

THE STEPS AND MUSIC OF THE
ITALIAN BALLO OF THE
EARLY RENAISSANCE

Volume I

by
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There are nine extant Italian dance-manuals of the fifteenth century; one was written by Domenico da Piacenza, one by Antonio Cornazano, and the rest by Guglielmo Ebreo (also known as Johannes Ambrosio). All were written around the middle of the century and are in two parts: part 1 is dance theory, and part 2 has the instructions for the dances (in total, thirty-nine basse danze and forty-five balli). Four of the dance-manuals have music for some of the dances (one bassa danza and twenty-three balli). The ballo, an Italian invention, consists of "diverse measures," that is, two or more short "phrases," each in one of the four dance styles popular at the time: bassa danza, saltarello, quadernaria, and piva.

The object of the thesis was to produce an edition of these twenty-three balli that had both steps and music. To do this, all the versions of the instructions had to be translated, and all the versions of the music transcribed. Then the steps and music of each dance had to be put together according to the "rules" laid down in the theory of the dance-manuals. Several difficulties had to be overcome first: (1) there were no criteria for choosing between different versions of the steps and music; (2) there were dance instructions whose steps could not be made to fit with their music; (3) things happened in the dances that contradicted what was said in the theory; and (4) much of what one needed to know to combine steps and music was not included in the theory. The Italian dance tradition was obviously a flexible one. Having assumed that the flexibility had limits of some

kind which could be found, I used these limits to deduce the system, or set of rules, that governed the ballo. This set of rules was, in turn, used to produce an edition of the twenty-three balli with both steps and music.

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PREFACE

The title of this thesis was to have been: "What contemporary Italian Dance-manuals tell us about the Notation and Performance of Fifteenth-Century French 'Basses Danses'." I wanted to scour the dances and the dance theory in the extant Italian treatises for clues that would shed some light on the once heated but ultimately inconclusive debate about the rhythm and texture of the French dances.

It looked like an easy project. All of the Italian dance music (three basse danze and twenty-three balli) had already been transcribed,¹ and a few dances had been transcribed with their steps as well as their music.² All that remained

¹Otto Kinkeldey transcribed all the Italian music in his "Dance Tunes of the Fifteenth Century," in Instrumental Music, ed. David Hughes (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), pp. 89-152. Slightly different transcriptions of the ballo "Gioioso" are in Frederick Crane's Materials for the Study of the Fifteenth Century Basse Danse, Musicological Studies, vol. 16 (New York: The Institute of Medieval Music, 1968), p. 99; and in James L. Jackman's "Fifteenth Century 'Basses Danses': Brussels Bibl. Roy. Ms. 9085 collated with Michael Toulouze's 'L' Art et instruction de bien dancer'" (Thesis, University of California, 1963), pp. 39-40.

²The ballo "Giove" is transcribed in Otto Gombosi's "About Dance and Dance Music in the Late Middle Ages," Musical Quarterly 27 (1941): 302-3. Daniel Heartz transcribed "Gioioso" in his article, "A 15th-Century Ballo: 'Roti Bouilli Joyeux'," in Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music, ed. Jan La Rue (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1966), p. 364. Several fanciful transcriptions of balli and basse danze (in three- and

was to translate those dance instructions that had not been translated previously and add their steps to the transcribed music, to translate the dance theory, and finally to draw conclusions about the Italian dances and apply them to the French dances.

I began with the basse danze. The instructions for the basse danze were reasonably easy to translate, but none of them contained information that looked as if it could in any way pertain to the performance of bassa danza music. A potential problem--the sometimes large number of differences between the texts of a particular dance in different treatises--was avoided because I could not combine the steps and music of any basse danze: it appeared that none of the music for the Italian bassa danza instructions had survived, and that none of the surviving bassa danza tunes had steps, so I did not have to choose between different versions of the dance steps.

Although they have only small sections labelled "in bassa danza," the balli seemed to be a more interesting line of inquiry, since so many of them have tunes as well as steps. With the balli, however, the problem that with the basse danze had been only a potential problem became a real problem: before I could combine the steps and music of a single balli--I had translated the

four-part harmony) are in books by Mabel Dolmetsch, Dances of Spain and Italy from 1400 to 1600 (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1954); and Melusine Wood, Some Historical Dances (Twelfth to Nineteenth Century): Their Manner of Performance and Their Place in the Social Life of the Time (London: The Imperial Society of Teachers of Dancing, 1952).

dance instructions--I had to choose between as many as eight different versions of its steps, and four different versions of its music. Needless to say, I had no criteria for choosing between the different versions.

Another difficulty with the balli had to do with their music. It had already been pointed out by Kinkeldey; some phrases of music, he said, "do not yield easily to any arrangement that seems to fit the prescribed time sign according to the rules of mensuration that prevailed in the second half of the fifteenth century."³ He did not state the case strongly enough, however; some phrases not only "do not yield easily," but do not yield at all. They simply cannot be transcribed into the meter indicated by the sign that precedes them.

For some balli, all the treatises were in complete, or almost complete, agreement about their steps and their music. When I tried to combine the steps and music of some of these dances, however,--the treatises explain the temporal relationship of dance units to music units--I discovered another problem; some steps simply could not be made to fit with their music.

When I turned to the dance theory for solutions to some of these problems I found that here, too, there were differences between the treatises. I also realized that there were important aspects of the practice of dancing that were not explained in the theory. Worse, some of the

³Otto Kinkeldey, A Jewish Dancing Master of the Renaissance: Guglielmo Ebreo (New York: Dance Horizons, 1929; reprint from the A. S. Freidus Memorial Volume, New York, 1929), p. 24.

"rules" given in the theory appeared to be either ignored or broken in the actual dances.

It was clear that the Italian dances, especially the balli, possessed as many problems as the French dances, though the problems were of a different sort. I therefore decided to concentrate solely on the Italian balli.

Essentially, I wanted to do just one thing with the balli: to produce a transcription of every ballo that includes steps as well as music. To do this, however, I had to choose between the different versions of steps and music, and to sort out the discrepancies between the dance theory and the dances themselves. I assumed that not all the variants and discrepancies were errors on the part of scribes (though some undoubtedly were), but that they were a reflection of what had been a flexible, mobile tradition. I assumed, in addition, that this flexibility had limits of some kind. Before I could transcribe the dances, then, I had to find these limits and use them as a basis for formulating the system, or set of rules, that in fact, if not in theory, governed the dance. This system would both augment and alter the system of rules that already exists in the treatises. It would have to account for, or incorporate, all the significant variants in the music, the dance instructions, the theory, and the discrepancies between the theory (or rather, theories) and the practice of the dance.

Now my task was two-fold: (1) to deduce the governing principles of the balli and (2) to produce a transcription of the dances that in-

cludes steps as well as music.

The thesis is presented more-or-less in the order in which the work was done, though it was never possible to deal quite so tidily with one subject at a time. The thesis, which is entirely my own original work unless specifically indicated to the contrary in the text, is in two volumes; volume I contains everything but the music, which is in volume II. This format enables the reader to refer to the music while keeping his place in the text.

My thanks to the Human Sciences Research Council for their grant; to Athol Harley for granting me the time and space to work in peace; to Isabella and Simon Stengel for assisting me across the worst of the Italian hurdles; to Sinclair Hoffman for copying the music so beautifully; to Beverly Parker for her valuable and lucid advice; to those friends and colleagues whose conversations with me so often sparked off a new and productive line of thought; and to George Hunter, who first aroused my interest in dance when he "danced" me through a Scarlatti sonata.

INTRODUCTION

Books of a type still being written today first appeared in the fifteenth century: instruction-manuals for dancing. There are many extant fragments of dance-manuals that were written before 1500, but only eleven complete treatises survive. Two are French and consist almost exclusively of basses danses;¹ nine are Italian and contain both basse danze and balli.

During the fifteenth century, social and theatrical dance were still the same thing, but it would not be long before the "special needs of the theatre would separate the stage dance from the social dance so that the two became virtually unrecognizable one with the other."² Then stage dancing (in such productions as intermedii and operas) would be reserved for professional dancers.

In the Middle Ages there had been a different kind of break in the world of the dance; social dancing had split into two basic types: that associated with the educated class, and that done by the peasant class (about which we know little, except that some of its elements were incorporated into the dances of the educated class). It was for the former class that dancing teachers--the same men wrote the dance-

¹Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Ms. 9085, and Michel Toulouze's L'Art et instruction de bien dancier.

²A. H. Franks, Social Dance: A Short History (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963), p. 44.

manuals--were in great demand, since dancing had become a "refined and complicated art."³ To men and women of the educated class, skillful dancing was a social necessity, a matter more of manners than of recreation.

The process that culminated in the separation of social and theatrical dancing is especially visible in fifteenth-century Italian dance-manuals. They contain abundant evidence that dancing, or at least the dancing of the educated class, had, for the first time in recorded history, been infused with drama. When the dramatic elements in the dance overwhelmed the dance's social aspects, the split between social and stage dancing was inevitable. One indication in the Italian dance-manuals that drama had entered the dance, is that almost all the dances, but particularly the balli, tell a story. The story, usually a love story, unfolds primarily through the floor pattern (four men form a square; a woman dances with each man in turn, and then she removes one man from the square and dances the rest of the dance with him), but it is often reinforced by hand gestures and facial expressions. In "Sobria," for instance, the instructions tell the sole woman dancer, who is about to reject the advances of one of the five male dancers, to "pull back a little, disdainfully, and turn your back."⁴ Whether or not gestures and expressions were speci-

³Otto Kinkeldey, A Jewish Dancing Master of the Renaissance: Guglielmo Ebreo (New York: Dance Horizons, 1929; reprint from the A. S. Freidus Memorial Volume, New York, 1929), p. 2.

⁴"... desdignosa tirisi uno poco indietro e voltige le spale." Paris 972, fol. 22v.

fied in the instructions, however, it is likely that

the performers underlined the sequence of wooing, indignation, desire, refusal, decision, attaca, and victory with gestures, facial expressions, and all the intangible means of bodily eloquence that a well-trained dancer has at his command.⁵

Another indication that drama had become vital to dancing is that the dancers are constantly told to be aware of their audience; "time and time again, the earliest dance-manuals admonish the dancers to have the onlookers constantly in mind."⁶ As part of this general climate of self-consciousness, the dancers became more aware of their physical selves, and dancing ceased to be just a matter of moving one's feet, and began to involve the entire body and the head.

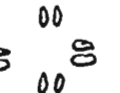


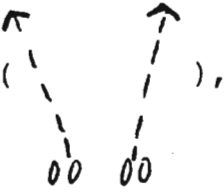
To give the audience a hint of what was to come, most of the dances are given programmatic titles, such as "Gelosia" (jealousy), "Angelosa" (angel-like), "Humana" (compassionate), and "Prisonera" (prisoner). Immediately after each dance title the instructions specify how many dancers are needed for the dance, and how many must be men and how many women; this, too, gives us a clue about the story to come, and

⁵Ingrid Brainard, "'Bassedanse', 'Bassadanza' and 'Ballo' in the 15th Century," in Dance History Research: Perspectives from Related Arts and Disciplines (The Proceedings of the Second Conference on Research in Dance), ed. Joann W. Kealiinohomoku, p. 72.

⁶Artur Michel, "The Earliest Dance-Manuals," Medievalia et Humanistica 3 (1945):118.

shows that there has been a decisive break with the past, when the number and sex of the dancers was never mentioned. Italian basse danze and balli are performed by from two to fourteen dancers; sometimes they are just for male/female couples ("two by two") but more often they are for unequal numbers of men and women (this makes for a much more interesting plot). In "Tesara," for example, two "free" men try to disrupt four couples.

In fifteenth-century Italian dances, the floor patterns have become very complex. No longer are they purely linear or circular; instead, all kinds of floor patterns, such as

squares (), hand-over-hand (),
weaving (), and fan shapes (),

are combined in a single dance. There was clearly a need for a wide variety of floor patterns, just as there was a need for different combinations of male and female dancers. Both needs indicate the "advent of the dramatic scene to the dance floor."⁷

One of the reasons why it is not the French dance-manuals but the Italian treatises, with their almost equal numbers of basse danze and balli, that signal the increasingly important

⁷Ibid., p. 71.

element of drama in social dancing, is that they represent the dance tradition of the second half of the fifteenth century, a time when the bassa danza was being replaced by the recently-invented ballo. The French treatises, which contain only basses danses, represent a much earlier tradition, one that probably began in the previous century.

The Italian bassa danza was, in any case, a very different dance than the French basse danse. Although it is assumed that the Italian dance had its origins in the French basse danse, the two obviously had developed along such different lines that by 1450 each had its own distinct style. The Italians made the bassa danza a lively dance; they added leaps, skips, and jumps to the slow, "simple, dignified and courtly 'bassedanse'"⁸ of the French. Even the way the French and Italian dances were composed was different: the composition of the French dances was subject to tight control, since each dance had to be made up of several mesures, and the steps of the mesures (their type, order, and number) were almost entirely fixed. Italian basse danze were comparatively freer, since there were fewer rules governing their composition.⁹

The balli were dances of a completely different kind; instead of the sobriety of the basse danze, they had the excitement of sudden

⁸Ibid., p. 69.

⁹Despite the rule in the Italian treatises that restricts the basse danze to the nine "natural" steps, many have steps (such as galoppi, salti, passetti, posate, and contrapassi) that are not natural steps. These steps were probably borrowed from the balli.

changes of tempo and rhythm; the feet were not bound to the earth, as they were in the bassa danza, but were meant to be quite literally "air-born" with leaps, turns, spins, and jumps. The music for balli is very different from the music for basse danze: the latter consists almost entirely of notes of only one kind (either breves or semibreves), while the former is made up of mixed note-values. The ballo tunes have two or more contrasted sections, each in one of the four rhythms and tempi (or "measures," as the Italians called them): bassa danza, quadernaria, saltarello, and piva.

One of the main differences between the French and Italian treatises is that there are only a few comments about the style and performance of the dance in French treatises. The Italian treatises, on the other hand, contain page after page of dance theory, in which their authors

for the first time, . . . in the history of the art, . . . endeavor to penetrate to the fundamentals of dancing as such, to clarify the basic elements of the art, to establish the relationship between dance movements and the accompanying music, and by way of a well-founded aesthetic to procure for the dance its place of honor among the Artes Liberales.¹⁰

The men who wrote the fifteenth-century French dance-manuals are anonymous, whereas we know who the Italian teachers and writers were. Not only do we know who they were, we also know a lot about their day-to-day lives. The Italian dance teacher was a highly respected member of

¹⁰Brainard, "'Bassedanse'," p. 69.

the upper class, and was in the employ of an Italian court.¹¹ His primary activity was to teach dancing and dance composition to the members of the court, particularly to the children and young people, but he also had to write dances for special occasions such as state visits and marriages, and to rehearse them with the dancers. It is likely that his role as a teacher of dancing and dance composition prompted him to write down his dances and his ideas about dancing in a dance-manual.

¹¹Sometimes there was fierce competition between the courts to attract the best or most popular dance instructor.

CHAPTER I

THE DANCE-MANUALS

All the Italian dances of the early Renaissance are contained in ten manuscripts. Nine are dance-manuals devoted entirely to the theory and practice of the dance; the tenth source is a manuscript of poetry at Foligno that has the steps for eight basse danze.¹

The oldest manuscript, and the prototype for the remaining treatises, is Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds it. 972; its title, "De arte saltandi & choreas ducendi/ De la arte de ballare et danzare," is written in a different hand and was probably added at a later date.² This treatise, written by and ascribed to Domenico da Piacenza, is divided into two sections: in the first, dance theory, the author defends the art of dancing, defines the qualities of a good dancer, and explains the dance steps and measures; the second part consists of detailed instructions for the dancing of eighteen balli (three of these are alternate versions of previous balli; both versions are danced to the same music) and five basse danze, and the music for each ballo. An

¹The basse danze have been published by D. M. Faloci Pulignani in Otto basse danze di M. Guglielmo da Pesaro e di M. Domenico da Ferrara (Foligno: Pietro Scariglia, 1887).

²A privately-made microfilm of Paris 972 is stored in the Music Department of the University of California at Berkeley.

edition of this manuscript was published in 1963.³

Closely related to Paris 972 in structure and content is the treatise by Antonio Cornazano, one of Domenico's students, called the "Libro dell' arte del danzare"; the manuscript is in the Vatican Library in Rome (Codex Capponiano, No. 203).⁴ A comparison of Domenico's theory, given in figure 1, with Cornazano's, in figure 2, shows that Cornazano borrowed most of his ideas from Domenico, though he did add some ideas of his own (such as "the bassa danza tempo has four parts," and "every tenor can be made into four measures"), and he does not find it necessary, as Domenico did, to defend dancing.

There are fewer dance instructions in Cornazano's treatise than in Paris 972; only eight balli (including two versions of "La Figlia Guilielmo") and three basse danze. As table 1 shows, all the dance instructions in Rome are also in Paris 972, with the exception of the bassa danza "Daphnes." Like Domenico, Cornazano includes the music for the balli and also gives the tunes for three basse danze; these three tunes are in appendix A. Unfortunately, none of the tunes, which are the only bassa danza tunes

³Dante Bianchi, "Un trattato inedito di Domenico da Piacenza," La Bibliofilia 65 (1963): 109-49. For this study, both the original and the edited versions of Paris 972 were used; although the Bianchi edition has some errors, it also clarifies a few places in the microfilm that are difficult or impossible to read.

⁴It is published in Curzio Mazzi, "Il 'libro dell' arte del danzare' di Antonio Cornazano," La Bibliofilia 17 (1915-16):1-30.

in Italian sources of this period, match up with the bassa danza instructions in Cornazano's treatise.

Fols. 1r-2v	Introduction (dancing defended) Qualities of a good dancer
Fol. 2v	Steps: -natural and accidental -listed
Fols. 2v-3r	Steps: -time required for their performance -how steps are used in the measures
Fols. 3r-4r	Measures: -each has its own tempo and mensuration -each has its own <u>vuodo</u> and <u>pieno</u>
Fol. 4v	Measures: a diagram of their tempi
Fols. 5r-7r	Measures: each can be danced in many ways

Figure 1. Subject-matter of the theory of Paris 972.

Pp. 6-7	Dedication
Pp. 8-9	Sonnet, "Amaçonia nympa"
P. 9	Qualities of a good dancer
<hr/>	
P. 10	Measures: their characteristics
Pp. 10-11	Measures: the steps used in each measure
<hr/>	
P. 12	Steps: -natural and accidental -listed -how they are used in the measures
Pp. 12-13	Steps: <u>ballo</u> defined
P. 13	Steps: the time required for their performance
<hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/>	
P. 13	The <u>bassa danza</u> tempo has four parts
<hr/>	
P. 14	Measures: a diagram of their tempi
Pp. 14-16	Measures: each can be danced in many ways
Pp. 28-30	Measures: every tenor can be made into four measures

Figure 2. Subject-matter of the theory of Rome.

TABLE 1

BASSE DANZE AND BALLI, LISTED IN
ALPHABETICAL ORDER, FOR WHICH
THERE ARE DANCE INSTRUCTIONS
IN PARIS 972 AND ROME

Basse Danze	Paris 972	Rome
Annota	X	
Corona	X	X
Daphnes		X
Mignotta	X	
Mignotta nova	X	X
Zogliosa	X	
Balli		
Anello	X	
Bel fiore	X	
Bel riguardo	X	
Bel riguardo novo	X	X
La Figlia Guilielmo for 2	X	X
La Figlia Guilielmo for 4	X	X
Gelosia	X	
Giove	X	X
Ingrata	X	
Leoncello	X	
Leoncello novo	X	X
Marchesana	X	
Mercantia	X	X
Pizochara	X	
Prisonera	X	
Sobria	X	X
Tesara	X	
Verzeppe	X	X

Two manuscripts in Paris have the same title--"de pratica seu arte tripudii vulgare opusculum"--but the author on the title page of the one (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds it. 973) is Guilielmi Hebraei pisauriensis, while the other (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds. it. 476) is ascribed to Johannis Ambrosii pisauriensis.⁵ The two are almost identical, word-for-word, except that Paris 476 has extra items at the end of each part of the treatise: four paragraphs of theory, one bassa danza, and four balli. The sections of these manuscripts that deal with dance theory are no longer in the slapdash styles of Paris 972 and Rome, with their repetitions and digressions; instead, the material has been expanded and tightly organized into paragraphs with sub-headings. A final review section is in the form of a dialogue between dance student and dance teacher; this format was to remain a feature of many dance-manuals through the sixteenth century. The bassa danza section (which, in all the manuscripts except Paris 972 and Rome, is placed before the ballo section) is enlarged to number fourteen dances in Paris 973 and fifteen in Paris 476. Music for the balli is not incorporated into the body of the text as it is in Paris 972 and Rome, but is instead appended to the end of the dance instructions. Both Paris 973 and Paris 476 contain ballo music for which there are no step instructions, and instructions for which there is no music.

⁵Privately-made microfilms of both manuscripts are stored in the Music Department of the University of California at Berkeley.

Very closely related to Paris 973 in their language, structure, and content, are two manuscripts in Florence that contain dance instructions but no music: Florence, Magliabechiana Class. XIX. 9. 88, and Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Antinori 13. cart. XVI.⁶ Like Paris 973, they are ascribed to Guglielmi hebraei pisauriensis. The Magliabechiana codex has the same dances as Paris 973, plus three new basse danze; Antinori has the same dances as Magliabechiana, including Magliabechiana's three added basse danze, but Antinori also has one extra bassa danza and four extra balli. Antinori is probably a copy of Magliabechiana; not only are their contents and structure the same,⁷ but

⁶Magliabechiana, entitled "Guglielmi hebraei pisauriensis de praticcha seu arte tripudii vulghare opusculum, is published in Francesco Zambrini, 's "Trattato dell' arte del ballo de Guglielmo Ebreo pesarese," Scelta di curiosita: letterarie inedite o rare del seculo XII al XVII 131 (1873):1-112. A fragment that is almost certainly of this treatise, occupies four folios of a manuscript in Florence: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, fonds Palatino 1021, fols. 155r-156v. Paul Kristeller, on p. 124 of vol. 1 of Iter Italicum (London: the Warburg Institute, 1963) ascribes the fragment to "Gugl. Ebreo." In her Catalogo dei manoscritti musicali della Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1959), Bianchi Becherini ascribes it to Guglielmo da Pesaro; see her description of the manuscript on pp. 108-9. Since Becherini's number for the manuscript is 959, not 1021 as it is in Kristeller, the manuscript must have been renumbered sometime between 1959 and 1963. The Antinori treatise is described in an article by Beatrice Pescerelli, "Una sconosciuta redazione del trattato di danza di Guglielmo Ebreo," Rivista Italiana di Musicologia 9 (1974):48-55. In her article, Pescerelli includes in full only those dances not found in any other manuscript.

⁷Pescerelli implies but does not state

there are blank pages in Antinori that separate the dances (presumably) copied from Magliabechiana from the dances new to Antinori. The author probably intended to add many more basse danze and balli--he left many blank pages--but he added only five, and he placed these added dances at the end, not the beginning, of the blank pages.

The largest collection of Italian dances, and the most lavish, is in the Siena Communal Library, L. V. 29; it has thirty basse danze and thirty-four balli but no music.⁸ Although he has patterned his theoretical section closely on that of Paris 973 (or on Magliabechiana or Antinori, which are almost exactly like Paris 973), the author of Siena nonetheless borrows his final comments about steps and measures verbatim from Paris 972.⁹ The treatise in Modena, Biblioteca Palatino VII. A. 82, is clearly based on or copied from the Siena manuscript, and like Siena it has no music. With only minor differences in lan-

that the Antinori manuscript has its material in the same order as Magliabechiana (the contents of the two treatises are the same). See p. 49 of her "Trattato di danza."

⁸Its title, "Trattato della danza composta da maestro Guglielmo, ed in parte cavato dell' opera di maestro Domenico, cavaliere Piacentino," was added to the title-page in the nineteenth century. See p. 187 of Curzio Mazzi's article on the Siena treatise, "Una sconosciuta compilazione di un libro quattrocentistico di ballo," La Bibliofilia 16 (1914-15):185-209. In this article, Mazzi collates the Siena treatise with Modena and Magliabechiana, and publishes in full only those parts of the Siena manuscript that are not in the other two treatises.

⁹The main difference between the theory in Siena and the theory in Paris 973 and Magliabech-

guage, the theory in both is the same, and every dance in Modena is also in Siena. Although there are far fewer dances in Modena, the order of the dances is the same as it is in Siena; Modena's dances appear, therefore, to have been extracted from Siena. For the basse danze:

Modena no. 1	=	Siena no. 14
Modena no. 2	=	Siena no. 17
Modena no. 3	=	Siena no. 25
Modena no. 4	=	Siena no. 26
Modena no. 5	=	Siena no. 28

And, for the balli:

Modena no. 1	=	Siena no. 3
Modena no. 2	=	Siena no. 4
Modena no. 3	=	Siena no. 7
Modena no. 4	=	Siena no. 11
Modena no. 5	=	Siena no. 15
Modena no. 6	=	Siena no. 20
Modena no. 7	=	Siena no. 24
Modena no. 8	=	Siena no. 25
Modena no. 9	=	Siena no. 26
Modena no. 10	=	Siena no. 27

The Modena manuscript has been published in its entirety.¹⁰

A final manuscript, unpublished, is currently on loan to the New York Public Library. Owned by Dr. Walter Toscanini, the manuscript has only instructions for balli and basse danze and no music.¹¹ Since it is ascribed to Guglielmo

iana is that Siena does not have the student-teacher dialogue at the end; the student is simply left out altogether, leaving Guglielmo with a series of statements ("Responsio").

¹⁰In Giovanni Messori Roncaglia's Della virtute et arte del danzare et di alcune opportune et necessarie particelle a quella pertinenti: trascrizione di un manoscritto inedito del XV secolo esistente nella Biblioteca Palatina di Modena (Modena: n.p., 1885).

¹¹This treatise was not used for this study;

Ebreo, it is probably a copy of or based on either Paris 973 or Magliabechiana.

The total number of dances for which there are dance instructions or music (or both) in Italian sources is eighty-four; forty-five are balli, of which twenty-three have music, and thirty-nine are basse danze. Of the three bassa danza tunes in the Rome manuscript, only one has dance steps: the Siena codex has the steps for Cornazano's "La Spagna." A list of all the dance instructions for basse danze is in appendix B; the location of the instructions for the balli and the location of the ballo tunes are given in appendices C and D, respectively.

It is difficult to date the dance-manuals, or even to put them into chronological order, for two reasons: first, the biographical information about the authors of these manuscripts, which could, in part, be the basis for dating the treatises, is scarce, and even the available facts are open to more than one interpretation; and, second, some of the manuscripts--perhaps all--are either copies of earlier manuscripts, now lost, or compilations from more than one source. Any dating of the manuscripts must be based there-

it is mentioned on p. 28 of Otto Kinkeldey's "Dance Tunes of the Fifteenth Century," in Instrumental Music, ed. David Hughes (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959); and in Daniel Heartz's "A 15th-Century Ballo: 'Roti Bouilli Joyeux'," in Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music, ed. Jan La Rue (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1966), p. 368.

fore on internal rather than external evidence; besides, of the four dates in the treatises, one (in Rome) is clearly incorrect, another is probably incorrect (Paris 972), and one is difficult to read because one of its numbers has been "corrected" at least once (Antinori).¹² This leaves only one date, 1463 in Paris 973, that can be accepted as accurate both for the manuscript itself and for its contents.

Six treatises name their authors: Paris 972 (Domenico), Rome (Cornazano), Paris 973, Magliabechiana, and Antinori (Guglielmo Hebreo), and Paris 476 (Johannis Ambrosii); these men are also the authors of the individual dances.¹³ Although some details about these men survive in court records and letters, there are many gaps in the chronology of their lives. Domenico was most likely the oldest of the Italian dance masters, since Cornazano, Ebreo, and Ambrosio refer to him as their teacher.¹⁴ He was born in Piacenza--the date is unknown--and must have died around 1470, because his name is no longer mentioned in court records after that date; he is thus presumed to

¹²Although the third digit of Antinori's date of 1510 cannot be taken as absolutely certain, other physical features of the treatise suggest that 1510 is probably the correct date; see Pescerelli, "Trattato di danza" p. 49. The contents of the manuscript, however, date from an earlier period.

¹³Only two dances are attributed to men who are not also authors of dance-manuals: Siena lists the author of "Corona gentile" as "Phylippo," and Magliabechiana ascribes two basse danze to "Lorenzo di Piero di Cosimo de' Medici" (Lorenzo the Magnificent, 1449-1492).

¹⁴Other spellings of his name are Domenigo, Domenegino, Domenici, Domenichino, and Domenicho.

have been born around the end of the fourteenth century, early in the fifteenth century, or even as late as 1420. Sometime between 1441 and 1450 he was appointed by the Marquis Leonello d' Este to be the dance instructor at the Court of Ferrara, after which he was known as Domenico da Ferrara.¹⁵ By 1456 he was in the employ of the Este Court in Milan. Before that, in 1455, Domenico had been responsible for choreographing the dances for the wedding of Beatrice d' Este to Tristano Sforza in Milan; a letter written by a guest at the wedding survives, and in it the guest praises Domenico's "ingeniously and subtly contrived"¹⁶ dances. At the time of the wedding Domenico may not yet have been in the official employ of the Milanese court; like the other dance instructors, he must have done occasional freelance work for one or another of the Italian courts. Domenico remained at Milan at least until 1463, but probably until 1470. During the

¹⁵Because Domenico has two names (da Piacenza and da Ferrara) Dante Bianchi believes that there were two Domenicos, both of them writers of dances and dance teachers; see "Tre mastri di danza alla corta di Francesco Sforza," quoted in Robert Mullally, "The Polyphonic Theory of the 'Bassa Danza' and the 'Ballo'," Music Review 4 (1980):2. Some support for this idea comes from the manuscript in Siena, which uses both forms of the name ("Domenico cavaliere Piasentino" and "Domini Domenici Ferrarensis"). If Siena is compiled from two or more sources, however, and each had a different form of the name, then it is likely that the Siena scribe simply copied the two names as he found them in his sources.

¹⁶Emilio Motta, Nozze principesche, quoted in Artur Michel, "The Earliest Dance-Manuals," Medievalia et Humanistica 3 (1945):120.

time of his appointment there, he made at least one trip: in 1462, accompanied by Guglielmo Ebreo, he went to Forlì, probably to choreograph the dances for the wedding of Eleanora of Aragon, Duchess of Calabria, to Maria Sforza. Because he is always referred to as "Misser," "Cavaliere," or "Domini" by his students, Domenico may have been of higher social rank, but these titles are more likely an indication of the esteem in which he was held.

The internal evidence of Paris 972 suggests that the treatise was written around 1450, or at least sometime after Domenico went to Ferrara: the first ballo is called "Bel riguardo," and this was the name of Leonello d' Este's country home; "Leoncello," the title of the second ballo, is probably a playful reference to the Marquis. It is possible that Domenico wrote his treatise after he arrived in Milan (around 1456), since the owner's name on the fly-leaf inscription is "Duke of Milan, Count of Pavia and Angera . . .,"¹⁷ but since there are no references to Milan in the manuscript itself, it is more likely that it was written either in Ferrara between 1441 and 1450, or before 1456 (or whenever he took up his appointment in Milan). Unfortunately, the internal evidence is contradicted by the date on the manuscript itself: mmccccxvi, or 1416. There are two possible explanations for this date: Mullally suggests it was simply a "slip of the pen" for mmccccxlii (1442),¹⁸ but it may be the date of an earlier manuscript of

¹⁷Heartz, "A 15th-Century Ballo," p. 366.

¹⁸Mullally, "The Polyphonic Theory," p. 2.

which Paris 972 is the only surviving copy. If this manuscript is a copy of a 1416 original, it would put the date of Domenico's birth at no later than 1395, and probably much earlier.

Paris 972 is carelessly written in at least two, and probably more, hands;¹⁹ this suggests that the manuscript was a copy, and, indeed, a hastily-put-together copy, of an earlier dance-manual. After he arrived in Ferrara, Domenico may have wanted to include local references in his "old" treatise, and thus had the manuscript recopied so that the two balli with references to Ferrara came first in the treatise.²⁰ But there is another possibility, based on the fact that the manuscript appears to have been dictated, and dictated to a scribe whose spelling and hearing, or whose comprehension at least, were not of the best. There are many examples of bad spelling in the manuscript, and some of these appear to be the results of poor aural comprehension. For example, the adverb "dietro" (back, behind), the nouns "dritto" and "diritta" (right side), and the adjective "diritto" (straight) sound very alike, and often are used in the same context (such as "make a double step to the back," or, "make a riverenza to the right side"). The scribe often garbles the spelling

¹⁹There are changes of handwriting on fols. 24r, 27v, and 28r.

²⁰Mabel Dolmetsch argues, in Dances of Spain and Italy from 1400 to 1600 (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1954), p. 8, that the manuscript was intended as a gift to Leonello, perhaps for his ascension, but the poor physical appearance of the manuscript suggests that this is not the case.

("diricto," "drito," "directo," "didrieto," "diriето," "driedo"), probably because he did not know which was the intended word. If, as the nature of the misspellings suggests, the manuscript was dictated, then it is the original manuscript and not an altered copy of a 1416 original, since there would be no need for a scribe to have had dictated to him a manuscript that was already written down. Mullally's explanation of the 1416 date thus becomes the most plausible explanation.

The date on Cornazano's treatise--1455--is clearly not correct. Cornazano was born in Piacenza around 1430, and it was here that he must have studied dancing with Domenico. His dance-manual was written between 1454 and late 1465 or early 1466, during the time he worked as chamberlain, secretary, and finally as dancing instructor for Francesco Sforza in Naples. The manuscript is addressed "to the illustrious Madonna Ippolita, Duchess of Calabria,"²¹ and was written in honor of her engagement in 1455. The poem that precedes the dedication, however, refers to her marriage, which took place in June of 1465:

I' dico di quell' una che al presente
 ha traversata Italia a tōr marito,
 et ha el bisson d' un re facto parente.²²

The Rome treatise must, therefore, be the surviving and somewhat altered copy of the earlier treatise of 1455 which is now lost.

Knowledge about the lives of Gugliélmo

²¹Mazzi, "Antonio Cornazano," p. 8.

²²Ibid., p. 7.

Ebreo²³ and Johannis Ambrosio²⁴ are complicated by the possibility that the two names may refer to the same man. Ever since the Italian dance-manuals were first studied, writers have been divided about whether or not Guglielmo Ebreo was converted at some point and then Latinized his name to Johannis Ambrosio. This hypothesis would explain why Paris 476, though almost an exact copy of Paris 973, is ascribed to a different author. Giovanni Roncaglia, the editor of the Modena manuscript, advances another possibility: that there were in fact as many as three dance teachers at Italian courts named Guglielmo, and that the author of the Modena treatise was the same "Guglielmo di Fiandra, a singer, who in April of 1475 came . . . to Boletta by ducal agreement."²⁵ Some writers reject the hypothesis that Guglielmo Ebreo is Johannis Ambrosio out-of-hand;²⁶ others suggest that in fact Ambrosio was

²³Also known as Guglielmo Ebreo da Pesaro or Pisauriensis; both of his names have many spellings in the treatises: Guiglielmo, Guilielmo, Guilio, Gulielmo, Guglielmus, Gugliermi, Hebreo, and Hebraeus.

²⁴Also called Johannis Ambrosius Pisauriensis, Giovanni Ambrosio, Giovanni Ambrogio da Pesaro, Giohanne Ambrosio, and Giuseppe.

²⁵"Guglielmo di Fiandra cantore che nell' aprile del 1475, veniva . . . per chirografo ducale a Boletta." Roncaglia, Della virtute et arte del danzare, p. ii.

²⁶Emilio Motta, "Musici alla corta degli Sforza," Archivio storico lombardo, ser. 2, vol. 4, quoted in Ada Melica, "Guglielmo Ebreo da Pesaro: maestro di ballo del Quattrocento," La Rassegna Musicale 29 (1959):52-53.

a successor to Ebreo and wished to step "most thoroughly into his successor's shoes"²⁷ by laying claim to his treatise as well as to his job, but the best argument against the hypothesis is that the manuscript in New York has both names.²⁸ This argument is not a strong one, however, because there are other explanations for the presence of the two names: the writer of the New York manuscript may not have known that the two names referred to the same man; and if the New York treatise was, like the Siena treatise, compiled from two or more sources, it is possible that the scribe merely copied the names as he found them.

The only evidence that exists that mentions Ebreo's conversion is a letter of 1481 by Guido di Bagno in which he refers to Isabella d'Este's dancing partner as "one Ambroso, who had been a Jew."²⁹ Ada Melica claims there are veiled references to this conversion in Paris 476³⁰ and that Ambrosio's choice for his son's name, listed as "Pierpaolo" in the Cronica Musicale of Pesaro,³¹ was intended to emphasize his conversion. She

²⁷Dolmetsch, Dances of Spain and Italy, p. 17.

²⁸Heartz, "A Fifteenth-Century Ballo," p. 368.

²⁹". . . quello Ambroso quale fu zudeo." A. Luzio's I precettori d' Isabella d' Este, quoted in Enciclopedia dello spettacolo 6th ed., s.v. "Guglielmo Ebreo," by Gino Tani.

³⁰Melica, "Guglielmo Ebreo da Pesaro," p. 53.

³¹A. Saviotti, La musica alla corte dei Duchi di Urbino, quoted in Melica, "Guglielmo Ebreo da Pesaro," p. 53.

also believes that Ambrosio was underlining his conversion when, sometime before 1470, he headed a letter to the Duchess Sforza with the name "Yhesus."³²

Since by 1465 Ambrosio would have been near the end of his career, it is odd that his name is nowhere mentioned before that date, especially because he must have had several prominent posts before his appointment, in 1465, to be the dance instructor for Ippolita Sforza in Naples.

The weight of the evidence points to the fact that the two names refer to the same man. There are no facts about their separate lives that contradict this hypothesis, and the available facts about each man can be combined to form a single chronology. Ebreo was born at Pesaro, probably in the first quarter of the fifteenth century, was maestro di ballare in Urbino after 1468, and was still alive in 1475, when a proclamation shows him to have been present at the wedding of Costanzo Sforza to Camilla d' Aragona. He travelled extensively, probably in his capacity as choreographer, to receptions, weddings, and festivals, visiting Mantua, Bologna, Venice, Florence, Naples, and Pesaro.³³ Ambrosio was also born in Pesaro, and was the dance instructor for Ippolita Sforza in Naples from 1465 to 1468, and then for Isabella d' Este at the court

³²Melica, "Guglielmo Ebreo da Pesaro," p. 52.

³³Some of these functions are described in Paris 973, fols. 20v-21r, and by Gino Tani in his entry in the Enciclopedia dello spettacolo, s.v. "Guglielmo Ebreo."

of Ferrara from about 1480. His name disappears from archival records after 1481.

Even assuming that Ebreo and Ambrosio are the same man does not help much in the dating of the manuscripts ascribed to them (Paris 973, Paris 476, Magliabechiana, and Antinori), nor of those in which they are mentioned as the authors of particular dances (Siena and Modena). If Ebreo was converted, then the conversion took place after 1463 (Paris 973, dated 1463, is attributed to Ebreo) and before 1465 (when he was in Ferrara and known as Ambrosio). Thus Magliabechiana and Antinori (both attributed to Ebreo), date from before 1465; Siena and Modena probably come from this pre-1465 period, too, since they always refer to "Guglielmo" rather than to "Johannis" (but never use either "Ebreo" or "Ambrosio"). Only Paris 476 dates from after the conversion.

The internal evidence of the Guglielmo manuscripts (all but Paris 972 and Rome) points to certain relationships between the treatises, and when these relationships are tallied with the facts (the date of Paris 973 and the manuscript attributions), they lead to a relative chronology of the sources. Some of the relationships between the manuscripts have already been pointed out: that Paris 476 is an almost verbatim copy of Paris 973, but has some extra dances; that Antinori is related to Magliabechiana because it has Magliabechiana's added dances; and that Modena is probably a copy of Siena, since both have the same theory, and all of Modena's dances seem to be taken from Siena. When the contents of each main section of the Guglielmo treatises (that is,

the theory, the basse danze, and the balli) are listed and compared, the relationships that have already been pointed out become even more evident. The treatises' contents are given in the tables that follow: table 2 contains the theory, listed by the sub-headings in the treatises themselves (or, where there are no sub-headings, by subject-matter); tables 3 and 4 list the basse danze and balli instructions of each treatise in the order in which they appear.

TABLE 2
 SUBJECT-MATTER OF THE THEORY OF THE
 GUGLIELMO TREATISES, LISTED BY
 SUB-HEADING OR SUBJECT-MATTER*

	Paris 973	Paris 476	Maglia- bechiana	Siena	Modena		
Tavola		X				Introduction	
Sonnet, "Hermonia suave"	X	X	X	X	X		
Prohemium	X	X	X	X	X		
Capitolo primo et generale	X	X	(X)	X	X	Book 1: A. Qualities necessary for good dancing	
Capitolo di misura	X	X	X	X	X		
Capitolo di memo- ria	X	X	X	X	X		
Capitolo di par- tire il terreno	X	X	X	X	X		
Capitolo di l' aiere	X	X	X	X	X		
Capitolo de maniera	X	X	X	X	X		
Capitolo de movi- mento corporeo	X	X	X	X	X		
Experimentum	X	X	(X)	X	X		B. How to test your dancing
Aliud experimentum	X	X	(X)	X	X		
Aliud experimentum	X	X	(X)	X	X		
Aliud experimentum	X	X	(X)	X	X		
Aliud experimentum	X	X	(X)	X	X		
						[There are 4 measures]	
Capitolo regolare	X	X	(X)	X	X	C. How to compose dances	
Capitolo regolare	X	X	(X)	X	X		
Capitolo regolare	X	X	(X)	X	X		
Capitolo regolare	X	X	(X)	(X)	(X)		
						[There are 4 voices]	

TABLE 2-Continued

	Paris 973	Paris 476	Maglia- becchiana	Siena	Modena	
Capitolo regolare mulierum	X	X	⊗	X	X	[Conduct for women]
Capitolo de dancier logo		X				D. Dance and Music
Capitolo de dancier corto		X				
Capitolo de dancier con mantillena		X				
L'esperimento de cognosa un bono danzatore		X				
Argumentum disci- pulorum	X	X		⊗	⊗	
Responsio Gugliel- mo	X	X		X	X	[Dance func- tions described]
Responsio Gugliel- mo	X	X		X	X	
Responsio Gugliel- mo	X	X		X	X	
Responsio Gugliel- mo	X	X		X	X	
Responsio Gugliel- mo	X	X		X	X	
Conclusio Gugliel- mo	X					
Documentum Gugliel- mo	X					
Miniature	X					
Miniature men- tioned		X	X	X	X	
Sonnet, "El bel danzare"	X	X	X	X	X	

TABLE 2-Continued

	Paris 973	Paris 476	Maglia- bechiana	Siena	Modena	
☉ Che cosa è ballare				X	X	F. Steps and Measures (listed, and their tempi) [There are 5 ways to dance]
Ca-po				X	X	
Sex-to				X	X	
Ter-zo				X	X	
Salto terzo cielo				X	X	
Rubric, basse danze & balli	X	X		X		
Tables, basse danze & balli	X	X		X		

NOTE: All the Italian sub-headings are taken from the treatises themselves.

The circled items in Magliabechiana have different sub-headings but the same contents as the other treatises; the same is true of the doubly-circled items in Siena and Modena, which share the same sub-headings.

*Antinori is not included in the table because Pescerelli, in her article on the treatise, does not describe the theory in detail.

TABLE 3

BASSE DANZE FOR WHICH THERE ARE INSTRUCTIONS
IN THE GUGLIELMO TREATISES, LISTED IN
THE ORDER IN WHICH THEY APPEAR

	Paris 973	Paris 476	Maglia- becniana	Antinori	Siena	Modena
Reale	1	1	1	1	2	
Alexan- dresca	2	2	2	2	13	
Genevra	3	3	3	3	4	
Mignotta	4	4	4	4	14	1
Pietosa	5	5	5	5	21	
Cupido	6	6	6	6	20	
Pelligrina	7	7	7	7	15	
Febus	8	8	8	8	19	
Daphnes	9	9	9	9	30	
Gioliva	10	10	10	10	23	
Patientia	11	11	11	11	27	
Flandescha	12	12	12	12	16	
Principessa	13	13	13	13	17	2
Caterva	14	14	17	17	18	
Borges		15				
Partita crudele			14	14	29	
Venus			15	15		
Zauro			16	16		
Di Castiglia				18		
Corta					1	
La Spagna					3	

TABLE 3-Continued

	Paris 973	Paris 476	Maglia- bechiana	Antinori	Siena	Modena
Nobite					5	
Moderna					6	
Ays					7	
Gioia					8	
Mignotta nova					9	
Fodra					10	
Morosa					11	
Corona					12	
Meschina					22	
Consolata					24	
Diamente					25	3
Duchessa					26	4
Dannes					28	5

TABLE 4

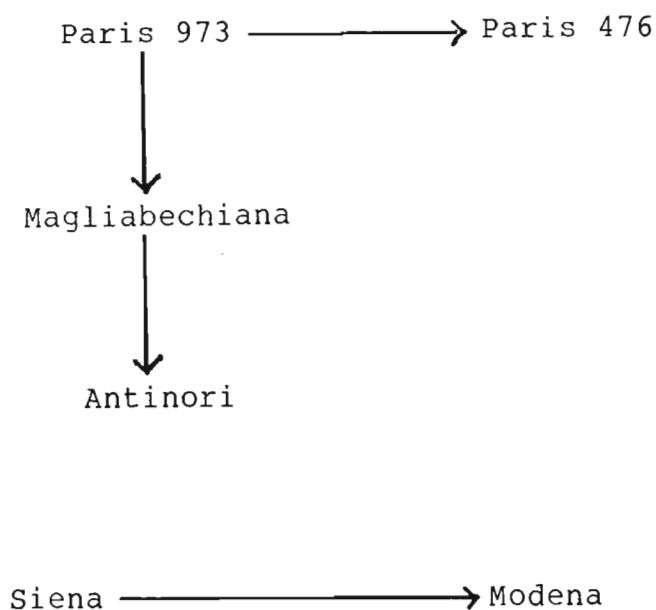
BALLI FOR WHICH THERE ARE INSTRUCTIONS
IN THE GUGLIELMO TREATISES, LISTED IN
THE ORDER IN WHICH THEY APPEAR

	Paris 973	Paris 476	Maglia- bechiana	Antinori	Siena	Modena
Gioioso	1	1	1	1	2	
Duchesco	2	2	2	2	27	
Leggiadra	3	3	3	3	28	
Colonnese	4	4	4	4	29	
Petit rose	5	5	5	5	30	
Giove	6	6	6	6	11	4
Prisonera	7	7	7	7	10	
Marchesana	8	8	8	8	5	
Bel fiore	9	9	9	9	33	
Ingrata	10	10	10	10	12	
Anello	11	11	11	11	15	5
Gelosia	12	12	12	12	7 & 1	3
Bel riguar- do	13	13	13	13	4	2
Leoncello	14	14	16	16	3	1
Mercantia	15	15	17	17	32	
Gratioso	16	16	14	14	9	
Spero	17	17	15	15		
Voltate in ga rosina		18				
Fiore de vertu		19				
Amoroso		20			13	

TABLE 4-Continued

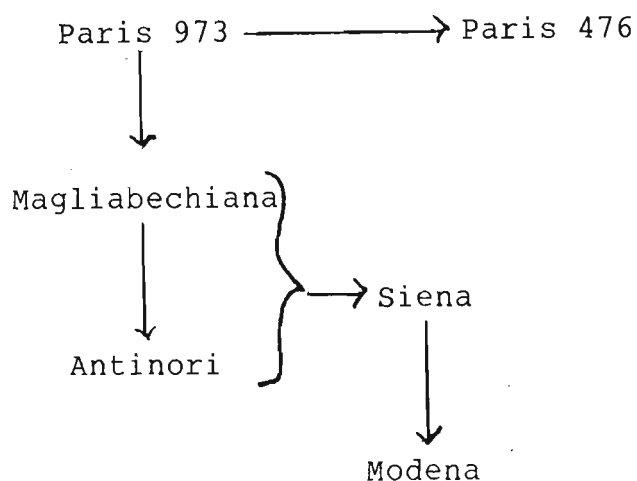
	Paris 973	Paris 476	Maglia- bechiana	Antinori	Siena	Modena
Petit riese		21				
Moza di Biscaie				18		
Lipitier				19		
Se non dor- mi Donna Ascolta				20		
Mastri di Toboni				21		
Angelosa					6	
Chirintana					8	
Pizochara					14	
Raia					16	
Malgratiosa					17	
Francho cuore gentile					18	
Ferretra					19	
Fioretto					20	6
Angiola					21	
Danza di Re					22	
Humana					23	
Il Gioioso					24	7
Leoncello novo					25	8
Bel riguar- do novo					26	9
La Figlia Guilielmo					31	10
Principessa					34	

Using these tables as references, the similarities and differences between the treatises can be described in more detail than they were earlier in the chapter. Paris 476 is like Paris 973, but has, in addition, section D of the theory, one bassa danza, and four balli; the dance events described in section E of Paris 973 are left out of Paris 476. Magliabechiana is closely related to Paris 973, although there are some differences between the two treatises: in Magliabechiana, the whole of section E of the theory is omitted, the theory sub-headings are changed, particularly in sections B and D--the contents are the same--, there are three more basse danze, and the order of the last four balli is altered. Since none of the Paris 476 additions are in Magliabechiana, there is no apparent relationship between Magliabechiana and Paris 476. Antinori is probably a copy of Magliabechiana, since the two treatises have the same theory and Antinori includes Magliabechiana's three added basse danze. Not only does Modena take its dances from Siena, but its theory too is like Siena's; they are the only treatises with section F, and both make the same changes to the sub-headings in sections C and E. If these six Guglielmo treatises are diagrammed in a way that shows their relationships, the following arrangement results:

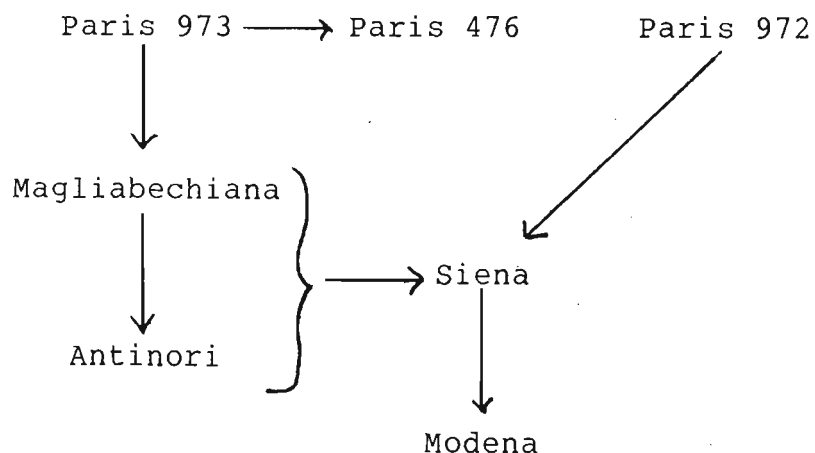


The theory and dances of Siena are related to the theory and dances of the other Guglielmo manuscripts, but whether they are more closely related to one treatise than another is difficult to determine. A possible link to Paris 476 is the ballo "Amoroso," which appears only in these two sources, although with different steps. There may also be a connection with Magliabechiana, since the bassa danza "Partita crudele" is found only in Siena, Magliabechiana, and Antinori; in this case, all three treatises have nearly the same dance steps. Whether the presence of a single dance in two or more treatises constitutes a strong link between the treatises is hard to say, but it probably does not, since there must have been a large number of well-known and much-performed dances on which the writer of a dance-manual could draw. There is, however, another piece of evidence that indicates that the writer of the Siena codex made use of the Magliabechiana treatise: both ascribe the bassa danza "Caterva" to Guglielmo "in Bologna." This is an unusual remark,

found only in these two treatises, and, when coupled with the fact that Siena and Magliabechiana have the same steps for "Partita crudele," suggests that Magliabechiana, or its copy Antinori, was the Guglielmo treatise used by the writer of Siena:



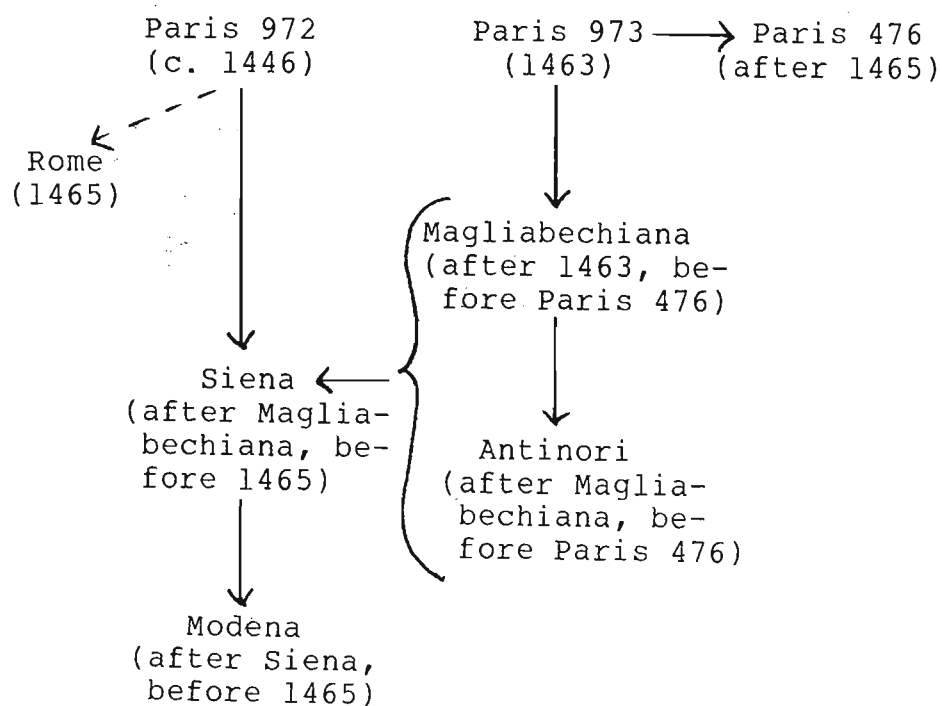
There are not only relationships among the Guglielmo treatises, but between two of the Guglielmo treatises and Paris 972 as well. Siena and Modena, although heavily dependent on Magliabechiana (or Antinori) for their theory and their dances, have some theory taken verbatim from Paris 972 (section F):



If this arrangement of the treatises is combined with the date of Paris 973, the likely date of Paris 972, and the hypothesis that Ebreo and Ambrosio are the same man, then a chronology of the sources can be arrived at. First, however, we need to make the arrangement complete with the addition of the Rome treatise and its date. Rome is not a copy of Paris 972, but its ideas, structure, and dances are based on those of Paris 972:

Paris 972 - - - - → Rome

When all this information is added to the diagram, the following chronology results:



This chronology is, of course, only tentative, because it is based on only a few surface features of the dance-manuals. To a certain extent, the chronology of and the relationships

amongst the treatises will always be tentative, since the extant treatises probably represent the smaller part of the total number of dance-manuals that were produced in Italy during the second half of the fifteenth century; if, however, more dance treatises from this period were found, they could in all likelihood be slotted into the above diagrams without upsetting the basic arrangement. Even though at this point the chronology and relationships amongst the treatises are tentative, further substantiation of the relationships postulated here can-- and will--be found as all the parts of the treatises (dance theory, dance instructions, and dance music) are studied in detail in the following chapters.

CHAPTER II

PRELIMINARIES: TRANSLATION AND TRANSCRIPTION

If the process of joining ballo steps to ballo music involved only two or three treatises, each with its own version of the dance steps or dance music, it would be a relatively simple process, even if there were a great many differences between the versions. However, since the step instructions can appear in up to eight treatises, and the music in as many as four, the complexities of fitting the steps to the music increase exponentially with each variant in the sources. There are many more differences between the treatises' dance instructions and their dance music than there are between their dance theories; although the theory of each dance-manual is based on one of two models, Paris 972 or Paris 973 (or, in the case of Siena and Modena, on both), within each strand of theory there is little change from one treatise to another.

The number of variants in the dance instructions suggests that the dance steps of both basse danze and balli were not intended to be permanent, but were meant to be altered to suit a particular court, occasion, or choreographer. It is reasonable to assume that the more the dance steps of an individual dance were altered, the more the music corresponding to that dance would have been changed, too. It is unfortunate, therefore, that the treatises that contain the ballo music (Paris 972, Rome, Paris 973, and Paris 476) are the same treatises that have a high

degree of similarity between their step instructions and that those treatises in which the step instructions are the most varied (Antinori, Siena, and Modena) have no music.

Before the steps and the music of each ballo can be combined, all the dance instructions have to be translated and all the music transcribed. Each treatise, because of its characteristic language, spelling, and punctuation, presents difficulties for anyone wishing to translate and understand the dance instructions. Some of the distinctive spellings of Paris 972, found in both the theory and the dance instructions, have already been mentioned (on page 21). The writer of the Siena manuscript uses verbs idiosyncratically, just as Domenico does; he often uses only the singular form of verbs throughout a dance, which makes it impossible to decide whether an instruction is for a single dancer or for several dancers. There are other problems with the dance-manuals that relate particularly to the dance texts, but these problems do not have to do as much with translation as they do with comprehension. It is not always clear, for instance, whether a series of steps assigned to a dancer are meant to be performed at the same time as the steps of another dancer, or after them. Nor is it always evident which steps must be repeated when the instructions say to "do this part, given above, again."

The easiest way to compare and discuss the ballo instructions is to diagram them so that the differences and similarities between the dance-manuals are immediately apparent. Since my ultimate concern is to fit the dance steps to

their music, only those twenty-six balli for which there is music in the treatises need be diagrammed, and the diagrams only have to include the steps of each ballo and any other information that might be important for the combination of steps and music. Thus the writers' comments about the direction of a step ("do a ripresa to the left"), the disposition of the dancers ("the man must perform a double to the lady behind him, and another to the lady in front"), and the formation of floor patterns ("do eight piva steps in the manner of a snake, the men weaving amongst the women"), can be omitted. These details, which affect some aspects of the dance, do not affect the relationship of the dance steps to their music.

Before one can diagram the balli, abbreviations for the names of the dances and the dance steps must be found; this is not a simple proposition, however, because abbreviations depend on spelling, and in these treatises the spelling of any single step or dance can have as many as ten different forms. The following table, table 5, lists the spellings chosen for each dance and dance step, and the abbreviations assigned to all the dances and to the steps used most often in the dance instructions.¹ The steps in section C of the table are seldom mentioned in the treatises and therefore will not be abbreviated, but spelled out in full in the diagrams.

¹These spellings will be used throughout the thesis.

TABLE 5

DANCES AND DANCE STEPS, LISTED; ABBREVIATIONS
FOR ALL THE DANCES AND SOME OF THE
DANCE STEPS

singular	plural*	abbreviation
A. Dances		
bassa danza	basse danze	Bd
quadernaria	—————	Qu
saltarello	saltarelli	Sa
saltarello tedesco	—————	Sa ted
piva	—————	Pi
B. Dance steps with abbreviations		
simple	simples	s
double	doubles	d
ripresa	riprese	r
riverenza	riverenze	R
movimento	movimenti	m
volta tonda	—————	vt
mezza volta	mezze volte	mv
contrapasso	contrapassi	cp
continenza	continenze	c
scosso/scossetto	scossi/scossetti	sc
squassetto	squassetti	sq
frapamento	frapamenti	frap
passetto/ passette	passetti	pass

TABLE 5-Continued

singular	plural	abbreviation
C. Dance steps without abbreviations		
cambiamento	_____	
scambiamento	_____	
_____	scambi	
galoppo	galoppi	
inchino	_____	
pizigamento	_____	
posa/possa	_____	
posada/posata	posade	
salto	salti	
salteto	_____	
scapamento	_____	
scorsa	_____	
trascorsa	_____	
stracorsa	_____	
trapassino	trapassini	
voltete	_____	

* Not every name in the table has a plural form; this is because either I or the authors of the treatises (or both) did not make use of it.

Diagrams of all the balli that have music follow on pages 47 to 75. Each dance in the diagrams is divided into sections; in the case of those balli in Paris 972, the lines separating the sections correspond to the paragraph divisions in the manuscript. For those dances not in Paris 972, lines also have been used to separate the dances into units; here the lines represent any one or more of the following: a change of step type, a change of dance formation (such as the change from couples to a line of dancers), or a command to repeat a series of steps (such a command implies a dance unit). In addition to the abbreviations for the steps and dances listed in table 5, the following abbreviations and symbols are used in the diagrams:

w/	for	"with"
=	for	"equal to"
sim.	for	"simultaneously"
meas.	for	"measure"
X2, X3 . . .	for	"perform twice, perform three times . . ."

Whenever two or more sources have the same steps, or nearly the same steps for a dance, they are diagrammed together. Some of the dances in Siena are listed in brackets because Mazzi does not give their texts in full in his edition of the treatise; these dances are grouped with either Magliabechiana, Modena, or both, depending on how Mazzi groups them.² For those instructions about which the original text is unclear, an alternate

²See page 77 for a discussion of the problems created by Mazzi's groupings.

interpretation of the instruction is given in a
footnote to the dance.

Amoroso

Paris 476	Siena
8 Pi	12 Sa
s s d s s s } X2	s s d d } X2
4 Pi } X2	cc
s s d s s d R to the ground 4 Pi	vt

Anello

Paris 972	Paris 973, Paris 476, Magliabechiana, [Sienā]	Modena, [Sienā]
8 Sa in Pi meas.	8 Sa in Pi meas.	8 Sa
m m 2 Sa mv	m m 2 Sa mv	sq sq d R d mv w/ Sa } x2
m m 2 Sa mv	m m 2 Sa mv	
m m vt (=d) m m vt (=d)	m m vt (=d) vt	sq vt vt
4 Pi 4 Pi	4 Pi 4 Pi	4 Pi 4 Pi
m m m m r	m m m m 3	sq vt (= d d w/ R)

³For this section, Magliabechiana has m m / repeat dance.

Bel fiore

Paris 972	Paris 973, Paris 476, Magliabechiana, [Siena]
12 Pi in Qu meas.	12 Pi
d d d in Qu meas.	d d d
m m m	m m m
vt (= 4 short s) } X3	vt (= d) } X3
d d d d d d d d d	d d s } X2 ----- d d d d
d d 4	d d d d 5
4 Pi	3 Pi s
	repeat 6

⁴Or, for this section, d
(sim. d).

⁵Or, for this section, dd
(sim. dd).

⁶Only in Magliabechiana.

Bel rignardo

Paris 972	Paris 973, Paris 476	Magliabechiana, [Siena]	Modena, [Siena]
11 Sa ⁷	15 Sa	15 Sa	16 Sa r
4 Bd	d d d d	d d d d	d d d d
d d d s s d d d r r w/ m	d d d s s d d d ⁸ r r	cp cp cp cp s s cp cp cp cp r r	cp cp cp s s r r
2 broad Sa r r m w/ 2 broad Sa r r	2 Sa r r 2 Sa r r	2 Sa r r 2 Sa r r	2 Sa r r
5 Bd= s s d (w/ little R) r c c R (= 1 Bd tempo)	s s d r c c c c	s s d r c c	s s d r c c c c
		repeat another time	

⁷Or, 6 Sa; the writing is not clear.

⁸These 3 d are not in Paris 973.

Bel riguardo novo

Paris 972	Rome	Modena, [Siena]
11 Sa	the Sa ⁹	16 Sa w/ a r
d d (sim. d d)	d d d d (sim. d d d d)	d d d d (sim. d d d d) (sim. r r)
d d d d d mv c c d d d mv c c R (= 1 tempo)	cp cp cp c c cp cp cp c c R	cp cp cp r in volta cp cp cp mv R
2 broad Sa d d 2 broad Sa c c	2 Sa d d 2 Sa c c	2 Sa (sim. r r) r (sim. d) d (sim. r) } x2
6 Bd= d d d d c c R (= 1 tempo)	d d d d c c R	d d d d d d R
may repeat dance	begin again	

⁹The number of steps is not given.

Colonnese

Paris 973, Paris 476, Magliabechiana, [Siena]
16 Sa
s s d d d d (sim. s s d) (sim. s s d R)
s s d d d d } x2 (sim. s s d)
3 Pi 3 Pi
sc (= 1 tempo) } x2
d d
repeat dance again ¹⁰

¹⁰Only in Magliabechiana.

La Figlia Guilielmo for two

Paris 972	Rome
s s s c c s s s c c	d 2 fast c (not = to one tempo)
r in galono 11 meas.	
s s s mv	
s s s c c s s s c c	d w/ turn (sim. d) } X2
r in galono 11 meas.	
s s s vt	
2 Bd= s s R	s s R
8 Bd= s s d d mv r mv r d d mv R	s s d d r mv in r d d R
d w/ little m } X3	d d d
s s vt (= s s s w/ salteto)	s s
3 Pi in a wide vt salteto Pi s m 2 Pi s	vt vt little salto 2 Pi m broad vt in Pi tempo
	begin dance again

¹¹Or, for this sub-section, s s /r in galono } X2.

La Figlia Guilielmo for two-Continued

Siena	Modena
$\left. \begin{array}{c} \bar{d} \\ c c c \end{array} \right\} \times 2$	$\left. \begin{array}{c} \bar{d} \\ c c c \end{array} \right\} \times 2$
$\bar{d} w/ mv$ (sim. \bar{d} , sync. mv)	$\bar{d} w/ mv$ (sim. \bar{d} , sync. mv)
mv (sim. sync. mv)	mv (sim. sync. \bar{d})
\bar{d}	\bar{d}
$s s \text{ in } mv$	$s s$ mv
$\begin{array}{c} s s \\ \bar{d} \bar{d} \\ r r \text{ in volta} \\ \\ \bar{d} \\ \bar{d} \\ r \text{ in volta } w/ \frac{1}{2}c \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} s s \\ \bar{d} \bar{d} \\ r r \text{ in volta} \\ \\ \bar{d} \\ \bar{d} \\ r \text{ in volta } w/ \frac{1}{2}c \end{array}$
$\left. \begin{array}{c} \bar{d} m \end{array} \right\} \times 2$	$\left. \begin{array}{c} \bar{d} m \end{array} \right\} \times 2$
$s w/ m$ $\bar{d} w/ Sa \text{ in } vt$	$s m$ $\bar{d} w/ Sa \text{ in } volta$
$4 \text{ Pi in volta } w/ Sa$ $2 \text{ Pi } w/ Sa$ 4 Pi in a circle	$4 \text{ Pi in volta } w/ Sa$ $2 \text{ Pi } w/ Sa$ 4 Pi in a circle

La Figlia Guilielmo for four

Paris 972	Rome
2 Sa in Qu meas. d d d R } X2	d d in Qu cp cp cp R (= 1 tempo) } X2
Bd= s d	
8 Bd= R s s d d d d s s d	s s d d d d s s d
in Qu meas.: s s r in galone } X2	d d
1 Sa in this meas. 12 (sim. Sa mv)	mv
in this meas.: mv 12 m (= 1 Qu tempo) m (= 1 Qu tempo)	m m
in this meas.: Sa mv 12 (sim. Sa mv)	d (sim. d)
r r r	3 Pi (= 3r)
m Sa Pi 13 salto (= ½ Pi tempo) 3 Pi	d d 14 m 3 Pi
may repeat dance	

¹²Probably means Qu measure.

¹³This "Pi" should probably be omitted. The instructions tell the dancers to make "plui." Bianchi translates this as "piva." More likely, it means "per lui" (by him), and words after "plui" have been left out.

¹⁴The text has, "beating above a movimento" ("battono suso el movimento") [?]

Gelosia

Paris 972	Paris 973, Paris 476, Magliabechiana	Modena, [Siena]
6 broad Sa in Qu meas.	8 Sa	6 Sa
d d d in Qu meas. R	d d d R	cp cp cp R
1 Sa in Qu meas.	d	d
d d d in Qu meas. R	d d d	cp cp cp R
1 Sa in Qu meas.	2 Pi	d Pi
3 Pi	4 Pi ted	12 Pi
mv(= 1 Pi tempo) } x3	vt } x3	$\frac{1}{2}$ -c $\frac{1}{2}$ -c w/ R
s s s s s s mv	s s } x2	3 galoppi (the 3rd in volta in the form of a r) } x2
do twice more	repeat dance 15	

¹⁵Only in Magliabechiana.

Girofoso

Paris 973, Paris 476, Magliabechiana	Modena, Siena ¹⁶	Siena ¹⁶
r r	r r	16 Sa
s s d d r r (sim. r r)	s s d d r r } x2	sq sq d } x2 sq sq d
s s d d r r	s s d d r r } x2	r r
s s d d r r (sim. r r)	s s d d r r } x2	s s d d r } x2 s s d d r r
s s d d r r	s s d d (sim. r r)	s s d d d w/vt w/s s } x2 r
s s d d d vt w/ s s } x2 r r r 17)	s s d in volta r r	
16 Sa	12 Sa	
sc sc d sc sc d sc sc d sc sc d 18	sq sq d } x2 d sq sq d w/ mv	
repeat another time ¹⁹		

¹⁶There are two versions in Siena.

¹⁷Paris 973 and Paris 476 have only 1 r for this line.

¹⁸Paris 973 and Paris 476 do not have the final sc sc d.

¹⁹Only in Magliabechiana.

Giove

Paris 972	Rome	Paris 973, Paris 476, Magliabechiana, [Siena]
3 Sa in Qu meas. (each= 3 steps w/ a scapamento) vt of Bd= s s r (= 2 tempi)	3 Sa ted vt in Bd	3 Sa ted volta del gioioso
5 Bd= d (sim. d) d (sim. d) d (sim. d) s s d	d (sim. d) d (sim. d) d s s d	d d d d d d s s d 20
9 Pi	9 d	3 Pi sc
4 Sa 2 Bd= vt	2 Sa 2 Sa vt in Bd 2 Sa 2 Sa vt in Bd	4 Sa vt 4 Sa
mv R R mv		mv w/ R R
	begin again	repeat dance

²⁰This entire section is not clear in any of the treatises.

Giove-Continued

Antinori		Modena, [Siena]
r r ----- s s d } X2 ----- s s R ----- d̄ in volta } X2	Part 1	3 Sa ted } } X2 volta del gioioso }
d w/ r d w/ r d w/ r r r little R	Part 2	d (sim. d) d̄ d s s d
2 Pi w/ R d d in volta		9 Pi sc
d d d d d d d in volta r r 2 Pi	Part 3	4 Sa vt of Bd (= s s r) } X2
d d̄ R d d in volta		mv R R
21		

²¹It is not clear whether the dancers are to repeat part 3, or to repeat the entire dance.

Gratioso.

Paris 973, Paris 476	Magliabechiana, [Sienā]
3 Sa ted } x2 d	3 Sa ted } x2 d
2 Sa ted } x2 s s d	2 Sa ted } x2 s s d
s s d d r r c s s d d r r c c	s s d d r r R [s s] d d ²² r r R
3 Pi } x2 ²³	3 Pi } x2
sc sc d vt w/ d	sc sc d d
	repeat another time

²²After, "do 2 . . ." a word is left out.

²³Paris 973 does not have the repeat.

Ingrata

Paris 972	Paris 973, Paris 476, Magliabechiana, [Siena]
9 Sa in Qu meas.	9 Sa
s s s s in Qu meas. } X2	s s s s } X2
mv (= s s m) in Qu meas.	mv (= s s)
4 Sa in this meas. ²⁴	4 Sa } X2
16 Bd= mv w/ r r s s d vt of Bd (= s s r) s s d vt of Bd (= s s r) d d d d	mv 2 broad r s s d volta of Bd ²⁵ s s d volta pf Bd d d d d
mv w/ r r } X2	r r ²⁶
in Qu meas.: s s r r } X3 3 Pi in this meas. ²⁷ 2 Pi _m ²⁸	6 Sa (= d r in manner of Pi) (sim. volta) 6 Sa (sim. volta)
	repeat dance ²⁹

²⁴Could be Sa or Qu measure.

²⁵Magliabechiana has an extra s s d.

²⁶Magliabechiana has r r r.

²⁷Could be Pi or Qu measure.

²⁸The m is probably a mistake and should be omitted.

²⁹Only in Magliabechiana.

Leggiadra

Paris 973, Paris 476, Magliabechiana, [Siena]	
16 Sa	
mv r r (sim. c c c c)	
s s d d mv r r c c c c 30	
s s d d mv r r	
sc sc	} X2 31 } X2
Sa ted	
r r r vt w/d	
2 Pi 2 Pi sc sc vt w/ d	
repeat dance 32	

³⁰The 4 c's are probably an error; instead, they probably should be "sim. c c c c", as they are in section 2 of the dance.

³¹or, Sa ted (sim. Sa ted).

³²Only in Magliabechiana.

Leoncello

Paris 972	Paris 973, Paris 476
6 Sa in Qu meas.	d d d d d d d d d
m m in Qu meas.	m m
1 broad Sa in Qu meas. } X2 mv	d mv m m [d]mv
s s s s d in Qu meas. } X2	s s s s d } X2
d d d in Qu meas. } X2	d d d } X2
3 Bd tempi= s s d d } X2	s s d d } X2
7 Bd= r r d d r r	r r s s d d r r
m m (= 2 Qu tempi)	m m

Leoncello - Continued

Magliabechiana, [Siena] ³³	Modena, [Siena] ³³
4 cp } X3	6 Sa in Qu meas.
sc sc d mv sc sc d	m m in Qu meas. ----- 1 broad Sa in Qu meas. } X2 mv in Qu meas.
s s s s d s s s s d	s s s s d in Qu meas. } X2
4 cp } X2	d d d in Qu meas. } X2
s s d d s s d d	3 Bd= s s d d
r r s s d d r r sc sc	7 Bd= r r d d r r ----- m m (= 2 Qu tempi)
do another time	

³³There are two versions in Siena.

Leoncello novo

Paris 972	Rome	Modena, [Siena]
2 Sa in Qu meas.	cp cp cp	cp cp cp
d d d d	d } X2 ----- d } X2	3 cp 6 cp 3 cp
8 Pi (4th and 8th = s s)	pi 34	3 cp 3 cp
2 Sa in Qu meas. vt (= s s s $\frac{1}{2}$ -r) 2 Sa s s s s mv	3 Sa of Qu } X2	d d d d in volta d d d mv
d d d posada in a void tempo } X2 mv	cp cp cp cp cp cp	cp cp cp
d d	d } X2	d
d d mv	d } X2	d
r r c c R	r r c c R	volta del gioioso c c
d d	d } X2	d
d d mv	d } X2	d
R	R R 35	r in volta
m (= $\frac{1}{2}$ -tempo) } X2	m m	cp cp cp
	begin again	repeat dance

³⁴The number of steps is not given.

³⁵Or, R (sim. R).

Marchesana

Paris 972	Paris 973, Paris 476	Magliabechiana, [Siena]
8 Sa in Qu meas. ³⁶	12 d	12 d
3 frap } 1 Sa } x2	d d } x2	d d } x2
12½ Bd= r r s s d r s s d s d d mv r r c c	r r s s d r s s d r d d mv r r c c c c	r r s s d r s s d r d d mv r r R R
m m } d } in m m } d } Qu d } posada } meas.	m m d m m d d salto	sc sc d sc sc d vt w/ salto
		repeat dance

³⁶The text reads: they make "eight tempi of saltarello measure quadernaria" ("tienpi oto de mexura saltarelo quadernaria"); the word "saltarello" is placed above the line, between "mexura" and "quadernaria." It probably was added later.

Mercantia

Paris 972	Rome, Paris 973, Paris 476, Magliabechiana, [Siena]
11 Sa	11 Sa
6 r in Qu meas.	6 r
4 Bd= mv (= 1 tempo) d d d	mv d d d
8 Bd= s s d s s d mv in void (sim. vt= s s r) } x2	s s d (sim. vt) s s d (sim. vt) } x2
mv	mv
2 Sa	s s d
2 Sa mv r 37	2 Sa
4 Bd= R (= 1 tempo) c c s s d (sim. s s d w/ mv) vt (= s s r)	R 38 s s d 39 s s d
do dance 3 times	repeat dance 40

37 Instead of $\begin{matrix} mv \\ r \end{matrix}$, it could be $\begin{matrix} mv \\ (sim. r) \end{matrix}$.

38 Rome has R c c.

39 Or, s s d (sim. s s d).

40 Only in Magliabechiana.

Petit riese / Petit rose ⁴¹

Paris 476	Paris 973, Paris 476, Magliabechiana, [Siena]
16 Pi	16 Pi
4 Pi } X3	sc sc ----- vt } X2
d } X3	d d d
R } X3	mv
----- R 42	2 Sa
d d r r vt	
	repeat dance ⁴³

⁴¹Except for the final section of the dance, these two dances appear to be variations of each other; the first, in Paris 476 only, is called "Petit riese," the second, "Petit rose." The title of the tune for this dance is "Petit vriens."

⁴²Or, for this section, R } X3.

⁴³Only in Magliabechiana.

Pizochara

Paris 972	Siena
12 Pi	12 Sa
4 Pi 4 Pi	4 Pi 4 Pi ⁴⁴
R (= 1 Bd tempo) 13 Bd= r s s 11 d r	s s 12 d
9 Sa	8 Sa
r r 4 Pi r r 4 Pi r r 4 Pi	r r 4 Pi } x2 ⁴⁵

⁴⁴Or, for this section, 4 Pi } x4.

⁴⁵Or, x3 or x4.

Prisonera

Paris 972	Paris 973, Paris 476	Magliabechiana, [Siena]
$4\frac{1}{2}$ Bd= c c s s s d } X2 R	c c s s s d } X2 R	c c s s s d } X2 R
$2\frac{1}{2}$ Bd= s s d d } X2	s s d d s s d d	s s cp cp s s cp cp
mv in void tempo		
2 Bd= s s R	s s c c	s s R
$2\frac{1}{2}$ Bd= s s d d } X2	s s d d s s d d	s s cp cp s s cp cp
mv in void tempo		
2 Bd= s s R	s s c c	s s R
8 Pi	4 Sa ted (= d r per Sa tempo)	4 Sa ted (= d r per Sa tempo)
m m 4 pass m m 4 pass	m m 3 pass m m 3 pass	sc sc 3 pass sc sc 3 pass
m 4 Sa	Sa 2 Sa d	Sa 2 Sa d
		repeat another time

Sobria

Paris 972	Rome
14 Sa	the Sa ⁴⁶
r r r r 3 Pi 3 Pi mv	r r r r vt in Pi Pi ⁴⁶
d R mv w/ salteto Sa w/ a little voltete and a posada	d R salto d volta
s s d little & fast R d d	s s d d d
3 Sa in Qu meas. mv salteto Sa mv possa	3 Sa in Qu salto d
10 Sa	Sa ⁴⁶ 2 Sa (sim. vt)
4 Pi in vt (sim. 4 Pi) 4 Pi (sim. 4 Pi in vt)	3 Pi s (sim. vt in Pi) Pi ⁴⁶ s (sim. vt in Pi)
r r r r (sim. 4 Pi)	r ⁴⁶ (sim. Pi) ⁴⁶
	begin again

⁴⁶The number of steps is not given.

Spero

Paris 973, Paris 476, Magliabechiana
d d d in ted (beating before the time)
s s d s s d (sim. d)
2 Sa ted in galone 4 Sa
mv r r R s r r r in portogallese mv r vt w/ s s in Bd r 47 R
3 Pi 3 Pi
sc sc vt w/ d vt w/ d
repeat another time 48

⁴⁷The r is not in Paris 973.

⁴⁸Only in Magliabechiana.

Tesara

Paris 972	
8 Sa r	
4 Pi mv r r r r m m m m m	} x2
12 Pi (= d posa r } x4) ----- 2 Pi 3 Pi	} x2 49
12 Sa	
16 Pi = d w/ mv } x4 d posa ----- 9 Pi	} 50
mv w/ Pi	
16 Sa (= 4+4+4+4)	
m m m vt [?]	

⁴⁹Or, for this section, $\frac{12 \text{ Pi} = d \text{ posa } r}{3 \text{ Pi}} \times 4 \times 2$

⁵⁰Or, for this section, $\frac{16 \text{ Pi} = d \text{ w/ mv } d \text{ posa}}{9 \text{ Pi}} \times 4$

Verzeppe

Paris 972	Rome
6 Sa ⁵¹	the Sa ⁵²
$4\frac{1}{2}$ Bd in Bd meas. = $\left. \begin{array}{l} d d \\ d d \\ r \end{array} \right\} \times 2$ 2 Bd = vt (= s s r)	$\left. \begin{array}{l} d d \\ d d \\ vt \end{array} \right\} \times 2$
$\left. \begin{array}{l} d d d \text{ in Qu meas.} \\ mv \end{array} \right\} \times 2$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} cp \ cp \ cp \end{array} \right\} \times 2$
$\left. \begin{array}{l} mv \\ 4 \text{ Sa tempi (= salto, Sa,} \\ \text{Sa, Sa w/ mv)} \\ \text{(sim. 4 Sa)} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} mv \\ Sa \ 52 \end{array} \right\}$
d d d of Bd	d d d
3 Sa	Sa ⁵²
d d d of Bd	d d d
3 Sa (catching a salteto at the beginning)	Sa ⁵²
$\left. \begin{array}{l} m \ m \\ vt \text{ in Pi meas. (= s s s)} \\ m \ m \\ vt \text{ in Pi meas. (= s s s)} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} m \ m \\ vt \\ m \ m \\ vt \text{ (not in Bd meas.)} \end{array} \right\}$
may do again	

⁵¹Or, 11 Sa; the writing is not clear.

⁵²The number of steps is not specified.

Voltate in ȝa rosina

Paris 476	
d d in Qu meas. vt w/ d in Qu meas.	
s s d (sim. mv)	} X2

2 Sa r r vt w/ d c c c c	

s s d d vt r R c c c c	
4 Pi	} X2

Pi 53	

⁵³The number of steps is not specified.

In chapter I the treatises were put into groups on the basis of their overall content and structure. When the treatises are studied in more detail, the groupings postulated in chapter I continue to be valid, as the diagrams on pages 47 to 75 show. The steps of the balli in Paris 973, Paris 476, and Magliabechiana are either exactly alike (as in "Bel fiore," "Colonnese," "Gelosia," "Leggiadra," and "Petit riese") or nearly alike ("Anello," "Bel riguardo," "Giosioso," "Gratioso," "Ingrata," "Leoncello," "Marchesana," "Prisonera," and "Spero"). The balli in these three treatises are sometimes very similar to the dances in Paris 972 ("Anello," "Bel fiore," and "Gratioso"), but more often they differ somewhat ("Ingrata," "Leoncello," "Marchesana," "Mercantia," and "Prisonera"). It is impossible to point to an obvious relationship between Rome and any other treatise because the ballo steps in Rome are usually rather different from those of every other source and there are, in any case, too few balli in the treatise upon which to base a judgement. Since Cornazano's theory is based on Domenico's, and his dances are all in Paris 972, too, one expects a great degree of similarity between the dance instructions in the two treatises. This is not the case, however, although Cornazano's instructions are more like those in Paris 972 than they are like those of any other treatise. There is one dance ("Mercantia") for which the steps in Rome are not like those in Paris 972 but are like those in Paris 973, Paris 476, and Magliabechiana. This may mean that both Rome and Paris 973 are based on a

lost copy of Paris 972 and not on Paris 972 itself; the lost copy would have had the version of "Mercantia" now in Rome and Paris 973.

Because Mazzi, the editor of the Siena treatise, only gives in full those dances found in no other source, and collates the remaining dances with Magliabechiana and Modena, one is forced to depend on his judgement about the relationship of the Siena dances to their counterparts in the other two treatises. On the whole, this is no problem since most of the balli are either in Modena or Magliabechiana but not in both. In three cases ("Anello," "Bel riguardo," and "Giove") Mazzi says that the versions in Siena are like the dances in both the other treatises; this cannot be the case, however, since the steps for those dances in Modena and Magliabechiana are, though very similar, not identical. Thus Mazzi is not completely reliable; still, his edition of the treatise is reliable enough to show that Siena's dances are taken from or based on a Guglielmo treatise (almost all the dances in the other Guglielmo treatises are in Siena), and that of the balli Siena has in common with the other Guglielmo treatises, most are similar to the versions in these other treatises. In chapter I, I pointed out that the writer of Siena borrows some of his theory, verbatim, from Paris 972--most of the theory comes from a Guglielmo treatise--and he also borrows some of Domenico's dances: of the two versions of "Leoncello" in Siena, one is an exact, word-for-word copy of the dance in Paris 972 (the other is like the Guglielmo versions), and "Pizochara" is likewise probably cop-

ied from Paris 972, since only these two treatises have this ballo.

It has also been mentioned that every dance in Modena is in Siena, which suggests that Modena's author extracted his favorite dances from Siena. The author of Modena does not appear to have altered the texts he took from Siena, since the steps for every dance in Modena are, according to Mazzi, like those in Siena; see, for example, "Bel riguardo novo," "La Figlia Guilielmo for two," "Gelosia," "Leoncello," and "Leoncello novo."

Although there are many differences between the dance instructions of the eight treatises, most of the differences appear to be either (1) minor variants that do not significantly alter the way the steps are performed, or (2) copying errors or omissions on the part of the treatise's scribe. Minor variants are things like a slight difference in the number of steps required of the dancer (see "Pizochara," for instance, where Paris 972 calls for nine salta-relllo steps and Siena for eight), or a difference in the type of step called for. Some dance steps are interchangeable; for example, a riverenza in one source might be replaced by two continenze in another (as in "Marchesana"), or contrapassi will take the place of doubles (see "Bel riguardo"), or a scosso substitutes for a movimento (as in "Leoncello"). What look like different steps may be, instead, just a difference in spelling; the Siena and Modena treatises, for instance, often use "squassetto" for the "scossetto" in the Magliabechiana codex, and it is likely that both

names refer to the same step.

Most of what are probably mistakes in the treatises can be detected easily when one looks at the diagrams on pages 47 to 75. If most of the dance-manuals call for a certain type or number of step, and one or two treatises either omit the step altogether or call for something completely different, the latter treatises would appear to be in error. For the fourth section of "Bel riguardo," for example, all the treatises have

2 Sa
rr
2 Sa
rr,

but Modena has

2 Sa
rr.

It looks as if the Modena scribe has made a mistake here, but perhaps, after all, he is correct and all the other scribes wrong. The only way to decide which of the two versions of this section is correct (correct in the sense that it fits better with the extant "Bel riguardo" tune; the "incorrect" version might well have been danced to a form of the tune that does not survive) is to combine the steps and music of the dance.

Other variants between the treatises are major ones in which either the entire dance or a large portion of the dance is given new steps. One can only choose between these versions--or formulate new versions that have elements of both original versions--after the steps have been joined to their music. Many of the significant

variants, but by no means all, are in the Siena, Modena, and Antinori treatises, those presumed to be the latest copies or compilations of the original treatises. In these manuscripts, the steps of the "old" dances are often so altered that they have become new dances; see, for example, "La Figlia Guilielmo" for two, "Gelosia," "Giove," and "Leoncello novo."

Not only do the treatises vary in terms of the steps given for a dance, they also vary in the amount and kind of information they give about the dances in general; some writers mention, for example, the floor pattern of a dance, comment on its meaning or program, and specify the direction of every step performed by the dancers.⁵⁴ By far the fullest descriptions are in Domenico's treatise, where every aspect of the dance is discussed, including the facial expressions required of the dancers. The instructions in Siena and Modena especially are often merely tersely worded lists of the dance steps, with such details as the direction of the steps and which dancer is to perform them, left out. Although the purpose for which each manuscript was written, copied, or compiled, must have determined what each scribe chose to include in his treatise, the lack of detail in the later sources leads one to conclude that as dancing in Italy spread from one court to another and the dances became increasingly well known, it was no longer necessary for the scribes

⁵⁴These variants, which do not affect the relationship between steps and music, will not be discussed.

to include such details.

The translation of the dance instructions is a much more complicated undertaking, on the whole, than the transcription of the music, partly because only four treatises have music, and eight have dance instructions. Just as it was easy to see the differences between the dance instructions when they were diagrammed together, so it is easy to see the differences in the music when all the versions of a tune are collated, as they are in the diplomatic edition of the ballo music in volume II (pages 1 to 37). Any errors in those tunes that exist in only a single treatise will not be detected, of course, until the steps are added to the transcribed music.

In contrast to the French basse danze of this period, which are notated in unmeasured black breves, the Italian balli are in white mensural notation with the semibreve as the basic notational unit. The music of the balli consists of between two and fourteen phrases, each phrase separated by a slash through the staff. Each phrase of music corresponds to a unit of dance steps, and most phrases are in rhythmic and metric contrast to the phrases before and after them. Numbers on or under the staff indicate how many times a phrase must be repeated, although in a few instances a written instruction takes the place of the numeral. Many of the ballo tunes end with an intrata, which consists of the first few notes of the tune; since most of the tunes were repeated at least once, the notes of the intrata must have been a visual reminder

to the performer(s).

As with the dance instructions, many of the variants are most likely copyists' errors. Because the notation is so straightforward, and the tunes fall into such clear rhythmic, metric, and melodic units, it is usually a simple matter to correct them. Examples of this kind of variant include the incorrect placement of the slash separating the musical phrases (in "Gelosia," Paris 972 has left out the slash between phrases 3 and 4; in "Spero," the slash between phrases 6 and 7 is omitted in Paris 476), the absence of a clef or flat in the signature (in "Giove" and "Leoncello," for example, Rome is the only one of the four treatises that does not have the flat), the incorrect value given to a note or rest, missing or extra notes (in "Ingrata," for instance, the final line makes musical nonsense without the last two notes, which are omitted in Paris 972 and Paris 973), the absence of a dot after a note, and the incorrect use of pitch (for "Prisonera," Paris 476 incorrectly notates the entire tune a fourth lower than Paris 972 and Paris 973; for phrase 10 of "Sobria," the music in Paris 972 is a third lower than it is in Rome, but since phrase 10 is a repeat of phrase 4, it is obvious that the version in Rome is the correct one).

Those variants that are not clear-cut errors are more difficult to dispose of; the choice is often between two or more almost equally good possibilities. Sometimes more than one version of a phrase fits with the dance steps; for phrase 5 of "Gratioso," for instance, the sources have

two different rhythms:



Since the dotted rhythm of Paris 476 fits best with the rhythm of the other phrases, I preferred it to the version in Paris 973. The identical situation occurs in "Leggiadra," phrase 5, but here the dotted rhythm of Paris 476 was rejected, on musical grounds, in favor of the continuous minim rhythm of Paris 973. Sometimes the choice is made purely on the basis of numbers: for "Leoncello," phrase 4, Paris 972, Paris 973, and Paris 476 have a dotted rhythm, and only Rome has all minims, so my decision was to go along with the majority.


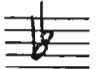
In some cases, as with accidentals, a great deal of thought is required to find the best of several choices. In the following phrases, some of the sources have the accidental and some do not: "La Figlia Guilielmo," phrase 1, "Giove," phrase 4, and "Marchesana," phrase 5. For each of these dances, the decision to include or exclude the accidental was based on a study of the musical features of the line in question.

In some instances, the choice between variants has a far-reaching effect and therefore must be made with care; this is especially true when the choice is between clefs and flats in the signature. "Bel riguardo," for example, is given in the sources with four different sig-

natures:



In the first three, either the clef or the flat is misplaced, since the signatures do not make sense as they stand. I decided to transcribe the music with an F clef because three of the four sources call for it, and to use B^b and E^b in the signature because the interval E to B features prominently in the piece (either both flats must be used--and three of the four sources have a flat--or neither). The two treatises with "Sobria" have the music without a clef, but both have flats in the signature; Paris 972

has  and Rome . The former implies

a tenor clef with two flats, the latter either a tenor or an alto clef with one or two flats. Here an alto clef with one flat was chosen for two reasons: one, the majority of the balli have an alto clef, and, two, read with an alto clef, the dance is in the same range as most of the other balli, whereas the tenor clef makes it slightly lower than the majority of the dances. For two dances the choice involves only the flat in the signature: for "Marchesana" and "Spero," only one treatise has the B^b in the signature; in both dances the flat was retained in order to prevent several instances of the tritone.

The most complicated issue pertaining to the transcription of the ballo music is that of mensuration. Not only do the sources frequently disagree on the mensuration sign for a phrase,

but in many cases there is no mensuration sign at all. Even more disturbing is the fact that the mensuration signs are often used in ways inconsistent with the notational practice of the period. In "Tesara," for instance, most of the phrases have a mixture of two similar rhythms, $\circ\flat\circ\flat$ (JJJJ) and $\circ\flat.\flat\circ$ (JJJJ), but some of these phrases have C as their mensuration sign, while others have C . In the first transcription of the ballo tunes, there is no attempt made to solve this problem of the mensuration signs; rather, each phrase is transcribed into the modern meter that best represents its rhythmic and notational groupings, even if the chosen meter appears to contradict the mensuration sign for that phrase. Making the semibreve in the originals equal to the quarter-note in the transcriptions,⁵⁵ all the music can be transcribed using four meters: 6/8, 6/4, 3/4, and 2/4.

The first transcription of the music is on pages 38 to 66 of volume II. It will be used, together with the diagrams of the dance steps on pages 47 to 75, as the basic working material for the fitting of the dance steps to their music. Not every difference between the versions of each ballo tune can be resolved or removed at this stage; some must remain until the addition of the dance steps makes a choice between versions possible. The variants that remain in transcrip-

⁵⁵In "Marchesana," phrase 5, "Prisonera," phrases 1 through 5, and "Spero," phrase 5, Paris 476 has the same music as the other sources, but its phrases are notated in breves rather than in semibreves; the transcription of these phrases is based on the versions that move by semibreve.

tion I have to do with: (1) the number of phrases in the dance (see line 1 of "Colonnese," which is in Paris 973 but not in Paris 476; "Leoncello," for which Paris 476 has a phrase between lines 1 and 2; and "Sobria," lines 8, 9, and 10a, which are omitted in Rome) or, with (2) the number of notes in a phrase when all the sources have basically the same music (see "La Figlia Guilielmo," lines 2b to 2c, where notes in Paris 972 are left out of Rome; and "Leggiadra," lines 1 and 4a, where Paris 973 has a longer version of the line than Paris 476) or, with (3) the presence of a totally different line or lines in one source (in "Prisonera," lines 6 and 7, and "Marchesana," lines 5 and 6, Paris 476 has different music), or, with (4) how many times a phrase must be repeated. The dance "Bel fiore" is found in only one treatise, so its transcription is and can only be conditional, because the ambiguity of its rhythmic notation casts doubt on any and every transcription of its tune.

CHAPTER III

COMBINING STEPS AND MUSIC:
CONTRIBUTING ELEMENTS

Much of the information one needs in order to combine the ballo steps with the ballo music is in the theory sections of the dance-manuals. All the pertinent information in the treatises can be grouped into two subject-areas: the first involves the types of dance steps and the way they are performed; the second has to do with what the Italian authors call "measure."

Even a cursory comparison of the dance theory with the dance instructions reveals that there are differences between the dances as they are described in the theory and the dances as they were, in fact, performed. There are two reasons for these differences: first, not every aspect of dance performance is discussed in the theory, and, second, many of the "rules" given in the theory are broken in the dance instructions. When the many instances of differences between the theory and practice of the dance are listed, it is clear that they fall into several distinct groups, or types, of differences. From these groups of differences (which are exceptions to, modifications of, or additions to the theory in the dance-manuals), one can deduce a set of rules that, together with the rules given in the treatises, are the theoretical basis for joining steps and music.

Although all the dance-manuals have some theory related to steps and measures, Paris 972

and Rome have much more information on the two subjects than the other treatises. With the exception of a passage found in both Siena and Modena,¹ the Guglielmo treatises just mention the steps and list the measures, without explanation.

The remarks in Paris 972 and Rome about the steps and measures pertain to both the independent dances in one of the four dance styles of this period--bassa danza, quadernaria, saltarello, and piva--and to the balli, which are made up of phrases in two or more of these styles. Since neither Domenico nor Cornazano distinguish between the four dance types as individual dances and as component parts of balli, I have assumed that the rules governing the performance of, for instance, a saltarello dance and a saltarello segment of a ballo are the same. This assumption can be proved in the case of basse danze: both the theory of the bassa danza as it is given in the treatises, and the modifications to that theory derived from the dance instructions, apply equally to the independent basse danze and to the bassa danza sections of the balli. The same is probably true of the other dance types, but since they survive in Italian sources only as parts of balli and not as independent dances, this cannot

¹The authors of Siena and Modena borrow Domenico's diagram of the measures (Paris 972, fol. 4v), but omit the final mezo section; they also include his comments on the ways each measure can be danced (fols. 5r-7r), but omit the section on the bassa danza. Both authors copy Domenico verbatim; they even include his many references, by number, to previous paragraphs in the treatise, even though these paragraphs are not included in their treatises.

be verified.

In their discussion of the dance steps, Domenico and Cornazano begin by classifying the steps into types; then they explain how the steps can be combined and give the amount of time required for the performance of each step. Although there is an occasional reference to the difference between leaping and gliding steps, they do not describe the physical movements needed for the performance of the steps.² Both Domenico and Cornazano divide the steps into two types, the natural and the accidental, but within these two categories, each author includes steps that the other omits. The natural steps are:

simple

double

ripresa

riverenza

continenza

mezza volta

volta tonda

movimento

salto (Domenico only)

contrapasso (Cornazano only)

scambi (Cornazano only)

²The first comprehensive descriptions of Renaissance dance steps are in Fabrito Caroso's Il Ballarino (1581) and his Nobilitia dei Dame (1600); in Thoinot Arbeau's Orchesography (1589); and in Cesare Negri's Nuovo Inventione di Balli (1604). The accidentals mentioned by Cornazano and Domenico are described, in these books, as turns, jumps, skips, and leaps, but it is not known just how applicable these descriptions are to the steps of a century-and-a-half earlier.

The accidental steps are:

trascorsa (Domenico calls it a scorsa)
frapamento
pizigamento (Cornazano only)
scambiamento (Domenico only)³

As their name suggests, the accidental steps are subordinate to the natural steps. They are not performed alone, but embellish or "give variety to the natural steps, especially to the . . . simple, double, ripresa, and volta tonda."⁴ Domenico describes precisely how the two kinds of steps must be combined: the natural steps occur in the fullness (in lo pieno) of the measure or on the tempo (nel tempo instanti), but the accidentals are placed in the empty space (in lo vuodo) of the measure, or between one tempo and another.⁵ Since most of the accidentals are probably jumps, leaps, or skips, the rules for their use are more strict than the rules for natural steps. Cornazano says women must not do them (he later grants an exception, saying that if a lady does decide to perform an accidental, the pizigamento is the least unattractive step she can do) and one, the cambiamento, is not permitted in the slow and stately bassa danza (with the exception, acknowledged by both Domenico and Cornazano, of

³Domenico's scambiamento may be the same step as Cornazano's scambi.

⁴" . . . fare varietade a li motti naturali e principalmente a . . . sempio dopio reprexa volta tonde." Paris 972, fol. 3r.

⁵Ibid., fol. 2v.

the dance "Corona").

Both writers list the dance steps a second time, now giving a time value for each step; once again, the two authors do not agree on every detail. For the natural steps:

2 <u>simples</u>	= 1 tempo
1 <u>double</u>	= 1 tempo
1 <u>ripresa</u>	= 1 tempo
1 <u>riverenza</u>	= 1 tempo
2 <u>continenze</u>	= 1 tempo
1 <u>mezza volta</u>	= 1 tempo ⁶
1 <u>volta tonda</u>	= 2 tempi
2 <u>movimenti</u>	= 1 tempo (Cornazano says they "have no rules")
1 <u>salto</u>	= 1 tempo (Domenico only)
3 <u>contrapassi</u>	= 2 tempi (Cornazano only)
1 <u>scambi</u>	= 1 or no tempi (Cornazano only)

According to Cornazano, the time needed to perform the accidental steps is "as you wish," but Domenico is more precise: accidentals take one-fourth of a tempo, with only one step per tempo allowed; if one is a very good dancer, he can perform two per tempo, in which case each step is one-eighth of a tempo.⁷

Scattered throughout the theory, especially in the sections that deal with measure, are references to another group of dance steps whose names are the same as the names of the four

⁶Domenico has incorrectly written "two mezze volte equal one tempo."

⁷There is one remark about timing in the Guglielmo treatises: the authors of Siena and Modena explain that a simple and two passetti equal one tempo. They do not, however, explain what passetti are.

dance types or measures (bassa danza, quader-
naria, saltarello, piva). In the treatises these
steps are almost always called "tempi," not
"steps" ("and now do two saltarello tempi"), prob-
ably because the writers of the treatises wanted
to distinguish between "tempi" and normal dance
steps (naturals and accidentals).⁸ These steps,
which I will call "measure-steps," consist of one
or more natural steps; some of them are embel-
lished with accidentals. For both Domenico and
Cornazano, a tempo of bassa danza is a double.
A quaternaria tempo, for Cornazano, is a double
alone, but for Domenico it is a double with a
frapamento; although neither author says so, this
quaternaria step is used only in independent
quaternaria dances,⁹ since, according to Corna-
zano, when the quaternaria is a part of a bassa
danza and not a dance on its own,¹⁰ it is really
saltarello tedesco, which consists of "two simples
and a little ripresa beaten after the second
crosswise step."¹¹ Domenico says the saltarello

⁸In only two treatises, Siena and Modena,
are saltarello and piva included in the list of
"dance steps."

⁹There are no independent quaternaria
dances from this period that have survived in
Italian or French treatises.

¹⁰Cornazano says : "Quaternaria measure
is not often used in Italy as a dance alone, but
mixed with some balli, decorates them." ("La
misura quaternaria non  , sola, molto usitata in
ballo a gli Taliani; ma, meschiata in qualche
ballo, adorna quello.") Mazzi, "Antonio Corna-
zano," p. 11.

¹¹ . . . dui passi sempi et una ripresetta
battuta dietro (sic) el sicondo passo in traverso."
Ibid., p. 10.

is a double plus a salteto, but Cornazano says saltarello tempi are doubles

undulated by the rising of the second short step which beats in the middle of one tempo and another and [which] are started off by a movement in the first step which carries the [weight of] the body.¹²

The woman may, says Cornazano, substitute two simples for the saltarello double, or put three contrapassi in place of two doubles; the man may include accidentals in the step if he is a very skilled dancer, but the woman must not.¹³ For both authors piva tempi are made up of doubles, "shaped and accelerated by the speed of the measure";¹⁴ according to Cornazano, the woman may not add accidentals to the doubles, but the man may add scambi and salti.¹⁵

Although Cornazano is more flexible about the contents of the measure-steps than Domenico is (he says the saltarello double can be replaced by simples or contrapassi, and that the man may add accidentals to the doubles of saltarello and piva), he agrees with Domenico that the basic component of each measure-step is a double. How, then, did the dancer differentiate between one kind of double and another, particularly in those

12" . . . ondeggiato per relevamento del secondo passo curto, che batte in meço de l' uno tempo e l' altro, e campeggiato per movimento del primo passo che porta la persona." Ibid.

13 Ibid., p. 11.

14" . . . atteggiati e accelerati per presteça di misura." Ibid., p. 10.

15 Ibid., p. 11.

cases where there is no accompanying accidental to identify the step? According to Cornazano, he must make the speed of the step accord with the speed of the dance. A piva tempo, or step, is danced in piva, the fastest dance measure, and is therefore "shaped and accelerated by the speed of the measure";¹⁶ the "double of saltarello is not as fast as that of piva."¹⁷ Perhaps it is because the measure-steps are identified by their speed that they are called "tempi" instead of "steps."

The theory related to steps is, on the whole, much more clearly laid out than that related to measure, most of which has to be deduced from statements scattered from one end of the theory to the other. In general, the word "measure" is used by the theorists to mean "style" or "type," specifically one of the four dance styles (bassa danza, quadernaria, saltarello, and piva); the bassa danza is the slowest dance (or type or measure) and the piva the fastest. The word "measure" is found not so much in the theory as in the dance instructions, where the dancer often is told to do a series of steps in one of the four measures ("and all this part must be done in quadernaria measure").

Four of the writers associate measure first with mensuration, but they do not agree on the mensurations corresponding to the measures, as figure 3 shows:

16" . . . atteggiati e accelerati per prestega di misura." Ibid., p. 10.

17" . . . doppi di saltarello non vanno tanto presto quanto quei della piva." Ibid., p.12.

	Paris 972	Rome	Siena, Modena
bassa danza	major imperfect	major perfect	major perfect
quadernaria	minor imperfect	major perfect	minor perfect
saltarello	major perfect	major perfect	minor perfect
piva	minor perfect	minor perfect	minor perfect

Figure 3. Mensurations corresponding to the measures.

Although he originally says that piva is in minor perfect, Domenico later says that it is in minor imperfect: "And note that the piva, which is in minor imperfect, is born of the quadernaria because it begins its tempo in the pieno like the quadernaria."¹⁸ Both Domenico and Cornazano pair the measures on the basis of their mensurations-- bassa danza and saltarello, quadernaria and piva-- but Cornazano extends the concept of measure to include "beats":

And notice that from every tenor four measures can be made. Of these . . . the first is natural, with three beats per note and this, in Italy, is danced in saltarello.

The second is quadernaria, putting four beats per note; and this is used most in Germany.

Third, the cacciata, which is piva measure; it is called the daughter of quadernaria because it has the same number of beats, but it is faster by half.

Fourth is the bassa danza, queen of measures, in which every note is doubled, and three become six, and six, twelve.¹⁹

If Cornazano's remarks have to do with musical

¹⁸"E nota che la piva ch' e de minore imperfecto e el suo nasciamento de la quadernaria perche se comenza el suo motto del tempo in lo pieno coma la quadernaria." Paris 972, fol. 4r.

¹⁹" . . . et da notare è che ogni tenore si può fare a quatro misure. Delle quali . . . la prima è il suo naturale a tre botte per nota et questa, a gli Taliani, si danza in saltarello.

Siconda in quaternaria, mettendo quatro botte per nota; e questa in dangare è più usata da' Todeschi.

Terza, la cacciata, che è misura di piva: alcuni la chiamano figliola de la quaternaria, perchè per nota van pur tante botte; ma si dan più preste della mitate.

Quarta è la Bassadanza misura imperiale, dove ogni nota si radoppia, et le tre vagliono sei, et le sei dedeci." Mazzi, "Antonio Cornazano," pp. 28-29.

beats--and I think they do--then the way the beats fall into units of three, four, or six, is a better determinant of measure than the (conflicting) mensurations in figure 3.

In the dance-manuals, "measure" has to do with tempo as well as with meter; one example of this relationship, the three-way connection between measure, measure-step, and tempo, has already been discussed (see pages 93 to 94). Each measure has its own tempo, and the authors are precise about how the tempi of the measures relate to each other. Beginning with piva, the fastest measure, Cornazano explains that each successive measure is one-sixth slower than its predecessor; Domenico and the authors of Siena and Modena reverse this order and begin with the slowest measure:

bassa danza-----the queen of measures
quadernaria-----one-sixth faster than bassa danza
saltarello-----one-sixth faster than quadernaria,
 two-sixths faster than bassa danza
piva-----one-sixth faster than saltarello,
 two-sixths faster than quadernaria,
 three-sixths faster than bassa danza

To illustrate these proportions, Domenico provides a diagram of a ladder (see figure 4).²⁰ In strict mathematical terms, of course, the proportions in the ladder do not work out (if you subtract one-sixth from each successive dance you do not get a two-to-one proportion for the bassa danza and piva), but they probably represent accurately the relative relationships between the four tempi.

The largest portions of theory in Paris

²⁰Rome has a simplified version of the ladder.

<p>Lo sono bassadanza de le me corona. et in lo perare de mi in dancere lo in sonare ben sia data sopra.</p>	Ca	<p>po sunt regina e merito di portar poche genti hanc ragione e di di me sadopia senza che da li re</p>
<p>Lo sonatura quadernaria Sex sonatori mi fano ragione lor vno sexto callo da la mia re di me se uoglia regere de la ba</p>	Sex	<p>to per nome chiamata e se gli retrouerano di per competitione gina e del sonatore bono bene sadancia e del saltarello tengo il mezo.</p>
<p>Lo sono Saltarello chiamato da la bassadanza e se gli sona partire retrouerano che tengo na e della pua</p>	Ter	<p>co passo brabant e di sei callo tori prudenti mi uogliono con il mezo de la misura quaderna</p>
<p>Lo sono pua per nome Me la piu trista per che da gli preteca tanto me faccio ma</p>	Me	<p>30 chiamata e de le misure son villani sono adoperata e per ma gi che tengo el mezo de la bassadanza</p>
<p>Salta Ter</p>	Ter	<p>co rello</p>
<p>Quader Sex</p>	Sex	<p>co naria</p>

Figure 4. Domenico's diagram of the measures (Paris 972, fol. 4v).

972 and Rome are devoted to the many ways each measure can be danced. In these sections, Domenico and Cornazano describe what happens when a measure-step is danced in any other measure than its own; since each measure-step is partly characterized by its speed, and each measure also has its characteristic tempo, there is a clash when a measure-step is done in a different measure: either the speed of the step must be altered to fit the measure, or the tempo of the measure must be slowed down or speeded up to accommodate the step.²¹ When a measure-step is done in its own measure, there are no difficulties, since then each tempo is according to its rules (suo ordine), or its nature.

Unfortunately, neither Domenico nor Cornazano tells the dancer explicitly what he must do when confronted with two dissimilar but simultaneous tempi; instead of providing solutions, they describe the problems in detail, showing how each measure can alter the speed of each step. Implicit in their remarks is that the same proportional relationships allotted to the four measures apply likewise to the four measure-steps.

²¹A similar passage in the Guglielmo treatises (an experimentum of section B of the theory) instructs the dancer to dance in one measure while the musician plays in another; in a different experimentum the dancer and musician begin in the same measure, but the musician is instructed to move gradually into another measure in an attempt to force the dancer out of his tempo. These drills will result, the authors say, in perfect dancing. These two passages have led Mabel Dolmetsch (Dances of Spain and Italy from 1400 to 1600; London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1954, p. 16) to believe, mistakenly, that Domenico and Cornazano are describing the same kinds of artificial dance exercises.

Domenico's discussion is the more detailed of the two; he often refers back to or quotes from previous paragraphs in which he had explained the tempi of the measures and the contents of the measure-steps.²² He begins with the bassa danza and describes each measure in turn:²³

Note that the bassa danza . . . can be danced in five ways; of these five, two are according to the rules of tempo division. . . . but the other three are more difficult than the other two because one must put a speediness or slowness in them which are not according to their rules. . . . The first way . . . [is] bassa danza. . . . The second way . . . [is to] put two piva tempi in one of bassa danza. . . . [The third is to take one] quader-naria, which consists of a double with a frapamento in one tempo, and . . . put this into one tempo of bassa danza, but this will be somewhat slow. . . . but seems fast since one tempo of bassa danza has only one double and this has a double and a frapamento. Since it seems fast but must be slow, make a double of bassa danza and one or two frapamenti . . . remember that the frapamento of quader-naria, when put in bassa danza measure, is done in el pieno and that of the bassa danza, that is the frapamento, is done in el vuodo. . . . [The fourth is to] put one saltarello tempo in one of bassa danza, but the saltarello will be slow, because, as has already been said . . . the saltarello is one-third faster than the bassa danza. . . . [The fifth way is to] put two saltarello tempi in one of bassa danza, but these two tempi will be very fast because, as was said, the piva is the half of the bassa danza and the saltarello is slower than the piva by one-sixth, therefore to put two saltarello tempi in one of bassa danza will be too fast. . . .

Note that the quader-naria can be danced in

²²These references are excluded from the translation on pages 100-1.

²³Cornazano's remarks, though essentially like Domenico's, begin with piva measure and end with bassa danza measure.

four ways: the first way is according to the rules, dancing a double and a frapamento . . . to one tempo of quadernaria. In the second way you . . . put one tempo of bassa danza in one tempo of quadernaria. But . . . the bassa danza will be somewhat fast. . . . The third way . . . [is to] put one tempo of saltarello in one tempo of quadernaria, but the saltarello will be somewhat slow. . . . In the fourth way . . . you put two tempi of piva in one of quadernaria, but this will be somewhat fast. . . .

Note that the saltarello can be done in five ways: the first way is according to the rules. . . . In the second way . . . you catch two tempi of saltarello and put them in one tempo of bassa danza . . . [but] this way is not according to the rules. In the third way . . . you put one bassa danza in one tempo of saltarello, but this will be very fast. . . . In the fourth way . . . put one tempo of quadernaria in one of saltarello, but the quadernaria will be somewhat fast. . . . In the fifth way . . . put two piva tempi in one tempo of saltarello, but the piva will be very fast. . . .

Note that the piva can be danced in four ways. The first way is according to the rules. . . . The second way, catching two tempi of piva and putting one bassa danza in these two tempi. . . . In the third way . . . you dance one quadernaria in two tempi of piva, but this will be somewhat fast. . . . In the fourth way . . . you catch two tempi of piva and put one saltarello to them, but the saltarello will be somewhat slow. . . .²⁴

²⁴Nota che la bassadanza . . . se po danzare per modi cinque/ de li cinque dui hanno suo ordine per motto de compartitione de tempo. . . . Ma piu difficille sono quisti altri tri motto che li dicti dui impero che li bisogna mettere una grande presteza e tardeza a quilli motto li quali non hanno suo ordine/ . . . lo primo ordine . . . la bassa danza. . . . lo secondo ordine . . . mettando li dui tempi de piva in uno de bassadanza. . . . quadernaria ge consiste in suo compimento uno dopio cum uno frapamento in uno tempo e . . . mettere questo motto in uno tempo di bassadanza ma sera alquanto uno poco largo/ . . . parera presto poiche uno tempo de bassadanza ha solo uno dopio naturalmente e

Although Domenico's language in this passage is

questo ha uno dopio e uno frapamento/ Impero te pare piu veloce ma vogli te mostri sera largo/ va e fa uno dopio de bassadanza e falli uno o dui frapamenti . . . advisandote che lo frapamento de la quadernaria ponendolo in su la mexura de bassadanza se fa in su el pieno e quello de la bassadanza cioe lo frapamento se fa nel vuodo/ . . . mettere uno tempo de saltarello in uno de bassadanza ma lo saltarello sera largo perche dico de sopra . . . essere piu strecto el saltarello uno terzo de la bassadanza. . . . mettere dui tempi del saltarello in uno de bassadanza/ Ma siamo prestissimi ponendo li dui tempi perche dico qui de sopra la piva esser la mitade de bassadanza e lo saltarello e piu largo de la piva uno sesto adonque ponendo li dui tempi di saltarello in uno de bassadanza seranno prestissimi. . . .

Nota che la quadernaria dico se po danzare per modi quatro/ lo primo modo ha suo ordine danzando ti uno dopio e uno frapamento . . . in uno tempo de quadernaria/ el secondo modo tu mettere uno tempo per motto de bassadanza in uno de quadernaria. Ma seria la bassadanza alquanto presta. . . . El modo terzo mettere uno tempo per motto de saltarello in uno tempo de quadernaria/ ma sera lo saltarello alquanto largo. . . . El modo quarto tu poni dui motti de tempo de piva in uno de quadernaria, ma seranno alquanto presti. . . .

Nota che el saltarello per motto se po dividere in modi cinque/ el primo motto ha suo ordine. . . . El motto segundo tu poi pigliare dui tempi de saltarello e metterli in uno tempo da bassadanza/ advisandote che lo motto non vene avere suo ordine/ El terzo modo poni uno motto de la bassadanza in uno tempo de saltarello/ ma sera prestissimo. . . . El modo quarto mettere uno tempo de motto quadernario in uno de saltarello/ ma lo motto quadernario sera alquanto presto. . . . El quinto modo ponere tempi dui de piva in uno tempo de saltarello ma lo motto de la piva serae prestissimo. . . .

Nota che la piva se po danzare per motti quatro. Lo primo motto ha lo suo ordine. . . . el motto segundo pigliando dui tempi de piva e farli uno motto de bassadanza suso dicti dui tempi. . . . Lo terzo motto tu danzatore uno motto quadernario suso dui tempi de

not as precise as we would like--he refers both to steps and to units of measures as "tempi" and never uses the word "step"--it is clear from the examples he cites that what is said to be too slow or too fast is always the dance step and not the measure. This implies that it was the speed of the step that was changed, and not that of the measure. There is, however, only a single instance where Domenico says explicitly that the step must be altered: the third way to dance the bassa danza, he says, is to put one quadernaria [step] into one bassa danza [tempo], but since this is slow yet seems fast (because the quadernaria double is done with a frapamento), the faster double of quadernaria must be replaced with the slower bassa danza double.²⁵ Whether this example is mentioned only because it is a special case requiring special handling, or whether this was the usual method of altering steps, is impossible to say.

Even though this part of the theory permits each step to be danced in each measure, the examples given do not incorporate every possible numeric combination. If, to give just one example, both one and two saltarello steps can be danced to one bassa danza tempo, why are the number of piva steps in quadernaria limited to two, since quadernaria and piva have the same temporal

piva/ Ma sera alquanto presto. . . . El quarto motto . . . pigliando ti galante dui tempi de piva e farli suso uno motto de saltarello ma lo saltarello alquanto sera largeto. . . . " Paris 972, fols. 5v-7r.

²⁵See the full passage on page 100.

relationship as bassa danza and saltarello? Although it is possible that the combinations listed in Paris 972 and Rome are the only ones allowed, it is more likely that they were intended merely to be examples of what happens to measure-steps in different measures.

It is important to remember that most of the terms used in these treatises are never defined, and that the authors often use a single word to mean different, if related, things. The word "tempi," for instance, is used to mean, as it commonly does today, the rate of speed at which something occurs; it is also used to mean "step" in the case of measure-steps ("do a tempo of saltarello, that is, a double"), and to units of a measure to which dance steps are fitted ("perform two simples and two doubles, which are three bassa danza tempi"). The word "measure" involves many related concepts, too: most often a measure is one of four dance styles or types, each with its characteristic step or steps. This meaning of the word cannot, however, be separated from the idea of measure as mensuration and measure as tempo. According to Domenico, "measure" is in its broadest sense a combination of opposites, and "consists of mixtures of pieno with lo vuodo, mixtures of silence with sound, mixtures of motions of the body with the movements of the feet."²⁶

The present-day confusion about the mean-

²⁶ . . . consiste in mexurare el pieno cum lo vuodo mexurare el tacere cum la odire del sono mexurare el movimento del corpo cum la prompta del pede." Paris 972, fol. 3r.

ing of "vuodo" (emptiness or void) and "pieno" (fullness) is due in part to discrepancies in the treatises themselves. Domenico and Cornazano mostly use the words "vuodo" and "pieno" when they pair the measures; this pairing is done first on the basis of mensuration (see page 96), and then on the basis of the placement of the vuodo and pieno within each unit, or tempo, of the measure. The bassa danza, Domenico says, "begins its tempo in lo vuodo and finishes in lo pieno";²⁷ he explains the difference:

Note that when you begin a bassa danza always do an upward movement before the step made by moving the feet. That [first] movement is el vuodo and the step with the moving of your feet is lo pieno.²⁸

Cornazano has a similar idea, but divides each bassa danza tempo into four:

El vodo is one, which is the first rising motion, then each of the three steps made takes one-fourth, which totals four. The vodo and these three other fourths are difficult to explain without being present to see them done.²⁹

Paired with the bassa danza is the saltarello.

²⁷" . . . se comenza el suo tempo in lo vuodo e compisse in lo pieno." Ibid., fol. 3v.

²⁸" . . . nota che quando voi comenzare una bassadanza sempre fai uno movimento in suso in lo tuo esser inanti che lo passo faci la prompta del pede. Quello movimento sie el vuodo e lo passa cum la prompta del pede sie lo pieno." Ibid., fol. 4r.

²⁹"El vodo (vuoto) è una, cioè el primo moto surgente, poi ciaschun de gli tre passi che si fanno ne consuma uno quarto, che viene a compire quatro: quello che sia el vodo e gli altri tre quarti male si po' explicare senca essere presente a fargli fare." Mazzi, "Antonio Cornazano," p. 14.

The quadernaria is opposite from the bassa danza and saltarello because it "begins in pieno and has a vodo at the middle and the end";³⁰ you begin "with the step moving your feet, and this is lo pieno; the other step which follows is lo vuodo."³¹ The piva "begins the tempo in lo pieno like the quadernaria."³²

Both authors agree that each tempo consists of pieno and vuodo; during the pieno there is a movement of the feet and during the vuodo there is either a rising movement of the body that does not involve the feet (as in the bassa danza) or there is a kind of step that is somehow different from the step in which the feet move (as in the quadernaria).³³ This explanation of "vuodo" and "pieno" appears to contradict an earlier remark of Domenico's in which he says that the difference between the two is that the pieno is "on the tempo"³⁴ and the vuodo, "between

30" . . . comincia in pieno et ha el vodo in mezo et cosi in fine." Ibid., p. 30.

31" . . . tu recommensi cum lo passo promptando lo tuo pede e questo e lo pieno l' altro passo che siegue e lo vuodo." Paris 972, fol. 4r.

32" . . . se comenza el suo motto del tempo in lo pieno como la quadernaria." Ibid.

³³Because of the comment about the difference between "rising motion" and the "moving of the feet," some writers have equated vuodo and pieno with upbeat and downbeat, but there is no evidence to suggest that Domenico and Cornazano had this in mind. See Mullally, "The Polyphonic Theory," p. 6.

34" . . . nel tempo instanti." Paris 972, fol. 2v.

one tempo and another."³⁵ When these two explanations are put together, there are three discrepancies: (1) the vuodo cannot be both a part of a tempo and between tempi; (2) since an accidental is a type of step and is performed in the vuodo, it must either be like the vuodo of bassa danza which has no motion of the feet, or like that "other step" of quadernaria which also, Cornazano implies, does not involve movement of the feet (the pieno, he says, is the "step moving your feet"; the vuodo is the "other step"); if the accidental steps do not include movement of the feet, then they could not have been the leaps, skips, and jumps we think they were; and (3) if the accidental of saltarello (the salteto) is placed in the second part of the tempo, as the accidentals of quadernaria and piva are, it would fall in the pieno, since the vuodo comes first in saltarello; this would break the rule that accidentals occur in the vuodo.

There are three possible explanations for these discrepancies: (1) when Domenico says the vuodo falls between two tempi, he is simply adding a fourth meaning to the word "tempi," using it to mean the pieno part of the tempo, and not to mean the combination of pieno and vuodo which make up a tempo--the pieno is clearly the important part of the tempo; (2) when Domenico and Cornazano talk of the "moving of the feet" they mean a horizontal motion of the feet during which the feet move from one place to another (as in the natural steps); since the accidental steps are probably

³⁵ . . . tra uno tempo e l'altro." Ibid.

mostly leaps or jumps and the feet begin and end in the same place, there is no "moving of the feet" during their performance; and (3) the accidental in saltarello may come, not after the double, but before it, which would put it in the vuodo; there is evidence to support this idea in the ballo "Verzeppe," where the instruction is to do three tempi of saltarello with a salteto at the beginning.³⁶ But perhaps the best explanation for the discrepancies in the treatises is that "vuodo" and "pieno" are used in general to mean the two or more parts of a tempo, each part with its own kind of movement or dance step, and that inconsistencies arise when these same words are used without being redefined, in different, and too narrow, contexts. "Vuodo" and "pieno" are used, just as "tempo" and "measure" are, to mean several different things.

There are some differences between dance performance as it is explained in step and measure theory and the performance of the dances as they are described in the dance instructions.

³⁶This command, however, can be interpreted in several ways; for a discussion of this part of "Verzeppe," see pages 131-32. Additional evidence that the accidental in saltarello comes first in the tempo is in Domenico's discussion of the "five ways to dance the bassa danza": he says that the frapamento of bassa danza comes in the vuodo, which, like the vuodo of saltarello, comes first in the tempo. The meaning of this remark is by no means clear, however, because both Domenico and Cornazano say that the bassa danza measure has no accidentals in it. I think Domenico is speaking hypothetically in this passage: if the bassa danza had a frapamento, it would be placed in the vuodo.

From these differences, rules can be deduced that are in some cases modifications of, and in others, additions to, the rules given in the dance-manuals. All the new rules deduced from the dance instructions have to do with dance steps: there are steps in the dance instructions that are either not discussed at all in the theory, or are mentioned briefly but not explained, and there are many examples of steps being used or altered in ways not disclosed in the theory.

The following steps are found in the dance instructions but are not discussed in the theory: stracorse, cambiamento, scosso (or scossetto), inchino, posa (or possa), posada (or posata), scapamento, trapassino, and voltete. Three steps, passetto, galoppo, and squassetto, are listed in Siena and Modena, but are not categorized as to their type, nor are they given a time-value. Of the steps not mentioned in the theory, two are most likely just alternate spellings of steps that are mentioned: "stracorse" is probably another spelling for the accidental "trascorse" (Cornazano's spelling), or "scorsa" (Domenico's spelling); and the "cambiamento" is probably the same as Domenico's "scambiamento," an accidental step. Only a single example of each of these steps occurs, and, since both are in basse danze, it is impossible to determine how the steps function or how long it takes to perform them. The scosso (or scossetto) and the squassetto have been mentioned previously: Magliabechiana, particularly, uses "scosso" in place of the movimento in other sources, so the scosso is either the same as a movimento, or a near-relation; "squassetto" is the spelling of "scos-

setto" used in the Siena and Modena treatises. The "inchino" is a little riverenza, or bow, and it occasionally replaces a (full) riverenza.

Many of the steps (such as the posa, posada, passetto, galoppo, scapamento, and vol-tete) are in balli that have music; they will be discussed in chapter 4, after the ballo steps and music have been combined. One step, the trapassino, is found only in balli for which there is no extant music. In "Humana," there are three trapassini in a row, and in "Mastri di Toboni," four. Since accidental steps must be used in conjunction with natural steps, and are limited to two per tempo, at most, the presence of three and four together suggests that the trapassino is a natural step.

Using the dance instructions as a guideline, there appears to be two main ways the dance steps can be changed: one, the amount of time needed for their performance can be lengthened or shortened, and, two, the component parts of the measure-steps, and of the mezza volta and volta tonda, can be changed. Most of the alterations to step timing are proportional: the normal time of the step is halved, doubled, or increased by half; examples from the dances are a ripresa of two tempi, a double plus a single to equal one tempo, a half-ripresa, a half-continenza, and a movimento or scosso equal to one tempo. Contrapassi, often used in Rome, Siena, and Modena instead of the doubles in other texts, sometimes are given times different from what is stated in the theory (normally, three contrapassi equal two tempi), so that, for instance, four contrapassi replace three doubles, or three contra-

passi take the place of three doubles.

Another way to change the timing of a step is to change its function; a natural step can be made to function as an accidental, and therefore take no time, and an accidental step can function as a natural step and take time, unlike a normal accidental step which is done in the same time as the previous natural step. By far the most common alteration of this type is to the mezza volta, and almost all such examples are in Paris 972; a typical instruction in Paris 972 tells the dancer to do a mezza volta "in a void tempo." This means that the step takes no "time" but is performed in the same "tempo" as the natural step that precedes it. The opposite situation occurs when accidental steps function as natural steps; this is the case with the frapamenti in the ballo "Marchesana," where Paris 972 calls for three frapamenti together. Not attached to a natural step, the frapamenti can only be natural steps.

The constituent parts of measure-steps, the mezza volta, and the volta tonda are subject to much more variation in practice than the theory suggests. In his treatise, Cornazano lists substitutes for the double of the saltarello step, but the option of replacing the component parts of a measure-step with other steps extends to the piva and saltarello tedesco steps: in "Ingrata" and "Prisonera," the instructions call for a saltarello tedesco step to consist of a double plus a ripresa, rather than two simples and a ripresa, and in "Leoncello novo" and "La Figlia Guilielmo" for four, the piva double is

replaced, respectively, by two simples and by a ripresa. Probably all the doubles of the measure-steps could, on occasion, be replaced by other natural steps.

Although the theory does not mention it, the volta tonda and mezza volta are not just dance steps whose physical movements are prescribed and unchanging; they can, like the measure-steps, consist of variable constituent parts.³⁷ In some cases, the combined timing of the component parts specified in the dance instructions is greater or lesser than the timing of the mezza volta and volta tonda steps as given in the theory (the mezza volta is one tempo, the volta tonda, two). The volta tonda, often simply called the "volta," usually is made up of a combination of simples, doubles, and riprese, such as two simples plus a ripresa, three simples, a double, or two simples and two doubles, but other steps are sometimes included, such as a riverenza or salteto. Two volte were so well-known they were given names: the "volta del gioioso" probably consists of two simples and a ripresa, but the steps of the "volta de' troboni"

³⁷The authors of the treatises use two expressions to give the components of the mezza volta and volta tonda; an example of the first is, "do a volta tonda, that is, two simples and a ripresa"; the second, "do a mezza volta with two simples," is not as unambiguous as the first. "With" almost always means "equal to" when it follows "mezza volta" or "volta tonda," but it sometimes means "together with," particularly in Siena and Modena where "with" is often the only conjunction that joins a long series of dance steps ("do a double with two simples with a ripresa with three doubles with . . .").

are never explained. The components of the mezza volta are specified far less often than those of the volta tonda, but there are a few examples in the dance instructions: in one, two simples make up the mezza volta, and in another, two simples and a movimento.

The words "mezza volta" and "volta tonda" are not only used as names for dance steps, but also to describe the floor pattern (half- or full-turn) made by the dancers. Thus any number and kind of step can be "in volta tonda" (or, "in volta"), or "in mezza volta"; a few of the many examples in the dance instructions are: two doubles in volta, three riprese in volta tonda, four piva in a volta tonda, two riprese in a mezza volta, and a ripresa with two continenze in volta.³⁸

In this chapter we have studied both the dance theory and the dance instructions in order to find out how to combine ballo steps and ballo music. The theory has the bulk of what we need to know: matters related to dance steps (the three types of steps, how long they take to perform, how the different types can be put together), and matters related to measures (the relationship between measure and tempo, measure and meter, measure and measure-step). The remainder of the information comes from the dance instructions; they show that the function, timing, and component parts of some steps can be altered in ways not suggested in the theory. With the music of tran-

³⁸In Siena and Modena, the "ripresa in volta" and the "simple in volta" are listed as dance steps.

scription I, the diagrams of the steps in chapter II, and the necessary information from the theory and the dance instructions, we can join the steps and music.

CHAPTER IV

STEPS AND MUSIC COMBINED (1)

Adding the ballo steps to the ballo music is a process of continual choice, choice between two or more versions of the dance steps, choice between different versions of the music, choice between various arrangements of the steps within the musical phrase. During the process of combining steps and music, three facts quickly become clear: (1) that some changes have to be made to the music of transcription I; (2) that there are problems encountered in the joining of steps and music for which neither the step theory nor the additions to the step theory derived from the dance instructions provide solutions; there are, however, solutions to most of these problems, and when they are listed and codified, they form yet another set of additions to and refinements of the step theory as it is found in the treatises; and (3) there are few balli for which there is only one possible combination of steps and music; rather, there are a number of combinations ranging from the probable and possible to the improbable and impossible.

It is these three facts that are discussed, explained, and illustrated in the first two parts of this chapter. In part 1 I explain the changes made to some phrases of music and the choices made between music variants; in part 2 I describe how the dance steps for each phrase were chosen, and

then, on the basis of the combination of steps and music, make additions to the step theory. Although for the sake of clarity the music and the steps are discussed separately, it is important to remember that they were not and could not have been thought of as separate during the process of joining steps and music, since any decision concerning the music affected the way the steps fit, any decision about the steps had, in turn, an effect on the musical options, and all the decisions about music and steps had a bearing on the additions to the step theory. The final product of the first two parts of the chapter is a second transcription of the music with the dance steps underlayed; it is in volume II.

The union of steps and music in transcription II is the basis for the third and final part of chapter IV, the determination of measure. Just under half of the ballo phrases are said by the writers of the treatises to be in one of the four measures, but nowhere in the treatises do the writers explain how to determine the measure of the remaining phrases. If one codifies the features of the phrases assigned a measure, however, the resultant list can be used to determine the measure of the unassigned phrases. This list can then be added to the rather meagre amount of measure theory found in the treatises.

When the steps are added to the ballo music, it is clear that some of the musical phrases of transcription I have to be altered; in some cases, the music needs to be rebarred; in others the level of transcription must be shifted so that the semibreve in the original is tran-

scribed as an eighth-note or dotted eighth-note and not as a quarter- or dotted quarter-note (which is the usual level of transcription); and in others, the music needs both to be rebarred and to have its level of transcription changed. In every case, the alteration is done so that the number of bars in the phrase forms a one-to-one correspondence, or nearly a one-to-one correspondence, to the number of dance units for that phrase. When the steps are added to the music, it is possible to eliminate some of the alternatives that were left in transcription I; one can see which of several versions of some phrases is the best choice, and one can ascertain the correct number of repetitions for those phrases where the sources do not agree on the matter.

The music of two complete dances, "Amoroso" and "Bel fiore," and of parts of two others, "Giove," line 1a and "Voltate in ga rosina," line 1, needs to be rearranged metrically. In transcription I, the music for these phrases is in 2/4 meter; the steps for these phrases, however, move in units of one step per two bars of music. If the music is to reflect the level at which the steps work it must be changed; either the music must be rebarred in 4/4 or, keeping the music in 2/4, the level of transcription has to be changed from $\diamond = \text{quarter note}$ to $\diamond = \text{half note}$. Although both kinds of change serve the same function (reflecting the level at which the steps move), I chose to rebar the music so that there is a visual distinction between these phrases and the majority of duple-time phrases which are in 2/4. The music of "Colonnese" and "Leggiadra" likewise has to be

altered, because in some phrases the steps work in two-bar units. Despite other problems with this music that complicate the transcription process,¹ it is clear that for phrases 1 through 4 of "Colonnese," and phrases 1 through 4 and phrase 5b of "Leggiadra," all of which are in 3/4 meter in transcription I, each step takes two 3/4 bars. To reflect this level of step movement, the phrases must be rebarred and the meter changed to 6/4. There are, however, only two other phrases in the balli that are in 6/4 meter ("Giove," phrase 5, and "Gratioso," phrase 4) and because there is good reason to believe that both should be transcribed as 6/8,² it is possible that all 6/4 phrases should, in fact, be transcribed as 6/8. The music for these lines of "Colonnese" and "Leggiadra" is therefore transcribed provisionally into 6/8, with $\diamond = \text{♪}$, to bring it into line with all other compound-time phrases.

¹The two sources that contain the music for "Colonnese" and "Leggiadra," Paris 973 and Paris 476, do not agree about many details, such as where the division between the first two phrases of "Colonnese" should be, the notes for the first two phrases of both dances, and the number of times some phrases must be repeated (see the music on pages 44 and 51-52 in volume II). Because the melodies of these two dances are variations of the same tune (though "Leggiadra" is a fifth higher) and because there is no unequivocal solution to the problems listed above, I decided to make a single version of the opening lines to be used for both dances. This decision means that the numbers for the lines of "Leggiadra" in transcription I have to be changed in transcription II, since the first three lines of transcription I are expanded to four in transcription II.

²This is discussed in chapter V, page 213.

The first three lines of "Gioioso" need to be rewritten for the same reasons and in the same way as the opening lines of "Colonnese" and "Leggiadra": the transcription level must be changed to $\diamond = \text{♪}$, and the meter to 6/8. The rhythm of these lines in "Gioioso" is very similar to the unusual rhythm of the first few lines of the other two dances, with their constant pattern of six eighth-notes per bar. All these lines appear to be based on simple tunes (and in the case of "Colonnese" and "Leggiadra," on the same tune) which have been varied by having each of their long notes broken up into shorter, repeated notes. This music is distinctly different from the music of the other 6/8 phrases, which are either in long notes throughout ($\text{♪} \text{♪}, \text{♪}$) or in mixtures of quarter-, eighth-, and dotted quarter-notes ($\text{♪} \text{♪} \text{♪}, \text{♪} \text{♪} \text{♪}, \text{♪} \text{♪} \text{♪}$).³

All the treatises have the same music for "Spero," line 5, except that Paris 476 has the ♩ as the main notational unit and the other sources have the \diamond ; the same situation occurs in "Prisonera," lines 1 through 5, and in "Marchesana," line 4. For each of these lines, the transcription into 6/8 meter, with $\diamond = \text{♪}$, is based on the versions in the sources other than Paris 476; with $\diamond = \text{♪} (\text{♩} = \text{♪})$, the music in Paris 476 would have

³Because the unusual rhythm of these lines in "Colonnese," "Gioioso," and "Leggiadra," sets them apart from other 6/8 phrases, I did not think it was necessary to transcribe them into an unusual meter, too (a meter not found in any other phrases); I had found it necessary to do this for the phrases I rebarred into 4/4, since they are rhythmically indistinguishable from other duplet-time phrases.

to be transcribed into 6/4. Paris 476 is the only manuscript that has the music for the alternate line 5a of "Marchesana," and since this phrase, like phrase 4, moves by \square , it too was rewritten for transcription II with the $\square = \downarrow$, in 6/8 rather than 6/4 meter. In "Giove," line 5, and "Gratioso," line 4, all the sources have the \square as the notational unit, which leads to a transcription of 6/4 with the $\square = \circ$. It has already been mentioned on page 118 that these two phrases were rewritten in 6/8, with $\square = \downarrow$.

For transcription II, the choice between the two or more versions of some lines of music--those I could not decide between in transcription I--is easy to make if the criterion is that the number of music units (bars) should equal, or be only slightly more than, the number of step units.⁴ For two dances, the best variant is the longer variant: in "La Figlia Guilielmo for four," lines 2b and 2c, the longer version of the music in Paris 972 fits better with the steps than does the shorter version in Rome; if the steps are to fit, lines 8, 9, and 10a of "Sobria," which are found only in Paris 972, must be included even though Cornazano omits them. Sometimes the shorter version of the music is the best choice, as it is for line 5a of "Leggiadra," and for "Leoncello" and

⁴We know from the dance theory that most balli began with a riverenza, even though the step is usually not included in the dance instructions. The extra bar or two of music in the first line of so many dances is presumably for this opening riverenza. I suspect that riverenze were common, or at least optional, at the beginning of each main division of the dances.

"Leoncello novo," where Paris 476 has an extra line of music between the first two phrases. It is not always possible to choose between different versions of the music; this is especially true in cases where the treatises disagree about both the steps and the music of a phrase. For the following ballo phrases, where the sources disagree about both steps and music, an alternate version of the music, plus one or more alternate combinations of steps and music, are given in the footnotes to these dances in transcription II: "La Figlia Guilielmo for two," lines 2b and 2c, "Prisonera," lines 6 and 7, and lines 4 through 6 of "Marchesana."

The writers do not always agree about how many times a phrase of music should be repeated. Once the steps and music are combined, however, it is a simple matter to choose the correct number. These choices need not be discussed; they can be seen in transcription II.

Because of the number of differences between treatises, it appears at first glance that for some balli there are as many as four or five different sets of instructions. But by far the biggest cause of differences between the treatises is that their writers omit steps, sometimes by failing to mention that a step (or steps) is to be done more than once, or by neglecting to say just how many steps of a particular kind are to be performed. In most cases, what is omitted in one source is present in another, so a more-or-less complete version of the dance instructions can be formulated. Other differences between treatises are minor ones where, for example, two doubles in

one source replace three contrapassi in another, or two saltarello steps take the place of two riprese. There are, of course, some major differences between treatises and some versions of ballo instructions that cannot be made to fit with the music of the same name; since these versions are usually found in the treatises that have no music, it is possible that they were intended to be danced to versions of the music that no longer survive.

If one eliminates all the impossible-to-fit sections of the ballo instructions, and ignores insignificant variants between the sources, it is possible to find the best, if not always the only, combination of steps and music for almost all the ballo phrases. For the second transcription, which has both steps and music, I made two working assumptions: one, that for any phrase the number of step units should be equal to, or nearly equal to, the number of bars of music--this same assumption prompted the rebarring and change of transcription level for some of the music--and, second, that dance steps that clearly form a group, such as twelve saltarello steps, should either fit into a single musical phrase or into a group of phrases that are at the very least in the same meter, and perhaps have rhythmic and melodic features in common as well; in other words, there must be a correlation between large units of steps and large units of music. The footnotes to some of the dances in the second transcription give, in addition to musical alternatives, alternative dance steps when they are significant, and alternative dispositions of steps for those phrases where missing or unintelligible information makes more

than one arrangement of the same steps possible.

In almost every case, the ballo instructions in Paris 972 provide the most complete and accurate version of the dance. Cornazano's texts for these same dances--all of Cornazano's balli are also in Paris 972--often leave out the repetition of sections, and Cornazano frequently neglects to tell the dancer how many steps of a certain kind are required ("and now do the saltarello"). The instructions for the same dance in Paris 973, Paris 476, and Magliabechiana, are almost always identical, or nearly so.⁵ Five balli are found only in these three sources, and the instructions for these balli are accurate in the sense that they can easily be combined with their music. These three treatises have ten balli in common with Paris 972 and for each dance their instructions are similar to the instructions in Paris 972. Of the ballo texts in Siena and Modena, many cannot be made to fit with the music; the texts contain many errors and omissions, and some texts are so different from the instructions in any other source that they are essentially completely new dances. Sometimes no single source provides satisfactory instructions for a phrase; for these phrases, a compromise solution in which steps from several sources are combined, was judged to be best; compare, for example, the final section of the diagram of "La Figlia Guilielmo for two" on page 54 to the steps for this section on page 76 of volume II. Only

⁵The main difference between Magliabechiana and the other two treatises is that the author of Magliabechiana always tells the dancer to repeat the entire dance, an instruction often left out of Paris 973 and Paris 476.

those choices between one source and another and between one arrangement of steps and another that are relevant to the step theory as it is deduced from transcription II will be discussed in the following pages, since to discuss the choices made for each phrase would be both pointless and time consuming.

There are problems encountered in transcription II for which neither the step theory nor the additions to the theory provide solutions. For each problem, however, a solution can be found, and when the individual solutions are compared and codified, it can be seen that they fall into five categories or types of solutions. Each category can be reduced to a regulation or two, and these regulations must be added to the step theory. Earlier additions to the step theory, in chapter III, were derived from the dance instructions alone; the additions, refinements, and clarifications in this chapter are deduced from the way the steps work when they are added to the music. Of the five categories, two have not yet been discussed: the first has to do with doubling the normal time of some saltarello steps, the second with the effect of qualifiers such as "broad," "little," and "syncopated" on the performance of the step to which the qualifier is attached. The three remaining categories have been mentioned in chapter III, but are expanded on here: the first involves the flexible timing of steps, the second the use of natural steps as accidental steps and accidental steps as natural steps, and the last deals with all those steps found in the dance instructions that are either not mentioned or not explained in the step theory.

The confusion in the theory about the terms "saltarello," "saltarello tedesco," and "quadernaria" has already been mentioned; all three are names of both steps and measures, but "saltarello tedesco," when it is used to mean a measure, is another name for "quadernaria." This confusion is evident in the dance instructions, too; although in theory and in the dance instructions every saltarello tedesco step, regardless of the meter in which it is found, is equal to two bars of music, the saltarello step called for in the dance instructions refers to two different things, a fact not mentioned in the theory. When a saltarello step occurs in 6/8 or 3/4 meter it takes one bar and is therefore Domenico's double with a salteto; whenever a saltarello step is found in 2/4 or 4/4, however, it always takes two bars. In this second instance, the word "saltarello" is used to mean "saltarello tedesco." In line 1 of "Giove," as if to prove the point, Paris 972 asks for three (two-bar) saltarello steps, and the other sources for three saltarello tedesco steps (each of two bars). There are many examples in the dances where "saltarello" steps mean "saltarello tedesco" steps; in a majority of cases the phrase has as a given that it is in quadernaria measure (see "La Figlia Guilielmo for four," lines 1a and 2b; lines 1, 3, and 4 of "Gelosia"; lines 1 and 2 of "Leoncello" and "Leoncello novo"; lines 1 and 2 of "Marchesana"; "Sobria," lines 5 and 8; and "Voltate in ga rosina," line 1).⁶ Other examples, however, occur in phrases where no measure

⁶Until page 135, all references to individual balli are (1) to transcription II if the

is specified ("Marchesana," line 3; "Mercantia," line 6; and "Sobria," lines 7 and 10a) or where piva is the given measure, as it is in the first two lines of "Anello."

Sometimes a step is described as "little," "fast," or "broad"; the purpose of the qualifier is probably to tell the dancer something about the way the step is performed, as it does in the expression "riverenza to the ground" (in "Amoroso"), because in only a few instances does the qualifier affect the amount of time required for the performance of the step. The "broad saltarelli" in "Bel riguardo," "Bel riguardo novo," "Gelosia," and "Leoncello," and the "broad ripresa" in "Ingrata," for example, take the same amount of time as a normal saltarello or ripresa. When the dancer is told to do a series of steps in a "wide volta tonda," as he often is, the adjective "wide" does not affect the time of the step, so this qualifier probably has to do with the size of the circular floor pattern. In three phrases the addition of a qualifier does affect the time of the step: the "four short simples" called for by Domenico in "Bel fiore" take the same time as the double in all the other sources; the "little and fast riverenza" in line 4 of "Sobria" takes no time (or, as Domenico would say, is "in a void tempo"), nor does the "little riverenza" which accompanies two simples and a double in "Bel riguardo," line 5.

There are three expressions used in the

reference is to a specific line(s) of the dance, and (2) to the diagrams of the ballo steps on pages 47 to 75 if the reference does not include a line number.

dance instructions whose meanings are not explained in the theory, nor can I explain them. The dancer is sometimes told to do a step "in galone" (or, "sul galone"); in most cases, it is to a ripresa or to a group of riprese that the expression refers. Another inexplicable term, also used with riprese, is "in portogallese." These two expressions may refer to specific kinds of riprese, or to the way the riprese are performed, but since most of the examples occur in basse danze for which there is no extant music, it is difficult to say if they affect any other aspect of the performance. There is only one example of each expression in the balli: in "La Figlia Guilielmo for four," the ripresa "in galone" takes the same amount of time as a normal ripresa, and it appears that the three riprese "in portogallese" in "Spero" also take one bar each.⁷ The third expression is found in Modena and Siena, where the instructions sometimes call for a "double, sincopata" or a "mezza volta, sincopata"; whether this "syncopation" changes the time of the step as well as other aspects of its performance is impossible to say, since none of the steps of the only ballo in which "sincopata" occurs ("La Figlia Guilielmo for two") fit with the music.

It has already been mentioned that the timing of some steps is flexible. On page 87 I said that the timing of the movimento (the same as or closely related to the scosso, scossetto, and squassetto) is variable, sometimes taking one-half

⁷See pages 100-101 of volume II for a discussion of the problems involved with the second transcription of "Spero."

tempo, and sometimes one tempo. What in practice looks like flexibility is in theory a difference between the theorists: Domenico says there are two movimenti per tempo, but Cornazano says there "are no rules" to govern them. Most of the movimenti in the instructions occur in pairs that take one tempo, but the dance authors occasionally specify that a single movimento should take one tempo, as they do in "La Figlia Guilielmo for four" and "Leoncello." There are other examples in the balli where a single movimento (or scosso) takes a full tempo, but in these cases the timing is not mentioned in the text itself and has to be deduced from the way the steps fit the music; see line 3 of "Anello," line 5a of "Leggiadra," line 5 of "Marchesana," and line 9 of "Verzeppa." Because of this variability in timing, it is best to assume that all movimenti can take either a half-tempo or a full tempo.

The fourth category of amendments to the step theory involves the way natural steps are used as accidentals and accidental steps as naturals. It was explained in chapter III that Domenico sometimes specifies that a mezza volta must be done "in a void tempo," but there are many more instances in the dance instructions where the mezza volta takes no time, even though this is not stipulated in the instructions. Examples of this kind are found most often in Paris 972 where, if the steps are to fit with the music, the mezza volta must take no time. Often the text in Paris 972 is the only one that mentions the mezza volta; this is the case in the fourth line of "Leoncello novo," whose steps are as follows:

Paris 972	Rome	Modena, [Sienā]
d d	d } X2	d d
d d mv	d } X2	d
r r c c R	r r c c R	volta del gioioso c c
d d	d } X2	d
d d mv	d } X2	d
R	R R 35	r in volta

When the music for this line is added to the steps, it is clear that the mezze volte in Paris 972 must be done in the same time as the previous doubles:

cccc ♩ = ♩.
6/8

4 { d d d d (mv) r r }

c c R d d d d (mv) R

In "La Figlia Guilielmo for two," line 2a, "Mercantia," line 6, and "Sobria," line 3, Paris 972 is the only source with extraneous mezze volte, none of which take time of their own. Mezze volte that take no time are most often attached to a double step (as they are in "Bel riguardo novo," line 3; "La Figlia Guilielmo for two," line 2a;

"Leggiadra," line 4 alternate; and "Marchesana," line 4), or to saltarello steps (as they are in line 3 of "Anello," lines 2b and 2c of "La Figlia Guilielmo for four," "Leoncello," line 2, and "Mercantia," line 6), but they can also be appended to other steps (as in "Sobria," line 3, where the mezza volta follows a piva step).

It is possible that the riverenza, like the mezza volta, sometimes takes no time. In line 5 of "Bel riguardo," an example already cited, the "little riverenza" following the double is performed in the same time as the double. In five balli the writers state that the riverenza in question must take one tempo ("Bel riguardo" and "Bel riguardo novo," "La Figlia Guilielmo for four," "Mercantia," and "Pizochara"), which implies that the time of the riverenza in relation to the music could be changed. Whether these changes involved only a doubling or halving of its value, or whether the changes could involve giving the steps no time at all is impossible to say, since the "little riverenza" in "Bel riguardo" is the only example in the balli where the riverenza has no time, and it is preceded by a qualifier ("little").

The frapamento, which is, according to the theory, an accidental step, is only found once in the basse danze and balli. In "Marchesana," line 3, Paris 972 calls for three frapamenti plus a saltarello step; because there are three in a row, these frapamenti function as natural steps.

There are steps found in both basse danze and balli that are either not mentioned or not explained in the theory. These steps were discussed briefly in chapter III, but can be dis-

cussed in more detail now, since the function and timing of some of these steps can be determined from the way the phrases containing them fit with their music. Because they usually occur in phrases where other steps, such as the mezza volta and movimento, can vary in their time and function, it is at times impossible to decide whether they are natural or accidental steps, and, if they are natural steps, to determine the amount of time needed for their performance. For each of the following steps, I will examine the way the step is used in the balli, and, adding any evidence from the basse danze, try to decide whether the step is used primarily as an accidental or as a natural step and, if it is used as a natural step, how much time the step takes: salto and salteto, posa and posada, passetto, galoppo, scapamento, and voltete. A step is assumed to be a natural step if it takes (musical) time, and an accidental step if it takes no time of its own but is performed during the time of (that is, the same bar as) the previous step.

Only Domenico lists the salto as a step, and he says it is a natural step of one tempo; it is probably being used as a natural step in the bassa danza "Nobite," where four appear in a row. In "La Figlia Guilielmo for four," Domenico specifies a salto of one-half piva tempo, and in "Marchesana," Paris 973, Paris 476, and Magliabechiana have a salto of one-half tempo, so the salto could, like many other natural steps, have its time changed. In other balli where salti are found, their function is not clear and there is some evidence that "salto" was sometimes used to mean "saltarello" or "salteto." In "Verzeppa,"

line 4, for example, Domenico tells the dancer to do four saltarello tempi with a salto at the beginning; this might mean that a salto is equivalent to or a kind of saltarello. In line 8 of the same dance, however, the instruction is to do "three saltarello tempi, catching a salteto at the beginning," and this remark throws into question the meaning of the salto in line 4, since the first salto might, in fact, mean "salteto." More explicit examples of the confusion between "salto," "salteto," and "saltarello" exist in "Sobria," where in two phrases Domenico calls for a salteto and Cornazano for a salto, and in "La Figlia Guilielmo for two," where for the same step Siena and Modena use "saltarello," Cornazano has "little salto," and Domenico, "salteto." According to Domenico, the salteto is the accidental that accompanies a saltarello step--it appears to function this way in line 8 of "Verzeppe"--but in "La Figlia Guilielmo for two," line 2b, where the volta tonda is made up of three simples and a salteto, the salteto functions as a natural step of a half-tempo. On the basis of all the evidence, one can say only that the salto appears to be a natural step of variable time, though "salto" is perhaps used at times to mean "saltarello" or "salteto," and that the salteto is basically an accidental step, but may at times function as a natural step.

The evidence from the balli about the way a posa (or possa) is used is inconclusive, since in every phrase but one where the step occurs, there is more than one way to fit the steps to the music (see "Sobria," lines 7 and 10a, and "Tessara," line 8). In only one phrase can the func-

tion of the posa more-or-less be determined and here the step appears to be a natural step-- "appears to be" is the right expression, since the text for this dance is, with its ambiguities and digressions, difficult to translate: in line 3 of "Tesara," each unit of three piva tempi is made up of a double plus a posa plus a ripresa. "Posa" might be a shortened form of "posada," but even this possibility is of little help in determining how the posa functions, since the function of the posada (or posata) is by no means clear either. In two balli the posada is an accidental: in line 3 of "Leoncello novo" it is done "in a void," and in "Sobria," line 4 ("do a little voltete and posada") the step probably takes no time. There are many posade in the basse danze and all seem to be accidentals, since they occur singly, as they do in four dances, or, in the case of one dance, in pairs. In the final line of "Marchesana," however, the posada in Paris 972 takes the place of the salto in the other sources; this may mean that here it functions as a natural step.

Of the steps that remain, two, the passetto and the galoppo, are listed as steps in the theory sections of Siena and Modena, though they are not explained, and two, the scapamento and voltete, are found in the dance instructions but not in the theory. Passetti are probably natural steps, since in the ballo "Mastri di toboni," there are four together, and in the basse danze they appear in groups of two or three. The amount of time the step takes is unknown, however; only one ballo with music has passetti ("Prisonera")

and since the sources disagree about the music for the line in question and about whether there must be three or four passetti, it is impossible to find out the time of the step. The only example of a galoppo in the balli is in "Gelosia," line 7, and here the step takes a half-tempo. There is a single galoppo in one bassa danza and two galoppi together in each of two balli without music; in none of these dances can either the time or the function of the step be determined.

In all the basse danze and balli, there is only one example of a scapamento and one of a voltete. Line 1 of "Giove" has a scapamento that takes a half-tempo, since each saltarello step (of two tempi) consists of "three steps with a scapamento." The voltete may be a little volta, or turn, just as a ripresetta is a little ripresa, but its function and time cannot be determined from the one dance where it occurs: in "Sobria," Domenico calls for a "little voltete and posada" to follow a saltarello step.

The way dance steps were performed and the amount of time it took to perform them were, it appears from the examples above, much more flexible in practice than the theory suggests. Perhaps most of the steps, even those that in the extant balli are never altered, could be varied in performance.

Because there are no guidelines for it in the theory, one of the most difficult tasks of transcription II is to decide on the measure of the ballo phrases that are not already assigned them by the dance authors. The only way this can be done is to derive a list of characteristics of

the measures from those phrases that are assigned a measure--about half the ballo phrases--and use this list to determine the measure of the remaining phrases.⁸

As the following excerpts from the ballo instructions show, the authors assign measure in a number of ways: "Do three doubles in quadernaria measure"; "Do a volta tonda in piva measure, which is three simples"; "Perform two simples and a double, which are one bassa danza tempo"; "Do a salto of one-half piva tempo." It is not always clear from the instructions alone just which steps are in the given measure ("And all this part above is in bassa danza measure"), but since nearly every mention of measure is in Paris 972, and the dance instructions of Paris 972 are divided into paragraphs that correspond to the musical phrases, any confusion usually can be cleared up when the dance steps are put into units corresponding to the paragraph divisions of Paris 972 (as they are in the diagrams of chapter II), and these dance units added to the music. Although most references to measure are not to complete dance phrases but to single steps ("Do a volta tonda in piva measure") or to several steps within the phrase ("Do three doubles in quadernaria measure"), it must be assumed that if one step in a phrase is in a particular measure, then all the steps of that phrase are in that measure. The only exceptions are in those phrases where there is a change of meter or mensuration sign (and therefore of

⁸For the remainder of the chapter, all references to balli are to transcription II unless stated otherwise.

measure) in mid-phrase.

When the phrases that are assigned a measure are grouped by measure, it can be seen that each measure is associated with, or characterized by, three or more of the following: a particular meter (or meters), a particular mensuration sign (or signs), a certain rhythm (or rhythms), and certain kinds of dance steps. There is not, unfortunately, a one-to-one correspondence between a measure and a particular meter, sign, rhythm, or step, but there are certain meters, signs, rhythms, and steps found more often in one measure than another, and there are meters, signs, rhythms, and steps that are never found in certain measures.

One question regarding mensuration signs needs to be answered before the characteristics of the measures can be defined: to how many phrases of music does any given mensuration sign apply? There is no problem when all the phrases of a dance have a sign (as they do in "Verzeppa"), but in most dances only some of the lines have a sign and it is therefore not clear for how long a particular sign remains in effect. In order to accurately correlate measure and mensuration sign, I have assumed that when a phrase without a sign follows a phrase with a sign and (1) is in the same meter and (2) has the same rhythm and perhaps similar rhythmic and melodic motives and (3) has the same kind of steps, the mensuration sign of the first phrase applies to the second phrase. If any one or more of these factors changes, the second phrase is assumed to be without a mensuration sign.

I will begin with the characteristics of phrases in bassa danza measure, and discuss each

measure in turn. All the phrases given as bassa danza measure transcribe into 6/8 meter, and all have only natural steps. There are many combinations of rhythm and mensuration signs in bassa danza phrases. Sixteen have the C sign; of these, seven have J. J. as their basic rhythm (line 4 of "Leoncello"; lines 3, 4, and 7 of "Mercantia"; lines 3 and 5 of "Pizochara"; line 3c of "Ingrata"), and nine have no distinctive rhythm (line 2a of "La Figlia Guilielmo for two" and "La Figlia Guilielmo for four"; lines 1b and 2 of "Giove"; line 4 of "Ingrata"; line 4 of "Pizochara"; lines 2, 5, and 7 of "Verzeppe"). Five bassa danza phrases have neither a distinctive rhythm nor a mensuration sign ("Bel riguardo," lines 2 and 5; "Bel riguardo novo," line 5; and line 1b of both versions of "La Figlia Guilielmo"). The remaining bassa danza phrases have a variety of signs and rhythms: three have a \odot sign and J. J. rhythm ("Giove," line 4b; "Ingrata," line 5; and "Spero," line 5); the first five phrases of "Prisonera," without a particular rhythm, are given three different signs: C by Paris 972, \odot by Paris 973, and \circ by Paris 476. The \circ sign is also used in line 4 of "Marchesana," where J. J. is the rhythm.

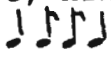
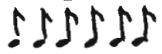


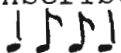
There is no special rhythm associated with quadernaria measure, nor does quadernaria measure have a characteristic dance step, since all kinds of steps (natural, accidental, measure steps) are performed in it. By far the greatest number of phrases in quadernaria measure are in 2/4 meter; of these, nine phrases have the C sign (line 2b of both versions of "La Figlia Guilielmo"; line 2 of "Ingrata"; the first 2 lines of "Marchesana";

line 2 of "Mercantia"; lines 5 and 8 of "Sobria"; line 3 of "Verzeppa"), and fourteen have no mensuration sign (line 1a of both versions of "La Figlia Guilielmo"; lines 1 through 4 of "Gelosia"; lines 1, 2, 3, and 5 of "Leoncello"; lines 1 and 2 of "Leoncello novo"; and "Marchesana," lines 5 and 6). A few phrases in quadernaria measure are in 4/4 meter: three have no mensuration sign ("Bel fiore," lines 1 and 2, and "Voltate in ga rosina," line 1), and one has a \circ sign ("Giove," line 1a). The remaining phrases in quadernaria measure are in 6/8 meter: line 1 of "Ingrata" has the C sign, and line 6 of the same dance has both the C sign and the C^3 sign; there is no sign given for line 2c of "La Figlia Guilielmo for two."⁹

With the possible exception of line 3b of "Ingrata," which could be in either saltarello or quadernaria measure,¹⁰ none of the ballo phrases have as a given that they are in saltarello measure. If what the theory says is correct, and there are sections of saltarello measure in the balli, then the phrases most likely to be in saltarello measure are those that consist of saltarello steps. There are many phrases in the balli that have saltarello steps only (here, I mean the saltarello step that is Domenico's double plus a salteto, and not the two-bar saltarello step in

⁹The treatises containing "La Figlia Guilielmo for two" have assigned different measures to line 2c: quadernaria and piva.




¹⁰Line 3b follows a line in quadernaria measure, and has saltarello steps. Because for line 3b Domenico tells the dancer to do the saltarello steps "in this measure," it is not clear whether he means saltarello or quadernaria.

duple meter which is really the saltarello tedesco step); of these phrases, which I will assume are in saltarello measure, nine are in 6/8 meter, have a C sign, and have  as their predominant rhythm (line 1 of "Bel riguardo" and "Bel riguardo novo"; line 4a of "Giove"; line 3b of "Ingrata"; line 6 of "Pizochara," lines 8 and 9 of "Prisonera"; and lines 1 and 7 of "Tesara"). Other phrases of only saltarello steps have a continuous eighth-note rhythm in 6/8 (); one has a C sign ("Gioioso," line 3), but the others have no mensuration sign (lines 1 through 3 of "Colonese" and the first two lines of "Leggiadra"). The remaining saltarello phrases in 6/8 meter have various combinations of rhythm and sign: two very short lines of "Tesara," lines 11 and 12, have a  rhythm and C sign, and the saltarello lines of "Verzeppa" (lines 1, 4b, 6, and 8) have a  rhythm and O sign. Three saltarello lines transcribe into 3/4 rather than 6/8; they have the  rhythm with a O sign ("Mercantia," line 1; lines 1 and 10b of "Sobria").

In much the same way that the data about saltarello measure is based on phrases having only saltarello steps, my conclusions about piva measure are deduced primarily from those phrases that have only piva steps. There are, in addition to the phrases with piva steps, eight phrases that have piva measure as a given, but one of these ("La Figlia Guilielmo for two," line 2c) is in doubt, since Cornazano says the line is in piva measure and Domenico that it is in quadernaria measure. Every kind of dance step is present in the eight phrases that have piva measure as a given: six transcribe into 2/4 meter, three with

the **C** sign ("Sobria," lines 3 and 11, and "Verzeppe," line 9), and three with no sign (line 6 of "Gelosia" and lines 1 and 2 of "Anello"); two of the phrases, which are without a sign, are in 6/8 (line 2c of "La Figlia Guilielmo for two" and "La Figlia Guilielmo for four").

The phrases with only piva steps have many different combinations of mensuration sign and meter. Half the phrases are in 6/8 meter; of these, five have no sign ("Petit vriens," lines 1 and 2, "Pizochara," lines 1 and 2, and "Spero," line 6), six have a **C** sign (lines 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, and 9 of "Tesara") and one ("Giove," line 3) has two different signs, ϕ^3 and **C**³. The rest of the phrases with piva steps are in either 4/4 meter with no sign (lines 1 and 3 of "Amoroso"), or in 2/4 meter; most of the phrases in 2/4 have no mensuration sign (line 5 of "Anello," "Colonese," "Gelosia," and "Gratioso"; and line 6 of "Leggiadra"), but one has a **O** sign ("Prisonera," line 6) and one the ϕ sign ("Voltate in ça rosina," line 2).

More than any other measure, piva has a characteristic rhythm in 6/8 meter: . Of all the 6/8 phrases mentioned in the preceding paragraph, nine have this rhythm (line 2c of both versions of "La Figlia Guilielmo"; line 3 of "Giove"; the first 2 lines of both "Petit vriens" and "Pizochara"; line 6 of "Spero"; and line 9 of "Tesara"), and only five lines ("Tesara," lines 3, 4, 5, 6, and 8) have a mixture of  and  rhythms. The steps, signs, meters, and rhythms that are most likely to be found, and those that might be found in each of the four measures, are summarized as follows: phrases in bassa

danza measure have only natural steps and most often have the C sign or the O sign; the O is found particularly in those phrases with a J. J. rhythm. Bassa danza phrases are always in 6/8 meter, and have either a basic J. J. rhythm or no distinctive rhythm. Phrases in quadernaria measure have all three types of steps (natural, accidental, and measure steps), usually have either a C sign or no sign, and are most often in 2/4 meter, though there are a few phrases in 4/4 and 6/8 meter. Phrases having only single-bar saltarello steps are in either 6/8 or 3/4 meter and usually have a C or O sign, though other signs are sometimes used. There is no overwhelmingly characteristic saltarello rhythm, but the J. J. J. J. (or J. J. J.) rhythm is found more often than any other. Phrases in piva measure and phrases with piva steps have all types of steps and all kinds of mensuration signs (although it is the only measure that has the C^3 , C^3 , and 3 signs), are found in 6/8, 2/4, and 4/4 meters, and have J. J. J. J. as their characteristic rhythm in 6/8.

With this list of the likely and possible steps, meters, signs, and rhythms of the measures, we can assign a measure to the remaining ballo phrases. As was the case with the choice of steps and music for transcription II, the choice of measure is not always easy to make, although for most phrases one or two measures can be eliminated immediately as possibilities (a 2/4 phrase, for example, is not in bassa danza or saltarello measure), and of the measures that are left as possibilities, one measure is often clearly the best choice.

Besides the features characteristic of each of the measures, which were derived from a study of single ballo phrases, there are characteristics related to measure that are common to the balli as a group. Knowledge about one of these characteristics, the way mensuration signs are used, is sometimes useful in determining the measure of a phrase. The sources almost always agree about the mensuration sign of a phrase, though there are many cases where one source omits the sign altogether; only rarely do the authors have different signs for the same phrase (see line 1 of "Prisonera," where each treatise uses a different sign). Because there is such a high degree of uniformity amongst the sources, one can make the following observations about the way mensuration signs are used: (1) the "wrong" sign is often assigned to a phrase (**C** , for instance, for a line that can only be transcribed into 6/8 meter); (2) a new mensuration sign is sometimes given to a phrase even when there is no change of meter from the previous phrase and the addition or change of sign would appear to be unnecessary (for example, line 3 of "Bel riguardo" has a **C** sign, even though it has the same 6/8 meter as the first two lines of the tune, which have not been given a sign); (3) signs are not always added or changed when there is a change of meter (in "La Figlia Guilielmo for two," for instance, there is no sign for the mid-phrase change from 2/4 to 6/8 in line 1).

The reason why signs appear at times to be used incorrectly, or to be used when they are not necessary, is that their primary function is to indicate the measure of a phrase and not, as we



would expect, its meter. We know that each measure is associated with a variety of things, but we also know that the most important characteristic of each measure, according to the theory, is its tempo. And, too, of all the elements that identify a measure, only tempo has a one-to-one correspondence with measure, each measure having its own particular speed. Thus the sign of a phrase indicates, above all, its tempo.

Signs are at times used relatively; a sign may not make sense in relation to the meter of the phrase to which it is attached, but it will make sense in relation to the measure of the previous phrase or phrases of the dance. The whole of "Tesara," for example, can only be transcribed in 6/8 meter, but some of the lines have \mathbb{C} and some, \mathbb{C} . The \mathbb{C} sign appears to be completely wrong until one realizes that Domenico uses it throughout the dance to indicate piva measure, and uses \mathbb{C} for saltarello measure. In two dances, the meaning of the sign is obvious, even though the sign is "wrong": the ϕ of line 3 of "Gioioso," and the ϕ of line 2 of "Voltate in ga rosina," quite literally mean that the line is to be danced twice as fast as the previous line; the saltarello tempo of "Gioioso," line 3, is "half the bassa danza tempo" of line 2, and the piva tempo of line 2 of "Voltate in ga rosina," "half the quadernaria tempo" of line 1.¹¹ A somewhat different situa-

¹¹It is immediately obvious in "Voltate in ga rosina" that there has been a change of tactus: in line 1 the steps move in two-bar units (so I changed its meter from 2/4 to 4/4), and in line 2, in one-bar units. The change is not so obvious in "Gioioso," however; only the change of mensuration sign gives it away.

tion is manifest in line 4 of "Giove," where, in the second half of the line, the \odot is used for 6/8 bassa danza measure because the C sign had already been expropriated, quite correctly, for the first part of the line in 6/8 saltarello measure:

4a/ C//C Sa Sa Sa Sa vt (=s s r) || X2
4b

Because the signs indicate measure, they are sometimes used where at first glance they do not appear to be necessary. In "Bel riguardo," the example already cited on page 142, the addition of a C for line 3 is necessary because, even though the 6/8 meter of lines 1 and 2 is retained, the measure has changed from saltarello to bassa danza measure. In "Pizochara," the measure given for lines 3 to 5 is bassa danza, and the sign for these lines is C . Looking backward to the first two lines, which have not been assigned a measure, we see that although there is no meter change in lines 1 through 5, a fundamental change occurs in line 3, a change that necessitates the addition of a C sign in line 3: not only has the measure (tempo) changed, but so have the steps (from piva steps to natural steps) and the rhythm (from the  rhythm typical of piva in lines 1 and 2, to the  and mixed-6/8 rhythm of bassa danza measure in lines 3 to 5):

1 (Pi)
Pi Pi Pi Pi || X3

2 (Pi)
Pi Pi || X4

3 Bd
1: R
2: r
3: ss
3

4 Bd
1&2: d d d d
3: d d d
3

5 Bd
r

There are times when there is a change of measure but no change of sign; the writers were by no means consistent about changing or adding signs for every change of measure. On the whole, it is safe to say that every change of sign is significant, but that the absence of a sign change does not (necessarily) mean there is no change of measure. Perhaps the writers felt that some changes of measure were obvious enough not to need a change of sign (though some very obvious measure changes are marked by a change of sign). The first five lines of "Pizochara" have already been discussed; the sixth has no sign, but there is clearly a change of measure in this line, since in it there are changes of step and rhythm. Compare line 6 with lines 3 to 5:

3: C/E 3 Bd
 1: R
 2: r
 3: ss

4: Bd
 1&2: d d d d
 3: d d d

5: Bd
 r

6: (Sa)

Sa Sa Sa Sa Sa

Sa Sa Sa Sa

Of course, the C of lines 3 to 5 is correct for line 6 as well, and it is possible that the C of line 3 was intended to apply to all the remaining lines, but there is no reason why the O sign, characteristic of saltarello measure, could not have been used here. In most cases where the measure change is not indicated by a sign change, however, the sign of the previous phrase could not apply to the changed line (see, for example, the dance "Colonnese," where the C of line 4 could not apply to line 5, with its $2/4$ meter and piva steps).

This explanation of how the mensuration signs work does not account for every sign in the treatises; there are some lines whose sign makes

no sense within the framework set out in the preceding paragraphs. In some cases there is no apparent reason why a particular sign is used.¹² All of the four treatises that contain "Giove," for example, use a \bigcirc sign for line 1a (salta-
rello tedesco steps in 4/4) when \textcircled{C} is the obvious sign to use and there is no reason why it could not have been used. The same sign (\bigcirc) is used for line 4 of "Marchesana" (with bassa danza measure given) where \textcircled{C} is the expected sign. In two other dances, "Ingrata," line 5, and "Spero," line 5, the sign is changed from \textcircled{C} for line 4 to \odot for line 5, even though there is no change of measure, meter, rhythm, or step type. In still other cases, the called-for sign is probably an error; this is especially true when only one of the treatises that has the ballo music uses the suspect sign.

When an understanding of the idiosyncratic way mensuration signs are used is coupled to one's knowledge about each of the measures, it is possible to assign a measure to the ballo phrases that have not been assigned one by the writers of the treatises. It is best to begin this process of assigning measure with "easy" phrases, easy because their features point overwhelmingly to one measure, and then to progress to more and more difficult phrases, finishing with those phrases for which there are two, almost equally good, choices.

For some phrases a choice between two or more measures is not necessary because all the evidence indicates that there is only one good

¹²But see pages 213-14.

choice. Bassa danza measure, for example, is the only good choice for "Bel riguardo" and "Bel riguardo novo," line 3; "Giove," line 5; and "Gratioso," line 4. Each phrase has only natural steps, the C sign, and a J. or J.J. rhythm. Quadernaria is the best possible choice for phrases that are in 2/4 meter and have saltarello tedesco steps and a C sign (lines 1 through 3 of "Gratioso," and line 6 of "Mercantia"), for phrases with two-bar saltarello steps and a C sign (lines 7 and 10a of "Sobria"), and for phrases that consist primarily of saltarello tedesco steps ("Leggiadra," line 5a). Line 7 of "Pizochara" could only be in piva measure, because it has the characteristic piva rhythm in 6/8 (J J J J), some piva steps, and the 3 sign, a sign used only in conjunction with piva measure.

In the treatises, there are some errors and ambiguities in the assigning of measure; these can be corrected and cleared up now. It has already been said that there are two phrases in 6/8 meter that have quadernaria as their given measure (lines 1 and 6 of "Ingrata"); quadernaria cannot be correct for these lines, because all other quadernaria phrases are in 2/4 or 4/4. For line 1, which has only saltarello steps, saltarello measure is the obvious choice, and for line 6, piva measure is the best choice because it has the C^3 sign and J J J J rhythm. In one case, different measures are given for the same phrase, so one has to decide which is the correct one; line 2c of "La Figlia Guilielmo for two" is assigned both quadernaria and piva measure. Since it has mainly piva steps, piva is the best choice, especially since the parallel line of "La Figlia

Guilielmo for four" has as a given that it is in piva measure. For "Ingrata," line 3b, it is not clear whether Domenico intends quaternaria or saltarello to be the measure, and for line 7, whether he means piva or quaternaria measure; because both lines are in 6/8 meter, however, quaternaria is not a good choice for either line.

It has been explained already that in order to determine measure it is necessary to study the features of the balli as a group, and not just the features of individual balli or of single ballo phrases. The peculiar way mensuration signs are used was discovered only when I looked at all the signs of all the dances, for instance. Another aspect of the balli as a group that has a bearing on decisions about measure is that of structure: the structure of individual balli, the structure of similar sections in different balli, and the basic types of structure that are found in the balli. An obvious way to use structure for the determination of measure is to apply the measure of one ballo to another ballo when both are danced to the same tune (as in the case of "Bel riguardo" and "Bel riguardo novo," "La Figlia Guilielmo for two" and "La Figlia Guilielmo for four," and of "Leoncello" and "Leoncello novo"); it is likely that the various measures of the tune would remain the same for both sets of dance steps. This means that the measures assigned in the dance instructions to the last three lines of "Leoncello" can be utilized for the parallel lines of "Leoncello novo," especially since there is nothing in the latter lines that suggests any other measure. In the

same way, my attribution of saltarello measure to line 3 of "Colonnese" can be applied to line 3 of "Leggiadra," since both dances are based on the same melody and both have nearly identical steps for the first three lines.

Although it may appear at first that each ballo has its own unique structure, it quickly becomes evident that there are only a very few basic structural shapes amongst the balli. One can discuss many things under the general heading of "structure"; here, I want to discuss structure on one basis only: the number of measure changes in the dance and the number of phrases within each different measure. "Verzeppe," with each of its nine phrases in a measure different from its predecessor, is one kind of structure:

Sa/ Bd/ Qu/ Sa/ Bd/ Sa/ Bd/ Sa/ Pi

Another kind of structure--and a much more common one--is like that of "Pizochara," which has only three measure changes and more than one phrase in some measures:

Pi/ Pi/ Bd/ Bd/ Bd/ Sa/ Pi

Taking into account only those phrases to which a measure has been assigned, it can be seen that no matter how few or how many changes of measure there are, almost every single change of measure is marked by a simultaneous change of at least one and usually several of the following: sign, step type, rhythm, meter, or melodic motive. This observation supports my earlier hypothesis

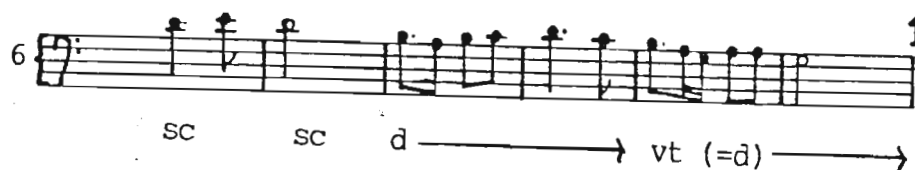
that unless there is a change of step type, rhythm, meter, or melodic motive in a phrase, it is best to assume that the sign of the preceding phrase (or phrases) applies likewise to the phrase under consideration. On this basis, the measures of the following phrases are the same as the phrase(s) that precedes them: "Ingrata," line 3a, "Marchesana," line 3, and "Verzeppe," line 4a.

The hypothesis that a measure remains in effect until and unless a change in one or more features of the phrase signals that a change of measure has taken place, is a help in deciding on the measure of three most unusual phrases; the final lines of "Colonnese," "Gratioso," and "Leggiadra" work with each dance step taking two bars of music. There is no reason why the steps should take two bars; none, for instance, has (two-bar) saltarello steps or saltarello tedesco steps. Each line has only scossetti and doubles, and all the phrases are, curiously, variations of the same melody, though written on different pitches:

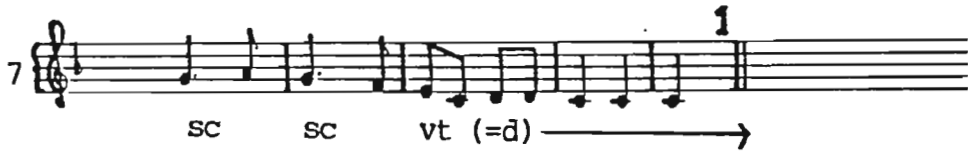
Colonnese:



Gratioso:



Leggiadra:



All three follow lines that are in piva measure and have only piva steps. Except for the change of step type, there is no other indication that the measure of these final lines has changed; although quadernaria measure is a possibility for them, piva is the better choice on structural grounds. Neither choice, however, explains why each step takes two bars. It is possible, of course, that these phrases are not "filled up" with steps, but there is another, and better, explanation: piva measure is so fast (twice as fast as bassa danza, according to the theory) that steps, or at least some steps other than piva steps, have to be slowed down to be performed correctly. In other words, they need more musical time. If this is true, then line 7 of "Spero," which also has only scossetti and doubles and follows a phrase with only piva steps, is also in piva measure, though it is in 6/8 meter.

Sometimes the structure of a dance can point the way to the correct measure for individual phrases of the dance. There are, for example, only two steps in line 6 of "Sobria": a mezza volta and a salteto (salto in Rome); since the line is in 6/8 meter, bassa danza, saltarello, and piva are possible measures. If we look back to line 4, for which saltarello is the best choice of measure, we see that it shares with line

6 the same meter and sign and has a similar melodic shape:

4 $\text{C} \text{C} \text{C} = \text{J.}$ (Sa)

1&2: d R (mv) salteto Sa (voltete & posada)

3: s s d (R) d d^r

6 $\text{C} \text{C} \text{C} = \text{J.}$

mv salteto^s

Saltarello is therefore the better choice for line 6. Lines 8, 9, and 10a of the same dance are an exact repetition (both steps and music) of lines 5 through 7, so the saltarello measure chosen for line 6 applies also to line 9. Similarly, in "Tesara," since there appears to be only two measures used in the dance, each carefully distinguished by its own sign (piva by C , and saltarello by C), it is logical to assume that line 2, with the C sign and some piva steps, is in piva measure, and line 10, with both piva and saltarello steps, is in saltarello measure because it has the C sign.

There are five dances that have no mensuration signs; this means that one of the most important indicators of measure and of measure change is missing. By examining the structure of each of these dances, however, one can make reasonable conjectures about the measure of individual phrases. For line 7 of "Gelosia," the structure

of the dance suggests that one choice is slightly better than another: the line could be in either quaternaria or piva measure (it has only simples in 2/4 meter), but since line 7 is preceded by two lines in piva measure (line 5 has only piva steps, and line 6 has piva measure as a given) it is somewhat better to choose piva, so that the dance divides neatly into two sections, lines 1 through 4 in quaternaria measure, and lines 3 through 7 in piva.

A study of the structure of the other dances without signs brings about more questions than answers. For "Anello," lines 1 and 2 are given as piva measure; line 5, which has only piva steps, has already been designated as piva measure; and line 6, because it works with one step equal to two bars of music and follows a line with only piva steps, is also in piva measure. This leaves lines 3 and 4, which are motivically like the other lines and have similar steps, too:

1 Pi
Sa → Sa → || X3

2 Pi
Sa → Sa →

3 Pi
m m Sa → Sa — (mv) | X2

4
m m vt (=d) → || X2

5 (Pi)
Pi Pi Pi Pi || X2

6 (Pi)
m m m m r →

Piva is thus the likeliest measure for lines 3 and 4. This would mean, however, that the entire dance is in piva measure, and we know that Cornazano says a ballo consists of "diverse measures." I cannot find a satisfactory solution for lines 3 and 4; instead, I have listed piva as the first choice for both lines, with my doubts about it indicated in transcription II by a question mark, and quadernaria as the second choice. It appears that "Petit vriens" is also entirely in piva measure: the first two lines have only piva steps in 6/8, and the next two lines (1) work with one dance step equal to two bars of music and (2) are musically related to the opening lines. Line 5 works with one step per bar, but its music is a combination of the music of lines 2, 3, and 4. As with "Anello," a question mark follows the piva measure given for these lines in transcription II. "Bel fiore" seems to be in quadernaria measure throughout; musically, all the lines are related, and quadernaria is given as the measure of the first two lines. Because this dance, too, contradicts Cornazano's definition of a ballo, lines 3 through 7 are listed in transcription II as "Qu?"

The internal evidence of the four phrases of "Amoroso" points simultaneously to three different measures; they might be in piva measure, in quader-
naria measure, or in a mixture of quader-
naria and piva measures. Lines 1 and 3 have only piva steps, so piva measure is the best choice for them; if lines 2 through 4 are in piva, then this ballo, too, does not correspond to Cornazano's definition, but if they are in quader-
naria measure, then the dance has different measures for phrases that are made up of the same melodic and rhythmic material. Line 4, for example, is a (varied) combination of material from lines 1 and 2:

1 (Pi)
Pi Pi Pi Pi || X2

2 (Pi?
Qu?)
s s d s s s || X2

3 (Pi)
Pi Pi Pi Pi || X2

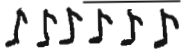
4 (Pi?
Qu?)
s s d s s d

R Pi Pi Pi Pi || X2

For some phrases, the choice of measure is more difficult--even though ultimately one measure

is preferred above the others--because either some important information about the line is missing, or because, though most of the features of the phrase point to one measure, one feature suggests a different measure. In line 7 of "Prisonera," for example, we do not know how long it takes to perform a passetto (nor, for that matter, whether the line has three passetti or four), so that the choice between piva and quadernaria measures is made more difficult. Other features of the line, however, indicate that piva is the better choice: the previous line is in piva measure and there is no change of sign in line 7. In other phrases, there are one or two features of the line that do not support one's choice of measure, as is the case in the following examples: bassa danza is the best choice for line 4 of "Colonnese," and for lines 4 and 5b of "Leggiadra" (despite their unusual bassa danza rhythm) and for line 4 of "Spero" (although there is a change of sign and rhythm in line 5, which has as a given that it is in bassa danza measure); and saltarello is the better choice for line 5 of "Mercantia" (even though the change of measure in this line is not indicated by a change of sign or musical material), and for line 4 of "Sobria" (which has steps equally characteristic of saltarello and bassa danza measures), and for lines 13 and 14 of "Tesara" (which have one dance step per two bars of music).

Initially, it is difficult to assign measures to "Gioioso," because the rhythm and signs are hard to interpret. Only one line has an immediately recognizable measure, and that is the last line, which is in piva measure. By

working backward from this line, however, one can determine the remaining measures: line 3 is most likely in saltarello measure because it has saltarello steps only (though it does have a  rhythm and a ϕ sign, both unusual in saltarello measure); if it is interpreted literally, as it was in line 2 of "Voltate in ga rosina," this sign means that line 3 is "twice as fast" as line 2, which therefore must be in bassa danza measure.¹³ Because there is no apparent change of measure between lines 1 and 2, and because there is nothing about line 1 that contradicts this conclusion, line 1 must be in bassa danza measure, too.

For three phrases it is not possible to choose between two measures, because the evidence points equally to both (and the dance writers never tell us which feature or features of a phrase are the ones that ultimately determine its measure). The first phrase is line 4 of "Bel riguardo" and "Bel riguardo novo"; this line falls between two lines with bassa danza measure as a given. Like these two lines, line 4 is in 6/8 and has a $\downarrow \downarrow$ rhythm; there is no change of sign in line 4. However, the line has some saltarello steps, and in no other balli are saltarello steps found in bassa danza measure; the theory also limits bassa danza measure to natural steps, and nowhere in the treatises are measure steps considered natural steps. I conclude that salta-

¹³Saltarello is not twice as fast as bassa danza measure, but it is only one-sixth slower than piva, which is twice as fast; there is no evidence whatsoever to suggest that line 3 might be in piva measure.

rello measure is the slightly better choice for this line, with bassa danza a strong possibility. There is a similar problem with line 2 of these dances; Domenico says the measure is bassa danza, but saltarello seems more likely: motivically, lines 1 and 2 are closely related, and the only change from line 1 to line 2 is the change from saltarello to double steps:

1 (Sa)

1&2: Sa Sa Sa Sa

3: Sa Sa Sa

2

d d d d

Therefore, for line 2, saltarello and bassa danza are both possibilities, though saltarello is the slightly more preferred choice. Domenico does not assign a measure to line 2 of "Bel riguardo novo," but it, too, is presumably supposed to be in bassa danza measure; it has been listed in transcription II in the same way that "Bel riguardo" is listed.

The measure of some phrases has to be changed if alternate music, alternate steps, or alternate dispositions of steps within the phrase are used. In each of the following dances, none of which will be discussed here, footnotes to the dance give alternate measures for one or more lines of the dance: "Amoroso," "Bel riguardo novo," "Marchesana," "Pizochara," "Prisonera," "Spero," and "Tesara."

Although my method of determining measure works for most ballo phrases, it does not work for every phrase, nor does it explain everything related to measure that occurs in the balli. The signs used in the following phrases, for instance, make no sense within my system; other signs for these lines would have been expected, and there is no apparent reason why they could not have been used: "Giove," line 1a; "Ingrata," line 5; "Marchesana," line 4; "Prisonera," line 6; "Spero," line 5; and "Tesara," line 4.

But a bigger problem with my method is that it does not explain the relationship between the steps and music of phrases in piva measure that have either (1) only natural and accidental steps or (2) mixtures of natural, accidental, and measure steps; phrases with only measure steps, or with primarily measure steps, are excluded. Many final phrases that follow a line with either piva as a given or with predominantly piva steps (or both), work only if each dance step takes two bars of music. Most of these phrases are in 2/4 meter (line 6 of "Anello," "Colonnese," and "Gratioso"; line 7 of "Leggiadra"), but two are in 6/8 (line 4 of "Gioioso" and line 7 of "Spero"). In other final phrases where piva is clearly the most likely measure, however, each dance step is performed in one bar of music. Again, most of these phrases are in 2/4 (line 7 of "Gelosia," line 11 of "Sobria," and line 9 of "Verzeppe"), although some are in 6/8 ("La Figlia Guilielmo for four," line 2c, and line 7 of "Pizochara"). Of the phrases in piva measure that are not final phrases, some work with each step requiring two bars of music (line

6 of "Gelosia," in 2/4; lines 3 and 4 of "Petit vriens," in 6/8) and others with each step equal to one bar ("Petit vriens," line 5, and "Tesara," line 2, both in 6/8).¹⁴ To complicate matters further, line 2 of "Ingrata," which has quader-naria measure as a given, works with each step equal to two bars.

I have not been able to formulate an all-encompassing "rule" that would explain why some piva phrases work in single bars and others in double bars. The best explanation, I think, is that piva measure is so fast that in some phrases the dancers chose to slow down the natural and accidental steps, and in others, particularly when there are some piva steps included in the line--steps which had to be performed quickly in order to be recognized as piva steps--they chose not to change the timing of the steps.

As it is set forth in this chapter, my method of determining measure helps to explain why, in the four treatises that have music there is such a high degree of consistency, even though it looks at first as though the writers (or copyists) of the balli used notational symbols, particularly mensuration signs, incorrectly. Most "wrong" signs are not wrong at all, but are part of an underlying system, albeit a flexible system.

Despite the high degree of notational consistency, however, a few phrases suggest that

¹⁴Because the steps of some phrases in piva measure work in two-bar units and others in one, and I wanted to make the distinction between them clear, I did not alter the level of transcription or the bar lines of the phrases that work with two bars per dance step.

there was some flexibility in performance that could change the measure of a phrase. For the first line of "Amoroso," for instance, Paris 476 calls for twelve piva steps, and Siena for twelve saltarello steps; the steps one chooses determines the measure of the phrase. The same is true for the first line of "Pizochara," where one treatise asks for piva steps and the other for saltarello steps; and for line 6 of "Prisonera," where Paris 972 calls for piva steps, and the other treatises for saltarello tedesco steps. In "Sobria," the same phrase of music is used three times; the first time, in line 3, piva is the given measure, but when the phrase is repeated (in lines 5 and 8), quadernaria measure is given. These examples show that the same phrase could be danced in different measures. And if these phrases could be danced in a different measure, it is possible that other phrases were sometimes performed in a measure not indicated by the notation. This, in turn, might explain why there are some phrases for which there are two equally good, or almost equally good, choices for measure.

CHAPTER V

STEPS AND MUSIC COMBINED (2)

There are several matters related primarily though not exclusively to the dance tunes of the fifteenth century that I will discuss in this chapter. First I will discuss the construction of and structures in the dance tunes; then I will use the conclusions reached in this discussion to speculate about the origins of the tunes and the way the dances were performed. Finally, I will return to a subject that has come up repeatedly, the meaning of the notation. Although the Italian balli and, to a lesser extent the Italian basse danze, will be the main focus of my attention, it will be necessary to refer to the dances in the two fifteenth-century French treatises (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale. Ms. 9085, and Michael Toulouse's L'Art et instruction de bien dancier) as well.

Comparing French dance music with Italian is not, of course, comparing like with like, since the French treatises have only a few dances that are not basses danses and the Italians only a few that are. Still, there are good reasons for comparing the two: first, the same questions need to be asked of both traditions; second, there are similarities in the notation of the six French dances entirely or partially in white mensural notation and the Italian balli, and between the basses danses in the French dance-manuals and the

three bassa danza tunes in the Rome treatise; and, third, there are two dance tunes that are in both French and Italian treatises.

The writers of the Italian treatises were very much aware of the French dance tradition. They often mention the French pas de Breban which, they say, is the same as the saltarello. They also refer to France in some of their dance titles, such as "Petit riese in tri francese," and "Amoroso ballo francese." But there is a more intimate and important link between the two traditions: the Italians sometimes used French tunes in their dances. Proof of this is in a letter written by Johannis Ambrosio in which he praises the dancing of his pupil Ippolita Sforza and mentions in passing that she "had written two new balli on French canzone."¹ It appears that the relationship between Italian and French dancing was one-sided: the Italians were interested in and borrowed from the French, but the French had no parallel interest in the Italians (their treatises never refer to Italy or to Italian dancing). It is possible, of course, that the French were aware of the Italian dance tradition, but no evidence of this has survived.²

¹" . . . ave facto duy balli novi supra duy cansuni francese." Emilio Motta, "Musici alla corta degli Sforza," Archivo storico lombardo, ser. 2, vol. 4, quoted in Daniel Heartz, "A 15th-Century Ballo: 'Roti Bouilli Joyeux'," in Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music, ed. Jan La Rue (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1966), p. 368.

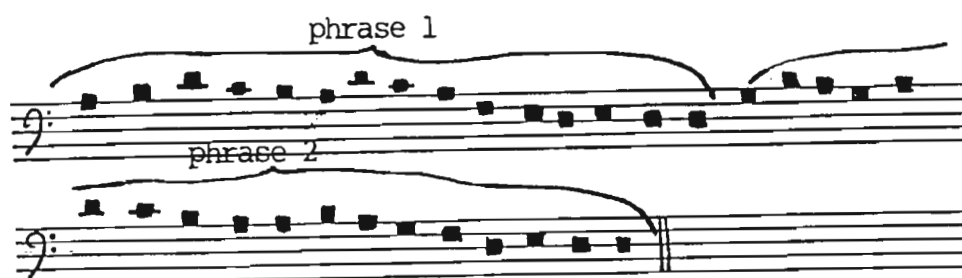
²Daniel Heartz discusses the relationship between the French and Italian dance traditions in his article, "A 15th-Century Ballo."

Although "construction" and "structure" are by no means the same thing, they can only be discussed together. By "construction" I mean the way the melodic material of a line or group of lines is put together (the repetition and variation of motives, for example), and by "structure," the overall shape or form of two or more phrases (periods; A B A form). To study the construction and structure of the dances, one begins with single dance phrases and single dances; eventually, however, one must look at all the dances together in order to investigate similar kinds of constructions and structures in different dances.

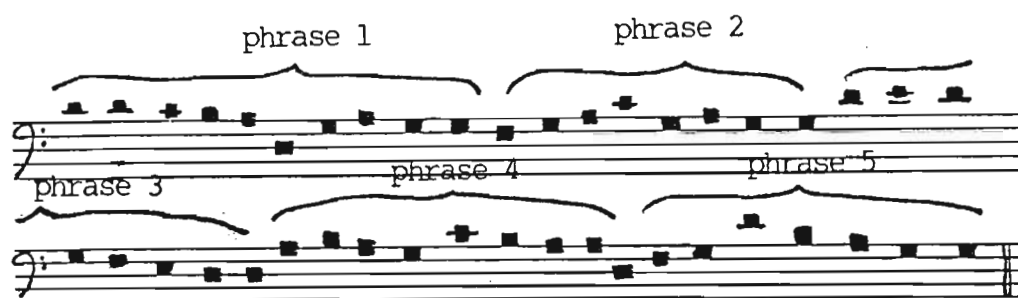
For this discussion of construction and structure, all fifteenth-century French and Italian dance music is divided into two types: bassa danza music (this includes entire dances called "basse danze" or "basses danses" in French and Italian treatises, and the bassa danza sections of balli), and non-bassa danza music (that is, unlabelled dances and dances "en pas de Breban" in French treatises; Italian ballo sections not in bassa danza measure).

Since there are only three extant Italian basse danze, we must look more to the French basses danses for information about the construction of bassa danza tunes. Each French basse danse melody consists of two or more phrases with no break between them. Each phrase is of a different length and there is no overall structure to the tunes. By far the most common melodic shape is of a quick ascent (in some cases, there is no ascent) followed by a slow descent; "Bayonne," for example, consists of two phrases, each with this

quick rise/ slow fall pattern:³



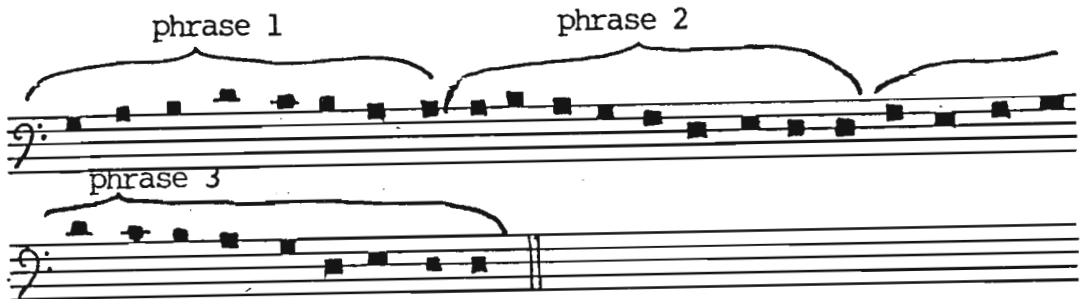
Almost every phrase ends with a repetition of the final note, as do each of the five phrases of "Maitresse":



Many French Basse danse tunes end with the same four-note pattern in which the first, third, and last notes are the same pitch, and the second is a tone higher. On D, the most common final note in the treatises, this gives the pattern DEDD. Many times this four-note ending is preceded by a downward leap of a third, fourth, or fifth; in "La portingaloise," the second and third phrases end with a descending third and fourth, respec-

³All the French tunes in my examples are taken from Frederick Crane's Materials for the Study of the Fifteenth Century Basse Danse, Musiological Studies, vol. 16 (New York: The Institute of Medieval Music, 1968).

tively:



Sometimes the downward leap is decorated, extended, or filled in; the final descending fourth in "La Navaroise," for instance, is filled in:



One cannot say what most Italian bassa danza tunes were like, or how they compare generally with the French basses danses; there are too few that have survived. The three tunes that have survived, which may or may not be "typical" Italian bassa danza melodies, are similar to the French tunes, except that they are notated in semibreves rather than in black breves; there are repeated notes at the end of many phrases, the DEDD motive is present at each final cadence (though with the last two notes joined to make one long note), and none of the tunes has phrases of equal length.⁴

Like Cornazano's three bassa danza tunes, the bassa danza sections of the balli are notated

⁴The basse danze are in appendix A.

with the semibreve as the main notational unit. That, however, is the end of their similarity, since the music for balli was treated and thought of very differently than the music for basse danze. One senses at once that there is a kind of musical logic in the bassa danza tunes of both France and Italy. Even if these tunes originated somewhere else and were altered to fit with the dance steps, they were altered in a way that preserved the outline and coherence of the original tune. This is not the case with the balli, where the tunes sound as if they were altered in a random way, and just to accommodate the steps. In the balli, the music takes second place to the steps. The evidence for this is (1) that some dances, such as "Leoncello," "Prisonera," and "Sobria," end with a phrase of music that does not sound at all like a final phrase; (2) that many music phrases are repeated as many times as is necessary for the dance steps, without regard for what this does to the music; phrases 2 and 3 of "Belfiore," for example, work well with their steps, but they are not good music:



(3) that structural units, such as periods or pairs of periods, often are disrupted to accommodate steps; in "Anello," for instance, the first

two phrases are a four-bar plus four-bar period:

The next phrase is a repeat of the second, but has six bars because two melodically unrelated bars were interpolated to accommodate the movimenti:

Bassa danza phrases in balli are of two basic kinds: those that are notated entirely (or almost entirely) in semibreves (I have transcribed the semibreve as a dotted quarter-note); and those in mixed note-values.⁵ Many phrases of the former kind are melodically very simple, like this phrase from "Bel riguardo":

⁵Many phrases in bassa danza measure are too short to be commented on and they will not be included in this discussion; line 5 of "Ingrata," for example, consists of only four notes, each on the same pitch.

In other phrases, such as line 5 of "Spero," the melody is simply a decorated interval:



Simple formulae of this type are typical of shorter bassa danza phrases. Some of the longer phrases have a motive in common with French basses danses: the cadential DEDD preceded by a descending third, fourth, or fifth; lines 3 and 4 of "Mercantia," which are one musical phrase, end with a descending fourth and the cadential formula on F:



Sometimes the descending interval is ornamented, as it is so often in French dances; see line 4 of both "Colonnese" and "Leggiadra," and line 7 of "Mercantia."

About half the ballo phrases in bassa danza measure are in mixed note values; their

rhythms often are more characteristic of saltarello (♩♩♩♩) or piva (♩♩♩♩) measure than of bassa danza measure (♩. ♩.). In France, the notation of a basse danse--black breves throughout--tells us at once that the dance is a basse danse, but in Italy this distinction does not exist, because all the different measures are notated in the same way (white mensural notation) and therefore look alike. The only features that distinguish bassa danza measure from the other 6/8 measures are its characteristic rhythm and dance steps (no accidental or measure steps); if these are missing, it is very difficult to decide that a phrase is in bassa danza measure. For example, if Domenico had not said that line 4 of "Pizochara" is in bassa danza measure, we would be hard pressed to choose between saltarello, piva, and bassa danza measures:

4

1&2: d d d d

3: d d d

In contrast to phrases in bassa danza measure, most of which have an uneven number of bars, many phrases that are not in bassa danza measure are constructed of two subphrases of equal length. Phrases of this kind do not usually appear alone, but are part of a group of phrases that form a recognizable structural unit (such as a period). Many phrases and groups of phrases with irregular constructions and structures clearly once had been regular, but their regularity was destroyed when the music was altered to fit with the steps.

Two-part phrases and small-scale structures are characteristic of the non-bassa danza music of both France and Italy. There are six French dances all or partly in white mensural notation (that is, they are not basses danses). Two are made up of periods and have an overall structure; one consists of phrases all of the same length (and two of these form a period); two are not periodic but do have an overall structure, and only one has neither an overall structure nor phrases of equal length ("Beauté de Castille"). The first of two parts of "L'espérance de Bourbon," and the first two of three parts of "Roti bouilly joyeux"--the other parts are basses danses--are labelled "en pas de Breban" (saltarello). The other dances or parts of dances in white mensural notation are presumed to be "en pas de Breban," too, but the treatises do not say they are.

"La danse de Cleves" begins with three, eight-bar periods; the second period is a variation of the first, so the form of these lines is

A A' B:

The musical notation consists of six staves of music in bass clef, 3/4 time, with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The notation is organized into three groups, each enclosed in a large right-facing curly bracket:

- Group A:** The first two staves. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a 3/4 time signature, and a B-flat key signature. It contains a sequence of eighth and sixteenth notes. The second staff continues the melody with similar rhythmic patterns.
- Group A':** The next two staves. These staves show a variation of the first group's melody, with some notes altered in pitch and rhythm.
- Group B:** The final two staves. These staves feature a different rhythmic pattern, primarily consisting of quarter and eighth notes.

Each of the remaining lines is a repeat or variation of lines 1 and 2 ("A") or of lines 5 and 6 ("B"); the structure of the whole dance is A A' B A B' A' A". Like "La danse de Cleves," "Roti bouilly joyeux" begins with eight-bar periods, but here there are two:

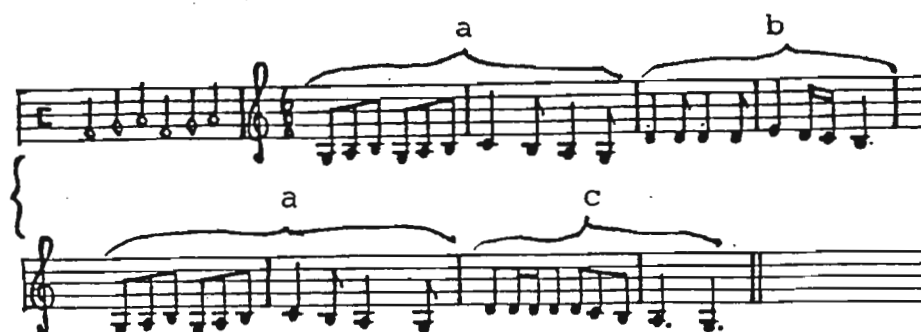


The opening lines of "La franchoise nouvelle," en pas de Breban, consist of six phrases, of which the third and fourth form a period:

The phrases of "La danse de Ravestain" and those of the first half of "L'espérance de Bourbon" are of various lengths, but they nevertheless form a pattern. "La danse de Ravestain" has a two-bar introduction followed by three, four-bar phrases in an a a' b pattern, and "L'espérance de Bourbon" has two, six-bar phrases (a a') plus a final phrase of four bars (b):

The image shows three staves of musical notation in bass clef, 6/8 time. The first staff is labeled 'a' and contains a two-bar introduction followed by a four-bar phrase. The second staff is labeled 'a'' and contains a four-bar phrase. The third staff is labeled 'b' and contains a four-bar phrase.

The construction of and structures in the ballo phrases in quaternaria, saltarello, and piva measures are like the mensural phrases of the French dances; they have balanced sub-phrases and are part of small-scale structures. In some cases, all the phrases of a ballo are part of the same structure. "Petit vriens," for example, has an A B B structure (disregarding the repeats, of course). The A section is a period which is divisible into two-bar units; the motivic pattern of A is a b a c:



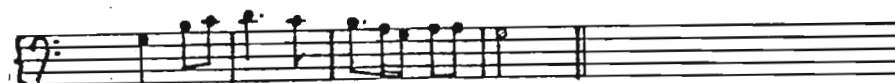
The B section, also a period, has some of the same melodic material, but the organization of the motives is different (b' b' d c'):



In "Gratioso," only the first four lines of the dance are related; the first two form a period of two, four-bar phrases in an antecedent-consequent relationship:



The next two lines form a period, too, but introduce some new melodic material:



Giving each phrase a letter designation, the structure of this part of the dance is a' b a'. There are many more examples of balanced phrases, periods, and structures in the balli; for examples, see "Anello," lines 1 and 2; "Bel fiore," line 1; "Gelosia"; "Marchesana," lines 1 and 2; "Spero," lines 1 and 2; and "Voltate in ga rosina."

Now I want to look at the melodic material of the balli from a broader perspective, considering not just a phrase or several related phrases of a single dance, but whole dances and similar kinds of phrases in different dances. First I will point out some of the motivic and melodic formulae and "fillers" that occur over and over again in the non-bassa danza sections of balli; second, I will discuss the melodic content and construction of entire dances, whether their phrases are melodically related or not; and third, I will discuss the structure of the balli in terms of their measures.

There are as many formulae in the non-bassa danza phrases of the balli as there are in the bassa danza phrases. Many formulae are simply

intervals (the third, fourth, fifth, and octave are most common) that are filled in or decorated. Because these formulae are not very interesting melodically and have no personality of their own, they can easily be lengthened or shortened to fit with any pattern of steps; this probably accounts for their popularity with dance composers. A common formula, especially for phrases in piva measure, is the decorated, rising and falling third, fourth, or fifth; in line 5 of "Gratioso," the fourth is used:

5 (Pi)

Pi Pi Pi

In line 1 of "Ingrata," an ascending and descending octave is used for a five-bar phrase in saltarello measure:

1 } Qu
 (Sa)

1: Sa Sa
 2: Sa Sa

1: Sa Sa Sa
 2: Sa Sa

A motive that is common in phrases with movimenti (or scossi) is comprised of one or two short notes (the first often a rhythmic upbeat to the second), followed by a rest(s). The motive is repeated as many times as is necessary. In "Anello," line 3, the first note of the motive is replaced by two

sixteenth-notes:

m m Sa —————→ Sa — (mv) $\overline{\hspace{1cm}}$ | X2

Other examples of this motive are in "Marchesana," "Prisonera," "Tesara," and "Verzeppe."⁶

One melodic formula appears in various guises as the final line of four different dances. In its simplest form the melody is:

It is varied and repeated in the last line of "Spero":

⁶One reason why the alternate music for line 5 of "Marchesana" is not the better choice for the line is because the movimenti are more likely to go with the rhythm of my first choice for line 5.

In the other dances it is on different pitches;
on B^b in "Colonnese,"



on G in "Gratioso,"



and on C in "Leggiadra":



The same formula is found in lines 3, 5, and 8 of "Sobria." It is, of course, an extended version of the cadence formula found in so many basses danses and bassa danza phrases: a descending third, fourth, or fifth, followed by DEDD. The simple form of the formula (descending interval plus DEDD) is also found in several non-bassa danza phrases; it is the basic material of line 4 of "Colonnese," lines 1 and 3 of "Gioioso," line 4 of "Leggiadra," and of the alternate lines 5b and 6 of "Marchesana."

Sometimes all the melodic material of a ballo is derived from one or two motives, and sometimes there is almost no relationship between the

motives of the different lines of a dance.

Balli that are based entirely on one or two motives usually have either an overall structure or a structure encompassing several lines of the dance, while balli whose motives are not related generally have no overall or partial structure.

Many balli begin with a period or two whose melodic material consists of just a few motives. The melodies of the rest of the phrases of the dance are derived from these opening motives, too, though sometimes a line or two is a "filler." One dance in which all the melodic material comes from the opening motives is "Marchesana"; it begins with an eight-bar period:



The next four-bar phrase (line 3 of the dance) is a variation of the second half of this period,



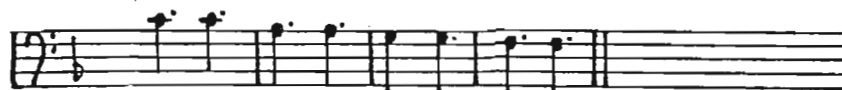
as is the fifth line of the dance:



The first nine bars of the phrase in bassa danza measure--line 4--uses the motive, too,



but the last four bars are simply "tacked on" to provide enough music for the dance steps:



The last line of the dance is a "filler" line:



Other balli in which all the melodic material, with the exception of formulae, comes from the opening motives are "Bel fiore," "Bel riguardo," "Gelosia," "Gratioso," and "Spero." In some balli, such as "Leoncello," "Pizochara," and "Prisonera," there is a slightly different situation; although all the melodies of the dance are derived from the opening motives, there is no periodic structure in the first few lines of the dance.

Some balli are not only tightly constructed motivically, but have an overall form that encompasses the entire dance as well; the large A B B structure of "Petit vriers" is an example that has already been discussed. The whole of "Voltate in ça rosina" is part of one structure, too; it has three, four-bar phrases, each of which divides into two-bar subphrases.⁷ The structure of the dance is:

2 + 2	a + a	A
2 + 2	b + b	B
2 + 2	a + b	A-B

In "Amoroso" and "Anello" there is also a single large structure, but in both dances the structure has been interrupted occasionally by extraneous (that is, non-motivic) material.

The phrases of some dances sound as if they were quite literally thrown together without regard for their musical homogeneity. This is especially true of dances in which the measure

⁷In transcription II, the second line of "Voltate in ça rosina" has eight bars, not four; this has only to do with the tactus and the relationship between music and steps, however. For our purposes here, the second line has four bars.

changes frequently and there is only one phrase per measure. (as is the case with "Ingrata," "Sobria," "Tesara," and "Verzeppa"). There is usually no substructural or structural plan in these balli, but the repetition of whole phrases is occasionally employed as a means of organization. In "Sobria," for example, the music for line 3 is used again in lines 5 and 8, though in line 3 the measure is piva, and in lines 5 and 8, it is quaternaria. Both the steps and music of lines 5, 6, and 7 are repeated as lines 8, 9, and 10a. In "Mercantia," the first part of line 1 reappears as line 6, but with the pitch, meter, and measure changed:

0//0

1

1&2: Sa Sa Sa Sa

3: Sa Sa Sa

3

ccc

6

Sa → Sa (mv) →

Another way to look at the structure of the balli, one which was discussed briefly in chapter IV, is to look at the order in which the measures of the balli occur. Most balli have three main parts; they begin with saltarello or quaternaria measure (or both), have a bassa danza section in the middle, and end with piva measure, or with piva and one other measure (usually quaternaria or saltarello). It is usually in the first part of the dance that there are two-part phrases, periods, and other structures; this is especially

true when the first part is in quadernaria measure.

Phrases in piva measure most often occur in the final part of the dance and many of them are three bars in length (as in "Colonnese," line 5; "Gelosia," line 7; "Giove," line 3; "Gratioso," line 5; "Ingrata," line 6; "Leggiadra," line 6; and "Spero," line 6). Three, three-bar phrases in piva measure ("Giove," line 3, "Ingrata," line 6, and "Colonnese," line 5) are melodically similar, even though the first two are in 6/8 meter,

(Giove)



Pi Pi Pi

(Ingrata)



s s r r

and the last is in 2/4:



Pi Pi Pi

Many three-bar piva phrases are followed by six-bar phrases in piva measure (see line 6 of both "Colonnese" and "Gratioso," and line 7 of "Ingrata" and "Spero").⁸ Whether or not they are preceded by three-bar piva phrases, however, final

⁸In line 6 of "Ingrata," piva is a better choice for measure than quadernaria is, because it is a three-bar phrase and is followed by a six-bar phrase with piva steps.

phrases in piva measure are often six bars long, as is the case in "Anello," line 6, and "Pizochara," line 7, and in the examples above.

During the Middle Ages and Renaissance, composers often "borrowed" music and used it in their own, new compositions; there is every reason to believe that the composers of Italian dances did this, too. Some dance music--phrases based on formulae, for example--was undoubtedly newly-composed, but some was probably borrowed. Although very little research has been done on the origins of Italian dance tunes, a lot of work has been done on French basses danses. At least ten French dance tunes were borrowed from chansons; most are the tenor voice in the original chanson, but a few are an upper part.⁹ Other French melodies were taken from rondeaux, and still others appear to have been drawn directly from folk tunes, and not from compositions based on folk tunes.¹⁰

It would be odd if the Italians, who were clearly knowledgeable about the French dance tradition, and who were, in any case, surrounded by French composers and performers, did not constantly use French tunes for their dances. We know that they sometimes did, because Ambrosio men-

⁹See Frederick Crane, "The Derivation of some fifteenth-century 'Basse-Danse' Tunes," Acta Musicologica 37 (1965):179-88; and Daniel Heartz, "'Hoftanz' and 'Basse Dance'," Journal of the American Musicological Society 19 (1966):13.

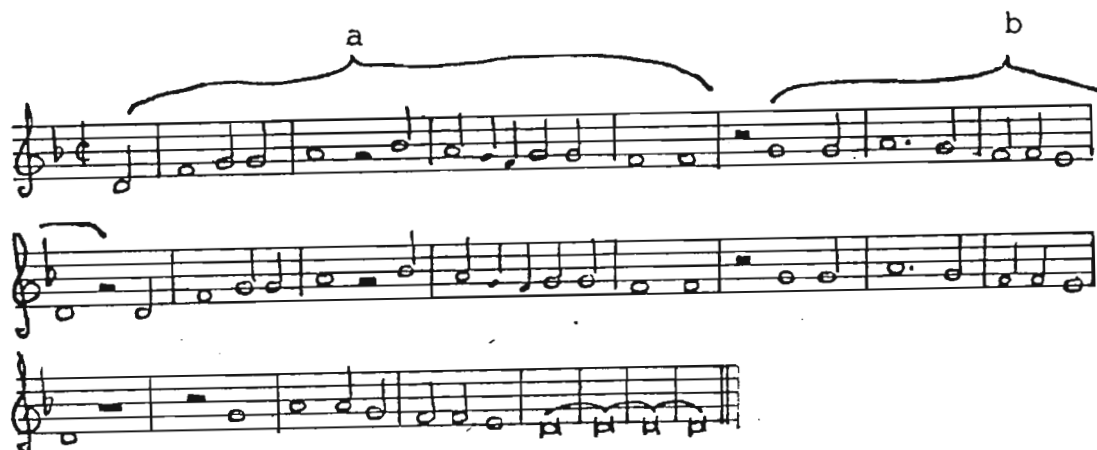
¹⁰See Frederick Crane, "The Derivation of some Tunes"; and Otto Kinkeldey, A Jewish Dancing Master of the Renaissance: Guglielmo Ebreo (New York: Dance Horizons, 1929; reprint from the A. S. Freidus Memorial Volume, New York, 1929), pp. 31-32.

tions two balli that were composed on French canzone.¹¹ We also know of two tunes that are in both French and Italian dance-manuals (Cornazano's tune for the bassa danza "Del Re di Spagna" is the same as the French basse danse "Castille la novele," and the ballo "Gioioso" has the same melody as the three-part French dance, "Roti bouilly joyeux"), although it cannot be proven that it was the Italians who borrowed from the French and not the French from the Italians. If the Italians did borrow frequently from the French, however, which seems likely, then the tunes in Italian sources that are most likely to have been borrowed from the French are those that are most like the French tunes for basses danses: that is, the three bassa danza tenors in Rome, and those bassa danza sections of the balli that consist almost entirely of semibreves (not, in other words, the bassa danza phrases with mixed rhythms).

Besides borrowing from the French, the Italian dance composers also must have taken melodies from Italian compositions. There is only one Italian dance, however, whose source has been found; Torre Franca has shown that the tune of the ballo "Voltate in ga rosina" is the same as the final part (the nio) of a villota found in one of Petrucci's frottola books. The text of the nio begins, "De voltat' in qua e do bella Rosina," and the music is as follows:¹²

¹¹Motta, "Musici alla corta," quoted in Hertz, "A 15th-Century Ballo," p. 368.

¹²The text and music of the nio are taken from Fausto Torre Franca's Il segreto del Quattrocento musiche ariose e poesia popolareasca (Milan: Ulrico Hoepli, 1939), p. 83.



Certainly the phrases of the ballo are like those of the nio, but they are presented in a different order; the pattern of the phrases of the ballo is

a a
b b
a b,

whereas the pattern of the nio is

a b
a b
b.

This suggests to me that the ballo tune came from the villota only indirectly; it was probably taken from some other source in which the reordering of the phrases had already taken place. Substantiation for this hypothesis comes from the dance itself: the steps for line 1 do not fit well with the music,¹³ which means, I think, that the composer of the dance wanted to keep what he knew as the melody intact, even at the expense of a good fit between steps and music. If he himself

¹³In most balli, the beginning of a repeat of steps corresponds to the beginning of a repeat of music. In "Voltate in ga rosina," however, this is not the case; the two-bar saltarello step at the end of line 1 has to be continued through the first bar of the repetition.

had reordered the material, he probably would have altered it so that the steps and music fit together better.

It is only worth searching for the original form or source of some of the dance tunes; one need not investigate those dance tunes that are clearly just "fillers" and those that are based on formulae. The melodies whose origins are most likely to be found are those that can be broken up into subphrases and belong to structural units such as periods. These are the melodies that were probably changed very little when they were incorporated into balli. The most likely places to find these kinds of melodies are in the tunes (that is, the upper part) of secular vocal compositions, particularly frottole.

There are bound to be surface similarities between all pieces of music written at a particular time, and even more similarities between pieces of the same type, or of closely-related types; I have already pointed out many similarities between French and Italian dance tunes. But there are similarities between the balli and the frottole that I believe go beyond the surface and point to a close relationship between them. This means that the original version of many ballo tunes can probably be found in frottole (of course, the "original" version of the tune in the frottola may not be original at all, and may itself have been borrowed from somewhere else). No one has yet explored the relationship between the extant frottole and the extant balli. Not only do they have many characteristics in common, but both flourished in the north of Italy. In some of the same places

where dancing thrived (Venice, Ferrara, Mantua, Urbino), the frottola prospered, too.

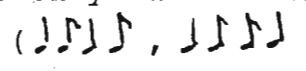
Both frottole and balli make extensive use of major and minor tonalities. Compared to the Netherlandish style, the frottola "appears as a closer approach towards the major-minor system; it is nearer to the modern tonal system, indeed, than is the early madrigal which follows it."¹⁴ Many balli (or parts of balli), particularly those that consist of two-part phrases, periods, or other structures, are in major or minor: "Amoroso" is in D minor, "Bel fiore" (after the addition of the necessary E^b) is in B^b major, "Gratioso" is in G major, and "Leoncello," "Spero," and "Anello" are in F major. Even the dance theory stresses the importance of major and minor tonalities. In a capitolo of the Guglielmo treatises called "how to compose balli," the teacher tells his student to decide before anything else "if you want to compose in B molle or B quadro."¹⁵ Earlier he had explained the difference between them:

Again, note that there are two scales, which are called B molle [and] B quadro; . . . when the player starts, he who wants to dance

¹⁴Everett Helm, "Secular vocal Music in Italy (c. 1400-1530)," in Ars Nova and the Renaissance, 1300-1450, ed. Dom Anselm Hughes and Gerald Abraham as Vol. III of The New Oxford History of Music, 7 vols., ed. J. A. Westrup et al. (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), p. 404.

¹⁵" . . . se lui il vuole comporre per bocie molle o per bocie quadro." Francesco Zambini, "Trattato dell' arte del ballo di Guglielmo Ebreo pesarese," Scelta di curiosita: letterarie inedite o rare del seculo XII al XVII 131 (1873): 28. [Magliabechiana]

well, [whether] bassa danza or saltarello or something else, must know the sound, whether it is B.molle or B quadro. It is essential that the steps and gestures conform to that sweet voice or semitone or syncopation which is sounded, that is, whether it is B molle or B quadro. . . . And note that B quadro is a little more aieroso in its measure than B molle, but is somewhat more severe and less sweet.¹⁶

Frottole and balli also have phrases of the same length, and both make use of hemiola. In frottole and balli there are phrases that "are on the whole clearly defined and are often composed of four bars . . . although three-bar phrases are common."¹⁷ One of the characteristics of ballo phrases in 6/8, especially those in saltarello measure, is that they have a mixture of duple and triple meters (), and hemiola is also a feature of the triple-time sections of frottole.

There are two matters related to the performance of Italian dance music that I want to discuss

¹⁶"Ancora è da notare come nel sonare sono due chiavi, le quali sono chiamate B. molle. B. quadro; . . . quando il sonatore suona, che chi vuole bene danzare, o bassa danza, o saltarello, o che altro si sia, che quello intenda e conosca se suona per B.molle o per B. quadro. Imperò che sommamente è necessario, che i passi e i giesti suoi siano conformi e concordanti a quelle voci dolcie, o semituoni, o sincopate che in quella tal misura si suona; cioè o per B. molle, o per B. quadro. . . . E nota: che B. quadro è molta più aieroso (in) la sua misura, che quella di bocie molle, ma è alquanto più cruda e men dolcie." Zambrini, "Trattato dell' arte del ballo," pp. 27-28.

¹⁷Helm, "Secular vocal Music," p. 404.

and (though to a lesser extent than with the subject of the origins of the dance tunes) speculate about: the texture of the music and the instruments used to play it. My comments on these two subjects are based primarily on remarks made in the dance-manuals themselves, but some evidence from outside the dance-manuals will also be used.

Most writers have assumed that the basse danze and balli were performed polyphonically, with the dance tunes placed in the tenor voice and one or more free voices improvised above it. Certain remarks made in the dance-manuals led to this assumption. First, in the capitolo entitled, "how to compose a ballo," Guglielmo tells his pupil he must start by "finding . . . a tenor according to his fancy."¹⁸ He must do the same for a bassa danza: "Anyone who would compose a bassa danza . . . needs first to use his fancy to find a tenor."¹⁹ The tenor, it appears, is the important voice. For information about other voices, we need to go first to Paris 972, where Domenico talks not only of a tenor, but of a soprano:

Note, player, when you begin to play a measure of bassa danza, always begin the soprano a little before the beat of the tenor. That soprano with which you begin is the void, and the beat of the tenor is the fullness. And in the quadernaria . . . always begin the beat of the tenor and that of the soprano together. . . . [In] the quadernaria . . . the beats of the tenor are more equally spaced than those of the bassa danza. . . . But [in] the bassa

18" . . . ritrovando . . . colla sua fantasia il tinore." Zambrini, "Trattato dell' arte del ballo," p. 28.

19" . . . alcuno volende comporre bassa danza . . . bisogna che primo abbia buona fantasia a trovare il tinore." Ibid.

danza, because it is slower, as has been described above, the beats of the tenor can be placed as you like, only [you must] keep to the measure.²⁰

The Guglielmo treatises mention, but only in passing, another voice, the "contratenore." It is not clear from the context if this is another name for "soprano," or if it is a third voice, or, indeed, if it something else altogether.

In another passage, Guglielmo talks about the "four principal voices" that correspond to the four elements. Many writers believe that in this passage Guglielmo is comparing "the soprano, the contralto, the tenor and the bass to the elements he thinks may constitute the world: fire, air, water, earth."²¹

Other evidence about the texture of the Italian dances comes from outside the treatises. Bukofzer discovered a polyphonic version of the popular dance tune, "La Spagna"; the tune is in long notes in the tenor, and has other voices

²⁰"Nota ti sonator quando comenci a sonare una mesura de bassedanza sempre comenza el sovrano piutosto che la bota del tenore quello sovrano che tu comenci si e l vodo e la bota del tenore sie lo pieno. E in la quadernaria . . . sempre recominzarai la bota del tenore e quella del sovrano tutto insieme. . . . la quadernaria . . . le sue bote del tenore vano piu equale per distantia che quella de la bassadanza. . . . Ma la bassa danza perche e piu larga como e dicto disopra li poi mettere le botte del tenore como te pare e piace pur che tengi mexura." Paris 972, fols. 3v-4r.

²¹" . . . il soprano, il contralto, il tenore e il bassa agli elementi di cui si pensava fosse formato il mondo: fuoco, aria, acqua, terra." Ada Melica, "Guglielmo Ebreo da Pesaro: maestro di ballo del Quattrocento," La Rassegna Musicale 29 (1959):55.

above it.²²

On the surface, then, all the evidence points to a performance in two or three parts, with the tune in the tenor voice. But if one looks closer at each bit of evidence, and reads the dance-manuals thoroughly and carefully, most of the "evidence" vanishes. Let us examine first the three "voices" mentioned in the treatises, the tenor, soprano, and contratenor. In the dance-manuals the word "tenor" almost always means "tune" (as in "when you hear the tenor . . .").²³ Nowhere in the treatises are the number of parts or the texture of the dances mentioned--not even hinted at--so "tenor" never is used to distinguish one "voice" or "part" from another. Sometimes "tenor" has a more specific meaning: it is the name for the melodies of saltarelli and basse danze. Cornazano, for example, introduces his three bassa danza and saltarello tunes with the words: "Here follows tenors for basse danze and saltarelli."²⁴

Neither Domenico nor Guglielmo ever

²²Manfred Bukofzer, Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1950), pp. 190-216.

²³The tunes of balli usually are called "tenors," but in one context they are called "canti"; at the head of each ballo tune, Domenico and Cornazano put the name of the ballo and the words "in canto" ("Sobria in canto"). It is clear that they use the expression to distinguish the tunes of the balli from the instructions for balli.

²⁴" . . . seguino tenori da bassedange et saltarelli." Curzio Mazzi, "Il 'libro dell' arte del danzare' di Antonio Cornazano," La Bibliofilia 17 (1915-16):28.



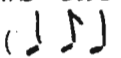
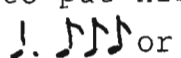
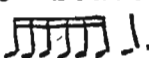
explain what they mean by "soprano" and "contratenore"; the contexts in which these words are found are not very helpful in determining their meaning, either. The only clues are in Domenico's long instruction to the player quoted on pages 191 to 192, but the passage is problematic because not only do we not know what "soprano" means here, we also do not know which meaning of "vuodo" and "pieno" Domenico has in mind.²⁵ One writer explains what he thinks Domenico means in the passage; Mullally, in a long and complicated argument, explains that because "tenor" always has to do with "sound," "contratenore" and "soprano" must involve "silence." He continues:

Since we know that the "sovrano" is silent, and since the word "bota" obviously means "beat," "la bota del sovrano" must then mean the counting of silent beats; and since "tenore" in a general sense always implies sound, "la bota del tenore" must consequently mean the counting of the beats of the musical phrase itself. As we have seen, it is of the utmost importance in the dances to measure the silence as much as the sound.²⁶

I think Mullally is on the right track, but that the latter part of Domenico's remarks (" [In] the quadernaria . . . the beats of the tenor are more equally spaced than those of the bassa danza. . . . But [in] the bassa danza, because it is slower, as has been described above, the beats of the tenor can be placed as you like, only [you must] keep to the measure") points to a

²⁵For a discussion of the various meanings of "vuodo" and "pieno," see pages 104-8.

²⁶Robert Mullally, "The Polyphonic Theory of the 'Bassa danza' and the 'Ballo'," Music Review 41 (1980):7.

somewhat different interpretation: the "beats of the tenor" are the improvised percussion accompaniment to the dance tune. In the quadernaria, because it is faster than the bassa danza, the beats (such as hand-claps or drum-strokes) are more "even" ( or ) than they are in the bassa danza, whose slow tempo allows the player to put his "beats" where he likes ( or  or ), although he must "keep to the measure" (that is, maintain the character and speed of the dance). In the first part of this passage, then, the "soprano" is the tune, and the "tenor," the accompaniment to the tune. In the bassa danza, the tune begins without accompaniment (in the vuodo, the first part of each bassa danza tempo), and in the quadernaria, tune and accompaniment start together (in the pieno, the first part of the quadernaria tempo).

The "four principal voices" mentioned by Guglielmo have no more to do with musical voices than Domenico's "soprano" and Guglielmo's "contratenore" do. Guglielmo talks about the four voices only in a philosophical context. Music, he says, has an effect on the four humours of which all of us are made (the humours are analogous to the four elements: fire, air, water, and earth). In this context, music has to have four "voices" so that it corresponds to the four humours and the four elements.

There is no question that dance tunes were used in polyphonic compositions, just as chansons were used in French basses danses. But that is no reason to think that anyone danced to these polyphonic pieces; certainly in "La Spagna," and in most polyphonic settings of dance tunes, the

rhythmic vitality that is a necessary characteristic of dance music has disappeared in a mass of ornamentation, and the tune itself has been slowed down beyond the point where anyone could dance to it. Polyphonic settings of dance melodies simply do not look like dances--they look like polyphonic settings of dance melodies.

Those who believe that the dances were meant to be performed polyphonically also believe that the tunes of the basses danses, as they are found in the extant dance-manuals, were always placed in the tenor voice. Certainly the French and Italian bassa danza tenors look like cantus firmi; one can easily imagine that an improvised upper part or two was added to them. For balli, on the other hand, it has been assumed that because their tunes look like melodies, they were always placed in the uppermost voice, with other voices improvised below them. This view, unfortunately, does not take into account the nature of the bassa danza sections of the balli. Those phrases in bassa danza measure that have only semi-breves look more like French basse danse tenors than like the "tunes" of the balli; if they were performed as the basses danses were, with the tune in the lowest part, one can only conclude that, "in playing the music of a 'ballo', the musician or musicians had to switch from playing an improvised lower part in 'cantus'-style sections to playing an improvised upper part in 'tenor'-style sections."²⁷ This does not seem a likely manner of performance. If one assumes, however, that it is a possible way to perform the balli, if not

²⁷Ibid., p. 5.

a likely way, one finds that a number of problems arise. First, there are bassa danza phrases in mixed 6/8 rhythms, some of which look more like saltarello or piva tunes than like bassa danza cantus firmi; would they have been put in the lowest voice, or in the highest? Would these lines from "Prisonera," for example, with bassa danza given as their measure, be played as a "tune" or as a cantus firmus?

1 $\text{E} \text{O} \text{O}$ 2
 C C S S S d → R → || X2

2 2
 s s d d (mv) || X2

3 1
 s s R

4 2
 s s d d (mv) || X2

5 1
 s s R

Second, some phrases in bassa danza measure are too ornamented to have been used as a cantus firmus, as is the case with line 3 of "Bel riguardo,"

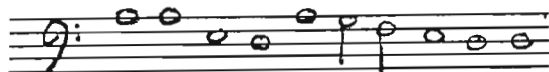
and with line 4 of "Colonnese":

Third, there are ballo phrases that have a change of measure in them, and this sometimes involves a change to or from bassa danza measure. In line 4 of "Giove," for instance, it is hard to imagine that the musician played the first half of the tune in the upper part, and the second in the lower:

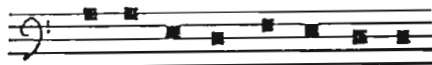
Finally, there are ballo phrases that are not in bassa danza measure (such as lines 1a and 2c of "La Figlia Guilielmo") that look more like cantus firmi than do many of the phrases in bassa danza measure; would they have been in the highest voice

or the lowest?

Most ballo phrases are true melodies, and it is difficult to conceive of them in any voice but the highest. I suspect that all bassa danza phrases were put in the upper voice, too; perhaps even basse danze that are dances on their own (and not just parts of balli) were performed this way in Italy. Some evidence for this is in "Del Re di Spagna," where Cornazano cannot resist ornamenting, if only slightly, the first part of the bassa danza tenor. Compare the opening of Cornazano's tenor,



with the French version:



There are a number of references to musical instruments in the Italian treatises, but none are in the parts of the treatises that mention "tenor," "soprano," or "contratenore." In Paris 476, Ambrosio tells us that a good dancer is one who can pass a test in which, one by one, each of five instruments plays an air to which the dancer must adapt his steps and tempo. The five instruments Ambrosio mentions are the pifare (shawm), organi (organ), liuto (lute), arpa (harp), and tamburino con fiati (pipe-and-tabor). There are passing references in the Guglielmo treatises to the "citara," by which their writers may mean "harp," and the miniature mentioned in the Guglielmo treatises, but only reproduced in Paris 973, shows a single harpist accompanying three dancers.

The dance-manuals mention instrumentalists as well as instruments. Almost always the reference is to a single musician, as it is in this remark made frequently by Domenico: "E tu sonatore per puoco intelecto"; but there are also references to more than one musician ("and you musicians, please note that . . .").²⁸

Other evidence about the instruments used for dancing comes from the surviving music and instructions for the Florentine intermedii of the sixteenth century, and from fifteenth-century Italian paintings, sketches, and writings. The instructions for the Florentine intermedii call for large numbers of instruments in mixed consorts; these consorts presumably were used for the dances in the intermedii as well as for other instrumental pieces, and it is possible that the mixed consorts are part of a dance tradition that goes back as far as the fifteenth century. In his study of Italian paintings and sketches, Ravissa lists the instruments portrayed in Italian art works for each kind of musical activity, including dancing. Although some paintings were symbolic, it appears that a typical dance band up to 1490 was made up of one or two melody instruments (such as lute, fidel, harp, or organ) and two or three percussion (a tambourine is part of almost every band and is often joined by cymbals or a drum, or both).²⁹ Finally, a fifteenth-century

²⁸For passages containing many references to "sonatore," see fols. 3v-4r of Paris 972, and the Aliud experimentum in the Guglielmo treatises.

²⁹Victor Ravissa, Das instrumentale Ensemble von 1400-1550 in Italien, publikationen der Schweizerischen Musikforschenden Gesellschaft, ser. II,

poem which describes a festival in Florence mentions that the saltarello was accompanied by (at least two) "pifferi" and a trombone:

In questo tempo i pifferi e 'l trombone
cominciaro a sonare un saltarello
fondato d' arte d' intera ragione . . .³⁰

None of the evidence about instruments, whether from the treatises themselves or from some other source, tells us very much about how the dances were played or by whom. Helped by the few pieces of evidence that do exist, we can only speculate about what a performance might have been like. The unmixed consort prevailed until about the mid-sixteenth century, so the five instruments listed in Ambrosio's test would have been an extremely uncommon dance group; in any case, Ambrosio never asks that the instruments be played together. It is likely that each of these instruments were used, or could have been used, in the course of an evening's dancing, but almost certainly not all at once. The harp in the Paris 973 miniature is used alone, accompanying three dancers. In this situation the harp was probably sufficient, since its sound would have filled the small room needed by just three dancers. In larger rooms, with large numbers of dancers, more and louder instruments would have been necessary.

It is important to remember that almost every dance performance described in the dance-manuals is a practice session and not a public event; an exception is Ambrosio's description, in

vol. 21 (Stuttgart: Paul Haupt Verlag, 1976), pp. 58-59.

³⁰Heartz, "A 15th-Century Ballo," p. 373.

Paris 476, of some prestigious dances he had attended. The single "sonatore" in the treatises would have been adequate for the dance lessons, but whether he would have been enough for other occasions is doubtful. The number of musicians probably varied according to the number of dancers, the size of the room for dancing, and the importance of the event. If the instruments listed for the Florentine intermedii prove anything, it is that lavish occasions required lavish forces. The instruments called for in the intermedii were not typical of social dancing in the sixteenth century, nor would they have been used for fifteenth-century dancing. According to Ravissa's study, the "piffari e 'l trombone" mentioned in the poem would have been much more typical.

I started this thesis with the intention of learning about French basse danse notation and I end much where I began, except that now my main interest is in the notation of Italian balli, not that of French basses danses. Many aspects of notation have been discussed already, but I want to return to the subject again. This time I will study the two dance tunes common to the Italian and French traditions, and use the conclusions of that study, plus all the conclusions about notation that have been made previously, to summarize what I believe some of the more unusual and interesting features of Italian dance notation mean.

One of Cornazano's "tenori da basse dange et saltarelli" is "Del Re di Spagna," which is identical to the French basse danse, "Castille la novele," except that Cornazano has slightly orna-

mented the first phrase. The two tunes are as follows, with Cornazano's tune given first:

The image displays two pairs of musical staves. The first pair, representing Cornazano's tune, uses diamond-shaped mensuration signs (◊) above the notes. The second pair, representing the French tune, uses square mensuration signs (■). Both tunes are written in a similar melodic sequence, illustrating the notational differences between the two systems.

One can see that the ◊ in Cornazano's tune is a ■ in the French tune. If it can be shown that the only difference between French and Italian bassa danza notation--for this dance at least--is the difference of which notational unit is employed, and that the two tunes were in fact performed in the same way (that is, at more-or-less the same tempo and in compound duple time), then we can conclude that the notation of this basse danse tenor is not related to plainsong notation (which it resembles) but that it means exactly what it appears to mean.³¹ Carrying this idea further, we can conclude that all French basse danse nota-

³¹Although they have no mensuration signs, there is every reason to believe that Cornazano's three bassa danza tenors should be transcribed like the bassa danza phrases of balli (that is, in 6/8, with ◊ = ♩.). If the French breve in this dance equals the Italian bassa danza semibreve, then the French dance should be transcribed in 6/8 meter, too, with ■ = ♩.

tion is equivalent to Italian bassa danza notation. Just how and why the French evolved their peculiar notation is another matter. There seems to be no reason for them to have used the ambiguous black breve--ambiguous to us, anyway, because of its similarity to plainsong notation--when the white semibreve could have been used.

And if the Italians used the semibreve in "Del Re di Spagna" to equal the French breve in "Castille la novele," then we can assume that the Italians normally used semibreves in place of French black breves for the notation of basse danze. This conclusion, in turn, explains a remark in Cornazano's treatise that has been baffling scholars for years.

The Antinori treatise has the steps, previously unnoticed, for Coranzano's "Del Re di Spagna," and they show that, indeed, the Italian and French versions of the dance were almost certainly performed in the same way, since the Italians used not only the same tune as the French, but the same dance steps.³² "Del Re di Spagna" is the only fifteenth-century Italian bassa danza that has survived with both its music and its steps. The title of the dance in Antinori is "La Bassa di Castiglia," and the instructions for it are divided into three parts. The first part is the bassa danza referred to in the title.³³ The

³²Siena has a dance called "La Spagna" on page 194, but it has different steps, steps which do not fit with Cornazano's tune.

³³Basse danze were seldom performed alone; they were usually followed by a saltarello on the same tune as the bassa danza, and in Italy the "gioioso," a fast dance, often concluded the set.

second part is the saltarello ("then the player sounds the other part of 'di Castiglia,' and then they make a riverenza with eleven doubles, that is, the saltarello"),³⁴ and the third, the "gioioso" ("the player [begins] the gioioso").³⁵

The steps for the bassa danza are exactly like the steps for the French dance, except that the last eight steps of the French version are left out of Antinori's instructions.³⁶ In the diagram below, two Italian riprese equal both a French ripresa and a branle, and two continenze take the place of the French branle [b]:

Antinori	French version
	R
cc	b
ss dddd	ss dddd
ss/ 8 ripresette a la franzese	ss rrr b
ss d	ss d
ss/ 8 ripresette a la franzese	ss rrr b
ss dddd	ss dddd
ss/ 8 ripresette a la franzese	ss rrr b
ss d	ss d
ss/ 8 ripresette a la franzese	ss rrr b

	ss ddd rrr b

34" . . . poi el sonatore suona l' altra parte de Castiglia, di poi fanno una riverenza con undici doppi, cioè di salterelo." Beatrice Pescerelli, "Una sconosciuta redazione del trattato di danza di Guglielmo Ebreo," Rivista Italiana di Musicologia 9 (1974):54.

35"El suonatore el gioioso." Ibid.

36One presumes that the last eight notes of the tune were omitted, too; perhaps the "missing" notes were used in the saltarello or the gioioso.

Each of the dance steps in Antinori takes one \diamond of Cornazano's tune, and each French dance step takes a \blacksquare . This shows that for each \blacksquare in the French basse danse, the Italians wrote \diamond . If this was the normal way the Italians notated French black breves--and I suspect it was--then it explains Cornazano's remark that, in the bassa danza, "every note is doubled, and three become six, and six, twelve."³⁷ I also suspect that in the Italian tradition all bassa danza tunes were notated in semibreves, whether they were taken from the French or not, and regardless of whether they were for basse danze as separate dances or for the bassa danza sections of balli; Cornazano's bassa danza tunes are thus notated in the normal Italian manner. The probable reason for the change of notation is that the Italians wanted to bring the notation of the phrases in bassa danza measure into line visually with the rest of the phrases in the balli; it was the notation of the balli that was the norm, and it was used even for bassa danza and saltarello tenors (even those copied from the French), though with Cornazano's proviso that for a bassa danza (bassa danza as a separate dance) every note had to be doubled (if it were to look like French notation).

Another tune in both French and Italian dance-manuals is that of the ballo "Gioioso" and the French dance, "Roti bouilly joyeux."³⁸ The

³⁷" . . . dove ogni nota si radoppia, et le tre vagliono sei, et le sei dodeci." Mazzi, "Antonio Cornazano," p. 29.

³⁸The ballo is written on F, however, and the basse danse on D.

music of the French dance is in three parts: the first is "en pas de Breban" and is notated entirely in semibreves; the second is in mixed note values, and the final part is the basse danse in black breves; this is Toulouse's version of the dance, with many errors:³⁹

Dti bolli toient; l'ome et la fāme en sen ble doibut fayre em pas de braban et ce

ceti. ii. foyz et puis sensuit labace doibt fayre .ii. foyz dance

Lome et la fāme / l'ome fait ceti tout seul l'ome et la fāme font ceti en sanble et puis la fāme apres vne foyz toute soulez l'ome ii foyz

B

The "correct" version of Toulouse's tune is as follows; note that the same music is shared by the first line of the dance and the first half of the basse danse tune, and by the second line of the dance and the second half of the basse danse tune:

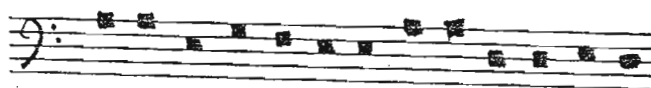
³⁹ Michael Toulouze, L' Art et instruction de bien dāncer [1496]; facsimile reprint (London: Victor Scholderer for the Royal College of Physicians of London, 1936).



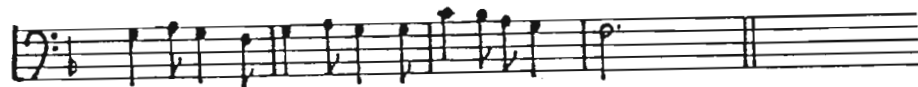
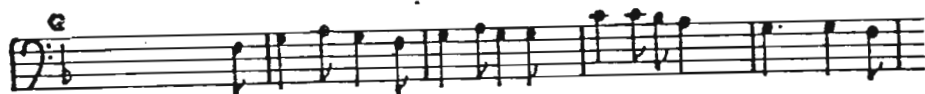
The ballo on this tune also has three parts: the first part (lines 1 and 2 of transcription II) is in bassa danza measure, and the second and third in saltarello and piva measure, respectively. Like the French dance, the bassa danza tune is used as the melody of the other lines in the dance. The Italian and French versions of the dance are very alike, even though the Italians use three ◊ for each ■ in the French basse danse and three ◊ for each ◊ in the French saltarello; the Italians simply repeated each note of the French tune three times. Compare the first line of the Italian dance (in bassa danza measure),



with the first half of the French basse danse melody:



The rhythm of the last line of the Italian dance,



is very similar to the analogous line in the French dance (line 2):



In Toulouze's treatise, this second line is preceded by a "3," the same sign used by the Italians in conjunction with piva measure in 6/8 meter. The presence of this sign implies that the line is not in the "pas de Breban" of the first line, but is in some other "measure," probably one that corresponds to the Italian piva.⁴⁰

The music of the first three lines of "Gioioso" had to be changed when the steps and music were combined in transcription II. What in transcription I had been in 3/4 meter with $\diamond = \text{quarter note}$, was altered to 6/8 with $\diamond = \text{eighth note}$. This was done so that each dance step fit with one bar of music rather than with two, as in transcription I. The reason why "Gioioso" is notated as it is, with six \diamond per step instead of the usual two, is, I sug-

⁴⁰In his transcription of "Roti bouilly joyeux," Heartz does not mention Toulouze's "3" at the beginning of the second phrase; he assumes, therefore, that it is, like line 1, in "pas de Breban." Crane makes the same assumption.

gest, that it was borrowed from somewhere--"Roti bouilly joyeux" is the likeliest place--that had semibreves as its basic notational unit. The Italian composer took over the notation of the tune as well as the notes, even though it meant that the usual ratio of step units to music units no longer applied.

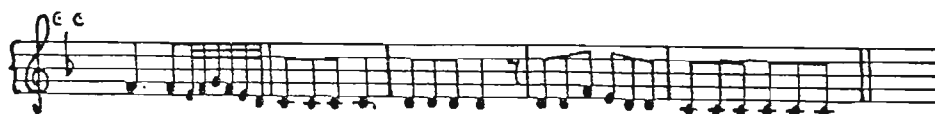
The French dance "La franchoise nouvelle" may come from the same original source that "Colonnese" and "Leggiadra" do; lines 1 and 2 of the Italian dances--both have exactly the same music for these lines--are



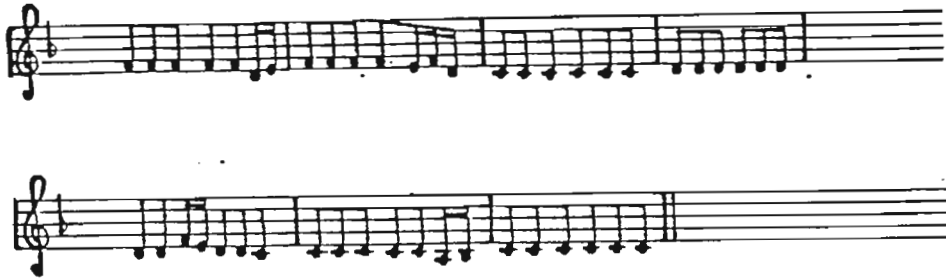
and the last lines of the French dance are:



The fourth line of "Colonnese,"



and the fourth line of "Leggiadra,"



are not identical to each other, but both are derived from the same parent tune; this tune is like the first lines of "La franchoise nouvelle":



What interests me with these three dances is not that the two balli might be related melodically to the French dance, but that the French dance has the same ratio of dance steps to bars of music as the Italian dances do. Lines 1 through 4 of "Colonnese" and "Leggiadra" were, in transcription II, changed in the same way and for the same reasons that the first three lines of "Gioioso" were altered: to 6/8 meter with $\diamond = \text{♪}$. In their original notation, six \diamond equalled one dance step. The same ratio applies to "La franchoise nouvelle." Both "Colonnese" and "Leggiadra" make extensive use of repeated notes; to a lesser extent, so does "La franchoise nouvelle." So, too, do two other French dances, both in mensural notation: "La danse de Ravestain" and "La danse de Cleves." If we include "Gioioso," there are six

dances, three Italian and three French, that make use of repeated notes, and each of them uses the unusual ratio of six \diamond per dance step. This may mean that the French borrowed the tunes from somewhere and garbled their notation, and that the Italians, in turn, borrowed from the French; more likely, however, is that all these tunes were borrowed, perhaps from a common source and perhaps not, and that in both France and Italy the same compositional method was employed to create dances out of pre-existing material.

I believe that most instances of unusual notation in Italian dances are the result of their tunes having been borrowed. Others, particularly those in Paris 476, came about because the writer of the treatise, or its copyist, was aware of the French dance tradition, and of French notation, and wanted to show that he was. Still others are undoubtedly scribal errors.

Ballo phrases in bassa danza measure that are notated in unusual ways have been discussed already, but they need to be discussed again. For eight bassa danza phrases ("Prisonera," lines 1 through 5; "Marchesana," line 4 and line 5 alternate; and "Spero," line 5) Paris 476 has the same notes but different notation than the other treatises; for each \diamond in the other treatises, Paris 476 has \blacktriangleright . The best explanation for the notation in Paris 476 is that its author or scribe wanted to emphasize his familiarity with French dancing and French notation, although it is possible that he knew that these particular tunes originated in France and changed their notation to indicate that fact. Some support for the former idea is found in the dance instructions of

Paris 476 which, more than any other dance-manual, refer to France in the titles of their dances ("Amoroso ballo francese," and "Petit riese in tri francese," for example).

For two phrases, line 5 of "Giove" and line 4 of "Gratioso," all the treatises, not just Paris 476, have the same kind of notation, with breves instead of the usual semibreves. I cannot explain why these phrases are notated as they are, but it is clear that they should be performed like other bassa danza phrases. To show this, I changed them from 6/4 with $\alpha = \downarrow$ in transcription I, to 6/8 with $\alpha = \downarrow$ in transcription II. The notation cannot be a mistake, since all the treatises have it; it may be a vestige of the "old" French notation that was retained in the oldest Italian treatise and then was copied from one dance-manual to another.

To reflect the level at which the steps fit with the music, I had to rebar the music of "Amoroso," "Bel fiore," and the first line of "Voltate in ga rosina"; in transcription I they were in 2/4, in transcription II, 4/4. "Voltate in ga rosina" was, as we know, based on a villota, which accounts for its peculiar notation; "Amoroso" and "Bel fiore" were probably borrowed, too, and whoever did the borrowing did not bother to change the notation of the tunes to fit in with other ballo phrases.

The most perplexing aspect of the notation of the balli has been discussed in detail: mensuration signs that appear to be mistakes. "Wrong" signs that are in only one treatise are most likely mistakes, but those that are in two or more dance-manuals must have been intentional

and therefore need to be explained. This was done in chapter IV, but my explanation did not account for every inexplicable mensuration sign. What does account for them, I think, is this: the signs belonged to tunes that were not dance tunes originally but were at some point used in dance compositions. Whoever rewrote and reworked the tunes neglected to change their signs. In line la of "Giove," all four treatises have the mensuration sign \circ for music that can only be in duple meter. Because (1) this line had to be rebarred from 2/4 to 4/4 meter, just like "Amoroso" and "Bel fiore" were, and because (2) the melody of this line makes use of repeated notes, like "Colonnese," "Gioioso," and "Leggiadro" do, there is strong evidence that it is a borrowed tune. The \circ sign, then, must be the sign of the original tune.

Perhaps, at this stage, another transcription would be appropriate, one that takes into account the conclusions reached in the last few chapters, and one that reflects the way the balli were performed better than transcription II does. The slowness of the bassa danza phrases could be indicated by their being in 6/4 meter ($\diamond = d.$), and the hemiola that is characteristic of saltarello measure would be made clearer if all saltarello phrases were in 3/4 (3/4 meter would also distinguish saltarello phrases from bassa danza phrases). All quaternaria phrases would be in 2/4 meter; this means that the transcription level of the 4/4 phrases would have to be changed. Phrases in piva measure would stay as they are in transcription II, some in 2/4 and some in 6/8.

Another transcription may be appropriate, but it is not, I think, necessary. The reader can, to a great extent, envisage such a "performing edition" for himself. To make a good performing edition would, in any case, involve further research, research into subjects that have not been discussed in this thesis.

APPENDIX A

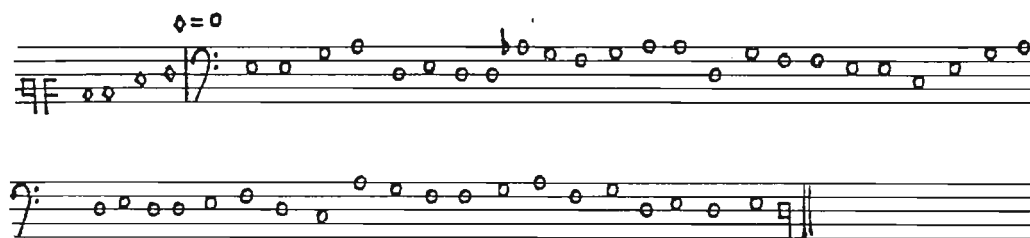
ROME'S BASSA DANZA TUNES

APPENDIX A-Continued

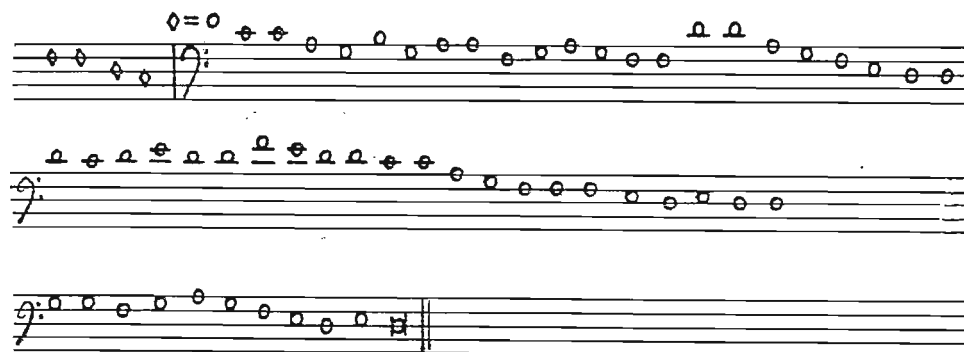
Tenore: Del Re di Spagna



Cangon de pifari dicto el Ferrarese



Tenore: Collinetto



NOTE: These tunes were transcribed from photocopies of Cornazano's original tunes in Mazzi's edition of the Rome treatise.

APPENDIX B

BASSE DANZE FOR WHICH THERE ARE INSTRUCTIONS
IN THE DANCE-MANUALS, LISTED BY
TREATISE IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER

APPENDIX B-Continued

	Foligno	Paris 972	Rome	Paris 973	Paris 476	Maglia- bechiana	Antinori	Siena	Modena
Alexandresca	XX			X	X	X	X	X	
Annota		X							
Ays								X	
Borges					X				
Di Castiglia							X		
Caterva				X	X	X	X	X	
Consolata								X	
Corona gentile		X	X					X	
Corta								X	
La Crudele	X								
Cupido				X	X	X	X	X	
Dànnes								X	X
Daphnes			X	X	X	X	X	X	

APPENDIX B-Continued

	Foligno	Paris 972	Rome	Paris 973	Paris 476	Maglia- bechiana	Antinori	Siena	Modena
Diamente								X	X
Duchessa								X	X
Febus	X			X	X	X	X	X	
Flandescha				X	X	X	X	X	
Fodra								X	
Genevra				X	X	X	X	X	
Gioia								X	
Gioliva				X	X	X	X	X	
Grolia	X								
Malum	X								
Meschina								X	
Mignotta		X		X	X	X	X	X	X
Mignotta nova		X	X					X	

APPENDIX B-Continued

	Foligno	Paris 972	Rome	Paris 973	Paris 476	Maglia- bechiana	Antinori	Siena	Modena
Moderna								X	
Morosa								X	
Nobite								X	
Partita crudele						X	X	X	
Patientia				X	X	X	X	X	
Pelligrina	X			X	X	X	X	X	
Pietosa				X	X	X	X	X	
Principessa				X	X	X	X	X	X
Reale	X			X	X	X	X	X	
La Spagna								X	
Venus						X	X		
Zauro						X	X		
Zogliosa		X							

APPENDIX B-Continued

NOTE: Not every dance title of the same name has the same steps in each source, and some dances with different titles, such as "Di Castiglia" and "La Spagna," have similar steps. To avoid having to decide when two dances of the same title are no longer merely different versions of the same dance but are, in fact, two different dances, I decided to follow the lead of the authors of the treatises: dances are assumed to be the same if they have the same title, but dances given in the sources as separate dances, such as "Mignotta" and "Mignotta nova," are listed separately. This leaves one dance, "Alexandresca," for which there are two somewhat different texts with the same title; both are in the same treatise.

APPENDIX C

LOCATION OF THE BALLO INSTRUCTIONS
IN THE DANCE-MANUALS

APPENDIX C-Continued

	Amoroso	Anello	Angelosa	Angiola	Bel fiore	Bel riguardo (for two)	Bel riguardo novo (for three)
Paris 972		fols. 16r- 16v			fols. 15r- 15v	fol. 7v	fols. 8r- 8v
Paris 972 (Bianchi)		pp. 135- 36			pp. 134-35	pp. 122-23	pp. 123-24
Rome							pp. 20-21
Paris 973		fols. 39r- 39v			fols. 37v- 38r	fols. 40r- 40v	
Paris 476	fols. 51v- 52r	fols. 44v- 45v			fols. 43r- 43v	fols. 46r- 46v	
Maglia- bechiana		pp. 93-95			pp. 89-90	pp. 97-98	
Antinori							
Siena	p. 203	p. 204 ^a	p. 202	p. 205	p. 208 ^a	p. 201 ^a	p. 206 ^a
Modena		p. 41				p. 39	pp. 43-44

APPENDIX C-Continued

	Chirintana	Colonnese	Danza di Re	Duchesco	Ferretra	La Figlia Guilielmo (for two)	La Figlia Guilielmo (for four)
Paris 972						fols. 20r- 20v	fols. 18v- 20r
Paris 972 (Bianchi)						pp. 140-41	pp. 139-40
Rome						p. 24 ^b	pp. 22-24
Paris 973		fols. 34r- 34v		fols. 32v-33r			
Paris 476		fols. 39r- 40r		fols. 37v-38r			
Maglia- bechiana		pp. 79-81		pp. 74-76			
Antinori							
Siena	p. 202	p. 207 ^a	pp. 205-6	p. 206	pp. 204-5	p. 207	
Modena						pp. 44-45	

APPENDIX C-Continued

	Fiore de vertu	Fioretto	Francho cuore gentile	Gelosia	Gioioso	Giove	Gratioso	Humana
Paris 972				fols. 11r- 11v		fols. 17v-18v		
Paris 972 (Bianchi)				pp. 127- 28		pp. 137- 39		
Rome						p. 18		
Paris 973				fols. 39v- 40r	fols. 32r- 32v	fols. 35r-36r	fols. 42r-42v	
Paris 476	fols. 51r- 51v			fols. 45v- 46r	fols. 37r- 37v	fols. 40r-41r	fols. 48v-49r	
Maglia- bechiana				pp. 95-96	pp. 72-74	pp. 82- 84	pp. 98- 100	
Antinori						pp. 53- 54		
Siena		p. 205 ^a	p. 204	p. 195 ^{a/c} p. 202 ^{a/c}	p. 201 ^a p. 206 ^{a/d}	p. 203 ^a	p. 203 ^a	p. 206 ^a (incomplete)
Modena		p. 41		p. 39	p. 42	p. 40		

APPENDIX C-Continued

	Ingrata	Leggiadra	Leoncello (for two)	Leoncello novo (for three)	Malgratiosa	Marchesana	Mastri di Toboni
Paris 972	fols. 10r- 11r		fols. 8v- 9r	fols. 9v- 10r		fols. 16v- 17r	
Paris 972 (Bianchi)	pp. 126- 27		pp. 124- 25	p. 125		pp. 136- 37	
Rome				pp. 21-22			
Paris 973	fols. 38r- 39r	fols. 33r- 34r	fols. 40v- 41r			fols. 36v- 37v	
Paris 476	fols. 43v- 44v	fols. 38r- 39r	fols. 46v- 47r			fols. 42r- 43r	
Maglia- bechiana	pp. 90-93	pp. 76-78	pp. 103-4			pp. 87-88	
Antinori							p. 55 (incomplete)
Siena	p. 203 ^a	p. 207 ^a	p. 201 ^a p. 192a/d	p. 206 ^a	p. 204	p. 202 ^a	
Modena			pp. 33-34 ^d	p. 43			

APPENDIX C-Continued

	Mercantia	Moza di Biscaie	Petit reise (P. rose)	Pizochara	Principessa	Prisonera	Raia
Paris 972	fols. 21r- 22r			fols. 12r- 12v		fols. 14v- 15r	
Paris 972 (Bianchi)	pp. 141- 42			pp. 128-29		pp. 133-34	
Rome	pp. 16-18						
Paris 973	fols. 41r- 42r		fols. 34v- 35r ^e			fols. 36r- 36v	
Paris 476	fols. 47v- 48r		<u>fols. 52r-52v</u> fol. 40re			fols. 41r- 42r	
Maglia- bechiana	pp. 105-7					pp. 84-86	
Antinori		pp. 52- 53	pp. 81-82 ^e				
Siena	p. 207 ^a		p. 207 ^{a/e}	p. 203	p. 208	p. 203 ^a	p. 204
Modena							

APPENDIX C-Continued

	Se non dormi Donna Ascolta	Sobria	Spero	Tesara	Verzeppe	Voltate in ca rosina
Paris 972		fols. 22v-23v		fols. 23v-26r	fols. 13r-14v	
Paris 972 (Bianchi)		pp. 142- 45		pp. 145- 47	pp. 131- 33	
Rome		pp. 24-25			pp. 18-20	
Paris 973			fols. 42v-43v			
Paris 476			fols. 49v-50r			fols. 50r- 51r
Maglia- bechiana			pp. 100- 102			
Antinori						
Siena	pp. 54-55					
Modena						

APPENDIX C-Continued

NOTE: The references to Rome, Magliabechiana, Antinori, Siena, and Modena are to the edited versions of the manuscripts. Since both the edited version and a microfilm of the original of Paris 972 were used, both are listed.

^aThe complete text is not given.

^bCornazano says this dance is for four dancers, but his steps for the dance are like the dance for two in the other treatises.

^cAccording to the editor, the two versions are nearly identical.

^dThe dance appears, without a title, and with its first part missing, among the basse danze.

^eParis 476 has a dance called "Petit riese" (fols. 52r-52v), and another called "Petit rose" (fol. 40r); they are placed together here because the two dances have similar dance steps and titles.

APPENDIX D

LOCATION OF THE BALLO TUNES
IN THE DANCE-MANUALS

APPENDIX D-Continued

	Paris 972	Rome	Paris 973	Paris 476
Amoroso				fol.58v
Anello	fol.16r			
Bel fiore	fol.15r			
Bel riguardo	fol. 9v	p.19	fol.46v	fol.56v
Colonnese			fols. 50v-51r	fol.57v
La Figlia Guilielmo	fols. 18v-19r	p.23		
Gelosia	fol.11r		fols.47v- 48r	fol.56r
Gioioso				fol.59r
Giove	fols. 17r-17v	p.17	fols.47r- 47v	fol.57r
Gratioso			fol.50v	fol.55v
Ingrata	fol.10r		fols.48v- 49r	fol.57r
Leggiadra			fols.51r- 51v	fol.58r
Leoncello	fols. 8v-9r	p.21	fol.47r	fol.56v
Marchesana	fol.16v		fols.49v- 50r	fol.55r
Mercantia	fol.21r	p.15	fols.49r- 49v	fol.57v
Petit vriens				fol.58v
Pizochara	fol.12r		fols.48r- 48v	fol.56r
Prisonera	fol.14v		fol.46r	fol.55v
Sobria	fols. 22r-22v	p.23		
Spero			fol.50r	fols.55r- 55v
Tesara	fols. 23v-24r			
Verzeppe	fol.13r	p.19		
Voltate in ga rosina				fol.57v

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