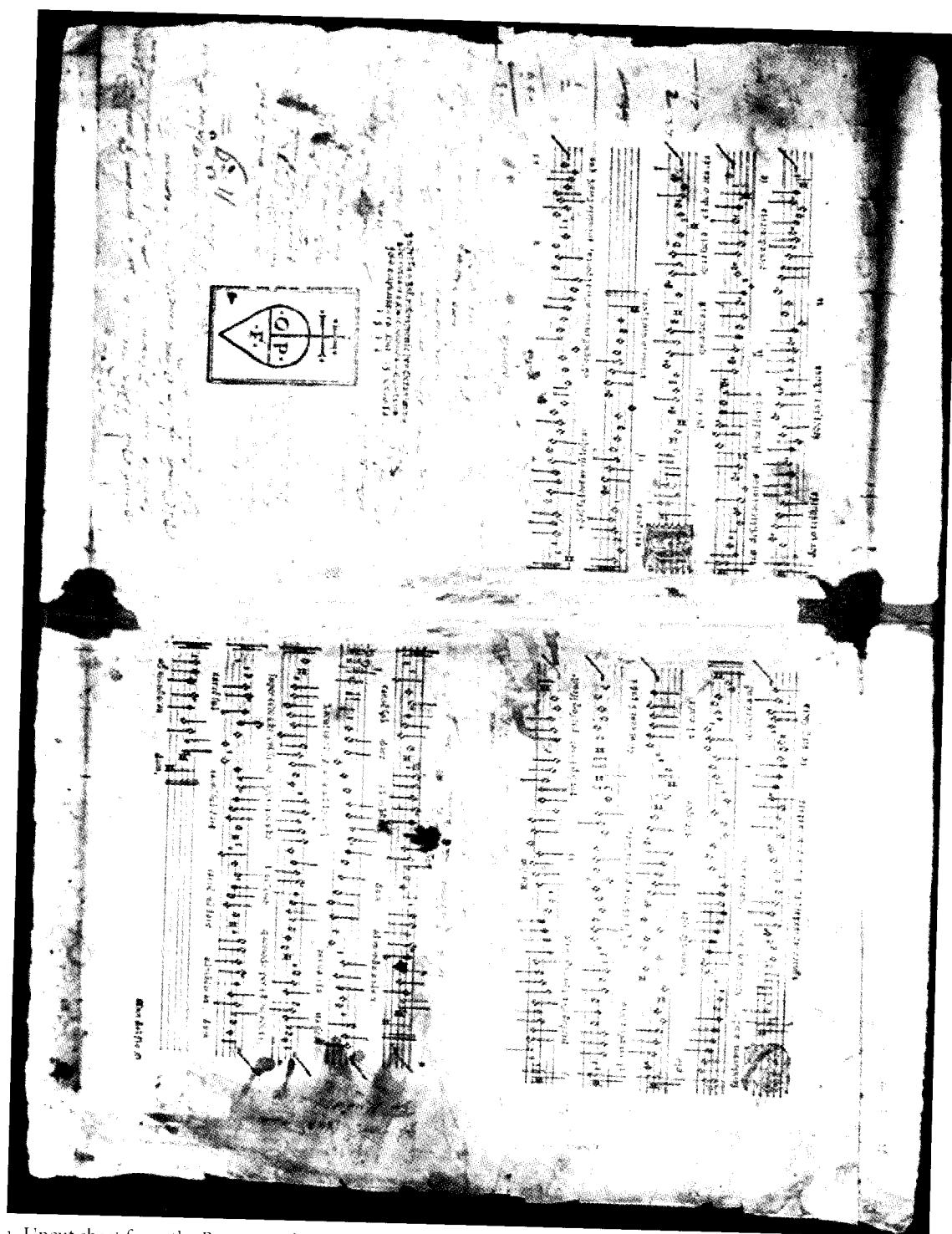




1 Uncut sheet from the Bassus partbook of Petrucci's fragmentary 1538 motet collection, showing ff.9r, 10v, 13r, 14v (Pesaro, Archive Stramigioli Ciacchi; by permission)

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THIS the first initiative of June 1466. 1501 saw the polyphonic After having decade, he where he Thanks to year has seen that throws which very unpublished article making knowledge that saw the known so far *le canzone d* covered are at Pesaro. The Bassus partbook printed by Egnazio at the colophon on and presumed *teti del fiore* in 1532,⁴ of which

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

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

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

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

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

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Salus

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14

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

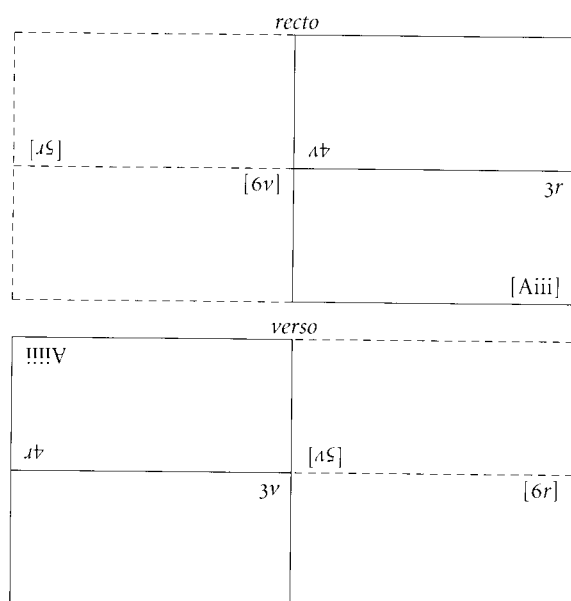
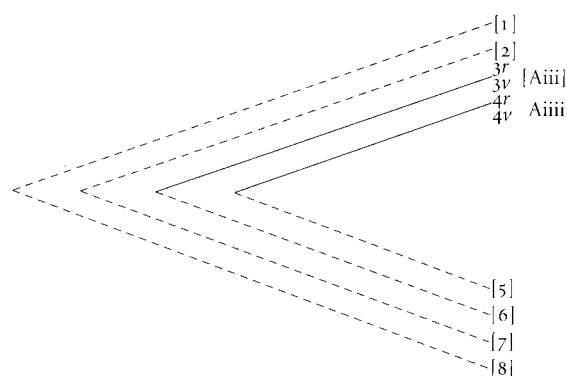


Fig.6 Gathering structure of the Fossombrone Tenor partbook



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

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The image displays two pages of a handwritten musical manuscript, likely a madrigal. The top page features several staves of musical notation with Italian lyrics written below. The lyrics include phrases like "e quant'ora non ti uole in tuo cello", "scorreo che me habbia pur una sol volta", "per te orrendi che fora ti che mai fusa con l'alma", and "ro fol lucert nel rolo uerme". The bottom page continues the musical notation and lyrics, with phrases such as "ai speranza", "che prometti ala affana a noia", "guidarmi la ouis trana", "non che ti rene", "e che ti toglia da", "la comincia impresa", and "non e per che duri". The manuscript shows signs of age, with some ink bleed-through and handwritten annotations.

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

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

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

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

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

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(Pesaro, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Notarile di Fossombrone; by permission)

