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Teresa M. Gialdroni and Agostino Ziino

New light on Ottaviano Petrucci's activity, 1520–38

An unknown print of the *Motteti dal fiore*

THIS year marks the 500th anniversary of the first volume of polyphonic music printed with movable type, the outcome of the ingenious initiative of Ottaviano Petrucci (*b* Fossombrone, 18 June 1466; *d* Fossombrone, 7 May 1539). The year 1501 saw the publication of his famous collection of polyphonic music *Harmonice musices odhecaton A*. After having worked in Venice for more than a decade, he returned around 1510 to his native town, where he continued printing at least up to 1520. Thanks to a fortuitous coincidence, this anniversary year has seen the discovery of a new Petrucci source that throws light on the last period of his life, about which very little has been known up to now. The two unpublished leaves that form the subject of this article make a considerable contribution to our knowledge of Petrucci's activities after 1520, the year that saw the appearance of his last publication known so far, *Musica de meser Bernardo Pisano sopra le canzone del Petrarcha*. The two leaves we have discovered are complete uncut sheets, both preserved at Pesaro. They belong to a Tenor partbook¹ and a Bassus partbook² of a collection, unknown till now, printed by Ottaviano Petrucci and Bartolomeo Egnazio at Fossombrone in 1538, as shown by the colophon on f.14v of the Bassus part (see illus.1, 3),³ and presumably borrowed from the four-voice *Motteti del fiore* published by Jacques Moderne at Lyons in 1532,⁴ of which it forms a 'selection'.

Each sheet (measuring about 44.3–4 × 33.4 cm [width × height])⁵ contains on the *recto* four printed

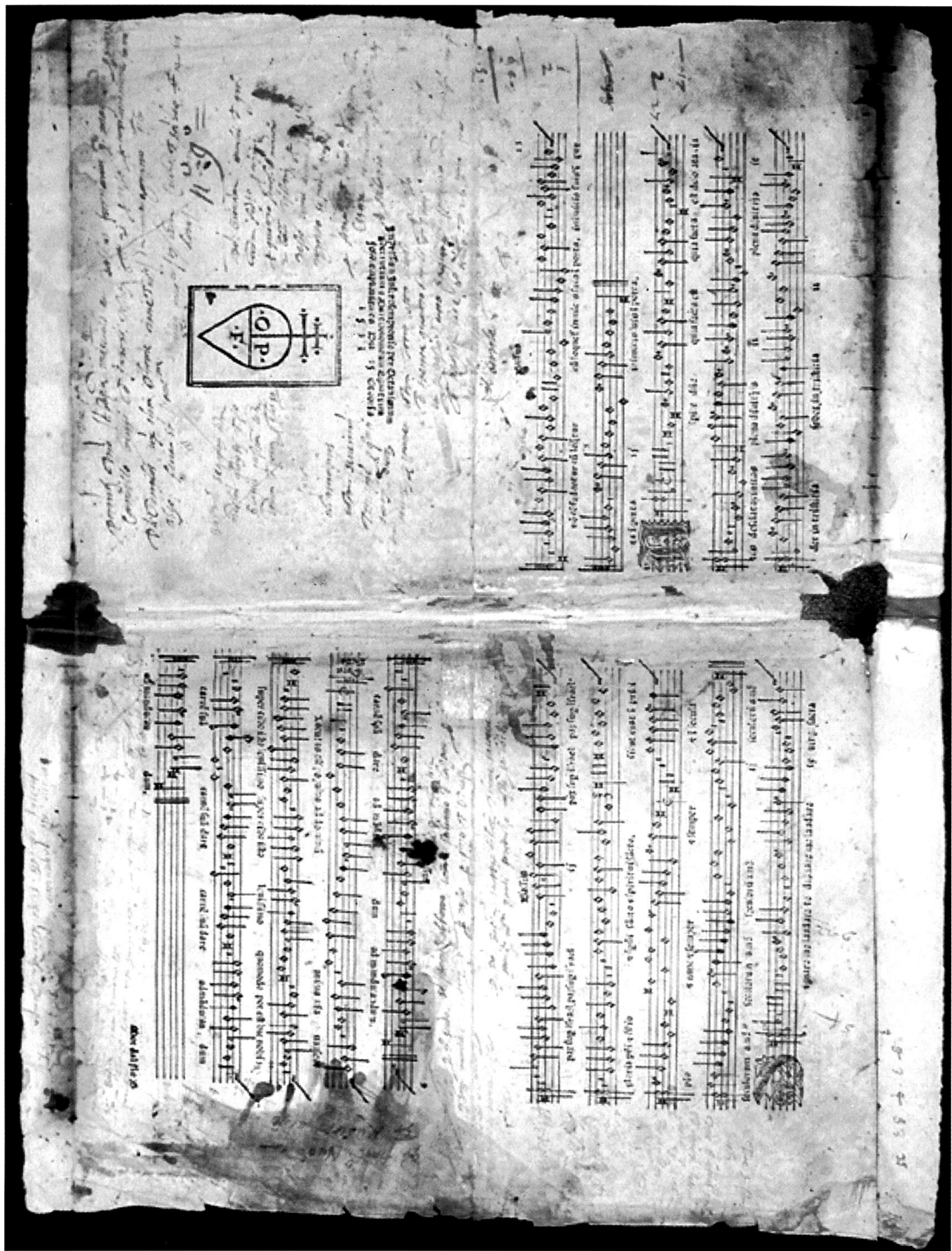
pages in oblong quarto format—respectively of the Tenor and Bassus part—and four on the *verso* (see figs.1, 2).⁶ Of the Tenor partbook only ff.9–12 survive (see illus.6), and of the Bassus partbook only ff.9–10 and 13–14 (see illus.1, 3). In all probability the leaves are either proofs or parts of unfinished gatherings, since the two sheets have not been cut in two horizontally, as would have been necessary in order to be used as four half-sheets or double leaves in the respective gatherings. Most likely, each gathering would have been made up of two half-sheets (*duernos*) for the Tenor partbook, of which only the last gathering remains, with a B signature on the first sheet, f.9r (see fig.3), and two half-sheets (*duernos*) plus a ternion for the Bassus partbook, with a B signature on f.9r, of which, however, the inside half-sheet (or double leaf) has not survived (ff.11–12) (see fig.4).⁷ This kind of signature, not found in any previous Petrucci print, can also be seen in *Madrigale ... libro primo* by Costanzo Festa, published in Rome or Venice in the same year, 1538. The script of the text is semigothic or gothic-rotunda; the music is still printed by double impression.⁸

These two fragments contain the following four-voice motets:

Tenor

f.9r Jean Lhéritier, *Qui confidunt in Domino* (end of the first part on the first three staves and beginning of the second, 'Bene fac Domine'): as in Moderne 1532, this is actually the Altus part in the mezzo-soprano clef, inserted in the Tenor part perhaps by mistake⁹

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1 Uncut sheet from the Bassus partbook of Petrucci's fragmentary 1538 motet collection, showing ff.9r, 10v, 13r, 14v (Pesaro, Archive Stramigioli Ciacchi; by permission)

- f.9v Jean Lhéritier, *Bene fac Domine* (end)
- f.10r Nicolaus Gombert, *Dignare me laudare te* on the first four staves (and beginning of the second part, 'O regina poli')
- f.10v Nicolaus Gombert, *Dignare me laudare te* (end of the second part, 'O regina poli', on the first three staves)
Jean Lhéritier, *Nisi Dominus aedificaverit domum* (beginning of the first part): again, as in Moderne, this is the Altus part in the mezzo-soprano clef^{f10}
- f.11r Jean Lhéritier, *Nisi Dominus* (end of the first part)
- f.11v Jean Lhéritier, *Nisi Dominus* (beginning of the second part, 'Cum dederit dilectis suis')
- f.12r Jean Lhéritier, *Nisi Dominus* (end of the second part, 'Cum dederit', on the first stave)
Nicolaus Gombert, *Aspice Domine quia facta est* (beginning)
- f.12v Nicolaus Gombert, *Aspice Domine quia facta est* (end of the first part on the first stave and beginning of the second part, 'Muro tuo')

Bassus

- f.9r Lupus Hellinck, *Panis quem ego dabo* (end of the first part on the first stave and complete second part, 'Locutus est populus')
- f.9v Jean Lhéritier, *Qui confidunt in Domino* (beginning)

- f.10r Jean Lhéritier, *Qui confidunt in Domino* (end of the first part on the first two staves and beginning of the second part, 'Bene fac Domine')
- f.10v Jean Lhéritier, *Qui confidunt in Domino* (end of the second part on the first four staves)
Nicolaus Gombert, *Dignare me laudare te* (beginning)
- [f.11r-v] [Nicolaus Gombert, *Dignare me laudare te* (end of the first part and second part, 'O regina poli')]
- [f.12r-v] [Jean Lhéritier, *Nisi Dominus aedificaverit domum* (first part and beginning of the second, 'Cum dederit dilectis suis')]
- f.13r Jean Lhéritier, *Nisi Dominus* (end of the second part on the first two staves)
Nicolaus Gombert, *Aspice Domine quia facta est* (beginning)
- f.13v Nicolaus Gombert, *Aspice Domine quia facta est* (end of the first part on the first three staves and beginning of the second, 'Muro tuo inexpugnabili')
- f.14r Nicolaus Gombert, *Aspice Domine quia facta est* (end of the second part)
- f.14v Colophon: Impressum In Forosempronio per Octavianum / Petrutium et Bartholomeum Egnatium / forosempronianses Die 15 Otobris / 1538 [printer's mark 'O.P.F.']

Fig.1 Layout of the sheet from the Pesaro Tenor partbook

recto	
11r	10r
12v	9r
B	

verso	
11v	10v
9v	12r

Fig.2 Layout of the sheet from the Pesaro Bassus partbook

recto	
13r	10r
14v	9r
B	

verso	
10v	13v
9v	14r

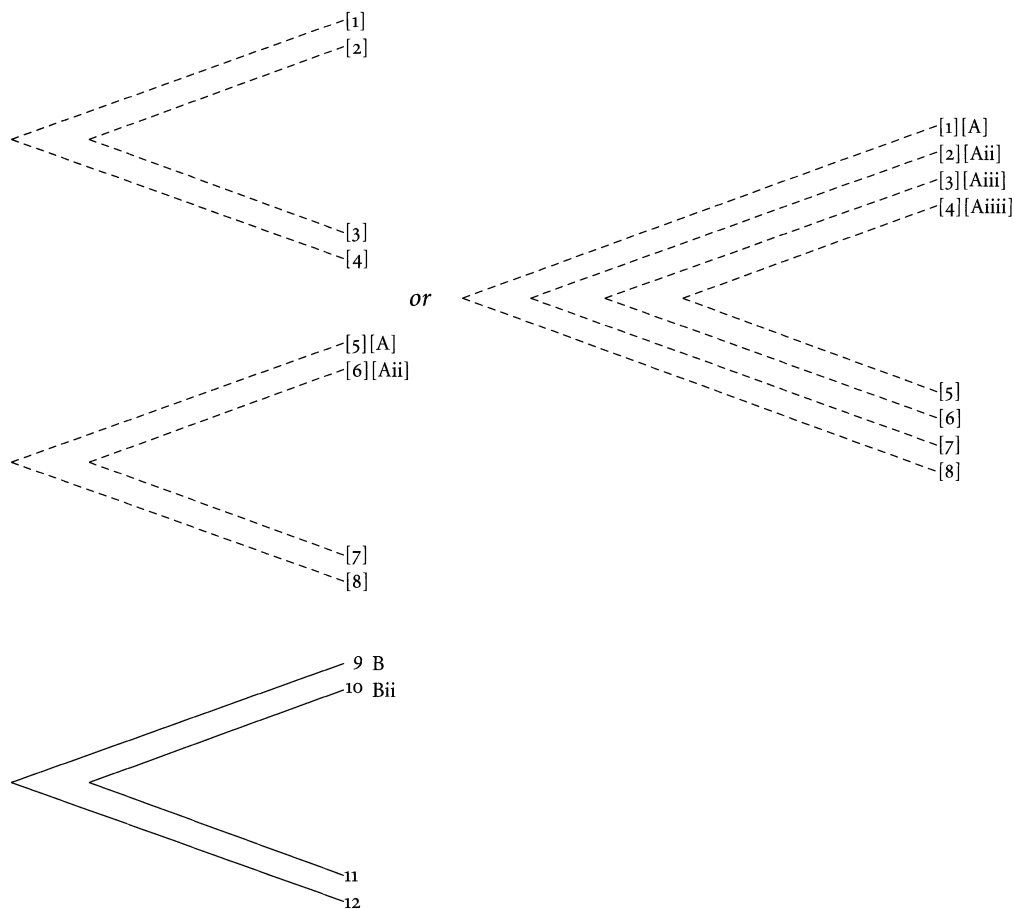
These motets are taken, as confirmed by the wording 'Mot dal fio' on the bottom right on ff.9r and 10r of both Tenor and Bassus parts, from Moderne's *Motteti del fiore*.

The first book of the four-voice *Motteti del fiore*, published by Jacques Moderne for the first time in 1532, contains 33 compositions by some of the most famous authors of the time. Some of the motets presented in this book were also included in subsequent anthologies by other printers. Pierre Attaignant published eight of them in various collections in 1534 and 1535.¹¹ Four were reprinted by Georg Rhau in his collection *Symphoniae iucundae atque adeo breves quatuor vocum, ab optimis quibusque musicis compositae ... quas vulgo mutetas appellare solemus* published at Wittemberg in 1538.¹² Johann Petreius also republished some of them in the collections printed

at Nuremberg in 1538, 1539, 1540 and 1542.¹³ A more considerable number (13) were included by Antonio Gardano in a volume published in Venice in 1539 bearing the significant title *Primus Liber cum quatuor vocibus. Fior de mottetti tratti dalli mottetti del Fiore*.¹⁴ As the title indicates, it is a 'selection' (*fior*) of motets taken from Moderne's edition.¹⁵

The hitherto unknown edition by Ottaviano Petrucci and Bartolomeo Egnazio can thus be placed between Moderne's 1532 edition and Gardano's in 1539. Here too a 'selection' is presented, and can only have been borrowed from Moderne's edition of 1532 (*RISM* 1532¹⁰). Petrucci and Egnazio may thus have been among the first to put anthologies of this kind on the market, although the term *fior*—probably in its sense of 'selection'—appears around 1526 in a Roman edition by Jacopo Giunta, *Fior de motetti e*

Fig.3 Gathering structure of the Pesaro Tenor partbook

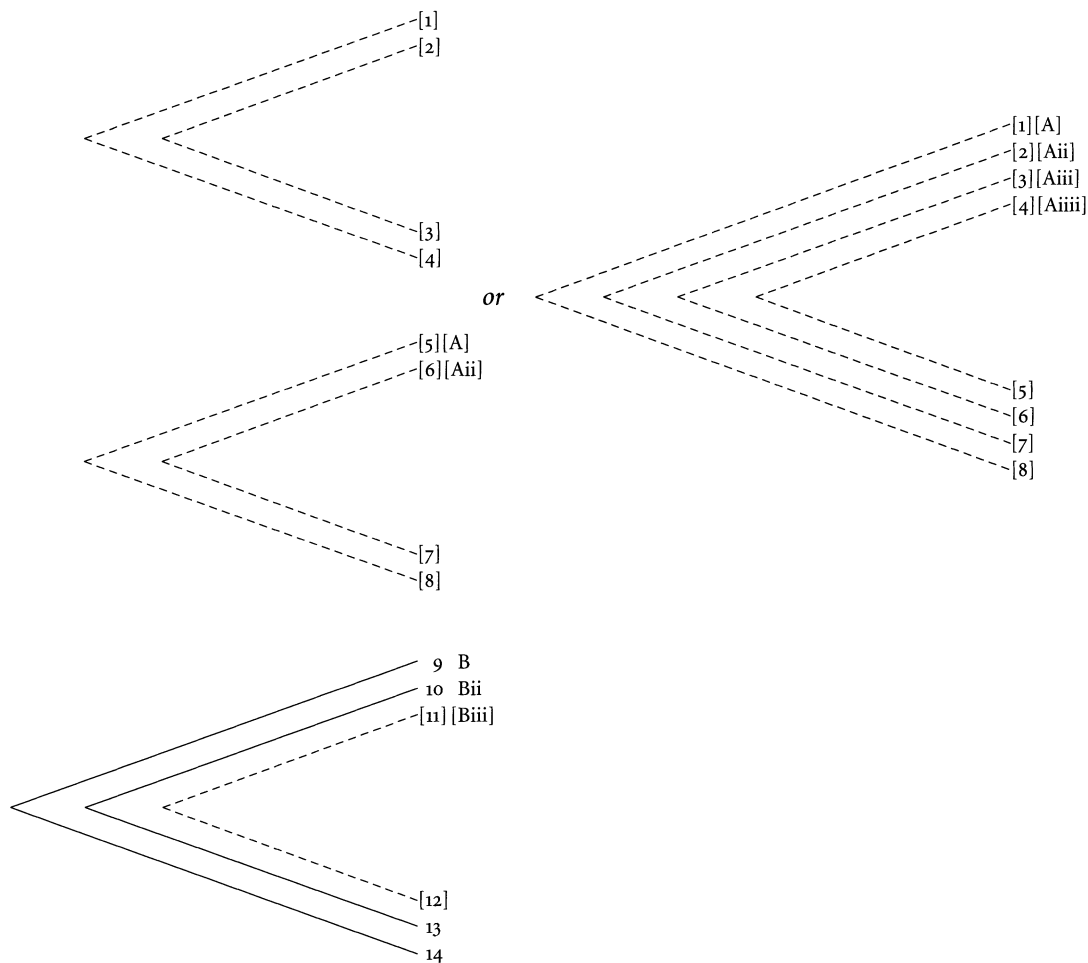


Canzoni novi composti da diversi eccellentissimi musici.¹⁶ That Petrucci's volume is also a selection is shown by the order in which these motets appear in the two printings: see table 1.¹⁷ The pieces selected by Petrucci clearly follow the same order as the Moderne edition, although with a few gaps.

What were the criteria followed by Petrucci and Egnazio in organizing their anthology? To judge from the five motets that survive, it may be surmised that the pieces selected had circulated more than the others after Moderne's 1532 printing, since *Panis quem ego dabo* was also included in Rhau's 1538 edition (RISM 1538⁸), *Qui confidunt in Domino* also in an edition by Attaignant dated 1535 (RISM 1535¹), and *Aspice Domine*, again by Attaignant, in 1534

(RISM 1534⁴). On the other hand, *Dignare me* and *Nisi Dominus haedificaverit* do not appear ever to have been reprinted by other publishers between 1532 and 1538. A more plausible criterion could be the fame, at least in an Italian context, of the composers selected. Gombert and Lhéritier appear twice, Lupus Hellinck once, while Richafort and Domin have been excluded. On this basis, it would not be difficult to suggest which motets and authors would have been selected from among the 17 motets that precede *Panis quem ego dabo* in Moderne's edition. As far as their number is concerned, referring to the Bassus part, if the 13 pages—including the now missing f.8v, which certainly contained the beginning of *Panis quem ego dabo*—contained five motets, the

Fig.4 Gathering structure of the Pesaro Bassus partbook



remaining 13 pages (excluding the first leaf *recto* and *verso*) could have contained a maximum of seven other motets. The total number would thus have been ten to 12, which is wholly plausible for a small selection borrowed from a previous collection.

The fragments we have discovered show that Petrucci, probably in the last years of his life, formed a partnership with Bartolomeo Egnazio, a man about whom we know very little. He may perhaps be identified with the Tolomeo Egnazio of Fossombrone who engraved the wooden slabs for the wood engravings of ancient Rome included in Marco Fabio Calvo's volume *Antiquae Urbis Romae cum regionibus Simulachrum*, dedicated to Clement VII, published in Rome in 1527 by Ludovico Vicentino—i.e. Ludovico degli Arrighi, known as Vicentino¹⁸—and reprinted by Valerio Dorico in April 1532.¹⁹ If so, we could surmise that the name 'Bartholomaeus' was corrupted into 'Ptolomaeus'. What we know for certain, however, is that in March 1545 Pietro Aretino wrote a letter to one Bartolomeo Egnazio in answer to a letter from the latter dated from Fossombrone on 8 May 1540 that contained a sonnet in Aretino's honour.²⁰ If our Bartolomeo can be identified with the engraver Tolomeo Egnazio of Fossombrone, then he may, as A. S. Osley suggests, have

studied in Venice, where he could have associated with Petrucci, a fellow-countryman, and have subsequently moved to Rome, where he worked as an engraver and where he could have met Petrucci again.²¹ After the sack of Rome (1527) he probably returned to Fossombrone, where, among other things, he began a close collaboration with Petrucci, as the leaves we have just discovered clearly show. On the other hand, a Bartholomeo da Fossombrone, together with Antonio da Alessandria della Paglia, Giovanni Salvazo and Marchesino de Savioni *milanese*, published in Venice in 1481 an edition of the *Historia di Troia* by Guido delle Colonne.²² If it were possible to identify this Bartholomeo with Tolomeo/Bartolomeo Egnazio from Fossombrone, we could then consider him as being more or less the same age as Petrucci. Moreover, he would have died after c.1541–5, since no evidence about him exists after this date (see below).

The name of Bartolomeo Egnazio, often associated with that of his brother Girolamo (Hieronymus), *canonicus forisemproniensis*, is found in many deeds of the Fossombrone notaries Girolamo and Gaspare Florimbeni. The deeds we have discovered in which Bartolomeo Egnazio is mentioned are dated 26 August 1533 (see appendix, document 3),

Table 1 The contents of the two Petrucci Pesaro leaves compared with the *Motteti del fiore* (Lyons: Moderne, 1532)

	<i>Moderne, 1532</i>	<i>Petrucci, 1538</i>
	[preceded by 17 motets]	
18	Lupus, <i>Panis quem ego dabo</i>	Lupus, <i>Panis quem ego dabo</i>
19	Richafort, <i>Quem dicunt homines</i>	
20	Domin, <i>Virgo prudentissima</i>	
21	Lhéritier, <i>Qui confidunt in Domino</i>	Lhéritier, <i>Qui confidunt in Domino</i>
22	Richafort, <i>Peccata mea Domine</i>	
23	Gombert, <i>Dignare me laudare te</i>	Gombert, <i>Dignare me laudare te</i>
24	Lhéritier, <i>Nisi Dominus haedificaverit</i>	Lhéritier, <i>Nisi Dominus</i>
25	Lupus, <i>Beati omnes qui timent</i>	
26	Gombert, <i>Aspice Domine</i>	Gombert, <i>Aspice Domine</i>
27	Courtois, <i>Domine quis habitabit</i>	
28	Layolle, <i>Inter natos mulierum</i>	
29	Verdelot, <i>Gabriel archangelus</i>	
30	<i>Laetare et exultare</i>	
31	<i>Veni in hortum meum</i>	
32	De Silva, <i>Laetare nova Sion</i>	
33	Pieton, <i>O admirabile commercium</i>	

12 October 1537 (document 4), 17 October 1537 (document 5: here Petrucci is also mentioned), 3 January 1540 (document 7, which concerns the sale of a paper-mill belonging to Ottaviano Petrucci) and finally 20 June 1541 (documents 8–10, relating to the leasing of the paper-mill to Gabriele de Cecholino by Ippolita, Petrucci's wife).²³ Significantly, a deed dated 29 August 1518 (document 1) mentions only Girolamo, and not Bartolomeo; this might suggest that Bartolomeo was not in Fossombrone at this time. Likewise, in a deed dated 12 May 1548 (document 11) Girolamo is mentioned again without Bartolomeo, which might signify that Bartolomeo had already died. On the other hand, in a deed dated 12 January 1538 (document 6) only Girolamo is mentioned, but we know that Bartolomeo was alive at that time. The latter document, drawn up by the notary Girolamo Florimbeni, is of great interest because it informs us that Ottaviano Petrucci had given Pierantonio Florimbeni, alias Mazzone, power of attorney in order to recover the 'matrices licterarum' Petrucci had lent to different people, among them a certain Pietro d'Ambrosio ('Ambrosii') *libraro napoletano*.²⁴

The fragments we have discovered bear witness to Ottaviano Petrucci's publishing activities not only after 1521, but almost up to the last days of his life. We do not know precisely when his collaboration with Bartolomeo Egnazio started. We do know for certain that in the last few years his activity was not as intense as it had been previously. The printing quality and editorial choices also appear to have undergone a noticeable falling-off, starting from the late Fossombrone publications, as Stanley Boorman has already observed.²⁵ This decline in both the quality and quantity of his publications could depend, as Bonnie J. Blackburn has suggested, on the fact that from 1516 on Petrucci could no longer use Petrus Castellanus as 'editor', since he died in that year.²⁶ Much has been said about Petrucci's activity after his return to Fossombrone, probably around 1510. Although this activity is fairly well documented up to 1520, nothing was known of any publishing activity in subsequent years. Besides reprinting works he had already published, he seems to have devoted his time to printing sacred and secular works borrowed from other publishers, as shown in this selection

from Moderne's *Motteti del fiore* of 1532, and perhaps also by the fragments currently preserved at Fossombrone in the Biblioteca Passionei, which can be dated—according to Boorman—around 1520–21, to which we shall return.²⁷ In the case of the *Motteti del fiore* we have the strongest possible indication that Petrucci took Moderne's edition exclusively as his basis, since Petrucci, like Moderne, placed the Altus parts for *Panis quem ego dabo*, *Qui confidunt in Domino* and *Nisi Dominus* in the Tenor partbook (in the mezzo-soprano clef).²⁸ Evidently, with a dearth of original works, formerly provided presumably by Petrus Castellanus, he was forced to put on the market material that was second-hand, even if 'new' for Italy, such as these pieces published in France by French publishers. Indeed, if between 1520 and 1528 Italian music printers—especially in Rome and Venice—seem to have devoted particular attention to the motet,²⁹ between 1529 and 1538 motet collections seem to have been published mainly by French and German printers (particularly by Pierre Attaignant), but not by Italian ones. It is interesting to note that at least two other motet collections appeared in Italy earlier in 1538, one printed by Gardano at Venice in March, the other by Buglhat at Ferrara in September, both before Petrucci's edition, which is dated 15 October.³⁰ It thus appears that Petrucci, in publishing this selection from *Motteti del fiore*, sought to help, with Gardano and Buglhat, to fill a gap in the trade, in that these motets had previously been published only in France and were therefore a 'novelty' in Italy.

Apart from the lack of original materials, however, the fall in Petrucci's publishing activity may be because on returning to Fossombrone he also spent time managing one or more paper-mills, not only in his native town, but at Sora, as is evident from several documents. Franco Mariani has shown that, as early as 1519, Petrucci had set up a paper-mill at Carnello, in the neighbourhood of Sora (Frosinone), since 1474 a fief of the Della Rovere family, who had

2 (opposite) Ff.13r and 13v of the Bassus partbook of Petrucci's fragmentary 1538 motet collection, showing the end of Lhéritier's *Nisi Dominus* and the beginning of Gombert's *Aspice Domine quia facta est* (Pesaro, Archive Stramigioli Ciacchi; by permission)

Salmo 13

nō cōfidentur cū loq̄tur cū loquet̄ inimic̄ suis i porta. inimic̄s suis i per
 ta i porta i i inimic̄s suis i porta,
Nsp̄e dñi quia facta est quia facta est deo ata cū
 tes de solac̄iōnis plena dicit̄ is ii plena dicit̄ is se
 det in tristitia sedet in tristitia ii

Salmo

dñi gentium gentium dñi gentium
 non est qui cōsolet̄ eam i i nisi tu deus noster
 nisi tu deus nisi tu deus n. f. i
 Muro tuo in expugnabili in expugnabili i i
 circūcingeam domine circūcingeam dñe armis tuo

14

Basso

potentie in armis tue potentel
 protege ea semp protege eam semper die
 deus noster domine deus noster domine deus noster.

Impressum Inferosempronio per Octavianum
 Decretum et Bartholomeum Equitium
 In Octonidiana Die 15 Octobris
 1538

O P
 F A

taken the title of Dukes of Urbino in 1508.³¹ Indeed, on 14 July 1519 a plot of land was transferred to Ottaviano Petrucci by Evangelista Carrara in the district of Carnello for the building of a paper-mill.³² In actuality the citizens of Sora—thus demonstrating an almost modern entrepreneurial far-sightedness—hoped not only that Petrucci, *magister peritus in arte carterie et stampe cantus figurati* (a skilled master in the art of making paper and printing polyphony),³³ would build a paper-mill, but that he would transfer all his publishing business to Sora, as witnessed by the deed of donation:

*Scientes, ut dixerunt, magistrum dominum Octavium de Petrucciis de Forosempronio presentem cupere construere edificium carterie in cuius exercitio est valde expertus, ad hoc ut edificium ipsum sibi commodius construere valeat, in antidotum et recompensam plurium beneficiorum ab eo receptorum et quia ex constructione edificii huiusmodi et eius exercitio toti universitati et hominibus civitatis predictae decus et utile provenire speratur in futurum, et pluribus aliis iustis et rationabilibus causis animum eorum iuste moventibus [...]*³⁴

Knowing, as they said, that Master Ottavio de' Petrucci of Fossombrone, being present, wishes to construct the building of a paper-mill in the exercise whereof he is highly expert, to the end that he may be able to construct the said building more conveniently for himself, in return and recompense for several benefits received by him and because from the construction of such building and the exercise thereof it is hoped that glory and advantage will result in future for the entire community and men of the aforesaid city, and for several other just and reasonable causes justly moving their minds [...]

We do not know whether Petrucci actually moved to Sora and whether he managed the paper-mill himself. In a treatise entitled *Della perfettione delle quattro note maggiori massima, longa, breve, semi-breve*, the Neapolitan musician and theorist Tommaso Cimello also informs us that 'the resolution of that Mass in perfect tempus was made by the famous printer Ottaviano Petrucci of Fossombrone, whom I knew and to whom I talked—I cannot say when and how, but it was in Sora, the famous city of the Equicoli.'³⁵ By a deed dated 5 January 1535 Ottaviano

Petrucci sold the paper-mill, the tools it contained and other neighbouring property—except for a vineyard—to Bartolomeo Bonaventura of Urbino. What is interesting is that this deed of sale was signed at Sora, in the presence not only of Ottaviano Petrucci himself, but of his wife Ippolita Rizi, his daughter Franceschina, Ippolita's paternal uncle, Luigi, who was also summoned, as well as her cousin Giovanni Tommaso Rizi.³⁶

Better known, on the other hand, are the affairs of the paper-mill in the district of Acqua Santa, near Fossombrone. As early as 1515 the Bishop of Fossombrone, Paulus of Middelburgh, transferred to Petrucci on a perpetual lease a plot of land belonging to the Curia, in the district of Acqua Santa.³⁷ From several notarial deeds brought to light by Franco Mariani we learn that on 24 August 1523 Petrucci sold half the paper-mill to Gianfrancesco di Paolo di Guido of Urbino for 140 florins, and that on 15 September 1533 he sold him the other half for 150 florins.³⁸ Before that, on 22 August 1527, as proved by a deed of the notary Antonio Faccioli, he leased his own half of the paper-mill to his father-in-law, Leonardo 'Thomae de Ritio de Mondavio, socero et coniuncta persona praedicti domini Octavii', for three years, starting from 1 September.³⁹

Not to be overlooked, moreover, are Petrucci's numerous institutional commissions and commitments in his home town, especially in his later years, already mentioned by Augusto Vernarecci. In 1527 he was elected as *Primo degli Anziani* together with Gaspare Florimbeni and Paolo Antonio Vici, a post that was renewed in 1535 with Andrea di Domenico, Giustiniano di Nicola and Andrea di Antonio Parri. Also in 1535 he was appointed counsellor in charge of the land registers, and in the following year *Depositario*. Lastly, in 1536, he was re-elected *Primo degli Anziani* together with Andrea di Domenico, Giambattista di Maestro Cristoforo and Ser Giovanni di Nicola Ugone.⁴⁰

In the light of this new Petrucci discovery, we can suggest a more precise chronology for two fragments at the Biblioteca Passionei at Fossombrone that have attributed to Petrucci by some scholars.⁴¹ They are ff.3–4 of the Tenor part of a hypothetical volume containing madrigals and villottas. The two Fossombrone leaves, like those of Pesaro, are in oblong

3 (opposite) Ff.14r and 14v of the Bassus partbook of Petrucci's fragmentary 1538 motet collection, showing the conclusion of Gombert's *Aspice Domine quia facta est* and the colophon (Pesaro, Archive Stramigioli Ciacchi; by permission)

quarto format and of more or less of the same size (about 20.2–4 × 13.8 cm),⁴² although they have been slightly trimmed as compared to those of the ‘Motteti dal fiore’. The typographical features of the Fossombrone and Pesaro leaves seem to be more or less the same.⁴³ The folios are numbered with the arabic numerals 3 and 4 placed at top right of the *recto*, and the signature begins with the letter A, probably for each partbook;⁴⁴ in fact, f.4r bears the signature Aiiii (the lower right side of f.3 has been almost entirely trimmed, so that the signature [Aiii] on f.3, is, unfortunately, no longer visible). They are half of a sheet, cut not only horizontally (as is usual) but also vertically. They contain four pages distributed exactly like the Pesaro ones of 1538: the two leaves representing the left-hand side of the two internal bifolios (half-sheets resulting from the horizontal cut of the whole sheet) of the first gathering, cut in half vertically. (The other half with ff.[5]–[6] has been lost: see figs.5, 6.) Furthermore, the existence of a few handwritten notes⁴⁵ placed between ff.3v and 4r, now divided (see illus.4, 5), shows that the original whole sheet to which they belonged had not yet been cut horizontally, as would have been necessary for insertion in a gathering. The whole

sheet was later cut in two horizontally, but only after the above-mentioned notes had been written. From this we may also assume that the two leaves were never actually used in a gathering. In conclusion, the handwritten notes show that the two Fossombrone fragments belonged (like the Pesaro fragments) to a whole sheet that presumably at first was cut in two vertically; later on, the remaining left-hand half-sheet to which the two fragments belong was cut in two horizontally as well. As already stated, they contain the Tenor part of a villotta and three madrigals:

- f.3r end of an unidentified madrigal, beginning ‘[...]ro sol lucenti rai...’; ending ‘habbia pur una sol volta’
Se quanto in voi se vede (text by Luigi Cassola)
(beginning)
- f.3v *Se quanto in voi se vede* (end)
La mi la so cantare
- f.4r *Non po far morte el dolce riso amaro* (text by Petrarch; music by Philippe Verdelot)
- f.4v *Hai [sic] speranza fallace*

The madrigal *Non po far morte* is already known from Verdelot’s *Secondo libro dei madrigali a quattro voci* published at Venice in 1534 by Ottaviano Scotto.⁴⁶ This madrigal is found in three manuscript

Fig.5 Layout of the sheet from the Fossombrone Tenor partbook

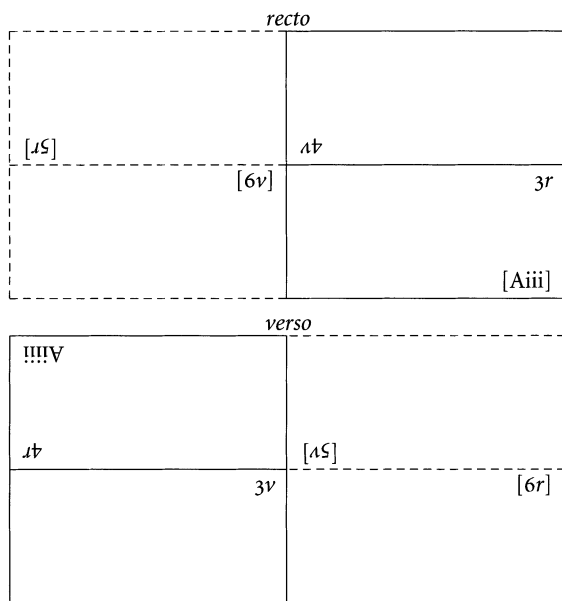
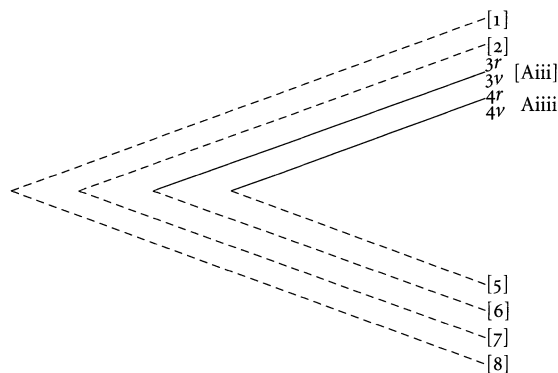


Fig.6 Gathering structure of the Fossombrone Tenor partbook



4 (*opposite*) The two extant leaves of the Tenor partbook of Petrucci’s undated and otherwise unknown collection of madrigals and villottas. Ff.3r and 4v are shown here positioned as they would have been before the sheet was cut. The reverse sides of both pages are shown overleaf. (Fossombrone, Biblioteca Passionei; by permission)

m'ha che percola nell'acqua che non è
 e quanto in noi si vede tu cor. *Alta. f. tutta* non emal
 s'orto chet me habbia par una sol nota
 in corat ff parte orientati che forati che mat fusa con l'ama f'loza
 so sol luente rat tola neru che ff abiancha neugali tra langu

Allegro
 ai speranza che e per che promessi ala affanara nozia
 guidarmi la ouio tratali pace et bor un lassu in doglia ende
 uien che ti penti se v'osi .ffrua durezza e che ti toglia da
 la comincia impresa di se amanti ite seru longhi
 mechi non o cor che duri che alenchi presbi non e cor che duri

sources, two of which are certainly Florentine, dated about 1530.⁴⁷ Another madrigal is on the text *Se quanto in voi se vede* by Luigi Cassola, included in his *Madrigali*, which were published at Venice in 1544 by Giuseppe Betussi for the printer Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari and dedicated to Pietro Aretino. This text was also set to music as a madrigal by Marchetto Cara and included in the *Libro primo de la Fortuna*, published at Venice presumably around 1530.⁴⁸ It is therefore probable that this madrigal had already been in circulation, even in manuscript form, before 1544.⁴⁹ Another text included in the two Fossombrone leaves is the madrigal *Hai [=Ahi] speranza fallace*, also set to music subsequently by Tuttovale Menon in the collection *Madrigali d'Amore a quattro voci* published at Venice in 1549 by Girolamo Scotto.⁵⁰ The two Fossombrone leaves thus bear witness to a fifth source of Verdelot's madrigal *Non po far morte*; another musical version by a so far unidentified composer of the madrigal *Se quanto in voi se vede*, certainly earlier—like the one by Marchetto Cara—than 1544 (besides the subsequent one by Ludovico Agostini in 1572); and lastly, a second musical version by a still unidentified composer of the madrigal *Hai speranza fallace*, earlier than the only version known up to now by Tuttovale Menon in 1549.

Stanley Boorman, who suggests a date of around 1520–21 for the two Fossombrone leaves, and states that they 'apparently contain a Florentine repertory',⁵¹ concludes that 'it appears to have been printed in 1520 or (just possibly) early 1521. It therefore holds a very early place in the history of both the madrigal and Verdelot's music. I suggest it be called [*Musica Libro XII*].'⁵² James Haar, on the other hand, taking into account that 1520 'is not only an early date for a madrigal in general; it is earlier than anyone has suggested that Verdelot could have been in Florence',⁵³ affirms that the date proposed by Boorman 'could be wrong, but not by much; Verdelot could have been in Florence earlier than anyone thinks, although the only suggestion that he was there before 1523 seems to be based on optimistic

reading of an undependable source.'⁵⁴ The cultural-historical scenario in which Boorman, Fenlon and Haar fit these two fragments seems to be Florentine, as is the last publication by Ottaviano Petrucci known hitherto (and which can in some ways be connected to it): the *Musica de meser Bernardo Pisano sopra le canzone del Petrarca* of 1520. However, a Roman environment might equally well be inferred, taking into consideration the close relations that Ottaviano Petrucci and Bartolomeo Egnazio had with Rome and the papal court. Indeed, neither Fenlon nor Haar excludes a 'Roman' hypothesis: 'A period in Rome [for Verdelot] about 1520 would fit well with the appearance of "Non puo far morte" in the Fossombrone fragment, the earliest source for any of his madrigals; Petrucci, who printed the book from which these leaves are the only survivals, clearly obtained repertory from Rome (notably the Pisano *Musica* of 1520) and is known to have spent time in the city in that year.'⁵⁵ It should also be noted that another madrigal by Luigi Cassola (who was in Rome several times), *Altro non è il mio amor ch'el proprio inferno*, was set to music by several authors in 1530s, in particular by Costanzo Festa in the collection *Madrigali de diversi eccellentissimi musici, libro primo della Serena*, published in Rome in 1530 (reprinted in 1534 by Valerio Dorico),⁵⁶ whose connection with the Roman Colonna family has recently been highlighted.⁵⁷ It is also known that Verdelot had relations with Rome as early as 1523; the *Libro primo della Serena* contains eight madrigals by him.

In our opinion, a probable dating for the Fossombrone fragments lies between 1523 and 1538,⁵⁸ more likely in the late 1530s. Indeed, the typographical specifications (dimensions, script, printing, signature, number of staves etc.) are more likely to relate to the leaves of 1538 than the *Musica* of Bernardo Pisano (whose printing is considerably smaller in size: 16.7 × 11.2 cm, four staves instead of five; the folios are unnumbered and the signature begins anew in each partbook). As far as the signature is concerned, it should be added that, if the Fossombrone fragments bearing this new kind of signature could be dated around 1520, we would have cause to wonder why this kind of organization appears in no other musical edition for another 18 years, up to the

5 (opposite) The reverse of the two leaves shown in illus.4, showing ff.3v and 4r. (Fossombrone, Biblioteca Passionei; by permission)

Pesaro leaves of the *Motteti dal Fiore* and Costanzo Festa's first book of madrigals, both belonging to 1538. Furthermore, the inclusion of three madrigals in the two Fossombrone leaves suggests a more recent dating than the one proposed by Boorman and Haar, since it appears to demonstrate that this new musical genre was already quite widespread and substantial. However, the inclusion of at least one villotta (*La mi la so cantare*) does not make an even more recent dating possible. The presence of this villotta or quodlibet leads us to consider that the repertory of this unknown print of secular music—of which the Fossombrone leaves are the only evidence—is not very different from that of three Roman anthologies—*Mottetti e canzoni libro primo* (1520), *Fior de motteti e canzone novi* (1523) and *Messa motteti canzonni ... libro primo* (1526)—which also contain a certain number of compositions of northern Italian provenance.⁵⁹ Moreover, since in his last years Petrucci presumably did not use as many manuscript sources as he had previously, preferring mainly printed sources (as the Pesaro fragments seem to show), the presence in these fragments of Verdelot's madrigal *Non po far morte*, published by Scotto in 1534 in his *Secondo libro*, could indicate a dating later than 1534.⁶⁰ However, the physical form in which these two fragments have come down to us shows that they too, like the two Pesaro leaves, belonged to a whole sheet, used as such for the cover of a notarial fascicle, and only later cut horizontally and vertically to be used as a book cover.⁶¹ This strengthens our hypothesis that they must be dated

rather late (1537–8?); the reason why they were not used in a gathering of a tenor partbook may simply be that Petrucci died shortly afterwards, in 1539, and there was no time to complete those works already in progress that he (and Bartolomeo Egnazio?) had planned. These leaves too, like the Pesaro sheets, presumably remained in his workshop and were dispersed when it was sold.

In conclusion, both the two Pesaro sheets and the two Fossombrone leaves (if they do really belong to Petrucci) demonstrate that Petrucci continued working and printing right up to the end of his life, though undoubtedly less intensively after 1520. We do not know whether the two works to which these leaves belong are the only ones he printed after 1520, or whether there were others that have been lost, or have not yet been discovered. But what we do know with certainty is that the planned collection of the 'Motteti dal fiore' and the one with madrigals and villottas were never completed and put on the market. The indubitable falling off in Petrucci's printing business may well have been caused by financial difficulties in his later years, as shown by the fact that between 1523 and 1535 he sold or leased his papermills at Sora and Acqua Santa. These difficulties may have led him to take on a financial partner, in the person of Bartolomeo Egnazio. Whatever the case, these leaves demonstrate that he always and continuously sought to be up to date in selecting the repertory to be published and the composers to be included in his collections, whether in the field of sacred or secular music.

We wish to thank all those who, in various ways, have facilitated our research: the Archivio di Stato of Pesaro, the Biblioteca 'Passionei' of Fossombrone, the Biblioteca of S. Cecilia in Rome, Bianca Maria Antolini, Mauro Balestrazzi, Annalisa Bini, Bonnie J. Blackburn, Antonella Campani, Amedeo Casciotti, Carmine Chiodo, Gabriella Battista, Gianluca D'Agostino, Valentina Del Carpio, Manuela Farina, Leofranc Holford-Strevens, Maria Laura Liguori, Irene Maffei, Maria Neve Fogliamanzillo, Giuliana Gialdroni, Oscar Mischiati, Anna Maria Montessoro Vacchelli, Giorgio Sanguinetti, Thomas Schmidt-Beste, Lucio Tufano,

Claudio Vela, Barbara Ventura, Roberto Versaci.

1 This leaf is preserved at Pesaro, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Notarile di Fossombrone, Notary Marcantonio Manasangui, in the volume for the years 1514–63 as a cover to a deed dated 1538. This leaf was displayed during the exhibition 'Fondi musicali nelle Marche dal sec. x al xvii' (Loreto, 5 Apr – 6 May 2001) organized by the Soprintendenza archivistica per le Marche. Paolo Peretti, who wrote the description for the exhibition, correctly suggested the origin and its

relationship with the *Motteti del fiore* by Jacques Moderne.

2 This leaf is preserved at Pesaro, in the private library of Conte Carlo Stramigioli Ciacchi, to whom our warmest thanks go for allowing us to study it. The sheet was first used as the cover for a book or notarial dossier (as can be clearly seen from the lateral folds) and subsequently as a protective cover for sundry files belonging to the Pesaro family Stramigioli Ciacchi. Numerous notes have been jotted down on it, in a rather disorderly and—for us—insignificant fashion, except for the date appearing on f.13v.

3 The watermark, which can be seen very clearly on both leaves, is a crown with a cross in the centre at the top, almost in the shape of a clover-leaf. This watermark seems to match no.4839 of the repertory of C. M. Briquet, *Les filigranes*, ii (Leipzig, 1923). It is found in paper preserved in Parma, Archivio di Stato, Raccolta di carte, 1533–46, measuring 30.5 × 39.0 cm.

4 *Primus liber cum quatuor vocibus. Motteti del fiore* (Lyons: J. Moderne, 1532), listed as 1532¹⁰ in *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales* [hereafter *RISM*], B I/1: F. Lesure, *Recueils imprimés XVI^e–XVII^e siècles, liste chronologique* (Munich, 1960), p.108. On this anthology, see S. F. Pogue, *Jacques Moderne: Lyons music printer of the sixteenth century* (Geneva, 1969), pp.122–6.

5 The printed area for the whole sheet, including the text, measures 35.1–3 × 24.2–3 cm.

6 Each page in oblong quarto format measures about 22.5 × 16.6–8 cm; the printed space measures 16.0 × 10.5 cm. Each page contains five staves, of about 1 cm in height. The staves are spaced at about 1.1–2 cm. The foliation in arabic numerals is on the *recto* at top right of the page.

7 Presumably the previous half-sheet (duerno), in the case of both parts, will have had the letter A as signature on f.5r (and Aii on f.6r), while the initial half-sheet (duerno) may have had a non-alphabetic signature. More likely, however, instead of two half-sheets, it may have been a quaternion; in which case the signatures would have been: A on f.1r, Aii on f.2r, Aiii on f.3r and Aiiii on f.4r. Comparison with the Fossombrone fragments (see below), one of which has an Aiiii signature, suggests that the latter is the better solution.

8 The single-impression system, first introduced by Pierre Attaignant, was probably only used in Italy starting from 1537, with the *Libro dei canti a tre di Carpentras* (whose colophon bears the date 25 August) by the Roman publisher Valerio Dorico. However, the *Madrigali a tre et arie napolitane*, which has no colophon, was also printed by single impression by Dorico himself, probably immediately before the *Libro*

de canti a tre di Carpentras. See I. Fenlon and J. Haar, *The Italian madrigal in the early sixteenth century: sources and interpretation* (Cambridge, 1988), p.51; D. G. Cardamone, 'Madrigali a tre et arie napolitane: a typographical and repertorial study', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, xxxv (1982), pp.436–81, at pp.436–8. See also the useful remarks on Fenlon and Haar in S. Boorman, 'What bibliography can do: music printing and the early madrigal', *Music and letters*, lii (1991), pp.236–58. On Attaignant, see D. Heartz, *Pierre Attaignant, royal printer of music: a historical study and bibliographical catalogue* (Berkeley, 1969), pp.43ff.; D. Heartz, 'A new Attaignant book and the beginnings of French music printing', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, xiv (1961), pp.9–23.

9 See Pogue, *Jacques Moderne*, p.122. In *Moderne* the Tenor part, on the other hand, is found in the Altus part-book (as presumably it must have been in Petrucci too, although the latter's Altus part has not come down to us).

10 See Pogue, *Jacques Moderne*, p.122. Again, in *Moderne* the Tenor part is found in the Altus partbook. According to Pogue, besides *Qui confidunt in Domino* and *Nisi Dominus*, the Altus part of *Panis quem ego dabo* by Lupus Hellinck in *Moderne*'s 1532 edition is also given in the Tenor partbook and *vice versa*. Presumably Petrucci followed *Moderne* in this case as well (as he had already done for *Qui confidunt in Domino* and for *Nisi Dominus*). In Antonio Gardano's edition of 1539 this 'mistake' has been corrected in the motets *Panis quem ego dabo* and *Nisi Dominus* (*Qui confidunt in Domino* is not included), and each voice is in its proper place. *Moderne*, and later Petrucci, may have confused the Altus with the Tenor part, since the range of the three motets is fairly high and the voices are written as follows: the Cantus in the treble clef, the Altus in the mezzo-soprano clef, and both the Tenor and the Bassus in the alto clef. It is thus merely a question of mistaking the parts.

11 Philippe Verdelot, *Gabriel Archangelus apparuit*, in *Liber primus quinque et viginti musicales quatuor*

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vocum motetos complectitur (Paris: P. Attaignant, Apr 1534) (RISM 1534³); Adrian Willaert, *Pater noster*, and Nicolaus Gombert, *Aspice Domine*, in *Liber secundus: quatuor et viginti musicales quatuor vocum motetos habet* (Paris: P. Attaignant, May 1534) (RISM 1534⁴); Verdelot, *Tanto tempore vobiscum*, and Nicole Hesdin, *Veni in hortum meum*, in *Liber quartus xxix. Musicales quatuor vel quinque parium vocum modulus habet* (Paris: P. Attaignant, Jun 1534) (RISM 1534⁶); Lupus Hellinck, *In convertendo Dominus*, and Jean Lhéritier, *Qui confidunt in Domino* in *Liber nonus xviii. Daviticos musicales psalmos habet* (Paris: P. Attaignant, Jan 1534) (RISM 1535⁵); Mathieu Lasson, *Virtute magna*, in *Liber decimustertius xviii. Musicales habet modulus quatuor, quinque vel sex vocibus editos. Opus sane totius harmoniae flos nuncupandum* (Paris: P. Attaignant, May 1535) (RISM 1535⁵).

12 Hellinck, *Panis quem ego dabo*; Jean Richafort, *Quem dicunt homines*; Verdelot, *Virtute magna* and *Gabriel Archangelus apparuit*.

13 Richafort, *Quem dicunt homines* and *Peccata mea Domine*, in *Modulationes aliquot quatuor vocum selectissimae, quas vulgo modetas vocant, a praestantiss. musicis compositae* [...] (Nuremberg, 1538) (RISM 1538⁷); Lhéritier, *Qui confidunt in Domino* and *Nisi Dominus*, and Lupus, *Beati omnes qui timent Dominum*, in *Tomus secundus psalmorum selectorum quatuor et quinque vocum* (Nuremberg, 1539) (RISM 1539⁹); Hilaire Penet, *Descendit angelus Domini*, Loyset Pieton, *Beati omnes*, Verdelot, *Tanto tempore vobiscum sum*, F. de Layolle, *Nigra sum sed formosa* and *Inter natos mulierum*, and Hesdin, *Veni in hortum meum*, in *Selectissimarum mutetarum partim quinque partim quatuor vocum tomus primus* (Nuremberg, 1540) (RISM 1540⁶); Gombert, *Super flumina Babilonis*, and Layolle, *Miserere mei Deus*, in *Tomus tertius psalmorum selectorum quatuor et quinque, et quidam plurium vocum* (Nuremberg, 1542) (RISM 1542⁶).

14 Jean Courtois, *Domine quis habitabit*; Hellinck, *Panis quem ego dabo*, *Beati omnes qui timent* and *In convertendo Dominus*; Lasson, *Virtute magna*; Lhéritier, *Nisi Dominus aedificaverit*;

Penet, *Descendit angelus Domini*; Pieton, *Beati omnes qui timent*; Richafort, *Quem dicunt homines*; Verdelot, *Tanto tempore vobiscum* and *Gabriel Archangelus apparuit*; Willaert, *Pater noster* and *Ave Maria*.

15 See RISM 1539¹². See also M. S. Lewis, *Antonio Gardano: Venetian music printer, 1538–1569: a descriptive bibliography and historical study*, i (New York, 1988), pp.236–41, no.12. On the other hand, 13 other motets included in Gardano's edition are taken from a second anthology of 'Mottetti del Fiore' for four voices, also published by Moderne in 1532 (RISM 1532¹¹: *Secundus Liber cum quatuor vocibus. Motteti del fiore*). Reprints of this 1539 anthology were published by Gardano in 1545 as *Flos florum. Primus liber cum quatuor vocibus. Motteti del fior* (RISM 1545⁴), and by Francesco Rampazetto at Venice in 1564 as *Mottetti del Fiore a quattro voci, novamente ristampati et con somma diligentia revisiti et corretti. Libro primo* (RISM 1564⁶). See Lewis, *Antonio Gardano*, pp.551–2, no.78.

16 See RISM [c.1526]⁵. This anthology is dated to 1523 and attributed to collaboration between Pasotti, Dorico and Giunta by J. Haar, 'The early madrigal: a re-appraisal of its sources and its character', *Music in medieval and early modern Europe: patronage, sources and texts*, ed. I. Fenlon (Cambridge, 1981), pp.163–92, at p.167 n.13. See also Fenlon and Haar, *The Italian madrigal in the early sixteenth century*, pp.207–9.

17 For Lupus Hellinck, *Panis quem ego dabo*, see the modern edition in *Georg Rhau: Musikdrucke aus den Jahren 1538 bis 1545*, iii: *Symphoniae Jucundae. Atque adeo breves 4 vocum, ab optime quibusque musicis compositae 1538*, ed. H. Albrecht (Kassel and St Louis, 1959), pp.119–23. For *Qui confidunt in Domino* and *Nisi Dominus*, see Jean Lhéritier: *Opera omnia*, ed. L. L. Perkins, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* xviii/1–2 (American Institute of Musicology, 1969), pp.108–18, 198–208; for *Aspice Domine* and *Dignare me*, see *Nicolaus Gombert: Opera omnia*, ed. J. Schmidt-Görg, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, vi/5 (American Institute of Musicology, 1961), pp.86–93, 93–7.

18 On Ludovico degli Arrighi, who died during the sack of Rome, see the article by A. Pratesi in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, iv (Rome, 1962), pp.310–16.

19 Title-page: *Antiquae Urbis Romae cum regionibus simulachrum auctore M. Fabio Calvo Rhavenate*; colophon on f.2: *Anno a partu Virginis MDXXVII, mense Aprili. Ludovicus Vicentinus Romae impressit, quod opus Ptolomaeo Egnatio Forosempronensi antea coelandum dederat*; the colophon of the 1532 reprinting, on the verso of the last page, is as follows: *Anno a Partu Virginis, MDXXXII, Mense Aprili Valerius Dorichus Brixiensis Romae impressit. Quod opus Ptolomaeo Egnatio Forosempronensi antea Fabius Calvus Rhavenn. coelandum dederat*; see A. P. Frutaz, *Le piante di Roma*, i (Rome, 1962), pp.51–2. On the Dorico, see also F. Barberi, 'I Dorico, tipografi a Roma nel Cinquecento', *La bibliofilia*, lxvii (1965), pp.221–61; F. Barberi, *Tipografi romani nel Cinquecento* (Florence, 1983); S. G. Cusick, *Valerio Dorico: music printer in sixteenth century Rome* (Ann Arbor, 1981).

20 See the letter of Pietro Aretino in *Pietro Aretino: Lettere*, ed. P. Procaccioli, iii/3 (Rome, 1999), pp.170–72, no.166, and that of Egnazio in *Lettere a Pietro Aretino*, ed. G. Floris and L. Mulas, 3 vols. (Rome, 1997), ii, pp.89–90 (ff.110–12 of the original edition (Venice: Marcolini, 1552)). These letters of Pietro Aretino are not real, but literary ones written expressly for his 'Libri di lettere'.

21 On Tolomeo Egnatio, see A. S. Osley, *Luminario: an introduction to the Italian writing-books of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* (Nieuwkoop, 1972), pp.28, 36. According to Osley 'About 1520, the technique of reproducing cursive handwriting by wood-blocks had advanced to the point where writing-books could now include the chancery and mercantile hands that were most in demand. Ugo da Carpi, an experimenter in wood-block technique, may have been the pioneer. Others, such as Eustachio Celebrino and Tolomeo Egnatio, also learned the new craft. Venice was probably the nursery of these developments'.

22 On Bartholomeo da Fossombrone, see A. Vernarecci, *Fossombrone dai tempi antichissimi ai nostri*, ii (Fossombrone, 1914), pp.195–7. According to Giuseppe Colucci (*Delle antichità picene*, xi (Fermo, 1791), p.lxxx), Bartholomeo da Fossombrone ‘stampò più libri corredandoli di ottime prefazioni’. Of those editions nothing has survived, with the exception of the ‘Historia di Troia’.

23 This last document is mentioned in A. Vernarecci, *Ottaviano de’ Petrucci da Fossombrone inventore dei tipi mobili metallici della musica nel secolo xv* (Fossombrone, 1881), p.163.

24 We have not been able to identify this Pietro d’Ambrosio because research about Neapolitan booksellers (*librai*) and typographers in the 16th century does not yet cover the period after about 1510. Two brothers, Girolamo and Francesco d’Ambrosio, both booksellers coming from S. Valentino, appear to have been active in Naples between 1471 and c.1500. A deed dated 22 Sep 1502 mentions a certain Benedetto d’Ambrosio, bookseller, perhaps the son of Girolamo. A Carlo d’Ambrosio *libraio*, coming from Sarno, is recorded as active in Naples between 1484 and 1492. Our Pietro d’Ambrosio, mentioned by Florimbeni as Petrucci’s debtor, might belong to one of these two families. See M. Fava and G. Bresciano, ‘I librai ed i cartari di Napoli nel Rinascimento’, *Archivio storico per le province napoletane*, xlv [n.s. vi] (1920), pp.230–32, 239; lix [n.s. xx] (1934), pp.324, 337.

25 S. Boorman, *Petrucci at Fossombrone: a study of early music printing, with special reference to the Motetti de la Corona (1514–1519)* (PhD diss., U. of London, 1975); S. Boorman, ‘Petrucci’s type-setters and the process of stemmatics’, *Formen und Probleme der Überlieferung mehrstimmiger Musik im Zeitalter Josquins Desprez*, ed. L. Fincher (Munich, 1981), pp.245–80. See also B. J. Blackburn, ‘Petrucci’s Venetian editor: Petrus Castellanus and his musical garden’, *Musica disciplina*, xlix (1995), pp.15–41, at p.32.

26 See Blackburn, ‘Petrucci’s Venetian editor’, p.25.

27 See A. Vernarecci, *Ottaviano de’ Petrucci da Fossombrone* (Fossombrone, 2/1882), p.271; Vernarecci surmises that this is the lost tenth book of the frottole. See also K. Jeppesen, *La frottole*, i (Copenhagen, 1968), p.36; G. Ceccarelli and M. Spaccacocchi, *Tre carte musicali a stampa inedite di Ottaviano Petrucci* (Fossombrone, 1976); S. Boorman, ‘Petrucci at Fossombrone: some new editions and cancels’, *Source materials and the interpretation of music: a memorial volume to Thurston Dart*, ed. I. Bent (London, 1981), pp.129–53, at p.147; F. Coviello, *Dalla tradizione manoscritta all’invenzione dei caratteri mobili della musica: Ottaviano de’ Petrucci: Inediti della Biblioteca Passionei* (Fossombrone, 1986), pp.65–80; Fenlon and Haar, *The Italian madrigal in the early sixteenth century*, pp.201–2.

28 In *Moderne*, the Tenor part for these motets is published in the Altus partbook. It is quite likely that this also occurred in the missing Altus partbook of the Petrucci edition.

29 *Motetti novi libro secondo* (Venice: A. Antico, 30 Nov 1520) (*RISM* 1520¹); *Motetti novi libro tertio* (Venice: A. Antico, 15 Oct 1520) (*RISM* 1520²); *Motetti novi e Chanzoni francoise a quatro* (Venice: A. Antico, 15 Oct 1520) (*RISM* 1520³); *Motetti e canzone libro primo* (Rome, 1520) (*RISM* [1521⁶]); *Motetti libro primo* (Venice: A. Antico, Aug 1521) (*RISM* 1521³); *Motetti libro secondo* (Venice: A. Antico, 1521) (*RISM* [1521⁴]); *Motetti libro quarto* (Venice: A. Antico, Aug 1521) (*RISM* 1521⁵); *Fior de motetti e canzone novi* (Rome, Dorico-Pasotti, 1523) (*RISM* [c.1526⁵]); *Messa mottetti canzonni ... libro primo* (Rome, Giunta, 1526); *Libro primo de la Fortuna* (c.1526) (*RISM* [c.1530¹]); *Libro primo de musica de la salamandra* (Rome: Niccolò de’ Giudici, 1526). On this latter see B. J. Blackburn, ‘The printing contract for the *Libro primo de musica de la salamandra* (Rome, 1526)’, *Journal of musicology*, xii (1994), pp.345–56. The other motets published during these years are merely reprints of previously published collections: see *RISM* 1526¹, 1526², 1526³, 1526⁴, 1527.

30 See *RISM* 1538⁴ and 1538⁵. Collections of motets were also published in 1537 by *Moderne* (*RISM* 1538²),

Grapheus (*RISM* 1538³) and G. Rhaw (*RISM* 1538⁸). For Gardano see Lewis, *Antonio Gardano*, pp.171–7; Petreius, too, published his collection before Petrucci, in September (*RISM* 1538⁷).

31 See F. Mariani, *Le vicende della cartiera di Carnello a Sora nel XVI secolo* (Sora, 1996); reprinted as *Ottaviano Petrucci: inventore della stampa della musica a caratteri mobili: le vicende della cartiera di Carnello a Sora nel XVI secolo* (Fossombrone, [2001]), pp.11–32.

32 See the deed of the notary Nicola Carzerio dated 14 Jul 1519 in Mariani, *Le vicende della cartiera di Carnello a Sora*, pp.8–9, 29–30 (in the reprint, pp.12, 20–21).

33 See the deed dated 28 Jul 1519, also by the notary Nicola Carzerio, in Mariani, *Le vicende della cartiera di Carnello a Sora*, p.32 (reprint p.21).

34 Deed dated 14 Jul 1519, in Mariani, *Le vicende della cartiera di Carnello a Sora*, p.30 (reprint p.20). See also the deed dated 28 Jul 1519, also by the notary Nicola Carzerio, in Mariani, *Le vicende*, pp.11, 32–3 (reprint pp.13, 21–2): ‘[...] perché longo tempo ha dicta comunità [di Sora] ac homini de epsa desiderato fare venire ad habitare in Sora uno Octavio de Fossambruna impexore de libri de canto figurato et aliter et è quello quale è stato l’inventore de tal stampare de canto figurato il quale in tal exercitio et homo experimentato, persuadendose dita communità habia ad causare grandissimo honore et utile ad questa città. Et certo serrà cussì perché serrà causa mettere l’anno bona summa de denari et mettere molti homini ad exercitii et lui non porria far comodamente tal exercitio senza una cartera et essendo nel territorio de dicta città uno loco dicto Carnello dove stanno alcune forme de acque dove jà forno edificii benché de epsi non sia memoria, de le quale alcune sono de diverse persone quale liberamente le concedono al dicto Octavio acciò lui possa venire ad qualche effetto [...]’.

35 ‘... la risoluzione di tale Messa in tempo perfetto la fece fare Ottaviano Petrucci da Forosempronio famoso stampatore, ch’io l’ho conosciuto, e gl’ho parlato, non posso dire il quando

e'l come, ma in Sora, città famosa degli Equicoli.' Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Ms.B57; quoted by C. Sartori, *Bibliografia delle opere musicali stampate di Ottaviano Petrucci* (Florence, 1948), p.26. On Cimello as theorist see J. Haar, 'Lessons in theory from a sixteenth-century composer', *Altro Polo: essays on Italian music in the Cinquecento*, ed. R. Charteris (Sydney, 1990), pp.51–81, and J. Haar, 'Giovannthomaso Cimello as madrigalist', *Studi musicali*, xxii (1993), pp.23–59, at p.28, repr. in *The science and art of Renaissance music*, ed. P. Cornelson (Princeton, 1998), pp.149–75, 239–67.

36 See in Mariani, *Le vicende della cartiera di Carnello a Sora*, pp.38–9 (reprint pp.23–4). By this deed of sale, Ottaviano transferred to Sebastiano Bonaventura 'quoddam edificium constructum per ipsos venditores in territorio Sore ubi dicitur Carnello, quod edificium vulgariter dicitur 'la cartera', totum et integrum cum quatuor pilis, duabus tinis, rota turculari sive suppresera et omnibus et singulis aliis instrumentis esistentibus in ipso edificium aptis et factis ad ipsum edificium et opus conficiendi cartas ac cum aquis et aquarum decursibus et meatis rivulis et formis fluentibus a flumine Carnelli seu Fibreni tam ad dictam carteriam iam factam quam ad faciendam, et aliis formis et aquarum decursibus omnibus et singulis quas prefati venditores habent in dicto loco Carnelli et earum et cuiuslibet ipsarum usibus et actionibus presentibus et futuris, necnon aliam domum bimbrem constructam extra et prope carteriam predictam cum quodam vacino et orto contiguo dictis carterie et domui et quamdam aliam poessionem que fuit quondam domini Evangeliste de Carraria sitam in eodem loco, que vulgariter dicitur 'L'Isolecta', et demum omnia et singula bona mobilia et stabilia quocumque vocabulo et appellatione distincta prefato domino Ottaviano et con venditoribus spectantia et pertinentia quocumque iure causa et titulo in dicto loco et contrata Carnelli, excepta vinea Soram versus quam venditores ipsi sibi reservarunt et reser-

37 See F. Mariani, 'Ottaviano Petrucci inventore della stampa della musica a

caratteri mobili', *Cultura e scuola*, cxv (Jan–Mar 1993), pp.144–55 (reprinted in *Ottaviano Petrucci* (Fossombrone, [2001]), pp.1–9). The related document is preserved at Fossombrone in the Diocesan Archive. Another document, relating to the purchase of plots of land at Acqua Santa by Giambattista Chico in 1520, had already been mentioned by Vernarecci: see Vernarecci, *Ottaviano de' Petrucci* (1881), p.156.

38 See Mariani, 'Ottaviano Petrucci', p.154 (reprint p.7).

39 Archivio notarile di Urbino, published in Coviello, *Dalla tradizione manoscritta*, p.60.

40 Vernarecci, *Ottaviano de' Petrucci* (1881), p.157.

41 Ceccarelli and Spaccazocchi, *Tre carte musicali*.

42 The width of f.3 is trimmed slightly more: 19.8 cm.

43 In the Fossombrone fragments the script is rotunda or semi-gothic; each stave is 1 cm high, the printed space measures 15.6–8 × 9.9 cm; the staves are spaced at about 1.1–2 cm; each page contains five staves. The capital letters, however, are different.

44 Up to the printing of *Musica de Meser Bernardo Pisano sopra le canzone del Petrarca*, in 1520, the signature proceeded according to the sequence of the partbooks, without starting from A for each. The first edition in which the same type of signature appears in all the partbooks is the collection of *Madrigale de M. Constantio Festa. Libro primo* ([Venice or Rome?], 1538); see Fenlon and Haar, *The Italian madrigal in the early sixteenth century*, pp.199, 201n.

45 'il latanzio amicho car.mo salutem / [...] ch'ò inteso il tutto voi mi dicieti / ch'io vi mandi quattro pianti [?] / de tartofani io li mandaro'.

46 See E. Vogel et al., *Bibliografia della musica italiana vocale profana pubblicata dal 1500 al 1700* [= *New Vogel*] (Pomezia, 1977), p.1786, no.2868.

47 The manuscripts are: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. XIX, 122–5; Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio 'Luigi Cherubini', Fondo Basevi, 2495; Modena,

Biblioteca Estense, γ L 11.8. The madrigal is published in Haar, 'The early madrigal', pp.184–8, and in *Madrigals for four and five voices*, ed. J. A. Owens (New York, 1989), ii, pp.84–7, no.15. As Haar remarks, the Modena manuscript and the fragment at Fossombrone are notated a 4th lower than the other sources.

48 See *RISM* [c.1530¹], whereas Vogel hypothetically assigns it to 1535; see E. Vogel, *Bibliothek der gedruckten weltlichen Vocalmusik Italiens aus den Jahren 1500–1700* (Berlin, 1892), p.379. The date of publication is placed earlier, c.1526, in Haar, 'The early madrigal', p.167n. On Cassola (Piacenza, 1474–after 1560, before 1581), see A. Einstein, *The Italian madrigal* (Princeton, 1949), pp.172–87, C. Vela, 'Luigi Cassola e il madrigale cinquecentesco', *Bollettino storico piacentino* (Jul–Dec 1984), pp.183–217, reprinted in *Tre studi sulla poesia per musica* (Pavia, 1984), and G. Bellorini, 'Luigi Cassola madrigalista', *Aevum* (1995), pp.593–615. On Marchetto Cara's musical version, see W. F. Prizer, *Courtly pastimes: the frotole of Marchetto Cara* (Ann Arbor, 1980), pp.91–2.

49 Cassola's manuscript collection of madrigals is preserved in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Fondo Capponi, no.74. It contains 146 poems (but not *Se quanto in voi se vede*): 110 sonnets, 23 madrigals, 8 canzoni, 4 sextets, one ode. After the 1530s, *Se quanto in voi se vede* does not reappear until 1572, in the *Libro secondo de madrigali a quattro voci* of the Ferrarese Ludovico Agostini (Venice: Antonio Gardano): see *New Vogel*, p.17, no.29.

50 *New Vogel*, pp.1116–17, no.1804. See J. A. Bernstein, *Music printing in Renaissance Venice: the Scotto Press (1539–1572)* (New York, 1998), no.79, pp.377–9.

51 S. Boorman, 'Petrucci at Fossombrone: some new editions and cancels', p.147. See also Haar, 'The early madrigal', pp.167–8.

52 Boorman, 'Petrucci at Fossombrone: some new editions and cancels', p.147.

53 See Haar, 'The early madrigal', p.191.

54 See Haar, 'The early madrigal', p.191. Haar remains sceptical of the date in Fenlon and Haar, *The Italian madrigal in the early sixteenth century*; see pp.202, 26–7, 37–8.

55 Fenlon and Haar, *The Italian madrigal in the early sixteenth century*; pp.37–8.

56 See *RISM* 1530² and 1534¹⁵. See also *Delli madrigali a tre voci* (Venice: O. Scotto, 1537) and *Madrigali a tre et arie napolitane* (*RISM* 1537⁷ and [c.1537]⁸). This madrigal is also found in manuscript sources: see I. Fenlon and J. Haar, 'Fonti e cronologia dei madrigali di Costanzo Festa', *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, xiii (1978), pp.212–42, at p.236.

57 S. Campagnolo, 'Il Libro primo de la Serena e il madrigale a Roma', *Musica disciplina*, I (1996), pp.96–133. This text was also set to music by Philippe Verdelot in *De i madrigali de Verdelotto et de altri eccellentissimi auttori a cinque voci, libro secondo* (Venice: O. Scotto, 1538) (*RISM* 1538²¹), and by Claudin de Sermisy and published in the collection *Vingt et huit chansons musicales a qua-*

tre parties (Paris: P. Attaignant, Oct 1534) (*RISM* 1534¹²). On this madrigal, see J. Haar, 'Altro non è il mio amor', *Words and music: the scholar's view: a medley of problems and solutions, compiled in honor of A. Tilman Merritt by sundry hands*, ed. L. Berman (Cambridge, MA, 1971), pp.93–114.

58 We propose 1523 as the year *post quem*, since Verdelot seems never to have been in Rome previously. The date is in any case purely indicative.

59 See Fenlon and Haar, *The Italian madrigal in the early sixteenth century*, p.20.

60 However, the remaining four pieces do not appear in other musical sources. Moreover, we cannot exclude the possibility that Petrucci's print could be earlier, as are the three manuscript sources mentioned earlier (see n.47 above). The same could be said more or less for *Se quanto in voi se vede*, since it cannot be excluded that the version published by Petrucci may either be earlier or later than that of Marchetto Cara, dating to c.1526/30. On the other hand, we have indicated a dating

around the late 1530s as being more probable, since the first known edition in which eight of Verdelot's madrigals appear—besides the demonstrably older manuscripts—is the *Madrigali de diversi musici libro primo della Serena*, published in 1530 and reprinted in Rome by Valerio Dorico in 1534. The collections of madrigals published by Verdelot before 1538 are: *Primo libro dei madrigali a quattro voci* (Venice, 1533); *Secondo libro de madrigali a quattro voci* (Venice, 1534); *Madrigali a cinque, libro primo* (Venice, 1536–7) and *Terzo libro de madrigali a quattro voci* (Venice, 1537).

61 On this see Vernarecci, *Ottaviano de' Petrucci* (2/1882), p.127: 'Appena era uscita colle soprascritte parole la prima edizione di questo lavoro, che mi veniva fra mano un codicetto cartaceo del secolo XVI: "Estratto dei libri della bottega d'Achille Ciurlo da Fossombrone" (Febbraio 1573); estratto, già appartenuto a mercanti forsempresoni dell'arte della lana, ora della Biblioteca Passionei; al quale erano di copertina due fogli, cioè quattro faccie, di antica musica'.

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Appendix

edited by Gabriella Battista

Editorial policy

Standard abbreviations, whether by contraction, abbreviation, or signs, have been resolved without indication; in ambiguous cases the resolution is indicated in italics. In the case of abbreviations of monetary units, such as *fiorini* or *bolognini*, the abbreviation has usually been retained. The sign for *et cetera* has been transcribed as etc. Blank spaces in the documents where the notary has left out words are shown by three asterisks (***) ; notarial formulae omitted in the transcription are indicated by ellipses (...). Words that are illegible because of the condition of the page have been replaced with ellipses in square brackets ([...]). The use of *y* has been retained, but the double *ij* at the end of a word has been changed to *ii*.

Document 1

Pesaro, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Notarile Fossombrone, Notary Girolamo Florimbeni (no.72), vol.A: 1518–62

Deed no.50 [29 Aug 1518], f.55r–v

Die xxviii^a augusti 1518

Actum[†] in civitate Forissempronii in domibus episcopali-
bus in parte inferiori sub portico iuxta sua latera presen-
tibus domino Hieronymo Egnatio, domino Benedicto
Paganutio et Ludovico Antonii// [f.55v] Parris testibus etc.
Ibique Hieronymus Pauli de Castro Montis Sicci diocesis
Forissempronii constituit in eius[‡] procuratorem, actorem
et negotiorum gestorem cum pleno et generali mandato
Egidium Factorinum de civitate Forissempronii absentem
tanquam presentem et ad omnes lites et causas et maxime
contra Filippum Pauli Caizzo de Callio et contra omnes
alios et cum potestate substituendi etc. promictens etc.
obligans etc. rogans me etc.

† *In margin*: 50. ‡ in eius *added between the lines*
with a signe de renvoi in the text.

Document 2

Pesaro, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Notarile Fossombrone, Notary Gaspare Florimbeni (no.17), vol.C: 1522–9

Deed no.162 [2 May 1524], f.185r–v

(quoted in Vernarecci, *Ottaviano Petrucci* (1881), p.162)

Eodem[†] anno pontificatus, indictione et die 2 maii presen-
tibus Guido Pelegrini Comitibus et magistro Matheo bietaito
testibus etc.

Ibique domina Benedicta Evangelista Magnani et per
Franciscus vir plazarii *renuntians* dicta domina beneficio
veleani etc. certificata prius etc. per se et eorum heredes

ratificaverunt et aprobaverunt venditionem factam per
Alovisium domini Octavi Petrutii et tamquam eius procu-
ratorem Iohanni Paulo Nicoli Picini presentem, stipu-
lantem etc. de quadam petia terreni olivati et vineati siti in
curti Forissempronii et vocato Rivi Martarelli iuxta ipsum
Iohannem Paulum ut constare dixerunt et afirmaverunt
manu ser Iohannis Matei Ambrosini ad quid se remiserunt
quam petiam terreni reliquerat in *ultimo* sui viri Alexan-
der instrumento// facto supradicto domino Octavio etc. et
procuratori contra dictam venditionem factam per dictum
Alovisium non venire sed eam proprio ratam [...] et fir-
mam habere etc. et ipsum Iohannem Paulum in dicta petia
terreni non molestare etc. et hoc fecerunt quia de consensu
et voluntati dicti Alovisii presenti et acceptanti quia dictus
Iohannes Paulus solvit et numeravit predictam dominam
Benedictam et pro Francisco in presentia suprascriptorum
testium et mei notarii infrascripti ducatos decem ad
rationem XL bol. pro ducato quos sibi Benedicte reliquerat
dictus Alexander in testamento per ipsum factum manu
*** notarii publici et auctoritate etc. prout dicte partes
confessi fuerunt coram testibus predictis et mei notario
infrascripto etc. renuntiantes etc. promittentes unus
alteri non [...] se obligantes etc. sub pena dupli etc.
iurantes etc.

† *In margin*: 162.

Document 3

Pesaro, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Notarile Fossombrone, Notary Girolamo Florimbeni (no.72), vol.A: 1518–62

Deed no.131 [26 Aug 1533], ff.150r–151v

Die xxvj^a augusti 1533

Actum[†] in civitate Forissempronii in quarterio Sancti
Maurentii in strata publica videlicet ante hostium magistri
Prosperi iuxta bona heredum domini Tomeacti et strata a
duobus et alia latera presentibus Batista Gueroicii
Croscantini de Forossempronio et Hieronymo factoris
illustrissime domine ducisse Urbini de Pisauro et ser
Gasparo Florimbenis testibus etc. Ibique Bartholomeus
Egnatius de Foro Sempronio maritus domine Ypolite filie
naturalis magistri Prosperi phisici et civis forsempromien-
sis in presentia supradictorum testium et mei notarii infra-
scripti fuit contentus et confessus habuisse et recepisse a
magistro Prospero supradicto et a dicta domina Ypolita
filia dicti magistri Prosperi et uxore ipsius Bartholomei
floreos quadringentos monete veteris ad rationem
bononiensium quadraginta pro quolibet floreno, quos
quadringentos// [f.150v] florenos ad predictam rationem
prefatus magister Prosper tenebatur et obligatus erat dare,
solvere et numerare ac exborsiare prefato Bartholomeo
pro dote et dotis nomine et pro alimentis et substatantio-
nibus oneris matrimonii ut constat manu mei notarii
infrascripti de quibus suprascriptis quadringentis florenis

ut supra habitis et receptis prefatus Bartolomeus quietavit et finem et quietationem prefato magistro Prospero et dicte domine Ypolite filie dicti magistri Prosperi ibidem presenti[‡] et mihi notario infrascripto ut publice persone stipulanti et recipienti[§] vice et nomine dicti magistri Prosperi et omnium quorum interest, intererit seu interesse poterit dans et concedens mihi notario infrascripto licentiam et facultatem cancellandi dictum instrumentum obligationis dictorum quadringentorum florenorum similitium promictens illud umquam ullo tempore per se vel alium seu alios aliquo questito colere in iudicio sive extra producere uti seu uti facere// [f.151r] renuntians exceptioni sibi non numerate pecunie rei non sic gestum contractum non sic celebrat et omni alii iuris et legum auxilio iurans omnia supra et infrascripta fuisse et esse vera et ea omnia et singula attendere et observare et in ullo contradicere, ducere vel venire per se vel aliud seu alios quoquo modo in iudicio sive extra sub pena dupli dicte quantitatis et vinculo sibi prestiti iuramenti de quibus quadringentis florenis sic ut supra habitis et receptis a supradictis magistro Prospero et domina Ypolita ex nunc prout ex tunc et ex tunc prout ex nunc dictus Bartholomeus ypotecavit et obligavit omnia eius bona presentia et futura mobilia et immobilia et in omne eventio[¶] restitutionem dotis predictae dicto magistro Prospero sive dicte domine Ypolite vel cui alteri de iuribus prefatus Bartolomeus solemniter promisit per se et suos heredes et successores reddere et restituere et ut supra mihi notario infrascripto// [f.151v] stipulanti et stipulanti omnium quorum interest et ea omnia et singula attendere et observare et adimplere et in ullo contradicere vel venire per se vel alium seu alios modo vel ingenio de iure vel de facto in iudicio vel extra iurans etc. promictens etc. renuntians etc. obligans etc. rogans me ad plenum asensum sapientis dicti magistri Prosperi ut de predictis omnibus et singulis unum vel plura conficerem instrumentum sive instrumenta etc.

Et ego Hieronymus Florimbenis publicus apostolice auctoritatis notarius predictis omnibus et singulis interfui et ea rogatus scribere scripsi et subscripsi.

† *In margin:* 131.

‡ *ibidem presenti added in the margin with a signe de renvoi in the text.*

§ *A small deletion follows.*

¶ *Word with a superfluous sign of abbreviation.*

Document 4

Pesaro, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Notarile Fossombrone, Notary Girolamo Florimbeni (no.72), vol.A: 1518–62

Deed no.209 [12 Oct 1537], ff.242v–243r

Die xij octobris 1537

Actum[†] in civitate Forisempronii in introitu domus heredum condam magistri Prosperi medici de dicta civitate

iuxta stratas publicas a duobus et bona heredum condam domini Thomeactii et alia latera, presentibus Andrea Mori aromatarii et Guido Gutrerii Falcinelli omnibus de dicta civitate testibus etc. Ibiq̄ue personaliter constituta domina Pacifica uxor olim dicti magistri Prosperi omni meliori modo etc. constituit suum procuratorem etc. Bartolomeum Egnatium ibidem presentem et acceptantem et cum pleno et generali mandato et[‡] maxime ad vendendum quandam domum sitam in Castro *** Sascorbarii // [f.243r] ducati Urbini et pretium dicte domus accipiendi et de receptis quietandi etc. et cum potestate substituendi etc. et in omni meliori forma etc.

† *In margin:* 209; extractum.

‡ *A small deletion follows.*

Document 5

Pesaro, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Notarile Fossombrone, Notary Girolamo Florimbeni (no.72), vol.A: 1518–62

Deed no.210 [17 Oct 1537], f.243r

Die xvij octobris 1537

Actum[†] in civitate Forisempronii in domo domini Hieronymi Egnatii presentibus dicto domino Hieronymo et Bartolomeo alias Sevilla de Bergamo testibus etc. Ibiq̄ue spectabilis vir dominus Octavius Petrucius de dicta civitate Forisempronii omni meliori modo etc. fecit suum procuratorem etc. Leonardum Thome de Ricciis de terra Mondavii ducati Urbini ibidem presentem et acceptantem etc. cum pleno spetiali et generali mandato etc. rogans me notarium etc.

† *In margin:* 210; extractum.

Document 6

Pesaro, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Notarile Fossombrone, Notary Girolamo Florimbeni (no.72), vol.A: 1518–62

Deed no.214 [12 Jan 1538], f.248r–v

Die 12 ianuarii 1538

Actum[†] in civitate Forisempronii sub porticu domus heredum ser Berardini Gianecti de dicta civitate ante apotecam Aurelii Mariocti iuxta plateam magnam et alia latera, presentibus venerabilibus viris domino Petro Antonio Florinbeno et domino Hieronimo Egnatio canonicis dicte civitatis Forisempronii testibus etc. Ibiq̄ue personaliter constitutus dominus Octavius Petrucius de dicta civitate omni meliori modo etc. constituit suum procuratorem etc. Petrantonium alias Mazone de dicta civitate ibidem presentem et acceptantem etc. ad exigendum, levandum et recuperandum// [f.248v] quasdam matrices licterarum a quibuscumque personis et hominibus cuiuscumque conditionis et gradus et maxime a quodam domino Petro Ambrosii librarii comoranti in civitate Neapoli seu in

quocumque alio loco etc. et de[†] actis et receptis quietandum et ad solvendum et satisfaciendum et restituendum omnem quantitatem pecuniarum pro recuperandis et rehabendis dictis matricibus licterarum et ad petendum et respondendum et substituendum unum vel plures procuratores etc. promictens etc. cum pleno et generali mandato etc. rogans me etc.

† *In margin:* 214. ‡ *A deleted ex follows.*

Document 7

Pesaro, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Notarile Fossombrone, Notary Girolamo Florimbeni (no.72), vol.A: 1518–62

Deed no.232 [3 Jan 1540], ff.270r–271r

Die 3 ianuarii 1540

Actum in civitate Forisempronii in aula sive curte illustrissimi ducis Urbini in introitu solite residentie illustrissime ducesse, presentibus venerabili viro domino Hieronymo Egnatio canonico civitatis predictae et Bartholomeo eius fratre carnali testibus etc. Ibiq[ue] nobilis et circumsp[ectus] vir[†] dominus Sebastianus Bonaiutus alias de Lisotta de Urbino personaliter constitutus, non vi, non dolo, non fraude neque aliqua alia causa circumventus se sua bona vera et sincera et libera voluntate et eius liberalitate cum fuit et sit prout ipse asseruit quod ipse dominus Sebastianus erat verus creditor domini Octavii Petrucii de dicta civitate Forisempronii in summa et quantitate octuaginta scutorum aureorum pro residuo maioris summe de affictu, // [f.270v] naulo, cottimo sive pensione cuiusdam cartarie site in curte et districtu *** qua cartaria olim fuit vendita per dictum dominum Octavium supradicto domino Sebastiano et habita et rentata per dictum dominum Octavium a supradicto domino Sebastiano ad cottimandum et quia dictus dominus Octavius et vita functus idcirco supradictus dominus Sebastianus ex eius spontanea liberalitate ex nunc prout ex tunc et ex tunc prout ex nunc dictam summam et quantitatem octuaginta scutorum similium remisit et inrevocabiliter inter vivos liberam donavit domine Ypolite uxori olim supradicti domini Octavii absenti et mihi notario infrascripto ibidem presenti et ut publice persone dictam donationem et remissionem acceptanti et stipulanti et recipienti[‡] vice et nomine dicte domine Ypolite // [f.271r] et omnium aliorum quorum interest seu interesse poterit, de qua summa et quantitate octuaginta scutorum et omnium et aliarum rerum ex quacumque causa inter dictum Sebastianum et dominum Octavium dum viveret negotiatam quietavit et finem et quietationem ut supra fecit cum pactis de ulterius non petendo per se vel alium etc., promictens etc. obligans etc. renumprians etc. iurans etc. rogans me ad plenum etc.

† *In margin:* 232. ‡ *A deleted pro follows.*

Document 8

Archivio di Stato Pesaro, Archivio Notarile Fossombrone, Notary Gaspare Florimbeni (no.17) vol.F: 1540–42

Deeds nos.516–17 [20 Jun 1541], ff.443v–445v

(quoted in Vernarecci, *Ottaviano Petrucci* (1881), p.163)

Eodem anno pontificatus, indictione et die; actum in domo Iohannis Francisci Dominici magistri Martini iuxta stratas et rubetum murarum, presentibus domino Michelangelo Senbolongo et ser Francisco Nutio, domino Ieronimo Florinbeno et Bartolomeo Egnatio testibus vocatis etc.[†] Ibiq[ue] cum hoc fuerit et sit quod fuerit orta lis et discordia inter dominam Ipolitam uxorem olim et heredem domini Octavii Petrutii de Forossempronio ex una parte et magistrum Gabrielem Cecholino ex altera vigore et ex causa obligationis et conventionis factarum et inuitarum inter ipsam dominam Ipolitam et dictum magistrum Gabrielem in solidum obligati cum quodam magistro Nicolo Pernicole de Cortona de quibusdam litteris datis et de naulo et pensione ipsarum litterarum de qua quantitate constare dixerunt manu domini Ieronimi predicti ad quod relatum habetur et super premissis fuerit prefatus magister Gabriel vocatus et tractus in iudicio et volentes dicte partes sumptibus et expensis // [f.444r] iudicialiis[‡] parciter et in futurum faciendi evictare venerunt in simul ad instantiam, conventionem, transactionem, pactum et concordiam super pensione et naulo ipsarum litterarum et etiam restitutionem de quibus in dicto instrumento hoc modo videlicet quia dictus magister Gabriel obligatus in solidum ut supra per se et suos heredes in presentia infrascriptorum testium et mihi notarii infrascripto promisit et convenit cum prefata domina Ipolita presente et acceptante eidem dare et persolvere et ex nunc dedit et exborsavit eidem domine Ipolite pro dicto naulo et pensione ipsarum litterarum de quibus in dicto instrumento decurso per tempus unius anni a die celebrati contractus florenos viginti in bona moneta ad rationem XL librarum pro floreno et florenos undecim et bol. 20 dictus magister Gabriel promisit solvere et solvit magistro Iohanni Antonio alias Pellino et domine Orsette eius uxori presenti et acceptanti et creditum olim domini Octavii Petrutii mariti // [f.444v] prefate domine Ipolite pro dotis dicte domine Orsette vigore publici instrumenti manu ser Egidii Factorini notarii in dicta civitate de ea rogati et flor. quattuor et bol. 26 prefata domina Ipolita fuit contenta et confessa habuisse et recepisse a dicto magistro Gabrieli et sic in totum fuit contenta habuisse et recepisse a prefato magistro Gabrieli ex causa dicte pensionis pro uno anno florenos triginta quinque et bol. 26 et promisit dicto magistro Gabrieli ex causa predicta litterarum et pensionis decurse usque in presentem non molestari et de cetero absolvit et liberavit prefatum magistrum Gabrielem et eius bona a dicta pensione et a contento in dicto instrumento manu

presenti domini Ieronimi predicti etc. et pro dicta quantitate soluta per dictum magistrum Gabrielem ipsi domine Ipolite ut supra. Prefata domina Ipolita predicta *renuntians* primo benefitio veleani etc. certificata etc. dedit, cessit et concessit prefato magistro Gabrieli presenti etc. omnia iura et actiones reales et personales utiles et directas// [f.445r] que et quas ipsa domina Ypolita habuit et habet cum supradicto magistro Niccolo occasione et ex causa dicti nauli et pensionis predictarum litterarum vigore dicti instrumenti obligationis pro quantitate predicta soluta per dictum magistrum Gabrielem pro uno anno et non ultra annum salvo et reservato ipsi domine Ipolite iure et actione agendi et petendi contra dictum magistrum Niccolum in solidum obligatum pro residuo nauli et pensionis ipsarum litterarum ultra annum decursum et ante restitutionem ipsarum litterarum etc. constituens ipsum procuratorem ut in rem suam et ponens ipsum in locum suum etc.; item prefata domina Ypolita per se et suos heredes fuit contenta et confessa habuisse et recepisse et habuit et recepit a dicto magistro presenti litteras et omnia alia de quibus in supradicto instrumento manu prefati domini Ieronimi etc. nec non promisit et convenit cum dicto magistro Gabriele quod si et *quatenus* dictus Niccolus Pernicole in solidum obligatus ut supra molestavit// [f.445v] seu inquietavit dictum magistrum Gabrielem occasione et ex causa nauli et pensionis ipsarum litterarum decursarum ultra annum supradictum decursum et solutum quod tunc et eo casu dicta domina Ipolita promisit eidem magistro Gabrieli presenti etc. ipsum et eius bona a dicta molestia sine danno conservare etc. Item supradictus magister Gabriel per se et suos heredes promisit et convenit dicte domine Ipolite presenti etc. dare et solvere ad omnem eius iussum et petitionem fl. tres et bol. 13 pro expensis factis in causa et lite predictis^s salvo pro onere et scripta et instrumento etc. *Renuntiantes* dicte partes etc. Que omnia et singula suprascripta dicte partes ad invicem promiserunt etc. obligantes etc. sub pena dupli etc. iurantes etc.

† *In margin:* 516. ‡ *In margin:* 517. § *A small deletion follows.*

Document 9

Archivio di Stato Pesaro, Archivio Notarile Fossombrone, Notary Gaspare Florimbeni (no.17) vol.F: 1540–42

Deed no.518 [20 Jun 1541], f.446r

Eodem[†] anno pontificatus indictione et die et loco et presentibus etc. Ibique supradictus magister Gabriel pro se et suis heredibus fuit contentus et confessus habuisse et recepisse in depositum et ex causa depositi a domina Orsetta et magistro Pellino eius viro presenti stipulanti et recipienti fl. undecim cum dimidio ad rationem XL bol. pro floreno quos promisit tenere etc. et illi eisdem

restituere hoc modo videlicet florenos tres cum dimidio ad omnem eius iussum et petitionem et florenos octo in festo sante Marie de mense augusti proxime futurum etc. *renuntians* etc. promittens etc. obligans etc. iurans etc.

Die 25 augusti 1541 presentibus Sevilla venitiano et Baratta perusino testibus etc. Supradicti domina Orsetta et Pellinus eius vir [...] confessi esse sol[...]

† *In margin:* 518.

Document 10

Archivio di Stato Pesaro, Archivio Notarile Fossombrone, Notary Gaspare Florimbeni (no.17) vol.F: 1540–42

Deed no.519 [20 Jun 1541], cc. 446v–447r

Eodem[†] anno pontificatus indictione et die, loco et presentibus. Ibique cum hoc fuerit et sit quod olim dominus Octavius Petrutius de Forossempronio teneretur et obligatus esset magistro Iohanni Antonio alias Pellino et domine Orsette eius uxori et olim famule ipsius domini Octavii presenti etc. in summa et quantitate quinquaginta florenorum pro dote ipsius domine Orsette vigore publici instrumenti promissionis manu ser Egidii *Factorini* notarii publici de eo rogati a me notario viso et lecto et cum sit et fuerit quod dictus dominus Octavius dum vivebat solverit et satisfecerit dictis magistro Pellino et dicte Orsette eius uxori florenos viginti octo cum dimidio in tot pannis *expensis* et denariis prout in presentia supradictorum testium et mei notarii infrascripti dictus magister Pellinus et dicta domina Orsetta confessi fuerunt et affirmaverunt domine Ipolite uxori et heredi prefati domini Octavii et volent predicti creditores et dicta domina Ipolita// [f.447r] insimul quieti vivere, prefata domina Ipolita ex nunc in presentia testium predictorum dedit et solvit ut heres predicti dictis magistro Pellino et domine Orsette eius uxori presentibus et acceptantibus florenos undecim cum dimidio in presentia supradictorum testium et mei notarii infrascripti et florenos decem pro residuo ditorum quinquaginta florenorum contentorum in dicto instrumento dicti ser Egidii; prefata domina Ipolita per se et suos heredes *renuntians* benefitio veleani etc. certificata etc. promisit et convenit eidem magistro Pellino et domine Orsette presenti etc. dare et solvere infra tempus duorum annorum proxime futurorum et dicti domina Orsetta et magister Pellinus predicti pro dictis quinquaginta florenis et pro eorum resto in omnem eventum dotis restantem etc. promisit restitui etc. et obligaverunt dicte Ipolite omnia eorum bona etc.; *renuntiantes* etc. promittentes etc. obligantes etc. sub pena dupli etc. iurantes etc.

† *In margin:* 519.

Document 11

Pesaro, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Notarile Fossombrone,
Notary Girolamo Florimbeni (no.72), vol.A: 1518–62

Deed no.294 [12 May 1548], ff.348v–351r

Die 12 maii 1548[†]

Actum in civitate Forisempronii in quarterio Sancti Maurentii et in dicta ecclesia Sancti Maurentii in capella Sancti Sebastiani sita in dicta ecclesia iuxta sua notissima latera presentibus[‡] venerabili viro domino Hieronymo Egnatio canonico forisempronense et altero Andrea condam Berardini de Peregrinis de dicta civitate testibus ect. Ibi que honesta mulier domina Ypolita uxor olim condam domini Octavii Petrucii de dicto loco in primis et ante omnia renuntians beneficio veleani senatus consulti epistole divi Adriani et autentice quod si qua mulier certificata tam prius per me notarium infrascriptum quid ipsa iura dicent et relevent et de omnibus aliis et singulis beneficiis in favorem mulierum facientibus ex una et Johannes Maria Michaelis de *** et ad presens habitator civitatis predictae Forisempronii // [f.349r] et impressor librorum ex altera ad invicem de comuni concordia venerunt ad infrascripta pacta et conventiones inter ipsas partes hinc inde videlicet una pars alteri et altera uni abservandas et adimplendas spetialiter et expresse prout et sicut infra vulgari sermone aparebit: “In prima che la decta madonna Ypolita dà et consegna al sopradicto Giohammaria una stamparia cum doi torcoli et tre lettere gettate, cioè de tre sorti de lettere, de le quale una è gettata et le altre doi da doverse gettare, et tucte le altre massaritie et fornimenti quali fanno de bisogno per dicta stampa, como apare per inventario descripto et notato da mia mano in uno foglio da carta de mia mano propria, quale robbe saranno necessarie[§] per dicta stamparia, le quale robbe et // [f.349v] et massaritie dicto Giohammaria habia attare apresso di sé et quelle usare a suo beneplacito et utili et per nolo de tucte le predecte cose dicto Giohammaria promecte dare et pagare omni anno durante nolo scudi dodeci de oro in oro per tempo de anni cinque proximi da veniri incominciando a li *** de *** et finendo come seguita et finiti che saranno li dicti cinque anni che ogniuna de le sopradicte parte siano et restino sua libertà de prolongare dicti pacti et conventioni o no; et che per li dicti cinque anni cum li sopradicti pacti et conventioni nessuna de le parte se possa né vaglia per alcuno modo, causa, via et forma pentirse né tirarse in dietro excepto che per morte overo de comune concor-

dia, et che finiti li dicti cinque anni se habbia ad extimare dicta stamparia cum tucte le robbe et massarie che alora se retrovano// [f.350r] descripte in lo dicto inventario et apresso dicto Giohammaria per doi persone pratiche nel mestiere da ellegerse comunimente da le dicte doi parte et che facta dicta extima dicta madonna Ypolita sia obligata darla et liberarla per el medesimo dinaro et extima al dicto Giohammaria sia obligato a pigliarla; et che si per caso dicto Giohammaria in dicta stamparia et agiongesse qualche cosa del suo che non fosse descripto in dicto inventario se debba prima che se facci dicta extima detrarne dicta cosa, et che acadendo durante dicto tempo de li supradicti cinque anni che se guastasse cosa alchuna spectante et pertinente a la dicta stamparia se habia aconciare a spese de dicta madonna Ypolita, et che si a caso che per guerra o vero morbo acadesse che Idio el cessa che // [f.350v] non se potesse stampare numero, fosse necessitate abandonare la stamparia per dicta causa per dicto tempo durante dicto Giohammaria non habia a pagare nolo alchuno et che si a caso fosse che Dio dicesse che alchune de le dicte cose se perdessero per saccomanno dicto Giohammaria non sia obligato a pagare né a rassegnare quello che non se li retrovasse et che durante dicto tempo dicta madonna Ypolita non possa né vendere né permutare alchuna cosa predicta.”

Pro quibus omnibus et singulis firmiter observandis et adimplendis supradictis domina Ypolita per se et suos heredes ut supra se solemniter obligando ex una et supradictus Johannes Maria partibus ex altera etiam se solemniter ad invicem et vicissim in ampliori forma comuni obligando videlicet una pars alteri[¶] altera uni promiserunt omnia et singula in presenti instrumento contenta attendere et observare et adimplere et in ullo premissorum// [f.351r] contrafactum dicere vel venire per se vel alium seu alios aliqua causa, modo vel ingenio de iure vel de facto sub pena quinquaginta florenorum ad rationem quadraginta bon. pro quolibet floreno de facto parti observanti aplicandorum obligantes ad invicem se et^{||} omnia eorum bona mobilia et inmobilia presentia et futura etc. renuntiantes etc. iurantes etc. rogantes me ad plenum adsensum sapientem etc.

† 1428 in the text.

‡ In margin: 294.

§ A deleted et apti follows.

¶ A deleted alt follows.

|| se et added between the lines with a signe de renvoi in the text.

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