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The relationship between music and dance in Cesare Negri's Le Gratie d'Amore (1602).

Jones, Pamela

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THE RELATION BETWEEN MUSIC AND DANCE
IN CESARE NEGRI'S LE GRATIE D'AMORE (1602)

A Dissertation

Presented to
the Faculty of Music,
King's College,
University of London

In Partial Fulfilment
of the Requirements of the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

by

Pamela Jones

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ABSTRACT

THE RELATION BETWEEN MUSIC AND DANCE IN CESARE NEGRI'S LE GRATIE D'AMORE (1602)

by Pamela Jones

This thesis examines the relation between music and dance in late-Renaissance Italy by studying the choreographies and music in Cesare Negri's Le gratie d'amore (1602). Vol. 1 contains the following background material: biographical information on Negri and a summary of his treatise; a survey of other late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth century sources on dance; a perspective on modern studies of late-Renaissance dance (previous reconstructions, histories of dance, writings by musicologists); and a study of the different states of the 1602 and 1604 editions of Negri's treatise which shows that revisions were made while the book was in the process of publication.

Vol. 1 continues with a presentation of the system of proportional relationships that underlies the relative durations of the steps and step components in the choreographies of Caroso and Negri. The rhythmic changes involved in transferring steps from duple to triple metre (and vice versa) are explained with the aid of tables and examples drawn from Negri's dances. The following chapter, on musical problems, shows that a study of the choreographies is

often sufficient to clarify and correct the ambiguities and errors in the rhythmic notation of the music. .

Vol. 2 offers reconstructions of six complete choreographies. Steps are lined up under music so that the information given in vol. 1 can be studied in a more complete context. These reconstructions show the range of problems facing the choreologist, from dances which can be reconstructed with confidence to those with serious ambiguities. Vol. 2 also contains an edition of all the music from Negri's treatise with critical commentary. The thesis demonstrates that musical problems can often be resolved by studying the choreographic texts and that reconstruction becomes more accurate if the exact relation between steps and music is understood.

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PREFACE

I first encountered Renaissance dance a few years ago when Julia Sutton gave a lecture at King's College, London, in which she showed a film containing her reconstructions of dances by several Renaissance masters. I had no programme to the film so I jotted down the number of the dances I liked best. I was surprised to learn that all the dances I had picked were by the same man, Cesare Negri. Intrigued, I went to several libraries to look up information on him and discovered he had written a treatise entitled Le gratie d'amore which was published in Milan in 1602.

Negri's treatise seemed to offer the perfect challenge to anyone who, like myself, is trained both as a dancer and a musician. His manual contains step descriptions, information on step durations, over a hundred galliard variations, and 43 complete choreographies with accompanying music in both lute tablature and staff notation. In addition Negri includes rubrics above the music explaining the number of times each strain is to be played if the music is to fit the choreography.

My task seemed an easy one: I would only have to put all these pieces of information together and the result would be accurate reconstructions of a fascinating and little-known dance repertoire. It was then that my diffi-

culties began. The first dance I attempted to reconstruct seemed to have far too much music for the choreography. I turned to another dance; in this one, the rubrics seemed to make no sense. I decided to study secondary sources in the hopes that someone had already worked out how to fit steps to music. But many writers seemed inconsistent in their method of reconstruction and in their interpretation of Negri's technical language. After many months I was forced to realise that without an understanding of the dance theory and stereotyped language of this period the relationship between steps and music would remain elusive.

I was fortunate to find two advisors, Julia Sutton and Brian Trowell, who understood what I wanted to do and guided me with intelligence. It would be many years before I would be able to reconstruct with confidence and, even then, some dances still remain a mystery.

This thesis presents the results of my investigations: it is a study of the relation between dance and music in Cesare Negri's Le gratie d'amore. Volume One contains background information on sources of the period and previous studies of them, a comprehensive study of step durations and an examination of problems in the music which affect choreography. Volume Two offers six complete reconstructions of choreographies from Negri's treatise. Steps are lined up under music so that the information given in Volume One can be studied in a more complete context. These recon-

structions show the range of problems facing the choreologist: I discuss not only certain dances which I feel can be reconstructed with confidence but also some others which are so problematic that one cannot arrive at a definitive solution. Volume Two also contains an edition of all the music from Negri's treatise with critical commentary. In this thesis I hope to show that musical problems can often be resolved by studying the choreographic texts and that reconstruction becomes more accurate if the exact relation between steps and music is understood.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish first of all to thank my two principal advisors, Profs. Brian Trowell and Julia Sutton. Prof. Trowell was an excellent advisor: encouraging, demanding, and knowledgeable. He required my best at every stage of the work. Although I want to thank him in particular for his suggestions on the bibliographic and music chapters and the edition of the music, the entire thesis owes so much to his careful guidance. Prof. Sutton was my principal choreographic advisor. During the early stages of my work she gave me thorough training in the reconstruction of early dances and, more recently, read all of the choreographic chapters with care. I consider her advice on these chapters indispensable.

Prof. Marian Walker showed me her research on the problems in Caroso's musical notation. It was her dual study of choreography and music in Caroso's Nobiltà di dame which led me to research the same topic in Negri. Special thanks must be given to Miss Peggy Dixon, Dr. Ingrid Brainard, and Dr. Meredith Ellis Little who generously shared ideas with me.

I also wish to thank the following: Dr. Reinhard Strohm and Mr. Michael Morrow who gave me advice on notational problems in the music; Mr. Thomas Walker who shared his

knowledge of sources with me; Dr. Julian T. Brown and Dr. Pierluigi Petrobelli who gave me information on Italian archives; Prof. Theodora Vergis, whose knowledge of Renaissance Italian dialects gave me a better understanding of Negri's Milanese Italian; Prof. Elizabeth Langley, who gave me the opportunity to teach dance history, and thus made it possible for me to discuss many aspects of my work with dance students; Dr. Sybilla Dahms, who gave me special attention at the Derra de Moroda Archives (Salzburg); Mr. Oliver Neighbour who granted special privileges at the British Library; Prof. Maggie Ewing and Mr. Jack Edwards who generously shared information on sixteenth and seventeenth century costumes; Mr. Richard Shaw, who sent me some bibliographic material from England; and Ms. Olga Malyshko, who read and commented on several passages dealing with problems of rhythmic notation.

A number of dancers in many countries allowed me the privilege of working out my reconstructions on them. Thus the choreographic decisions in this thesis are not only abstract decisions made at a desk but are also the result of experience with live bodies in a dance studio. My deepest thanks go in particular to Carol Lanctôt (Ballet Ouest) and Pierre Chartrand (Sorbonne) for their generosity and skill in working through so many of the dances. I also wish to thank the following: Oscar Wolfman, for putting his company, Magor Tanz Csoport, at my disposal; Dr. Alessandro Pontre-

moli and Dr. Patrizia La Rocca for both dancing with me and sharing their knowledge of fifteenth-century dance sources; Miss Wendy Hilton and Miss Belinda Quirey for sharing their views on Renaissance and Baroque technique.

I wish to thank the staffs of the following institutions: the Archivio di Stato, the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, the Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, and the Library of the Conservatorio di Musica Giuseppe Verdi (all of Milan); the Biblioteca Musicale of the Museo Civico (Bologna); the British Library, the London University Senate House Library, the Library of the Royal College of Physicians, and the Warburg Institute (all of London); the Bodleian Library (Oxford); the Boston Public Library; the Loeb Music Library and the Theatre Library in Pusey of Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.); the New York Public Library; the Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.); the National Library of Canada (Ottawa); the Derra de Moroda Dance Archives (Salzburg); and the Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek (Vienna).

My research could not have been completed without the financial assistance of the following: the United Kingdom Commonwealth Scholarship Committee; King's College, London; the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada; and the Fonds FCAC Pour l'Aide et le Soutien à la Recherche (Québec).

I remember with great fondness the late Prof. Marvin Duchow, who guided so skillfully my early efforts in musicology.

Lastly I wish to thank my family: my parents, Mr. and Mrs. Alexander Smith, looked after my son during many hours I was writing; and my husband, Dr. Robert F. Jones, in addition to copying the music and sharing his research on the 'Pavana veneziana' sources, gave so much time and advice on every aspect of the thesis that I consider him to be a third advisor, as indispensable as my two official advisors.

NOTE ON QUOTATIONS AND REFERENCES

In quotations from sixteenth and seventeenth century sources I have retained the original spelling and punctuation with the following exceptions:

the long s (ſ) is replaced by s;

the double s (ß) is replaced by ss;

j is replaced by i when appropriate;

u and v, used somewhat interchangeably in the sources,

are replaced by their modern equivalents (thus

'avttore' = 'auttore', 'nvovo' = 'nuovo',

'Triuulza' = 'Trivulza', etc.);

contractions of m and n represented by a tilde over

the preceding vowel have been expanded ('andãdo

innãzi' = 'andando innanzi', etc.).

Negri provides a list of the step abbreviations (p. 103) which he uses in his choreographies. My quotations retain these with the following exceptions:

Negri's abbreviation .Ç. (for Continenza grave) is replaced by .C.;

Negri's abbreviation .Ṗ. (for Passo puntato), which gave almost as much trouble to Negri's typesetters

as to a modern word processor, is replaced by .Pp. wherever possible.

A complete list of the step abbreviations is found in vol. II, pp. 225-26.

All editions of Negri's treatise - Le gratie d'amore (1602), Nuove inventioni di balli (1604), and the two facsimile reprints of the 1602 edition (New York, 1969; and Bologna, 1969) - have the same pagination. As page numbers 211-214 occur twice, an asterisk preceding the number is used to distinguish the second occurrence; thus, dance number 24 ('Alta Mendoza') begins on p. 213, number 25 ('Adda felice') begins on p. *213.

Individual dances in Negri are referred to by a shortened title and an (editorial) reference number. Appendix I (vol. II, pp. 471-82) is an alphabetical index of all the dances in Negri containing the short title, full title, reference number, and page number in Negri, along with the dedication and information on editions of the music.

In Le gratie d'amore Negri uses the word 'parte' to refer to both musical and choreographic sections. In this thesis I use Morley's useful word 'strain' for the musical divisions but retain Negri's word parte for the choreographic divisions. (In Negri's seventeenth-century Milanese usage the plural of parte is parte; I use the modern parti except in quotations.)

One of the difficulties involved in researching this topic is that many dance scholars do not publish the results of their research. Some, however, have shared the current state of their research with me in conversations. I feel that their work deserves to be credited and is cited as 'personal communication' in my footnotes. These scholars, however, should not be held accountable for any misinterpretation I may have made of their words.

ABBREVIATIONS

(for fuller bibliographic detail, see Bibliography)

- Aldrich P. Aldrich: Rhythm in seventeenth century Italian monody (New York, 1966)
- Arbeau T. Arbeau [pseud. J. Tabouret]: Orchésographie (Langres, 1588, 1596, 1597); references are to facsimile reprint of 1596 edn. (Geneva, 1972)
- Ballarino F. Caroso: Il ballarino (Venice, 1581)
- BMF Balletti moderni facili (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1611)
- Braudel F. Braudel: The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean world in the age of Philip II, 2 vols. (New York, c1972)
- Caroso 1 F. Caroso: Il ballarino (Venice, 1581)
- Caroso 2 F. Caroso: Nobiltà di dame (Venice, 1600)
- Chilesotti O. Chilesotti (ed.): 'Danze del secolo XVI trascritte in notazione moderne dalle opere: Nobiltà di dame del ... F. Caroso ... Le gratie d'amore di C. Negri ...', Biblioteca di rarità musicali i (Milan, 1884)
- Corti G. Corti: 'Cinque balli toscani del cinquecento', Rivista italiana di musicologia xii (1977)
- DTO Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Oesterreich
- EDS Enciclopedia dello spettacolo, 9 vols. (Florence and Rome, 1954-68)
- EM Early music
- Hell H. Hell: 'Zu Rhythmus und Notierung des "Vi Ricorda" in Claudio Monteverdis Orfeo', Analecta musicologica xv, Studien x (1975), p. 87
- JAMS Journal of the American Musicological Society
- LT lute tablature

- Moe L. Moe: 'Dance music in printed Italian lute tablatures from 1507 to 1611' (Ph.D. diss., Harvard Univ., 1956)
- Mönkemeyer H. Mönkemeyer (ed.): C. Negri: Nuove inventioni di balli (Rodenkirchen/Rhein, c1967)
- MQ Musical Quarterly
- Negri C. Negri: Le gratie d'amore (Milan, 1602)
- NG The New Grove dictionary of music and musicians, 20 vols. (London, 1980)
- Nobiltà F. Caroso: Nobiltà di dame (Venice, 1600)
- Nobiltà (Sutton edn.) F. Caroso: Nobiltà di dame, transl. and ed., J. Sutton; music ed., F. M. Walker (Oxford, 1986)
- PRMA Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association
- Prunières H. Prunières: Le ballet de cour en France avant Benserade et Lully (Paris, 1914)
- Relacion 'Relacion de lo sucedido en el viaje de la serenísima Infanta Doña Isabel Clara Eugenia de Austria', ed. A. Rodríguez Villa, Boletín de la real academia de la historia xlix (Madrid, 1906), p. 30
- RISM Répertoire international des sources musicales
- SN staff notation
- Verardo P. Verardo (ed.): Cesare Negri: 'Le gratie d'amore', per flauto dolce ... e liuto (o cembalo o pianoforte), 3 vols. (Milan, c1974)

VOLUME 1

CHAPTER ONE

CESARE NEGRI AND HIS TREATISE

LE GRATIE D'AMORE

Biographical information

The Milanese dancing master Cesare Negri (b. ca. 1536; d. after 1602)<1> published a dance treatise entitled Le gratie d'amore in 1602. It was reissued two years later under the new title Nuove inventioni di balli. We can discover a considerable amount about Negri's life, work and character from a study of his treatise.

Negri tells us very little about his early life. He had been a student of the noted Milanese dancing master Pompeo Diobono. In 1554 Diobono left Milan to take up a position as dancing master at the court of France.<2> Negri first opened a school of dance for the noble men and

1 Negri's birth and death dates are unknown. The frontispiece to the 1602 edition of his treatise gives his age as 66 - this would indicate that he was born circa 1536. Felippo de gli Alessandri, writing in 1620, states that Negri is no longer alive (Discorso sopra il ballo (Terni, 1620), p. 54). I have checked the registry of deaths in Milan from 1604 to 3 November 1610 and no Cesare Negri appears (Milan: Archivio di stato: Registri mortuari).

2 Negri, p. 3. This information is confirmed in a French document listing a salary payment to Diobono of 250 livres (Paris: Archives nationales: K.K. 127; cited in Prunières, p. 53).

women of Milan in the same year that Diobono left the Duchy³ and so it would seem that Negri inherited much of his teacher's work. Since the frontispiece to the 1602 edition gives Negri's age as 66, he would have been only eighteen years old when he opened his school. Teaching, however, played only a small part in Negri's official career.

Like most artists in the sixteenth century, a dancer needed a patron to supply a regular income. Those dancers who travelled from city to city as 'free-lance' performers without any regular patronage earned far less and were considered socially inferior to those in the service of a noble patron. It was every dancer's desire, therefore, to work for either a royal personage, an important ecclesiastic, or a high-ranking government official.

Throughout Negri's lifetime the Spanish crown was in control of Milan. The Duchy was no longer ruled by Dukes but instead by Governors appointed from Spain. Negri informs us that two of these Governors were his patrons: Don Consalvo Fernando di Cordova, Duke of Sessa (governor, 1558-63), and Don Antonio di Guzman y Zunigas, Marchese d'Ayamonte (governor, 1573-80).⁴ He also mentions two women as his patrons: Donna Giovanna della Lama, Duchessa

3 Negri, p. 16.

4 Negri, pp. 7, 11, 17. The dates of office of the Governors of Milan may be found in Milan: Archivio di stato: Schede integranti l'inventario no. 41 degli uffici regi, No. 60: Governatori; also in Storia di Milano, x, pp. 71-75.

Dalborquerque (p. 116), wife of the Governor of Milan (term of office, 1569-71), and Donna Isabella de Sandi (p. 132), daughter of Don Alvaro de Sandi, interim Governor of Milan, 1558-73.

It was part of Negri's regular duties to create dances for balls and large-scale spectacles mounted by his patrons. A number of these productions were held in honour of royal visitors. Milan was a key political possession of the Spanish Habsburgs; several members of the royal family, from both Spain and Austria, made official visits. Although Negri mentions many productions in his treatise, he describes only a few in detail. He gives, for example, much information on the mascherata held in honour of Don Juan of Austria in 1574 and on the spectacle celebrating the wedding of the Archduke Albert and Isabella, Infanta of Spain, in 1599.<5> Many other productions, however, are mentioned only briefly, but they give us some insight into the amount of choreographic work that was expected of him. Clearly the forty-three dances in Le gratie d'amore represent only a small part of his choreographic output.

Negri spent much of his time accompanying his patrons on their travels. It was not uncommon for princes and diplomats to travel with a large retinue of servants including singers, musicians, dancers, cooks, and so on. The

5 Negri, pp. 9-11, 14-16, 270-75, 285-90. Further information on this production can be found in Relacion, pp. 30-31, and in A. D'Ancona, Origini del teatro italiano (2nd edn., Turin, 1891), pp. 572-74.

performers among these were brought along to entertain the guests at royal marriages and political conferences. In the role of performer Negri was present at a number of important political events. At the end of July 1571, for example, he travelled to Genoa where his patron attended a meeting of princes from Austria, Spain and a large number of Italian states.<6> Although Negri does not explain the reason for this meeting, one may speculate from his mention of forty-two galleys and other large ships and from the presence of the admiral Andrea Doria that this was one of the many conferences held by the European allies before the great naval battle of Lepanto (8 Oct. 1571).

Negri was also among the company which escorted the King of France on his tour in 1574 through northern Italy.<7> Negri and several other dancers (among them Giulio Cesare Lampugnano, dancing master at the court of Philip II of Spain, and the Milanese master Martino da Asso) performed for the nobles at a number of cities along the route.

In the few pages devoted to his life Negri outlines a career that took him to Mantua, Naples, Genoa, Florence, Sicily, and even as far as Saragossa in Spain.<8> His career spanned the period from the 1550s to the late 1590s. He was therefore an exact contemporary of Fabritio Caroso

6 Negri, p. 7.

7 Negri, pp. 11-12.

8 Negri, pp. 7-8.

(b. 1527-35; d. after 1605) and Thoinot Arbeau (1520-1595). Caroso published dance treatises in 1581 and 1600, Arbeau published in 1588. Some musicologists and a few dance historians, influenced by the 1602 publication date of Le gratie d'amore, have mistakenly assigned Negri's career to the early seventeenth century and have even suggested he was Caroso's pupil.<9> Although Negri praises Caroso's writing,<10> there is no indication that the two dancing masters ever met. Negri's treatise was published later than Caroso's works because, as he explains in a rather poignant statement, he did not begin to write until his feet no longer moved as they used to:

In cui già che pel grave peso de gli anni io non posso più (come solea) muovere il piede; ho voluto almeno, per più certo argomento della divotion mia verso la MAESTA VOSTRA, mover la mano & la penna nell' angusto Teatro di questo libro ... <11>

This statement, coupled with the fact that he mentions no productions after 1599, suggests that he may have retired from active work by 1602.

It is possible that Negri was in financial need at the turn of the century and that he turned to writing in order to support himself. The Spanish had been in control of Milan since 1535 and many court positions and pensions were dependent upon Spain's resources. The Spanish crown

9 For example, Moe, p. 12.

10 'Caroso ... hà mandato in luce un bellissimo libro' (Negri, p. 4); it is uncertain to which of Caroso's books Negri is referring.

11 Negri, p. [iii] (letter of dedication).

declared itself bankrupt in 1596. The consequences of this bankruptcy were severe: the Spaniards had borrowed large sums of money throughout the second half of the century and the accumulated debts were now staggering.<12> As a result there was considerable poverty in the Spanish dominions. In a letter of 1597 addressed to the King of Spain, the Governor of Milan outlines a desperate situation. His primary concern is that the troops have not been paid for some time and he fears invasion, but one can surmise from this letter that many people were experiencing financial difficulty:

I ... beseech Your Majesty to consider the poverty and misery of this state, the Pope is assembling a large army. ... the Venetians and other princes who do not love us are also taking up arms, all the people may turn upon the state of Milan. <13>

There were other factors that aggravated the difficulties of the situation. The state of Milan had supported a remarkable increase in population from 800,000 in 1542 to 1,240,000 in 1600.<14> This, coupled with the Spanish bankruptcy, added to the financial distress of some segments of the population.

12 Braudel, i, pp. 510-17; ii, pp. 960, 1218. For the effects of this crisis on Italy see Storia di Milano, x, pp. 353-60; C. M. Cipolla, 'The decline of Italy', Economic history review v (1952), p. 178; and idem, Mouvements monétaires dans l'état de Milan, 1580-1700 (Paris, 1952).

13 Velasco to Philip II, Milan, 16 Nov. 1597, Simancas: Series Estado 1283, fol. 2, cited in Braudel, ii, p. 1219.

14 Braudel, i, p. 408. See also Storia di Milano, x, p. 354.

It is possible, therefore, that Negri wrote his treatise because he was in need of money: many court and military salaries were in arrears and Negri, too old to continue working as an active dancer and choreographer, may have turned to writing about dance in the hopes of financial remuneration.

Negri's character

It is not possible to gain a clear idea of Negri's character from his treatise because, in the main, he restricts himself to writing about technical matters in technical language. It is only in the first section of the treatise that he speaks about his life, but he presents it more in the detached manner of a curriculum vitae than in the personal manner of an autobiography. Negri's character has been criticised rather often in print. He has been depicted as a conceited man on the flimsiest of evidence. Curt Sachs, for example, writes the following:

Even less satisfactory [than Caroso] is the second dance author of the time, Cesare Negri, Milanese detto il Trombone, famoso, & eccellente Professore di Ballare, as he proudly styles himself on the title page of his Nuove Inventioni di Balli, Opera vaghissima, published in Milan in 1604. The pompous use of his own portrait as frontispiece suggests that we may expect more self-complacency than information from this author. <15>

Sachs was evidently not aware that it was common at this time for major publications to include a portrait of the author. Caroso's Nobiltà di dame, for example, also

15 World history of the dance (New York, 1937), p. 345.

displays the author's portrait; the practice indicated no special conceit. Sachs is also critical because the title-page of the 1604 edition refers to Negri as a 'famous and excellent teacher of dance'. He assumes, of course, that Negri was alive in 1604 and that he was responsible for the wording of the title-page. There is no evidence to support either of these assumptions. This title-page has always struck me as the kind of hyperbole indulged in by publishers to sell their books. It is paralleled in many other title-pages of the period (and of ours).

Julia Sutton also suspects Negri of conceit: 'Negri's sobriquet, "Il Trombone", hints that he blew his own horn!'¹⁶ Gino Tani, however, interprets this designation to mean that Negri may have played the trombone.¹⁷ Indeed, it could also indicate that his father was a trombonist.

Negri's treatise contains no evidence that he was particularly boastful. Although he lists his own achievements he lists those of others as well. He is generous in his praise of his former students and other dancing masters. He writes of their special talents, their books, their techniques, their court positions, and so on.¹⁸ The general impression that we receive is of a man who is quick and willing to praise others with talent. As a choreographer

16 Nobiltà (Sutton edn.), p. 19.

17 'Negri, Cesare', EDS, vii, col. 1066.

18 Negri, pp. 2-6.

who had held one of the leading positions in Europe for over forty years, and as a dancer who at the height of his career had enjoyed great renown, he had earned the right to draw attention to his success and his abilities.

The contents of 'Le gratie d'amore'

Negri divides his treatise into three books (trattati). Book One is devoted mainly to information on teachers and students of dance. This section provides us with some unique information on many dancing masters of this period. Negri lists the courts to which they were attached, their specialities, and sometimes even their salaries. Among the masters and patrons he discusses are the following (pp. 2-6):

Pietro Martire, with the Farnese family in Rome;

Pompeo Diobono, at the court of Henry II of

France;

Virgilio Bracesco, at the court of Henry II of

France;<19>

Lucio Compasso, who wrote galliard variations

(now apparently lost);

Bernardino de' Giusti, with the Duke of Savoy;

Alessandro Barbetta, with the Duke of Bavaria;

Gio. Ambrogio Landriano, with the Duke of Poland;

19 His name also appears in the Dictionnaire critique de biographie et d'histoire (Paris, 1867), p. 97.

Giulio Cesare Lampugnano, at the court of

Philip II of Spain;

Giovanni Barella, with the Duke of Urbino;

Orlando Botta da Compiano, who taught in Parma
and Venice;

Carlo Beccaria, at the court of the Emperor
Rudolf;

Claudio Pozzo, at the court of the Duke of
Lorraine.

Negri's list of choreographers certainly gives the impression that Italian masters were dominant throughout Europe at this time, an impression confirmed by other sources.<20> It is worth noting that a substantial number of these masters were Milanese; they had been students of either Diobono or Negri.

Book One also contains several long lists of the noble men and women who had studied with Negri. They are classified under the names of various governors of the city, whose periods of office can be dated from other sources. Their dates of tenure range from about 1558 to the late

20 See, for example, Prunières, footnotes to pp. 52-53; V. Picot, 'Les italiens en France au XVIe siècle', Bulletin italien de la Faculté des lettres de Bordeaux iv (1903-04), pp. 310ff; and E. Capriolo and G. H. de Florentiis, 'Milano II.1', EDS, vii, col. 552. On Italian dance style in England see A. H. de Maise, A journal of all that was accomplished by Monsieur de Maise, trans. and ed. by G. B. Harrison and P. A. Jones (London, 1931), p. 95; and J. Smith and I. Gatiss, 'What did Prince Henry do with his feet on Sunday 19 August 1604?', EM xiv (1986), pp. 198-207.

1590s. The following example gives part of Negri's first list (pp. 17-18):

I Cavalieri c'hanno ballato al tempo delli
Eccellentiss. Signori Duca di Sessa,
& Marchese di Pescara Governatori di Milano.

L'Illustriss. & Eccell. Sig. Ferrante Francesco
Marchese di Pescara.

L'Illustriss. & Eccellentiss. Sig. Don Luigi di Cordova
Duca di Somma Nipote del Sig. Duca di Sessa.

L'Illustriss. Sig. Don Cesare d'Avolos fratello del
Sign. Marchese di Pescara.

L'Illustriss. Sign. Don Diego di Cordova cugino del
Sig. Duca di Sessa.

L'Illustriss. Sig. Marchese di Camarasso cognato del
Sig. Duca di Sessa.

L'Illustriss. Sig. Don Alfonso Piamontello Castellano
di Milano. ...

Le Dame di quel tempo.

L'Illustriss. Signora Donna Isabella Gonzaga, Marchesa
di Pescara Governatrice di Milano.

La sign. Barbara Sforza de Medici Marchesa di
Melegnato.

La signora Contessa Barbera da Este, e Trivulza.

La sign. Contessa Antonia Beccaria, e Taverna.

La signora Lucretia Lampugnana, e Cusana.

La signora Antonia Somaglia, e Visconte.

Negri concludes this section with the names of the male and female dancers in Milan at the time of the book's publication, including a list of marriageable girls containing the name of his own daughter. She is listed as 'Margarita de' Negri, figliuola dell' Autore'.^{<21>} An Isabella de' Negri appears in an earlier list (p. 20) but her relation to the author, if any, is not explained.

With the exception of Negri's daughter, Book One is a miniature Who's Who of the wealthy of sixteenth-century Milan. It is a valuable reference source for scholars who wish to establish when certain families were active in that city.^{<22>} Because each lady is listed by her married as well as her maiden name it also provides interesting evidence relating to intermarriage among the noble families. Since at this time noble patrons rather than publishers often met the expenses of a large book's publication and were among its intended buyers, Negri's care in listing the names of noble students and his acknowledgement of his patrons is not therefore surprising. (For additional evidence, see Appendix II, vol. II, pp. 483-84.)

21 Negri, p. 30. I have found a Margarita de Negri listed in the registry of deaths in Milan (Archivio di Stato: Registri mortuari, no. 108). She died in 1605, aged 50. If this is Negri's daughter he would have been 19 when she was born.

22 One of the best reference sources for tracing who lived in Milan during Negri's lifetime is P. Morigia, Nobiltà di Milano (Milan, 1596). This book lists the professional people active in Milan at the time of its publication including doctors, lawyers, musicians, instrument makers, jewellers, armourers, etc. See also C. A. Vianello, Teatri, spettacoli, musiche a Milano nei secoli scorsi (Milan, 1941), pp. 67-87, for names of nobles who appeared in feste.

Book One is particularly valuable because the lists of names help us to date the dances in Negri's treatise.<23> The method is as follows. Each dance is dedicated to a lady of Milan; the dedication is printed immediately after the title of the dance. The dedicatee's name is also likely to appear in one or more of Negri's lists of noble dancers. Since these lists are headed, as stated above, by the names of the various governors of Milan, it is possible to deduce the approximate date of Negri's dedications. The dances, seem to date from approximately 1558 ('La barriera' (no. 3)) to 1599 (the torch dances (nos. 39 and 40)).<24> It is interesting that the choreographies, with only a few exceptions, follow a loose chronological sequence: the first third of the dances date from the 1560s, the second third from the 1570s and 80s, and the final third from the 1590s. (For additional evidence, see Appendix II, vol. II, p. 488.)

Book Two contains rules of etiquette and over fifty pages of galliard variations. These variations range from the very simple to the fiercely difficult. It is in this section that one finds stamps, turns, flourishes, multiple capers, and jumps to the tassel. They are in the main intended for the male dancer. The lady was not expected to do many of these difficult step-combinations, nor could she

23 This method was first used by Julia Sutton.

24 'La barriera' is dedicated to Antonia Somaglia who danced during the governorship of the Duke of Sessa. His earliest term of governorship was 1558-60. Negri tells us the date of the spectacle in which the torch dances appeared (p. 14), a date that can be confirmed from other sources (see footnote 5 above).

in the costume that she wore. There is, however, a separate section of variations for women and they are more sedate in character (pp. 100-101). Negri's treatise is one of the few sources of the period to contain a section of variations devised specifically for women.<25>

Book Three, the largest section of Le gratie d'amore, contains detailed descriptions of most of the basic steps with their relative durations followed by forty-three complete choreographies with their accompanying music set out in both staff notation and lute tablature. Thirty-nine of the dances are either choreographed (e.g., 'Brando dell'auttore detto La biscia amorosa' (no. 13)) or 'arranged' (e.g., 'Bassa imperiale, messa in uso dall'auttore' (no. 22)) by Negri; four others are attributed to a M. Stefano. (The identity of this choreographer will be discussed in Volume II, pp. 269-70.)

The title-page of the second edition states that the book contains dances from Italy, France and Spain; but within the book there is no direct indication of the national origin of any specific dance. 'Nizzarda' (no. 38) may derive from Nice: Lope de Vega, in El maestro de danzar (1594) refers to a dance of this name as 'una francesa Nizarda' (Act I, sc. 6); 'Spagnoletto' (no. 1) may derive from Spain. It is difficult, however, to identify regional characteristics in Negri's dances because he has so

25 L. Lupi's Libro di gagliarda (Palermo, 1607) also has a considerable number of variations for women.

completely marked each choreography with his own genius and personality.

The treatise contains dances for solo couple, for three, four, six, eight, and for as many dancers as will. There are both social and theatrical choreographies of many different types. It is not possible, however, to label many of the dances according to a single type because they are, to use the term coined by Julia Sutton, 'balletto suites', that is, multi-sectional dances containing a succession of different dance types.<26> These dances often begin in duple metre with pavane-like choreography and proceed to lively galliard variations in triple metre followed by choreography resembling either the canario or the saltarello.

Negri includes thirteen dances designed specifically for two couples. This type of choreography is rare at this time. The only other source of the period to include a choreography for this combination is the 'Il Papa' manuscript.<27> Although this manuscript is dated '155-?' in the New York Public Library catalogue, there is strong reason to believe that this date is incorrect and that the manuscript contains repertoire from an earlier period.<28>

26 Nobiltà (Sutton edn.), pp. 34-35.

27 'Manoscritto di balletti composti da Giovannino e Il Lazino e Il Papa', New York Public Library Dance Collection.

28 The manuscript contains dances that are essentially in the style of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries but with a few features typical of late Renaissance style. The manuscript therefore seems to document a transitional period between the two styles. Ingrid Brainard (personal communication, 1984) believes with me that it pro-

Negri's dances for two couples, therefore, are probably the only extant choreographies in late-Renaissance style for this particular combination of performers.<29>

Negri's treatise is also valuable to the historian because it is the only manual of the period to contain theatrical choreographies. (These will be discussed in Vol. II, pp. 231-37.) Le gratie d'amore is thus the primary source for any study which attempts to compare dances designed for the ballroom with those designed for the stage.

In conclusion, Negri's treatise, with its social dances, theatrical choreographies, dances for many different combinations of performers, dance music, information on steps and step durations, suggestions on etiquette, and biographical details about professional dancers and noble students of dance, is one of the most detailed sources for the investigation of every aspect of late Renaissance dance.

bably dates from the 1530s or 40s. (The chief cataloguer of the N.Y.P.L. informed me that their catalogue simply repeats the dating provided by a former owner of the manuscript.)

29 A sword dance for four men entitled 'Les bouffons' appears in Arbeau, fols. 97-103v.

CHAPTER TWO

NEGRI'S CONTEMPORARIES

In the second half of the sixteenth century a specific style of dance was popular throughout Italy and much of Europe. In this thesis I shall refer to this as late-Renaissance dance style. We know a considerable amount about the relation of music and dance in the late-Renaissance style because a number of choreographic sources dating from the mid-1550s to 1608 have survived. Since this thesis is essentially a study of choreographic notation and its relation to music, the present chapter does not deal with the numerous primary sources in which non-technical information is available (titles of choreographies, descriptions of plots, costumes, symbolism, and so forth),^{<1>} but

1 For example, B. de Beaujoyeulx, Balet-comique de la royne (Paris, 1582), which contains detailed descriptions of the plot, costumes, and symbolism of the ballet but only mentions steps, choreographies, dance style and technique in a general sense. The music is also included, but in the absence of choreographic notation the relationship between steps and music cannot be evaluated.

Of special interest to Negri scholars is A. Centorio degli Hortensii, I grandi apparati, e feste fatte in Melano dalli Illust. & Eccell. il S. Duca di Sessa (Milan, 1559). This source mentions torch dances and several balli, and lists numerous musical instruments which accompanied the festivities of 1559 sponsored by the Duke of Sessa. Since the Duke was Negri's patron it is likely that Negri was the choreographer for the feste described.

For a list of primary sources dealing with this subject see B. Mitchell, Italian civic pageantry in the High Renaissance (Florence, 1979).

concentrates instead on those sources that contain specific choreographic information: notated choreographies, definitions of dance types, specific information about dance style, technique, or step durations, and so forth. Negri's treatise has already been discussed in Chapter One. This chapter will present a brief survey of the other major dance sources which appeared in print or in manuscript between 1550 and 1608.

Rinaldo Corso

One of the earliest Italian dance treatises to present information on late-Renaissance dance is the Dialogo del ballo of Rinaldo Corso.<2> The final page of the second edition bears the date 'In Correggio il 17 di Gennaio, 1554'. The Dialogo is not a 'practical' dance treatise: it contains no descriptions of steps or choreographies. The treatise is concerned, in the main, with philosophical explanations for certain dance practices and with discussion of etiquette. Corso's treatise explains the moral, historical and social reasons why certain actions are acceptable in court dance and why others are not. It is interesting to note, however, that during the course of his discussion of philosophy and etiquette, Corso reveals a certain amount of choreographic information on court dance in northern Italy in the 1550s. The Dialogo is the only

2 Venice, 1555; 2nd edn., Venice, 1557.

dance source of this period to discuss the origins of the term ballo. Corso writes:

Hor per venire finalmente al proposito nostro, egli fu usanza ancora di ballare à suon di timpani, et di cimballi, & questa fu chiamata Ballismo, & quindi io tengo che sia derivato il nome del Ballo. <3>

The following is Corso's description of a ballo of 1554:

cosi nel principio del ballo si fa il passamezo, che è una volta piacevole, & meza tra il temperato, e il fervente. Poi si entra nel caldo del saltare alla gagliarda, & spiccasi ogni coppia l'huomo dalla Donna. Al fine raggiungonsi, come prima, & fanno la volta corrente, & cosi chiudono il ballo. <4>

Corso is describing a typical 'balletto suite' of the period: his dance begins in moderate tempo with a passaggio section (roughly speaking a travelling section in which the dancers perform side by side); the dancers then separate and perform lively galliard variations ('gagliarda'); in the final section the dancers meet again to perform a rapid closing sequence ('corrente'). Although later in the century this sequence of choreographic events was to be varied in numerous ways, it is significant that by 1554 the basic choreographic form underlying many later balletti was already established.<5>

3 1555 edn., fol. 16v.

4 1555 edn., fol. 7v.

5 This sequence of tempi, from the moderate to lively galliard, to the very fast, may have grown out of the sequence of tempi in the fifteenth-century ballo and basse danse.

Corso says little about specific dance types but gives brief descriptions of torch dancing<6> and condemns horse dancing as unnatural.<7> He gives little information concerning style but does mention that the Spaniards jumped so high that their feet touched their buttocks.<8> Corso's Dialogo raises more questions than it answers, but it helps to focus the questions and gives some small insights into northern Italian court dance in the mid-sixteenth century.

Florentine manuscript sources

There are two manuscripts in Florence that contain choreographies dating from the second half of the sixteenth century. A choreography entitled 'La caccia' is found in the Archivio di Stato;<9> it is included in a letter by Cristiano Lamberti dated 'Lucca 1559'. This manuscript contains no music. Four other dances with their accompanying music are found in an undated manuscript in the Biblioteca Nazionale (hereafter referred to as the 'BN manuscript').<10> The dances are titled 'Ruota di Fortuna',

6 1555 edn., fol. 5v.

7 1555 edn., fol. 10v.

8 1555 edn., fol. 16v.

9 Carte Stroziane, Serie I, no. 22.

10 MS. Magl. XIX, no. 31.

'La Bataglia', 'La Infelice' and 'Adolorato Core'. Gino Corti has published a modern edition of these manuscripts^{<11>} and has suggested that they were probably composed by the same Florentine.^{<12>}

I think it unlikely that the dances in both manuscripts are the work of the same choreographer. 'La caccia' often lacks specific information about steps: figures of the dance are sometimes given with no indication of what steps are to be used. For example:

E così passeggiando per la sala ognuno con la sua donna, si fermino di contro l'uno al'altro, e poi le donne stiano ferme e lli homini vadino girando per la sala dietro l'uno al'altro quanto li pare. <13>

Although caccia dances are often less specific than many other types of balletti (Negri's 'Caccia d'amore' (no. 42), for example, contains sections in which the performers are free to use whatever choreography they choose), the language of this dance, nevertheless, presents a strong contrast to the exact prescriptions of the type and number of steps found in the BN manuscript. For example, in 'Ruota di Fortuna':

Pigliando l'huomo co' la sua destra la sinistra della dama, faranno col piè sinistro la riverenza et a man sinistra et a destra le continenze, e dipoi avanti paseg[i]ando col sinistro 2 punte e un doppio e 4

11 'Cinque balli Toscani del cinquecento', Rivista italiana di musicologia xii (1977), p. 73.

12 Corti, p. 75.

13 Corti, p. 76.

riprese a man destra, e col sinistro un doppio avanti e
4 riprese a man destra e continenze a man sinistra e a
destra, e col sinistro avanti 2 punte e 3 dopi e 4
riprese a man destra, ... <14>

The way in which a choreographer presents a dance bears a strong personal imprint. Unless a copyist has interfered with the original texts, it seems unlikely that both manuscripts are the work of the same dancing-master.

At the very least both manuscripts show a difference of scribe. Several standard words are written differently in each manuscript:

Archivio MS	BN MS
una reverensia	La Riverenza
dreto	destro
donna	dama

What is clear from a study of the caccia dance is that as early as 1559 some features of the choreographic style found in Caroso (to be discussed below) and Negri are already established. The dances in the undated BN manuscript contain many features of the late-Renaissance style: the step names, step combinations and patterns are either the same or very similar to those found in the later sources. There is one important difference, however, between these dances and the later style. The BN dances do not emphasize formal symmetry - that is, a series of steps done to one

14 Corti, pp. 76-77.

side is not automatically repeated to the other side. Symmetry of form was to become a pervasive stylistic feature in the late sixteenth century.

The Inns of Court manuscripts

Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries dancing was held in high esteem at the Inns of Court in London, where lawyers practised and studied law. There are six surviving manuscripts from the Inns (dating from circa 1580 to 1670) which contain choreographies.<15>

J. B. Cunningham's Dancing in the Inns of Court<16> includes a transcript of these manuscripts as well as commentary on the dances and their social context. Smaller studies of various aspects of the manuscripts include John Ward's 'The English Measure'<17> and Priska Frank's 'Some original sixteenth and seventeenth century dances from the Inns of Court.'<18>

Reconstruction of these dances is problematic. The manuscripts dating from Negri's period contain no music. But since the choreographies are mainly traditional dance types (pavanes, galliards, correntos, etc.), it is possible

15 London: British Library: Harley 367; Inner Temple: Miscellanea vol. 27; Royal College of Music: MS 1119; Oxford: Bodleian: Douce 280; Rawl. D. 864; Rawl. Poet. 108.

16 London, 1965.

17 EM xiv (1986), p. 15.

18 M.Mus. diss., King's College, London, 1983.

to find appropriate music in English sources of the period.<19> In addition, none of the manuscripts describes how to perform the steps. Many steps however have the same names as those found in European manuals (doubles, simples, bows, etc.), and choreologists usually reconstruct these dances in either the French or Italian style.<20> The arguments about French versus Italian steps, however, tend to sidestep the issue of what native English style might have existed in the dances. The sixteenth-century lawyers were a body steeped in tradition as are the Inns of Court today, slow to change and strong on precedent. If any native style was established earlier in the century some of its traditions may have been retained as late as Negri's time.

Fabritio Caroso

Fabritio Caroso (b. 1527-35; d. after 1605) was an Italian dancing master who published two large-scale dance treatises which are among the most important sources of the period. Both treatises were published in Venice: Il ballarino in 1581, Nobiltà di dame in 1600. The latter was reissued in 1605 and was published again in 1630 under the new title Raccoltà di varii balli.

19 This is done in Frank, op. cit.

20 See Smith and Gatiss, 'What did Prince Henry do with his feet?', for a discussion of French versus Italian style in England in the early seventeenth century.

Caroso's books are 'practical' dance treatises, that is, they are instruction manuals: they include detailed explanations of steps and style, complete choreographies presenting the figures and the steps of each dance with their accompanying music, rules of etiquette, and extensive information on the correlation of steps and music.

The two manuals follow much the same format: they open with a group of dedicatory sonnets in praise of dance, of the author, and of various noble ladies (the poet Tasso contributes a sonnet in praise of Caroso in Nobiltà). In each book the sonnets are followed by a letter to the reader, containing important biographical information: Caroso's letter in Nobiltà, for example, informs us that he had worked as a dancing-master for over fifty years (p. 2). The letter to the readers is followed by detailed step descriptions and rules of etiquette. Caroso's manuals contain some unique step descriptions: the balzetto and the zoppetto, for example, are found in many choreographies of the period but are described only in Caroso.<21> The step descriptions and rules of etiquette are followed by a large number of choreographies: Il ballarino contains 83, 18 of which are by other dancing masters (Andrea da Gaeta, Bastinao, Battistino, Oratio Martire, Paolo Arnandes, and Ippolito Ghidotti da Crema);

21 Zoppetto, Nobiltà, p. 49 (regola xlv); balzetto, Nobiltà, p. 52 (regola 1).

Nobiltà contains 47 with no masters acknowledged save Caroso.

Many of the choreographies from Il ballarino reappear in Nobiltà di dame; some have only slight revisions, but others are so greatly changed that they only slightly resemble the originals. The second manual was intended to expand and revise the information contained in the earlier source. In his letter to the reader in Nobiltà, Caroso writes that he has corrected the imperfections of his former book: 'che dove quella era imperfetta, hoggi questa l'ho ridotta à vera perfettione' (p. 2). He is only partially successful in his attempt to resolve the ambiguities of Il ballarino. Some information, in fact, is clearer in the earlier source. Caroso's second manual is invaluable, however, because it contains the most detailed information on the correlation of steps and music of any source of the period. (This will be discussed at length in Chapter 5, 'Step Durations'.)

All of the choreographies in both manuals have a corresponding piece of music intended to be used as accompaniment to the dance. The music appears in Italian lute tablature or in both lute tablature and staff notation. Caroso occasionally indicates the number of times a strain of music is to be played, but there are many places where he does not.

Caroso's treatises also contain engravings intended to demonstrate the position of the dancers at the beginning of

each dance. The various engravings, however, are inconsistent with each other and sometimes seem to contradict information in the text. The man in the engraving to the 'Passo e mezzo' (Nobiltà, p. 129), for example, has his feet and knees turned out, which directly contradicts the information on style given throughout the manual: other engravings, such as the one preceding 'Altezza d'Amore' (Nobiltà, p. 171), show the straight knees and feet required by the text. Thus the engravings are of limited value as illustrations of technique and style, though they provide a quick method of deducing the number of performers needed for a choreography.

Caroso's choreographies range from the very simple ('Contrapasso nuovo') to the moderately difficult ('Il canario').^{<22>} Although the manuals contain a few group figure dances, they are devoted in large part to solo couple dances designed for the nobility to perform at social gatherings of the court. Such dances formed part of the proper education of a person of rank and were also an important part of the ritual of courtship.

No brief survey can properly describe the richness and diversity of Caroso's manuals. For a more thorough investigation of Caroso's works, readers are advised to consult the introductory material to the translation and edition of Nobiltà di dame by Julia Sutton and F. Marian Walker.^{<23>}

22 'Contrapasso nuovo', Nobiltà, p. 242; 'Il canario', Ballarino, ii, fol. 181.

23 Oxford, 1986.

'Thoinot Arbeau'

'Thoinot Arbeau' is the pseudonym of Jehan Tabourot (1520-1595), a sixteenth-century French cleric who wrote several books, one of which is a dance manual entitled Orchésographie, published in Langres in 1588.<24> This is the only dance manual published in France in the second half of the sixteenth century. Although French dances appear elsewhere (e.g., in Negri), Orchésographie is the only source of the time to contain French dances notated by a Frenchman. Arbeau describes the basse danse, tourdion, pavan, galliard, numerous types of branles, the courante, allemande, volta, canary, and sword dance. He says that his book contains only social dances and promises to write a second book on theatrical dance (fol. 104) - a promise which remained unfulfilled. He does mention, however, that many social dances were derived from theatre dances (fol. 82). This provides evidence that the distinction between the two was often blurred. Unfortunately most of the dances in Arbeau are incomplete. His purpose is merely to provide a general idea of the different dances, and thus he often describes only that section of the choreography which gives the dance its name (e.g., the imitation of horses tapping their feet in the 'Branle de chevaulx' (fol. 88v)).

While this gives us an insight into some imaginative features of French choreography, it does not tell us what

24 My references are to the Minkoff facsimile of the 1596 edition (Geneva, 1972).

the dances were like as a whole. Thus one cannot answer many analytical questions: How does the choreographer group his sections? Is there a series of figures underlying the dance type? Is the rhythm of any step modified in contrasting sections of choreography? What is the choreographic form? Is there an overall plan? Is the dance in other words a creation and not simply a few step combinations? These important questions cannot be answered in relation to many of the dances in Arbeau, because so often he gives only a few sections of the dance.<25>

Orchésographie is an important manual, however, for any scholar who wishes to study the alignment of steps with music. Arbeau uses his own system of notation: he aligns each step beside its accompanying music and thus is able to show the rhythm of each component of a step. He has limited himself, however, to rather simple combinations of steps, so that his system does not clarify questions about the durations of rapid and complex step sequences. The manual, however, contains much basic information, very clearly presented, and, although there is evidence to suggest that his work may not be representative of the style at the French royal courts,<26> his book nevertheless provides a basis for

25 If the reader wishes to analyse a complete dance in Arbeau he may turn to 'Les bouffons' (fols. 97-103v).

26 Picot, 'Les italiens en France', p. 313ff, and Prunières, pp. 52-53, list the names of the dancing masters at the French royal court and, with the exception of a few Spanish names, they are all Italian.

the comparison of Italian court dance with that of provincial French dance.

Emilio de' Cavalieri

In 1589 a large-scale theatrical presentation was held in Florence to celebrate the wedding of Ferdinand de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, with Princess Christine of Lorraine. The comedy La pellegrina was performed and, as was the custom of the time, a substantial amount of music and dance appeared in intermedii to the production. Nearly all of the music has survived, as well as set and costume designs, and also the complete choreography to the final ballo, 'O che nuovo miracolo'.^{<27>} Both the music and choreography of this ballo were the responsibility of Emilio de' Cavalieri.

The music is a famous tune which reappears in many later sources (Caroso uses it, for example, as accompaniment to his solo couple dance 'Laura soave')^{<28>} but Cavalieri may have been the original composer. Warren

27 'O che nuovo miracolo: Il Ballo del Sig. Emilio de' Cavalieri' in C. Malvezzi [et al.], Intermedii et concerti (Venice, 1591; 14 part-books). The choreography appears in the Parte nono. In the modern edition (D. P. Walker (ed.), Musique des intermèdes de 'La pellegrina' (Paris, 1963)), the music is on pp. 140-54, the choreography on pp. lvi-lviii.

28 Nobiltà, pp. 109-120. Caroso dedicates this dance to the Grand Duchess Cristina of Tuscany, in whose honour the music may originally have been composed.

Kirkendale's L'aria di Fiorenza, id est Il ballo del Gran Duca^{<29>} is a study of the original setting of the tune and its subsequent history as a musical symbol of Florence and the Medici family. D. P. Walker's edition of the surviving music^{<30>} contains prefatory essays on various aspects of the production, musical and theatrical, by himself, Federico Ghisi, and Jean Jacquot; there is further discussion in Nino Pirotta and Elena Povoledo, Music and Theatre from Polizano to Monteverdi.^{<31>}

Cavaleri's ballo is a large-scale complex choreography which requires 27 dancers. There are seven principal dancers (four women and three men) and twenty others divided into various groups. Three of the women are expected not only to dance, but also to sing and play instruments (a 'chitarrina alla Spagnola', a 'chitarrina alla Napolettana', and a 'cembalino adornato di sonagli d'argento'). Cavaleri includes two engravings to show the positions of the dancers (whom he labels by number) at two points in the choreography. The step repertoire is the same as that described and used by Negri and Caroso in their manuals.

29 Florence, 1972.

30 Musique des intermèdes (see footnote 27 above).

31 Cambridge, 1982. See especially Part I, Chapter 5 (Pirotta on 'The wondrous show, alas, of the intermedi!'), and Part II, Chapter 4 (Povoledo on '"Visible" intermedi and movable sets').

Prospero Lutii

The dancing master Prospero Lutii di Sulmona published a dance book entitled Opera bellissima in Perugia in 1589. It is dedicated to the author's patron, Francesco Maria de Marchesi de' Monte. The letter to the patron is dated 1 May 1579, Perugia. Thus there is a ten-year discrepancy between the date of the letter and the date of publication.

Lutii's book is not a teaching manual; it does not contain descriptions of steps, complete choreographies or music. It is a book devoted entirely to solo galliard variations. There are about fifty variations, which are numbered irregularly: this probably indicates that the author is presenting only a part of his entire stock of variations. In the late sixteenth century dancers were at liberty to make up their own variations for such dances as the galliard, passo e mezzo, and tordiglione.<32> The dancing masters, however, provided variations for those who did not wish or were unable to make up their own sequences. Books such as Opera bellissima provided variations of varying difficulty which could be mixed or matched at the dancer's discretion.

The variations in Lutii are presented in a way which makes it possible to correlate many steps accurately with

32 For more information on the variation principle in dance see Nobiltà (Sutton edn.), p. 27; also Arbeau's section on galliards (fols. 52-63).

music. He writes the words 'che fa tempo' or 'fa tempo' after each step or series of steps which comprise three beats of galliard music.<33> It is possible with this information to work out when Lutii expects a hemiola grouping of the steps; that is, when the six beats of two bars of triple metre are to be grouped

1 & 2 & 3 &

instead of the normal

1 2 3 | 1 2 3.

In no. 32, for example, three distinct choreographic sections are divided into two tempi:

Un babretto à pie pari per l'inanti il gropetto di tre botte ... Doi fioretti finti il primo fioretto fa tempo due ripresetti con un pie solo ... che fa tempo.
[p. 22]

Reconstruction:

un tempo	{	1st beat: babretto	}	2	}	hemiola grouping
		2nd beat: gropetto				
		3rd beat: fioretto		2		
un tempo	{	1st beat: fioretto	}	2		
		2nd beat: repressetta		2		
		3rd beat: repressetta				

33 The reader is warned that Lutii does not use the word 'tempo' in his galliard variations in the same way as Negri: in Negri 'uno tempo di gagliarda' means six beats; in Lutii 'che fa tempo [in gagliarda]' means three beats.

Lutii seems to have been a respected dancing master of his time. Alessandri, in his treatise of 1620, cites Caroso, Negri and Lutii when he speaks of noted dancing masters of the past.<34>

Livio Lupi

Livio Lupi da Caravaggio published a dance book in Palermo in 1600 entitled Mutanze di gagliarda, tordiglione, passo è mezzo[,] canari, è passeggi. It is dedicated to Don Pietro Milanese, e Gregorio. The letter of dedication is signed 1 July 1600, Palermo.

Lupi provides nearly 200 examples of passeggio and variation sections for galliards, tordiglione, passo e mezzo, and canary choreographies. Presumably the book was intended as a pool of ideas from which others could create entire dances. The book, however, is difficult to use. Lupi gives no clues about the correlation of steps and music. He makes a general statement, for example, that all his galliard variations are in either eight, ten or twelve tempi (p. 9) but gives no indication of which variations are in eight, which in ten, and which in twelve. Thus it is impossible in most cases to correlate steps to music with accuracy. In addition to this difficulty, Lupi also requires several steps which are not described in any

34 Discorso, p. 54.

treatise of the period; for example, a dagnetto (p. 96) and a corvetto (p. 142).

Lupi's treatise was reissued in 1607, greatly revised and expanded but with no clarification of the step durations.<35> The book is rededicated to Lupi's patron, Don Geronimo del Carretto.

In his avvertimenti to the readers Lupi makes several significant statements which are unique to this source. First, he states that a variation of one dance type can be substituted in another dance type:

... & delle mutanze di passo e mezzo, se ne potranno servire in far mutanze di pavaniglia, e nella Bassa delle Ninfe, delle mutanze di Tordiglione, tanto de Cavalieri, quanto de Dame, se ne potranno anco servire in Gagliarda, in cambio de restar con il piede alto faranno la cadentia. [Libro, p. 9]

This licence for substitution makes it difficult to identify a dance type from the choreographic context.

Secondly, Lupi's revised treatise is one of the earliest dance sources to require that the ball of the foot be lowered: '... e la punta di piede piu presto bassa, che alta ...' (p. 10). Although it would take several centuries more before the foot was held in full point, Lupi's treatise records one of the first stages in the long transition from a straight foot to a point.

Lupi's revised treatise contains only two choreographies, each with music: 'Alta Carretta' (pp. 19-28), and

35 Libro di gagliarda, tordiglione, passo è mezzo[,] canari è passeggi.

'Leggiadra pargoletta' (pp. 29-34), set to the music of the Ballo del gran duca.^{<36>} The second strain of 'Alta Carretta' is concordant with Caroso's 'Alta Cordera' and the third strain is concordant with Caroso's 'Bellezza d'Olimpia'.^{<37>} The reader should note that it was not uncommon for the same dance tune to be used for different types of choreographies.

Lupi's treatise is an important dance source. Although we do not have enough information about Southern Italian steps and dances to reconstruct Lupi's examples, his treatise provides us with unique information about substitutions and style.

Ballo de' venti

In 1608 Alfonso di Ruggieri Sanseverino choreographed a ballo a cavalli for 32 horses and riders for the wedding in Florence of the Prince of Tuscany and the Archduchess of Austria. The dance is entitled Ballo e giostra de' venti. The entire choreography has survived in a small commemorative volume published shortly after the wed-

36 This concordance is missing from the list in Kirkendale, L'aria di Fiorenza, pp. 67ff.

37 'Alta Cordera', Nobiltà, p. 369; 'Bellezza d'Olimpia', Ballarino, ii, fol. 66. I am indebted to Marian Walker for pointing out these two concordances.

ding.<38> In addition to the complete choreography, the volume includes an engraving which gives the position of each rider at the beginning of the dance, the names of the riders, and information on the instrumentation and symbolic figures formed by the musicians.

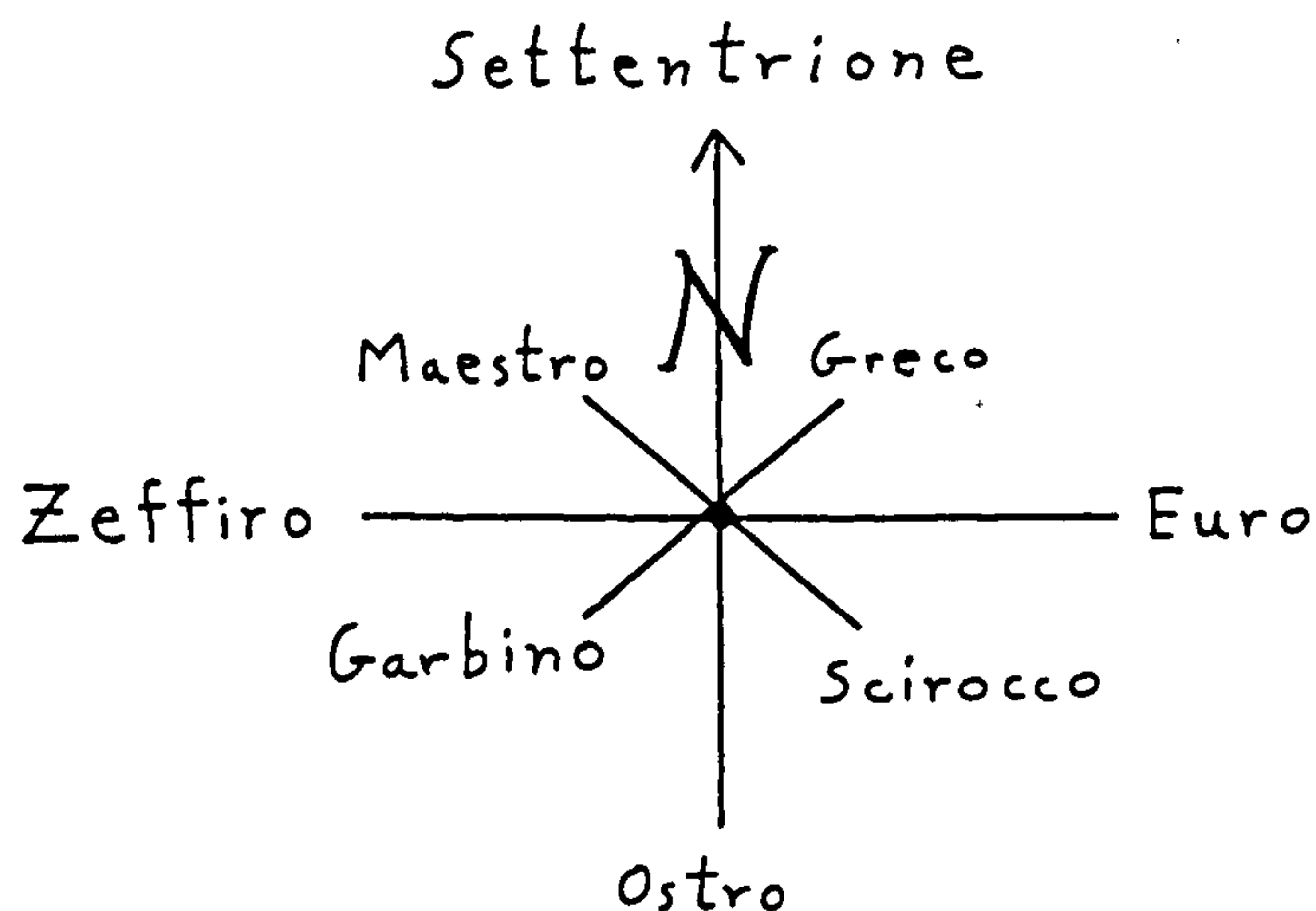
This choreography has not come to the attention of most dance scholars because the discussion of this spectacle in Solerti's Musica, ballo e drammatica alla corte Medicea<39> does not mention that the choreography has survived. Solerti reprints much information surrounding the dance, but not the dance itself.

In the Ballo e giostra de' venti the riders are grouped in fours and each quartet represents a different wind: e.g., Zeffiro, Ostro, Settentrione. At the beginning of the dance each wind is placed at the point of the compass from which it blows, e.g., Ostro in the south, Scirocco in the southeast. The diagram on the following page shows the relative position of each wind.

I suspect that more is intended by the interweaving of the horsemen than pleasing geometric shapes. At this time the climatic conditions of each season were often attributed to the clashes between winds. In the poems which Vivaldi

38 Ballo e giostra de' venti (Florence: Giunti, 1608). Further information is available in Descrittione delle feste ... (Bologna: G. Rossi, 1608) and Descrittione delle feste ... (Rome: G. Facciotto, 1609), also in T. Carter, 'A Florentine wedding of 1608', Acta musicologica lv (1983), p. 89.

39 Florence, 1905.



includes in the score to The Seasons, Winter, for example, is defined as 'Sirocco[,] Borea, e tutti i Venti in guerra'. Thus it is possible that the Ballo de' venti was designed to give a symbolic representation of the various clashes of winds in the four seasons.

A significant feature of this choreography, and the reason why it is discussed here, is its striking resemblance to court dance. Although the horses perform steps devised specifically for animals (e.g., 'un Caracole di galoppo, due galappando [sic], una scappata di corso'), the patterns of the dance are no different from those that one finds in the manuals of Caroso and Negri (for example, hays, the S-shape, turn single).

Further confirmation of the close connection between court dance and horse ballet can be found in Claudio Corte's

Il cavallerizo (Venice, 1573), one of the most influential riding manuals of the period. Corte's manual includes drawings of the major patterns outlined by horses in equestrian events and they are the same as those commonly used in Renaissance dance.

Dance scholars will not have a complete picture of the role of the dancing master in the Renaissance until they have examined all the different types of choreography he was expected to create, including those designed for the participation of animals.<40>

Conclusions

This and the previous chapter discuss the choreographic sources which contain information on late-Renaissance dance. The sources date from circa 1555 to 1608. There are several types of source and different kinds of information can be found in each.

Corso's Dialogo del ballo deals with philosophical and social issues; the Florentine manuscripts of circa 1559 give insight into late Renaissance dance before it assumed its final shape; the manuals of Caroso, Negri, and Arbeau provide step descriptions, choreographies, music and rules of etiquette; Luttii and Lupi supply hundreds of

40 The fencing manuals of this period have not yet been studied in terms of their relationship to dance and deportment. As the dancing masters often taught fencing as well as dance, there may be connections between the two.

examples from which we can deduce the range and role of choreographic variations at this time; Cavalieri's ballo and Negri's theatre dances provide us with the only surviving choreographies of the sixteenth century designed for the stage; the Ballo e giostra de' venti demonstrate precise connections between social dance and the ballo a cavalli.

There is, therefore, a great deal of information available on late-Renaissance dance. This thesis will concentrate on the manuals of Negri and Caroso because they contain accurate instructions on the correlation of steps and music. The other dance sources, however, will at times be invoked in order to fill in certain lacunae and resolve some ambiguities in the treatises of Negri and Caroso.

CHAPTER THREE

MODERN STUDIES OF LATE-RENAISSANCE DANCE

This thesis is a study of the relationship of dance and music in Le gratie d'amore. Although a great deal has been written about the sets, costumes, plots, and symbolism in late-Renaissance court and theatre dance, and much of this includes non-technical descriptions of choreographies,¹ much less has been written about the relation of specific choreographic texts to music: only a few dancers have published reconstructions, and musicians have tended to discuss the dance music purely from a musical viewpoint with little reference to the choreography. This chapter will

1 See, for example, D'Ancona, Origini; Solerti, Musica, ballo e drammatica; Prunières, Le ballet de cour; F. Ghisi, Feste musicali della Firenze medicea (Florence, 1939); Vianello, Teatri, spettacoli, musiche a Milano nei secoli scorsi; J. Jacquot (ed.), Les fêtes de la renaissance (Paris, 1956); A. M. Nagler, Theatre festivals of the Medici (New Haven, 1964); Il luogo teatrale a Firenze: Spettacolo e musica nella Firenze medicea, documenti e restituzioni, i (Milan, 1975); I. Fenlon, 'Music and spectacle at the Gonzaga Court, c. 1580-1600', PRMA ciii (1976), p. 90; M. McGowan, L'art du ballet de cour en France, 1581-1643 (Paris, 1978); Pirotta and Povoledo, Music and theatre; E. F. Barassi, 'Feste, spettacoli in musica e danza nella Milano cinquecentesca', in La Lombardia spagnola, ed. Carlo Pirovano (Milan, c1984), p. 197.

outline some previous work in this area by choreologists and musicologists. It will be divided into three parts:

I. Previous reconstructions (containing steps and music)

II. The position of Negri in dance histories

III. The relationship of dance and music in musical studies.

Part I:

Previous reconstructions

The dance historians of the 1940s and 50s were writing at a time when research into court dance was in its infancy. There were no university positions for scholars in this area, very few early dance journals, and no scholarly encyclopaedias and histories which accurately covered any aspect of early choreography. There were no large-scale studies of Renaissance choreographic notation. Dancers had to rely on material indirectly related to choreographic notation such as the many articles and books by musicologists on dance music and various bibliographic studies.<2> While these studies provide valuable information on sources and the history of dance tunes, they provided dancers with

2 See, for example, the works of Bukofzer, Closson, Cotarello y Mori, Kinkeldey, and Michel cited in my Bibliography.

next to no information on how to reconstruct and perform Renaissance choreographies. It was not until the 1940s and 50s that books devoted entirely to reconstructions and information on steps and style were published.

* * * * *

Between 1952 and 1964, Melusine Wood published three books containing reconstructions of dances entitled Some historical dances (Twelfth to nineteenth century),^{<3>} Advanced historical dances,^{<4>} and Historical dances.^{<5>} These books present Wood's reconstructions of choreographies dating from the twelfth to the early nineteenth centuries. The steps and styles of each period are described followed by a number of choreographies. These books have been severely criticised by scholars because the reconstructions were not supported by any critical commentary.^{<6>} Dancers, on the other hand, welcomed the books for their clear instructions on how to dance.

Wood did not intend her books to present scholarly solutions to the numerous choreographic problems found in

3 London, 1952; rpt. as Historical dances: Twelfth to nineteenth century, London, 1982.

4 London, 1960.

5 London, 1964.

6 For example, J. Sutton, 'Reconstruction of 16th century dance', Committee of Research on Dance ii (1969), pp. 59-60.

historical dance. In the preface to her third book she writes:

Dancers want instructions for the performance of dances, the academic mind does not. The academic mind wants to be led to logical conclusions by closely reasoned argument. Every statement must be supported by references and illustrated by quotations from the more recondite sources. A book fulfilling these conditions would reach considerable proportions, and it would be too technical to have any popular appeal. Until Choreology is accepted as a subject for serious study, at least equal to Musicology, no sane publisher would undertake to print such a book, and without any likelihood of publication no person having reached years of discretion would squander the little time remaining to them in writing it. <7>

Wood was well aware of the amount of research necessary to produce scholarly work. She had neither the financial backing nor the time to conduct research in each period to an extent that would have satisfied scholars. She is to be praised for making an initial attempt to survey so vast a period of dance notation but can be criticised for not alerting her readers to the flimsy nature of the evidence about Medieval dance or to any of the difficulties involved in reconstruction at any period. Yet throughout the books her tone is completely authoritarian; for the Renaissance period, no ambiguity in the texts is pointed out; no hint of doubt ever qualifies her conclusions. This may have led some readers to conclude that the books are intended as scholarly textbooks, even though she took pains to deny it.

7 Historical dances, 'Author's preface'.

Wood attempts to reconstruct choreographies from about eight hundred years of dance. As I have stated above, there was no previous body of choreographic studies on which she might have based her work. As a result she had to rely almost exclusively on her own research with a multitude of primary sources, and advice from musicologists who had not studied dance.

One of the basic problems with Wood's thinking is her effort to relate the styles of various periods, even when they are separated by over a hundred years. Thus various arm and shoulder movements found in the fifteenth-century manuals are incorporated into late-sixteenth-century choreographies, and she requires a lowering of the ball of the foot (almost a point) long before this was the accepted style.<8> Wood's determination to find connections between periods results in a serious misconception concerning Negri.

Wood believed that Negri's choreographies were the link between the Renaissance dances of Caroso (who published in 1581 and 1600) and the Baroque style of de Lauze (1623).<9> She drew this conclusion because Negri's treatise was published in 1602. She assumed that his dances dated from the

8 Shoulder movements: Historical dances, p. 35; lowered foot: ibid., p. 34.

9 F. de Lauze, Apologie de la danse (n.p. [London], 1623).

early seventeenth century and sought out Baroque elements in them. As I have pointed out above (p. 33), Negri's dances date from the 1560s to the 1590s; none are seventeenth-century dances. Negri and Caroso were exact contemporaries. Their books contain basically the same steps and style and there are several concordant passages in their step descriptions and choreographies. Although Negri did not publish his book until he was an old man, his treatise does not present a transition to the Baroque but is instead a detailed account of the late-Renaissance style that is also found in Caroso, Luttii, and Lupi. It is entirely erroneous, therefore, for Wood to write concerning Negri's 'Corrente': 'If by chance this dance were being treated as French, and dressed accordingly, the de Lauze bow and curtsy would be more appropriate.'¹⁰ Under no circumstances should any Baroque gestures appear in Negri.

Wood's efforts to impose Baroque elements from 1623 on Negri's dances stem from a misguided determination to find close links between periods. This is a dangerous path to follow in dance research because so many dance styles are not discussed in print until they have been fully developed.¹¹ There are no dance treatises containing choreo-

10 Historical dances, p.77.

11 The de Lauze treatise is an exception to this rule for his book discusses a new style which is not yet fully developed.

graphies from the period between 1608 and 1623. There is therefore no primary choreographic source which documents the dramatic shift in style from late-Renaissance to Baroque dance. We do not even know whether this change of style happened quickly or gradually, or if it occurred at the same time in France and Italy. Wood's attempt to make Negri a transitional figure between the two styles derives from a false premise about his position in dance history, and from a less than careful reading of his text.

Since no critical commentary supports her editions of dances, Wood's books are of limited use to scholars. Because she fails to explain how she arrived at her conclusions, the scholar faced with her solution to a difficult problem has no idea whether she had access to some information he has missed, or whether she has by necessity, since she was notating choreographies for dancers, invented a solution based entirely on guesswork.

Her books are to be praised, however, for their great clarity; Wood was a superb teacher of movement. She made her readers, many of them dancers who had been trained exclusively in the norms of 19th-century ballet, aware of the many different styles that existed both before and during the rise of classical ballet. In addition, her serious tone and attitude gave credence to the study of these dances.

* * * * *

In 1949 and 1954 Mabel Dolmetsch published two books containing reconstructions entitled Dances of England and France from 1450 to 1600^{<12>} and Dances of Spain and Italy from 1400 to 1600.^{<13>} The latter book contains six reconstructions of dances by Negri.^{<14>}

Dolmetsch has a certain advantage over Wood in that her books deal exclusively with a period of dance history from which many choreographic sources have survived; all of the choreographies she reconstructs are taken from original dance sources. She is not forced into the total invention of dances for periods from which no choreographies have survived.

Dolmetsch, like Wood, presents her reconstructions with little explanation of how she arrived at her decisions. The science of reconstruction is presented as basically unproblematic. The scholar can use Dolmetsch's books only in conjunction with the primary sources, for although they contain a great deal that is accurate, they also contain a large number of revisions or additions to the original texts and

12 London, 1949; rpt. N.Y., 1976.

13 London, 1954; rpt. N.Y., 1975.

14 'Il canario' (no. 21), p. 52; 'Spagnoletto' (no. 1), p. 74; 'Villanico' (no. 2), p. 82 (entitled 'Villanos'); 'Ballo fatto da sei cavalieri' (no. 40), p. 108 (titled 'Hachas'); 'La Nizzarda' (no. 38), p. 126; 'Brando Alta regina' (no. 43), p. 132.

the reader is seldom alerted to these interpolations.<15>

She, like Wood, makes the fundamental error that the fifteenth and sixteenth century treatises are talking about essentially the same style:

The fundamental steps enumerated and explained by Domenichino, Guglielmo and Cornazano [mid-15th century] continued in use right through the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and beyond, but with the addition of various elaborations, evolved by the later masters. <16>

Dolmetsch therefore follows the same policy as Wood in that she adds arm and shoulder movements found in the fifteenth-century treatises to dances of the 1580s and later. This tends to distort both Caroso and Negri: these hybrid dances look neither like late-Renaissance dance nor fifteenth-century dance but are instead a curious and unconvincing combination of the two. On occasion she also substitutes new dance melodies instead of using those provided in the sources.<17> While I sympathize with Dolmetsch for not wishing to use certain rather tedious dance tunes,

15 Dolmetsch makes the assumption, for example, that Negri's 'Nizzarda' is related to the volta as described by Arbeau (Dances of Spain and Italy, p. 126). She therefore inserts the volta lift into her reconstruction of 'Nizzarda' as though Negri clearly described it (ibid., p. 127). In fact, although Negri's dancers are holding each other in an embrace position, Negri only mentions 'saltini attorno' (Negri, p. 268) and makes no mention of a lift high in the air.

16 Dances of Spain and Italy, p. 168.

17 In Negri's torch dance for six men, for example, she omits Negri's melody and substitutes another of her choice (p. 108).

it is important nonetheless to use the originals because in some cases the internal phrasing and motivic units in the music are related to smaller choreographic units in the dance.

* * * * *

Both Wood and Dolmetsch were attempting a difficult task without the resources available to us today. They reconstructed a large number of choreographies from the primary sources and presented them clearly to their readers. The implication in their books is that the choreographies are exact reconstructions from the primary sources. Anyone who works with the original sources, however, knows that a certain amount of information on Renaissance dance is not available in them: some steps are not described; some texts are ambiguous; there are various inconsistencies and irregularities. The reconstructor, therefore, is forced to make some decisions based on educated guesswork. The amount of guesswork involved depends upon the particular source and dance under discussion.

The difficulty that one faces when reading Wood and Dolmetsch is that one never knows when they are simply inventing and when they have demonstrable evidence to support their interpretations. They present all the dances from each period and all the dance types within any period

with the same tone of authority. We are not informed which periods and which dances contain major problems of reconstruction. It is not possible, therefore, to use these books as a reliable basis for further study. As a result later scholars have been forced to start all over again in order to deal with the very problems which Wood and Dolmetsch may possibly have solved thirty years before.

* * * * *

Peggy Dixon has privately published seven booklets (with accompanying tapes of music) which contain nearly two hundred reconstructions by herself and other colleagues covering the period between the twelfth and nineteenth centuries. Three dances by Caroso and five by Negri are included in volume two.^{<18>} As Dixon states, the books are not intended to provide complete information but are designed rather as aide-memoires for those who have studied the dances in her summer school. Thus different versions of dances appear, representing different approaches in class.

18 Nonsuch: Early dance: Dances from the courts of Europe, 12th-19th century, 7 vols. (Glasgow, 1986). The Negri dances included in vol. 2, Italian Renaissance (15th c) and Caroso and Negri dances, are the following: 'Torneo amoroso' (no. 7), p. 70; 'Austria felice' (no. 39), p. 74; 'Brando di Cales' (no. 10), p. 79 (these three dances appear in the form of notes by Peggy Dixon on reconstructions by Pamela Jones); 'Alta Mendozza' (no. 24), p. 78 (notes by David Wilson on reconstruction by Pamela Jones); and 'Corrente' (no. 37), p. 82 ('learned originally from Wendy Hilton, à la Melusine Wood, and researched afresh circa 1974, and again 1984, by Peggy Dixon').

She also includes the notes of some students on the dances taught by invited teachers (such as Mary Collins and myself). While all of this is very helpful to those who have studied at Dixon's school it is of less use to outsiders. There is, however, a wealth of accurate information throughout these books on court etiquette, dancing masters, dance types, and dance sources.

* * * * *

In 1983 Madeleine Inglehearn published a book of reconstructions entitled Ten dances from sixteenth-century Italy.^{<19>} Four Negri dances are included: 'Il gratioso' (no. 6), 'Bianco fiore' (no. 8), 'La biscia amorosa' (no. 13), and 'La caccia d'amore' (no. 42). She follows in the tradition of Wood and Dolmetsch in that her instructions on steps and style are clearly presented, but her reconstructions appear without critical commentary. This makes it difficult to understand how her reconstructions are related to the original texts. For example, in certain sections of 'Caccia d'amore' Negri allows the performers to invent their own choreography. Inglehearn provides her own steps and figures at these points but does not inform the reader that these passages are not by Negri. Similarly, in other reconstructions, problematic passages are not pointed out, nor are solutions explained.

19 Witham, Essex, 1983.

* * * * *

A group of late Renaissance choreographies reconstructed by Julia Sutton and put into Labanotation by K. Wright Dunkley is available from the Dance Notation Bureau, New York.<20> There are five complete dances from Negri's treatise ('Alta Mendozza' (no. 24), 'So ben mi chi hà buon tempo' (no. 27), 'La battaglia' (no. 36), 'La catena d'amore' (no. 41), and 'La caccia d'amore' (no. 42)) and excerpts from Negri's 'Il canario' (no. 21). Since the dances are presented in Labanotation, Sutton's interpretation of the style (e.g., no pointing of the feet, minimal turnout) is clear because of the exactness of the notation. In addition there is introductory material discussing the character of each dance and the particular difficulties in reconstructing and performing it. Sutton writes that she is presenting a stage version of these dances: thus some social dances are changed to fit a stage presentation, but any changes she makes are outlined clearly in the text. She also includes discussion of the music with suggested instrumentation and tempo as well as a glossary (in Labanotation) of particular leg gestures. This is a valuable study of performance aspects of late-Renaissance dance.

20 Renaissance revisited (New York, 1972).

Part II

Histories of Dance

There are many general histories of dance but not one contains accurate information on Caroso and Negri. Julia Sutton has written, 'There are no reliable dance histories or dictionaries dealing with this period.'²¹ While this is generally true there are a few exceptions: in The New Grove the articles on Caroso and Negri by Sutton and the article on Dance by a group of dance scholars are accurate. In addition, there are reliable articles on Caroso, Negri, and some dance types in the Enciclopedia dello spettacolo. In general, however, reference books are unreliable. The following discussion will concentrate on the underlying misconceptions which have caused so many errors in the secondary sources.

One of the most serious misconceptions held by many writers on court dance is that the dances and techniques of Caroso and Negri were primarily seen as forerunners of classical ballet. In such books any step or style feature which bears even a small resemblance to ballet is upheld as historically important while the remaining steps are dismissed as unimportant. Thus ballet is seen as the goal and any previous dance style merely as a forerunner to it.

21 Nobiltà (Sutton edn.), p. 33 (fn. 14).

The following excerpt from Paul Bourcier's Histoire de la danse en occident²² is a good example:

Son traité la Grazia d'amore [sic] (Milan, 1602), fut réédité sous une forme augmentée, avec un nouveau titre, Nuove Invenzione di balli (Milan, 1604). Il comporte trois parties dont la deuxième donne 55 règles techniques et la troisième des danses avec tablatures et description chorégraphique. On y relève des pas nouveaux comme le trango (demi-pointe), le salto da fiocco, sorte de jeté en tournant: il s'agissait de toucher de la pointe du pied en sautant un noeud de rubans suspendu au plafond (fiocco). Le premier, Negri préconise les piedi in fuore, début de l'en dehors. [p. 69]

Bourcier's comments on Caroso follow the same pattern:

On y trouve, entre autres, cinq types de cabriole, dont une cabriole battue en l'air, spezzata in aria, et une cabriole intrecciata (entrelacée), ancêtre, quant à l'étymologie, de notre entrechat. On relève aussi le fioro [sic] (d'où est venue notre fleuret ou pas de bourée), le salto tondo in aria (tour en l'air), le pirlotto (pirouette), le grosso, origine de notre coupé. [p. 70]

Bourcier seems to assume that only those steps which he thinks resemble ballet are significant. Thus he presents a biased and inaccurate view of Negri, and ignores the abundant information which indicates that late-Renaissance dance is not balletic in style.

Bourcier's statements unfortunately are typical of many secondary sources. It is certain that until the reference sources begin to discuss Renaissance dance as a style in its own right, dance histories will remain unreliable.

22 Paris, c1978.

* * * * *

I should now like to turn to one of the most widely held misconceptions about Renaissance dance, namely, that Caroso and Negri were such incompetent writers that no one could possibly reconstruct their dances. It is significant that this view is usually held by historians who are not dancers. It is also worth noting that such authors usually begin by praising the clarity of Arbeau and then proceed to criticise the 'obscure' writings of Caroso and Negri. Curt Sachs, in his widely influential World History of the Dance, makes the following statement:

Anyone who opens up, after Arbeau, the Ballarino di M. Fabritio Caroso da Sermoneta, which has appeared in so many editions, must be very much disappointed. Caroso does not know how to explain, and the dances which he describes are diuerse sorti di Balli & Balletti, but not the most popular. Even less satisfactory is the second dance author of the time, Cesare Negri, ... The pompous use of his portrait as frontispiece suggests that we may expect more self-complacency than information from this author.
[p. 245]

The Italian treatises are indeed difficult to understand and it might be best to discuss the reasons for this before proceeding to my next point. The complexity of the Italian treatises is a direct result of the *métier* of their authors. Arbeau did not work as a dancing master at any major court. His book contains dances he had been taught. The Italian masters, on the other hand, were the leading choreographers and dancers of their day. They worked at

major courts and were expected to choreograph almost daily for social occasions and large-scale theatrical productions. The Italian masters were presenting the best of their 'creations' in their treatises. With minor exceptions these dances are far more complex than those of Arbeau. They have, in general, more sections of choreography, more complex steps and step combinations, and a more complex system of step durations. It is not my intention to criticise Arbeau, whoses dances are charming, but instead to point out that the Italian treatises are difficult to understand because they deal with complex subject matter. Those authors who criticise Caroso and Negri because they do not write like Arbeau are not comparing like with like.

Unfortunately the prejudices of influential writers such as Sachs have far-reaching effects. There are a substantial number of dance histories that include information on Negri by authors who have not bothered to read his treatise. These authors usually begin by saying that the treatise is incomprehensible and proceed to make a host of inaccurate statements drawn from secondary sources whose authors have also failed to read Negri.

Walter Sorell's Dance through the ages is a typical example of this type of book.<23> Sorell's statements about Negri, which border on the farcical, are symptomatic of a general trend to ignore the primary source. He writes:

23 New York, 1967.

The Italian dancing master Cesare Negri, who was among the loot the French brought back after conquering Milan in 1554, introduced the vogue of the figure dance in France. [p. 104]

It is quite obvious that Sorell has not read Le gratie d'amore. Negri specifically states that he became dancing master in Milan in 1554 when his teacher, Pompeo Diobono, accepted a job at the court of France. Negri also tells us that his patrons were Governors of Milan; he describes several spectacles that he choreographed in Milan; he dedicates all his social dances to ladies of Milan. None of these facts is written in 'incomprehensible' prose.<24>

Later in his book Sorell includes an engraving from Negri which illustrates the jump to the tassel (Sorell, p. 119; Negri, p. 64). In this engraving a tassel is hanging beside the dancer. Sorell (p. 119) explains that the rope is a substitute for the modern practice-bar. Again, Sorell has not read the source. Negri makes it clear that the rope was hung high in the air and that in difficult galliards, the men would show off their strength by jumping

24 It is possible that Sorell got the erroneous idea that Negri worked in France from one of two sources. M. Picot ('Les italiens en France', p. 313) mentions that he found a Cesare Negri on a list of violinists working at the court of France in 1569. Prunières mentions Picot's finding in 'La musique de la Chambre et de l'écurie sous le règne de François Ier' (L'année musicale, 1911, p. 248) and also in a footnote in Le ballet de cour (p. 52). Prunières expresses some doubt as to the identity of the violinist by pointing out that Negri the dancing master never mentions working in France in his book. I might add that it is clear from reading Le gratie d'amore that Negri was employed in Milan in the 1560s. Negri is a common name today, as it was centuries ago.

in the air and kicking it (p. 69, regola xxi). This is not an obscure fact in Negri: he provides pages of variations employing the kick to the tassel. The rope has no connection whatsoever with the modern practice-bar. If Sorell had actually read Negri he would have seen that the author suggests that the dancer lean on a chair and a table when practicing certain difficult steps.<25> When Derra de Moroda, who knew the treatises well, was asked by a student about the earliest use of the bar, she cited Negri's chair.<26>

Sorell's regrettable treatment of Negri is a direct result of his prejudices. He gives himself away when he makes the standard criticism that whereas Arbeau is clear, Caroso and Negri are obscurely written (p. 286).

I have cited Sorell because his book is so typical. It is no sillier than a host of other secondary sources. Perhaps the single most difficult problem which dance research faces today is the elimination of long-accepted prejudices. Influential writers such as Sachs have delayed serious work on Caroso and Negri for decades by their unjust and inaccurate statements. Sorell is only one of many authors who have accepted such criticism without question. Until this attitude changes, general histories of dance will continue to abound in the most elementary misstatements of fact about Renaissance dance.

25 Negri, p. 80.

26 Personal communication from Sybilla Dahms (Feb. 1982, Derra de Morroda Dance Archives, Salzburg).

Part III

Studies by Musicologists

Musicologists have written extensively on many aspects of dance music (its notation, stylistic features, provenance, concordances, etc.), but very little on the central issue of this thesis, namely, the relation of choreography and music. This is because musicologists generally do not read dance notation and therefore tend to examine sources of dance music from a purely musical viewpoint. One of the few who have attempted to study the steps and style of the dances is Lawrence Moe. In his thesis, 'Dance Music in Printed Italian Lute Tablatures from 1507 to 1611',^{<27>} Moe devotes one chapter to a discussion of the basic steps in the Italian dance manuals. While his understanding of dance notation is shaky, he is to be complimented for realizing that a study of dance music will be more accurate if the associated choreographies are also taken into account.

More recently a number of articles on dance types has appeared in The New Grove. Only a few of these articles are written by musicologists who read dance notation. Ingrid Brainard's excellent article on the Ballo^{<28>} shows

27 Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1956.

28 ii, p. 96.

how a musicologist who can read the choreographic texts in the primary sources can relate dance to music. She defines with care, discusses the structure of the choreography, outlines connections between fifteenth- and sixteenth-century dances, and relates choreographic style to music, all with clarity and knowledge of both the musical and choreographic sources. Both Julia Sutton and Meredith Ellis Little also contribute articles which successfully discuss the relationship between choreography and music.<29>

There are a number of other articles in The New Grove, however, which are unsuccessful in attempting to relate choreography and music, because it is apparent that the writers do not read dance notation and depend on unreliable secondary sources such as Wood and Dolmetsch. The main problem with these articles is that the authors cannot judge whether a feature is unique to one specific dance type or common to many; this is because they are not equipped to compare a variety of choreographic sources or even to evaluate secondary writers by checking information in the original treatises. The unreliability of detail in such articles also precludes a proper awareness of the larger historical context.

One of the best studies by a musicologist on the relationship of choreography and music is Putnam Aldrich's book,

29 See, for example, Sutton on 'Dance IV: Late Renaissance and Baroque to 1700' (v, p. 187) and Little on 'Minuet' (vii, p. 353).

Rhythm in seventeenth-century Italian monody.<30> This is an investigation of the proper rhythmic performance-practice of strophic Italian monodies from the early seventeenth century. Because so many of these monodies use dance rhythms he investigates the dance treatises for clues. He is one of the first scholars to draw accurate information from the sixteenth-century dance treatises:

We cannot agree with Curt Sachs that 'Caroso does not know how to explain' or that Negri is 'even less satisfactory' ... Both Negri and Caroso give such detailed and meticulous descriptions of every step and movement, as well as the precise sequence in which they occur, that it is quite possible, with considerable patience and some imagination, to reconstruct these balli and balletti and to coordinate them with the music. [p. 61]

Aldrich uses Negri's treatise as the principal source for his study of the relationship between dance movement and musical rhythm. He studies eight basic steps: he first analyses their pattern of strong and weak beats, and then considers whether the 'character' of a step might influence the interpretation of the music. He draws certain conclusions about music from looking at steps in this way (e.g., 'the tempo of the gagliarda could not have been very fast; the leaps themselves demand a certain amount of time, to say nothing of the frequent subdivisions and syncopations on the lower level of meter' (p. 90)); but he is also aware that steps and music are not always in obvious relation, to each other: '... these patterns have been derived from the

30 New York, 1966.

motions of the dance and do not necessarily apply to music. From the point of view of note values, it seems the music sometimes actually conflicts with dance rhythms. ... The dance, in such cases, produces a sort of counterpoint with the music' (p. 84). It is this knowledge which keeps Aldrich from making over-generalized assertions about the association between steps and music, a mistake often made by musicologists.

Aldrich tends to look at small choreographic units, usually only one step, and I feel that if he had carried his work further by studying larger units (for example, how steps are strung together in choreographic phrases and how the position of a step in a phrase may change its nature) he might in some cases have drawn different conclusions. As will be seen below in later chapters, any disagreement I have with Aldrich tends to derive from my study of the larger units of step sequences within choreographies. His study, however, amounting to only one chapter in a book, is a serious and valuable consideration of the relation between movement and music.

* * * * *

In 1986 F. Marian Walker published an edition of the music from Caroso's Nobiltà di dame.^{<31>} As will be seen

31 In Nobiltà (Sutton edn.).

in Chapter Six there are several editions of the music found in late-Renaissance dance treatises, but Walker's is particularly valuable because she has closely consulted the choreographic texts and has transcribed the music with the choreography in mind. Thus she writes in her Introduction, 'The original mensural signs, time values, and barrings are retained whenever feasible, but modified when deemed necessary to fit the music to choreography' (p. 58).

She is the first musicologist to point out that the steps and step components in late Renaissance choreographies are subject to alteration of rhythm through perfection, imperfection, and various other mensural devices. Although she presents no examples to demonstrate how this works in practice, she at least alerts the reader to its existence.

Late-Renaissance dance treatises contain many errors in both the music and choreographic texts. Walker's dual study not only helps to clarify the relationship between the two, but also leads to more accurate solutions to problematic passages. It was Walker's work with Caroso which inspired the present author to embark upon similar research in Negri.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE EDITIONS OF LE GRATIE D'AMORE

Le gratie d'amore was published by Pacifico Ponte and Giovanni Battista Piccaglia in Milan in 1602. The firm was a long-established one (various members of the Ponte family had controlled it for over fifty years) and was well known for its sacred publications.<1> They did not specialize, however, in books dealing with either dance or music.

In 1604 the Milanese firm of Girolamo Bordone published a volume entitled Nuove inventioni di balli ... di ... Cesare Negri. Far from being new, this publication is in fact a reissue of leftover stock from the 1602 edition: the paper, printing, spacing, colophons, engravings, indices, pagination errors, etc., are exactly the same in both the 1602 and 1604 editions; only the frontispiece, title-page, and dedication are new. These facts have led previous scholars to state that the two treatises are identical save for the title-pages.<2> I shall show that this is an oversimplification of the relationship between the two editions. I have examined several copies of the treatise in a

1 Storia di Milano, x, p. 868.

2 For example, Moe, p. 12; Aldrich, p. 61.

number of libraries and will show that there are different states of both the 1602 and 1604 editions.<3> A table appears at the end of this chapter summarizing the information I shall discuss below.

The 1602 edition

Contrary to the assumptions of previous scholars, not all copies of the 1602 edition are alike. It would seem that several revisions were made while the treatise was in the process of being printed. Some copies contain corrections while others do not. The reason for this probably lies in the publication practices of this period: it was customary for an author to visit the printer almost daily to study the page proofs; in this way he could point out errors and suggest revisions while the book was actually in the press. It is important to understand, however, that many publishers did not necessarily discard uncorrected pages which had already been printed. Thus it is not uncommon for some copies of an early-seventeenth-century book to contain corrections while other copies of the same edition do not. As Percy Simpson has written:

It is the exception, not the rule, of a seventeenth century printer to send out proofs to an author. The author dropped in at the press once or twice a day, looked over the newly taken pulls, and corrected such

3 See the table on pp. 100-01 below for a list of the copies examined.

errors as caught his eye in a cursory reading. The uncorrected sheets were not kept separately, still less were they destroyed; they were bound up haphazard with those which the author had corrected. <4>

Negri's treatise contains major and minor revisions which I shall now discuss.

MAJOR REVISIONS:

CHANGES WHICH AFFECT CHOREOGRAPHY

Since this thesis is concerned with choreographic notation and its relation to music, a major revision is here seen as one which affects the choreography and the correlation of steps and music. There are three dances in Le gratie d'amore which contain major revisions: 'Torneo amoroso' (no. 7), 'Laura gentile' (no. 23), and 'Alta Visconte' (no. 17).

'Torneo amoroso'

'Torneo amoroso' is the seventh dance in Negri's treatise. There are two versions of the Terza parte of this dance (page 140) (the original lineation is indicated by slashes):

4 Proof reading in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries (Oxford, 1935), p. 44. See also Myers, 'Historical and analytical bibliography', Antiquarian book vi (1979), pp. 286-89.

TERZA PARTE [version A]

Pigliano la mano con un poco d'inchino, e fanno due .P. gravi, & un .S. / col sinistro. poi altre due .P. è il .S. col piè destro, girando attorno alla / destra mano à modo d'un circolo, e tornando al suo luogo. si lasciano, è fan-/no due .SP. è un .S. col destro, andando la dama in capo, & il cavaliere à / piè del ballo, e volgendosi à faccia à faccia.

TERZA PARTE [version B; my italics]

Pigliano la mano con un poco d'inchino, e fanno due .P. gravi, & un .S. / col sinistro. poi altre due .P. è il .S. col piè destro, girando attorno alla / destra mano à modo d'un circolo, e tornando al suo luogo. si lasciano, è fan-/no due .SP. è un .S. col sinistro volgendo a essa mano, e poi due .SP. & un / .S. col destro, andando la dama in capo, & il cavaliere à piè del ballo, e vol/gendosi à faccia à faccia.

In version A, Negri requires two seguiti spezzati and one seguito ordinario beginning with the right foot, the lady proceeding to the head and the man to the foot of the ballroom. If the reconstructor follows these instructions he will have too few steps for the music provided. (The seguito spezzato has a duration of one semibreve; the seguito ordinario is equal to two semibreves.)<5a> Example

5a See pp. 118-23 below for table of step durations.

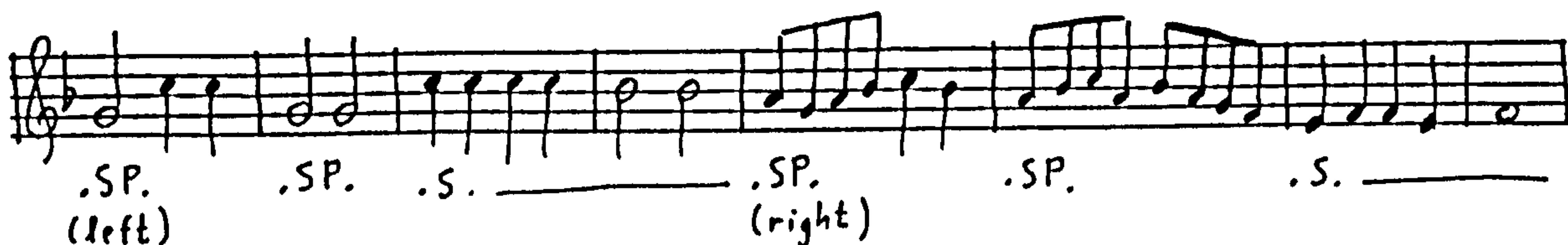
4.1 shows the correlation of the choreography 'found in version A with the music for this section of the dance.

Example 4.1



Note that this version lacks choreography for four bars of music. In the version B, however, Negri or his editor has made an insertion (the italicized words in the above quotation) which corrects the error: two seguiti spezzati and one seguito ordinario beginning with the left foot have been added. Example 4.2 shows that when these revisions are incorporated the steps correlate exactly with the music.

Example 4.2



I should like to point out that an experienced reconstructor would immediately suspect a textual error here because a traditional rule of late-sixteenth-century dance is broken, namely, that a group of steps done to one side is

usually repeated to the other side. This rule of symmetry is nevertheless occasionally broken by Caroso and Negri, <5b> so that it is unwise to use it as the sole evidence for textual error. In the present case, however, there is the corroborating evidence of a shortage of steps to fit the music, and the definitive evidence of an official correction.

It is essential to know about this correction because if the dance is reconstructed without it, some type of inventive faking is required to make the steps fit the music. Thus, different solutions to the problem are taught, leading some students to conclude that the dance treatises are written so ambiguously that any number of reconstructions of a dance are possible.

It is unfortunate that both the Broude and Forni facsimiles reproduce copies that contain the uncorrected version of this page.

'Laura gentile'

'Laura gentile' is the twenty-third dance in Negri's treatise. Close examination of several copies reveals that there are two versions of the entire dance which I shall label setting A and setting B. The minor typographical differences between the two versions will be discussed below in the section on minor revisions. Major revisions (i.e.,

5b See, for example, the opening section of the Sesta parte ('Mutazione della sonata in gagliarda') of Negri's Amor felice (No. 16, p. 179).

changes that affect the choreography or its correlation with the music.) occur only in the Seconda parte. The following example prints both versions of the Seconda parte (p. 209):

SECONDA PARTE [Setting A]

Pigliano la mano, e fanno andando innanzi due .P. due .P. & una .S. col pie sinistro. due .P. due .P. & uno .S. col destro volgendosi la faccia in capo del ballo. si fa la .R. li .T. e li .S. come s'è fatto di sopra alla sinistra, & alla destra.

SECONDA PARTE [Setting B]

Pigliano la mano, e fanno andando innanzi due . \dot{P} . due .P. & una .S. col pie sinistro. due . \dot{P} . due .P. & uno .S. col destro volgendosi la faccia in capo del ballo. si fa la .R. li .T. e li .S. come s'è fatto di sopra alla sinistra, & alla destra.

Setting A contains two errors which are the result of a simple misprint. Some of Negri's abbreviations for steps are quite similar in appearance. The passo grave is represented by the letter P with a period on either side of it (.P.); the passo puntato is also represented by the letter P but with a triangle of periods surrounding it (\dot{P}). In the setting A we find:

fanno andando innanzi due .P. due .P. & uno .S. col
pie sinistro. due .P. due .P. & uno .S. col destro.

Even if the choreologist does not know that there are two versions of this paragraph, he is alerted to the possible existence of an error by the peculiar demand for 'due .P. [passi gravi] due .P. [passi gravi]'. Negri's language is consistent in his treatise: in such a case as this he would not repeat himself but write simply 'quattro .P.'.⁶ The suspicion of error increases when the 'due .P. due .P.' combination of steps fails to correlate with the corresponding music. Example 4.3 shows the correlation of the choreography of setting A with the music for this section (1 .P. [passo grave] = 1 semibreve; 1 .S. [seguito ordinario] = 2 semibreves).

Example 4.3

1. .P.(left) .P. .P. .P. .S. ————— ? ?
2. .P.(right) .P. .P. .P. .S. ————— ? ?

Note that each playing of the phrase contains 8 semibreves of music and only 6 semibreves of choreography.

In setting B several passi gravi (.P.) are changed to passi puntate (.P.). The passage now reads:

⁶ See, for example, the 'quattro .T.' in the Quinta parte of 'Laura gentile' (p. 210).

due . \dot{P} . [passi puntate] due .P. [passi gravi] ...
 col piè sinistro. due . \dot{P} . [passi puntate] due .P.
 [passi gravi] ... col piè destro.

Since the passo puntato has the duration of two semi-
 breves, the choreography now correlates exactly with the
 music:

Example 4.4

1. . \dot{P} . ——— . \dot{P} . ——— .P. .P. .S. ———
 2. . \dot{P} . ——— . \dot{P} . ——— .P. .P. .S. ———

The corrected version is consistent with Negri's usual use of language: the correct 'due . \dot{P} . due .P.' is a common phrase, whereas the incorrect 'due .P. due .P.' would have been an irregular use of language. I should like to emphasize that Negri is so consistent in his writing that irregular use of language often points to textual error.

It is unfortunate that the Broude facsimile reprints the incorrect version of 'Laura gentile'. The Forni facsimile prints the correct version.

'Alta Visconte': Paste-on correction

All the copies of both the 1602 and 1604 editions that I have examined contain a printed correction pasted over the Prima parte of 'Alta Visconte' (no. 17, page 182). The following example gives the original printing and the paste-on:<7>

[original printing]

Si fermano in capo del ballo, & il cavaliere piglia la man sinistra della dama, come mostrano le figure, è faranno la .R. grave & un .P. & un sottopiede è la cadenza per fianco alla sinistra con esso piede. ...

[paste-on printing]

Il Cavaliere & la sua Dama si fermano come si vede nella presente figura a man destra della Dama, all' incontro d'essa poi fanno insieme la .R. grave e un .P. & un sotto piede, è la cadenza per fianco alla sinistra col detto piede, ...

7 In the British Library copy of 1602 edition the paste-on has been loosened enabling one to read the original text.

The steps are the same in each printing. The major difference lies in the position of the dancers: in the original printing the man begins on the left of the lady ('la man sinistra della dama'); in the paste-on he stands on the right side ('a man destra della Dama'). The position in the paste-on is rare in late-Renaissance choreographies: forty dances in Negri begin with the man on left side of the lady; only three ('Alta Visconte' (no. 17), 'Cortesia amorosa' (no. 12), and 'Nobiltà d'amore' (no. 34)) begin with the lady on the left of the man.

The original printing of 'Alta Visconte' does not seem to be a mistake; the paste-on is in the manner of an after-thought. Negri seems to have changed his mind about the opening figure of the dance when it was too late to have the page reset. The paste-ons were probably added at the last moment when the forms had been broken up.

MINOR REVISIONS:

NON-CHOREOGRAPHIC CHANGES

The major revisions discussed above affected both the choreography and the correlation of steps and music. The minor revisions, on the other hand, have no choreographic significance. It seems probable that most of them were unintentional. I include them below in case scholars may find them of use in their investigations in other fields.

Title-page

There are two printings of the title-page of the 1602 edition. For identification purposes in the table at the end of this chapter they are labelled 'Title-page X' and 'Title-page Y'; this does not imply a judgment as to which was printed first. Title-page X may be examined in the Broude facsimile; title-page Y in the Forni facsimile. The differences are the following:

- (1) line 5: Title-page X - capital 'B' in 'Ballare'
Title-page Y - lower-case 'b' in 'ballare'
- (2) line 8: ampersand in 'Al Potentissimo & Catholico'
different in each version
- (3) line 11: the 'g' in 'con Privilegio' different in
each version

'Laura gentile' (minor changes)

As noted above, there are two settings of the dance 'Laura gentile' (No. 23): setting A contains errors in the Seconda parte; setting B contains the correct Seconda parte. In addition, there are several minor typographical differences between the two settings. A selective list follows.

line 4: Setting A - 'Raynolda' without dieresis

Setting B - 'Raÿnolda' with dieresis

lines 20-23: lineation different

line 5: Setting A - 'innanzi'

Setting B - 'innāzi'

lines 7-9: lineation different

lines 11-13 (rubric above music): lineation different

line 12: ampersand different

line 13: Setting A - comma after 'otto volte'

Setting B - no comma

double dots in final repeat sign in different spaces:

Setting A:



Setting B:



One may conclude from a study of the typographical differences listed above that the entire dance has been set twice: the lineation of the text is often different, the occasional word is spelled differently, some punctuation is different, and the double dots in the final bar of music appear in different spaces.

Barring an unusual circumstance, it seems likely that the dance was reset in order to incorporate the correct step abbreviations in the Seconda parte: setting B therefore was probably the second to be printed.

'Laura gentile' is printed on the first three pages of the middle sheet of a gathering (the fourth page contains the engraving illustrating the following dance). Since no other pages are affected by the resetting of this dance, it would seem that a single bifolium was the unit of impression for the book. Thus it was possible to reset the dance without affecting any of the other dances.

* * * * *

The present writer has also investigated handwritten additions and annotations found in various copies of Negri's treatise. A summary of these annotations is provided in Appendix II (vol. II, pp. 483-88).

CONCLUSIONS

The table which begins on the following page summarizes the information I have discussed in this chapter.<8> Study of the table indicates that there are at least three different states of the 1602 edition: first, there are copies that contain no corrections (for example, no. 7); secondly, copies that only contain the 'Laura gentile' corrections (for example, no. 1); and thirdly, copies that contain both the 'Laura gentile' and 'Torneo amoroso' corrections (for example, no. 2). In addition, it is common for copies with title-page Y to contain the choreographic corrections (nos. 2-5), but copy no. 1 is an exception to this pattern.

In the 1604 edition all the copies I examined contain the 'Laura gentile' correction (nos. 9-19) but only about half contain the 'Torneo amoroso' revision (nos. 9, 11, 13, 14, and 19).

A study of the table leads me to agree with Percy Simpson that corrected and uncorrected sheets were often bound together haphazardly at this time. Certainly care seems to have been taken to use the correct version of 'Laura gentile' (perhaps Negri insisted on this), but no similar effort was made with 'Torneo amoroso'. There are

8 RISM (B/1, p. 311) lists 13 extant copies of the 1602 edition, 38 copies of the 1604 edition. I have examined seven 1602 copies (as well as the two facsimile editions) and eleven 1604 copies. In the table I have supplied call numbers when a collection has more than one copy.

1602 title-page X (Ballare)(ballare)	1602 title-page Y		'Torneo amoroso'		'Laura gentile' setting	
	incorrect 3a parte	correct 3a parte	incorrect 2a parte	correct 2a parte	A incorrect 2a parte	B correct 2a parte
1602 editions:						
1. London: British Library: MK.7.E.9	✓					✓
2. Vienna: Oesterreich-ische Nationalbibliothek		✓		✓		✓
3. Milan: Biblioteca Ambrosiana		✓		✓		✓
4. Boston Public Library		✓		✓		✓
5. Bologna: Mus. Civ. Bibl. Mus. G.B.Martini		✓		✓		✓
6. Milan: Bibl. Braidense	✓			✓		✓
7. Broude facsimile	✓				✓	
8. Fornì facsimile		✓		✓		✓

	'Torneo amoroso'		'Laura gentile' setting	
	incorrect 3a parte	correct 3a parte	A incorrect 2a parte	B correct 2a parte
1604 editions:				
9. London: British Library: Hirsh		✓		✓
10. idem: 785.m.8	✓			✓
11. idem: 62.h.18		✓		✓
12. Washington: Library of Congress	✓			✓
13. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard Theatre Library		✓		✓
14. Bologna: Mus. Civ. Bibl. Naz.		✓		✓
15. Milan: Bibl. Ambrosiana	✓			✓
16. Oxford: Bodleian: G4.2.Art	✓			✓
17. idem: Douce N301	✓			✓
18. idem: H.13thseid		✓		✓
19. Boston Public Library	✓			✓

about as many incorrect 'Torneo' pages in 1604 as there were in 1602.

In conclusion two points should be stressed. First, the reference sources do not provide complete information about the 1602 and 1604 editions. While it is true that both editions are the same, save for the title-pages, scholars do not mention that there are different states of each edition. Secondly, both facsimiles of the treatise were made from inadequate copies: the Broude contains no corrections, the Forni only the corrections to 'Laura gentile'.

CHAPTER FIVE
STEP DURATIONS

It is the purpose of this chapter to discuss the relative durations of the steps in Negri's treatise and the manner in which one fits these steps to music. There are only three Italian sources of this period that contain step descriptions and information on step durations: Caroso's two treatises, Il ballarino (hereafter referred to as Caroso 1) and Nobiltà di dame (hereafter Caroso 2), and Negri's Le gratie d'amore.^{<1>} With only minor exceptions these treatises describe and use the same repertoire of steps.

As will be seen below, each treatise has its own misprints, ambiguities, and lacunae; it is only by collating the information in these three choreographic manuals that one can arrive at the relative durations of almost all the steps used in the dances.

1 Step descriptions in Caroso 1: bk. 1, fols. 3-16; Caroso 2: pp. 10-63; Negri: pp. 103-13.

STEP DURATIONS IN CAROSO 1 AND NEGRI

The step descriptions in Caroso 1 and Negri are almost identical. The authors not only describe the same steps but present their descriptions in a strikingly similar manner.<2> The following example demonstrates the close relationship between the treatises:

CAROSO 1

La prima Continenza grave
 si ha da principiare
 in questo modo;
 Fatto che si sia
 la Riverenza grave,
 la quale si principia
 & finisce in quattro battute
 perfette di Musica,
 & col pie sinistro,
 l'huomo ha da muoversi
 al fianco sinistro

NEGRI

La prima continenza grave
 si hà da cominciare
 in questo modo;
 fatta che si haverà
 la Reverenza grave,
 la quale s'incomincia,
 & finisce in quattro battute
 perfette, di Musica,
 & col piede sinistro;
 Il Cavaliero ha da muoversi
 al fianco sinistro

2 The wording is so similar that Negri has often been accused of copying Caroso's descriptions. It is unlikely, however, that either author was the original writer of the basic step descriptions. Many of these steps were already in use in the 1550s and definitions of them must have become standard over the decades. It is more likely that both authors used traditional step descriptions to which they added their own emphases and style preferences.

per quattro dita,
 aggiungendo
 il pie destro al paro del
 sinistro: overo fara ancor
 con pie vaghezza, tirar
 il calcagno del pie destro
 verso la parte di mezo
 del sinistro;
 & nel far quest'atto
 ha da calarsi in giu
 alquanto
 con la persona ...

[bk. I, fol. 4v]

per quattrro [sic] dita,
 aggiungendo
 il calcagno del pie destro
 verso la parte di mezo
 del sinistro;
 & nel far questo atto
 ha da abbassarsi
 alquanto in giù
 con la persona ...

[p. 105]

* * * * *

Negri and Caroso 1 give the duration of the components of each step in 'beats' (battuta perfetta, battuta ordinaria, mezza battuta, etc.).^{<3>} This terminology, although for the most part internally consistent, is both difficult to understand and somewhat inadequate to the rhythmic demands of the choreographies. Negri and Caroso 1 employ two basic units of measurement in the step descriptions: 'battute perfette' and 'battute ordinarie'. Negri

3 The steps in Negri and Caroso often consist of more than one movement. In this dissertation the various movements which make up a step are called 'step components': e.g., the doppio, which Negri describes as having four movements, will be referred to as one step with four step components.

explains the relationship between the two in his first step description: 'otto battute perfette di musica; che sono sedeci battute ordinarie' (p. 104, regola 1). Thus two battute ordinarie equal one battuta perfetta.

If the durations of all the steps in Negri and Caroso 1 were clearly defined in terms of perfect or ordinary beats, it would be possible to reconstruct many of the rhythmic aspects of their choreographies with accuracy. It is difficult, however, to know the exact durations of some steps in Negri and Caroso 1 because, in many instances, a great deal of essential information is missing.

The problematic passages fall into four basic categories. The degree of ambiguity is not the same in every situation where there is a problem. There are therefore various ways of resolving ambiguous steps, depending upon the context of the passage. Before discussing solutions to these problems, I should like to introduce the basic categories of ambiguity.

The four categories of ambiguity

(1) The first category contains several common steps which are described as having the duration of a given number of battute without stipulating whether we are dealing with battute perfette or ordinarie. The following excerpts from Negri demonstrate the problem:

La puntata grave si fa in due battute [p. 105, regola IV]

Il seguito co'l piede alto alla battuta si fa in quattro battute [p. 108, regola XI]

(2) The second category includes those steps which employ half beats entitled meze battute or mezzi tempi. Sometimes Negri does not provide enough information to know whether we are dealing with half of a battuta perfetta or half of a battuta ordinaria. The following examples demonstrate the problem:

La Riverenza minima, si fa in quattro mezzi tempi, cioè in quattro battute di musica; [p. 105, regola II]

I passi presti, si fanno, come di sopra; eccetto che quelli [di sopra] si fanno in una battuta di tempo, & questi in meza, & presto. [p. 106, regola VI]

Negri does not define 'battuta di musica' or 'battuta di tempo'. The definitions of the riverenza minima and the passi presti, therefore, contain a certain degree of ambiguity.

(3) The third category contains steps which have both longer and shorter versions. The following table shows the steps which have two or more versions with their respective durations (the evidence for these durations will be presented later in this chapter):

Riverenza	grave	=	o o o o
"	minima	=	d d d d
Continenza	grave	=	o o
"	minima	=	d d
Puntata	grave	=	o o
"	ordinaria / minima	=	d d
Doppio	grave	=	d d d d
"	minima	=	d d d d
Trabuchetto	grave	=	o
"	minima	=	d
Ripresa	grave	=	o
"	minima	=	d

These steps can be problematic in choreographic contexts where Negri fails to indicate whether he wants the longer or shorter version of the step. In the following passage from 'Spagnoletto', for example, he does not indicate whether the trabuchetti are grave or minime:

fanno insieme ... uno .T. [trabuchetto] sopra il destro, uno .S. [seguito ordinario] in volta alla sinistra; tre sottopiedi[,] uno .T. e uno .S. per fianco [Prima parte, p. 116]

Similarly, in the next example, from 'Austria felice', we are not told whether the puntate (.Pp.) are grave or minime:

fanno insieme anda[n]do innanzi un .S. col piè sinistro, due .Pp. un innanzi, e l'altro indietro, ... [Prima parte, p. 271]

In these examples, the reconstructor is not given complete information. He must decide, therefore, between a long or short version of a step by examining the context in which the step occurs: in the latter example, from 'Austria felice', the music for the passage consists of four semibreves. Since the .S. has the duration of 2 semibreves, there remain only two semibreves of music for the puntate (.Pp.):

Example 5.1 <4>



In this case, therefore, Negri requires the shorter version of the .Pp. (1 semibreve each); the larger version would have required 4 bars of music (2 semibreves each).<5>

4 The rhythm of the first bar of this example is emended from the original ♪♪♪♪|♪♪ for reasons given in the following chapter (pp. 169-73).

5 The reader may turn to my reconstruction (vol. 2, p. 239) to examine this passage in its complete context.

(4) The fourth category consists of those steps for which no duration is supplied anywhere in the treatise; for example, the ripresa in sottopiedi, the botta, and the battuta in terra. These steps tend to occur in passages which contain rapid changes of step. Negri's terminology of 'beats' (battuta perfetta, battuta ordinaria, mezza battuta) is often inadequate for the description of the precise duration of rapid step components.

* * * * *

I should now like to discuss the degree of ambiguity presented by the four categories. No one category is per se more ambiguous than the others; the degree of ambiguity is directly dependent upon the number of ambiguous steps involved and the context of the passage. Thus, for example, if a step of ambiguous duration appears in a passage where the duration of all the other steps is known, and if the number of bars in the accompanying music is clear, one can deduce the duration of the ambiguous step through a process of simple subtraction.<6> If several steps of ambiguous duration appear in succession, however, or if the number of bars in the music is questionable, it becomes difficult to resolve the problems in step durations. I suggest that the reconstructor use the following method in those passages

6 An example of this process appears below, p.149, in the discussion of ambiguous steps in the Terza parte of 'Villanico'.

which contain a succession of ambiguous steps: he must take each problematic step separately, and examine the way it is used in other dances. It is sometimes the case that a step which is used ambiguously in one dance is used clearly in another. The reconstructor must try to establish, through an examination of as many dances as possible, whether the step has the same duration each time it appears in an unambiguous context. Thus it is possible, through a long process of comparison of dances, to deduce the duration of some ambiguous steps.

There are some steps, however, which cannot be analyzed by the method outlined above because they always tend to occur in ambiguous passages (e.g., the rapid steps in galliard variations with high step density) or because they are steps unique to one dance (e.g., the segnato, which only occurs in 'Alta Mendoza' (no. 24)).

STEP DURATIONS IN CAROSO 2

It is fortunate that Caroso, in his second manual, made an attempt to resolve the problems of many ambiguous step durations by using standard musical terms for note values (breve, semibreve, minim, semiminim) in the title of each step and to describe the relative durations of the step components. The following description of the passo puntato breve and the passo puntato semibreve is a representative

example of the clarity of Caroso 2 in the matter of step durations:

Passi Puntato Breve, & Semibreve

... il primo Passo Puntato Breve, ... va fatto à tempo di due battute perfette di Musica, che fà una Breve; & da questo hà preso il nome di Passo Puntato Breve. Il [Passo Puntato] Semibreve, si chiama in questo modo, perche vâ fatto à tempo d'una battuta, la quale è Semibreve, la metà meno della Breve. [p. 21]

Mabel Dolmetsch has not understood the significance of the expanded titles in Caroso 2. She has written, 'in Caroso's second treatise ... he has invented some fantastic names for certain groups of steps. These I propose to ignore.' She refers to the step names in Caroso 1 as 'more convenient' than the 'peculiar system of nomenclature' found in the second treatise.<7> As I have pointed out above, Caroso adds specific musical time-values in his step descriptions in Caroso 2, but it is equally significant that he also retains the old terminology of 'battute' (perfetta, ordinaria, minima, mezza, etc.). There is, therefore, an old terminology and a new terminology in use at the same time in his second book. This makes it possible to

7 Dances of Spain and Italy, pp. 152, 44.

locate explanations in terms of musical time-values of the standard terms found in Negri and Caroso 1 through a study of concordant step descriptions in Caroso 2. This is one of the most valuable features of Caroso's second treatise. Let us now examine Caroso 2's definitions of the standard terms.

Battuta perfetta

Caroso 2 defines the battuta perfetta in his description of the continenza breve and the puntato breve:

la [Continenza] Breve ... fatta à tempo di due battute di Musica perfette, ch'è una Breve [p.18]

... il primo Passo Puntato Breve ... va fatto à tempo di due battute perfette di Musica, che fa una Breve [p.21]

Thus he states that two perfect beats are equal to a breve. The battuta perfetta, therefore, is a semibreve beat.

Battuta ordinaria/minima

In his first treatise Caroso uses the term 'battuta ordinaria'. In the second treatise he retains the word 'ordinario' in the titles of some steps (e. g., seguito ordinario) but changes the durational term battuta ordinaria to battuta minima or passo minimo. He is

careful to explain that he is using the word 'minima' to mean the duration of minim in music:

quattro Minime fanno due battute, che è una Breve [p.29]

Thus Caroso 2 clarifies Negri's explanation that two battute ordinarie are equal to one battuta perfetta:

$$\text{♩} \text{♩} = \text{♩}$$

Mezza battuta

In Caroso 2, Caroso uses the term 'mezza battuta' to mean a minim beat. He explains the term in his description of the 'Passi minimi':

Questi Passi, ... che si chiamano Minimi, perche ogn'un vā à tempo d'una Minima, che nella Musica vale mezza battuta [p. 23]

Battuta tripla

Caroso 2 also uses a term which is not found in Negri and Caroso 1: 'battuta tripla'. I think he employs the term because he wanted to clarify the duration of some steps in fast triple-metre dances, but, as will be seen below, his use of the term is somewhat confusing. The term is used in two ways in Caroso 2.

In his descriptions of the passetti presti in gagliarda, he gives the battuta tripla the value of a semiminim:

I Passetti presti nella Gagliarda, si chiamano Semiminimi ... & alle Cascarde ... à tempo d'una battuta tripla per ciascun passo [p.24]

The equivalence here of the battuta tripla with the semiminim is somewhat misleading. Not all of Caroso 2's fast triple metre dances have the same notation. Some are notated in 3/2 while others are in 3/4. No matter which of these notations is in use, Caroso generally requires three passetti in gagliarda per bar. Thus in those dances notated in 3/4 each passetto in gagliarda carries the value of a semiminim (i.e., 3 passetti per bar); in those dances notated in 3/2 each passetto in gagliarda is equal to a minim (i.e., 3 passetti per bar). It is best, therefore, to regard this definition of the 'battuta tripla' as meaning one beat of a bar of triple metre.

In the descriptions of the seguito spezzato and the passo puntato semibreve, however, the term 'battuta tripla' has another meaning:

[il] Seguito Spezzato ... v'è fatto à tempo di due battute triple, ch'è una Semibreve [p.30]

Il Passo Puntato Semibreve ... à tempo di due battute triple; quale due è una semibreve [p.21]

Here two 'battute triple' are equal to a (perfect) semibreve. (Caroso does not directly inform his reader that the above steps are performed in triple meter; he speaks instead of triple beats. The perfection of the semibreve is understood; a term such as 'battuta tripla semibreve' was never used.) One battuta tripla, therefore, is equivalent to a (modern) dotted minim, that is, one bar of 3/4. But, as was pointed out above, because the music of triple metre dances may be notated either in 3/2 or 3/4, no matter which notation is in use there is only one 'battuta tripla' per bar. It is better, therefore, to regard the second meaning of 'battuta tripla' as indicating the duration of one bar of triple metre.

The term 'battuta tripla', in other words, is used in two ways in Caroso 2: it can mean either one beat of a bar of triple metre (as in the description of the passetti presti in gagliarda and in cascarda) or one bar of triple metre (as in the description of the seguito spezzato and the passo puntato semibreve). It is always problematic when a technical term has more than one meaning. The reconstructor is often forced to deduce which type of battuta tripla is required from the context of the choreographic passage.

SUMMARY

No single source of this period contains all the information necessary to deduce the duration of all the basic steps. Each treatise contains its own misprints, ambiguities, and lacunae. It is possible, however, by collating the evidence in the three treatises of Caroso and Negri, to arrive at the relative durations of most of the steps used in the choreographies. The following table (on the next six pages) lists the major steps that are found in Negri's dances. The left-hand column gives the titles of the steps together with the durations provided in the step descriptions in Negri and Caroso 1. The right-hand column lists the equivalent information as it appears in the concordant descriptions in Caroso 2. The note values indicate my interpretation of that information.

CAROSO 1 AND NEGRI

CAROSO 2

Riverenza grave

'quattro battute perfette'

o | o | o | o

Riverenza minima'quattro mezzi tempi,
cioè in quattro battute
di musica'

d d | d d

Two continenze gravea pair of these steps is
given the value of
'quattro battute perfette'

o — † o | o — † o

thus each has a value
of 2 battute perfette:

o — † o

Continenza minima'metà del tempo di
quella di sopra'
(i.e., metà la
Continenza grave)

d d

Puntata grave

'due battute [perfette]'

o | o

Riverenza lunga'una lunga nella Musica è
di quattro battute'

H = o | o | o | o

Riverenza breve

'una breve nella Musica'

H [= d d | d d]

la Continenza breve'à tempo di due battute
di Musica perfette,
ch'è una Breve'

o — † o = H

Continenza semibreve'in una battuta ... ch'è
la metà meno della breve'

o

Passo Puntato Breve'à tempo di due battute
di Musica, che fà una Breve'

o | o = H

Puntata minima/ordinaria

'una battuta [perfetta]'

o

divided into
2 components:

♪ ♪

Passo puntato semibreve'à tempo di due battute
triple, [i.e., 2 bars of
triple metre; see pp. 114-16
above] quale due è una
Semibreve'

♪. |♪. = o[.]

Passo grave

'una battuta di tempo'

o

Passo Semibreve'à tempo di una
battuta Semibreve'

o

Passi prestieach in 'meza ...
una battuta di tempo'

♪

Passi Minimieach 'à tempo d'una
Minima chè è mezza battuta'

♪

This step usually occurs
in triple metre, where the
choreographers require
3 per bar. Negri and Caroso
describe the step in 3/2;
i.e., each passo has the
duration of a minim:

$\frac{3}{2}$ ♪ ♪ ♪
.P. .P. .P.
presto presto presto

In dances in 3/4, each will
have the duration of a
semiminim:

$\frac{3}{4}$ ♪ ♪ ♪
.P. .P. .P.
presto presto presto

Passetti in saltino/
Passetti in gagliarda

Caroso 1: 'mezza tempo'



Negri: 'a ciascun passo' l
tempo d'una battuta d'essa
in gagliarda'



Passetti presti nella
Gagliarda, chiamati
Semiminimi ...
& in cascarde

'à tempo d'una battuta
tripla [i.e., 1 beat of
a triple-metre bar; see
pp. 114-16 above]
per ciascun passo'



Seguito ordinario

(incorrectly titled
Seguito grave in Negri's
step description; see
Appendix III (vol. II,
pp. 489-93))

'quattro battute ordinarie'



Seguito col piede alto
alla battuta (Negri);
Seguito trangato
(Caroso 1)

'quattro battute
[ordinarie]'



Seguito spezzato

'due battute ordinarie'



step components divide:



Seguito Ordinario
... Breve

'il tempo di una Breve ...
di maniera, che due Minime,
& una Semibreve fanno una
Breve'



Seguito Trangato

'al tempo di due battute di
Musica [divided into]
quattro Minime ...

che è una Breve'



Seguito spezzato

'à tempo di due battute
triple, [i.e., 2 bars of
triple metre; see pp. 114-16
above] ch'è una Semibreve'



Seguito scorso

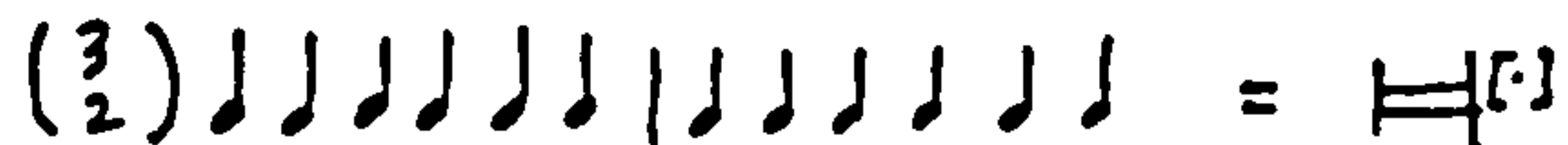
'otto meze battute ...
i quali ... in quattro
battute ordinarie'

Seguito scorso

'dieci passettini minuti ...
fatti à tempo d'una Breve'



Caroso 2's subdivision of
the Breve is unclear to me;
possibly 'dieci' here is a
misprint for 'dodici' with
the implication of 2 bars
of triple metre:

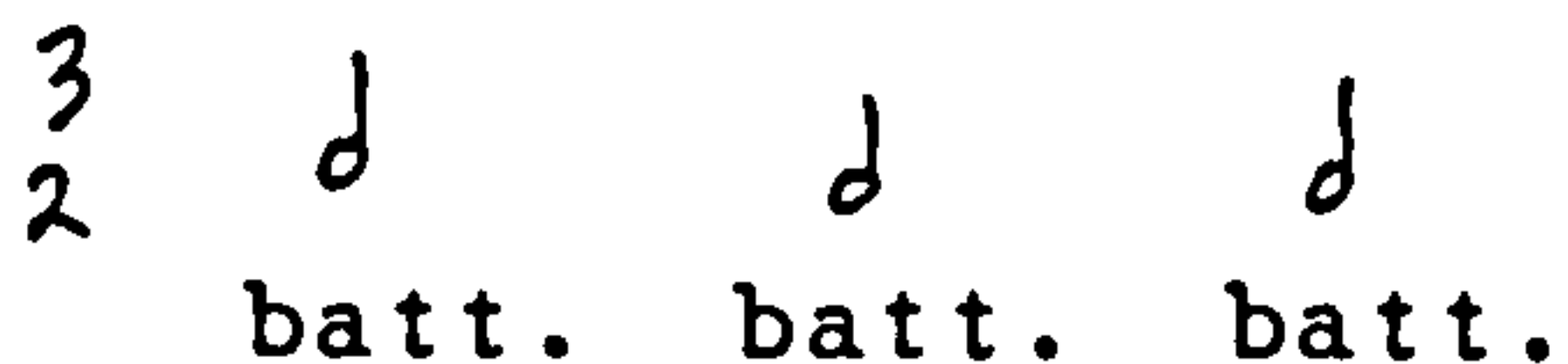
Seguito battuto al canario

This step contains 3
step components, which
Negri and Caroso call
'battuti':

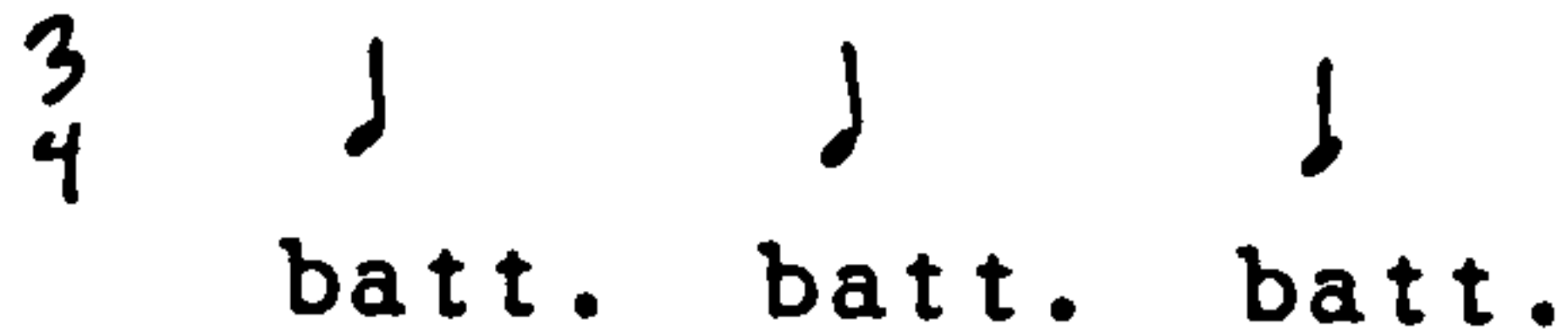
'Ogni battuto si fa in
una battuta ordinaria'



The complete step has the
duration of 3 minims:



In dances in 3/4, each
battuto has the duration
of a semiminim:

Seguiti Battuti ...
al Canario

'Ogni ... battuto ...
va fatto à tempo
d'una battuta tripla
di Musica' [i.e.,
1 beat of a triple-
metre bar; see
pp. 114-16 above]



Seguito spezzato al canario

'due battute ordinarie'

♩. | ♩.

(This step appears only
in triple-metre dances.)Seguito spezzato ...
al Canario

no value given

Doppio grave

'due battute [perfette]'

○ | ○

divided into
4 components:

♩ ♩ | ♩ ♩

Doppio all'Italiano

'quattro battute di Musica'

○ | ○ | ○ | ○

Doppio minimo'la metà del tempo
[del doppio grave]'

♪ ♪ ♪ ♪

Doppio minimocomprises 4 passi: 'ad ogni
Semiminima farai un passo'

♪ ♪ ♪ ♪

Ripresa grave

'una battuta perfetta' <8>

○

(not found in Caroso 2)

8 Negri writes that the ripresa has the duration of one perfect beat (○). In 42 of the 43 choreographies in Negri, however, this step has the duration of two perfect beats (○—○). The only exception is 'Adda felice' where he asks specifically for 'una Ripresa ... d'un tempo' (p. *214). The ripresa does not usually appear in ambiguous passages. It is not difficult to establish through a study of its use in a large number of dances, that the ripresa in 42 of Negri's choreographies is consistently given double the value of the ripresa in his step descriptions. (See, for example, the reconstructions in vol. 2 of the Prima and Ottava parti of 'Bassa imperiale', pp. 319, 328.) Caroso I also gives the ripresa the value of one perfect beat in the step descriptions; but there is no inconsistency in his book as this is the value he uses in his choreographies. This is one of the few instances where Negri and Caroso differ in the duration of a step.

Ripresa in sottopiede

no value given

Sottopiede

no value given

Ripresa minima

'una battuta minima'

♩

(not found in Caroso 2)

Ripresa minuita

no value given

(not found in Caroso 2)

Trabuchetto grave'una battuta perfetta
di musica'

♩

Trabucchetto Breve

no value given<9>

Trabuchetto minimo'la metà dell'altro
[trabuchetto grave]'

♩

Trabucchetto Minimo'la metà ... d'una
battuta'

♩

Fioretto ordinario

'in una battuta minima'

♩

Fioretto ordinario'ciascun ... in una
battuta [minima]'

♩

9 Caroso 2's title indicates a step with the value of a breve. Julia Sutton has pointed out, however, that when this step appears in the choreographies it usually has the value of a semibreve (Nobiltà (Sutton edn.), p. 114n). The step, therefore, should logically have been called the trabuchetto semibreve. Negri's treatise confirms this supposition. He states that the trabuchetto has the duration of 'una battuta perfetta': i.e., a semibreve (p. 112).

System of Proportions

The reader should be warned that the note-values given in this table represent only the relative durations of the steps and step components. The note values in the step descriptions are used by Caroso and Negri to illustrate a system of proportional relationships among the steps. Thus, for example, a step described as having the duration of a breve will normally last twice as long as one having the duration of a semibreve. A 'breve' step, however, will not necessarily correlate with a breve in the printed music because no care was taken in any of the treatises to notate the music of a dance in the same unit of beat as that of the choreography. In many of the dances in Caroso's and Negri's treatises the note values of the music are in a 1:1 proportion with those of the choreography (e.g., both of Negri's torch dances (nos. 38, 39), in which a semibreve step correlates with a semibreve of the music, a minim step with a minim of music, etc.). In many other dances, however, other proportional relationships apply between the choreographic and musical note values (e.g., Caroso's 'Ardente sole' (Ballarino, bk. II, fols. 17-17v), in which there is a consistent 1:2 relationship: a semibreve step correlates with a breve of music, a minim step with a semibreve of music, etc.).<10>

10 See my reconstruction in P. Jones and I. Brainard, 'Comparative reconstructions: "Ardente sole"' (Proceedings of the Society of Dance History Scholars viii (1985), pp. 189-98.

Marian Walker, in her edition of the music of Caroso 2, changes the note values of those pieces of music which are not in the same unit of beat as the choreographies. She and Sutton write the following:

The question as to whether or not a dance notated in triple minims (3 ♩) is to be read at half value in 3♩ is somewhat more difficult to answer because of the various ways of reading the step values in triple pieces, especially when those step values are subdivided. When a dance in 3 ♩ is one of a type that is usually notated in 3 ♩, and when the step values in the text are also typical of fast triple dances (including, for example, a breve Reverence rather than a long Reverence, and many broken sequences or Sapphic steps), reading the music at half value seems entirely justified. <11>

Thus some pieces written in 3/2 are changed to 3/4 so that the note values of the steps and the note values of the music are in a 1:1 relationship. It is the policy of her edition to notate all the galliards in 3/2; all saltarelli, canaries, and cascarde in 3/4 (p. 63), even when this means changing the original note values.

In my reconstructions below I also reduce note values in a few places so that the unit of beat in the music is the same as the unit of beat in the choreography. Since steps are lined up under music in these reconstructions, I want my readers to see, for example, a semibreve step correlated to a semibreve of music. But, since any reconstruction is a personal interpretation, I have retained the original note values in my edition of the music; in this way any reader

11 Nobiltà (Sutton edn.), p. 55.

who questions my interpretation in a reconstruction may use the original note values to arrive at his own conclusions.

* * * * *

Thus far in this chapter I have presented the information found in Negri, Caroso 1, and Caroso 2 on step durations. I have described various inconsistencies, ambiguities, and errors found in each treatise and have made a few suggestions on the best way to solve some of these problems. I have included a table listing the durations found in the step descriptions and have explained that the note values in the table should not be taken literally but rather as a representation of the proportional relationships among the steps. I should now like to turn to the application of these step durations within the choreographies.

STEPS IN DUPLÉ AND TRIPLE METRE

It is widely believed that some Renaissance steps were reserved for duple-metre dances and some for triple. This is not generally the case, however, in late-Renaissance dance. With the exception of canary steps (which appear only in triple metre), all the steps in Caroso and Negri may be found in both duple and triple metre. Most of the steps are described in duple metre, the others in triple, but this should be regarded as mere convenience on the part of the authors. In order to reconstruct the choreographies of this period, therefore, it is necessary to be able to perform in triple metre a step described in duple metre and vice versa.

Introduction to the two systems of triple metre

The presentation of triple metre in the treatises of Caroso and Negri is likely to appear inconsistent and somewhat arbitrary if one lacks an understanding of the conceptions of triple metre that underly the system of step durations in these sources. Several Renaissance music theorists have written about the subdivisions of the beats in triple metre and about the notation of these subdivisions.<12>

12 For example, L. Bourgeois, Le droict chemin de musique (Paris, 1550); G. Zarlino, Le istitutioni harmoniche (Venice, 1558, 1562, 1589); A. Brunelli, Regole utilissime per li scolari (Florence, 1606); and A. Pisa, Battuta della musica (Rome, 1611). A large-scale study of many aspects of triple metre in Renaissance and Baroque music is available in Michael Collins's dissertation, 'The performance of coloration, sesquialtera, and hemiola (1450-

Their aim was principally to provide a comprehensive study of the capabilities of the mensural system including choices that were rarely used in practice. The choreographers, on the other hand, are not concerned with the theoretical basis of rhythm. They only present the information necessary to perform their choreographies. It is only if one studies the step descriptions and reconstructs the dances that one is able to deduce the theory behind the practice. As to the connections between Renaissance music theory and choreography, it seems unlikely that the dancing masters had read or would even have understood the music theorists. In addition, Caroso and Negri worked mainly with secular court musicians who may not have had a comprehensive knowledge of music theory.<13>

The following discussion presents triple metre purely from the viewpoint of how it is subdivided in the step durations within the choreographies. As I have pointed out above, I am deducing theory from practice.

1750)' (Stanford Univ., 1963), some of which has been published in his articles, 'The performance of sesquialtera and hemiola in the 16th century' (JAMS xvii (1964), p. 5) and 'The performance of triplets in the 17th and 18th centuries' (JAMS xix (1966), p. 281).

13 The system of 'perfect' and 'ordinary' beats used in Caroso 1 and Negri could conceivably be the invention only of choreographers and have little or no direct connection with music theory. The terminology of Caroso 2, on the other hand, indicates that he has spoken with someone about music theory and has tried to use this 'new' knowledge to clarify a choreographic system already in use some fifty years.

The two systems of triple metre

Shorter note-values are understood as subdivisions of longer ones. Duple metre is unproblematic because the longer note-values are always subdivided into two equal units:

Basic unit of metre (battuta perfetta):	o
1st-level subdivision:	♪ ♪
2nd-level subdivision:	♪♪ ♪♪

In triple metre, however, the situation is different: at one of the levels the longer note value is subdivided into shorter values of equal duration; at the other level, however, the longer note value is subdivided into two unequal smaller units (having a 2:1 relationship to each other). Depending on whether this unequal subdivision is done at the first or second level, two different possibilities result:

(System A)

equal subdivision at 1st level

unequal subdivision at 2nd level

basic unit of metre (battuta perfetta):	o.
1st-level subdivision:	d. d.
2nd-level subdivision (2:1):	d d d d

(System B)

unequal subdivision at 1st level

basic unit of metre (battuta perfetta):	o.
1st-level subdivision (2:1):	o d
2nd-level subdivision into equal note values:	d d d

These are the most common subdivisions of beats in triple metre at this time. Steps and step components are fitted to music in triple metre according to either system A or system B. On the whole, system A, in which the battuta perfetta is subdivided into two bars of triple metre, tends to occur in very fast dances; system B, in which the battuta perfetta equals only one bar of triple metre, is used for moderately fast dances.

The reader is again warned that the note values used in the above examples do not necessarily correspond with the note values used in the music in the sources. The 'two bars of triple metre' which are equivalent to one battuta per-

fetta are commonly notated as

$\left[\frac{3}{4}\right]$ ♩ ♩ ♩ | ♩ ♩ ♩, $\left[\frac{3}{2}\right]$ ♩ ♩ ♩ | ♩ ♩ ♩, or $\left[\frac{6}{4}\right]$ ♩ ♩ ♩ : ♩ ♩ ♩).

Because of this fact, the notation of the music does not show the reconstructor whether the steps and step components of a triple-metre dance are correlated with the music according to system A or system B. One should not assume, therefore, that dance music notated in 3/4 necessarily implies that the choreography uses system A, nor does 3/2 notation imply system B. In some triple metre dances in which the alignment of steps and music is problematic, the reconstructor will have to try both systems before deciding which system will properly correlate the steps with the music.

We are now prepared to examine in detail how steps and step components described in duple metre are transferred into triple metre. The step components are listed as either 'left' (l) or 'right' (r) foot gestures. The particular style or character of the various movements (a jump, slide, kick, etc.) is not at issue here.

* * * * *

I should now like to take one of the most commonly used steps, the seguito ordinario (.S.), and show that Negri uses it in triple metre according to both systems A and B. The step is described in duple metre as three movements plus a pause: a movement with the left foot (♩), a movement with

the right foot (♩), the left again (♩), and then a pause (♩) during which the dancer stands still:<14>

Il seguito ... in quattro battute ordinarie ...; si comincia nella prima battuta col pie sinistro ... poi levando il destro alla seconda battuta ... poi nella terza battuta si spinge innanzi il sinistro ... restando con ambidue li piedi piani in terra ... lo spatio della quarta battuta.
[p. 107]

♩ ♩ | ♩ ♩
l r l pause

or vice versa in repeated sections:

♩ ♩ | ♩ ♩
r l r pause

This step is correlated with music in both systems of triple metre. The most common usage in Negri is system B: the two-semibreve duration of the .S. in duple metre is translated into two bars of triple metre.

duple: ♩ ♩ | ♩ ♩ = triple: o ♩ | o ♩
 l r l pause l r l pause

The opening of 'Alta Mendoza' (see Example 5.2, on the following page) illustrates this usage.

Let us now examine the use of the .S. in system A: the

14 Although Negri's treatise labels this step description 'Seguito grave', it is in fact the 'Seguito ordinario'. (See Appendix III, vol. II, pp. 489-93.)

Example 5.2: 'Alta Mendoza' (no. 24), opening of Prima parte)

A single musical staff in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (Bb). The notes are: G4, A4, Bb4, C5, Bb4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4. A handwritten ".Rx." is written below the first note.

A single musical staff in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (Bb). The notes are: G4, A4, Bb4, C5, Bb4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4. Handwritten annotations below the staff include: "l" under G4, "r" under A4, "l" under Bb4, "pause," under C5, "r" under Bb4, "l" under A4, "r" under G4, and "pause," under F4. A bracket spans from the first "l" to the first "r", and another bracket spans from the second "r" to the second "pause,". A handwritten ".S." is written below the first bracket.

Empty musical staff.

Empty musical staff.

Empty musical staff.

Empty musical staff.

Empty musical staff.

Empty musical staff.

Empty musical staff.

Empty musical staff.

two-semibreve duration of the .S. in duple metre is translated into four bars of triple metre.

$$\text{duple: } \begin{array}{c} \text{d} \quad \text{d} \quad | \quad \text{d} \quad \text{d} \\ \text{l} \quad \text{r} \quad \quad \text{l} \quad \text{pause} \end{array} = \text{triple: } \begin{array}{c} \text{d.} \quad | \quad \text{d.} \quad | \quad \text{d.} \quad | \quad \text{d.} \\ \text{l} \quad \quad \text{r} \quad \quad \text{l} \quad \quad \text{pause} \end{array}$$

The Prima parte of 'Cesarino' (no. 9; see Example 5.3, on following page) is a good example. The seguito ordinario in this dance is correlated to triple metre music according to system A. (The reason system B does not work here will be explained later in this chapter.)

* * * * *

In the two examples above we have seen that the seguito ordinario appears in triple metre in both systems A and B. The difficulty which faces the reconstructor is to decide which system is in use in any given section of choreography. The following suggestions may be helpful. First, the two systems are never used together in any one parte.^{<15>} The two, however, may succeed each other in different parti of a dance: a galliard variation (using system B) may be followed by a canario variation (using system A).^{<16>} Secondly, there are obvious signs that will alert the reader as to when a system is not working.

15 The reader is reminded that throughout his treatise *Negri* divides his dances into sections which he calls 'parti' (e.g., 'Prima parte', 'Seconda parte', etc.).

16 For example, 'Galleria d'amore' (no. 19): Quarta parte ('Mutatione della sonata in gagliarda'), Quinta parte ('Mutatione della sonata nel canario').

Example 5.3: 'Cesarino' (no. 9), Prima parte reconstructed using system A

A *

A *

A

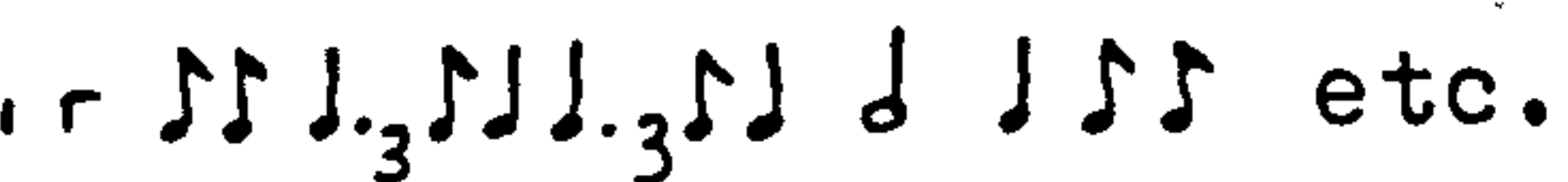
A

A

A

A

* Note values in source:

SN: c3 | r |  etc.

LT: | r |  etc.

The rationale for the present emendation is explained in the following chapter, pp. 174-95.

In 'Cesarino', for example, if I had correlated the steps of the Prima parte according to system B, it would only require one and a half playings of the music to complete the choreography and there would be a half strain of music remaining without steps. (See reconstruction in Example 5.4, on following page.)

Throughout the dances of Caroso and Negri the separate parti of choreography are performed to one or more complete strains of music (with or without repetitions). Choreographic parti never begin in the middle of a musical strain. Thus it is clear that the reconstruction using system B (Example 5.4) is incorrect because, not only would the Prima parte end on a musical half-cadence, but the Seconda parte would have to begin in the middle of a strain. Thus system B has failed to correlate the steps with the music. On the other hand, correlation using system A works perfectly, as we saw in Example 5.3.

The more familiar one becomes with Negri the clearer it becomes that he is somewhat predictable in his choices in triple metre. System B is very common and is used in many dances: for example, 'Alta Mendoza' (no. 24; see the reconstruction in vol. 2, pp. 276-82) and the galliard variation (Ottava parte) of 'Torneo amoroso' (no. 7). System A tends to be used in dances with very fast tempi: for example, 'Cesarino' (see Example 5.3 above) and the triple-metre parti (5th-9th) of 'Bassa imperiale' (no. 22; see the reconstruction in vol. 2, pp. 324-31).

Example 5.4: 'Cesarino' (no. 9), hypothetical reconstruction of Prima parte using system B

A

.Rx.

l r l pause, r l r pause
.S. .S.

l r l pause, r l r pause
.S. .S.

R. R. **A**

l r l pause, r l r pause
.S. .S.

l r l pause, r l r pause
.S. .S.

? ?

? ?

* * * * *

In the discussion above, I have concentrated on showing how the seguito ordinario is aligned in systems A and B. Since any step can appear in triple metre, however, it is necessary to know how every step is aligned in both systems. We can learn this by studying the following table. This table shows only metric units, not steps: it provides a chart showing how the semibreve is subdivided in duple metre at the minim and semiminim levels and how these subdivisions translate into triple metre in both systems A and B.

	duple	triple system A	triple system B
semibreve level:	o	o.	o.
minim level:	♩ ♩	♩. ♩.	o ♩
semiminim level:	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ <17>

Semibreves become dotted semibreves in both systems A and B. Major differences begin to occur at the minim level: in system A, minims become dotted minims, whereas in system B, the first (accented) minim becomes a semibreve while the second (unaccented) minim remains a minim.<18> At the semiminim level in system A, odd-numbered (accented) semi-

17 This subdivision of the final minim into two semiminims does not occur in the choreographies; I include it only for the sake of completeness.

18 In order to clarify this explanation for modern readers I am using the modern concepts of 'accented' and 'unaccented' beats.

minims become minims while even-numbered (unaccented) semiminims remain semiminims. In system B, the translation is more complicated: the first two semiminims of a four-semiminim pattern become minims, while the third and fourth remain semiminims.

The reader should note that in the subdivisions of actual steps different levels are mixed. Consider, for example, the seguito spezzato. In duple metre, the step consists of three movements having the following durations:

$$\begin{array}{ccc} \downarrow & \downarrow & \downarrow \\ l & r & l \end{array}$$

If the step is aligned in triple metre according to system A the result is the following:

$$\text{duple: } \begin{array}{ccc} \downarrow & \downarrow & \downarrow \\ l & r & l \end{array} = \text{triple: } \begin{array}{ccc} \downarrow & \downarrow & \downarrow \\ l & r & l \end{array}$$

Two levels of subdivision are in use simultaneously. (The reader should refer to the table on p. 138 in order to understand the following analysis.)

semiminim level: note 1, an accented semiminim,
becomes a minim;
note 2, an unaccented semiminim,
remains a semiminim.

minim level: note 3, a minim,
becomes a dotted minim.

In system B the step aligns:

duple: $\begin{array}{ccc} \downarrow & \downarrow & \downarrow \\ l & r & l \end{array}$ = triple: $\begin{array}{ccc} \downarrow & \downarrow & \downarrow \\ l & r & l \end{array}$

Again two levels are at use succesively:

semiminim level: notes 1 and 2, semiminim subdivisions
of an accented minim, become minims.

minim level: note 3, an unaccented minim,
remains a minim.

* * * * *

The following table outlines eleven basic steps, the durations of their components in duple metre, and their equivalents in triple metre according to both systems A and B.

Step name

Duple metre

Triple metre system A

Triple metre system B

Riverenza grave (.R.)
4 step components

o | o | o | o

d. | d. | d. | d. | d. | d. | d. | d.

o. | o. | o. | o.

Continenza grave
(.C. grave)
2 step components

o | o

d. | d. | d. | d.

o. | o.

Continenza minima
(.C. minima)
2 step components

d d

d. | d.

o d

Puntata grave
(.Pp. grave)
2 step components

o | o

d. | d. | d. | d. | d.

o. | o.

Puntata minima
(.Pp. minima)
2 step components

d d

d. | d.

o d

<u>Step name</u>	Duple metre	Triple metre system A	Triple metre system B
<u>Seguito ordinario (.S.)</u> 4 step components	♩ ♩ ♩	♩ . ♩ . ♩ .	♩ ♩ ♩
<u>Seguito spezzato (.SP.)</u> 3 step components	♩ ♩ ♩	♩ ♩ ♩ .	♩ ♩ ♩
<u>Doppio grave</u> (.D. grave) 4 step components	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩	♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ .	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩
<u>Doppio minimo</u> (.D. minimo) 4 step components	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩	[♩ ♩ ♩ ♩] *
<u>Ripresa grave (.R.)</u> 2 step components	♩ ♩	♩ . ♩ . ♩ .	♩ . ♩ .
<u>4 trabuchetti minimi</u> (4 .T. minimi)	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩	♩ . ♩ . ♩ . ♩ .	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩

*I have never seen the Doppio minimo used in system B. I include the example for the sake of completeness.

Summary

I shall now summarize the information on triple metre given thus far. Many steps described in duple metre are required in triple metre dances. The reconstructor must, therefore, translate the step from duple into triple metre. Some steps are divided into step components (a number of movements comprising one step). The reconstructor has certain choices as to how he will align his steps and step components with triple metre music. There are two basic systems: system A, in which the battuta perfetta is divided into two equal subdivisions

o.
d. | d.

(each battuta perfetta represents two bars of triple-metre music) resulting in a 1:1 ratio between step components at the minim level; and system B, which divides the battuta perfetta into two unequal subdivisions

o.
o d

(each battuta perfetta represents one bar of triple-metre music) resulting in a 2:1 ratio between the step components at the minim level. The choice of system of correlation seems to be related to tempo with system A occurring more frequently in dances of very rapid tempo.

Three steps in the time of two

Occasionally in triple-metre choreography of Caroso and Negri three steps will be required in the time of two. My reasons for assuming this and some hints about how to identify passages where this occurs will be given below in connection with an example from Negri's 'Laura gentile' (no. 23). First, however, I will present a hypothetical example to demonstrate the problem.

Let us consider how to perform three .P. (passi gravi - 1 dotted semibreve each) in the time of two dotted semibreves. Neither Caroso nor Negri gives any indication of how to do this. There are two plausible solutions that work comfortably in most choreographies. In the first solution, reduction of some steps is employed. The duration of the first semibreve step is reduced by 1/3, that of the second by 2/3.

$$\begin{array}{c} \circ \\ \cdot P. \end{array} \quad | \quad \begin{array}{c} \circ \\ \cdot P. \end{array} \quad | \quad \begin{array}{c} \circ \\ \cdot P. \end{array} \quad \text{contracted to} \quad \begin{array}{c} \circ \\ \cdot P. \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} \downarrow \\ \cdot P. \end{array} \quad | \quad \begin{array}{c} \circ \\ \cdot P. \end{array}$$

In the second solution, each of the three steps is reduced by 1/3 to produce a hemiola grouping:

$$\begin{array}{c} \circ \\ \cdot P. \end{array} \quad | \quad \begin{array}{c} \circ \\ \cdot P. \end{array} \quad | \quad \begin{array}{c} \circ \\ \cdot P. \end{array} \quad \text{contracted to} \quad \begin{array}{c} \circ \\ \cdot P. \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} \downarrow \\ \cdot P. \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} \downarrow \\ \cdot P. \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} \circ \\ \cdot P. \end{array}$$

One should not assume that hemiola in the music necessarily indicates hemiola in the steps. In Arbeau, for example, where the components of each step are lined up beside the

music, hemiola in the music is not necessarily accompanied by hemiola choreography.<19>

* * * * *

Let us now study the problem of three steps in the time of two as it is found in a section from Negri's 'Laura gentile' (no. 23).

... quattro .T. e tre .P. indietro. ...; e fanno due .S. intorno alla destra. [Quinta parte, p. 210]

My reconstruction is given in Example 5.5 (following page). In the passage marked with a bracket I have put three passi gravi (.P.) in the time of two. (Each .P. would normally have a duration of one dotted semibreve.) My reasons for doing this are the following. Negri's steps for the entire passage would normally have the duration of nine dotted semibreves but he provides only eight dotted semibreves of music. Since there is clearly nothing wrong with the music, one must either eliminate a dotted semibreve step, or one or more of the steps must be given a reduced duration. It seems likely that reduction of values should occur in the three .P. The rest of the choreography is grouped in rhythmic units of two bars each:

19 See, for example, 'J'aymerois mieulx dormir seulette' (fol. 60v, 4th-9th minims).

Example 5.5: 'Laura gentile' (no. 23), Quinta parte (excerpt)

D

N.B.

.T. .T. .T. .T. .P. .P. .P.

.S. .S.

Example 5.6: hemiola intpretation of bars 3-4 of previous example

D

N.B.

.T. .T. .T. .T. .P. .P. .P.

4 trabuchetti [minimi]<20> = bars 1 - 2
 1st seguito ordinario = bars 5 - 6
 2nd seguito ordinario = bars 7 - 8

This reinforces my belief that the three .P. are intended for bars 3 and 4. In this particular example, I have correlated the three passi using the first solution outlined above: i.e., the first step is reduced by 1/3, the second by 2/3.

o d | o .
 .P. .P. .P.

This solution fits the music admirably. The last of the three passi gravi occurs on the cadential downbeat. The hemiola solution, on the other hand, would fit awkwardly with the music: the final passo would occur after the cadential downbeat, on a beat containing no musical activity either in the melody or the accompaniment. (See Example 5.6, on previous page.) The hemiola solution cannot be

20 Negri does not tell us whether these trabuchetti are gravi or minimi. I have interpreted them as minimi: 4 .T. minimi in system B are aligned thus:

o d | o d
 .T. .T. .T. .T.

(See p. 142 above.) Julia Sutton (personal communication) has reconstructed passages of this type as follows:

d d d | o .
 .T. .T. .T. .T.

She interprets the first three .T. as minimi and the fourth one as grave. Both these interpretations require two bars for the four .T.

entirely rejected, however, because the second and third passi might be viewed as upbeats to the seguito that follows.

* * * * *

Some general conclusions can be drawn concerning three steps in the time of two. Since the situation is not uncommon, it is possible through a study of several dances to observe that it tends to occur in passages where three of the same steps are required in a row. In addition, it only occurs with one-gesture steps, that is, steps without step components.<21> Furthermore, this type of reduction only occurs when system B is in use.

Since Negri does not tell us how to fit three steps in the time of two, one has to study the music and the choreographic context in order to decide precisely in what manner to reduce the step durations.

THE TERM 'BREVE'

Negri inserts the term 'breve' after the names of some steps in his choreographies. The term can appear after any of the standard steps: passo breve, seguito breve, continenza breve, and so forth. He provides no definition of the term and how it affects the duration of the step to

21 See, for example, the three passi in the lady's galliard variation in the Quarta parte of 'Fedeltà d'amore' (no. 32), p. 243.

which it is attached. There are several unambiguous passages, however, where one can deduce the meaning of the term. Let us consider the following excerpt from 'Villanico' (no. 2):

fanno due .P. gravi, e uno .S. innanzi ..., uno .Pp. indietro col destro, due .C. brevi; [Terza parte, p. 119]

The music to 'Villanico' is given in Example 5.7 (following page).

With the exception of the .C. brevi, the duration of all the steps in this passage is known:

2 .P. gravi (1 semibreve each)	=	2 semibreves
1 .S.	=	2 semibreves
1. Pp.	=	2 semibreves
<hr/>		
total	=	6 semibreves

When one subtracts these 6 semibreves of steps from the 8 semibreves of music there remain 2 semibreves for the two .C. brevi. See Example 5.8 (following page). One .C. breve, therefore, is equal to one semibreve.

* * * * *

Let us now turn to the Settima parte of 'Leggiadra marina' (no. 31), which is in triple metre:

Fanno due .SP. e quattro .C. brevi, ... poi due .SP. & due .S. intorno alla sinistra [p. 239]

Example 5.7: 'Villanico' (no. 2)

A

Example 5.8: Ibid. with extract from choreography to Terza parte

A

The music consists of one strain of 6 dotted semi-breves, repeated once. The correlation of steps and music is shown in Example 5.9 (following page).

Again, in this passage, the duration of all the steps is known except the four .C. brevi. Through a process of elimination it is possible to conclude that each .C. breve has the duration of one dotted semibreve.

* * * * *

I should like to draw the following conclusions: in each of the above examples ('Villanicco' and 'Leggiadra marina'), the .C. breve was equal in duration to one half the duration of the .C. grave of the step descriptions:

duple metre:

.C. grave = 2 semibreves

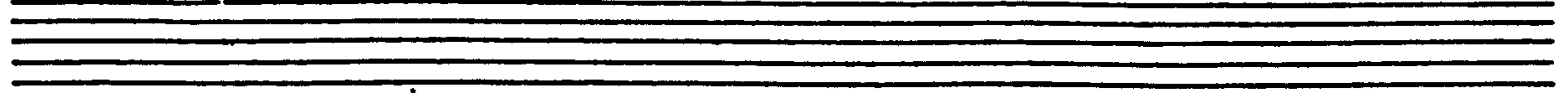
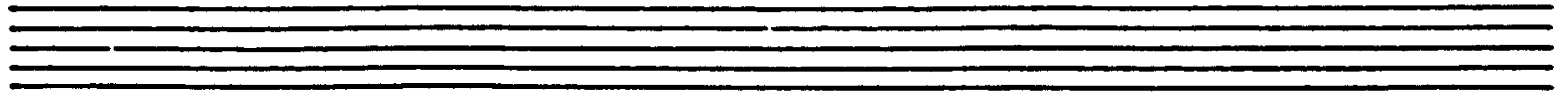
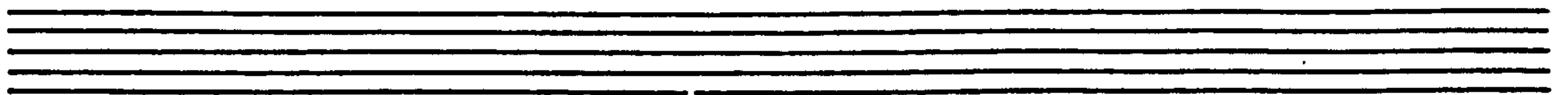
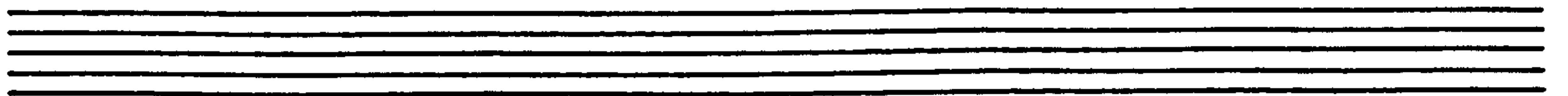
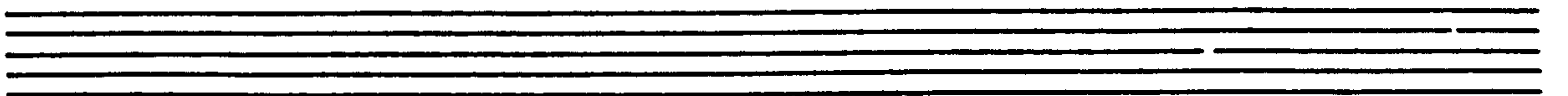
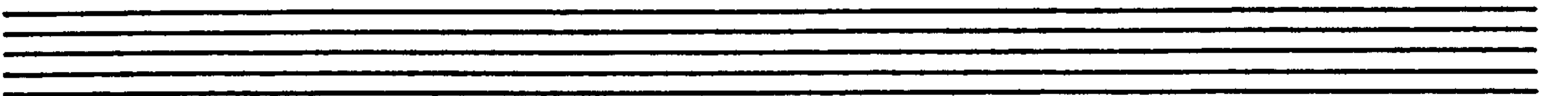
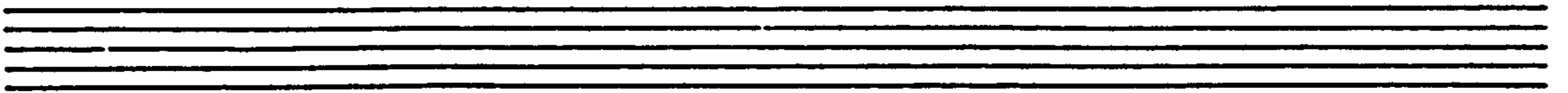
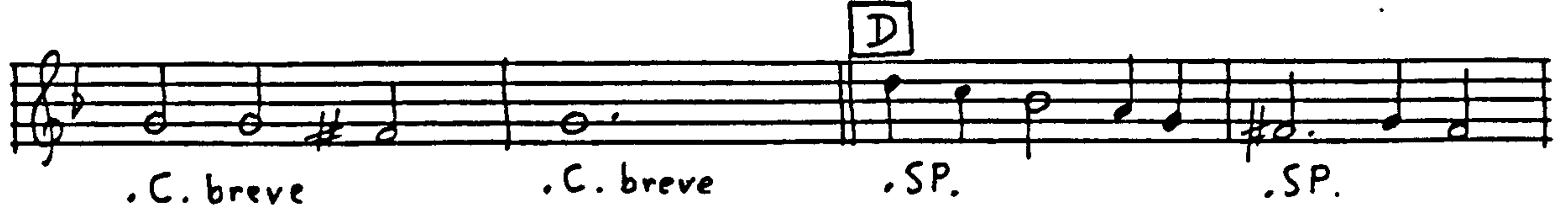
.C. breve = 1 semibreve

triple metre:

.C. grave = 2 dotted semibreves

.C. breve = 1 dotted semibreve

I have applied this conclusion to all steps to which the term 'breve' is added: that is, I have taken the step in question and halved the duration it was given in the step descriptions. Note that in those steps with two durations in the step descriptions (e.g., .P. grave, .P. presti),

Example 5.9: 'Leggiadra marina' (no. 31), Settima parte (excerpt)**D**

it is the larger duration which is halved. In those steps with two durations in the step descriptions, Negri's 'breve' version will sometimes have the same duration as the shorter version of the step (e.g., .C. minima = 1 semibreve; .C. breve = 1 semibreve). Thus Negri could have asked for the .C. minima in 'Villanico' and 'Leggiadra marina' and he would have arrived at the same step duration as he obtained by writing .C. breve. In these examples, therefore, the term 'breve' was not absolutely necessary. But there are many steps which do not have a shorter version in the step descriptions, or whose shorter version is not the duration Negri wants. Negri must add the term 'breve' to these steps if he wishes their duration to be reduced by half.

* * * * *

Let us consider the following excerpt from the Prima parte of 'Brando di Cales' (no. 10):

... farà insieme con la sua dame la .R. grave ... due .R. per fianco alla sinistra è alla destra, lasciano la mano è fanno due .P. & uno .S. breve intorno alla sinistra, poi si fanno i medesimi parsi intorno alla destra ...
[p. 152]

When one considers the amount of music provided and the steps, one is led to the conclusion that all the steps delineated by the commas ('lasciano la mano è fanno due .P. & uno .S. breve intorno alla sinistra') are intended to be

brevi. This is one of the typical difficulties in Negri. Just as he will omit the word 'grave' after many grave steps (see, for example, the '.R. per fianco' above which is obviously '.R. grave per fianco'), so too he may omit the word 'breve' where he assumes that it is obvious. The correlation is shown in Example 5.10 (following page).

In this parte, the .P. (brevi) and the .S. breve are each equal to one-half the duration of the .P. grave and the .S. in the step descriptions:

.P. grave = 1 semibreve / .P. breve = 1 minim

.S. = 4 minims / .S. breve = 2 minims

In this case, the term 'breve' was necessary because there is no shorter version of the .S. in the step descriptions, and because the shorter version of the .P. (the passi presti) does not provide the duration he wants.

* * * * *

I should like to draw the following conclusions. If one reconstructs this section of choreography without understanding the meaning of the term 'breve', the steps will not fit the music. If the breve steps, however, are assigned half the value given in the step descriptions, the steps and music correlate with no difficulty. I have applied this meaning of the term 'breve' to every unambiguous section of choreography where the term appears and, with few exceptions, problems of correlation are immediately resolved.

Example 5.10: 'Brando di Cales' (no. 10), opening of
Prima parte

A *

.Rx.

.R. .R.

B **B**

.P. .P. .S. .P. .P. .S.
breve breve breve breve breve breve

* The reason for halving the original note values of the music in this section is given in the introduction to the reconstruction of this dance, vol. 2, pp. 258-59.

The reader should know, however, that there are a few places in Negri, where this term appears and no reduction of the step durations seems possible. (See, for example, my reconstruction of the Terza parte of 'Brando di Cales' in vol. 2, p. 264.) There may be two explanations: in a few places Negri or his editor has inserted the word 'breve' where it does not belong or the term may have a second meaning which I have not yet ascertained. Since my definition of the term works so well in the great majority of cases, the reconstructor is advised to try to apply it whenever confronted with breve steps. If, however, he is correlating one of the few places where the term does not seem to affect durations, he must use common sense to determine its meaning in that particular context.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter presents the information on step durations in the dance treatises:

(1) The terminology of 'battute' (perfetta, minima, ordinaria, and mezza) in Caroso 1 and Negri, taken together with the information in Caroso 2, where step durations are described in musical note values ('puntato semi-breve', 'continenza breve', etc.), makes it possible to draw up a table of the relative durations of the basic steps.

(2) Nearly any step may appear in any dance; consequently, steps described in duple terms often appear in

triple-metre dances and vice versa. The reconstructor must be able, therefore, to fit the components of many steps to either duple or triple metre. The performance of steps in duple metre is fairly straightforward, but Negri uses two approaches in triple metre which I have labeled system A and system B. In system A the battuta perfetta is divided into two bars of triple metre; in system B it equals one bar of triple metre. The seguito ordinario (.S.) was chosen as a representative step and its use in both systems was demonstrated in excerpts from 'Alta Mendoza' and 'Cesarino'. A table was then presented showing the durations of the components of eleven basic steps in both system A and system B.

(3) Negri sometimes modifies step durations within the choreographies. He may, for example, require three steps in the time of two, which may be achieved with or without the use of hemiola depending on context and subjective taste. Negri may also place the word 'breve' after a step name in the choreographies and, in many cases, this seems to affect step durations. Although no one explanation of the term is applicable every time it appears, study of the choreographies demonstrates that many of Negri's 'breve' steps are expected to carry one half of their usual duration.

By examining in this way the relative durations of the steps and how to fit these steps within the choreographies, one learns that Caroso and Negri, far from being arbitrary, were using a coherent system which seems to have been in use

for some time. These dancing masters, quite apart from their artistic achievements, can be shown to have used their own theoretical language consistently and accurately. Choreologists may turn with renewed confidence to the texts of both masters. The formerly common view that Caroso and Negri presented their work so incompetently as to make reconstruction impossible may now be rejected.

CHAPTER SIX

MUSICAL PROBLEMS IN LE GRATIE D'AMORE

As I have pointed out earlier, in order to reconstruct a dance we need more than the purely choreographic instructions (the step sequences and patterns, how to perform the steps, their relative durations): we must also possess a reliable edition of the musical accompaniment. Without this we will have little chance of producing an accurate reconstruction. We are able to reconstruct many of Negri's dances because he provides us, in addition to the choreographic information, with both the accompanying music and rubrics which indicate the number of times each strain of music is to be played. Although some of the music is badly notated and the rubrics are often ambiguous or wrong, it is usually possible to arrive at a reliable text of the music through the comparison of musical concordances and a study of the choreography.

The music to Le gratie d'amore can be viewed in two ways. First, the pieces can be considered solely as musical compositions with problems of notation that must be solved along purely musicological lines (concordances, comparison of similar notational problems in other sources, etc.). It

will be seen below that all previous editors have based their editions of the music on this kind of work.

There is, however, a second way to consider the music, namely as accompaniment to choreography. When one studies the source in this light an entirely new set of problems emerges: all solutions to notational problems in the music must also be considered in terms of correlation with the choreography. This may alert one to a number of hitherto unsuspected problems with the musical text: editors who deal exclusively with the music may often remain unaware of their existence. For a dance tune may make perfect musical sense but still not fit the choreography. In this chapter we shall study many of the types of errors that occur in the musical notation and the rubrics. I will show that without a study of the choreography one often cannot arrive at a correct solution to these problems.

* * * * *

In Le gratie d'amore the music for each dance is printed after the choreographic text. The melody appears first, printed in unbarred staff notation, followed by a simple arrangement for lute, printed in Italian lute tablature.<1> The skeletal simplicity of the lute parts would

1 The only exception to this dual presentation of the music is 'Caccia d'amore' (no. 42) in which the staff notation to the preceding dance, 'La catena d'amore', has been repeated by mistake. The music to 'Caccia d'amore', therefore, appears only in lute tablature.

suggest, even in the absence of other evidence, that the music as printed in Le gratie d'amore is not a 'full score'. Negri gives some evidence for the constitution of the instrumental ensembles that accompanied his theatrical dances; he informs us, for example that 'Austria felice' (no. 39) was accompanied by five 'violoni' (the canzone in the middle by a theorbo), and the 'Ballo fatto da sei cavalieri' (no. 40) by five harps ('alpi', p. 15). The printed music may have served as a record of the tune and the essential harmonic progressions, from which the musicians could prepare arrangements (fully notated, improvised, or a combination of both) that would be used to accompany the performances - a role analogous to that of the 'lead sheet' in today's popular music.<2>

Comparison of the staff notation and lute tablature for each dance makes it possible to correct several typographical errors: for example, accidentals omitted from the staff notation (often in the expectation that they would be added in performance), misplaced ciphers and durational indicators in the lute tablature, and missing notes in each. Unfortunately, several passages remain in which the staff notation and lute tablature agree with each other and yet are both apparently wrong. As these problems are largely matters of

2 See the information and suggestions on instrumentation in H. M. Brown, Sixteenth-century instrumentation: The music for the Florentine intermedii (Rome, 1974); also E. F. Barassi, 'Feste, spettacoli in musica e danza nella Milano cinquecentesca', pp. 197-220.

rhythm (sections with an irregular number of bars or beats, confusing rhythmic notations) it is essential to invoke the aid of the choreography in order to determine the correct reading of the musical rhythm. Because we often know the relative durations of the steps, we can usually deduce the number of bars needed for these problematic sections; armed with that information, we may suggest emendations to the rhythmic notation of the music with a fair degree of confidence.

PREVIOUS EDITIONS OF THE MUSIC

The previous editions of the music from Negri's treatise do not take into account the evidence from the choreographic texts; in problematic sections they either follow the source uncritically or emend it purely on musical grounds. This sometimes produces readings which - while in themselves musically logical - cannot be used to accompany the dances and therefore must be considered incorrect. The specific pieces included in these editions are listed in the alphabetical index of Negri's dances in Appendix I (vol. II).

In 1884 Oscar Chilesotti published transcriptions of the lute tablature for 15 dances from Negri's treatise.<3>

3 O. Chilesotti (ed.), 'Danze del secolo XVI trascritte in notazione moderne dalle opera: Nobiltà di dame del Sig. F. Caroso da Sermoneta; Le gratie d'amore di C. Negri, milanese, detto il Trombone', Biblioteca di rarità musicale, i (Milan, 1884).

These are so-called 'strict' transcriptions<4> (showing only the attack of each note) with very little emendation.

In 1967 Helmut Mönkemeyer published transcriptions for guitar of the lute tablature for all 43 dances.<5> He presents the music in 'polyphonic' format, supplies the necessary first and second endings, and silently emends many obvious errors. There is no critical commentary.

In 1974 Pietro Verardo published transcriptions of 41 of Negri's 43 dances for recorder and lute (or harpsichord or piano).<6> Unlike Chilesotti and Mönkemeyer, he transcribes the staff notation as well as the lute tablature. His transcriptions are presented in three volumes, distributed according to the range of the staff notation part: volumes 1 and 2 are for soprano recorder, volume 3 for alto. The lute parts appear in 'polyphonic' transcription on two staves. Obvious errors are emended, some signalled by footnotes. This edition, unlike the others, includes the rubrics.

4 See W. Apel, The Notation of Polyphonic Music: 900-1600 (5th edn., Cambridge, Mass., 1953), pp. 59-61, for the distinction between 'strict' and 'polyphonic' transcriptions of tablature.

5 H. Mönkemeyer (ed.), C. Negri: Nuove inventioni di balli, Gesamtausgabe der 43 Balli in einer Übertragung aus einer italienischen Tabulatur für Gitarre (Rodenkirchen/Rhein, c1967).

6 P. Verardo (ed.), C. Negri: Le gratie d'amore, per flauto dolce ... e liuto (o cembalo o pianoforte), 3 vols. (Milan, c1974).

The three modern editions mentioned transcribe the music in a fairly literal fashion, emending blatant errors on the basis of the musical instincts of their editors. The next edition to be considered is a volume dating from Negri's time; it is entitled Balletti moderni facili (henceforth BMF) and was published in 1611 by Angelo Gardano.<7> This volume includes (among other pieces) 34 of the 43 pieces of dance music from Negri's treatise, presented in Italian lute tablature. The standard rhythmic indicators of tablature

(| ↑ ↗ etc.)

are used instead of the noteheads that one finds in Negri:

(◊ ↓ ↘ etc.).

Otherwise, the presentation is so similar as to leave no doubt that BMF derives directly from Negri's treatise, though rather carelessly copied. Gardano's editor has altered the voicing in a few chords and makes efforts to emend passages which are obviously nonsensical in his

7 Balletti moderni facili (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1611); facsimile reprint (Geneva, 1980). As the pagination of this volume is highly irregular (three different pages, for example, are numbered '6'), all my references will be to editorial page numbers starting with the title page as 1. The Negri concordances in this volume were first identified by Charles Coldwell in an unpublished paper, 'A new source of Italian dance music for lute: Angelo Gardano's Balletti moderni of 1611' (presented at 1982 American Musicological Society Conference, Boston).

source. One might have hoped, since he was so close in time to Negri, that his emendations of the problematic rhythms would offer us authentic readings; this hope is, alas, frustrated. While from a musical point of view the variant readings of BMF are usually more plausible than those of Negri, they are too often impossible as accompaniments for the choreographies. (Specific examples will be given below.) One is forced to conclude that the editor was unfamiliar with the music except in its printed form in Negri's treatise, and that he did not concern himself with the choreographies; his efforts at emendation were based just as much on purely musical instincts as those of Chilesotti, Mönkemeyer, and Verardo.

SPECIFIC MUSICAL PROBLEMS

We shall now consider representative examples which demonstrate that study of the choreographies helps one to solve musical problems with much more authority than any amount of examination of the musical evidence on its own.

1. Faulty strain lengths

'Torneo amoroso', strain B

The second strain of 'Torneo amoroso' (no. 7) provides a characteristic example. In both staff notation (henceforth abbreviated SN) and lute tablature (henceforth LT)

this section contains seven bars. See Example 6.1 on following page. All the other strains in this dance contain eight bars of music. A strain of irregular length is not necessarily symptomatic of a textual error because asymmetrical phrases do occur in dance music of this period. An asymmetrical strain can even occur in the midst of an otherwise symmetrical piece. However, in choreographed sources, it is usually possible to discover the reason for the irregularity; for example, in a dance for three or five performers, an irregular phrase might occur if each dancer in turn is required to perform the same step combination. The seven-bar phrase in 'Torneo amoroso', however, is at odds with its corresponding choreography. At this point in the dance, the steps are unambiguous and clearly demand an eight-bar phrase: two continenze (2 semibreves each) are followed by two seguiti ordinarii (2 semibreves each), requiring a total of eight bars of music. It is significant that even though the choreography is different each time this musical phrase is heard (four times in all), the choreography consistently demands eight bars of music at each playing. It is necessary, therefore, to adjust this phrase from seven to eight bars. Example 6.2 (p. 168) shows a suggested emendment.<8>

8 Similar problems exist in the first strain of 'La barriera' (no. 3) and the third strain of 'Brando di Cales' (no. 10). See the musical edition and commentary.

Example 6.1: 'Torneo amoroso' (no. 7), strain B

The first system of music consists of two staves. The upper staff is a single treble clef staff containing a melodic line with a repeat sign at the beginning and a final sixteenth-note flourish. The lower staff is a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) providing harmonic accompaniment with chords and moving lines in both hands.

The second system of music also consists of two staves. The upper staff continues the melodic line from the first system, ending with a repeat sign. The lower staff continues the accompaniment, featuring a prominent chordal texture in the right hand and a more active bass line.

A set of five empty musical staves, consisting of two treble clef staves and three bass clef staves, positioned below the second system.

A second set of five empty musical staves, identical in layout to the first set, positioned below the second system.

A third set of five empty musical staves, identical in layout to the first set, positioned below the second system.

A fourth set of five empty musical staves, identical in layout to the first set, positioned below the second system.

Example 6.2 (Ex. 6.1 emended to 8 bars)

The first system of Example 6.2 shows a melodic line in the treble clef staff and a grand staff accompaniment. The melody consists of a sequence of eighth and quarter notes. The accompaniment features chords and single notes in both the treble and bass clefs.

The second system continues the melodic and accompaniment lines. The melody includes a sixteenth-note triplet. The accompaniment continues with chords and single notes.

Example 6.3: 'Torneo amoroso', BMF, p. [18], strain B

The first system of Example 6.3 shows a melodic line in the treble clef staff and a grand staff accompaniment. The melody consists of a sequence of eighth and quarter notes. The accompaniment features chords and single notes in both the treble and bass clefs.

The second system continues the melodic and accompaniment lines. The melody includes a sixteenth-note triplet. The accompaniment continues with chords and single notes.

Both Mönkemeyer and Verardo follow the source and print the 7-bar strain. The BMF editor seems to have been conscious of a problem and emends some of the note values to produce the $7\frac{1}{2}$ -bar phrase shown in Example 6.3 (p. 168). Assuming that the \downarrow of bar 4 is a misprint for \circ we have an 8-bar phrase.

'Austria felice', strain A

The first strain of 'Austria felice' (no. 39) provides a somewhat more complex example. Both the SN and LT provide ten bars (five bars repeated) for this strain, as do Mönkemeyer and Verardo. <9a> See Example 6.4 on following page. The choreography to this strain, which is heard six times during a complete performance of the dance, consistently requires only eight bars (see my reconstruction, vol. II, pp. 239-43). The 10-bar strain of the source, therefore, is obviously incorrect. One would not necessarily realize this if one were not aware of the demands of the choreography. Various ways of emending the strain from 10 to 8 bars are possible, but in this case the correct reading can be found in a musical concordance. The thirteenth dance in Le gratie d'amore is entitled 'La biscia amorosa'. The first three strains of its music are a slightly varied version of

9a BMF prints a garbled version of this phrase, almost identical to Negri's but lacking bar 5, probably an accidental omission.

Example 6.4: 'Austria felice' (no. 39), strain A

The first system of handwritten musical notation consists of three staves. The top staff is a single melodic line in G major, starting with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The second and third staves are grouped by a brace on the left, representing a piano accompaniment. The second staff contains chords and some melodic fragments, with some notes marked with a sharp sign. The third staff contains a simple bass line with quarter notes.

The second system of handwritten musical notation also consists of three staves. The top staff continues the melody from the first system. The piano accompaniment (second and third staves) continues with chords and a bass line. The notation is consistent with the first system, showing a continuation of the piece.

SN transposed down a perfect 5th.

A set of three empty musical staves, consisting of two treble clef staves and one bass clef staff, positioned below the text.

A second set of three empty musical staves, identical in format to the first set.

A third set of three empty musical staves, identical in format to the previous ones.

A fourth set of three empty musical staves, identical in format to the previous ones.

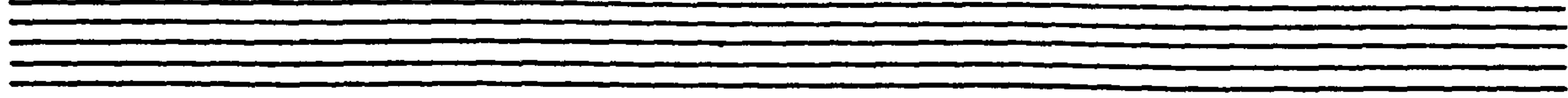
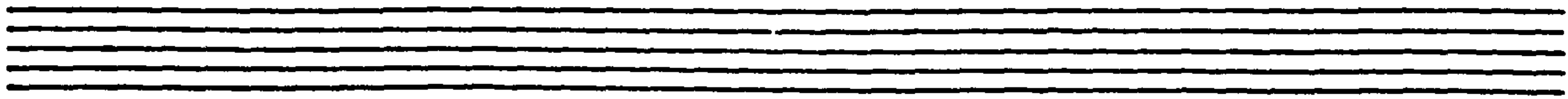
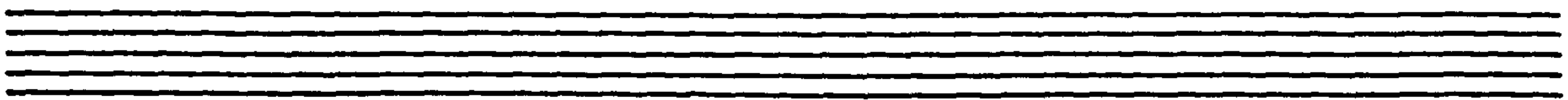
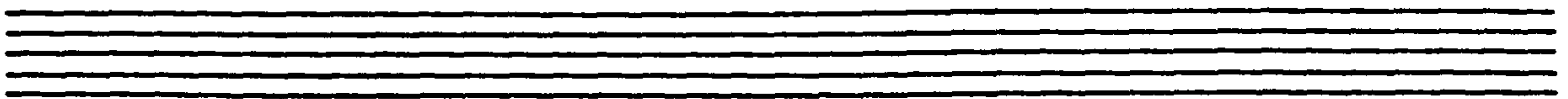
Example 6.5: 'La biscia amorosa' (no. 13), strain A

SN transposed down a perfect 5th; note values halved.

Example 6.6 (Ex. 6.4 emended to 8 bars)

The first system of handwritten musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a 4/4 time signature. It contains a melodic line starting with a quarter note G4, followed by eighth notes A4, B4, and C5, then a dotted quarter note B4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note G4, and a whole note F4. The lower staff is in bass clef and contains a bass line starting with a quarter note G3, followed by eighth notes F3, E3, and D3, then a dotted quarter note C3, a quarter note B2, a quarter note A2, and a whole note G2. Chord symbols are written above the bass staff: G, F#m, E, D, C, B, A, and G.

The second system of handwritten musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat and a 4/4 time signature. It contains a melodic line starting with a quarter note G4, followed by eighth notes A4, B4, and C5, then a dotted quarter note B4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note G4, and a whole note F4. The lower staff is in bass clef and contains a bass line starting with a quarter note G3, followed by eighth notes F3, E3, and D3, then a dotted quarter note C3, a quarter note B2, a quarter note A2, and a whole note G2. Chord symbols are written above the bass staff: G, F#m, E, D, C, B, A, and G.



the music to 'Austria felice' notated in doubled note values. Example 6.5 (p. 171) presents its version of the first strain of 'Austria felice'. To facilitate comparison, the repeat has been written out and the note-values halved.

Comparison of Examples 6.4 and 6.5 reveals the solution to the phrase-length problem in 'Austria felice': halving the note values of bars 1-2 and 6-7 produces a strain of the appropriate eight-bar length needed by the choreography. See Example 6.6 (p. 172).<9b>

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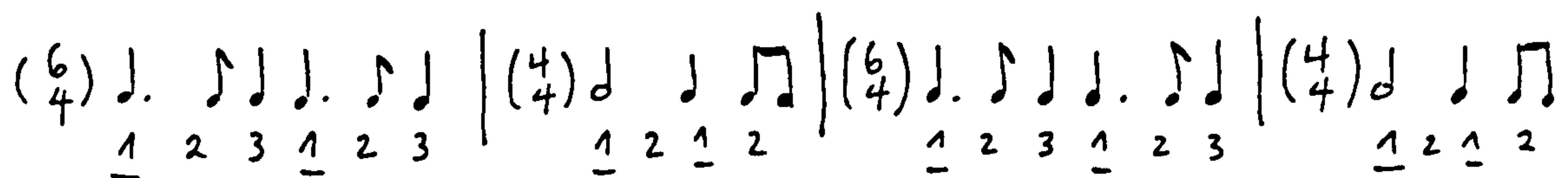
To sum up: some of the music as printed in Le gratie d'amore presents strain lengths which seem faulty. An editor may question the length of a strain on purely musical grounds, such as an unlikely lack of balance between phrases, but since asymmetrical choreography does exist at this time, the only way he will know with certainty whether the music should be emended is through study of the choreographic texts. In addition, there are deceptive strains which, although they make reasonable musical sense, must nevertheless be emended to fit the choreography. In these cases the editor will not even suspect the existence of error if he does not consider the choreography.

9b Margaret Tash first used this emended reading of the strain in a performance at New England Conservatory, Boston, in 1980.

2. Notational problems in the music

Six dance tunes in Le gratie d'amore are affected by the same problem of rhythmic notation. In Examples 6.7 to 6.12 (the next six pages) I have transcribed the note values of the problematic strains as they appear in Negri's SN and LT, in the published editions already mentioned (BMF, Chilesotti, Mönkemeyer, Verardo), in music examples in Aldrich's Rhythm in seventeenth century Italian monody and in Hell's 'Zu Rhythmus und Notierung des "Vi ricorda" in Claudio Monteverdis Orfeo', and in a concordance for 'Il Cesarino' in Zanetti's Il scolaro (Milan, 1645).<10>

What these examples have in common is an alternation between triple and duple groupings of beats. In Examples 6.7, 6.8, and 6.10, we have (ignoring the double anacrusis) alternating bars of 6/4 (scanned 1 2 3, 1 2 3) and 4/4 (scanned 1 2, 1 2):<11>



Example 6.9 is slightly more complex, combining triple and duple groupings in the same bar:

10 Modern edition, ed. J. Tyler (London, 1984).

11 In Ex. 6.8, the 6/4 bar is written as two 3/4 bars with an equivalent effect.

Example 6.11: 'Nobiltà d'amore' (no. 34), strain C

a) Negri SN:

3 r J J d. J d J d J d o J J J d. J d d. J d d J d :||

b) Negri LT:

r J J | d. J d d. J d | o J J J | d. J d d. J d | d J d :||

c) BMF, p. [21]:

3 r J J | d. J d d. J d | o J J J | d. J d d. J d | d J d :||

d) Chilesotti, p. 63:

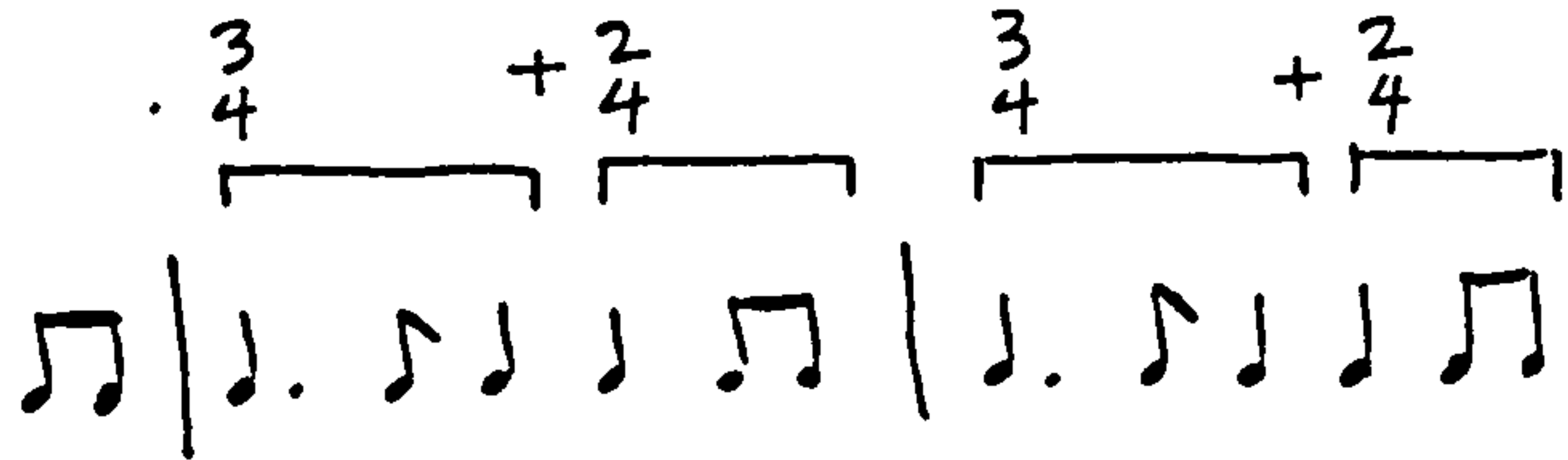
||:  ||:  ||

e) Verardo, ii, p. 10:

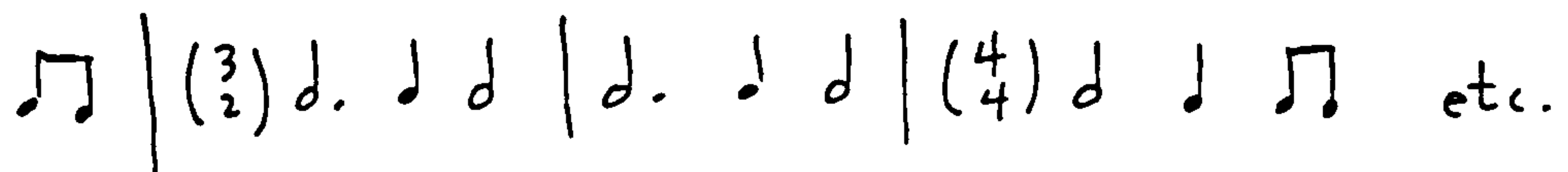
||:  ||:  ||

f) Mönkemeyer, no. 34:

$\frac{3}{2}$ ||: J J | J. J J J | d d J J | d. J J J. J. J J | d J d :||



Example 6.12 is similar to Examples 6.7, 6.8, and 6.10, though the triple groupings are here notated as 3/2 rather than 3/4:



Example 6.11 is melodically identical to Example 6.12. Its ninth note, a semibreve in both SN and LT, should undoubtedly be a minim.

* * * * *

Three separate problems coexist in these examples and they will be discussed one by one. First, what is the proportional relationship between the groupings of 3 ♩ s and the groupings of 2 ♩ s: i.e., is the ♩ of the triple groupings equal to the ♩ of the duple groupings, or are the 3 ♩ s of the triple groupings equal to the 2 ♩ s of the duple? Secondly, should the durations of the notes in the duple groupings be altered to assimilate them to the prevailing triple metre? Thirdly, if one answers yes to the previous question, how are the necessary alterations to be carried out? I shall give a conclusive answer to the first question, a slightly qualified answer to the second, and a set of possible answers to the third.

Before continuing further it is necessary to define some terms. Each bar (whether of 6/4 or 4/4) is made up of two 'principal beats'. If the principal beat is subdivided into 3 ♩ s I shall call it a 'triple beat'; if subdivided into 2 ♩ s I shall call it a 'duple beat'. The ♩ s will be called 'subdivisions of the beat'. Thus, for example, the first bar of the excerpt from 'Bassa imperiale' (Example 6.9 above) consists of two 'principal beats': a 'triple beat' followed by a 'duple beat'.



'Cesarino' (Example 6.8) consists of alternating bars of 6/4 (each consisting of two triple beats) and 4/4 (each consisting of two duple beats). Aldrich, Hell, and Mönkemeyer all agree in their transcriptions that each of the principal beats should have the same duration (that is, the triple beats have the same duration as the duple beats), although each chooses a different way of notating it. (See Example 6.8: e, g, and h.) Examination of the choreography confirms that this equality of duration is required. In the previous chapter we examined the correlation of steps and music in the Prima parte of this dance. There (p. 135) the steps were aligned under a transcription of the music in which Negri's duple beats ($\text{♩} \text{♩}$) are altered to triple beats ($\text{♩} \text{♩}$). Even if we do not accept this particular

interpretation, however, it is clear that the triple beats and the duple beats should be equal in duration. The .S., for example, would be very lopsided if we kept the same value for the $\frac{1}{3}$ s of the triple beats and the $\frac{1}{2}$ s of the duple beats: the third and fourth step components of each .S. would then occupy only two-thirds of the duration of the first two. (See Example 6.13 on following page.)

Study of the choreographies for Examples 6.7, 6.9, and 6.10 results in the same conclusion: the principal beats, whether subdivided into three or two semiminims, should have the same duration.<12>

Examples 6.11 and 6.12 are more problematic and will be discussed at the end of this section.

* * * * *

We now come to the second problem: are the note values of the subdivisions of the duple beats to retain their binary proportions, or should they be altered to assimilate them into the prevailing triple metre?

Aldrich is prepared to allow the alternation of triple and duple subdivisions of the principal beat:

... there is no obligation for the composer and the musical performer to maintain triple beats, and this freedom can lead to some interesting rhythmic variety on the lower level in spite of the regularity of the four-beat groups. [p. 95]

12 See, for example, the correlation of steps and music in the reconstruction of 'Bassa imperiale', 5th-10th parti, vol. II, pp. 324-31.

Example 6.13

$J = J$

$J = J$ etc.


A single musical staff in treble clef with a key signature of one flat. It contains a sequence of notes: G4, A4, Bb4, C5, Bb4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4, C4, B3, A3, G3, F3, E3, D3, C3. A handwritten 'R.' is written below the first few notes.

A single musical staff in treble clef with a key signature of one flat. It contains a sequence of notes: G4, A4, Bb4, C5, Bb4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4, C4, B3, A3, G3, F3, E3, D3, C3. There are handwritten annotations below the staff: 'S.' under the first note, 'r' under the second, 'l' under the third, 'pause' under the fourth, 'S.' under the eighth, 'l' under the ninth, and 'r pause' under the tenth.

Seven empty musical staves, each consisting of five horizontal lines, arranged vertically below the first two staves.

[An] interesting type of rhythmic variation occurs when duple beats are interspersed among the triple beats of the *corrente*. ... Negri ... [in 'Cesarino'; see Ex. 6.8a above] uses the meliora notation to indicate groups of three semiminims, the 3 being placed between the first and second notes of each group. The 3 in the signature appears to be redundant or erroneous since all of the beats are duple except those specified by the meliora sign. The most convenient means of indicating these varied beats in modern notation seems to be 2/4 with triplets, as in the transcription [see Ex. 6.8g, above]. If this were an isolated case one might suppose that Negri's notation was at fault, and that he intended triple beats throughout as in Zanetti's version. [See Ex. 6.14, from Zanetti's 'Il Cesarino', on the following page.] However, the sources contain numerous examples of mixed beats which, though the notation is often equivocal, can usually be fitted nicely into the *corrente* pattern. [p. 100]

Aldrich then discusses the problematic passage from 'Bassa imperiale' (see Ex. 6.9, above), concluding that although

no meliora signs appear, ... the 3 in the signature is a warning that triple beats are to be used at the appropriate places. The appropriate places turn out to be identical with those for which the author used meliora signs in *Il Cesarino*, that is, the characteristic corrente figure  [see Ex. 6.9f]. [p. 100]

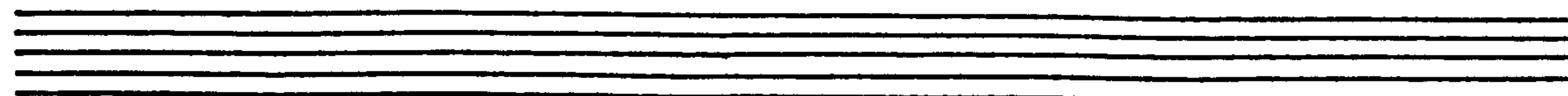
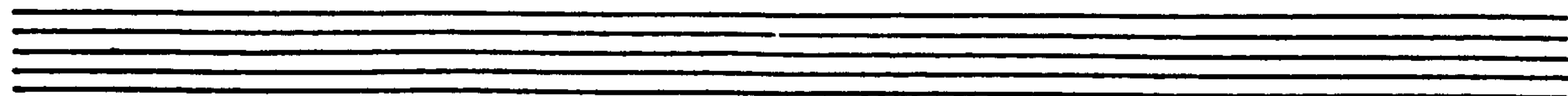
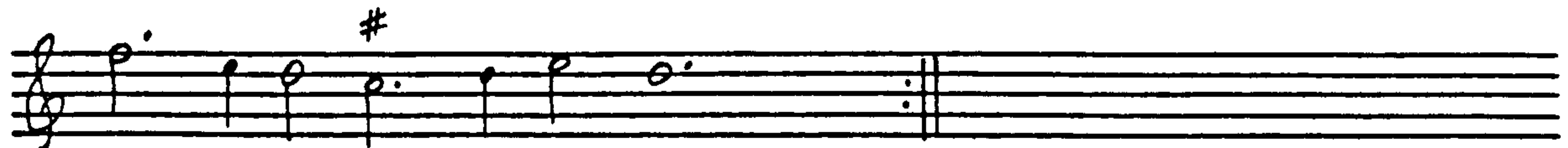
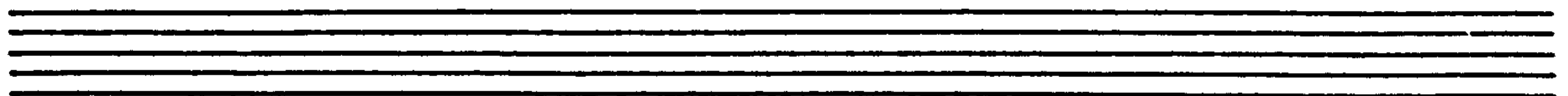
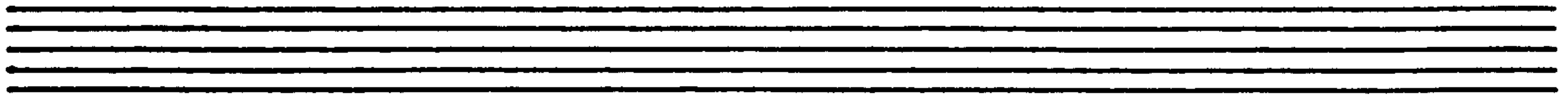
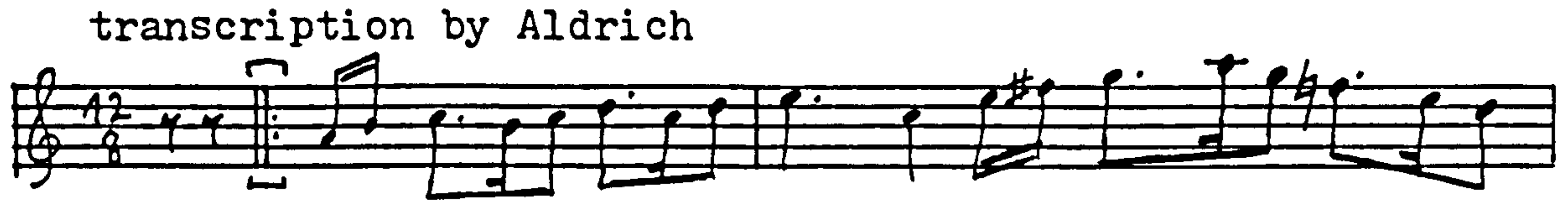
Collins (in 'The performance of triplets in the 17th and 18th centuries') and Hell, on the other hand, believe that duple and triple divisions of beats were not to be mixed. Collins presents a body of evidence that, while somewhat contradictory on just how the necessary modifications are to be made, makes it quite clear that they should be made. Collins's conclusion on the matter of mixed triple and duple beats in seventeenth-century Italian music is that if the rhythmic character of a piece 'is predominantly binary, then the triplets must be resolved [that is, con-

Example 6.14: 'Il Cesarino', Zanetti, Il scolaro, p. 96

original notation



transcription by Aldrich



verted to binary divisions of the beat]; if predominantly ternary, then the triplets prevail [and the duple divisions turned into triple]' (p. 289).

The choreographies which these passages accompany often support this view.<13> The Ottava parte of 'Bassa imperiale', for example, opens with a series of 4 .SP. correlated with the music of Example 6.9 above. If we follow Aldrich in allowing triple divisions of some beats and duple divisions of others, we have the third and fourth .SP. performed with different rhythmic subdivisions than the first two:

Example 6.15


On the other hand, if the duple groups are turned into triple groups, the choreography fits admirably:

Example 6.16

* * * * *



13 In all of our examples of this problem from Negri it is clear that the rhythmic character of the strains in question is 'predominantly triple'.

We have now ascertained the following about these problematic strains: (1) the principal beats should be equal in duration to each other, and (2) the duple subdivisions of principal beats should probably be assimilated to the prevailing triple metre. We must now try to determine how to alter the note values of the subdivisions of the duple beats to assimilate them to triple metre.


Note that in all these cases the most problematic rhythmic figure is the following: 

Let us consider the possible ways in which this rhythmic figure may be performed in triple metre. A study of the examples in Collins's 'The performance of triplets' (particularly nos. 4, 5, 12, 16, 17, 18, and 19) suggests two possible solutions:

$$\text{♩} \text{♩} = \text{♩.} \text{♩} \text{♩} \quad \text{or} \quad \text{♩} \text{♩} \text{♩}$$

The first of these solutions (♩. ♩ ♩) is that preferred by Hell in his transcription of 'Cesarino' (see Example 6.8h).^{<14>} One other solution is possible: the Zanetti concordance for 'Cesarino' (see Example 6.14) suggests that  is the proper realization of the  figure in triple metre.

14 Hell implies that this is only one possible solution; he introduces his transcription with the remark, 'Der aufgezeichnete Rhythmus wäre also etwa so auszuführen' (p. 120).

It is unfortunate that a study of the choreography for these examples cannot give us the solution because the step components in these passages take place on the major beats and not the lower subdivisions. Step components may occur on the first and third semiminim subdivisions of a triple beat, but none are aligned with smaller note values. Since all three of the proposed solutions have musical activity on the first and third semiminims, all three are possible. In the alignment of step components with music the exact manner in which these subdivisions are played is much less significant than the fact that the principal beats must arrive at equal intervals of time. In preparing an edition, however, and - even more particularly - when giving a performance, one is forced to choose only one of the possible realizations. In my reconstructions and edition of the music (in vol. II) I have opted for the  solution, because it has the support of a clearly notated concordance (Zanetti) and, as will be shown below, can be explained in terms of the notational practices of the time.<15>

* * * * *

The thirty or so years on either side of 1600 represent the critical period in the transition from the earlier 'proportional' system of rhythmic notation (in which the

15 This is also the preferred solution of Michael Morrow (personal communication).

relative durations of the rhythmic indicators (\diamond , \diamond , \blacktriangledown , etc.) are variable according to the context in which they appear) and the modern 'orthochronic' method (in which the relative durations of the rhythmic indicators are fixed; i.e., \circ always equals $\downarrow\downarrow$, etc.). Almost all the dances in Negri use the modern system (an exception is that the final notes of triple-metre phrases often need to be perfected). The six dances we have been discussing, however, have a confusing mixture of the old and the new.

Assuming that the problematic bar $C3 \downarrow \downarrow \uparrow\uparrow$ is equivalent to the modern $\downarrow. \downarrow \uparrow\uparrow$ (as the Zanetti concordance suggests), the notation may be explained as follows:

The first note, a minim, is to be perfected (value = $1/2$ of a perfected semibreve = modern $\downarrow.$).


The second note (\downarrow) is to be read as a coloured minim; in this case the colouration has the effect of cancelling the perfection that would obtain if the note were not coloured (value = $1/3$ of a perfected semibreve = modern \downarrow).

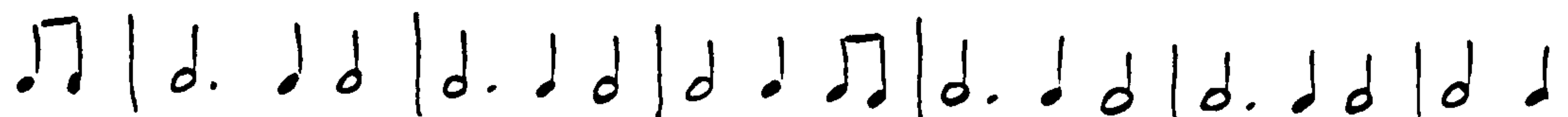
The remainder of the bar ($1/6$ of a perfected semibreve) is notated as two fusae, here being regarded as modern quavers (eighth-notes). If the notator had strictly adhered to the older notation, these two notes would have been written as coloured (i.e., whitened) fusae ($\diamond \diamond$), but instead, he uses the modern system for these upbeats. Thus, elements of both the older and newer notational systems

occur in the same bar. This was as confusing to some of his contemporaries as it is to us, as is evidenced by BMF.

* * * * *

We return now to Examples 6.11 and 6.12 (strain C of 'Nobiltà d'amore' and strain A of 'La corrente'). These two examples should be considered together because, in addition to sharing a common notational problem, they are musically concordant.<16>

In these examples the duple subdivisions of the minim principal beat () occur along with bars of 3/2:



Although this seems to imply 3-bar phrases (BMF and Mönkemeyer explicitly read the strain this way (see Example 6.12: c and e), the choreographies for these strains seem to require 4-bar phrases.

At the opening of the choreography for 'La corrente', Negri gives a complicated series of steps, not all of whose durations are known. He then allows the lady to substitute a simpler series of steps: '... se la dama non potesse fare li detti .P. farà li .S. ordinarii col saltino, ...'

16 All of the music to 'La corrente' appears in 'Nobiltà d'amore': strain C of 'Nobiltà' = strain A of 'Corrente'; strain D of 'Nobiltà' = strains B and C of 'Corrente'.

(p. 265). The plural ('li .S. ordinarii') indicates that at least two seguiti ordinarii are to be done. These seguiti ordinarii can be performed in triple metre using either System A or System B:

system A: $\begin{array}{cccc|cc|cc} d. & d. & & d. & d. & & d. & d. \\ \downarrow & \downarrow & & \downarrow & \downarrow & & \downarrow & \downarrow \\ 1 & r & & 1 & jump & & r & l \\ \hline .S. & & & .S. & & & & \end{array}$

system B: $\begin{array}{ccc|cc|cc} o & d & & o & d & & o & d \\ \downarrow & \downarrow & & \downarrow & \downarrow & & \downarrow & \downarrow \\ 1 & r & & 1 & jump & & r & l \\ \hline .S. & & & .S. & & & & \end{array}$

No matter which of these possibilities one chooses to employ, one can at least be certain that the two seguiti ordinarii should be equal in duration. The music as it is notated in Le gratie d'amore, therefore, cannot be correct. If one retains the music of the source (or uses the emendations of BMF or Mönkemeyer), in system B the second seguito ordinario would have a different duration from the first. See Example 6.17 (following page).

If, on the other hand, one used system A, the third and fourth components of each seguito would have different durations from the first and second, another imbalance which is most unlikely. See Example 6.18 (following page).

The music in the source, therefore, should be adjusted in one of the ways shown in Example 6.19 (p. 194).

I have supplied both a System A and a System B solution to these strains. This was done because the choreography is ambiguous enough not to make the choice of system obvious. I do feel, however, that Negri is more likely to be using System A at this point. System A was used in the examples above from 'Brando gentile', 'Cesarino', 'Bassa imperiale',

Example 6.17

original notation

l r l jump ? -----
.S.

BMF and Mönkemeyer

l r l jump ? -----
.S.

Example 6.18

original notation

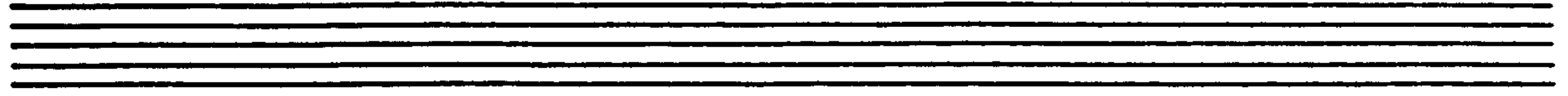
l r l jump ? r l r jump ?
.S. .S.

BMF and Mönkemeyer

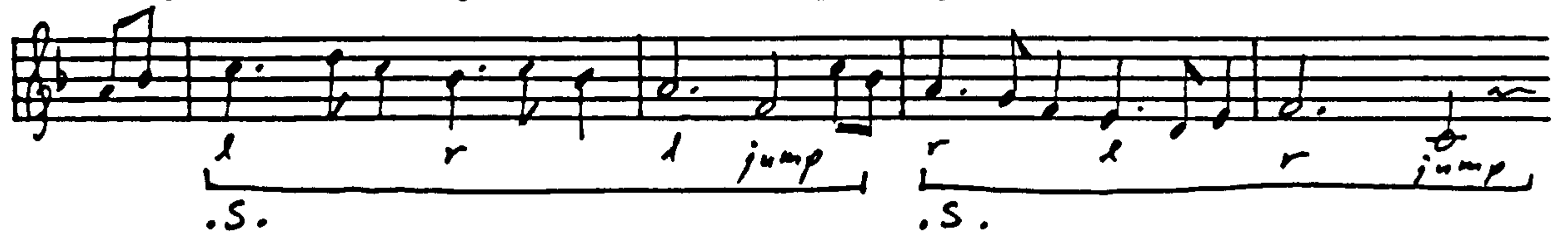
l r l jump ? r l r jump ?
.S. .S.

Example 6.19

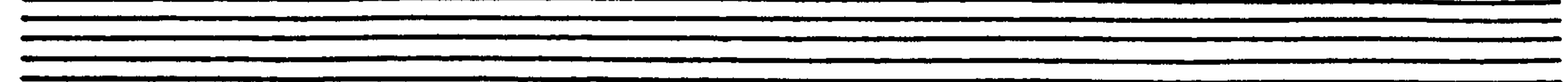
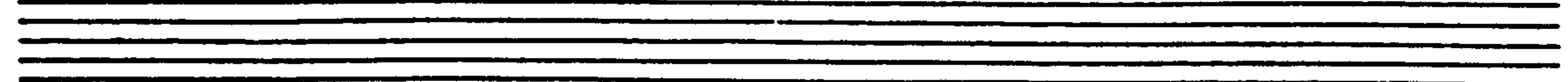
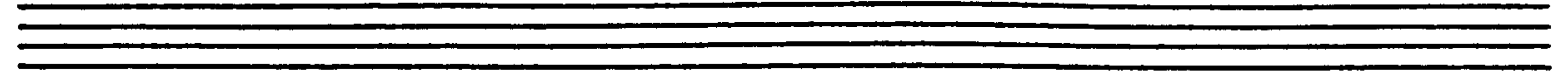
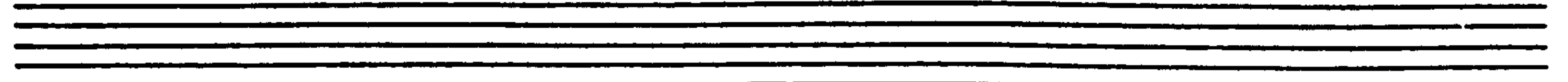
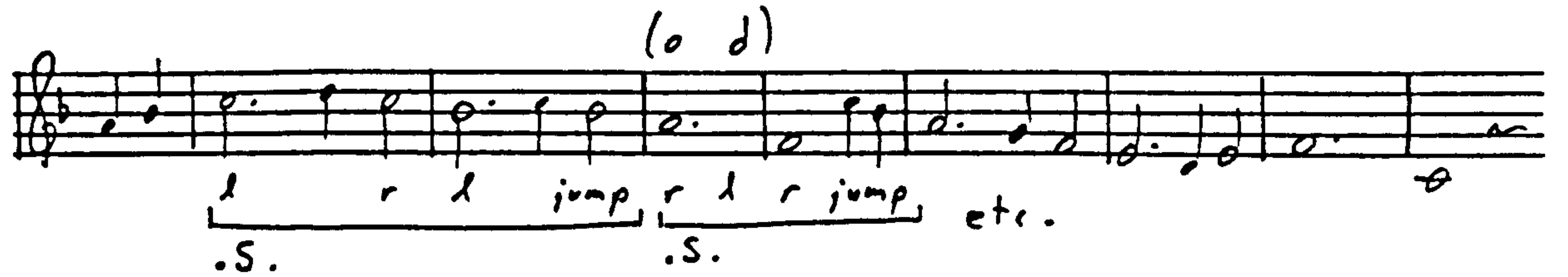
original notation



adjusted for system A choreography



adjusted for system B choreography



and 'Leggiadra marina' (see steps aligned with music in 'Cesarino' example, p. 135 above, and in the 'Bassa imperiale' reconstruction, vol. II, pp. 324-31). It seems probable, therefore, that it is also in use in these strains of 'La corrente' and 'Nobiltà d'amore', the notations of which are related to the above dances.

Summary and conclusions

Six dances in Negri contain similar notational problems. In these dances the notation is rhythmically ambiguous, with what appear to be duple-metre bars juxtaposed with triple-metre bars in the same strain of music. Aldrich, Collins, Hell, and the former editors of the music have published various solutions to this problem based solely on musical evidence. My solutions, based on a study of choreography and its relation to the music, add to the existing evidence and enable one to draw the following conclusions: (1) the principal beats, whether duple or triple, must be equal in duration, and (2) the duple subdivisions must be assimilated into the prevailing triple metre. The choreography, however, is of no help in determining the precise manner in which this is to be done because the step components take place on the major beats and not on the lower subdivisions. Although it cannot resolve all the problems, one may conclude that a study of the choreography is not only helpful but essential in determining the meaning of ambiguous musical notation.

3. Problems with the rubrics

Negri has tried to facilitate the correlation of choreography and music by providing a rubric at the head of the staff notation for each dance that indicates the number of times each strain of music is to be played. The following rubric, from 'Bassa imperiale' (no. 22), is a typical example of how the rubrics are presented:

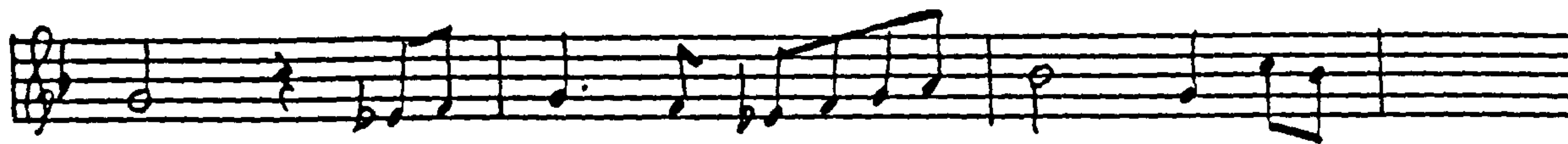
La Musica della sonata con l'Intavolatura di liuto della Bassa Imperiale. La prima parte si fa cinque volte, la seconda parte si fa sin'al fin del ballo. [p. 206]

Example 6.20 (following page) gives the melody of 'Bassa imperiale'. Note that the music has two strains which I have labeled A and B. The rubric tells us that strain A ('La Prima parte') is played five times and strain B ('la seconda parte') is played as many times as needed to complete the remainder of the choreography.

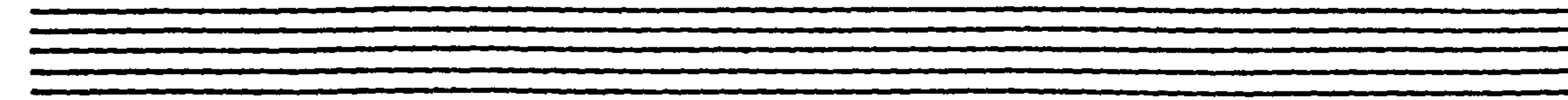
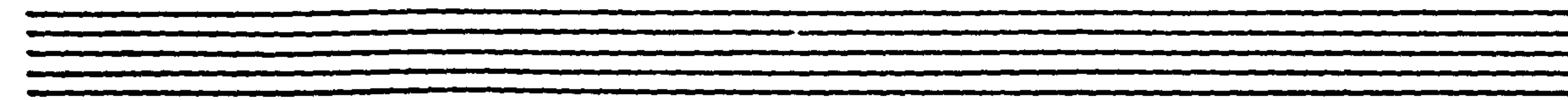
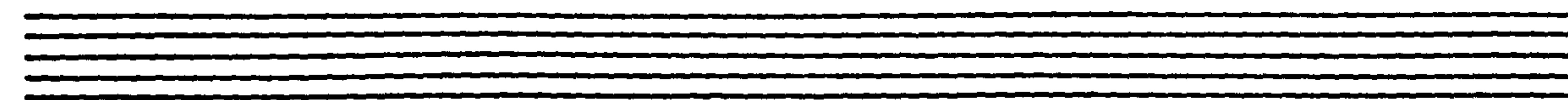
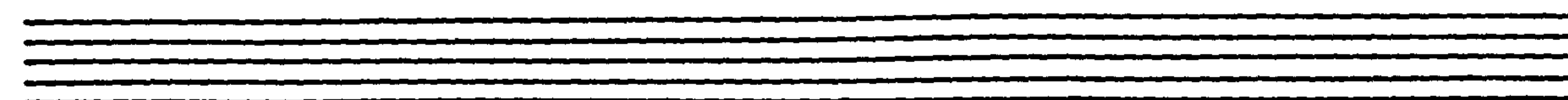
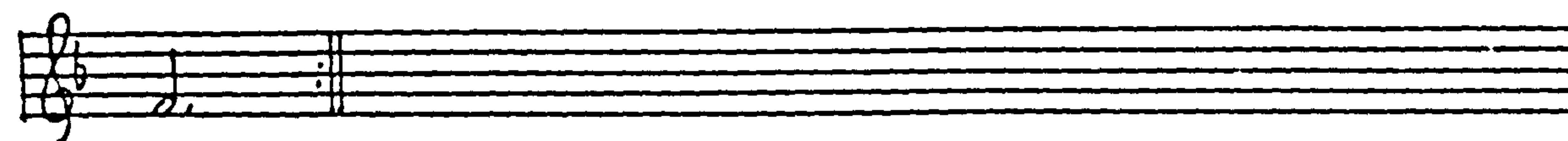
The rubrics do not specifically state which strain of music accompanies which parte of choreography. They do give us enough information, however, to work this out. The method is as follows: the music to strain A above is 8 semibreves in duration. Since we are told that strain A is played 5 times, we can deduce that the first 40 semibreves of choreography are accompanied by strain A. We must now add up the durations of the steps in 'Bassa imperiale' and deduce how many sections of choreography are needed to add up to 40 semibreves. In 'Bassa imperiale' the first three choreographic sections have the following step durations:

Example 6.20: 'Bassa imperiale' (no. 22)

A



B



<u>Prima parte</u>	=	16 semibreves
<u>Seconda parte</u>	=	8 semibreves
<u>Terza parte</u>	=	16 semibreves
<hr/>		
Total	=	40 semibreves

(See vol. II, pp. 319-31 for a complete reconstruction of this dance.) Thus we can deduce that the first three parti of the choreography are accompanied by strain A played 5 times.<17>

* * * * *

Let us now consider the rubrics in a more general sense. In theory, Negri has provided enough information to align steps with music. In unambiguous choreographies, in which we know the durations of the steps, the rubrics should make it possible to decide which strain of the music accompanies which parte of the choreography: for example, if the first musical strain is eight semibreves in duration and is supposed to be played twice, then we may assume it accompanies the first 16 semibreves of choreography; if the next strain is 10 semibreves in duration and played 3 times, it will accompany the next 30 semibreves of choreography, and

17 In the reconstruction in Vol. II, I do not follow the rubrics exactly in that I use the duple-metre music to accompany the Quarta parte. My reasons for this are explained in Vol. 2, p. 324, fn. 7.

so forth. Unfortunately what seems logical in theory does not always work in practice.

The rubrics are demonstrably faulty and unreliable. One cannot help but wonder why they contain so many errors. Perhaps the answer to this lies in who wrote the rubrics. There are four main possibilities: (1) Negri wrote them; (2) his musician wrote them; (3) Negri and his musician wrote them in collaboration; (4) a third person, whom I will call an editor, wrote them after consulting Negri and/or his musician. Let us now examine some representative errors in an effort to narrow down these possibilities.

I will give two examples to illustrate faulty rubrics. I have chosen them from among the dances reconstructed in Volume II, where they can be studied in their full context. The first example is the rubric to 'Austria felice' (no. 39) which reads as follows:

La Musica ... è tre parte, e si fanno due volte per parte un poco adagio sin'al fine del ballo. [p. 272]

This rubric seems to indicate that the music has three strains, that each strain is played twice, and that the music as a whole is repeated as many times as needed to complete the dance (i.e., AA, BB, CC; AA, BB, CC; etc.). The musical notator, however, has failed to tell the rubricator that the internal repetitions of the music have been written out in full. (See my edition of the music, vol. II, p. 443.) As a result, if one follows the instructions in the rubric one will end up with twice the amount of music needed

to accompany the dance. The rubric, therefore, should be revised to indicate that the three sections of music are played straight through for as many times are needed to complete the choreography (i.e., ABC, ABC, etc.).

The second example is 'Brando di Cales' (no. 10). This is a dance for three men and three women. In it, Negri exploits the fact that six dancers may be grouped in various ways: for example, three couples, or two trios (the three men, the three women), or one sextet. The rubricator is confused about some groupings of the dancers and this affects the musical form. In the Quarta parte, for example, each couple in turn dances into the centre and out again. Three playings of the strain which accompanies this choreographic phrase are needed, once for each couple. But the rubricator requires only two playings of the music. It is evident, therefore, that the choreography is not clear to him.

Let us now consider the two examples of faulty rubrics presented above in terms of who might have written them. In 'Austria felice', the rubricator does not seem to know that internal repetitions in the music have been written out. This tends to eliminate the musician as the writer, and to suggest either Negri or an editor. In 'Brando di Cales', the rubricator does not seem to understand the choreography. This tends to eliminate Negri and to suggest either the musician or an editor. Taking the two examples together one might conclude that it seems unlikely that either Negri

or his musician on their own were responsible for the rubrics. It does not even seem to be a collaborative effort between the two for it is difficult to imagine either one of them not noticing such obvious errors in his own area of expertise. It is possible, therefore, that a third person, after consulting both Negri and the musician, wrote the rubrics, and that his work was not checked with any thoroughness by the choreographer and musician.

A major problem with the rubrics arises from the ambiguous use of the term 'parte'. Sometimes it is used to define a complete musical section, even if it contains more than one phrase;<18> other times each phrase of a melody will receive separate identification as parti.<19> In ambiguous situations it is not always obvious how the term is to be interpreted.

The same problem exists in the use of numbers in the rubrics, and indeed stems from the same lack of consistent terminology. In 'Laura gentile', for example, the rubricator writes the following about the galliard strain:

... la gagliarda si fa otto volte, è due volte per parte. [p. 210]

The music for this section is shown in Example 6.21 (following page).

18 See, for example, discussion below on 'Galleria d'amore' (strains A-D), pp. 206-09.

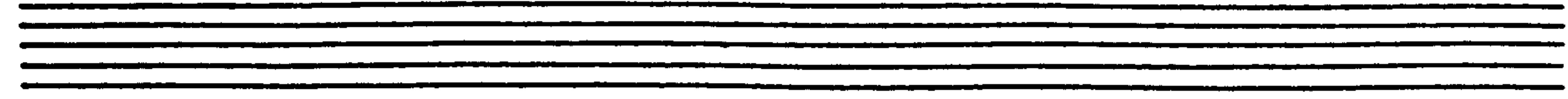
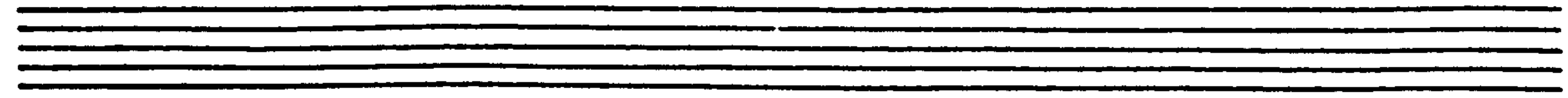
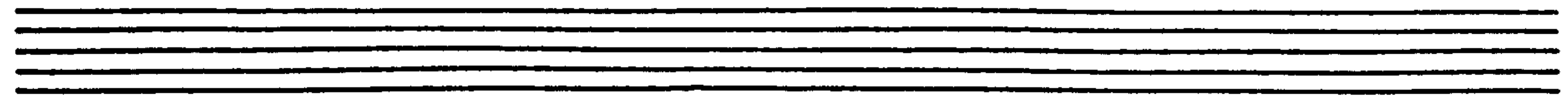
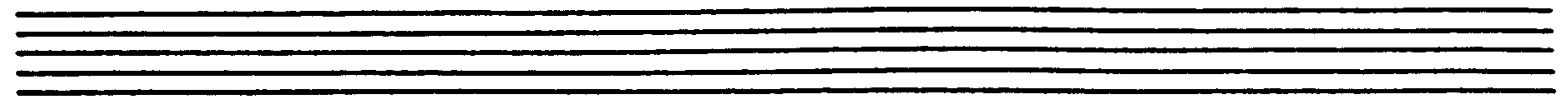
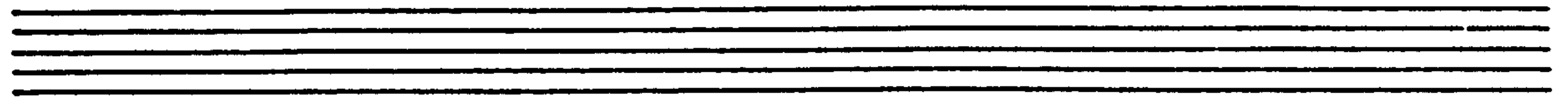
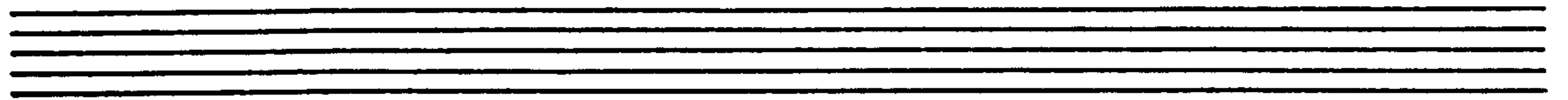
19 E.g., the first and second parti of 'Brando di Cales' consist of a melody with a brief codetta; see vol. II, p. 261, fn. 1.

Example 6.21: 'Laura gentile' (no. 23), strains C and D

C



D



The rubrics seem to indicate that each part of the galliard is performed two times (i.e., AA, BB) and that the entire galliard is performed eight times (i.e., AA, BB x 8). If one fits the steps to the music at this point, however, one finds that only two playings of the entire galliard are necessary (i.e., AA, BB; AA, BB). Thus the rubrics are in error. The 'otto volte' of the rubrics does not refer to eight playings of the whole galliard but to the eight strains which make up the galliard music played twice:

A A B B : A A B B
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

In this dance, the number eight itself is correct, but the context in which it appears is unclear. The reader is uncertain which strains the number refers to.

* * * * *

Two general conclusions should be made about the rubrics. First, it is clear that the person who wrote them had not drawn up a coherent system into which all the complex subdivisions and exceptions could be fitted, but instead worked pragmatically, taking one dance at a time. Secondly, it becomes increasingly obvious, the more one works with the rubrics, that the correlation of the choreographic texts and the music is best undertaken by one person who understands both: any other procedure will tend to repeat and even add to the original confusion.

REPRESENTATIVE EXAMPLE:

'GALLERIA D'AMORE' (No. 19)

Thus far in this chapter we have looked at representative musical problems from a number of different dances. We shall now examine the music of a single dance, 'Galleria d'amore' (no. 19), from beginning to end, in order to study the various procedures that one must follow in preparing a correct edition of the music. We shall see how the SN and LT may be used to clarify each other, and how the choreographic texts clarify the rubrics, and thus the musical form.

The music to this dance consists of five strains, labelled A-E in my edition. Strains A and B are in duple metre, strains C and D are triple-metre variations of A and B. Strain E presents some special problems of rhythmic interpretation that we shall consider later in the chapter. Let us now examine some minor musical problems.

(1) The ciphers for the second to sixth notes of the LT are printed by mistake on the first course instead of the second. Such mistakes are fairly common in Le gratie d'amore. When they occur, as here, in the melody, they are quite easy to correct by reference to the SN. When they occur in lower voices they may not be noticeable unless they produce improbable chords or progressions (see, for example, the first chord of strain D of 'La biscia amorosa' (no. 13)).

(2) In the second bar of strain B, the SN confirms that a dot has been left off the first rhythmic indicator of the LT. (Missing dots are another common mistake in this publication.)

(3) In the first bar of strain C, the LT confirms that the second note of the SN should be b-natural not b-flat.

(4) The melody note b-natural does not occur in the penultimate chord of the LT. While the chord is not implausible as it stands, I have added the b-natural to the chord on the assumption that a 2 on the third course has been inadvertently omitted.

These four emendations are quite straightforward and I am not the first to make them. BMF, a publication produced, as we have seen, with only minimal editorial interpretation, has corrected items 1 and 2 of this list.

Mönkemeyer silently makes the three emendations affecting the LT (items 1, 2, and 4); Verardo also emends items 1, 2, and 3. (Verardo's emendation of the first bar is the only one of all these changes to be indicated in an editorial note, a reflection of the scholarly value of his and Mönkemeyer's editions.)

The music to 'Galleria d'amore' demands that the modern editor supply first- and second-time endings to each of the five strains. With the exception of the junction of strains D and E, this is an unproblematic and basically mechanical process: my solutions correspond with Mönkemeyer's and, in the case of the first three strains, with Verardo's.

* * * * *

Let us now consider the music and choreography as a whole. We must determine how they correlate, that is, which strain of music accompanies which parte of choreography. The rubrics are supposed to tell us the number of playings of each strain necessary to accompany the dance. We shall see that while the rubrics do give us some necessary information, they do not tell us the whole story. They read as follows:

La prima parte si fa tre volte[,] la galiarda, due volte, e poi il canario si fa sin'al fin del ballo. [p. 191]

The parti identified in the rubrics usually refer to the strains delineated by repeat signs in the music. This, however, cannot be the case in the present instance: the music has five strains and only three parti are mentioned in the rubric (a 'prima parte', a 'gagliarda', and a 'canario'). In this case it is quite easy to work out what Negri means: the music contains three distinct metres, so that Negri's division of the music into three parts becomes apparent:

prima parte of music = duple metre (strains A and B)

gagliarda music = 3/2 metre (strains C and D)

canario music = strain E

Negri tells us that the 'prima parte' of the music is played three times. Since we have concluded that he is

referring to strains A and B he seems to require AB, AB, AB. But, as we shall see below, this rubric is misleading. Both strains A and B are delineated by the sign $\|$. This sign was used at this time to separate sections and may or may not signify a repetition. The rubrics do not mention internal repetitions, but a study of the step-durations enables one to ascertain whether or not a repeat is needed. I have outlined below the durations of all the steps in the first, second, and third parti of choreography, that is, all the parti before the galliard choreography and music.

PRIMA PARTE

.R. grave	= 4 bars
2 .C.	= 4 bars
2 .SP. + 1 .S.	= 4 bars
2 .SP. + 1 .S.	= 4 bars
	= 16 bars

SECONDA PARTE

2 .S.	= 4 bars
2 .S.	= 4 bars
2 .SP. + 1 .S.	= 4 bars
2 .SP. + 1 .S.	= 4 bars
	= 16 bars

TERZA PARTE

2 .S.	= 4 bars
2 .S.	= 4 bars
2 .SP. + 1 .R.	= 4 bars
2 .SP. + 1 .R.	= 4 bars
	= 16 bars

We see that each of the choreographic parti requires 16 bars of music. Since strains A and B are each only four bars long, we may assume, therefore, that the three playings of the 'prima parte' of music referred to in the rubrics consist of AABB, AABB, AABB. The choreography and music of the duple-metre sections are therefore to be aligned as follows:

choreographic <u>parti</u>	musical strains
Prima	AABB (16 bars)
Seconda	AABB (16 bars)
Terza	AABB (16 bars)

Thus we see that in a general sense the rubrics' instruction to play the 'prima parte' of music three times is correct, although we are not informed of the internal repetitions of each strain.

The same process must be repeated for the galliard parte of choreography (Quarta parte). The step durations are outlined below:

.R. grave = 4 bars

2 .C. = 4 bars

2 .CP. = 4 bars

2 .CP. = 4 bars

= 16 bars

galliard variation = 4 bars<20>

repeat of variation = 4 bars

2 .CP. = 4 bars

2 .CP. = 4 bars

= 16 bars

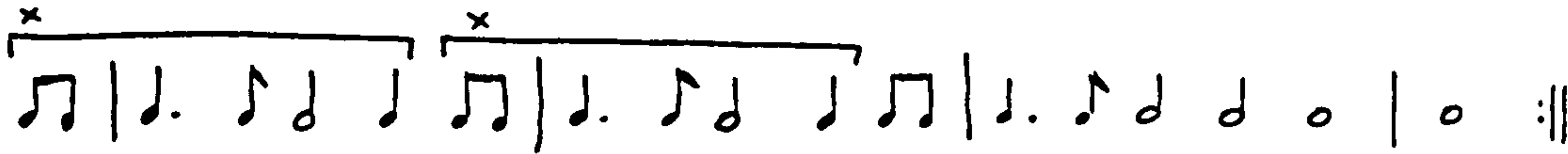
total = 32 bars


Thus 32 bars of music are needed to accompany the Quarta parte (the galliard variation). As Negri's strains C and D (the galliard music) are each four bars long, an internal repetition of each strain is needed to give us the required 32 bars; that is, CCDD, CCDD. In a general sense this corresponds with the request of the rubrics to play the galliard two times, but once again, the rubrics fail to inform us of the necessary internal repetitions.

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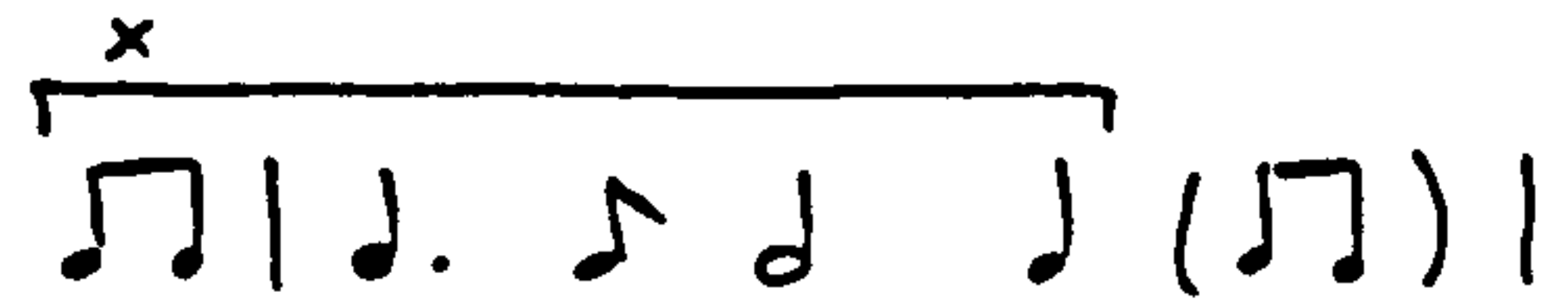
20 Negri indicates that the steps of this variation take two 'tempi di suono', i.e., 4 bars. (1 'tempo di suono' = 6 beats of triple metre.)

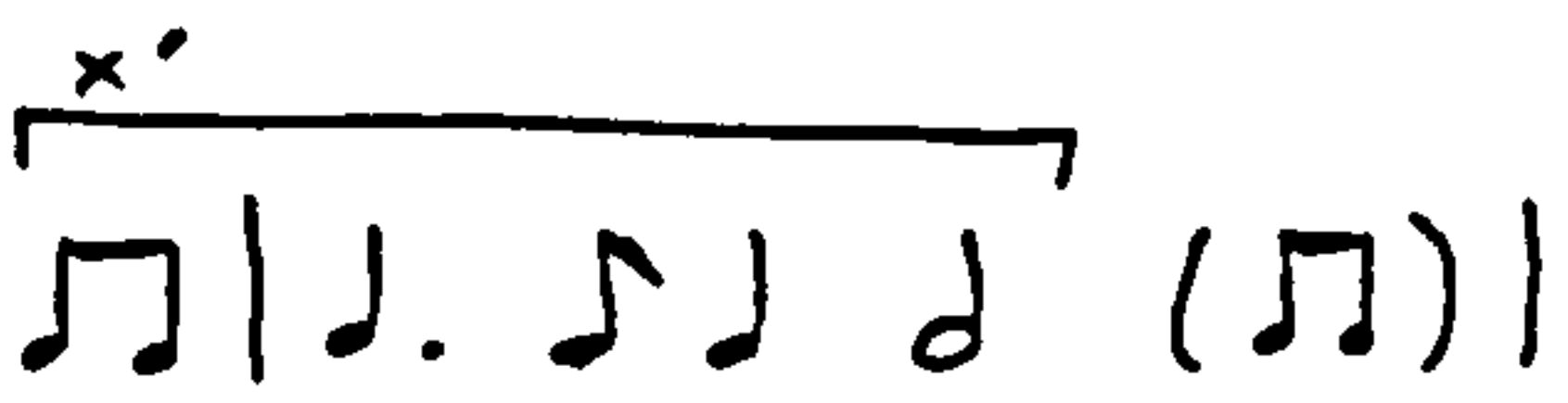
The Quinta parte of choreography, labelled 'Mutazione della sonata nel canario', and the Sesta parte align with the canario music (strain E). This strain presents special notational problems regarding the rhythm. Here is a literal transcription of the rhythm of this strain as it appears in SN and LT:

SN: 

LT: 

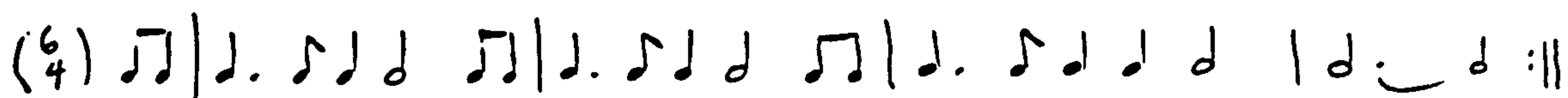
There are two rhythmic discrepancies between the SN and LT. In the third bar the SN is obviously wrong and we may safely assume that the LT is correct. The second bar presents a more complicated problem. The melodic figure marked x in the above example occurs four times, three times

as:  (implying 3/2 metre)

and once as:  (implying 6/4 metre).

Statistically one might assume that the majority reading (x) is the correct one and that the x' should be emended accordingly. (This is the solution followed by both Mönkemeyer and Verardo.) I regard the x' reading as the correct one, however, for the following reasons. Examination of the rubrics and of the choreographic text reveals that this



strain accompanies canario choreography. Canario music typically employs a fast triple metre, usually notated in $3/4$ or $6/4$. For this reason, I regard x' (which implies $6/4$ metre) as presenting the correct rhythm and emend x to conform. The rhythm of the melody should thus read as follows:



(Aldrich (p. 67) presents the music in this way, though without signalling the rhythmic emendation.) Besides presenting more suitable music for dancing a canario choreography, this version eliminates a certain melodic eccentricity and is thus to be preferred on two counts.<21>

One feature of this strain which may have misled Mönkemeyer and Verardo into transcribing the strain in $3/2$ is the fact that the third bar contains a hemiola (with the implication of $3/2$ metre conflicting with the prevailing $6/4$). Hemiola immediately before the cadence, however, is a typical feature of many triple-metre dances of the late-Renaissance and Baroque periods and, therefore, does not necessarily indicate the prevailing metre of a piece.

* * * * *

21 Comparison of this music with that of the six problematic strains discussed above (pp. 174-95) gives additional support to my contention that the  figure in those examples is to be performed .

It is instructive to compare the various editors' versions of this strain. Example 6.22 (next 2 pages) presents it as it appears in Negri, BMF, Mönkemeyer, Verardo, and Aldrich, with my own edition as well. The versions of Negri and BMF appear in 'strict' transcription. To facilitate comparison I have written them all with the same note values and at the same pitch level.

We should note the following. Gardano's version (BMF) of the first two bars is typical of his edition in that he follows his source literally, making no effort to regularize the discrepancy in rhythm between the two bars. In the third bar the source, which is perfectly sound, is not followed resulting in a bar two crotchets short. As it is inconceivable that this reading could be regarded as a correction of the source, one is forced to conclude that it is simply an error.

Mönkemeyer, Verardo and I emend the second bass note of bar 2: Verardo and I change it to f (thereby making bars 1 and 2 identical), Mönkemeyer changes it to c.

Mönkemeyer inexplicably omits the bass note f from the fourth crotchet of bar 3.

Verardo's doubling of note values of the first two notes of the strain is very strange. I am unable to account for it.

* * * * *

Now that we have decided that the canario choreography should be accompanied by an emended version of strain E in

Example 6.22: 'Galleria d'amore' (no. 19), strain E

a) Negri, p. 191

b) BMF, p. [10]

c) Mönkemeyer, no. 19; transposed up a minor third and notated on 2 staves

d) Verardo, iii, p. 13; note-values doubled; SN transposed down an octave

* Verardo calls attention to this emendation in a footnote.

e) Aldrich, p. 67

f) Jones, vol. II, p. 386

6/4 metre, let us return to the correlation of choreography and music. Negri tells us to repeat the canario music as many times as needed. This is not very helpful. It would have been easier if he had informed us of the exact number of repetitions, because canario choreography has such a high step density and so many rapid steps the durations of which are ambiguous that it is usually possible to correlate steps with music in more than one way. Thus any solution I might give the reader would be open to question.

* * * * *

To sum up: A careful study of selected examples shows how the modern musical editor and choreographer (ideally the same person) may solve some of the problems raised by incorrect or imprecise musical notation and rubrics. A detailed discussion of the music to 'Galleria d'amore' illustrates the many factors that the reconstructor must consider in order to arrive at a correct musical score. The rubrics, step durations, and choreographic content (e.g., a variation containing galliard or canario choreography) all help to resolve problems of rhythmic notation, form, and tempo.

The reader should now proceed to Volume II of this thesis which contains reconstructions of six choreographies. He may there study the information that I have discussed above in a more complete context.

