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THE EDITIONS OF CESARE NEGRI'S
LE GRATIE D'AMORE:
CHOREOGRAPHIC REVISIONS IN PRINTED COPIES

Cesare Negri's *Le gratie d'amore* is one of the most important sources of information on late-Renaissance dance.¹ It contains descriptions of steps, information on step durations, and forty-three complete choreographies with their corresponding music in staff notation and lute tablature. It was first published in 1602 by Pacifico Ponte and Giovanni Battista Piccaglia in Milan. 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.² These facts have led scholars to state that both treatises are identical save for the title pages.³ While this is true, it is an oversimplification of the relationship between the two editions. In this article I will show that there are different states of both the 1602 and 1604 editions. I will not be concerned with the minor typographical differences (lineation of text, spelling, etc.) but will instead concentrate on changes which affect the choreographies. Since *Le gratie d'amore* is a practical dance manual, designed in part to help readers correlate steps and music, the choreographic revisions are of major importance. In an Appendix, I discuss some interesting early handwritten annotations found in copies of Negri in Italian libraries.

¹ CESARE NEGRI, *Le gratie d'amore*, Milan, 1602 (facsimile editions New York, Broude, 1969; Bologna, Forni, 1969). Other important sources include FABRITIO CAROSO, *Il ballarino*, Venice, 1581; Id., *Nobiltà di Dame*, Venice 1600; THOINOT ARBEAU, *Orchésographie*, Langres, 1588; PROSPERO LUTII, *Opera bellissima*, Perugia, 1589; LIVIO LUPI da Caravaggio, *Mutanze di Gagliarda*, Palermo, 1607; and the choreographies found in two Florentine manuscripts: I-Fas, Carte Stroziane, Ser. I, N° 22, and I-Fn, Magl. XIX 31.

² For detailed information see C. P. COLDWELL, *A new source of Italian dance music for lute: Angelo Gardano's «Balletti moderni» of 1611* (unpublished paper presented at American Musicological Society Conference, 1982).

³ For example L. H. MOE, *Dance music in printed Italian lute tablatures from 1507 to 1611* (Ph. D. diss., Harvard University 1956), p. 12; P. ALDRICH, *Rhythm in seventeenth-century Italian monody*, New York, 1966, p. 61; and COLDWELL, *op. cit.*

Contrary to the assumptions of 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 the 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.⁴ 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 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.⁵

This is significant when one examines the second edition of Negri's treatise. The 1604 edition was not a revision of the earlier publication; it was a reissue of leftover stock. No care was taken to sift out uncorrected pages. The second edition, therefore, contains the same mixture of corrected and uncorrected pages.

Three dances in *Le gratie d'amore* contain revisions which affect choreography: «Torneo amoroso», «Laura gentile», and «Alta Visconte».⁶

«Torneo amoroso»

«Torneo amoroso» is the seventh dance in Negri's treatise. There are two versions of the *Terza parte* of this dance⁷ (the original lineation is indicated by slashes):

⁴ See P. SIMPSON, *Proof reading in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*, Oxford, 1935, and R. MYERS, *Historical and analytical bibliography*, «Antiquarian book» VI, 1979, pp. 286-289.

⁵ SIMPSON, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

⁶ «Torneo amoroso», p. 140; «Laura gentile», p. 209; «Alta Visconte», p. 182.

⁷ Negri divides his dances into choreographic sections which he calls «parte»: «Prima parte», «Seconda parte», etc.

TERZA PARTE [version A]⁸

Pigliano la mano con un poco d'inchino, e fanno due .P.⁹ 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; italics added]

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* (.SP.) and one *seguito ordinario* (.S.) 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.)¹⁰ Example 1 shows the correlation of the choreography found in version A with the music for this section of the dance.¹¹

⁸ A table appears at the end of this article listing all the copies the author has examined and indicating which readings appear in each.

⁹ Negri's explanation of his abbreviations appears on p. 103 of his treatise. The abbreviations used in the quotations in this paper are: .P. (= passo grave), .P. (= passo puntato), .R. (= ripresa), .R. (= riverenza), .S. (= seguito ordinario), .SP. (= seguito spezzato) and .T. (= trabucchetto).

¹⁰ It is not within the scope of this paper to explain how one arrives at correct step durations. Step durations are given by Negri, pp. 103-113 of both editions; CAROSO, *Ballarino*, I, fols. 3-18; ID., *Nobiltà*, pp. 10-63. For a detailed discussion of step durations and their modifications within choreographies see P. JONES, *The relation between music and dance in Cesare Negri's «Le gratie d'amore» (1602)*, Ph. D. dissertation, King's College, London, 1989, pp. 103-158; for a brief explanation see P. JONES, *Spectacle in Milan: Cesare Negri's torch dances*, «Early Music», XIV, 1986, pp. 186-189.

¹¹ Negri provides 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. With this information and the knowledge he and other masters provide on step durations, the reconstructor is able in many cases to ascertain which section of music accompanies which section of dance. See JONES, *The Relation cit.*, pp. 196-203.

Es. 1

Note that this version lacks choreography for four bars of music. In 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* (.SP.) and one *seguito ordinario* (.S.) beginning with the left foot have been added. Example 2 shows that when these revisions are incorporated the steps correlate exactly with the music.

Es. 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.¹² This rule of symmetry is nevertheless occasionally broken by the leading dancing masters,¹³ so that it is unwise to use it as the sole evidence for tex-

¹² See Negri, both editions, p. 114 («Primo avvertimento»), for rule on symmetrical alternation of feet. See also J. SUTTON, introduction to CAROSO, *Nobiltà di Dame* (transl. and ed. by J. Sutton), Oxford, 1986, p. 27, for information on symmetry in Caroso.

¹³ See, for example, the opening section of the «Sexta parte» («Mutazione della sonata in gagliarda») of Negri's «Amor felice» (p. 179).

tual 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 will be required to make the steps fit the music. 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 the entire dance has been set twice: the lineation of the text is often different, the occasional word is spelled differently, some punctuation is changed, and the double dots in the final bar of music appear in different spaces. However, revision which affect choreography and its correlation with music occur only in the *Seconda parte*.¹⁴ I will refer to the two versions as «setting A» and «setting B».

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 .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.

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 (.P.); the *passo puntato* is also represented by the letter P but with a triangle of periods surrounding it (.P.). In the setting A we find:

¹⁴ Negri, p. 209.

fanno andando innanzi due .P. due .P. & una .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.».¹⁵ The suspicion of error increases when the «due .P. due .P.» combination of steps fails to correlate with the corresponding music. Example 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).

Es. 3

1..P. (left) .P. .P. .P.
2..P. (right) .P. .P. .P.

.S. ? ?
.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 puntati* (.P.). The passage now reads:

due .P. [*passi puntati*] due .P. [*passi gravi*]... col pie sinistro. due .P. [*passi puntati*] due .P. [*passi gravi*]... col pie destro.

Since the *passo puntato* has the duration of two semibreves (double that of the *passo grave*), the choreography now correlates exactly with the music, as shown in Example 4.

¹⁵ See, for example, the «quattro .T.» in the «Quinta parte» of «Laura gentile» (Negri, p. 210).

Es. 4

1..P. .P.
2..P. .P.

.P. .P. .S.
.P. .P. .S.

The corrected version is consistent with Negri's usual use of language: the correct «due .P. due .P.» is a typical 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 sometimes points to textual error.

The error in «Laura gentile» is serious enough to affect the correlation of steps and music. This may be the reason there are two settings of the dance. 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.¹⁶ 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».¹⁷ The following example gives the original printing and the paste-on:

¹⁶ «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.

¹⁷ In the British Library copy of the 1602 edition the paste-on has been loosened, enabling one to read the original text.



Fig. 1 - NEGRI, *Le gratie d'amore*, p. 177.



Fig. 2 - NEGRI, *Le gratie d'amore*, p. 181.

[original printing]

Si fermano in capo del ballo, & il cavaliere piglia la man sinistra della dama, come mostrano le figure, è faranne 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, [...]

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 with his sword on the side farthest away from her («piglia la man sinistra della dama»), as may be seen in Illustration 1; in the paste-on he stands on her right side («a man destra della Dama»), as in Illustration 2. The position in the paste-on is rare in late – Renaissance choreographies: forty dances in Negri begin with the man on the left side of the lady; only three («Alta Visconte», «Cortesia amorosa», and «Nobiltà d'amore») ¹⁸ 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 afterthought. 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 after the forms had been broken up.

CONCLUSIONS

Table I summarizes the information I have discussed above.¹⁹ Study of the table indicates that there are at least three different states of the 1602 edition: first, there are copies that contain neither the corrections to «Torneo amoroso» nor to «Laura gentile»; secondly, there

¹⁸ «Alta Visconte», p. 182; «Cortesia amorosa», p. 161; «Nobiltà d'amore», p. 250.

¹⁹ *RISM 5B/1*, p. 311, lists 13 extant copies of the 1602 edition and 38 copies of the 1604 edition. I have examined six 1602 copies (as well as the two facsimile editions) and eleven 1604 copies.

TABLE I
COPIES OF NEGRI EXAMINED BY THE AUTHOR ¹

	'Torneo amoroso'		'Laura gentile' setting	
	incorrect 3 ^a parte	correct 3 ^a parte	A incorrect 2 ^a parte	B correct 2 ^a parte
<i>1602 editions:</i>				
1. Bologna: Civ. Mus. Bibl. Mus.		✓		✓
2. Boston Pub. Libr.		✓		✓
3. London: BL	✓			✓
4. Milan: Bibl. Ambrosiana		✓		✓
5. Milan: Bibl. Braidense	✓			✓
6. Vienna: OeN		✓		✓
7. Broude facsimile ²	✓		✓	
8. Forni facsimile ³	✓			✓
<i>1604 editions:</i>				
9. Bologna: Civ. Mus. Bibl. Mus.		✓		✓
10. Boston Public Libr.	✓			✓
11. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard Theatre Libr.		✓		✓
12. London: BL: Hirsch		✓		✓
13. Idem: 785.m.8	✓			✓
14. Idem: 62.h.18		✓		✓
15. Milan: Bibl. Ambrosiana	✓			✓
16. Oxford: Bodleian: G4.2.Art	✓			✓
17. Idem: Douce N301	✓			✓
18. Idem: H.13thseld		✓		✓
19. Washington: Library of Congress	✓			✓

¹ For libraries that contain more than one copy the individual copies are identified in the following manner: if the copy is contained in a collection, the name of the collection is given; otherwise, the call number is given.

² Broude has informed me that the copy used for their facsimile is in a private collection and that the owner wishes to remain anonymous.

³ According to the publisher, this facsimile reproduces an (unspecified) Milanese copy.



are copies that contain only the «Laura gentile» correction; and thirdly, there are copies that contain both the «Torneo amoroso» and «Laura gentile» corrections. In the 1604 edition all the copies I examined contain the «Laura gentile» correction but only about half contain the «Torneo amoroso» revision.

A study of the table confirms Percy Simpson's thesis 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 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, this should not be taken to imply that all copies are identical. There are different states of the 1602 edition. The 1604 edition, which was almost certainly issued from leftover stock, contains the same mixture of corrected and uncorrected pages as the 1602 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».

²⁰ JONES, *The Relation* cit., p. 33.



APPENDIX

SELECTED HANDWRITTEN ADDITIONS AND ANNOTATIONS TO *LE GRATIE D'AMORE*

Several copies of Negri's treatise contain handwritten additions or annotations. Most of these are simply the names of former owners or attempts to correct the faulty pagination. Two copies, however, contain extensive additions which may be of interest to some readers.

1. In the first section of *Le gratie d'amore* Negri provides the reader with lists of the professional choreographers of his time (pp. 2-6) and of the names of his noble students (pp. 17-30). In the copy of the 1602 edition found in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana (Milan) there are corrections in a seventeenth-century hand and ink to the lists of noble students. In the following table the words struck out in this copy are overstruck, the handwritten annotations are italicized.

- p. 21: *Il Signor Alfonso Castiglione*
Il Signor Gioseffo Castiglione;
- p. 25: L'Illustrissimo Signor Don Gioseffo
~~Achugno castellano di Milan~~ *Acugra;*
- p. 26: Il Signor Conte Filiberto ~~della Somaglia~~
Filiberto de Somaia;
- p. 27: Il Signor Gieronimo ~~Rhè~~ *Rhoma* [Rhocca?];
- p. 32: Il Signor Alvi ~~Trette~~ *Trotta;*
- p. 32: Il Signor Gio. Andrea Chiringhello *la;*
- p. 29: La Sig. Caterina Balba, e ~~Rhè~~ *Rhocca.*

The owner of this copy has obviously thought it important to correct mistakes in the printing of the names of Negri's noble students. He makes no similar attempt with the lists of professional choreographers. Since noble patrons often met the expenses of a book's publication and were its intend-

ed buyers, perhaps the noble names were important to get right for more reason than mere courtesy.

2. There are a number of handwritten annotations in the 1604 edition found in the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale of Bologna.

There are two names written in an early-seventeenth-century hand and ink, the second of which is cited as a lute player and wonderful dancer. On the title page next to the publisher's colophon, «Camillo de Grenitomi» is written. On a blank page at end of the book one finds the following: «[?] = è fatta menzione di c[word illegible] Cesare Aposto Parmigiano sonator di liuto e valente ballerino».

There are several musical annotations in this copy:

(1) Bar-lines have been added to the staff notation to «Tordiglione» (p. 196) as shown in Example 5.

Es. 5

Negri, p.196 [no bar-lines in original]



«Tordiglione» is the only dance tune in *Le gratie d'amore* which is in triple metre but barred in duple. (The implied metre is 3/2 but the bar-lines in the lute tablature occur every two minims). It is interesting that the handwritten bar-lines added to the staff notation follow those of the lute tablature.

(2) In «Cortesia d'amore» (p. 163) bar-lines have been added to the staff notation and a scale is written above the piece as shown in Example 6.

Es. 6

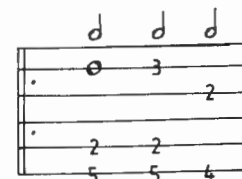
C - D - E - F - G - A B A - G - F - E - D - C

This scale may possibly be an introduction to the dance going from C up to B-flat (German B) and back down to C to prepare for the F major opening of the tune. Neither Negri nor any other dancing master discusses how the musicians and the dancers begin together. Did the lead dancer give a signal to the accompanists, or was there a brief introduction in the music? No musical introductions appear in the lute tablature or melody lines, but

this is not significant as any secular musician of the period would have known how to do this without a printed score.

(3) Duration indicators have been added to the lute tablature of «So ben mi chi hà buon tempo» (p. 224) as shown in Example 7.

Es. 7



There is a textual emendation to «Bassa imperiale». In the *Terza parte* (p. 204) the word «destra» is crossed out as follows: «Piglieramo la mano ~~destra~~».

There are several miscellaneous annotations. The word «Bono» is written beside the lute tablature to the torch dance for six men (p. 276); «Bon» beside the tablature to «Catena d'amore» (p. 280). The annotator has drawn the face of a smiling lady with a large ruff and places her in between the couple in the engraving on p. 197.

The following conclusions may be drawn. The annotator seems to be a rather colourful person as judged by his occasional «bono» when he enjoys a piece and by his sketch of a smiling lady. It is significant that there are no markings on the first third of the book. Since, as I have noted elsewhere,²⁰ the dances in *Le gratie d'amore* are in a loose chronological order, this means he was not interested in the early dances and concentrated only on the more recent ones which appear in the final two-thirds of the book. This is understandable if he was a lutenist by profession and worked as accompanist at balls, in which case his interest would have been limited to the dances popular at the time he owned the book. It may therefore be Cesare Aposto Parmigiani, the owner cited as a lutenist and wonderful dancer, who has added the annotations.