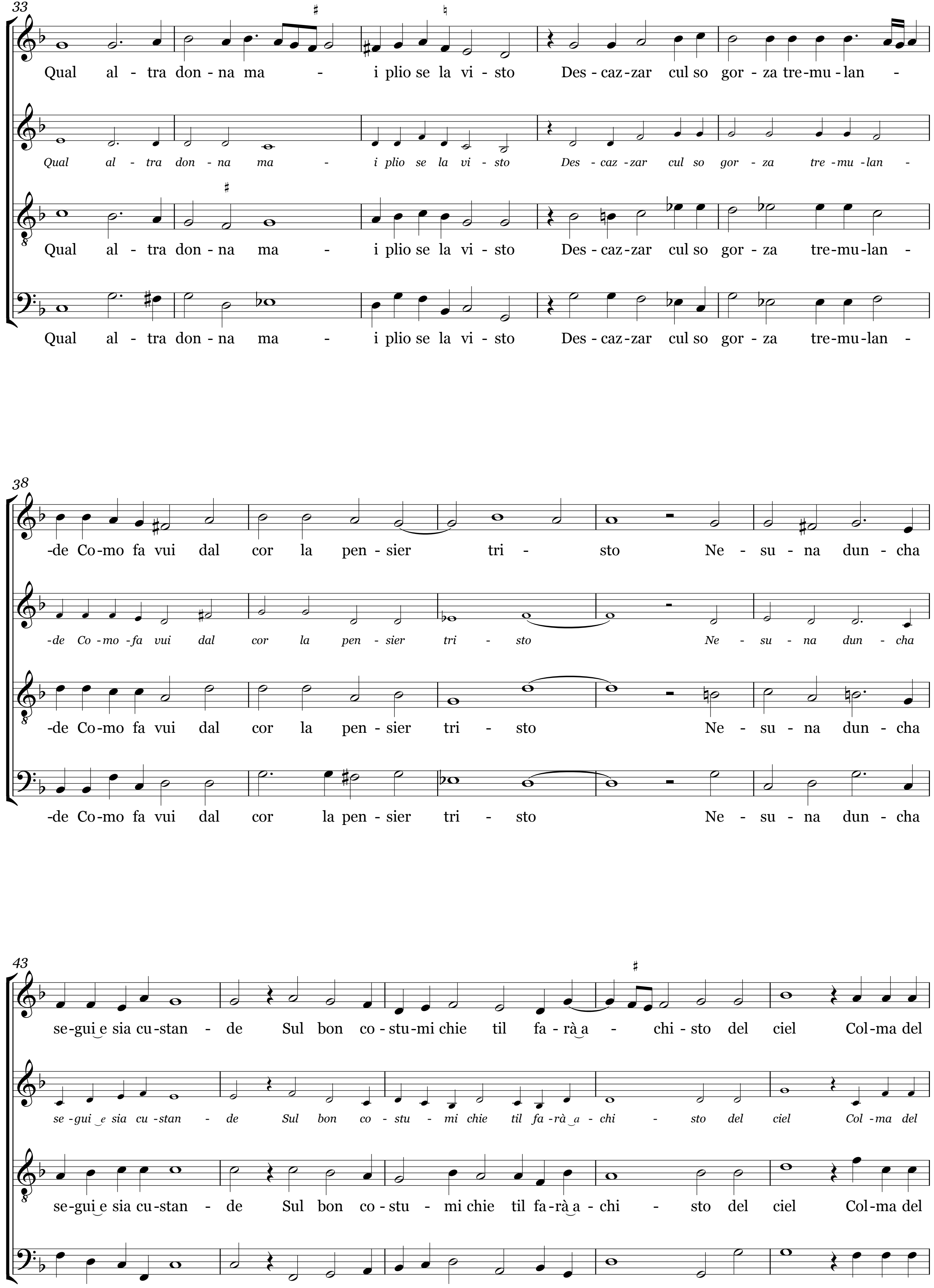
I dilettevoli madrigali a quattro voci
(Venice: Correggio, 1568) RISM A/I M2647, 3.

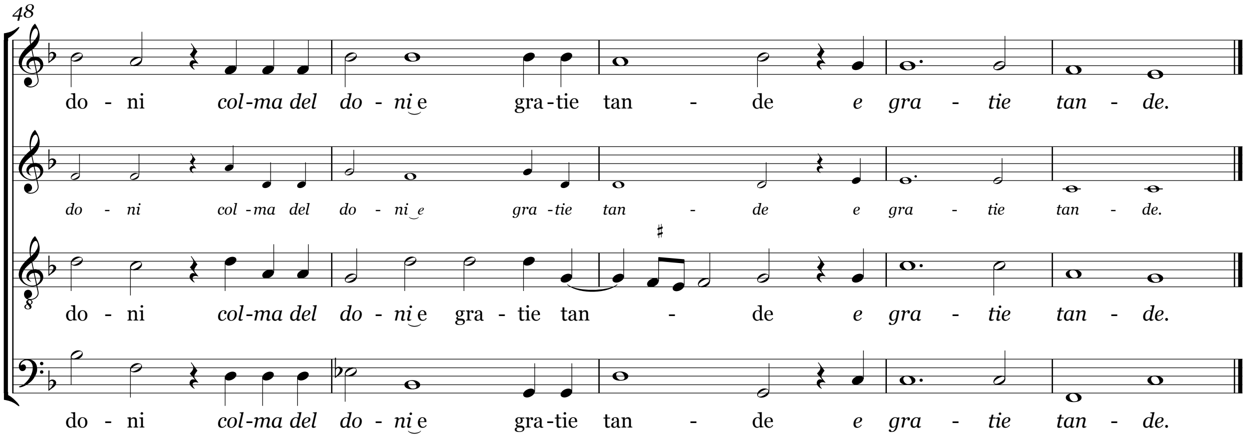
Antonio Molino


Alto lost
Don - na zen - di - la d'o - gni vir - tù pie - na
6
d'hu - ne - stà d'hu - mel - tà del cur - te - si - a plio chie lu - gre - tia cun la Gre - ca Ar - gia
12
chie per l'an - dra mo - rir no ghel so pe - na E col can - to su - a - ve del


17
Sy-re-na Vul seu si dul - ce in la psic-chi ar-mo-ni - a Chie cia-scun
Sy-re-na Vul sei si dul - ce in la psic-chi ar-mo-ni - a Chie cia-scun
Sy-re-na Vul seu si dul - ce in la psic-chi ar-mo-ni - a Chie cia-scun
Sy-re-na Vul seu si dul - ce in la psic-chi ar-mo ni - a Chie cia-scun
22
bu-ta la - gri - me e vo-ria Sem - pre e vo-ria sem-pre a-scul-tar - te ò
bu-ta la - gri - me e vo-ria Sem - pre e vo-ria sem-pre a-scul-tar - te ò
bu-ta la - gri - me e vo-ria Sem - pre e vo-ria sem-pre a-scul-tar - te ò
bu-ta la - gri - me e vo-ria Sem - pre e vo-ria sem-pre a-scul-tar - te ò
27
ca - ra mad - da - le - na ò ca - ra mad - da - le - na.
ca - ra mad - da - le - na ò ca - ra mad - da - le - na.
ca - ra mad - da - le - na ò ca - ra mad - da - le - na.
ca - ra mad - da - le - na, ò ca - ra mad - da - le - na.

Seconda parte

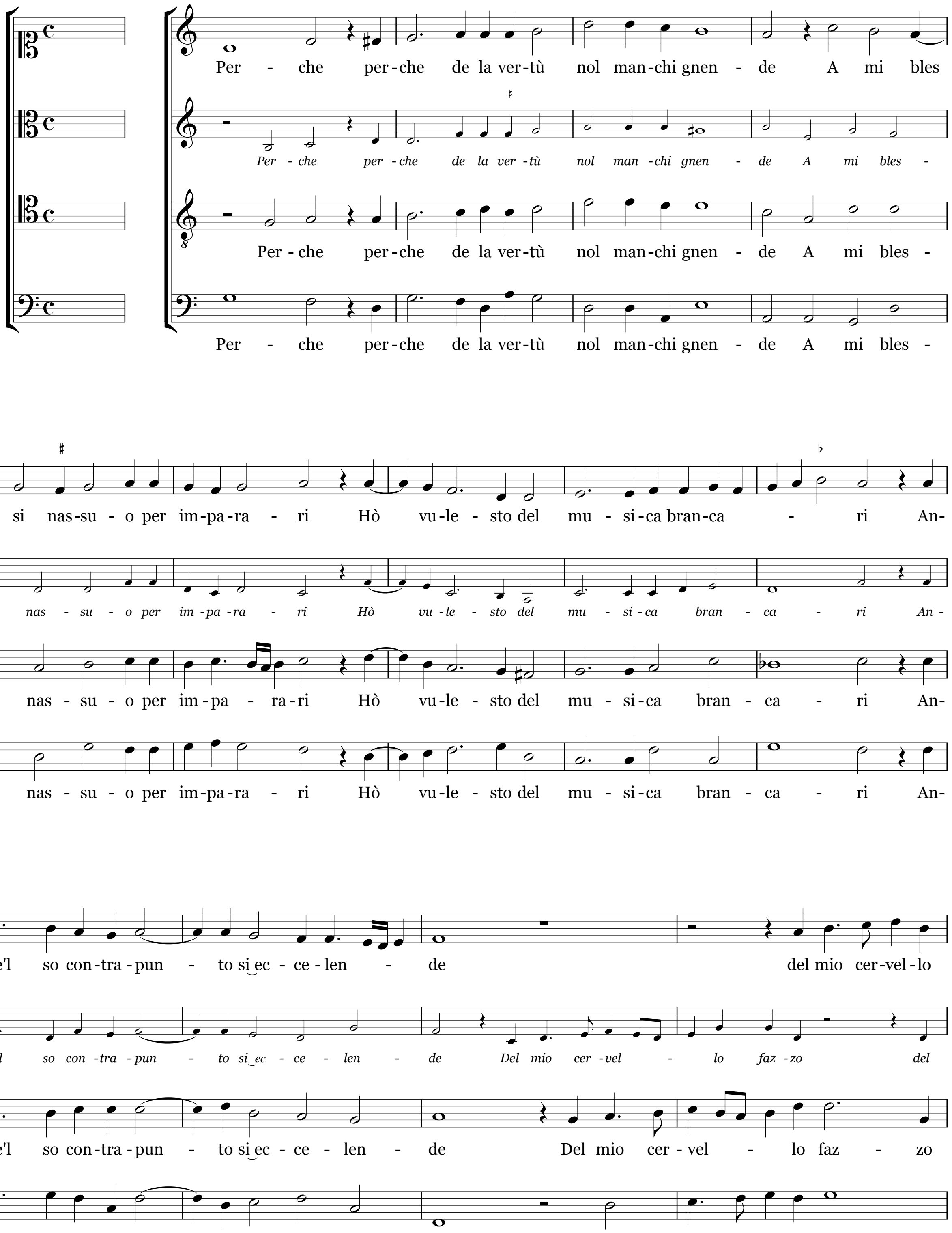

33
Qual al - tra don - na ma - i plio se la vi - sto Des - caz - zar cul so gor - za tre - mu - lan -
38
-de Co - mo fa vui dal cor la pen - sier tri - sto Ne - su - na dun - cha
43
se - gui͜ e sia cu - stan - de Sul bon co - stu - mi chie til fa - rà͜ a - chi - sto del ciel Col - ma del

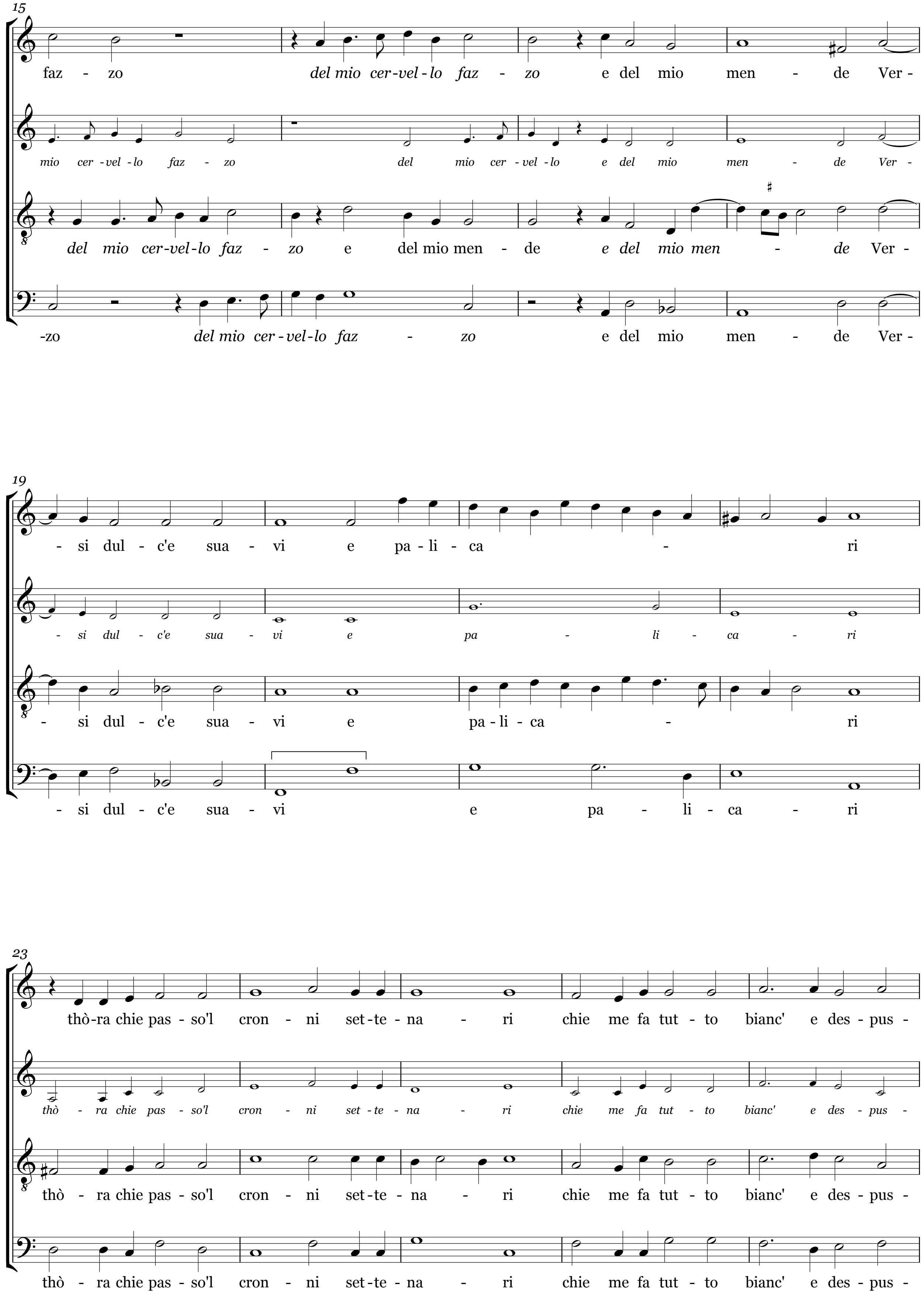

48
do - ni col-ma del do - ni‿e gra-tie tan - de e gra - tie tan - de.
do - ni col-ma del do - ni‿e gra-tie tan - de e gra - tie tan - de.
do - ni col-ma del do - ni‿e gra - tie tan - de e gra - tie tan - de.
do - ni col-ma del do - ni‿e gra-tie tan - de e gra - tie tan - de.

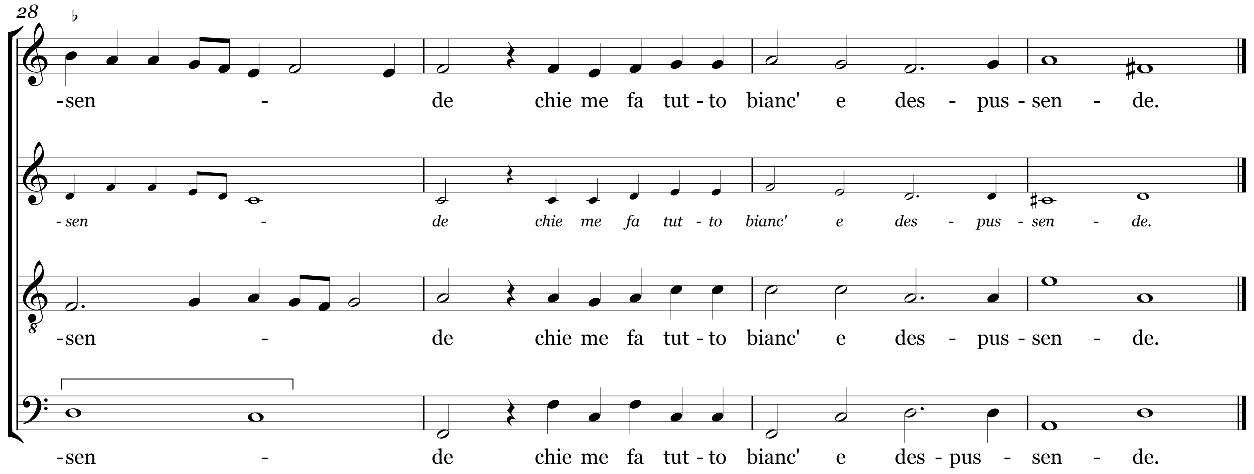
Perche de la vertu

I dilettevoli madrigali a quattro voci
(Venice: Correggio, 1568) RISM A/I M2647, 12-13.

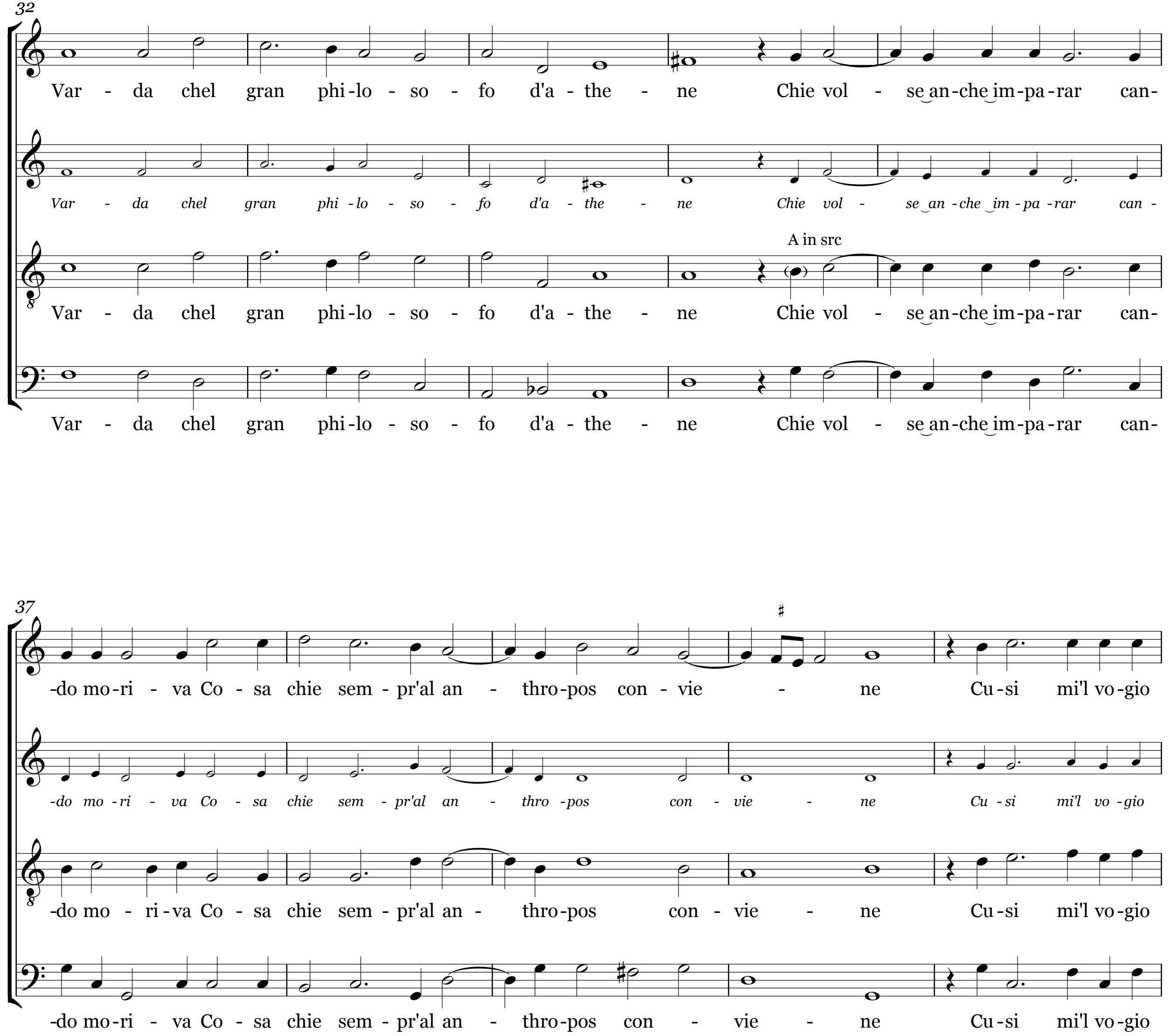
Antonio Molino

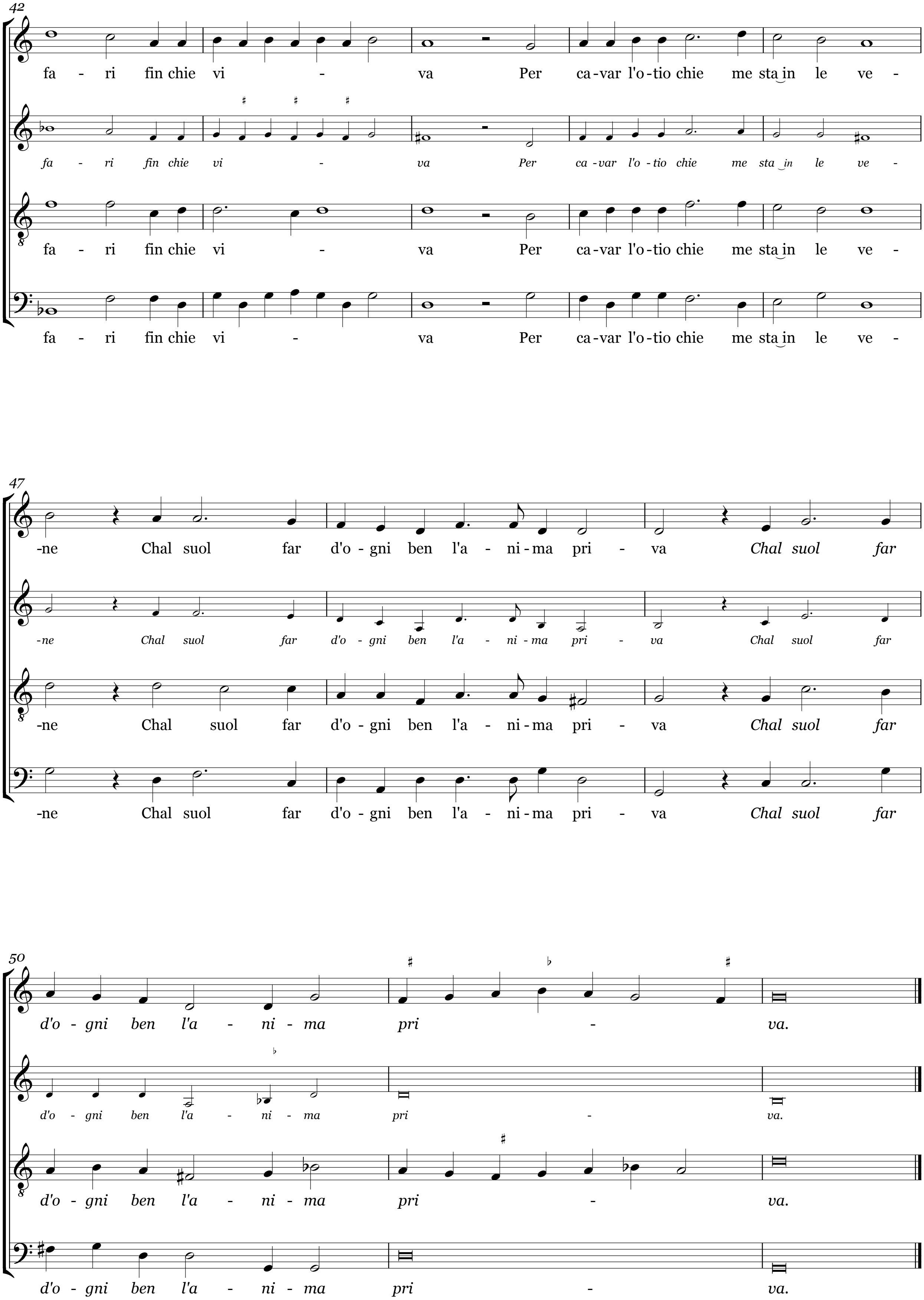

Per - che per-che de la ver-tù nol man-chi gnen - de A mi bles
Per - che per - che de la ver - tù nol man - chi gnen - de A mi bles -
Per - che per-che de la ver-tù nol man-chi gnen - de A mi bles -
Per - che per-che de la ver-tù nol man-chi gnen - de A mi bles -
6
- si nas-su - o per im-pa-ra - ri Hò vu-le - sto del mu - si-ca bran-ca - ri An-
-si nas - su - o per im - pa - ra - ri Hò vu - le - sto del mu - si - ca bran - ca - ri An -
-si nas - su - o per im-pa - ra-ri Hò vu-le - sto del mu - si-ca bran - ca - ri An-
-si nas - su - o per im-pa-ra - ri Hò vu-le - sto del mu - si-ca bran - ca - ri An-
11
che'l so con-tra-pun - to si ec - ce-len - de del mio cer-vel-lo
che'l so con - tra - pun - to si ec - ce - len - de Del mio cer - vel - lo faz - zo del
che'l so con-tra-pun - to si ec - ce - len - de Del mio cer - vel - lo faz - zo
che'l so con-tra-pun - to si ec - ce - len - de Del mio cer-vel-lo faz -


15
faz - zo del mio cer-vel-lo faz - zo e del mio men - de Ver -
mio cer-vel-lo faz - zo del mio cer-vel-lo e del mio men - de Ver -
del mio cer-vel-lo faz - zo e del mio men - de e del mio men - de Ver -
-zo del mio cer-vel-lo faz - zo e del mio men - de Ver -
19
- si dul - c'e sua - vi e pa - li - ca - ri
- si dul - c'e sua - vi e pa - li - ca - ri
- si dul - c'e sua - vi e pa - li - ca - ri
- si dul - c'e sua - vi e pa - li - ca - ri
23
thò - ra chie pas - so'l cron - ni set - te - na - ri chie me fa tut - to bianc' e des - pus -
thò - ra chie pas - so'l cron - ni set - te - na - ri chie me fa tut - to bianc' e des - pus -
thò - ra chie pas - so'l cron - ni set - te - na - ri chie me fa tut - to bianc' e des - pus -
thò - ra chie pas - so'l cron - ni set - te - na - ri chie me fa tut - to bianc' e des - pus -


28
-sen - de chie me fa tut-to bianc' e des - pus-sen - de.
-sen - de chie me fa tut - to bianc' e des - pus - sen - de.
-sen - de chie me fa tut-to bianc' e des - pus - sen - de.
-sen - de chie me fa tut-to bianc' e des-pus - sen - de.

Seconda parte

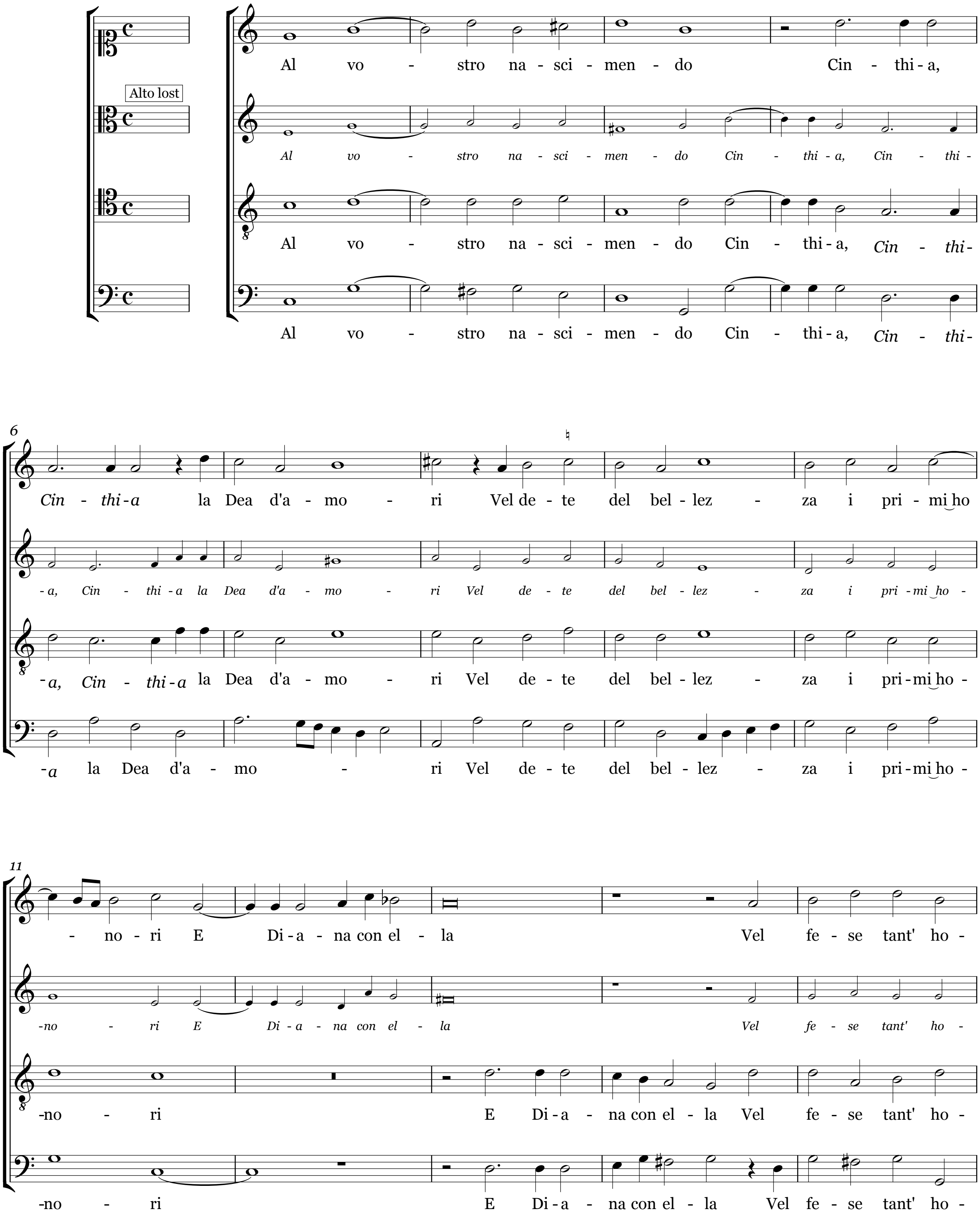

32
Var - da chel gran phi-lo - so - fo d'a - the - ne Chie vol - se an-che im-pa-rar can-
Var - da chel gran phi - lo - so - fo d'a - the - ne Chie vol - se an - che im - pa - rar can -
A in src
Var - da chel gran phi-lo - so - fo d'a - the - ne Chie vol - se an-che im-pa-rar can-
Var - da chel gran phi-lo - so - fo d'a - the - ne Chie vol - se an-che im-pa-rar can-
37
-do mo-ri - va Co - sa chie sem - pr'al an - thro-pos con - vie - ne Cu-si mi'l vo-gio
-do mo - ri - va Co - sa chie sem - pr'al an - thro -pos con - vie - ne Cu - si mi'l vo - gio
-do mo - ri-va Co - sa chie sem - pr'al an - thro-pos con - vie - ne Cu-si mi'l vo-gio
-do mo-ri - va Co - sa chie sem - pr'al an - thro-pos con - vie - ne Cu-si mi'l vo-gio

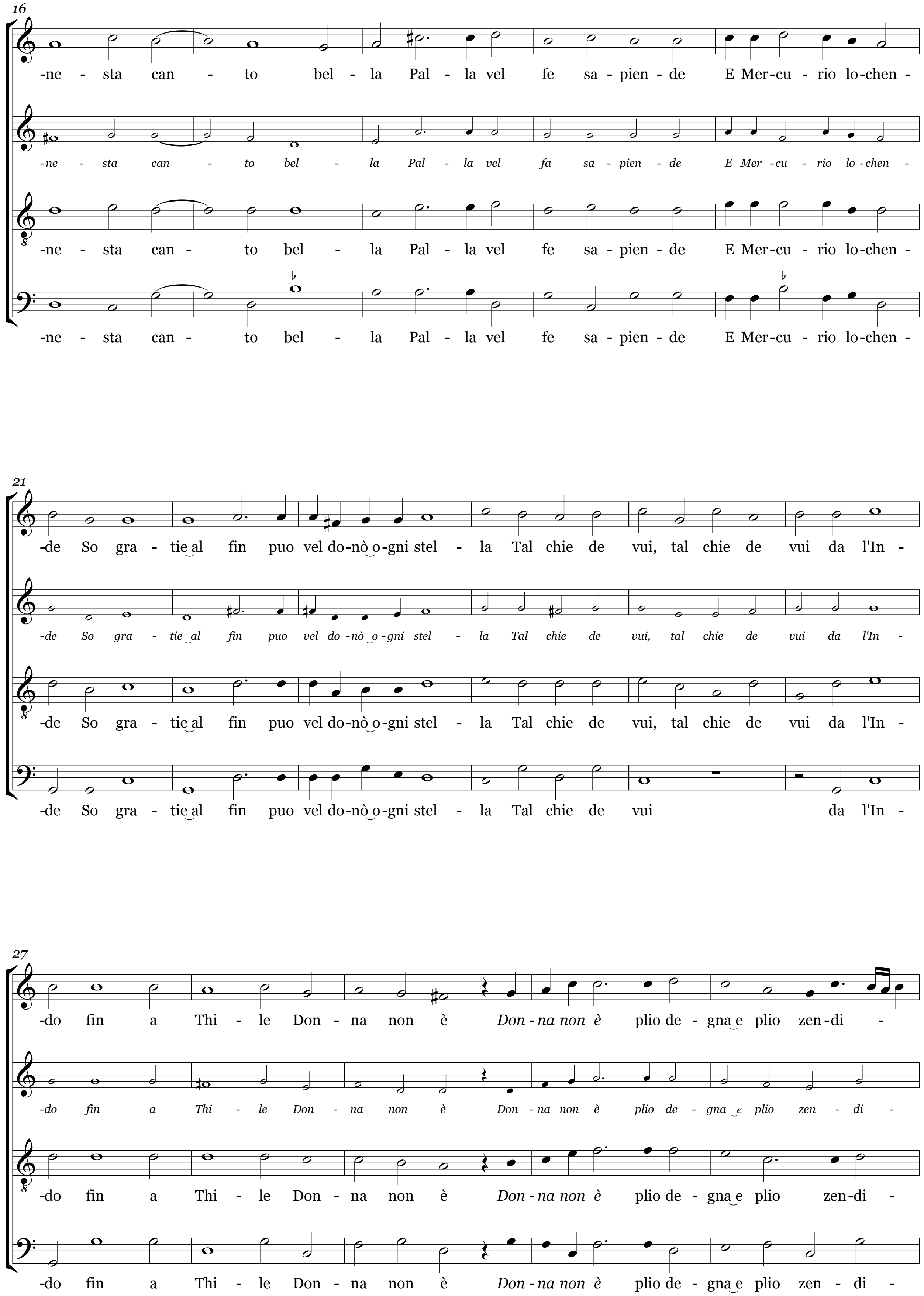

42
fa - ri fin chie vi - va Per ca-var l'o-tio chie me sta‿in le ve -
fa - ri fin chie vi - va Per ca-var l'o-tio chie me sta‿in le ve -
fa - ri fin chie vi - va Per ca-var l'o-tio chie me sta‿in le ve -
fa - ri fin chie vi - va Per ca-var l'o-tio chie me sta‿in le ve -
47
-ne Chal suol far d'o-gni ben l'a - ni-ma pri - va Chal suol far
-ne Chal suol far d'o - gni ben l'a - ni - ma pri - va Chal suol far
-ne Chal suol far d'o - gni ben l'a - ni-ma pri - va Chal suol far
-ne Chal suol far d'o - gni ben l'a - ni-ma pri - va Chal suol far
50
d'o - gni ben l'a - ni - ma pri - va.
d'o - gni ben l'a - ni - ma pri - va.
d'o - gni ben l'a - ni - ma pri - va.
d'o - gni ben l'a - ni - ma pri - va.

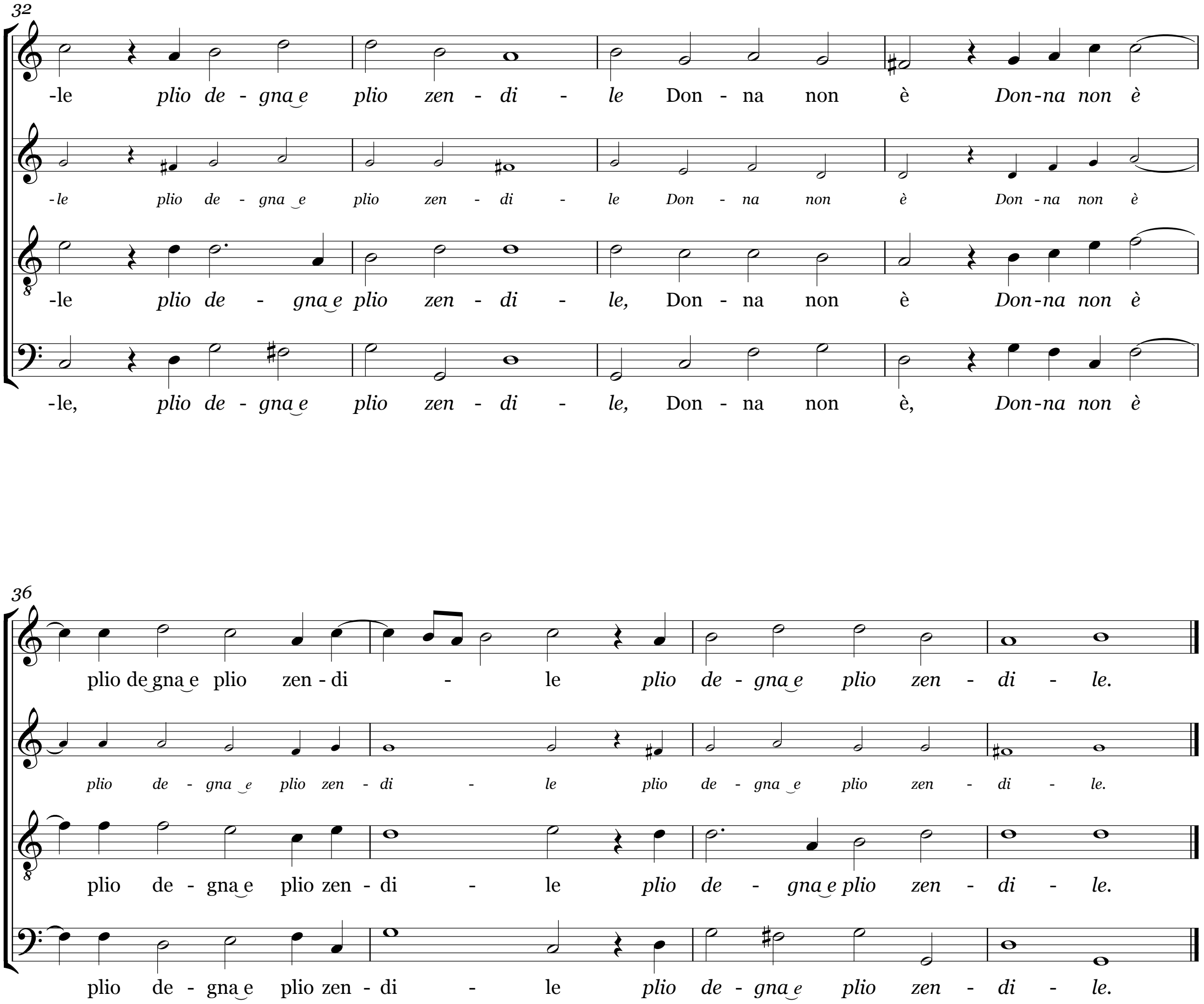
Al vostro nascimendo

I dilettevoli madrigali a quattro voci
(Venice: Correggio, 1568) RISM A/I M2647, 19.

Antonio Molino


Alto lost
6
11
Al vo - stro na - sci - men - do Cin - thi - a,
Al vo - stro na - sci - men - do Cin - thi - a, Cin - thi -
Cin - thi - a la Dea d'a - mo - ri Vel de - te del bel - lez - za i pri - mi ho
- a, Cin - thi - a la Dea d'a - mo - ri Vel de - te del bel - lez - za i pri - mi ho -
- no - ri E Di - a - na con el - la Vel fe - se tant' ho -
-no - ri E Di - a - na con el - la Vel fe - se tant' ho -
-no - ri E Di - a - na con el - la Vel fe - se tant' ho -


16
-ne - sta can - to bel - la Pal - la vel fe sa - pien - de E Mer-cu - rio lo-chen -
-ne - sta can - to bel - la Pal - la vel fa sa - pien - de E Mer -cu - rio lo -chen -
-ne - sta can - to bel - la Pal - la vel fe sa - pien - de E Mer-cu - rio lo-chen -
-ne - sta can - to bel - la Pal - la vel fe sa - pien - de E Mer-cu - rio lo-chen -
21
-de So gra - tie‿al fin puo vel do-nò‿o-gni stel - la Tal chie de vui, tal chie de vui da l'In -
-de So gra - tie‿al fin puo vel do -nò‿o -gni stel - la Tal chie de vui, tal chie de vui da l'In -
-de So gra - tie‿al fin puo vel do-nò‿o-gni stel - la Tal chie de vui, tal chie de vui da l'In -
-de So gra - tie‿al fin puo vel do-nò‿o-gni stel - la Tal chie de vui da l'In -
27
-do fin a Thi - le Don - na non è Don - na non è plio de - gna‿e plio zen-di -
-do fin a Thi - le Don - na non è Don - na non è plio de - gna‿e plio zen - di -
-do fin a Thi - le Don - na non è Don - na non è plio de - gna‿e plio zen-di -
-do fin a Thi - le Don - na non è Don - na non è plio de - gna‿e plio zen - di -


32
-le plio de - gna e plio zen - di - le Don - na non è Don-na non è
-le plio de - gna e plio zen - di - le Don - na non è Don - na non è
-le plio de - gna e plio zen - di - le, Don - na non è Don-na non è
-le, plio de - gna e plio zen - di - le, Don - na non è, Don-na non è
36
plio de gna e plio zen - di - le plio de - gna e plio zen - di - le.
plio de - gna e plio zen - di - le plio de - gna e plio zen - di - le.
plio de - gna e plio zen - di - le plio de - gna e plio zen - di - le.
plio de - gna e plio zen - di - le plio de - gna e plio zen - di - le.