Martin Paul Maloney

TEMPO, GRATIA E MISURA

A Study of Fabrizio Caroso’s
NOBILTÀ DI DAME (1600)
Fabrizio Caroso aged 74
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A STUDY OF FABRIZIO CAROSO’S
NOBILTÀ DI DAME, 1600

Martin Paul Maloney

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This book is a revised version of a Master of Arts thesis originally submitted thirty years ago in 1986. It has been published as part of the 50th anniversary celebrations of the Sir Zelman Cowen School of Music celebrated in 2015. Although never previously published, this work has been frequently cited in the scholarly writings on early dance and has become well known among scholars of dance and courtly music in Renaissance Italy.

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Much of the material has been taken fairly closely from the thesis, and in particular the Bibliography which is taken from the List of References there. So it may include some items not cited in this work itself which, however, may nevertheless be useful. Some attempt has been made to include items discovered since 1986.

The work over many years for the thesis extended in so many directions beyond my own expertise that it was necessary as well as a pleasure for me to thank the very many people who helped me, as noted in the Foreword to the thesis. For this book I need to thank Professor Warren Kirkendale, one of the examiners of the thesis, for his encouragement, useful comments, suggestions and for initially prompting me to consider publication; Professor John Griffiths, lutenist, scholar, formerly Head of the Early Music Studio of Melbourne University, now Head of the Music Department at Monash University, Victoria, and many years before that a fellow student of mine at Monash University, for encouraging, urging and finally convincing me to publish and for arranging the publication; Dr. Carol Williams who supervised the thesis; for her designs for costumes, I must thank Dr. Petre Santry of Victoria University; fellow members of the early music Ensemble Martedi with whom I have been playing cantatas and trio sonatas regularly for many years and who have been most encouraging, particularly Peter Brereton and Dr. Jill Ferris who has proof-read this book for me; Fr. Joseph Pich of St. Mary’s, Star of the Sea Catholic Church, West Melbourne, for his support of me as a musician and for providing me with a most agreeable room to work in, underneath Our Lady’s Chapel at St. Mary’s Star of the Sea, and so
St. Mary has become patroness of this book, as were Caroso’s patronesses, the noble ladies to whom the dances in *Nobiltà di Dame* are dedicated and, in particular, ‘his patroness and benefactress, Felice Maria Orsina Caetana’; also thanks to David Jenkins, cellist, organist at St. Mary’s and computer programmer for help in putting the book on line and, in particular, with the quotations in ‘polytonic’ Greek. Thanks to Dr. Salvatore Rossano, Professor John Griffiths’s research assistant, for a variety of Information Technology assistances and editing. And thanks, too, to Dr. Petre Ann Santry of the Department of Linguistics, Victoria University, for the pictures on the cover and end pages of this book which are from watercolour designs for the costumes for *Nobiltà di Dame*. She was a younger member of the 'Northwood Group' of Sydney artists of whom Lloyd Rees was a notable member – from whom we learned our love of the Italian.

Translations in this work are my own unless otherwise acknowledged; I have preferred to keep the translations very literal so as to keep the meaning clear and free of interpretation at that point at least, except when a contemporary translation might help the context, for instance Sir Thomas Hoby’s translation of Castiglione’s *Il libro del cortegiano*, 1561. My literal translations are no doubt sometimes awkward and the reader is referred to Julia Sutton’s translation of *Nobiltà di Dame* for something smoother and easier. When the language of a quotation is important, say for its sound as in the poetry, I have quoted it in the original in the text with a translation in the footnotes; but if it has seemed to me that the sense is more important I have quoted it translated into English with, perhaps, the original in the footnotes.

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INTRODUCTION

Certain giants of sixteenth and early seventeenth art have retained their high reputations, such as Shakespeare, Palestrina, Byrd, Victoria and Michelangelo. Others, such as Tasso, Sir Philip Sydney and John Bull, have suffered a decline in reputation through changes of taste and neglect. Some, such as El Greco, Gesualdo and the Metaphysical poets have been appreciated in more recent times as never before. Works of art in what the critical theory of the time classed as the ‘mediocre’ styles, i.e. ‘medium’ between the ‘low’ styles of the everyday and the ‘elevated’ heroic styles of epic and tragedy, namely the decorative styles such as lyric poetry, the madrigal and the lavish courtly entertainments have not received very serious attention until comparatively recently. There has been increasing interest in what have been classed as the lesser arts of this period as movements such as Mannerism have been identified and as particularly the secular works have been investigated and enjoyed as having artistic interest of their own as well as showing the origins and development of much that is already familiar and appreciated in Baroque art.

Musicians have come to realize that in order to perform dance music and music in dance rhythms properly, it is necessary to have some understanding and appreciation of the dances themselves, and some even go so far as to say that it is necessary to be able to dance them. The revival of interest in Renaissance and early Baroque vocal music is of quite long standing and now, as research uncovers yet more of the instrumental music, authentic instruments are constructed and the instrumental music is authentically performed, recorded and achieving wider appreciation. Much of the instrumental music is explicitly dance music, and even more of it, as also much of the vocal music, is profoundly influenced by dance rhythms and the structures at least paralleled, if not actually influenced, by the forms of the dances. I should make clear that I am a musician, not a dancer, and I
first became interested in the ‘Renaissance’ dances through The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book in which I noticed that the titles of some half of the two hundred and ninety seven pieces included names of dances. Hence, in this work choreographic interpretation has been kept as close as possible to Caroso’s text, within the limits of my expertise. As long ago as 1925 Peter Warlock had this to say at the beginning of his ‘Preface’ to Cyril Beaumont’s translation of Thoinot Arbeau’s Orchesographie, 1588.  

The existence of a dance presupposes an appropriate tune, to be sung or played upon an instrument. Apart from dance-tunes (which as often as not were also songs) there was practically no instrumental music prior to the second half of the sixteenth century; and to the development of instrumental music during that period all the elements that were not derived from the methods of vocal polyphonic writing were contributed by dance-forms such as are described in this book. …

And so, with the dancers, we instrumental musicians are also heirs not only of Thoinot Arbeau but also of Fabrizio Caroso and their choreographic art. It is interesting to note that George Villiers, created First Duke of Buckingham by James I of England, and also very influential with Charles I, was sent as a young man by his mother to France where he spent two or three years, learning, as well as the language, riding and dancing at the latter of which he excelled. His fashionable, but sometimes imprudent, notions of chivalry, gallantry,

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romance and knight-errantry earned him a place in Alexandre Dumas’ *Les trois mousquetaires*. He was assassinated in 1628 but no doubt he leaped high in his galliards.

In the course of my investigation of contemporary dancing manuals, I discovered Fabrizio Caroso’s *Nobiltà di Dame*4 which I found to be most enlightening for my purpose but, more than that, it was a beautiful book, witty and philosophical in its way, dealing with principles of art, albeit with a certain lighthearted modesty. The work is in itself ‘cross-disciplinary’ in that it combines music, dance, poetry and illustrations in an imitation of the drama of the ancients, an ideal of the period that saw the creation of opera in Florence.

W. T. Selley in his book on Pope Sixtus V paints a grim picture of the Roman aristocrats of the sixteenth century, i.e. Fabrizio Caroso’s students and readers.5

Native Rome added its own divisions and rivalries to the maelstrom [of foreign communities living in Rome]. From the so-called Guelph and Ghibelline factions of former centuries had descended a powerful Roman nobility. Now living in Renaissance luxury, but heavily encumbered with debt, fragmented by bitter internecine rivalry and long-standing feuds, divided into hostile family groups, such as the Orsini and the Colonna. Most were hostile to any authority which threatened to curb their independence or regiment their activities. Each had its own contacts and satellite establishments outside the city to which they could retreat in times of repression or ill-fortune and from which they could organize new onslaughts on authority when circumstances appeared favourable. The mere imposition of order in Rome only managed to limit anarchy: ensuring not conquest but a temporary truce.

4 Fabrizio Caroso, *Nobiltà di Dame* … (Venice: Presso il Muschio, 1600).
And as well as the old nobility there were the families of popes, such as Caroso’s patrons, the Caetani, lords and eventually Dukes of Sermoneta, descended from nephews of Boniface VIII (1294-1303), and the Peretti, much more recent, in Caroso’s own time, descended from Camilla, sister of Sixtus V (1585-90). Australian writer, Vance Palmer, as long ago as February 1935, in a different context to be sure, observed the following in regard to the relationship between life and art.6

It is one of the limitations of the human mind that it can never grasp things fully till they are presented through the medium of art.

If Palmer’s opinion is to be credited, Caroso’s objectives, as stated on the title page of Nobiltà di Dame, ‘of beautiful rules and reduced to perfect theory’ [di belle regole & alla perfetta Theorica ridotto], in the cause of the art of dancing at least, might be welcome to those of his Roman readers hopeful of an increase of right order and civilization

Not much is known of Fabrizio Caroso da Sermoneta apart from what he himself tells us in his two books, and even then the two books are inconsistent as to his age. Fabrizio Caroso is almost certainly not a pseudonym and he did live and teach in Rome. This introduction poses a number of questions that can be answered, however, only with an amount of speculation. We can begin with some certainties, first that Nobiltà di Dame, published in Venice in 1600, was written by Fabrizio Caroso, a Roman dancing master, in the second half of the sixteenth century, who visited Florence on at least one occasion7 and possibly other cities as well. He was the author of the earliest surviving (at any rate) printed dancing manual in the

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Italian language, *Il Ballarino*, published in 1581. It was highly regarded by his contemporaries and taken as a model by several other writers on the subject. Of all the dancing manuals of the period, his second book, *Nobiltà di Dame*, published nearly twenty years later, purporting to be a new edition of *Il Ballarino* but in fact rather different, gives forty-nine artistically composed dances, consisting of *balletti* and some other dances, sixty-eight very precise rules [*regole*] for the steps and twenty-four warnings [*avertimenti*] regarding manners and behaviour, in the course of which he presents general principles and theories of dancing, complete with music in lute tablature for all of them and with bass and soprano parts on staves for the first eight of them, with dedicatory poems and with some illustrations, mostly of dancing couples. See below the illustrations (Figures A, B, C) of dancing couples from *Nobiltà di Dame*. Included with these illustrations is Figure D of a Venetian courtesan wearing raised shoes, chopines.

Rome in the sixteenth century was not only recovering from the Reformation but also from centuries of neglect and from the sack of the city in 1527 by Spanish troops. It was the century of the Council Trent, completed in 1563, and of the beginning of the implementation of its decisions. The latter half of the century was a time of restoration of order in the Church and of public order in Rome and the Papal States and also of the architectural fabric of the city

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8 Fabrizio Caroso, *Il Ballarino ... Diviso in due Trattati* Nel primo de' quali si dimostra la diversità de i nomi, che si danno à gli atti, & movimenti, che intervengono ne i Balli: & con molte Regole si dichiara con quali creanze, & in che modo debbano farsi. Nel secondo s'ingegnano diverse sorti di Balli, & Balletti si all uso d'Italia, come à quello di Francia, & Spagna. ... (Venice: Francesco Ziletti, 1581).


itself. It may well be significant in the development of Caroso’s thinking that the almost twenty years between publication of his two books, i.e. from 1581 to 1600, included the reign of the learned, resolute and effective Franciscan Pope, Sixtus V (1585–1590), who laid much of the architectural groundwork for the splendours of the Baroque city. The dome of St. Peter’s as designed by Michelangelo was constructed during his reign. Caroso’s life as a dancer would have been at a time of great reforms and of intellectual ferment in the Rome of the Counter-Reformation as the decisions of the Council were vigorously implemented by Sixtus V.

Figure A, B, C and D
Leading figures of the Counter-Reformation included saints such as theologian and controversialist, St. Robert Bellarmine (1542-1621) and St. Philip Neri (1515-95), founder of the Oratorians, noted for his charity which included musical dramas for the young people, which generated the oratorio. Also in Rome in his later years was William Allen (1532–94), Cardinal from 1587, who founded, for good or ill, colleges at Douai, Rome and Valladolid for the training of priests for the English Mission and was a strong supporter of the Spanish Armada of 1588.

Complementary to the religious debates and contentions, and probably stimulated by them, would have been discussions such as those in the Accademia di San Luca for artists, reconstituted in 1577. Also very likely, is that topics such as the natures of the various arts, and of music and dance in particular, and their relationship to mathematics were enthusiastically discussed in less formal groups. Caroso’s choreographic theory in Nobiltà di Dame may be the result of such discussions, and, indeed, the initial inspiration for writing his books in which dancing, music and poetry are combined as in ancient drama, may have sprung from the same source. It is interesting that Nobiltà di Dame by a Roman was published in the same year, 1600, as the performance in Florence of what is taken as the first opera, Peri’s Euridice,\(^\text{12}\) and in Rome of the original performance of Emilio de’ Cavalieri’s sacred music drama, La rappresentazione di anima, e di corpo,\(^\text{13}\) which has often been taken as being the first oratorio. This work may have been more elevated in style than the other charitable, more stylistically popular, dramas at St. Philip Neri’s Oratorio della Vallicella, but, as for the opera, it combined the same three arts with the same objective of recreating ancient Greek drama. Cavalieri (1550-1602) was Roman but from 1584 had lived in Florence and was a member of Bardi’s Camerata and Caroso may have had contact with Cavalieri and have taken some part in discussions with him in Rome and perhaps in Florence. In 1584 Caroso was in Florence, listed with

\(^{12}\) First performed in Florence at the Palazzo Pitti on 6\(^{th}\) October, 1600 and published early in the next year.

\(^{13}\) First performed at the Oratorio della Vallicella in Rome in February, 1600.
Giovanni Bardi in the retinue of Eleonora de’ Medici\textsuperscript{14} for her wedding with Vincenzo Gonzaga in that year.\textsuperscript{15} Caroso could have become directly familiar with the members of the Camerata and their ideas then, if not before. But because they were out of favour with the new Grand Duke, Ferdinando, Bardi and Giulio Caccini, singer, composer of recitative and rival of Peri, moved to Rome in 1592, Bardi appointed ‘lieutenant general of the one and of the other guard’ [\textit{luogotenente generale dell’una e dell’altra guardia}] by the new Pope, Clement VIII, and Caccini as his secretary. Caccini did not stay in Rome long, however.\textsuperscript{16} The title of Bardi’s position is rather strange and it may signify a sinecure. Cavalieri’s involvement in Roman music is attested by his music drama performed at the Oratorio in 1600 already referred to above. With so many visits of members of the Florentine Camerata to Rome, communication of their ideas to Romans is highly likely.

Dancing is certainly one of the more basic of human activities and while mimetic gesture, narrative, costumes and settings may be as integral to classical ballet as they were to seventeenth century court entertainments, they are not important in Caroso’s art (with the exception of the elements of mimed jousting in ‘Barriera’ and ‘Barriera Nuova’).\textsuperscript{17} A practical reason was that theatre was forbidden in Rome, and performances of plays, even when allowed, were circumscribed but perhaps Caroso’s, for the most part, ‘abstract’ dances, with their rules of symmetry and mathematics, were indeed intellectualizations of social dancing, attempting to raise it to a higher level of art, to the level of the liberal arts, and as such owed something to the fervour, zeal and intellectualism of the teaching and eloquent preaching of the clerics of the Counter-Reformation, as well as to enthusiastic discussions of the arts in secular circles.

\textsuperscript{14} The balletto, ‘Alta Gonzaga’, \textit{Nobiltà di Dame}, pp.121-127, is dedicated to her.
\textsuperscript{15} Warren Kirkendale, \textit{The Court Musicians in Florence during the Principate of the Medici, with a Reconstruction of the Artistic Establishment} (Florence: Olschki, 1993), p. 130, n. 135.
\textsuperscript{16} Warren Kirkendale, \textit{The Court Musicians in Florence …}, p. 128.
\textsuperscript{17} \textit{Nobiltà di Dame}, pp. 139 – 148 & pp. 190 - 193.
Caroso’s theorizing, however, does not extend as far as the ‘Harmony of the Spheres’. It is notable that notions of that Neo-platonic concept of Music and Dance, to be found in English poetry in Sir John John Davies’ *Orchestra*,\(^\text{18}\) in Latin astronomy in Johannes Kepler’s *Harmonice mundi*\(^\text{19}\) and elsewhere in the literature of the period, are absent from the prose parts of Caroso’s books. They are to be found rather as elements of the classical colouring of the dedicatory poems as will be discussed below in Chapter III.

The ‘proto-feminism’ of the title, *Nobiltà di Dame*, of the dedicatory poems, in praise of all but exclusively women, and of his dances in which Caroso strives to make the woman’s parts equals of the man’s if not the same, place the book in the tradition of courtly love and of its expressions such as Christine de Pisan’s *Le Tresor de la cité des dames*,\(^\text{20}\) a tradition which achieved most beautiful expressions in the words of Cesare Gonzaga on love in the ‘Third Book’ and of Pietro Bembo at the very end of Castiglione’s *The Courtier*,\(^\text{21}\) quoted below in Chapter IV.\(^\text{22}\) In the prose parts of *Nobiltà di Dame*, viz. the *regole*, the *avertimenti*, the choreographies and the architectural comparisons, the ideal equality of men and women in the dance seems rather to express the dual aspects of the beauty of symmetry and balance in the Dyad. But sixteenth century notions of ‘philogyny’ are very apparent in the poetry.

The two collections of poems, the one by Tasso and dedicated to Cinzio Aldobrandini, the powerful nephew of the Pope, and the other by Uranio Fenice, probably a pseudonym for Tasso, dedicated to

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\(^{20}\) First printed edition, (Paris: A Verard, 1497.)

\(^{21}\) Baldassare Castiglione, *Il libro del cortegiano del conte Baldesar Castiglione* … (Venice: Aldo Romano & Andrea d’Asola, 1528.)

\(^{22}\) See below, p. 129
Flavia Peretti Orsini, are discussed below in Chapte IV, and it is interesting to note the figure of a temple used for such a collection. Perhaps, to use the same figure, Caroso’s book, Nobiltà di Dame. can be seen as a temple with four porticos: the dances, the sonatas, the poems and the engraved illustrations.

Also arising are other important questions in regard to Caroso’s art and writings. Who wrote the music for Caroso’s dances? And who wrote the poetry? Was Caroso master of these courtly arts as well as of dance and its etiquette? Did Caroso succeed in raising dancing to the level of the liberal arts? And what was the future of dancing as an art form? One future was ballroom dancing and another was classical ballet. But not only were Caroso and the other dancing masters of the later sixteenth century important for the development of dancing but to a large degree the development of instrumental music also stems from them.

Caroso’s books would have been known throughout Western and Central Europe and possibly in the Spanish colonies. Embellished though the text of Nobiltà di Dame may be, it is a very professional and technical textbook and with so much detail it is the best source for a thorough understanding of the dancing in the entertainments of the Medici in Florence, in the early operas, including those of Monteverdi, in the French ballets de court - generally regarded as the beginning of classical ballet - and in the masques at the English Jacobean court, written by such as Ben Jonson.

In the longer term Caroso’s balletti are also of interest in that they demonstrate the proportional rationale of the metrical structures and styles of much of the music of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, perhaps even as late as the Viennese classics and beyond.

In ‘Dei cinque Passi in Gagliarda, nome corotto, Regola XXXV’, the Disciple asks the Master this.

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23 See below, p. 117
24 Nobiltà di Dame, pp. 42-43.
You have said that he who wishes to dance well, needs to have these three things, Tempo, Grace and Measure.

Dancing in time is of course very necessary and concerning Grace, the central of these three necessary qualities, much is to be learned from Castiglione’s *Il libro del cortegiano*, as to be discussed below. Caroso’s Master then answers his Disciple’s question thus.

I answer this doubt of yours, that it is well, that you have danced with grace, & concluded the variation in the time of the playing but watch that it is done with measure; I do not wish to say other of measure than that it conform to rule … that a variation that begins with the left foot should finish with that one … .

‘Misura’ here in ‘Regola XXXV seems to be concerned only with the sequence of the feet. But in the last of the rules, for the *Corinto* ‘Come il Corinto habbiano da esser fatto, e donde deriva, Regola LXVIII’, Caroso gives a variant of the three necessary qualities: ‘Rule, Tempo and Measure’ [Regola, Tempo, e Misura]. Furthermore he informs us that they are to be found in the motto on the scroll with the dividers and hourglass [il Compasso, e l’Oriolo] in the engraved title page of the book. On the plinths of the Corinthian columns in the architectural composition of the title page are two pictures, on the left of the she-bear with the motto ‘from the imperfect to the perfect’ [dal imperfetto ad perfetto] and on the right of dividers and an hourglass with a scroll on which can clearly be deciphered ‘Tempo’ and not so clearly ‘Misura’. There seems to be no room on the scroll for either ‘Gratia’ or ‘Regola’. It is important to keep in mind that *misura* (and English ‘measure’) derives from Latin *mensura*, ‘a measuring’, and that the openings of the dances in *Nobiltà di Dame* do conform to the scheme of time values and relationships in the mensural system, as in fact is spelled out for the various kinds of *riverenze* and *continenze* in

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25 See Ch. IV below.
26 The she-bear and her moral quality are discussed below at pp. 81-86.
27 The motto is unclear in the Forni facsimile edition of *Nobiltà di Dame*. Bologna, 1970. I attempted to check the motto in the 1600 copy in the Melbourne University Library but the engraved title page is not included in that copy. Perhaps the engraved plate had worn out.
‘Regole II – VII’.28 as to be discussed below.29 Although in respect of the galliard Caroso seems to use ‘Misura’ only of the sequence of the feet, generally he uses it of much more, in particular of space and time as symbolized by the dividers and hourglass in the picture on the plinth. Mensuration was no doubt traditional in dancing and was hence assumed by Caroso and his contemporaries. I have chosen the first set of the three necessities for good dancing, ‘Tempo, Gratia, e Misura’, from the rule for the galliard, for the title of this study of Nobiltà di Dame.

Temporarily speaking, I am writing this introduction almost thirty years after submitting the thesis that is the basis of this book and so it is rather general and speculative, as already forewarned, raising various questions that will be considered, and hopefully some of them answered, in the chapters that follow.

29 See Ch. V below.
CHAPTER I

THE BOOKS AND THE LIFE OF
FABRIZIO CAROSO

The name and the books of Fabrizio Caroso would be familiar already to those interested in early dance and early music. Facsimile editions of his books, *Il Ballarino* and *Nobiltà di Dame*, have been available for more than forty years now, and most important, especially for English speakers, is Julia Sutton's translation of *Nobiltà di Dame* with the music transcribed and edited by F. Marian Walker. The seven chapters of thorough and wide ranging introduction and the bibliography in her book are very informative and useful for understanding and interpreting Caroso’s text. She evaluates the importance of *Nobiltà di Dame* in her introduction thus.5

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1 On the title pages of both *Il Ballarino* and *Nobiltà di Dame* Caroso's first name is spelled 'Fabritio', which is followed by Julia Sutton in her translation of Caroso's second book, *Nobiltà di Dame*. The additional name, 'Marco', on the title pages of the Broude Brothers’ facsimile of *Il Ballarino* and the Forni facsimile edition of *Nobiltà di Dame*, would seem to derive from the 'M.' preceding his name on the title page of *Il Ballarino*, which rather clearly is 'Messer' abbreviated; the title page of *Nobiltà di Dame* has the title 'SR.' in the same position. Here the modernised spelling 'Fabrizio' has been adopted, following modern Italian practice.


The choice of Nobiltà di Dame for translation and transcription is deliberate ... Il Ballarino is the more famous of the two, and contains many more dances, but ... the corrections and emendations of Nobiltà di Dame (termed by Caroso himself a second edition of Il Ballarino) make logical reconstruction of most of its dances more feasible than those in the earlier volume. The greater detail of Nobiltà di Dame, not just in the correlation of text and music, significantly reduce the guesswork involved. Because so many of the dances (20 of the 49) and even more in the music (30 of the 44 dance pieces) essentially repeat those of Il Ballarino, we may speculate that Nobiltà di Dame's more detailed rules for the steps and guidelines about the music may be applicable as well to other dances in the earlier book.

She further considers that understanding of Nobiltà di Dame will elucidate not only the contemporary Italian sources but “all the known dance material, from Italy and elsewhere, of the late Renaissance and early Baroque periods” (her italics). Apart from what he himself tells us in his books and from what we can deduce from their contents, little is known of the life of Caroso. Julia Sutton has presented biographical information available from both internal and external sources assembled into a chapter of the introduction to her translation, but here such information will be presented in the course of a consideration of Caroso’s two books.

IL BALLARINO

The full title translated of Caroso’s first book, Il Ballarino, published in 1581, is as follows:6

6Il Ballarino di M. Fabritio Caroso da Sermoneta, Diviso in due Trattati; Nel primo de’ quali si dimostra la diversità de i nomi, che si danno à gli atti, & movimenti, che intervengono ne i Balli: con molte Regole si dichiara con quali creanze, & in che modo debbano farsi. Nel secondo s'insegnano diverse sorti di Balli, & Balletti si all'uso d'Italia, come à quello di Francia, & Spagna. Ornato di molte Figure. Et con l'intavolatura di Liuto, & il Soprano della Musica nella sonata di ciascuna Ballo. Opera nuovamente
The Dancer, by M. Fabrizio Caroso of Sermoneta, Divided into two treatises; In the first of which is shown the diversity of names, that are given to the actions; & the movements that occur in dances: & with many rules it is declared with what politenesses, & in what way they should be done. In the second are taught various kinds of dances, and balletti in the style of Italy, as well as of France and Spain. Adorned with many pictures. And with the lute tablature, & the soprano of the music in the sonata of each dance. A work newly published, to the Most Serene Lady Bianca Cappello de’ Medici, Grand Duchess of Tuscany. With privilege. Venice, printed by Francesco Ziletti. 1581.

The book begins with a dedication and two sonnets to Bianca Cappello who was married with romance and scandal but magnificent celebrations to Francesco I, Grand Duke of Tuscany, in 1579. The dedication is followed by 'Alli lettori' in which Caroso places dancing amongst “the honest pleasures and recreations of the mind”. When joined with poetry and music “... it is part of that imitation which represents the affects of the mind with movements of the body”; it also teaches pleasing ways of receiving and giving courtesy and how to perform politenesses and compliments, and finally, “it affords grace, beauty and dignity to the beholders”. This is followed by five sonnets by various poets “in praise of the author” and an engraved portrait of Caroso by Giacomo Franco, giving his age as forty-six. He must therefore have been born in 1535, or before.

The first treatise begins with a classified list of the steps used in dancing, followed by fifty-four rules describing them, with a last rule, ‘Avertimenti alle donne’, warnings mainly concerned with the management of the train. The second treatise, “in which are taught


7 Il Ballarino, tratt. primo, ff.[iv]-[v]. The preface to Nobiltà di Dame, substantially the same as that in Il Ballarino, is discussed below.
various kinds of balleti, cascarde, tordiglione, passamezzo, pavaniglia, canario, and gagliarda”, consists of instructions for eighty-six dances, most of them with dedicatory sonnets or poems in other lyric forms, and seven illustrations of starting positions, each used several times, engraved by Giacomo Franco. 'Sonatas' in lute tablature are provided for the dances and soprano parts for the first twenty-two of them (not “for each of them” as claimed on the title page). The book concludes with two tables: the first of the rules in the first treatise and the second of the dances in the second treatise.  

Most of the dances in *Il Ballarino* and *Nobiltà di Dame* are dedicated to ladies and from them it appears that Caroso’s professional life was spent mostly in Rome. The most exalted lady in *Il Ballarino* is Bianca Cappello, Grand Duchess of Tuscany, followed by duchesses, princesses, marchionesses, other noblewomen and gentlewomen, mostly Italian but some from elsewhere. The dedication of *Il Ballarino* to the Grand Duchess and dedications of several dances to ladies of the Medici and Cappello families suggest that Caroso may have been in Florence for the sbarra celebrating the wedding in 1579 and that he may have been professionally involved in the celebrations. Warren Kirkendale has found Caroso listed, along with Giovanni Bardi, as maestro di ballo in the retinue of Eleonora, or Leonora, de' Medici, first-born child of Grand Duke Francesco I and his first wife, Johanna of Austria, for her wedding in 1584 to Vincenzo Gonzaga, son of the Duke of Mantua. To her

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12 His *The Court Musicians in Florence during the Principate of the Medici*, (Florence: Olschki, 1993), p.130 n.135. Regarding the deplorable
Caroso dedicated the *cascarda*, 'Fulgent Stella', in his book published in 1581, i.e. three years prior to the wedding. The dedication of the *balletto*, 'Bassa Ducale', to the Duchess of Brunswick may seem surprising but the Duke and Duchess were in Rome during 1581, staying as guests of Cardinal d'Este at Tivoli. Victor Coelho has discovered manuscript versions of Caroso choreographies for the celebrations for the wedding of Prince Cosimo de' Medici to the Habsburg Archduchess Maria Magdalena, in 1608. If these were copied by Caroso himself, or at his direction, and not by Allegri or someone else, he would, apparently, still have been alive and active in Florence in that year, at the age of about seventy-three.

There are four ladies described in dedications in *Il Ballarino* as the author's patronesses: two dances, the first with three poems, the second with two, are dedicated to Olimpia Orsina Cesi, also described as his benefactress; one to Agnesina Colonna Caetani, "buona memoria", with the usual single poem; one to Beatrice Caetana Cesi with two poems and one to Giovanna Caetana Orsini with one poem. In *Nobiltà di Dame* there is a dance dedicated to a 'benefactress', Felice Maria Orsina Caetani, one similarly dedicated to Camilla Caetana Caetana, Duchess of Traetto, and another dedicated to Laura Caetana della Riccia, a 'Roman baroness'. These circumstances of the dissolution of Vincenzo Gonzaga's first marriage that necessarily preceded the 1584 wedding see pp. 124-125.

13 *Il Ballarino*, tratt. secondo, ff. 51v-53v.
17 'Bassa Honorata', *Il Ballarino*, ff. 74v-76v.
18 'Barriera', *Il Ballarino*, ff. 76v-79v.
19 'Bassa Romana', *Il Ballarino*, ff. 80r-81v.
21 'Conto dell'Orco Nuovo', *Nobiltà di Dame*, pp. 260-263.
22 'Ninfa Leggiadra', *Nobiltà di Dame*, pp. 329-331.
ladies were all members of the Caetani family, lords of his paese, Sermoneta, in the hills behind Rome, with the exception of the first, Olimpia Orsina Cesi, who was however related by marriage as she was the daughter-in-law of Beatrice Caetana Cesi. It is probable, therefore, that Caroso was retained by the Caetani and perhaps also by the Cesi. Julia Sutton recounts that though the birth records of Sermoneta for this period are lost there is an oral tradition in Sermoneta that Caroso was a native son of peasant extraction, sponsored in his career by the Caetani.\footnote{Her translation of \textit{Nobiltà di Dame}, p. 14.} ‘Peasant’, as a translation of \textit{paesano}, though, may not mean of extremely low and rustic social position as in English. Further information concerning Caroso must be contained in the Caetani family archive in Rome.\footnote{Barbara Sparti discovered some documents relating to Caroso in Sermoneta.} Documents of family, political and diplomatic interest were collected from the archive and catalogued by Gelasio Caetani but there is no reference to Caroso in his catalogue. Felice Maria Caetani, married in 1593, was Duchess of Sermoneta at the time of the publication of \textit{Nobiltà di Dame}, but the Caetani, after several decades of much conspicuous expenditure, for reasons of economy lived retired in the country for most of the time from 1593, the Duke and Duchess living in their beautiful villa at Cisterna near Naples.\footnote{See Gelasio Caetani, \textit{Domus Caetana: storia documentata della famiglia Caetana}, II: ‘Il cinquecento’, (Sancasciano, Val di Pesa: 1933) for the affairs of the family during this period.} This retirement may also have been due to an incident at a banquet, soon after her wedding, at which Felice Maria insulted Flavia Peretti Orsini, Duchess of Bracciano, the consequences of which will be recounted below.\footnote{Gelasio Caetani, \textit{Domus Caetana} ..., pp. 273-281. Further, regarding the Duchess of Bracciano and this incident, see below, pp. 140-141.} But there are dances dedicated to both ladies in \textit{Nobiltà di Dame}.

The Ziletti family, whose typographical mark was five lilies but who also used their shop sign, a star, as on the title-page of \textit{Il Ballarino}, were publishers active in Venice from 1556 until the end of

\footnote{’Rosa Felice’ as cited above and ’Altezza d’Amore’, \textit{Nobiltà di Dame}, pp. 170-176.}
the seventeenth century.\textsuperscript{28} ‘Contrapasso’ in \textit{Il Ballarino}\textsuperscript{29} is dedicated to a Madonna Felicita Ziletti who may have been the publisher's wife.

It would seem that by 1602 at least \textit{Il Ballarino} had become a well-known but dated textbook, as in that year Cesare Negri published in Milan \textit{Le Gratie d'Amore}, a work modelled on \textit{Il Ballarino}, in the introduction to the ‘Trattato Primo’ of which he writes:\textsuperscript{30}

... Nor have I been able in this decision [i.e. to write a dancing manual], to suppress the knowledge that many people have already written on this subject, among whom is the never to be sufficiently praised Messer Fabrizio Caroso of Sermoneta, who in the estimation of all connoisseurs of the art is awarded great praise. And it is true, as it is very true, that there are various things since discovered that can be added; you will see from this work that leaps with a tassel, \textit{capriole}, steps, leaps, variations and \textit{balletti} since his time, and not least by my invention, have enriched the art of dancing, which may be useful, and may be to the taste of those who take the trouble to learn various things; even if they do not have to apply themselves to our discipline.

Also of interest is Negri's relatively short entry for Caroso in his list of 'Nomi di tutti i più famosi ballarini, chi fiorino nel secolo dell'Auttore'. Caroso, in his later years at least, was apparently chiefly famous for his book.\textsuperscript{31}

Fabrizio Caroso of Sermoneta, of whom we have made mention above was not only inventor of many beautiful things in this skill, but as we said, has published a very beautiful book, testimony to his very brilliant and illustrious ability.

\textsuperscript{29} \textit{Il Ballarino}, tratt. secondo, f. 173'.
\textsuperscript{30} Cesare Negri, \textit{Nuove inventioni di balli ...,} (Milan: Girolamo Bordone, 1604) tratt. primo, pp.1-2. \textit{Le Gratie d'Amore} was reprinted with this less fanciful title in 1604.
\textsuperscript{31} Cesare Negri, \textit{Nuove inventioni di balli ...,} p. 4.
At the end of 'Il Piantone' in *Il Ballarino* Caroso had written:\(^{32}\)

These few galliard variations, together with those that are to be found in the *balletto del canario*, will be enough for you for now: seeing that I am saving for a second impression sending *forth a greater number of them, together with other balletti, & new fantasies, & with more pictures, which will depict all the gestures & actions, which it is necessary to know too.

Negri’s book in fact fulfills this promise of Caroso's more exactly than does *Nobiltà di Dame*.

In referring to the many previous writers on the subject, Negri is probably modestly exaggerating, since the surviving manuscript and printed sources indicate only a small though significant literature. There were the three fifteenth century manuscript treatises, by Domenico da Piacenza, Antonio Cornazano and Guglielmo Ebreo da Pesaro,\(^{33}\) but as well there must have been many fairly casually noted choreographies in circulation, like that of 'Le ballet de la royn e de Cesille', written on the fly-leaf of a manuscript,\(^{34}\) and those of dances performed in London at the Inns of Court in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, found in a commonplace book and in other miscellaneous collections,\(^{35}\) but no Italian examples seem to have

\(^{32}\) *Il Ballarino*, tratt. secondo, f. 183r.

\(^{33}\) Domenico da Piacenza, *De arte saltandi & choreas ducendi*, c.1420, F-Pn, Ms. fonds it. 972; Antonio Cornazano, *Libro dell'arte di danzare*, c. 1465, I-Rvat, Ms Capponiano 203; Guglielmo Ebreo da Pesaro, *De pratica seu arte tripudi vulgare opusculum*, 1463, F-Pn, Ms. fonds it. 973.

\(^{34}\) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. fr. 5699: seven choreographies written in 1445 on the fly-leaf of Guillaume Cousinot, *Geste des noblese francoyse*.

survived. The first printed dancing manual may have been Rinaldo Rigoni's *Ballarino perfetto*, said to have been published in Milan in 1468 but which, if it ever existed, is lost. The oldest extant printed dancing manual is *S'ensuit l'art et instruction de bien dancer* published by Michel de Toulouse in Paris in 1496 or before. Apparently in great demand, since there were so many editions, was Antonius Arena’s *Ad suos compagnones studiantes* ... , a long poem in macaronic Latin of the wars and of dancing, first published in Avignon, perhaps as early as 1519. More contemporary with Caroso’s and Negri’s books was Prospero Lutii’s *Opera bellissima nella quale si contengono molte partite, et passeggi di gagliarda*, 1587. There was also, of course, the French book on dancing, Arbeau’s *Orchésographie*, published in 1589, well-known in the English translation by Mary Stewart Evans. The dialogue form of the rules for the steps in *Nobiltà di Dame* suggests that Caroso may have been familiar with Arbeau's book. Published a little later, to extend this bibliographic view by a few years, was Livio Lupi da Caravaggio’s *Libro di Gagliarda, Tordiglione, Pass e Mezzo, Canari, e Passeggi*, 1607.

Negri would seem to refer in the quotation above to Caroso’s *Il Ballarino* and might seem to have been unaware of *Nobiltà di Dame*.

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37 See below, pp. 63-66, for discussion of this work. For other sources prior to c.1550 see the bibliography under 'Dance §III' in *New Grove Dictionary*, 5, pp. 185-186.

38 [Perugia, Orlando, (1587, 1589)].


40 [Palermo, Giov. Battista Maringo, 1607].
Dame, published in 1600, two years earlier than his own book. However, as to be discussed, concordant sonatas in Le Gratie d'Amore and Nobiltà di Dame suggest that he did know it: he may have been referring to Nobiltà di Dame as well as Il Ballarino by the name of the earlier book. It is worth noting too that, despite the claim in the introduction to Negri’s ‘Trattato Primo’ as quoted above, Caroso does as a matter of fact give a rule for the leap with a tassel (an acrobatic step requiring a convenient suspended rope to assist elevation) in Il Ballarino which is repeated substantially in Nobiltà di Dame.\(^{41}\) But whereas Caroso’s rule is single, short and basic, Negri gives fifteen rules, an illustration and a table for fifteen versions of the step, two of them to be mastered first and the thirteen other more difficult ones to be learned subsequently.\(^{42}\)

The following selection from Negri’s 'Nomi di tutti più famosi ballarini ...'\(^{43}\) of inventors of dances who were active in Rome, gives some idea of the professional milieu in which Caroso worked and in which his books were written.

Pietro Martire of Milan in the time of Paul III [i.e. Alessandro Farnese, reigned 1534-1549] was retained for a long time in Rome with a very good stipend by His Highness Duke Ottavio Farnese and was highly regarded [per assai amato] by His Highness. With his own skill he brought to light [recò in luce] many beautiful inventions, balletti and galliards.

There are a balletto and a cascarda in Il Ballarino by an Oratio Martire who possibly may have been this dancer or related to him.\(^{44}\)

Lucius Compasso, a Roman, was a man of merit in the art of dancing the galliard; he wrote various galliard variations, ran a very flourishing school in Rome and Naples.

Compasso is not mentioned in Il Ballarino.

\(^{41}\) Il Ballarino, tratt. primo, f. 12r. ‘Del Salto del Fiocco, Regola XXXV.’, and Nobiltà di Dame, p. 45, ‘Del Salto del Fiocco, Regola XXXVIII.’.

\(^{42}\) Le Gratie d’Amore ..., pp. 63-72.

\(^{43}\) Le Gratie d’Amore ..., pp. 1-4.

\(^{44}\) Il Ballarino, tratt. secondo, f. 104r [sic = 103r] and f. 108r.
Giovanni Paolo Ernandes, a Roman, ran a dancing school in Naples and in Rome, and was in France where he received a salary on account of his rare skill from the Grand Prior, brother of King Henry III of France, and then in Rome he continued to run a very respected school and was always very agile in the skill and graceful at dancing the galliard, the \textit{canario} and other sorts of dances and was inventor of many beautiful \textit{canario} variations.

This might be ‘Paolo Arnandes’, acknowledged inventor of one \textit{balletto} in \textit{Il Ballarino}.\textsuperscript{45}

Giovanni Battista Varade of Milan, called ‘Il Cibre’ ['The Muddle'?], was a pupil of my teacher, ran a dancing and fencing school in Milan and in Rome and was an excellent teacher of both professions.

Perhaps this is Messer Battistino, acknowledged inventor of twelve \textit{balletti} in \textit{Il Ballarino}\textsuperscript{46} including the three dedicated to the Caetani patronesses. Caroso must have had a high regard for his work; perhaps he was associated with him in some way in the Caetani and Cesi patronage or perhaps his dances were favoured by Caroso’s patronesses. Negri makes no mention of Messer Andrea da Gaeta, of Messer Bastiano or of Messer Ippolito Ghidotti of Crema, acknowledged inventors of one \textit{balletto} each in \textit{Il Ballarino}.\textsuperscript{47} In \textit{Il Ballarino} there are nine dances with anonymous acknowledgements i.e. ... \textit{d’incerto}.\textsuperscript{48} In 'Tordiglione' he claims the 'new variations' as his own.\textsuperscript{49} In \textit{Nobiltà di Dame}. there are no other inventors of dances acknowledged. It would seem safe to assume that Caroso was not consistent in regard to acknowlegements.

\textsuperscript{45} \textit{Il Ballarino}, tratt. secondo, f. 106\textsuperscript{r}.
\textsuperscript{46} \textit{Il Ballarino}, tratt. secondo, f. 60\textsuperscript{v}, f. 75\textsuperscript{r}, f. 77\textsuperscript{v}, f. 80\textsuperscript{v}, f. 84\textsuperscript{v}, f. 110\textsuperscript{r}, f. 112\textsuperscript{r}, f. 118\textsuperscript{r}, f. 126\textsuperscript{r}, f. 13\textsuperscript{lr}, f. 159\textsuperscript{v} and f. 161\textsuperscript{v}.
\textsuperscript{47} \textit{Il Ballarino}, tratt. secondo, f. 20\textsuperscript{r}, f. 25\textsuperscript{r} [sic = 55\textsuperscript{r}] and f. 152\textsuperscript{v}.
\textsuperscript{48} \textit{Il Ballarino}, tratt. secondo, f. 37\textsuperscript{r}, f. 41\textsuperscript{r}, f. 46\textsuperscript{r}, f. 50\textsuperscript{r}, f. 92\textsuperscript{r}, f. 149\textsuperscript{r}, f. 151\textsuperscript{r}, f. 154\textsuperscript{v} and f. 165\textsuperscript{v}.
\textsuperscript{49} \textit{Il Ballarino}, tratt. secondo, f. 167\textsuperscript{r}.
Negri, in his Chapter 2, gives an account of his own career, describing mascherate and entrate devised for royal personages who had visited Milan. As a young man he danced for governors of Milan and for members of the Imperial family. At about the time of the Battle of Lepanto in 1571, he was associated with (perhaps in the retinue of) Don John of Austria, half-brother of Philip II of Spain and Commander of the Christian forces in the famous battle, dancing in Genoa, Naples, Sicily and Florence. He devised mascherate and entrate for the wedding in 1599 of Archduke Albert of Austria to Isabella, Infanta of Spain, Sovereigns of the Netherlands, and for the entrance into Milan of Margaret of Austria, Queen of Spain. These entertainments are described, with lists of those who took part and with choreographies which may well be, however, improved versions of what was actually performed. Not for nothing, it would seem, was he nicknamed ‘Il Trombone’.

It is worth remarking that the information concerning Caroso given by Negri is no more than could have been gleaned from his books. Did Negri know any more about him than we do?

Caroso’s only references to his own career are to its length, in 'Alli lettori' in both Il Ballarino and Nobiltà di Dame: in the former he had spent twenty-seven years in the profession and in the latter fifty (the discrepancy between the twenty-three years difference here and the nineteen years between the publications of his books in 1581 and 1600 is to be noted). He seems to have been of a more retiring disposition than Negri and his career, though not so brilliant, may have been a distinguished one in discriminating circles at least. There was no theatre in Rome and the main forms of entertainment continued to be jousts, tournaments and liveries, which were in any case restricted by sumptuary laws in the spirit of the Council of Trent. These laws were disregarded by the nobility, however, who held large sumptuous parties and banquets in their palazzi. These private festivities would have been favourable for the development of social

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50 The Archduke and Archduchess employed Peter Philips and, later, John Bull in their chapel in Brussels.
51 See below regarding dancing at the festivity in Milan for the visit of the Pope’s Legate on 18th July, 1599.
52 On the title pages of his books, ‘detto Il Trombone’.
53 See below.
dancing as an art form, as found particularly in *Nobiltà di Dame*. In the more frankly secular courts of duchies and kingdoms on the other hand, the pantomimic aspects of the dance and the use of floor to describe geometric patterns were developed in *mascherate* and *entrate*, as to be found described by Negri. In the seventeenth century these celebrations had an important role as part of diplomatic exchange and, on the learned level, were transformed into attempted recreations of ancient drama and works of high art.

Whereas Negri presents the richness and variety of contemporary dancing with much information as to its social context, Caroso gives very precise and detailed instructions, and aims to raise social dancing to a new level of art, in his second book particularly. The title-page of Caroso’s second book, *Nobiltà di Dame*, published in 1600, is reproduced in Figure 1 below, which translated is:

Nobility of Ladies, by Signor Fabrizio Caroso of Sermoneta, a book previously called The Dancer. Newly corrected by the author himself, enlarged with new dances, beautiful rules, and reduced to perfect theory: with the politeness necessary for gentlemen and ladies. The bass and soprano of the music are added; and with lute tablature for each dance. Adorned with graceful and beautiful copper engravings. To the Most Serene Lords, Duke and Duchess of Parma and Piacenza, etc. With

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licence of the Superiors, and privileges. Venice, Il Muschio Press, 1600. At the instance of the author.

Figure 1
The design of the engraved titlepage is disappointing: the columns (in the Forni facsimile edition at least) are not quite straight and it is over-crowded with imagery, architectural in the Corinthian order of the overall design, musical with trumpets at the top and a lute, a harp and viols at the sides between the columns, heraldic of the Aldobrandini and the Farnese in a medallion above, portraiture of Caroso in a medallion below, and, on the plinths of the architectural order symbols of two virtues, one moral and the other choreographic, to be discussed below. The effect is certainly copious with references to much contained in the book. It is a grand concept that is ingenious rather than pleasing. At the end of the dedicatory section of Il Ballarino, opposite the fist recto folia of 'Trattato Primo', is an engraved portrait signed by Giacomo Francho of Fabrizio Caroso, giving his age as forty-six. The plate appears to have been used again in Nobiltà di Dame, again at the end of the dedicatory section (and 'Celeste Giglio'), before 'Alli Lettori' which is on page 1, with his age changed to seventy-four, lines added to his face and some other details altered. The portrait, miniaturised, is also to be found in a medallion at the foot of the title-page

The book is in the same form as Il Ballarino but, although it purports to be the same work with revisions and a new title, it is virtually a new one. Tables at the back of Nobiltà di Dame are reproduced below, in Figures 2 and 3, showing Caroso's rules for dancing and his notices, i.e. 'avertimenti', concerning manners and etiquette, which range from how gentlemen should wear their cloaks in 'Avertimento I.', to how a lady should and should not greet a princess in 'Avertimento XII.' and to consideration of the plight of ladies who have not been asked to dance in 'Avertimento XXII.'. A table of the dances in alphabetical order is also to be found there, following, with abbreviated dedications. The dances are listed below in the order in which they occur in the book, with the full dedications to the ladies to whom they are dedicated and the two men (the Duke of Parma and Piacenza and Alessandro Fondra from Lucca).

In an extended section dedicating the book to the Duke and Duchess of Parma, a dedication in the usual epistolary form is

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57 Nobiltà di Dame, pp. 371-372.
followed by a sonnet each to the Duke and Duchess and a villanella on their marriage, portraits of the couple in medallions and the balletto, ‘Celeste Giglio’.

Figure 2
TAVOLA
DELLI AVERTIMENTI
DELLLE CREANZE.

O M e i Cauailerì deono por
tar la Cappa.  36
Il modo che han da teneri i Ca
uilerì à i Fessini.  67
Modo da portar le sopradette cose.  68
Del modo come un Cavaliere deve as-
fettato.  69
Comi i Cauailerì si deono governare sulle
Feste.  70
N aquai avvertimenti à i Principì, e Signò-
ri.  72
Nel far il Contrapasso che ordine si de te
mere.  73
Come i termonierì superflue si deono fe-
siare.  73
Quali Creanze convengono alle Da-
me.  74
Del modo d'imparare la liueranza grà-
ue.  75
Come la Dama hà da portar ben le pie-
nelle.  75
Il modo come la Dama deue salutar una
Principe arising.  76
Modo come la Dama de se dittere.  77

Del modo di sedere in Sedia bassa senza
paggi.  79
La maniera che la Dama doverà vfare
Ballando.  79
Come la Dama hàra da fare quando an-
darà à Fessini.  80
Come si deue governare una Sposa in rice
mere una Principessa che vadi ad sono
rar le sue Nozze.  81
Quali maniera hàrà de tener la Sposa quà
do una Principessa, à Signora si vol-
lese partirè.  81
Del modo che la Damerì deono tener in in-
uità i Cauailerì à Ballare.  82
Segue una bella maniera come si deono la
Lama bentrare à Ballare.  83
Come la Damerì deono governare prima
che eche bi de casa.  84
Delle Damerì che non sono invitate à Bal-
lare.  85
Modo che deono teneri le Damerì à far il
Pianone.  86
Del modo che han da teneri le Damerì
quando son fuanatà.  87
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page &amp; Dance Nos.*</th>
<th>Name and subtitle</th>
<th>Dedication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ix] [1]</td>
<td>Celeste Giglio <em>balletto</em></td>
<td>In lode delli Ser.\textsuperscript{mi} Sig.\textsuperscript{ri} Don Ranuccio Farnese, e D. Margarita Aldobrandina, Duca, e Duchessa di Parma, e di Piacenza, &amp;ç.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98 [3]</td>
<td>Alta Regina <em>cascarda</em></td>
<td>In lode della Ser.\textsuperscript{ma} Cattolica D. Margarita d'Austria, Regina di Spagna, &amp;ç.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111 [5]</td>
<td>Laura Suave <em>balletto</em></td>
<td>In lode della Ser.\textsuperscript{ma} Madama Christena Lorena de Medici, Gran Duchessa di Toscana.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130 [7]</td>
<td>Passo e mezzo <em>balletto</em></td>
<td>In lode della Ser.\textsuperscript{ma} Sig.\textsuperscript{ra} D. Livia dalla Rovere, Duchessa d' Urbino.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Ballettino</td>
<td>In lode della Signora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139</td>
<td>Barriera balletto</td>
<td>Sereniss. D. Verginia Medici d'Este, Duchessa di Modena, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151</td>
<td>Spagnoletta Nuova a al modo di madriglia</td>
<td>Illustriss. et Eccellentiss. Signora [no name], Vice-Regina di Napoli.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156</td>
<td>Gagliarda di Spagna balletto</td>
<td>Ill. ma et Ecc. ma D. Anna Cordua Cardona, Duchessa di Sessa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162</td>
<td>Bassa, et Alta balletto</td>
<td>Ill. ma et Ecc. ma Sig. Olimpia Aldobrandina, nepote di N.S. Papa Clemente VIII.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>172</td>
<td>Altezza d’Amore balletto</td>
<td>Ill. ma et Ecc. ma D. Flavia Peretti Orsina, Duchessa di Bracciano.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>179</td>
<td>Coppia Colonna balletto</td>
<td>Ill. ma et Ecc. ma Sig. la Sig. Giulia Colonna Colonna.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>185</td>
<td>Rosa Felice balletto</td>
<td>Ill. ma et Ecc. ma Sig. Padrona, et Benefatrice mia Colendiss., D. Felice Maria Orsina Caetana, Duchessa di Sermoneta. b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>190</td>
<td>Barriera Nuova da farsi in sesto</td>
<td>Illustriss. et Eccellentiss. Signora [no name], Principessa Colonna.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>196 [16]</td>
<td>Doria Colonna <em>cascarda</em></td>
<td>In lode dell'Ill.\textsuperscript{ma} et Ecc.\textsuperscript{ma} Sig. D. Giovanna Colonna d'Oria, Principessa d'Oria.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201 [17]</td>
<td>Alta Colonna <em>balletto</em></td>
<td>In lode dell'Ill.\textsuperscript{ma} et Ecc.\textsuperscript{ma} Sig. Arsilia Sforza Colonna, Principessa di Pellestrina.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>206 [18]</td>
<td>Allegrezza d’Amore <em>cascarda</em></td>
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DANCES IN NOBILTÀ DI DAME WITH DEDICATIONS

The lily was the Farnese emblem and the 'heavenly' in the name is presumably for the papal Aldobrandini. The Duke was Ranuccio Farnese, fourth duke of the duchy carved out of the Papal States for his descendants by the Farnese pope, Paul III, and the Duchess was Margarita Aldobrandini, the thirteen-year-old great-niece of the reigning pope, Clement VIII. They were married in 1600 but at the bride’s request, we are told, there were no ‘worldly’ celebrations as it was Holy Year. There were most likely other reasons as well. Finding a suitable bride for Ranuccio had concerned the Farnese since the 1580s and it had been decided that for political reasons he should marry a niece or other relative of a pope. The marriage was promoted by the Pope's powerful nephew, Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, against the better judgement and wishes of Clement VIII, and the insults and humiliations suffered were said to have caused the death of the Pope. Margarita “was a woman of sense but

58 Jaynie Anderson, in her article 'The "Sala di Agostino Carracci" in the Palazzo del Giardino', in The Art Bulletin, v 52 (1970) pp. 41-48, describes and discusses the companion work to the Farnese Gallery ceiling in Parma and outlines some of these circumstance at p. 41. See fig. 4.

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<th>Alta Cardana cascarda</th>
<th>In lode della molto Ill.re Sig. Gieronima Cardana Arca, Gentildonna Romana.</th>
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* Numbers for the dances as in Sutton's translation.
  a 'Spagnoletta di Madriglia' in the table at the back of Nobiltà di Dame.
  b 'Ecc.ma' omitted in the table.
  c 'Conto dell'Orco' in the table.
  d 'Marchesa Peretti' in the table.
  e 'Furioso in ottavo' in the table.
  f 'Piantone' in the table.
  g Alessandro is omitted in the table.
was not very happy, and died of extreme obesity handed down to her posterity”.

Far removed from the reality of these circumstances is the elegant conceit adorned with the very formal and obsequious language of the epistolary dedication which, translated and unavoidably somewhat simplified, reads as follows:

TO THE MOST SERENE LORD AND LADY [SIG.RI]
DON RANUCCIO FARNESE,
AND DONNA MARGARITA ALDOBRANDINI,
DUKE, AND DUCHESS
of Parma, and of Piacenza, etc.

Having to publish this book, written according to the gift bestowed on me by God, in which I have put as much as I ever knew of my profession, I would have been in great doubt of the dedication, and on whose protection I should lean it, if I were not an old and devoted servant to the Most Serene House of Farnese (first, and most regarded of Roman families), as likewise I am favoured and honoured with kindnesses, and with particular honours by the Most Illustrious House of Aldobrandini (to the one and to the other its grandeur, and especially in this most glorious pontificate of Pope Clement VIII) so thus I could promise myself dependence on them for every favour, that I might be able to desire for these labours of mine. But blessed be God, amongst the many things with which He has willed to console the world has been the happy wedding of your Serene Highnesses by which he has lifted every veil of doubt from me, and joined what was divided, and has given me surest shade under two patrons, and firm protection under two such great subjects [sic, suggetti], in fact the first, and the

59 Pompeo Litta, *Famiglie celebri italiane* (Milan: autore, 1837) vol. 4, fasc. 42, tav.iii.. In his table Litta shows no descendants and, according to Jaynie Anderson in her article, 'The "Sala di Agostino Carracci" in the Palazzo del Giardino', in *The Art Bulletin*, v. 52 (1970), Margarita was unable to produce an heir: see p. 45, n. 37.

60 *Nobiltà di Dame*, pp. [iii] - [iv].
greatest living today in this age, considering my most ardent devotion towards you. Therefore this work of mine comes forth into the world, given and consecrated to Your Most Serene Highnesses in particular consideration too of its title, which as it is called 'Nobility of Ladies', seems to me to give a rare example to this age of the quality which might suit it; all the more seeing placed on the first page the most happy names of Your Most Serene, Greatest, and Most Fortunate Highnesses, whom may almighty God keep thus for many long years, and me your most devoted servant in the good grace of those to whom with every devoted reverence I kiss my hands.

Venice, 25th November, 1600.

Your Most Serene Highnesses'

Most humble and devoted servant

Fabrizio Caroso of Sermoneta.

But even further removed from the actual circumstances is the villanella on the marriage, referring to the heraldic lilies of the Farnese and the stars and bars of the Aldobrandini as shown in the double portrait on the back of the same page and in the coats of arms there and on the title page. Some of the ideas, as well as the vocabulary, however, are the same.  

61 Nobiltà di Dame, p.[vii]. The typography of this page is defective in the Forni facsimile and omitted letters have been supplied from the copy in the Harvard Music Library. Translated:

In the Vatican one day
I saw an illustrious garden, beautiful and adorned,
Around its roses, greenery and flowers
The baby loves ran [?] in play.
Where the highest shepherd
Planted six lilies of azure hue;
And so that they should remain fresh and beautiful
He trained them on six stars and on three rakes.
And they gave such a perfume
To the six golden stars and to the three rakes
Nel Vaticano un giorno
Vidi un giardino illustre, vago, e adorno
Intorno alle cui rose, herbette, e fiori
Givan scherzando i pargoletti Amori.
Ove il sommo PASTORE
Piantò sei Gigli d'azzurro colore;
E per far che stian sempre freschi, e belli,
A sei Stelle gli appoggia, e à tre Rastelli.
E dan tanto odor quelli
Alle sei Stelle d'oro, e a i tre Rastelli,
Che felici saran sempre i sei Gigli,
Le sei Stelle, e i Rastelli, & i lor figli.
Ò quanto è al Mondo grato
Questo sublime, e nobil Parentato,
Ch'ogn'un canta di cor mentre s'inchina,
Viva casa Farnese, e Aldobrandina.
Dio vi mantenga, e il Cielo,
E accreschi à ogn'un di Voi l'ardente zelo,
Acciò con santo, e con soave modo
Viviate insieme in amoroso nodo.

The Aldobrandini, who had been civil lawyers and papal administrators before Clement VIII's elevation to the papacy, were, like the Farnese, highly cultured and distinguished patrons of learning and of the arts, particularly one of the Pope’s other nephews, Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini, who was Torquato Tasso’s patron during the

That the lilies will always be happy,
And the six stars, and the rakes, and their children.
Oh how pleasing to the world
Is this sublime and noble marriage,
And everyone sings from the heart while bowing,
Long live the houses of Farnese and Aldobrandini.
May God and Heaven keep you,
And may burning zeal increase in each of you,
So that in holiness and sweetness
You may live together knotted in love.'
poet’s last years; and it was to Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini that Tasso dedicated his *Gerusalemme conquistata* as well as his *Discorsi del poema eroico*.62

It is interesting to note the decoration by Annibale and Agostino Carracci, but mainly Annibale, of the vaulted ceiling of the Galleria in the Palazzo Farnese, executed in the short space of the four years between 1597 and 1600, which is considered to be one of the greatest works of the 'classical revival' at the end of the sixteenth century. It is thought that the occasion for this great work was the marriage of Duke Ranuccio I; whatever the vexations and mortifications inflicted on Margarita Aldobrandini and her family, the marriage would seem to have been considered by the Farnese worthy of celebration with a large work in suitable epithalamic vein. And whatever the wishes of the bride on account of Holy Year this is an exceedingly worldly celebration. The design derives from the 'antique' interpretations of ancient subjects in framed panels in Raphael's Loggie and from Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel ceiling, the paintings in the panels of the Galleria ceiling illustrating in mock-epic style various loves of the gods for human beings as recounted by Virgil and Ovid. In the Galleria were displayed the antique marbles of the Farnese collection, but architecture, painting, literature and music also receive some emphasis in this "Epithalamium in paint", to use Charles Dempsey's words.63

It is not unlikely that dancing was included among the arts that were honoured there and that some of Caroso's balletti were performed in this magnificent setting. 'Nobiltà di Dame' is a more significant title than 'Il Ballarino' and Caroso's book dedicated to the theme of the nobility of ladies in a collection of artistic dances. On the formal level, then, Nobiltà di Dame resembles the great painting in the Farnese Galleria with which it is exactly contemporary.
There are resemblances too in some of the content. The rules and theory of dance are presented with wit and allusiveness with reference to the other arts and sciences in an exposition of dancing as an art form in which, also, there is a perhaps fin de siècle retrospectivity: in a return to the forms and structures of the not so distant past, in order to “progress toward ideal perfect solutions” as Donald Posner says of the ceiling decoration. In Dempsey’s opinion, the clue to the theme of the certainly obscure ‘programme’ of Carracci’s decoration, namely Virgil’s “Omnia vincit Amor; et nos cedamus Amori”, is the pairs of wrestling cupids in the four corners of the ceiling, a commonplace used by Raphael and others with some variety of meanings, whom Dempsey interprets as Eros and Anteros used here to represent reciprocal loves. It may be these same cupids playing in the Vatican garden of whom we read in Caroso's villanella on this same marriage.

Complementary with the divine loves of the ceiling decoration are the human loves of the heroines of Ovid's Heroides to which Caroso makes significant reference by quoting the opening line, the beginning of Penelope's letter to "slow Ulysses". It is interesting, also, to note works by Monteverdi concerned with the affections of women in love, the topic of the Heroides: the 'Lettera amorosa' and, of course, the 'Lamento d'Arianna'. There seems to have been particular interest in the Heroides in Caroso's times. In the title of his book Caroso no doubt alludes to this topic in general as well as to the Heroides in particular in his text.

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65 Virgil, Eclogues X, 69, translated: ‘Love conquers everything; and let us yield to Love’.
66 See Philostratus, Imagines, I. 6.
68 In his rule for dancing the spondee. See below.
69 Published in Claudio Monteverdi, Concerto, Settimo libro de madrigali ..., (Venice: Bartolomeo Magni, 1619).
70 Written for performance in 1608, published (Venice: Magni, 1623).
71 For a fuller discussion of these themes see below.
There would be gracious gesture to the Farnese in Caroso's last 'Regola' in an elliptical reference, associated with praise of Michelangelo, to the Palazzo Farnese and to the Church of Il Gesù. Large financial contributions for the building of the church were made by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese who was enthusiastic about Vignola’s design for it although it was only reluctantly accepted by the Jesuits. But the Cardinal, it seems, was not happy with Vignola's facade, preferring a design by della Porta. Della Porta was the leading architect of the later part of the sixteenth century and completed several of Michelangelo’s designs, notably the dome of St. Peter’s. He also built for the Aldobrandini their palazzo in the Piazza Colonna and their villa at Frascati. Since as well as Michelangelo many architects in the great Roman tradition worked on St. Peter’s the facade of that church would seem to have been the obvious example for Caroso to have used in his rule rather than that of Il Gesù, and so it is possible that the Farnese association was a more important consideration than architecture and the possibility can be considered that Caroso’s enthusiasm for architecture may have been partly due to the influence of the Farnese and that there may have been some patronage involved, or at least the hope of it. However, it must be kept in mind that architecture was ‘in the air’ of Caroso’s Rome as ancient buildings were investigated and a new city built to rival the old and that the Farnese wedding was the wedding of the year.

As in Il Ballarino there are five sonnets in praise of Caroso. The first of these, attributed to Torquato Tasso, seems to refer to the publication of Nobiltà di Dame - but Tasso had died five years previously. It is quite possible, of course, that Caroso was already preparing his second book prior to 1595, the year of Tasso’s death, or

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72 Nobiltà di Dame, pp. 63-64, 'Regola LXVIII.', translated and discussed below.
the sonnet may possibly refer to *Il Ballarino*. The poem, however, is so obscure as to be uncharacteristic of Tasso which, apart from any question of its quality, casts additional doubt on its authenticity.\(^{75}\)

\[\text{Come ogni Rio l’honor col corso rende}\]
\[\text{Al mar; così del Ballo ogni dotta arte}\]
\[\text{À costui fà; che col bel piè comparte}\]
\[\text{Quanto il suo ingegno in carta ben distende.}\]
\[\text{Più d’ogni spirto lui vede, e comprende}\]
\[\text{Se miri come dolce à parte, à parte}\]
\[\text{Di toglier l’armi, e la fierezza à Marte}\]
\[\text{Rinuova l’arte: e i cor ferisce, e incende}\]
\[\text{O’ fortunato; che si altera guida}\]
\[\text{Amor ti mostra, onde Tù poi te ingegni}\]
\[\text{Hor col spron, hor col fren, mover Natura.}\]
\[\text{E come l’arte à dar la vita ancida}\]
\[\text{Mille anime in un punto hoggi Tù insegni,}\]
\[\text{O’ nato in meglior’ anni in tal Ventura.}\]

The other sonnets are by Quintilio Romoli, Nicolò Castello, Francesco Guglia and Vincenzo Mucci, repeated from *Il Ballarino* except for Castello’s which is new. A sonnet by Marco Sofronio and another sonnet by Mucci in *Il Ballarino* are not used again in *Nobiltà di Dame*. The inclusion of the sonnet by Tasso suggests that Caroso

\(^{75}\) Here is an attempt at translation of this difficult poem:

'As every river pays back honour with its course
To the sea; so every learned art of the dance
To him; who with his beautiful foot divides
What his genius spreads well on paper.
He sees more than any spirit, and understands
If you look at how partly sweet, partly
Taking away arms, and the fierceness from Mars
His art renews: and wounds hearts and ignites.
O fortunate one; that Love shows you
Such a lofty guide, so that you can then use your genius
Now with the spur, now with the bridle, to move Nature.
And though the art of giving life kills
A thousand souls at once today you teach,
O born into better years in such a venture.'
may have been associated with Cinzio Aldobrandini’s circle but such conjecture is not supported by examination of the ‘temple’ of poems in Italian, Latin and Greek by a great number of authors in honour of Cardinal Cinzio, also published in 1600: 76 with the exception of Tasso, the poets acknowledged by name in Caroso’s books do not appear in this collection. These poets and any other literary collaborators unnamed may have been friends or acquaintances of Caroso’s, perhaps known many, many years previously, or Caroso, the possibility must be entertained, may have written all the poems himself, assigning one famous name and several beautiful ones to the most prominent poems in an elaborate conceit in imitation of temples of poems such as that to Cinzio Aldobrandini. The obscurity of the 'Tasso' poem may be intended as caricature of Tasso’s style. The portrait of Caroso is used again, but with his cap altered. Perhaps conforming to a more contemporary fashion, lines are added to his face and his age is not very clearly altered to seventy-four, in Roman numerals, which most likely is a mistake for sixty-four.

'Alli lettori' is substantially repeated from the earlier book but is expanded with an extended simile illustrating the extent of revision of the book and of correction of the dances.77 The rules for the steps in 'Libro Primo' are extensively revised, cast into dialogue form between Master and Disciple, and expanded from fifty-four to sixty-eight, and there are now twenty-four notices on politenesses for both ladies and gentlemen.

In 'Libro Secondo' the number of dances has been reduced from eighty-one to forty-nine - Caroso is much more selective - and they are either new or thoroughly revised. The seven engravings by Franco are used again with the addition of an eighth, and there is a ninth in a different style from the others and a floor plan of 'Contrapasso Nuovo'. The engraved title page of the book in the Forni facsimile edition is unsigned and the other new engravings may be by the same artist, although the style of these others is far less cluttered.

76 Giulio Segni (ed.), Tempio all’illustissimo et reverendissimo signor Cinthio Aldobrandini, cardinale S. Giorgio ... (Bologna: heredi di Giovanni Rossi, 1600).
77 For discussion of the simile see below, and of the preface as a whole.
There are forty-four sonatas for the forty-nine dances, five of them used more than once. They have all been reset.

Personal contact with ladies of the most exalted rank, to whom dances are dedicated in *Nobiltà di Dame*, should not be assumed, nor can travel in Spain, France or Germany be read into them, since up (or rather down) to a certain point, the dedications appear to be schematic of international society from a Roman point of view, with particular emphasis on recent important weddings. After the dance, 'Celeste Giglio', in the preliminary section dedicating the book to the Duke and Duchess of Parma, the dances are dedicated to Marie de Médicis, Queen of France, married to Henry of Navarre in 1600, Margaret of Austria, Queen of Spain, Moresina Moresini Grimani, Princess of Venice, whose beautiful portrait by Leandro Bassano is reproduced below in Figure 7, Christine of Lorraine, Grand Duchess of Tuscany, and then to Italian duchesses *et aliae* as in *Il Ballarino*, but to very few of lower rank than baroness.

*Nobiltà di Dame* was published by Andrea Muschio whose typographical mark, although not used in this book, was appropriately a fly. Muschio had previously worked in association with the Ziletti and with the Varisco families who were publishers of antiphonaries and missals. Perhaps neither Muschio nor Ziletti was experienced in the printing of lute tablature, which may account for the amount of error. *Nobiltà di Dame* was reissued in 1605 by Muschio “ad instantia dell’auttore” from the same plates but with some of the illustrations in the wrong places.

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78 Antonio Ricchi may have been the source of misinformation concerning Caroso: "The author [i.e. Caroso] was [dancing] master of the Empress, the queens of Spain and France, of the Grand Duchess of Tuscany, Princesses and Duchesses of Ferrara, Mantua, Urbino, Sora, Sulmona, Monte Leone, Traetto, Brunswick, Sermoneta, his fatherland, and of numerous Roman gentlemen and ladies: he himself confesses it.", see Antonio Ricchi, *Teatro degli uomini illustri nelle armi, lettere, e dignità che fiorino nel Regno antichissimo de Volsci ...* (Rome: Ercole, 1721) p. 184.


80 Claudio Sartori, *Dizionario degli editori italiani*, p. 162 and p. 172.
Warren Kirkendale notes the lutenist, Lorenzo Allegri, also known as 'Lorenzo todesco', “the major composer of instrumental ensemble music in Florence in the first half of the seventeenth century”. It is recorded that as 'Lorenzino Tedescho' (when about twenty-two) he ‘received shoes’ for the *intermedii* of 1589. Allegri wrote dance music for the ballets in the Palazzo Pitti in the style of Caroso and even used some of his music. He published instrumental ensemble music in score, a novelty at the time, and his music is considered to have been an important influence on Lully’s dance music.\(^81\) Thus at least the music of Caroso's books is part of the tradition leading to the greatness of ballet at the court of Louis XIV.

Kirkendale also notes the dancer, Agnolo Ricci, who was the choreographer of many of the Florentine ballets during the same period as Allegri.\(^82\) Although there are no known documents establishing any connection, he too may have been influenced by Caroso.

In 1630 *Nobiltà di Dame* was reissued in Rome under a new title:\(^83\)

> Collection of various dances, done on occasions of weddings and parties by noble gentlemen and ladies of various nations, newly discovered in the writings of Signor Fabrizio Caroso of Sermoneta, an excellent dancing master. Published by Giovanni Dini, enriched with beautiful copper engravings. With addition of the bass, and soprano of the music, and lute tablature for each dance. Rome, printed by Guglielmo Facciotti, 1630. With licence of the superiors. At the instance of Giovanni Dini,

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\(^{81}\) Warren Kirkendale, *The Court Musicians of Florence, during the Principate of the Medici*, pp. 299-304.

\(^{82}\) Warren Kirkendale, *The Court Musicians of Florence, during the Principate of the Medici*, pp. 603-605.

bookseller at the sign of the cat in Navona.

This edition has a new dedication to Lodovico Rivaldi in place of Caroso’s but otherwise it is from the same plates as used by Muschio in 1600 and 1605. It is quite likely that it was made up from Muschio’s remainder sheets as noted in the Harvard University Library catalogue entry.\(^8^4\) There may have been some antiquarian interest in these dated dances and Julia Sutton suggests that Dini’s edition may have been intended as a memorial to Caroso.\(^8^5\) She quotes a reference in a book by Felippo degli Alessandri da Narni, published in 1620, to the effect that Caroso was no longer alive then and that the dancing in his writings and in those of his contemporaries, Prospero Lutii and Cesare Negri, should no longer be "imitated".\(^8^6\) In the introduction to his *The Manuscript Sources of Seventeenth Century Lute Music*, Victor Coelho has drawn attention to the decline of the printing of lute music in the seventeenth century and notes that the tradition of lute music continued nevertheless in manuscripts, fifty of which are known.\(^8^7\) Of the many settings of dance tunes in the manuscripts he writes:\(^8^8\)

Perhaps the most popular dances [i.e. dance sonatas], though rarely the most interesting in a strict musical sense, are those derived from the dance treatises by Caroso (rpt. 1600) and Negri (1602). These include the branle, tordiglione, Spagnoletta, many types of balletti (some multi-sectional), and the most widely circulated dance in the entire repertory, the catchy balletto *Barriera*. The popularity of these dances in the tablatures is clearly the result of the enormous popularity the dance choreographies continued to have in themselves.

The music surely continued to be played and Coelho assumes that the dances continued to be danced too, perhaps assuming rightly since

\(^8^4\) See the entry in the *National Union Catalogue, pre-1956 imprints*.
\(^8^5\) Her translation of *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 19.
\(^8^6\) Quoted ibid. from Felippo de gli Alessandri, *Discorso sopra il ballo* (Terni: Tomasso Guerieri, 1620).
\(^8^8\) Victor Coelho, *The Manuscript Sources of Seventeenth Century Lute Music*, pp. 40-41.
Alessandri may have been in the very vanguard of fashion and the dances of the older authors still danced even if only in less fashionable and less professional circles than his. Coelho's index notes sixteen manuscripts in which twenty-two pieces based on Caroso's sonatas are found. However, Facciotti, the publisher of the 1630 edition of Nobiltà di Dame, was a printer of guitar tablature and the music may have been the main concern but, nevertheless, his edition does include the choreographies as well as the sonatas. In modern times, as we well know, the music for the most part has been of more interest than the dance which is, though at this distance of time, more difficult to revive.

90 Claudio Sartori, Dizionario degli editori italiani, p. 65.
CHAPTER II
RHETORIC AND PHILOSOPHY IN 'ALLI LETTORI'

CAROSO'S prose style is florid, involved and allusive, very different from the easy conversational style of *Orchésographie* by the church administrator, Jehan Tabourot, Canon of Langres, writing under the pseudonym of Thoinot Arbeau. It is not as inflated, however, as the often bombastic style of Cesare Negri. The modern reader, intent on discovering the steps and choreographies, may well be repelled, but an understanding of Classical and Renaissance philosophical theories of the arts, of the allusions that enliven Caroso's text and an appreciation of the figures that adorn and grace it assist comprehension of Caroso's artistic intentions and of the meaning and affective significance of his dances.

A classical precedent (of a sort) for the fifteenth and sixteenth century dance manuals would be *De saltatione* by Lucian of Samosata,\(^1\) a Syrian from the bank of the Euphrates in the second century A.D., a rhetorician and satirist. He lived in Gaul, Rome and Athens and wrote, and presumably spoke, beautiful and stylish Attic Greek. Doubts as to the authenticity of *De saltatione* are discussed by Graham Sanderson who concludes, however, that the work is what is to be expected in an occasional piece by Lucian.\(^2\) From the fifteenth century there is a complete Latin translation in manuscript, but unpublished, of *De saltatione* by Athanasius Chalkeopoulos, a monk from Athos associated in the Italian church with Cardinal Bessarion.\(^3\) The notes [*zibaldoni*] of the fifteenth century classical scholar associated with the Medici, Angelo Poliziano, of Greek and Latin texts concerning dance contain a summary of Lucian’s essay with Latin

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1 Edtio princeps, (Florence: 1496)
3 *De saltatione* by Athanasius Chalkeopoulos (from MS Parisinus graecus 3013).
translations of some of it but these notes are not included in the Aldine edition of Poliziano’s works of 1498. Lodovico Ricchieri, or Celius Rodiginus, published his *Antiquae lectiones* in 1516 in which there are two chapters on ancient dance including a paraphrase of *De saltatione*, thus commencing in the early sixteenth century the familiarization of western readers with the records of ancient dance. In the mid-sixteenth century Rinaldo Macone, known as Rinaldo Corso, a jurist with wide literary and other interests, quoted from *De saltatione* in his published *Dialogo del ballo*, making Lucian’s essay on the dance more widely known. *De saltatione* is in dialogue form and is an encomium of the art of pantomime, the ancient Roman equivalent of ballet, with solo costumed male dancers representing characters of myths, legends and tales from tragedies and comedies many of them noted by Lucian in *De saltatione*, which was widely popular in the Graeco-Roman world. Therefore it was hardly a model for the instruction manuals of Caroso and of the other writers of dance manuals except, perhaps, in respect of the dialogue form as adopted in *Nobiltà di Dame*, in historical decoration such as the noting of ancient dancing in ‘Alli lettori’ and in the literary stylishness aimed at in *Nobiltà di Dame*. Lucian’s ancient pantomime was choreographic representation whereas the artistic social dancing of *Nobiltà di Dame*, ‘with beautiful rules, and reduced to perfect theory’ was an abstract art.

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8 Hall, Edith, & Wyles, R. (eds.) *New Directions in Ancient Pantomime* … pp. xviii & 481.

9 *Nobiltà di Dame*, [p. xxvi]

10 Title page of *Nobiltà di Dame*.,
From the text of *Nobiltà di Dame* it is apparent that Caroso was in touch with the literary movements of the time. Literary theory distinguished the 'high', the 'medium' and the 'low' styles. The dedication of *Nobiltà di Dame* and 'Alli lettori' are presumably in high style, the poems in the medium and the 'Regole' and 'Avertimenti' in the low style of everyday pedagogic discourse, somewhat elevated by the use of rhetorical devices. Tasso, in his *Discorsi del poema eroico*, has much to say of what to avoid in using "the low style of speaking" (using a sonnet by none less than Petrarch as an example) and the main thrust of his warnings is that obscurity must be avoided.\(^{11}\) The low style, then, would be the most appropriate for instruction, one would suppose, but devices such as conceits and puns and the juxtaposition of the beautiful, of the humorous, the irreverent and even the disgusting, as well as serving to entertain, are used so as to make the text more vivid. Caroso's style in this resembles that of the Marinists, the Italian equivalents of the English Metaphysical poets, and it is to be noted that a joke is often used by these writers to soften a statement, not denying the truth of the assertion but modestly suggesting that it is not to be taken too seriously\(^ {12}\) and such modesty would be allied to the quality of grace to be discussed below. In using jokes in this way: Caroso seems ambitious to elevate the art of dancing but gracefully does not wish to claim too much for it.

**RHETORIC**

The preface to *Nobiltà di Dame*, 'Alli lettori', is regularly arranged by the rules of rhetoric,\(^ {13}\) in that it consists of the usual five

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\(^{13}\) For the importance of rhetoric in sixteenth and seventeenth century education see Joan Marie Lechner, *Renaissance Concepts of the*...
parts of a forensic oration. A proemium, or exordium, can be identified consisting of two periods, the first short and the second quite long, dealing with the "honest pleasures", including dancing. There is a narratio of four periods dealing with the various advantages and benefits of dancing. A probatio, consisting of one very long period, justifies the book on the grounds of the author's fifty years of experience, the consistency and variety of its contents, its utility and the care with which it has been composed, and includes the simile of the she-bear which serves at the same time as a similitudo (i.e. an example) and as a digressio. This is followed by a short period in which the author modestly denies any desire for glory, which serves as a refutatio. Finally there is a peroratio of two short periods recommending the book to the readers.

Although only a miniature 'oration', the compositio exhibits extremes of period length, from the quite short and relatively simple to the very long and complex. In the extremely long period of the probatio Caroso takes heed of Cicero with exemplary abundance.


15 A similitudo is a kind of invention suitable for proofs: see Aristotle, Rhetorica, III cap. 20, and Quintilian, Institutio oratoria, V cap. 11. Digressions, although particularly suitable for the narratio, may be used anywhere in a speech: see, Quintilian, Institutio oratoria, IV, cap. 3, and may be very decorative in effect.

16 Cicero, De oratore, III cap. 47, 182: 'Longissima est igitur complexio verborum, quae volvi uno spiritu potest; sed hic naturae modus est, artis alius.'
Therefore the longest complex of words [i.e. period], is what can be uttered with one breath; but this is nature's way, art's way is another. The period is divided with a colon and a capital letter approximately in the proportion of 2:3 and is then more finely articulated with semicolons, a variety of ampersands and commas. According to Aristotle and Cicero prose rhythm should not include too many iambic and trochaic feet as, although they occur naturally in speech, they are too short. Anapæsts and spondees are preferable, but for only two feet or a little more so as not to resemble verse. Following such a beginning Aristotle, followed by Cicero and Quintilian, approves most of all the pæon, which is either a long and three shorts or the reverse, three shorts and a long.\(^\text{17}\) The opening phrase of the long period of the probatio is by these standards rather 'poetic'; it can be read to sound like an elegiac couplet, i.e. a distich:

Hora havendo io già consumato anni
cinquanta in questa professione

but then the rhythm becomes lighter with more unstressed syllables, as to be seen in this period reproduced from \textit{Nobiltà di Dame} below. This passage, which so clearly states the aims and the credentials of the author, is translated and discussed below.\(^\text{18}\)

\textbf{ANTONIUS ARENA AND CAROSO}

Caroso's style is certainly very literary, with its rhythms and with its examples and figures, quotations, proverbs and allusions. Some of the turns of phrase of the \textit{maestro di ballo} in his dancing class may be included, but as a model for 'Alli lettori' he may have taken the introductory matter to the apparently widely known and very 'braggartly' poem in macaronic Latin by Arena, presumably fruit of his younger years, on the basse dance and at great length on the wars in which he had fought, first published c.1519. The full title of the 1572 edition, Ciceronian perhaps in that the verb is at the end but hardly so


\(^{18}\) See below, pp. 63-66.
in any other respect, is as follows:\footnote{Lyons, Benoist Rigaud, 1572 (first published 1519): 'Antonius Arena of Provence, from the very braggart town of Solerii, cheerfully sends basse dances needed in the gallant style to his student companions who are comely of person: & newly corrected and prettily augmented by himself, with the Neapolitan war: & with the Genoan revolt: & the Avignon war: & a letter to a very droll girl for passing the time cheerfully.' The key to Arena's macaronic Latin is sixteenth century French, i.e. the language of Rabelais, but the nuances of some expressions would now be beyond recovery. It has not been possible to identify the town of Solerii and the phrase may be a play on words. Bragardus has been translated as 'braggart' even though Arena's meaning is plainly complimentary, so different from that of the pejorative modern English word that would be derived from it.}

Antonius Arena Provincialis, de bragardissima villa de Soleriis, ad suos Compagnones studiantes qui sunt de persona friantes, bassas dansas in gallanti stilo bisognatas: & de novo per ipsum correctas & ioliter augmentatas, cum guerra Neapoli: & cum revolta Gennuensi: & guerra Avenionensi: & Epistola ad falotissimam garsam pro passando lo tempus alegramentum mandat.

The modern meaning of 'braggart' would seem to be only a shadow of its former glory. The behaviour and attitudes typical of young males, it is clear from Arena's poem, were more highly regarded then than now, at least in his circles. To the title are appended two distichs, one above and one below a drawing of presumably the author, being crowned with laurel.\footnote{Translated: 'Here are the laws of dancing, which Arena has made, A braggartising and droll fellow.' 'It is good to know everything as long as you use it rightly. Amongst the prudent everything has its time.'}

¶Leges dansandi sunt hic, quas fecit Arena, Bragardisantus atque falotus homo.

¶Omnia scire bonum est utaris dummodò recte. Chapter IIIInter prudentes omnia tempus habent.
As Arena and Caroso cover much the same ground in their prefaces it will be useful to compare them. Arena opens thus, in good Latin except for 'bragardos', in a style somewhat similar to that of Rabelais' description of the genesis of lawsuits quoted below, with subversive humour suitable for law students:\(^{21}\)

When I observed that very many braggart young men gravely erred in the way of dances, I considered helping their ignorance, so that they might maintain their honour and live cheerfully. As witness the greatest of the legists, Bartolus,\(^{22}\) in the introduction of the three books of his Codex. All men rejoice in the bloom of youth: and the sad spirit, drying the bones, at times draws the mind to peril; and so it should not always be free for legal study. For we see many in whose minds assiduity in study generates fury, and they rave caught by I know not what darkness of the


'Quod caret alterna requie durabili non est,  
Hec reparat vira fessáque membra novat  
arma tua sint imitanda Diane:  
nunquam cesses tendere mollis erit.

'Et Cicero oratorum princeps in libro de Officiis. Ludo autem & ioco uti licet: sed tunc cum gravibus seriisque satisfecerimus rebus. Et stoicus ille Cato:

'Interpone tuis interdum gaudia curis,  
Laetandum et enim est cum tempus postulat aut res.'

\(^{22}\) Bartolus of Saxoferato, 1314-1357, of the law school of Perugia and author of commentaries on Justinian's *Code* and *Digest*: presumably the original of Beaumarchais', Mozart's and Rossini's Dr. Bartolo.
mind. We should beware therefore of falling into the vulgar proverb. He binds too little who embraces too much. No doubt Ovid sang advisedly in his epistles.\textsuperscript{23}

\begin{quote}
For what lacks alternating rest, is not durable 
That repairs strength and renews tired members. 
Your bow, and your Diana's arms should be your model, 
If you never stop stretching it, it will be soft.
\end{quote}

And Cicero, the prince of orators, in his \textit{De Officiis}.\textsuperscript{24} Nevertheless one may enjoy games and jokes: but then when we have done enough of grave and serious things. And the Stoic Cato:\textsuperscript{25}

\begin{quote}
In between your cares put joys from time to time, 
For one should rejoice 
when time or circumstance demands.
\end{quote}

The second line of the above distich misquotes the source, \textit{Disticha Catonis}, which reads: "So that in your spirit you can bear whatever labour".\textsuperscript{26} The misquotation shifts the emphasis considerably and Arena's notion of what is enough of either work or play would seem to differ radically from that of Cicero and the Cato of the \textit{Disticha}.

Caroso's preface, though perhaps not entirely serious, is not essentially playful but contains a direct statement of his fairly conventional views on the place of dancing in the scheme of things. An extended simile, of the she-bear, has been added but otherwise it is virtually the same as that in \textit{Il Ballarino}. The style of the preface is more straightforward than Arena's, and indeed than that of many passages elsewhere in \textit{Nobiltà di Dame}, wit in the manner of Rabelais

\textsuperscript{23} \textit{Heroides}, IV, 'Phaedra Hippolyto', vv.89-92.  
\textsuperscript{24} Abbreviating \textit{De Officiis}, I, cap. 29, 103: 'Ludo autem et ioco uti illo quidem licet, sed sicut somno et quietibus ceteris tum, cum gravibus seriusque rebus satis fecerimus', i.e. 'Nevertheless one may enjoy games and jokes, but like sleep and other quiet things, when we have done enough of grave and serious things'.  
\textsuperscript{25} \textit{Disticha Catonis}, III, 5-6.  
\textsuperscript{26} 'Ut possis animo quemvis suffere laborem'.

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being reserved for the 'Regole'. Although Caroso was certainly not without learning, his writing does not display the easy and adventurous erudition of Arena's. But then Caroso was professionally and firstly a dancer whilst Arena was a lawyer, working professionally with words and, presumably, a 'recreational' dancer. It is likely, however, that Caroso's formal education was not extensive and that his literary style and his theory of the dance were developed in discussion with students, friends and patrons, in Florence as well as Rome, possibly stimulated by membership of an academy in circumstances resembling those in which Palladio's genius was discovered and cultivated by the poet, Giangiorgio Trissino. If the sonnets in praise of Caroso in the introductory section of Il Ballarino and Nobiltà di Dame and the sonnet by Tasso in Nobiltà di Dame are not part of an elaborate literary joke, as considered above, some personal connection at least with these poets, if not personal friendship, is indicated. His 'Alli lettori' is well considered and carefully constructed, showing awareness of contemporary as well as of classical opinion. The opening section, corresponding to Arena's, quoted above, is as follows: 27

To the conversation of this life of ours, as necessary are the honest pleasures, and recreations of the spirit [animo] as sorrows and travails are pernicious to it. And so for removing from us like contraries, there have been given to us harmonies, games and other delightful and joyful actions; amongst which has place the practice of dancing, a part of no less delight, ornament and esteem than the others; therefore in our conversations and human societies it excites our spirits to cheerfulness, and when they happen to be oppressed with cares, it uplifts them, and restores, and holds them from every tiring and unpleasant thought. Nor in this quality is it of small ornament; since it is joined with poetry and with music, very worthy faculties among the others: and it is part of that imitation, which represents the effects [effetti for affetti?] 28 of the spirit with movement of the body; and besides it so befits

27 Nobiltà di Dame, p. [1].
28 "Effetti" in Nobiltà di Dame, which may be a mistake for "affetti", the word used here in Il Ballarino, as discussed below.
the noble person that when it is lacking, it is accounted an imperfection, and notable blame. Also acquired in dancing are many laudable and honoured things, that come in consequence; because it exercises the forces of the body, and makes a man agile and dexterous, and gracious manners are learned of receiving and paying courtesy and honour, and all those gestures which occur in politenesses, and compliments; and finally it affords grace, beauty, and dignity to the beholders.

PHILOSOPHY

The most important for Caroso of the ancient texts regarding the place of dancing probably would have been this from Book II of Plato's *Leges*:\(^{29}\)

For as these right ways of rearing are ways of educating in both pleasures and pains, amongst men many things in life become slack and corrupt, and so the gods having pity on the race of men, born to pain, established the succession of festivals to the gods as rests for them from their toils, and gave them the Muses, Apollo Musagetes and Dionysus as fellow-revellers, so that they might restore their nurture at least, coming together in their festivals with the gods. ...

Plato then outlines the common opinion that moving and vocalising are natural to almost all young creatures, and:

... that other living beings do not have sensation of the orders and disorders in movements, which is called rhythm and harmony; that to us the gods are given, as we said, as fellow-revellers, and they have given us pleasurable sensation of the rhythmic and harmonious, by which to move us and lead us in choruses, binding us to each other in songs and dances ...

This accepted, it is then agreed that education is first through the

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\(^{29}\) Plato, *Leges*, II, 653C-654A et seq..
Muses and Apollo, and that this training is necessary for education in virtue. This text was the basis of the sixth and final intermedio for the play La Pellegrina by Girolamo Bargagli, performed in Florence in 1589 for the wedding of Grand Duke Ferdinand I to Christine of Lorraine, to whom 'Laura Suave' is dedicated.\textsuperscript{30}

The resemblance of the opening of Caroso's 'Alli lettori', in certain of the ideas and turns of expression, to Socrates' discussion of imitation in Book III of Plato's Republic is notable. Dancing is not discussed there by Plato as an independent art but in conjunction with poetry and music: music is assigned a high place.\textsuperscript{31}

"And for these reasons, Glaucon," said I, "is not nurture in music most powerful, because rhythm and harmony most of all sink into the inside of the soul and most strongly grasp it, bringing forth gracefulness, and it produces graces, if one rears rightly, if not the contrary?"

Two kinds of imitation are distinguished: the one exemplified by narrative description in indirect speech and the other by the use of direct speech by poets and by actors and other lowly persons in mimicry which, it is concluded, is unsuitable for the guardians of the city,\textsuperscript{32} and this presumably would be Caroso's reason for leaving out of consideration the pantomimic possibilities of dancing, although mentioned by Aristotle in the Poetics and treated at length by Lucian in De Saltatione. In regard to rhythm, to which dancing of course is directly related, Socrates is concerned with moral qualities and their contraries.\textsuperscript{33}

"But as to these also", said I, "we will take counsel of Damon, as

\textsuperscript{30} Nobiltà di Dame, p. 116, and see Chapter IX below.
\textsuperscript{31} Plato, Republica, III, cap. 12, 401D.
\textsuperscript{33} Plato, Republica, III, cap. 11, 400B.
to which steps\textsuperscript{34} are fitting for illiberality, or madness and other evils, and which we must leave for the contraries."

It may be to this, and similar oppositions in Plato's discussion of the arts, that Caroso is referring when he speaks of the "like contraries" of the "honest pleasures".

AFFECTS AND EFFECTS

The "effects of the spirit" in the passage from 'Alli lettori' in Nobiltà di Dame quoted above may be a mistake for "affects of the spirit", as the passage reads in Il Ballarino. 'Affect' already had had a long and involved, not to say confused, history by Caroso's time, possibly because Latin had no word for ethos as Quintilian points out in the quotation below. In the course of his argument in Book VIII of the Politica Aristotle had placed the concepts under consideration in his argument in close relationship thus: "... enthusiasm is a pathos of the ethos surrounding the psyche".\textsuperscript{35} Caroso's 'animo', translated here as 'spirit' would be at least approximate in meaning to Aristotle's ethos [ἦθος] and his 'affetto' to pathos [πάθος], while the feminine form, 'anima', would approximate to psyche [ψυχή], 'soul', although it is not used so much in this kind of discussion. (The masculine forms, 'animus' and 'animo', do not of course have any of the negative force of the word 'animus' in English.) In Book VI of Institutio oratoria Quintilian summarises the opinions of his predecessors and contemporaries regarding these concepts and the words for them thus.\textsuperscript{36}

Of these [i.e. the affects], as we learn from ancient tradition, there are two species: one the Greeks call pathos, which we rightly and properly translating call 'affect', the other ethos, for which term, I think myself, there is no Roman word; 'morals' [mores] comes near, and then too that 'ethic' part of philosophy is called 'moral'. But examining the nature of the matter it seems

\textsuperscript{34} i.e. (almost) literally 'bases', which can also be translated as "rhythms".
\textsuperscript{35} Aristotle, Política, VIII, cap. 5, 5.
\textsuperscript{36} Quintilian, Institutio oratoria, VI, ii, 8-9.
to me not so much morals that is meant as a certain property of morals; for indeed every condition of the mind [*habitus mentis*] is contained in them [i.e. morals]. The more cautious have preferred to embrace [*complecti*] rather than translate the words. They said that the more violent affects therefore were *pathos* and the mild and composed *ethos* ...

Quintilian continues with various other views of the matter.

It is interesting to compare Caroso's use of 'affects' here with Girolamo Mei's in a letter to Vincenzo Galilei, dated 8th May, 1572.\(^{37}\)

... this new allurement [i.e. consonances, diminutions, passages and suchlike] began to divert the spirit [*animo*] from attention to conceits and other imitations of the affects ...

in which 'conceit' and 'affect' are related in some way to the *animo*. The following quotations from the *Dialogo della musica antica, et della moderna* demonstrate Vincenzo Galilei's use of the terms. The dialogue purports to be a conversation between Bardi and Piero Strozzi, another member of the Camerata. The quotations are from one of Bardi's 'speeches', where he turns from consideration of Aristotle's discussion of music in the Book VIII of the *Politica* to consider the practices of modern contrapuntists.\(^{38}\)

... of the way of expressing the conceits of the spirit [*concetti dell'animo*], and of impressing them with the greatest efficacy that is possible on the minds [*menti*] of the listeners ...

‘Concetti dell'animo’ is a difficulty; conceits, surely, are of the mind. Perhaps Galilei has inadvertently written ‘animo’ for ‘mente’ and


menti’ for ‘animi here, inverting the idea. Here is another example from Galilei

... and it is true that today it is thought of no matter in the world to express the conceits of the words with that affect that these look for ...

Here is 'effect', the word that Caroso substitutes for 'affect' in Nobiltà di Dame, as used in Galilei's dialogue at the conclusion of Bardi's speech:

... the thoughtlessness and ignorance of whom [i.e. the modern contrapuntists], is one of the most potent reasons, that the music of today does not work on the hearers any of those virtuous and marvellous effects that the ancient used to work.

Perhaps the alteration to ‘effects of the spirit’ in Nobiltà di Dame was merely an error, or else Caroso was 'imitating' the malapropism that Galilei puts into the mouth of Bardi in the dialogue quoted above, or perhaps he was following expressions such as Galilei's 'marvellous effects', which presumably would refer to wonders only less marvellous by so much than the actual physical effects of Orpheus' lyre on the wild beasts etc. and not to the spiritual states that he had in mind. It is also likely that both ‘affetti dell'animo’ in Il Ballarino and ‘effetti dell'animo’ in Nobiltà di Dame refer to Horace's ‘animi motus’, to be considered below.

THE LIBERAL ARTS

In Book VIII of the Politica, to which Galilei refers, Aristotle is in essential agreement with Plato regarding the place of music. However, his treatment contains systematic discussion of various points of view concerning the ends of music. He considers three possible kinds of benefit from music. Firstly it is useful for play and recreation - with reference to Euripides' Bacchae as authority, in which the chorus sings of the god:39

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39 Euripides. Bacchae, vv. 378-386. Quoted by Tasso in Euripides' original:
.. whose charge it is,
to initiate in dances,
to laugh with the aulos,
to put cease to cares,
whenever the joy of the grape comes
in the banquet of the gods,
and around the ivy-bearing men
the bowl casts sleep.

There is also specific mention of dancing as being in this first class in Aristotle's analysis, which begins thus:40

For what force it possesses is not easy to determine about it, whether for play and rest, just like sleep and drink (for these are not serious concerns, but pleasant, and put cease to care, as Euripides says, on account of which they rank it and need it in the same way as all these, sleep, strong drink and music, and they also put dancing in with these);

the second possibility:

or rather one must suppose that music tends somewhat towards virtue (with force, just as gymnastics provide the body with a certain quality, music making for a certain ethos, to accustom one to be able to rejoice rightly);

and a third:

40 Aristotle, Política, VIII, cap. 4, 3-4.
or is it something suitable for a pastime or for thought (for this is a third position to be stated).

Although Aristotle considers professional training to be improper for freemen, since performing for vulgar audiences vulgarizes the performers, he concludes that music should be used for education, for catharsis and as an amusement, i.e. for relaxation and for rest from tension.\footnote{Aristotle. \textit{Politica}, VIII, cap. 7, 1-2 and 4.}

Plainly, Caroso does not have in mind sixteenth century equivalents of Euripides' Bacchic rites as ideal occasions for the performance of his balletti. However, later in his preface he makes mention of the dancing of the Salii, leaping priests of Mars in ancient Roman religious rites, as does Arbeau.\footnote{Nobiltà di Dame, p.2, and see Arbeau, \textit{Orchesography}, ... (New York: 1967) pp. 13 & 182, and notes on pp. 197 & 204.} But Caroso in fact covers Aristotle's three kinds of benefit in his preamble; and although at first it might be thought that he fails to make the assertion in respect of dancing that might be expected, equivalent to Aristotle's statement that music is conducive to virtue, he does maintain that dancing is among the 'honest' pleasures and that it is joined with two (at any rate) of the liberal arts, specifying respects in which it is similar to them. In the courtier society of the sixteenth century the distinction between the noble and the base could well have been approximately equivalent to that between the free or liberal and the servile in classical Athens, and the manners and politenesses of gentility equivalent to ethos, although late Renaissance society does seem to have drawn the line regarding musical and other artistic performance by the genteel somewhere differently from the ancient.\footnote{Perusal of the biographies in Warren Kirkendale \textit{The Court Musicians in Florence during the Principate of the Medici} (Florence: Olschki, 1993) will make this clear.} Aristotle considers bodily and mental labour counterproductive (to use a modernism) and that it is unnecessary for freemen to learn to perform music well, and dancing would be included, when others can do it for them;\footnote{Aristotle, \textit{Politica}. VIII, cap. 4, 2.} in fact to do it is demeaning.\footnote{Aristotle, \textit{Politica}. VIII, cap. 4, 7.}
But we call such people mere mechanics and its practice not manly unless drunk or in play.

Horace in *Ars poetica* writes in the same vein and his use of 'honestus' opposed to 'turpis', of the drunken crowd at the theatre, helps to illuminate Caroso's meaning:46

\[
\text{indoctus quid enim saperet liberque laborum}
\]
\[
\text{rusticus urbano confusus, turpis honesto?}
\]

Latin *honestus* means 'honourable', 'respectable' and the meaning of Italian *onesto* is closer to 'virtuous' than to the English 'honest': Caroso probably intends the meaning of "the honest pleasures" to approach that of 'the liberal arts', but without committing himself so much.

Galilei's *Dialogo* on ancient and modern music was published in the same year, 1581, as *Il Ballarino* in which Caroso's 'Alli lettori' first appeared and it is interesting to compare Caroso's preamble with Galilei's. Many of the same ideas are encountered and some of the terms which have been discussed already above, but while Caroso's interest is rather philosophical, Galilei's is historical (and not entirely accurate).47

Music amongst the ancients was numbered, among the arts which are called liberal, that is worthy of the free man; and deservedly by the Greeks, masters and inventors of it (as of almost all the other sciences) it was in great esteem; and by better legislators, not only as delightful to life, but as even useful to virtue, it was commanded that it had to be taught to those, who were born to follow perfection, and human beatitude, which is the end of the city: but together with the Empire in progress of time the Greeks lost music and the other doctrines also. The Romans had knowledge of it, taking it from the

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46 Horace, *Ars poetica*, vv. 212-213:

'What would the ignorant know and the off-work countryman
mixed with the city-dweller, the base with the respectable?'.

Greeks; but they exercised principally that part suitable to theatres, where were recited tragedies, and comedies, without much appreciating that, which is about speculations: and being occupied continually in wars, they did not even attend to it much, and so easily forgot it. ...

But to a few intelligent men it did not seem, that they had restored it to its antique state, according to whether it can be understood from infinite places in the ancient histories, in the poets, and in the philosophers; nor have they attained the truth about it and perfect information: which has perhaps been caused by the uncouthness of the times, the difficulty of the subject, and the scarcity of good interpreters: nevertheless these writers deserve high praise, and the world owes them perpetual obligation, if for nothing else, at least for having given occasion for many to work hard at it, to attempt to reduce it to its perfection. Which (as far as pertains to theory) seems in our times to have been achieved by Girolamo Mei, an honourable man, to whom all musicians, and all learned men should render thanks and honour; and close to our city the illustrious Signor Giovanni Bardi, Count of Vernio ...

In a paper on the unsuccessful struggle of the Mannerist theorists against Aristotelianism\(^48\) Tibor Klaniczay has written of the fusion into a harmonious unity, in theoretical works of the mid-sixteenth century,\(^49\) of the renewed classical rhetoric, the Platonic ideal of beauty and the teachings of Aristotle's *Poetica*; and also of the two principal tendencies that developed later in the century, the one being Mannerism, which defended and conserved while both distorting and renewing the fundamental ideals of the Renaissance, and the other being an 'official', classicizing aesthetic sustained by the Counter-reformation and showing the way to the Baroque; Julius Caesar Scaliger could go so far as to write of Aristotle: "our emperor,


\(^{49}\) Klaniczay cites these works: Girolamo Fracastoro, *Naugerius sive de poetica dialogus*, (1540 [or 1555?]), Benedetto Varchi, *Lezione della maggioranza delle arti* (1546), and Francesco Robortello, *In librum Aristotelis De arte poetica explications* (Florence: L.Torrentinus, 1548).
perpetual dictator of all good arts”. Caroso must have been influenced by both these tendencies during the course of his long career.

**IMITATION**

At the beginning of the *Poetica* Aristotle states that the various poetic and musical arts under consideration happen, on the whole, to be imitations. They differ from each other in three ways, either in differences in the kind of imitating, or in imitating different things or in imitating differently, viz. differing in either the means, objects or manner of the imitation. To illustrate the first way of differing, as examples Aristotle takes painting in which the means are colours and forms, and an unspecified art, which uses the voice, and then makes a further threefold distinction between rhythm, word and harmony which, used either singly or in combination, are the means used in the poetic and musical arts under discussion. Dancing is included at this point: .

... thus using harmony and rhythm alone, aulos-playing and cithara-playing and any other such being of like force, as with pipes; the dancers' arts imitate with rhythm by itself without harmony, for through the rhythms of their figurations they imitate dispositions [ἠθή], as well as passions [πάθη] and actions

Mei, in a letter to Pietro Vettori who was at the time preparing his

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50 Tibor Klaniczay, 'La lotta antiaristotelica … ‘ as above at pp. 367-369. The quotation is from Julius Caesar Scaliger's *Poetices libri septem*, ([Geneva: Ioannes Crispinus], 1561) p. 359: ‘imperator noster, omnium bonarum artium dictator perpetuus’.


52 20th January, 1560. See Girolamo Mei, *Letters ... , a study with annotated texts* by Claude V. Palisca, pp. 44-45.
commentary on the *Poetics*, made the diagram below, Figure 5, demonstrating Aristotle's analysis of the different ways of imitating used in the various arts. As can be seen, there is an error in the legend for dance, which probably should read 'through rhythm alone, i.e. dance'. The abstract quality of Caroso's art is largely due, no doubt, to the nature of social dancing as he found it but it may also reflect the emphasis on rhythm in the passage quoted above and generally the Aristotelian perception of the place of dancing in relation to the other arts as in the diagram, particularly close, be it noted, to literature and music. Architecture, however, is not included in the diagram - presumably it would be assigned a quite distant and lower place under "constructive of things themselves". As well, the view of the ancient philosophers, noted above, that mimicry was unsuitable for the free-born may have influenced the nature of Caroso's art of dancing.

Horace's *Ars poetica* was also an important source of poetic theory and the influence of these well known verses:\footnote{Horace. *Ars poetica*, vv. 333-334: ‘Poets aim either to benefit or delight,
Or to teach at the one time what is both agreeable and suitable for life.’}

\begin{quote}
Aut prodesse volunt aut delectare poetae
aut simul et iucunda et idonea dicere vitae.
\end{quote}

is certainly to be found in *Nobiltà di Dame*, and in 'Alli lettori' in particular. Authority for the affective and cathartic powers of art is also to be found there:\footnote{Horace, *Ars poetica*, vv. 99-100: ‘It is not enough for poems to be beautiful; they need to be sweet
So as to lead the mind of the listener whereso'ever they will’.


\footnote{The diagram is copied from Claude Palisca's introduction to Mei's letters to Vincenzo Galilei, at p. 45.}
Non satis est pulchra esse poemata; dulcia sunt et quocumque volent animum auditoris agunto.

Figure 5

Nature first forms us within for every condition of fortune .... and:

post effert animi motus interprete lingua

Horace, *Ars poetica*, v. 111:

'Afterwards bring out the motions of the mind, the tongue interpreter'.
Effetti (or affetti?) dell'animo in Caroso's 'Alli Lettori' may refer to animi motus in this passage.

Many of the ideas that have been discussed here are found summarised, and their sources acknowledged, in the conclusion of Tasso's Discorsi del poema eroico. For instance:\(^{58}\)

And Aristotle, after him [i.e. Plato], affirms in the eighth book of his Politica that our soul [anima] is harmony or not without harmony. And another Aristotle, surnamed the Platonic [sic], had the same opinion, that not only in the composition of the mind [animo] does its music show, but in that of the body. But it would make long work to refer to what has been written not only by Plato and by the one and the other Aristotle and by Plutarch, but by Aristoxenus as well and by Ptolemy, Boethius, Martianus Capella, Pietro d'Abano and by others more recent.

And because music was discovered not only for entertainment of idleness or for medicine like purgation of the mind [animo], but for training also, according to Aristotle in the eighth book of his Politics ...

And finally Tasso closes, like Caroso at the end of his 'Regole', with an architectural comparison.\(^{59}\)

Therefore may I be permitted in this and in several other little opinions to leave Aristotle so as not to abandon him in something of greater importance: that is in the desire to find out the truth and in the love of philosophy: because in this diversity of opinion I will imitate those who at the parting of the ways are

\(^{58}\) Torquato Tasso, Discorsi del poema heroico ..., libro sesto, pp. 721-722, which see for references to the authors cited and for an explanation of Tasso's mistake regarding the "other Aristotle".


\(^{59}\) Tasso, Torquato, Discorsi del poema eroico, pp. 728-729.
separated for a short time, and then turn to meet on the broad road, which leads to some lofty destination or to some noble city full of magnificent and royal dwellings and adorned with temples and palaces and other royal and wonderful buildings.

THE SIMILE OF THE SHE-BEAR

The principal decoration in 'Alli lettori' is the simile of the she-bear. The idea is important enough also to be used as an emblem on the title-page of the book, in the panel of the left hand plinth at the base of the architectural order that adorns the page, a bear licking a piece of flesh and on a scroll the legend "DALL' IMPERFETTO AD PERFETTO". In the corresponding position on the right hand plinth are compasses and an hour-glass with the legend "TEMPO [ET?] MISURA", the importance of which will be discussed below. In between the two plinths is a portrait of Caroso and, taken together, these emblems and the portrait make the same point as does the simile.60

Now having already consumed fifty years in this profession, & [having] considered, that reducing dancing to determined rules, & assigning the variety of the grave dances, balletti, the galliard dance, the cascarde, the passo mezzo, tordiglione, pavaniglia, & the canario, might be welcome [cosa grata] to whatever person, who might be desirous of it; for this is what I wanted to do, like the she-bear, who in giving birth makes a piece of flesh, which other animals, rational and irrational do not do; and with much licking with her tongue and drying with the skin of her paws, where it was a monster and imperfect, she reduces it to perfection: this I have done, imitating her and rubbing the rust off my talents, and studying night and day where my first work which has been published for so many years, I have corrected it with determined rule and true theory so that in this my second work I will clearly show you, that where that was imperfect, now I have reduced this one to true perfection.

60 Nobiltà di Dame, p. [2]
The bear was, of course, the heraldic emblem of the Orsini but Caroso's use here of the she-bear with moral purport demonstrates his familiarity with traditions of ancient and mediæval learning as well as with the art of rhetoric and the arts of the courtier.

This item of natural history concerning the she-bear has a basis in the fact that bear cubs are born extremely small apparently, but her role in moral lore seems to have come about from a misreading (confusing the she-bear with the vixen) of a passage in Aristotle's *De animalibus historiae* and the error is found repeated in Pliny the Elder's *Naturalis historia* in 'De amore prolis', in Plutarch's *Moralia*, in Aelian's *De natura animalium* and, surely best known to Caroso, in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*:

\[\text{Nec catulus, partu quem reddidit ursa recenti,} \\
\text{sed male viva caro est; lambendo mater in artus} \\
\text{fingit et in formam, quantam capit ipsa, reducit.}\]

In the Middle Ages the misinformation was perpetuated by Isidore of Seville and Vincent of Beauvais and in some bestiaries from the twelfth century, following Isidore. Petrarch, in humanistic rejection of Scholasticism, derided many such Aristotelianisms in his *De sui ipsius et multorum ignorantia* in which he lists some of the widely held zoological absurdities, including the formlessness at birth of the bear's offspring, which, he says, are mainly false and which, even if

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62. Ovid. *Metamorphoses*, XV, vv. 379-381: 'And the cub, whom the bear has yielded in recent birth, is scarcely living flesh; by licking the mother shapes it into limbs and reduces it to the form, which she herself takes.'

63. Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum sive originum libri* XX, lib. XII, cap. 2, 22; Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum natural*, lib. XX, cap. 118, 'De generatione ursina'.

true, have nothing to do with the blessed life.\textsuperscript{65}

Sir Thomas Browne, writing nearly fifty years later than Caroso, elegantly confutes this error as being "repugnant both unto sense and Reason" in the chapter, 'Of the Bear', in his \textit{Pseudodoxia Epidemica}, citing sixteenth century observations of the fact that the young of the bear are distinctly formed before birth,\textsuperscript{66} indicative of the new spirit informing the natural sciences in Caroso's own times. It is interesting in this connection to note that the balletto, 'Bellezze d'Olimpia', is dedicated in \textit{Nobiltà di Dame} \textsuperscript{67} to Olimpia Orsina Cesi, Duchess of Acqua Sparta, herself by birth a 'little bear', an Orsini, who was presumably personally known to Caroso since she is described in \textit{Il Ballarino} as his "patroness and benefactress".\textsuperscript{68} She was the mother of Prince Federico Cesi who at the age of eighteen in 1603 was one of the four co-founders of the Accademia dei Lincei which numbered among its members the architect, Giambattista della Porta, and Galileo Galilei.\textsuperscript{69} It is remarkable that the emblem chosen for this body dedicated to the physical, mathematical and natural sciences as well as to the moral, historical critical and philological sciences, should have been the lynx to which, like the she-bear, was attributed a fabulous physical quality and its moral consequence. And so, in spite of available evidence to the contrary, the traditional animal lore continued to be used for purposes of natural theology and morality and in education; and animal symbolism and the virtues and vices attributed to various beasts, both real and imaginary, pervade almost all fields of Renaissance as of Mediæval expression.\textsuperscript{70}

\textsuperscript{67} P. 236.
\textsuperscript{68} See above.
\textsuperscript{70} See Francis Klingender, \textit{Animals in Art and Thought to the End of the Middle Ages, edited by Evelyn Antal and John Harthan} (Cambridge, Mass.:
A case to the point is Rabelais' development in the *Tiers Livre de Pantagruel*, of the idea of the she-bear and her cub to show "how lawsuits are born, and how they come to perfection ...", where the simile is considerably amplified.\(^1\)

"Un procès à sa naissance première me semble, comme à vous aultres, Messieurs, informe et imperfaict. Comme un ours naissant n'a pieds ne mains, peau, poil ne teste: ce n'est qu'une pièce de chair rude et informe; l'ourse, à force de leicher, la mect en perfection des membres, ut no. doct. ff. ad leg. Aquil. l. ij. in fi. Ainsi voy-je, comme vous aultres, Messieurs, naistre les procès à leurs commencemens informes et sans membres. Ilz n'ont qu'une pièce ou deux, c'est pour lors une laide beste. Mais, lorsqu'ilz sont bien entasséz, enchâsséz et ensachéz, on les peut vrayement dire membruz et forméz. Car forma dat esse rei. 1. si is qui. ff. ad leg. falci. in c. cum dilecta extra de rescrip. Barbatia consil. 12 lib. 2 ... ."

*et cetera* for several pages more of more or less nonsensical legal language.

The example of the she-bear applied to the process of artistic creation has the best of classical precedent, being attributed to none less than Virgil by Suetonius in his life of the poet in *De viris illustribus*, 'De poetis', in respect of the composition of the *Georgics* \(^2\)

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\(^1\) François Rabelais, *Tiers livre des faicts et dictz héroïques du noble Pantagruel*... (Paris: Chrestien Wechel, 1546), xlii.

\(^2\) Suetonius, *De viris illustribus*, de poetis, xxii. Suetonius' account is repeated by Aelius Donatus, see 'P. Vergilii Maronis vita per Aelium Donatum celebrem grammaticum aedita' in his *Pub. Vergilii Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, Aeneis cum Servii commentarius* ... . *Sequitur Probi Celebris Grammatici in Bucolica, Georgica commentariolus, non ante impressus. Ad hos Donati Fragmenta* ... (Venice: [in officina Aurelii Pincii], 1536) f. Aiiir

and in the *Noctes Atticae* of Aulus Gellius in respect of the *Aeneid* with its 'pathetic half lines'. According to the latter, Favorinus, recalling accounts left by Virgil's friends said:73

"... that he used to declare that he produced verses after the manner and fashion of a bear. For he said that as that beast brought forth her young formless and misshapen, and afterwards by licking the young cub gave it form and shape, just so the fresh products of his mind were rude in form and imperfect, but afterwards by working over them and polishing them he gave them a definite form and expression. That this was honestly and truly said by that man of fine taste", said he, "is shown by the result. For the parts that he left perfected and polished, to which his judgement and approval had applied the final hand, enjoy the highest praise for poetical beauty; but those parts which he postponed, with the intention of revising them later, but was unable to finish because he was overtaken by death, are in no way worthy of the fame and taste of the most elegant of poets. It was for that reason, when he was laid low by disease and saw that death was near, that he begged and earnestly besought his best friends to burn the *Aeneid*, which he had not sufficiently revised."

Quite clearly, this simile is so common in various kinds of literature that it would have been quite familiar, with all its connotations, to Caroso's readers and its sense most important in supporting his claim to have determined "the true rule and perfect theory" of dancing.

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CHAPTER III

PLATONISM, POETIC METRES AND ARCHITECTURE IN THE 'REGOLE'

DIALOGUE AND DUALITY

The dialogue between 'Master' and 'Disciple' in the 'Regole' and the 'Avertimenti', superimposed over the more straightforward treatment under the headings of numbered rules in *Il Ballarino*, might be due to the influence of Arbeau's *Orchésographie* as suggested above but in any case it reflects the increased interest in Platonic philosophy in Rome encouraged by Clement VIII and his family. The result, however, is still rather rhetorical as the dialogue lacks real discussion, being more in the style of Cicero than of Plato, and is somewhat awkward in effect.

The dialogue opens with what appears to be an introduction but which is in fact a short and clear description of the first action of all, i.e. of removing the hat, with an explanation of the affective significance of the movements. The reason given for removing the hat is that it uncovers the worthiest and noblest part of a man, and should therefore be done with the right hand since that hand is worthier and nobler than the left. The first half of 'Regola Prima', "of various ways that are in use for taking the cap off, how to hold it, after taking it off: and which is the most beautiful and usual" is an amplification of the foregoing: firstly further affective significance, then various ways in which the action should not be performed, followed by another description of the action amplified with many practical details - which in terms of rhetoric amounts to a kind of *refutatio* followed by a kind of *probatio*, in what is the reverse of the usual order. The reason given for making a feint of kissing the left hand when passing the hat from
the right to the left is that since the left hand is the hand of the heart
the action is thus 'cordial'. The second half of 'Regola Prima' largely
anticipates 'Regola Seconda', viz. "of the riverenza ...". It begins with
a brief etymological explanation of the name and a brief description of
the movements followed by an amplified discussion of the reasons
why the step should only be performed with the left foot, covering
firstly the practical matters of strength and balance and secondly
providing an affective reason.¹

.. the right foot is the firmness, and the stability of the person;
and so being the strength of the latter, it is necessary that the
movement be done with the left foot, because it is weaker than
the right: and this is the first reason. The second is, that that
person is revered from the heart, to whom you intend to do
reverence; and it being the left member, which corresponds to
the side of the heart, for this reason it is always necessary that it
be done with the left foot. Now I come to resolve your doubts
for you. The first movement [primo moto] is to raise, either
hand or foot, & sine ipso factum est nihil.² The second is with
the right hand to honour, and take, and with the right foot to
stop, and adore ...

The quotation from the opening of St. John's Gospel, equating this
first action with the Second Person of the Trinity, may be astounding
in this context but as well as being theological it gives Platonic
significance to the binary nature of the human form. The rule is then
further adorned with a number of examples from ordinary life of the
movements for each side, concluding with a sententia, being a
statement of theory in the threefold form of the syllogism, which may
be intended as an enthymeme³ but which is obscure and possibly
garbled.⁴

¹ Nobiltà di Dame, p. 12.
² This quotation is from John, I, 3 (abbreviated): 'and without Him was made
nothing [that was made]'.
³ Broadly, for the use of such rhetorical arguments see Aristotle, Analytica
priora, ii 27, Rhetorica, II, cap. 22-28, and III, cap. 10 and Rhetorica ad
Alexandrum, 10; Cicero, De oratore, II, xxxvii; and Quintilian, Instituto
oratoria, V, x and xiv, and VIII, v.
⁴ Nobiltà di Dame, p. 13.
Thus, honouring, taking, and adoring are always done with the right members: stopping, walking, & revering are always done with the left members; & so equally the three actions are divided by the three movements. [sic: six actions divided by two movements?]

This opening, as should be plain to the reader of even the above summary, is extremely repetitive, perhaps for emphasis of the reasons given, which range from the practical, through the affective, to the theological in the quotation from St. John and perhaps even to the metaphysical, alluding to the primum mobile and the dyad.  

In 'Regola XXXV.', it is interesting to note Caroso's unconvincing reason for why the name of the five steps is corrupt. He states that there are really only two steps, i.e. in the version given in the rule presumably the first and the fourth, done respectively with the left foot and the right; since the second step is on the floor and the third preparation for the fourth these steps might be considered unessential whilst the fifth, being the cadenza, may be left out of the count.  

In Il Ballarino also, Caroso says that the name is corrupt but because it is really four steps and the cadenza, but the movements given are substantially the same except that in Nobiltà di Dame he takes pains to warn against raising the left foot backwards after the initial right zopetto as recommended in Il Ballarino. Negri's basic set seems to be only three steps and the cadenza and would seem to be 'false' by Caroso's standards.  

Most basic and most clearly of five steps is Arbeau's set. That any two-step version is the original is highly unlikely; Caroso's claim may be like his etymological derivations, not meant to be taken seriously, and a post hoc invention, with binary division based on alternation of the feet the better to conform with theory.

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5 As well as the sources in Plato, particularly Timaeus, and Aristotle, Physica, VIII, Metaphysica etc., see Thomas Aquinas, In Boetii de Trinitate, I, 4, arg. 8 et ad 8, where the Platonic and Christian doctrines are compared.

6 See below.

7 Il Ballarino, f. 11r.

8 Le Gratie d'Amore, p. 47.

9 See his Orchesography, p. 95, and see below.
THE PRIMUM MOBILE

This preference for binary division may be based on more than the form of the human body with its two feet and other paired members, and its left and right sides with their particular affective significances. There may be, in addition, more theoretical reasons since Tasso also expresses preference for duality relative to other numbers, in justifying *ottava rime* as the best metre for epic in the Tuscan language, for these reasons.¹⁰

... further to that the texture [*testura*] of eight verses is most fit, because the octonary number, as the mathematicians say, is first among the solid and cubic numbers having fullness and gravity. It is perfect in addition and most apt for action, because it is composed of the duality, which is the prime mover or the *primum mobile*. And because music is composed of even numbers and of uneven, and of finite and of infinite, for this reason also the octonary is perfect, since it is composed of the quaternary duplicated, from which is formed a very strong unit [*tessera* = tile?], and of the binary quadrapled, and further to that of the ternary and of the quinary which are the first of the uneven numbers.

The unmoved mover and the indeterminate dyad, i.e. the ideal two, come from Pythagorean teaching - we read of the unmoved mover in Plato and of the indeterminate dyad as well in Aristotle's criticism of the Platonic concept of the ideal numbers, where the doctrine of the indeterminate dyad is attributed to Plato although it is not actually explicit in his surviving works.¹¹ These two ideas are found succinctly summarised in Diogenes Laertius' life of Pythagoras, quoting Alexander 'Polyhistor', a voluminous writer of the first

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¹⁰ Torquato Tasso, *Prose*, p. 723.
The beginning of everything is the monad; arising from the monad, the indeterminate dyad serves as matter for the monad, which is cause; from the monad and the indeterminate dyad arise numbers; from the numbers points; from these lines; from these plane figures; from plane, solid figures; from these perceptible bodies, of which the elements are four, fire, water, earth, air; ...

For the Christian philosopher there are, of course, dangers of Manichæism in systems of duality, but even in St. Thomas Aquinas's 'five ways' of proving the existence of God the concept of causality, which is present in all five, implies something resembling the indeterminate dyad in that a first cause supposes an indeterminate number of secondary causes since, in fact, it is proved from them. For the Christian philosopher there are, of course, dangers of Manichæism in systems of duality, but even in St. Thomas Aquinas's 'five ways' of proving the existence of God the concept of causality, which is present in all five, implies something resembling the indeterminate dyad in that a first cause supposes an indeterminate number of secondary causes since, in fact, it is proved from them.  

Further, in commenting on Boethius' *De Trinitate*, St. Thomas compares the monad and the dyad with the Persons of the Trinity:

The Platonists had no knowledge of God other than through reason. But they posited at least two persons, namely Father and Mind, begotten by Him, which contains the reasons of all things, which we say of the Son. Therefore plurality of persons can also be known by natural reason.

Going so far as to attribute significance to numbers as such, especially to two, is clearly in the spirit of Platonism.

Many of the dual aspects of God's creation, as distinct from his nature, are considered in the section "Of providence and Fate, and why prosperitie and adversitie are common both to good or bad" in

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14 Thomas Aquinas, *In Boetii de Trinitate*, I, iv, arg. 8 et ad 8.

15 See below for discussion of ‘mathematical Platonism’.
Boethius' *Consolatio philosophiae*, here in the translation of I.T., 1609: 16

The generation of all things, and all the proceedings of mutable natures, and whatsoever is moved in any sort, take their causes, order, and forms from the stabilitie of the Divine mind ... .

The well known poem that concludes the section, in praise of God's laws, of the duality of his works and of the love that binds them, includes many of the dualities in Alexander Polyhistor's summary in Diogenes Laertius' life of Pythagoras noted above. Boethius' poem in the translation begins: 17

If thou wouldst see
God's lawes with purest mind,
Thy sigh on heav'n must fixed be
Whose settled course the Starres in peace doth bind.
   The Sunns bright fire
   Stops not his sister's teame
   Nor doth the Northerne beare desire
Within the Ocean's wave to hide her beame,
   Though she behold
   Th'other Starres their couching:
   Yet she uncessantly is rowl'd
About the heav'n the ocean never touching.
   The Ev'nning light
   With certaine course doth show
   The comming of the shady night,
   And Lucifer before the day doth goe.
   This mutuall love
   Courses aeternall makes,
   And from the starry spheres above

17 Boethius, *The Consolation of Philosophy, in the translation of I.T. ...*, ’Verse VI’, pp. 100-102. These ideas are expanded by Sir John Davies in his *Orchestra*, stanzas from which are quoted above.
All cause of warre, and dang'rous discord takes.

The poem then treats of the elements, the moist and the dry, the cold and of fire and the earth, then of the seasons, then of all creatures and their creator and king who controls their motions and brings their violence "within the compass of a round".

This powerfull love
Is common unto all
Which for desire of good doe move
Back to the springs from whence they first did fall.
  No worldly thing
  Can a continuance have
  Unless love backe again it bring,
  Unto the cause, which first the essence gave.

The various dualities expressed in Caroso's dances would seem to be in accord with this Boethian view as would poems such as that dedicating 'Il Piantone' to Bartolomea Senesia quoted below at the end of Chapter V. Other works by Boethius may have been Caroso's sources of Platonic thought, for instance De musica. Tasso in his Discorsi ... shows familiarity with Boethius' De interpretatione.18 St. Augustine's De musica is not mentioned in Tasso's Discorsi although it was well known in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance and is mentioned as an important source in Mersenne's Harmonie universelle.

WORD PLAY, SIMILE AND METAPHOR IN THE WIDEST SENSE

The most common kind of adornment of the text of the 'Regole' is etymological explanation of the names. Some of the explanations are plausible enough but others are more or less playful: for instance the explanation in 'Regola Quinta' of the name of the continenza is,

unless humourous, somewhat forced.\textsuperscript{19}

.. because in this movement are gathered all the other subsequent movements which take from it that grace which enriches this noble art; and in this consists the dignity of those who dance: but from this self-control \textit{[contenerse]} derives the name of \textit{continenza}.

'\textit{Regola Sesta}' contains a frank digression in which there are two maxims expressing the same moral, if less positively, as the simile of the she-bear.\textsuperscript{20}

And in Solomon's Proverbs, he is seen in an engraving, going along in a little cart \textit{[carrucula]} because he was no longer able to walk, and so going along like a baby of one year old, but being so very old he still wanted to learn, and so said: \textit{Dum pedes usque ad foveam teneo, oportet me discere}. Which in our vulgar tongue means: I am very old and have one foot in the grave but I still wish to learn.\textsuperscript{21} Therefore everyone should take example from him knowing that, right up to death, everyone should learn.

\begin{quote}
\textit{Che se dormendo vol esser da poco,}
\textit{Prendon di lui le scimie festa, e gioco.}\textsuperscript{22}
\end{quote}

The etymological explanation in '\textit{Regola Ottava}' of the name of the \textit{passo puntato} is fourfold: the first "reason" equates the step with the \textit{caesura} in the pentameters of "the immortal poet, Ovid" (i.e. at the middle of the second line of each distich) and explains how the step should be done, rather than its name. The remaining reasons refer to the full stop in writing and reading, to stopping when taking a walk and to an animal shying when it sees a shadow, all of which are called

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{19} \textit{Nobiltà di Dame}, p. 16. This quotation follows instructions for the step subsequent to the quotation from '\textit{Regola Seconda}' below.
\item \textsuperscript{20} \textit{Nobiltà di Dame}, pp. 17-18.
\item \textsuperscript{21} This maxim is not in the 'Book of Proverbs'; perhaps Caroso is referring to a picture of Solomon in a well-known illustrated bible.
\item \textsuperscript{22} This may be a homely proverb that may be translated loosely thus:

\begin{quote}
'If you want to stay asleep for a while
The monkeys will make fun and games of you.'
\end{quote}
'punti'. These reasons may be only more or less convincing but they embellish the passage and do add to our appreciation of the step.\textsuperscript{23}

'Regola Decima', concerning \textit{passi naturali}, is decorated with a \textit{probatio} of some charm in which stepping is shown to be, in modern terms, instinctive. Any Neoplatonic or Stoic personification of nature is absent but Epicurean philosophy\textsuperscript{24} may have contributed to the empirical approach taken. Classical models for experiments, however, are various. Even in Plato there is an example in \textit{Meno} where Socrates demonstrates by question that the untutored slave boy knows without being taught in an empirical proof of the doctrine of metempsychosis. The influence of Aristotle, however, is even clearer in Caroso's proof of the proposition that walking is not taught to the child but is of its nature.

Aristotle defines nature in the second book of his \textit{Physica}. He first distinguishes between things which exist by nature, such as living things and the elements, and things which exist from other causes, such as things which are made. Things which exist by nature have within them a principle of motion (which includes change and growth) and rest, whereas the other things, not having within them the principle of their own making, need to be made. He then considers the view that nature is in the material of which natural things consist. He prefers, however, the other view that nature is in the form, which is

\textsuperscript{23} \textit{Nobiltà di Dame}, pp. 19-20.
\textsuperscript{24} Epicurean philosophy, although by no means as well regarded as Platonism or Stoicism, was known in the Renaissance. Lucretius was known from the 15th century and Dennis Lambin's text and commentary were published many times after 1563: Lucretius, \textit{De rerum natura libri sex}. A Dionysio Lambino ... locis innumerabilibus ex auctoritate quinque codicum manu scriptorum emendati, atque in antiquum ac nativum statum fere restitui, & praeterea brevibus, & perquam utilibus commentariis illustrati, Paris and Lyons, Roville, 1563. Diogenes Laertius' accounts of the philosophers, Book X of which is devoted wholly to Epicurus, was also known, and an edition of the Greek text with a Latin translation by a Tommaso Aldobrandini was published in Rome in 1594: Laertius Diogenous, \textit{De vitis dogmatis et apothegmatis eorum qui in philosophia clarverunt libri X}, Thoma Aldobrandino interprete. Cum adnotationibus eiusdem. (Rome: A Zanetti, 1594).
preferable because it takes into account the actuality of the thing, not only its potentiality. Also, a natural thing is capable of reproduction and as it is its form which it reproduces its nature must be in its form. Finally, a natural thing has its genesis from which it moves, changes or grows towards its form, which is its nature although, he adds, both terms are ambiguous. Caroso's text reads thus.

... I tell you that this step is taught to us by our own nature, as all may see when a nurse or a mother who rears [azzinano] or suckles a baby boy or girl, when it has reached the seventh or eighth month she will begin to dress it, and when it is dressed she will put it on the ground with both feet, and will hold it under the arms or sleeves of its garment, so that the first movement that it makes will be raising its foot and then by itself it will put it flat [l'appanierà] on the ground; and this is called a step. Then with the other foot which will be behind, it will do the same walking forwards, and yet this is not taught by the nurse, nor even by the mother, seeing that it is its nature on its own [la natura da sè] that makes it do these movements and not the aforesaid women, as they teach it to talk; and as an experiment put the said baby in a little cart [carrucula], you will see that it will walk by itself.

Walking is natural but talking is not. Seemingly it is only the name of the step which is explained in the passage but, also, there may be the intention of claiming precedence as well as priority for the gestic arts by virtue of the naturalness of walking.

Caroso's baby, then, in respect of walking is virtually at its point of genesis and it takes its first steps untaught in its motion towards its form of a two-legged walking creature according to its nature. The baby is at the beginning of its growth towards its mature form but Solomon in 'Regola sesta', it may be noted, in this respect has come back full circle to using a walking frame, or something like one, even though he has not ceased to learn: extreme youth, then, is comparable

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26 *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 22.
with its contrary, extreme old age.

In contrast to the naturalness of the passo naturale is the "capricious movement" of the seguito trangato, the name of which is explained in 'Regola XIX.' by means of a forced back-formation: 'ritrangare' is used for 'ritrarre' to connect the name with the movement of 'drawing back' characteristic of the step, instead of the "natural movement of walking".\(^{27}\) Such strained etymological derivation would certainly be outside the boundaries of good classical style but might be intended as extension of Quintilian's third kind of figure: "which from some similarity of sounds or by parities or contraries attracts the ears and excites the feelings, called paranomasia, or in Latin adnominatio".\(^{28}\) Is the fancifulness of the explanation meant to match the capriciousness of the step?

Beyond the usual limits of good taste and decorum is the simile, used not once but twice: in the 'Regola Quinta', for the continenza grave, and in 'Regola XXIX.', for the trabucchetto breve.\(^{29}\)

... and others doing this trabucchetto spread their legs so much that it looks as if they want to urinate, a very ugly sight to see.

This is an example of the use of extreme ideas for the sake of vividness, humour, display of virtuosity and stylishness to be found on occasions even in Tasso but particularly characteristic of Giovanni Battista Marino and the 'Marinisti'.\(^{30}\) Tasso's opinion that such crudities are not appropriate in epic at least is clear from the following:\(^{31}\)

... Yet may our poet disdain all things base, low-bred [populari], licentious, like the story of Fiammetta and that of the Doctor; to

\(^{27}\) Nobiltà di Dame, pp. 28-29.
\(^{28}\) Quintilian. Institutio oratoria, IX, iii, 66.
\(^{29}\) Nobiltà di Dame, p. 36.
\(^{30}\) See Franco Croce,‘Nuovi compiti della critica del Marino e del Marinismo’, quoted above.
\(^{31}\) Torquato Tasso, 'Discorsi del poema eroico, libro secondo', in his Prose, p. 557. The stories of Fiammetta and of the Doctor are told in Ariosto's Orlando furioso, xxviii, vv. 4-74, and xliii, vv. 72-143, respectively.
the mediocre let him add loftiness, to the obscure clarity and splendour, to the simple artifice, to the true ornament, to the false authority; and if he at any time admit shepherds, goatherds, swineherds and other sorts of persons, he should have regard not only to the decorum of the person, but to that of the poem, and display them as they display themselves in royal palaces and in solemnities and in pageants [pompe].

Nevertheless such persons with such manners could be appropriate in the medium and comic styles.  

'Regola XXXV.', for the five steps of the galliard, is quite long and elaborate and contains two examples of the same sort, although considerably milder, in which the dancer is admonished while steadying the sword with the left hand not to keep the right hand motionless as if there had been "a fracture [rottorio] or a cautery in the arm" and, while keeping the body straight and the head up, not to raise the eyes so high as to look like "an astrologer gazing at the stars".  

Hyperbole, broad humour and surprise are clearly elements in the effect of these similes, being means to make them striking.

Consideration of some of the ancient and contemporary authorities with which Caroso and his readers would have been familiar should assist understanding of his style of writing even if it fail to foster fondness for it. In discussing "the low style of speaking", Tasso states that the most important requirement is 'probability' which, he says, was called evidenzia [sic] by the Latins, by the Greeks energia; and which might well be called 'clarity' or 'expression' ... . This "virtue which makes us almost see what is being narrated, arises from very accurate narration, leaving nothing out ...".  

Tasso here confuses the 'vivid description' (ἐναργεία) with the 'vigour of style' (ἐνεργεία) of the Greek writers on rhetoric and while correctly identifying the common objective of these figures, i.e. vividness, he unduly restricts the means for achieving this "putting before the eyes".

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32 Torquato Tasso, 'Discorsi del poema eroico, libro secondo', in his Prose, p. 557, n. 3.
33 Nobilità di Dame, p. 42.
34 Torquato Tasso, 'Discorsi del poema eroico, libro secondo', in his Prose, op. cit., p. 709.
Dionysius of Halicarnassus says that vivid description is the "power of making perceptible what is said", and tells us that the orator Lysias excelled at it since he was so well able to grasp the attributes proper to the actions, feelings, thoughts and words of the persons whom he wished to describe. 35 According to the author of Rhetorica ad Herennium, vivid description [demonstratio] is achieved by describing what preceded and followed as well as what happened at the time. 36 Quintilian gives a number of Latin equivalents for the Greek: evidentia, repraesentatio and sub oculis subiectio, and makes the point that it is done "not generally but by parts". 37

Vigour of style is a more subtle quality: in the Metaphysica, Aristotle defines it as the actual presence of something as opposed to potentiality; in the Ars rhetorica he recommends metaphors and similes as naturally pleasurable, when not either obvious or obscure, because they provide information with ease and rapidity. Metaphors are more effective when they show the objects in action, becoming personifications and "setting them before the eyes" as they make the inanimate animate. 38 Aristotle's examples are from Euripides and Homer and they demonstrate very poetic use of vigour in the high style. Caroso's similes quoted above certainly lack subtlety - and poetic elevation: his astrologer probably hails from the commedia dell'arte and some of his other comparisons are even more everyday. They might be not very original even, as they may repeat jokes from the dancing lesson. Caroso probably would have agreed with Tasso that such figures belong in the low style (though Tasso might not have approved of some of them even there), but as for the detailed description traditionally recommended - though there is some of that - Caroso, in his 'beautiful rules' at any rate, prefers to use vigorous exaggeration, humour and surprise to achieve his effects of vividness.

The elaborate architectural analogy in the last of the 'Regole' in

36 Once attributed to Cicero. Another title for it is Auctor ad Herennium. See LV, 68, and also XLIX, 62.
37 'nec universa, sed per partis', Quintilian, Institutio oratoria, IX, ii, 40, and see also VI, ii, 32, and IV, ii, 63.
38 Aristotle, Metaphysica, IX, vi, 26, and see also 19 & 20; Ars rhetorica, III, xi, 22-23.
'Libro Primo' will be discussed below, but at this point it will be useful to note the same architectural simile used twice previously. The opening dialogue, 'Regola Prima' and 'Regola Seconda' are concerned with introductory movements and a full and detailed description of the riverenza, and towards the end of 'Regola Seconda' there is the sententia as to the kinds of movement to be done on the left and right sides quoted above followed by a further statement of the rule regarding the foot for the riverenza, followed by the simile of the door of the palace:39

... and all riverenze should always be done with the said left foot, for that [i.e. the riverenza] is the door for entering into the palace, and the same should be kept to in coming out of it.

The rules for the steps from 'Regola Terza' to 'Regola XXXV.' are concerned with passi, seguiti and other basic steps. This group of rules concludes in 'Regola XXXV.' with a detailed description of the five steps of the galliard, followed by a quite long explication of theory, to be quoted and discussed below, and closes with restatement of the rule for the left foot in the riverenza, followed by an expansion of the simile of the door of the palace, to include elements on the left and right sides.40 The simile seems intended here to mark a halfway point approximately, between 'Regola Terza' and the last, 'Regola LXVIII.' Thus, a function of the simile may be to articulate and emphasize a threefold division of the rules: introduction and the two parts of a binary structure, like the palace and like the dances.

The architectural analogy had good classical precedent. In Rhetorica Aristotle gives this amongst other examples:41

And if it is possible to produce the good and the beautiful, it is also possible to produce generally: for a beautiful house is more difficult than a house.

Less laconic is Pindar's use of architectural analogy to begin his sixth

40 Nobiltà di Dame, p. 43, and see below.
41 Aristotle, Rhetorica, II, xix, 1392a.
'Olympian Ode', in honour of Hagesias, as quoted by Tasso in his *Discorsi del poema eroico*: 42

Pindar perhaps put forward a different opinion, considering that the beginning of a poem should be grand, magnificent and radiant, and like facades [*frontispici*] of palaces, as he wrote in these verses for Hagesias:

Golden pillars supporting the well-walled entrance of our house,  
like a wonderful hall, shall we build:  
at the commencement of the work a facade  
[far-shining must be placed ... ].

THE DANCE OF THE SPHERES

Although the dance and music have always been particularly apt images for the movements of the heavenly bodies such notions are not found substantially asserted in the dance manuals of the time and seem to have appealed to poets and mathematicians rather than to musicians and dancers: well-known, of course, are Sir John Davies' *Orchestra*, 1596, 43 and Kepler's *Harmonice mundi*, 1619. 44 Cosmological considerations are not found in the prose sections of *Nobiltà di Dame*, apart from various decorative Platonisms and, in particular, the allusion to the Prime Mover already noted, which in any case is probably considered to be philosophy. The ends of dancing are for the

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42 In Torquato Tasso, *Prose*, p. 629. Tasso quotes Pindar in the original, omitting the fifth line in the translation above:  
χρυσέας ὑποστάσαντε εὖ-  
τειχεὶ προθύρῳ θαλάμου  
κίόνας ὡς ὅτε θαυμὸν μέγαρον,  
πάξομεν ἄρχομεν ὅ ἐγγον πρόσωπον ... 


most part social. Astrology, indeed, receives negative notice in 'Regola XXXV.', as already noted.

The notion of 'human music' is to be found, however, in the dedication of Il Ballarino to Bianca Capello but Caroso stops short of treating of the proportions of the movements of the heavenly bodies or of their correspondence to the dance.

... The which I esteem as being of no small moment; since our soul is composed of those proportions, or of those secret harmonic numbers, which it is outside [my] present purpose to discuss; it [i.e. our soul] comes to be revealed necessarily more or less perfectly, as in more or less measure moving with its body, it shows itself to the eyes of the spectators.

This reference to the proportions of the soul also would seem to be no more than a conventional topic, used here to decorate a formality.

On the other hand, Neoplatonism pervades the poetry with astronomical imagery which, while similarly conventional and largely decorative in function, expresses attitudes of chivalry and of courtly and platonic love. The ladies of the poetry would seem to regard the heavens above like the Blessed Virgin in Titian's famous altar-piece of the Assumption in Santa Maria dei Frari in Venice as in this sonnet dedicating 'Piantone' to Bartolomea Senesia.

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45 Nobiltà di Dame, pp. 1-2, 'Alli Lettori'.
46 And see below.
47 Il Ballarino, p. 4.
48 Nobiltà di Dame, p. 332.

'That virtue which leads to true glory,
Lady of every valour worth receiving.
In your divine and angelic intellect
As though on its throne reposes, and shines:
This virtue to your mind sustains and leads
From sphere to sphere to the highest, most perfect good,
Where at the sacred sight of its maker
Up there a new star shines, and sparkles.
There thought, released from its worthy task,
Perceives the most beautiful marvels of GOD,
Quella virtù ch' à vera gloria adduce,
Donna d'ogni valor degno ricetto,
Nel divin Vostro angelico intelletto
Come nel seggio suo riposa, e luce:
Questa la mente Vostra erge, e conduce
Di sfera, in sfera al ben sommo, e perfetto,
Dove del suo Fattor al sacro
Stella nuova la sù splende, e riluce.
Ivi'l pensier del degno incarco sciolto,
Scorge di DIO le meraviglie belle,
E d'i celesti segni, i moti, e i giri.
Quinci mostrate nel bel Vostro volto,
E ne begli occhi, à chi'n Voi fisso miri,
Del Sole'l lume, e'l corso delle Stelle.

POETIC METRES

The balletto, 'Contrapasso Nuovo' is "done with true mathematics on the verses of Ovid" in spondees and dactyls, showing an awareness of aims, such as those of Bardi's Camerata, to combine the arts of poetry, music and dance as in ancient Greek drama. The arts are in fact combined for each dance in the book, which is in itself like a miniature masque with its poem, its dance and its sonata, to which a picture may add spectacle. The last five Rules, however, address the matter more directly. 'Regola LXIII.' to 'Regola LXVIII.', for the dactyl [dattile], the spondee [spondee], the sapphic [saffice], the distich [destice] and the corinth [corinto] respectively, are choreographically simple but with fantasy and wit they link the art of dancing to the art of poetry in an elaborate figura which is like a final cadenza and concluding riverenza at the end of a galliard. There are no rules for these poetic steps in Il Ballarino and so they were

And the movements and turnings of the celestial signs.
From there, show in your beautiful face,
And in your beautiful eyes, to one gazing steadfast,
The light of the sun, and the course of the stars.'

49 Nobiltà di Dame, p. 241.
50 See Aristotle, Poetica, cap. 6 for the 'parts' of tragedy.
most likely invented in the years after 1581.\footnote{For the movements of the steps see below.}

'Regola LXIII.', for the dactyl (dattile), commences with explanation of the name, referring to the verses of Virgil and Ovid, in which the dactyl "when scanned has a long foot [sic] and two shorts", and Caroso tells us:\footnote{Nobiltà di Dame, pp. 59-60.}

... and this is the true seguito and thus it should be done, and especially in the 'Ballo del Fiore', and 'Contrapasso'.

The etymological derivation given for the name would be true enough were it not for the assertion that "this name is Latin" and dattile derived from the Latin instead of the Greek word.\footnote{Nobiltà di Dame, p. 59.}

... therefore, my son, I reply to the question that you have put to me whence derives this name, having given you the rule how to do it I now tell you, that this name dactyl derivatur [sic] from digito, which speaking vulgarly is derived from the second finger, namely that next to the thumb [dito grosso]. And to speak truth, this finger has three joints, and of the three, one is long, and the other two are short, and that is to say smaller, and the length of the one is equal to that of the two, as is widely to be seen nowadays [hoggidi], and you can measure them; and for this reason this name of dactyl is derived from the finger; and this is enough for you, and remember it well, as you have heard it from no one other than from me, who is the inventor, and similarly one after the other I will explain the other four, and mainly [massime] the spondee.

The spondee (spondeo, or sponneo as it is spelled in the illustration with 'Contrapasso Nuovo') also, we are told in 'Regola LXV.'\footnote{} also, we are told in 'Regola LXV.', is found in the verses of Virgil and Ovid, but the derivation given for the name of the step is artificial and, so to speak, hyperbolic to the extent of falsity: it is an example of a kind of enthymeme, the 'topic' being "from the name", that is to say equivocation, and listed by
Aristotle in the *Rhetorica*. Aristotle illustrates the fallaciousness inherent in this type of proof by this example, amongst others, based on a false etymology from the Greek word for 'mouse'.

... that the mouse is excellent, as from it is the most honoured initiation of all: for the mysteries are of all the most honoured initiation.

Very similar to this kind of enthymeme are the plays on words, "which were called allusiones by the Latins", recommended by Tasso in his *Discorsi del poema eroico* as particularly suitable for gracing the lyric form, his first example being the well known pun from Petrarch, "L'aura, che'l verde lauro e l'aureo crine". This kind of figure, be it noted, is used in many of the titles of the dances in *Nobiltà di Dame* and in some of the poems: for instance we find 'Amor Costante' dedicated to Costanza Sforza Buoncompagna, 'Forza d'Amore' to Leonora Orsina Sforza and many others with more or less subtlety. 'Bassa et Alta' is dedicated to Olimpia Aldobrandini with a poem similarly graced, demonstrating the divine qualities of the Pope's niece.

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57 *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 160. Translated thus:
'As the fourth heaven displays the bright burning planet,
The other the goddess of the sea;
Thus on high Olympus on earth appears
Rare beauty, splendour, brilliance and light;
And great Jove's work in which can often be discerned
Lights even brighter than the sun's
And beauties even rarer than Venus';
Which astounds every lofty mind.
To which then turned as if from heaven
You now will bear the high name of OLIMPIA,
And will be divine, clothed immortal.
And since you will make this hemisphere illustrious
As woman divine and earthly goddess,
You will be worthy of every sceptre of empire.'
But returning to 'Regola LV.', here is Caroso's explanation, also based on the thumb, of the name of the spondee (bearing in mind that the true explanation is that it was the kind of foot used in melodies to accompany libations, i.e. σπονδάι):

The name then, derives from the thumb of the hand, seeing that it has two joints, and the one is equal to the other in length, as you can measure, and this said finger being the edge [sponda] of the other fingers, for this reason the name spondee is derived.

'Regola LV.' is then further decorated with quotation of the first line of Ovid's *Heroides* which could be intended as a highly allusive periphrasis for the title of his book, as Penelope is the paragon of the virtue of constancy at which women excel,\(^58\)

And see that in the first of Ovid's verses, which says:

_Hanc tua Penelope, lento tibi mittit Ulisses._

In it there are four dactyls, and two spondees.

and concludes with a restatement of the general rule concerning the correct sequence of the feet, which must be followed in dancing

\(^{58}\) *Nobiltà di Dame*, pp. 60-61. Ovid's verse translated:

'This your Penelope sends to slow you, Ulysses'
dactyls and spondees as in other kinds of steps.

The figures used in these final rules, including the apparent mistakes, are elaborated far beyond mere equivocation and defy precise classification by the rules of rhetoric but the freedom of Caroso's inventiveness in this regard is sanctioned by Tasso in the 'Libro quarto' of the Discorsi which shows less than satisfaction with exhaustive classification, both contemporary and ancient, of the various kinds of figure, argued with proper deference to Cicero as well as to Aristotle, followed by a beautiful simile.59

But although this name of metaphor seems very restricted in Aristotle as we have seen, nevertheless he used it a few times in the widest sense, for he would call metaphor every name which is not literal [proprio]. Hence Cicero considered that Aristotle included under the name metaphor everything that by grammarians and teachers of speaking (who divide and break things) are called by various names.60 ... Hence Cicero in the Topica said that the figures of speech or of thought which the Greeks call schemata, were something infinite: but it is possible that they fall under distribution of parts rather than under division. They are parts of oratory rather than forms or species; and if they were forms, as according to Boethius, and species of the genus, they could be given the same name, since the name of the genus would apply to each of them, whereas that of the whole does not apply to the parts; yet that is of no help, in that since it is in the power of the speaker to multiply the figures of speech, he can multiply them to infinity, because, together with change of elocution, figures change, between which there is no substantial difference, but only accidental. Hence it seems that they cannot have a common genus, because each genus has its specific differences. It is better therefore to follow the other opinion of Cicero, followed by Boethius as well, that the

59 Torquato Tasso,’ Discorsi del poema eroico’, libro quarto, his Prose, pp. 645-646. Boethius' opinions are to be found in his commentary, In M.T.Ciceronis Topica, as cited by Mazzali on p. 646, n. 4, of his edition of Tasso's Prose. Regarding the figure of the decorated cloth of gold, cf. Cicero, De oratore, III, xxv, 96.

60 This refers to the 'commonplaces', i.e. the topics common to the three kinds of oratory, viz. deliberative, epideictic and forensic, discussed by Aristotle in Rhetorica, II, 18-26, including examples and maxims as well as enthymemes.
elocution is everything, and the figures are some of the parts woven into it in many and varied ways, like tree-trunks and leaves or tiny animals or other such images into cloth of silk or gold.

In the passage in the *Topica* to which Tasso refers, Cicero distinguishes between *divisio*, where there is a certain number of "forms" or species contained within a genus, in which case it is defective to omit any of the parts, and *partitio*, i.e. where the parts can be 'distributed' so that it is therefore possible to omit some of them; in fact, since the parts may be infinite, it may be impossible to do otherwise - as in the case of the figures in oratory.\(^{61}\)

But when giving rules for ornaments of words or thoughts, what they call *schemata* (i.e. figures of speech or of thought), it is not the same. For this case is relatively infinite [sic].

In *De Oratore* Cicero broadens this boundlessness of the figures to include the totality of style.\(^{62}\) Caroso's literary style, though it may be learned and by modern standards ponderous, is nevertheless lively.

In 'Regola LXVI.' and 'Regola LXVII.', of the sapphic and the distich respectively,\(^{63}\) the derivations are hyperbolic to a further degree, leaving behind actual poetic metre and true etymology, not to speak of veracity, in pursuit of the conceit, or are they, rather, left below, like the floor left behind in the elevation and brilliance of a leap?\(^{64}\)

D. Signor Maestro this name of sapphic seems very harsh to me, and I have never heard any other maestro tell of it, but I pray you if you love me, as I believe, teach it to me, and tell me whence it has taken its name.
M. Most willingly my son, note that wanting to do this sapphic, it is necessary for you to do with the left foot, a *ripresa sottopiede* on the left side, and a *trabucchetto* with the same

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\(^{61}\) Cicero, *Topica*, capp. 3 & 5-8. The quotation is from cap. 8, 33-34.

\(^{62}\) Cicero, *De oratore*, III, ix.

\(^{63}\) For the movements of these steps see below.

\(^{64}\) *Nobiltà di Dame*, pp. 61-62.
foot, the same you will do with the right foot, where formerly a *spezzato* was done, doing which *spezzato* did not always turn out well in several dances, and especially in *cascarde*, because it was found to be false in the foot used; but doing it this way you will find yourself in every dance, and in *cascarde* very correct. Now I come to resolve your doubt as to whence this name of sapphic derives: Idest ad sufficientiam rei, & motorum; vulgarly speaking this sapphic [*saffice*] is the sufficiency [*sufficienza*] of doing all difficult movements, and doing it you will reduce the dance, which you will do to true perfection, and so from this sufficiency it has taken this name of sapphic, which seemed such a harsh name to you: but with all that I do not want to delay from showing you how you are to do the distich.

In prosody a sapphic is a stanza consisting of three verses of mostly trochaic pentameter (two trochees, a dactyl and two trochees) followed by a fourth verse of only two feet (a dactyl and a trochee), in its name attributed to Sappho and used by Horace in many of his odes. The *ripresa sottopiede* and the *trabucchetto* will be discussed below, but for now sufficient of their character may be expressed by Julia Sutton's translation, "*reprise with foot under* with your left foot to the left, and a *falling jump* with the same foot ...".65 'Distich' is another name for the elegiac couplet, consisting of a verse in standard dactylic hexameter followed by a mainly dactylic pentameter but with pauses bringing the total length up to that of the hexameter, used by Catullus, Propertius, Martial and other writers of epigrams and by Ovid. Caroso's danced distich differs from his sapphic in that it consists of two *riprese sottopiedi* and a *trabucchetto*, with the grace of manoeuvring the waist: *destriggiare* is the word used, perhaps for *dstringere* with the literal sense of 'un-squeeze' for the purpose of forcing the derivation.66

I tell you that in doing it, it is done twisting with the body [*vita*], now with one flank, now with the other, which makes a very pleasing sight to the onlookers; whence from this twisting of the body [*destriggiar di vita*], it has taken this name of distich

65 See Sutton's translation of *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 131.
66 *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 62.
The movements are simple, and indeed would have been quite familiar to Caroso's readers, but are no doubt difficult to grace sufficiently well.

Warren Kirkendale, in an article on the music of sixteenth century Italian comedy, has investigated the study of Horatian metres, in particular the sapphic, in the grammar and Latin schools and parodied in the *commedia erudite*.

Vecchi's Scolare and Pedante, unlike Zanni and Magnifico, belong not to the commedia dell'arte, but to the commedia erudita; their Latinized language can be fully appreciated - and successfully written! - only by the educated.

Kirkendale lists music dating from the eleventh century to sapphic odes of Horace, including settings by Goudimel, and of other authors, including 'Ut queant laxis' of Guidonian fame, and a motet, 'Quis dabit pacem', on the death of Lorenzo Il Magnifico in 1492 by Heinrich Isaac. He identifies two rhythms for the metre of the first three lines of the stanza in the repertoire: the first 'academic' with the ancient quantitative values for the syllables, metrically irregular, and the second 'musical' in qualitative metre (i.e. stress rhythm) with adjustment of the eighth note to a crotchet to make it metrically regular (see Figure 6 below).

Even if they had never danced poetic metres before, the idea of doing so could not have been so very novel to Caroso's readers.

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68 Warren Kirkendale, 'Franceschina, Girometta, and their Companions in a Madrigal …' at p. 215.
More theoretical is the discussion of prosody and metre in Mersenne's *Harmonie universelle.* In the works of the ancient writers, rhythm is the wider term meaning any regularly recurring sound or motion or, even more generally, proportion, measure or symmetry; whereas metre, in this context, is the measure of words, being the opposite of melody as well as of rhythm. The following matters discussed by Mersenne in 'Livre sixiesme, De l'art de bien chanter, IV. partie, De la Rhythmique, ou des mouvements mesurez,

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de la prosodie, & de la Metrique\textsuperscript{72} are of interest in regard to the
dance, to dance music and to the rules for poetic and architectural
steps in Caroso's book, i.e. 'Regola LXIII.' through to 'Regola
LXVII.:'

**Proposition XVII:** rhythm is an art which considers movements and
regulates their sequence and how they are mixed so as to excite the
passions and sustain them, or to augment, diminish or pacify them. A
'Table de vingt-sept pieds Metriques ou mouvements Rythmiques' is
included.\textsuperscript{73}

**Proposition XX:** to explain everything concerning metrical feet and
measured verse and particularly the hexametre, pentametre and
sapphic. The discussion includes the following comment:\textsuperscript{74}

... I only remark here that all feet are composed of long or short
syllables, and that what we will say of the measure of verses,
can also be applied to that of dances and of all airs and branles,
etc., that are played on instruments, so that composers of ballet
and dance can greatly profit from reading this book.

**Proposition XXI:** to explain Phaleucian, iambic, trochaic, Alcmenian
[sic - Alcaic?] and Asclepiadean.

**Proposition XXII:** to explain anapæstic, pæonic and Ionic major and
minor verse, choriambic, antispastic and all the other species.\textsuperscript{75}

**Proposition XXIII:** to explain the attempts made in the seventeenth
century to establish prosody and French metric poesy, in regard to
music. Italian attempts are acknowledged but not discussed.
Regarding dancing:\textsuperscript{76}

\textsuperscript{72} Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, …’, pp. 374-440.
\textsuperscript{73} Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, …, pp. 374-376.
\textsuperscript{74} Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, …’, pp. 384-387. The passage
quoted is from p. 384.
\textsuperscript{75} Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, …’, pp. 387-392.
\textsuperscript{76} Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, …’, pp. 393-395. The passage
quoted is from p. 394.
Now in whatever way verses are taken, musicians can make use of all the sorts of movements or rhythmic steps, of which we have up to now been speaking: upon which it is worth remarking that composers of branles and ballets, and dancing masters [Maistres de la Dance] can call each rhythmic foot a 'step', and consequently, verses which have 3, 4, 5 or 6 feet are similar to dances composed of 3, 4, 5 or 6 steps; and when the verse has 5 and a half feet, etc. so that each kind of verse represents each kind of dance, and whole ballets can be made using steps and movements of all the kinds of metres of which we have spoken.

Proposition XXIV: to determine the great number of movements, that come from alterations of the times, or of the notes of a measure which are used in songs, and musical airs. The discussion begins thus.\textsuperscript{77}

It is certain that composers of airs, branles, and of ballets have no less a number of varieties in the times of their measures, than in the modulation of which I have spoken in the book concerning songs, and consequently they have not yet employed all species of movements, and that there will always be enough for them to pursue all their lives, as they can prove to themselves by changing a binary measure, in which one could put a minim, a quaver, and a dot, another quaver, and three semiquavers, since this measure can be changed in 120 ways, yet retaining the same notes, and only putting them on the one line. The second binary measure composed of seven quavers, and two semiquavers, can be varied in 336 ways. The 3rd. composed of 5 quavers, and six semiquavers, in 462 manners: and the 4th composed of a crotchet, a dotted quaver, two more quavers, and of five semiquavers, in 1512 manners.

He gives these four examples in notation, and then:

This is sufficient to show the great number of varieties of each binary measure, the which I give freely, to those who want to use them to enrich their practice. ...

\textsuperscript{77} Marin Mersenne, \textit{Harmonie universelle}, ‘…’, pp. 396-398.
He continues, showing that by various combinations of dotted and undotted notes the one binary measure gives 24,440 different measures. The variety of measures commonly used in dance music is clearly very limited.

**Proposition XXVII**: to give examples of all the rhythmic movements of the ancients, that is to say of their verses: to show the movements and the metric feet of our rhymed verse, and explain the art of finding them in all kinds of words, French as well as Latin. Included is a table of examples of 'Mouvements Rythmiques, & Metriques'.

**Proposition XXIX**: to explain the manner of singing the odes of Pindar and Horace, and the means of making French verses as fit for music as those of Pindar and the other poets. There are interesting examples of settings of verses by Pindar, Horace and Baïf.

**Proposition XXXIII**: to explain what St. Augustine has written in particular in his six books about rhythmic music. Mersenne notes that the six books that we have of the twelve projected by Augustine should be entitled 'De la Rythmique' or 'De la Metrique' since these are the main concerns, and that the six lost books probably covered the same ground as does Boethius. Mersenne acknowledges his considerable indebtedness to St. Augustine's *De musica* which he summarizes in some detail. The importance placed on St. Augustine's work indicates the extent of Mersenne's interest in Platonism.

Mersenne's statements and advice to composers as to how they should use the metres of poetry in composing their music were published nearly forty years later than Caroso's rules but they express an opinion regarding the relationship of poetry, dancing and music that was doubtless the end result of much formal and informal discussion over many years in the academies and in 'academic' circles.

such as Bardi's Camerata. Evidence that such ideas were already current in Caroso's time are the definitions given in the *Discorso mandato a Caccini sopra la musica antica e'l cantar bene*, c.1578, purporting to be by Giovanni de' Bardi himself but perhaps by Galilei or some other member of Bardi's circle.\(^81\)

Rhythm is likewise a general term, and in defining it, Aristides Quintilianus\(^82\) says that it is a system of times arranged in certain orders, a system being simply an ordering of things. Discussing rhythm, Plato says that it is divided into three species, progressing either by harmony, or by bodily movement, or by words, bodily rhythm being manifest to the eye, the other two species to the ear. But let us come to the rhythm of music, which is simply giving time to words that are sung as long and short, and as fast and slow, likewise to musical instruments.

Caroso would have been aware of such discussion.

Mersenne's treatment of rhythm and metre is extensive, comprehensive and thorough, the product of one of the best minds of the age, and is a serious endeavour to explain classical metres with the aim of improving contemporary song. In comparison, Caroso's poetic steps are either naive or, more likely, not meant to be taken very seriously, and are mainly decorative. However there is relatively very little on the dance even in Mersenne's large book on universal harmony, and that little is mainly concerned with its relationship to poetry. This is indicative of the state of knowledge of ancient dancing, about which there was then (and still is) some theory known but little practice and, from the nature of the art, no surviving monuments. Music suffered from the same disability, though to a slightly lesser extent, so that a renaissance of dancing in which the ancient art would

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\(^82\) Is this intended to be Quintilian, perhaps referring to his *Institutio oratoria*?
be recreated as in the literary and visual arts was even more difficult, and in fact impossible. The dance was given general Neoplatonic significance in various kinds of theatre, but there would be some justification for Caroso making light of attempts to translate the details of prosody into choreographic equivalents as recommended by theorists such as Mersenne.

ARCHITECTURE

The actual movements of the last step, called the corinto, in 'Regola LXVIII.', continue the cumulation of riprese sottopiedi of the preceding two steps, i.e. of the saffice and the destice in that it consists of three riprese followed by a trabucchetto. The correspondence to the poetic metres is increasingly tenuous through the last five rules and any metrical corinth, if the name was ever used at all in prosody, is extremely obscure; but in any case transition from poetry to architecture is made in this last rule and 'corinto', surely, is to be taken in the architectural sense to mean 'Corinthian', with praise of Michelangelo, the Palazzo Farnese and the Church of the Gesù as discussed above in Chapter I, copiously adorning with cumulation of invention the conclusion of this part of the book, as promised on the title page, "... of beautiful rules, and reduced to perfect theory". Perhaps in view of the cumulation of riprese in the corinto, the destice is to be seen retrospectively as the equivalent in dancing of the Ionic and the saffice of the Doric orders of architecture.83

How the Corinth has to be done and whence it derives.

RULE LXVIII

D. Know Your Lordship that I am in love in a way [invaghito in tal maniera], as you have so clearly explained these rules of yours, and resolved so many, many doubts for me, the which I confess, are perfect, and most correct [giustissima], but finally teach me how I have to do this corinth: and then tell me whence

83 Nobiltà di Dame, pp. 63-64.
it is derived, because in the five orders of architecture, in the fourth there is the corinth, but I long for you not to delay telling it to me, which will gratify me exceedingly.

M. To this your final request I reply, that it is true that in architecture there is the corinth, and it is in the fourth order, and I confess that architecture is most correct, and I want you to know that I have imitated it, and see that in the frontispiece of this work of mine, 84 that everything is done with true architecture, so in one of the two devices there is the compass, and the clock [oriolo for orologia?], where the motto which is wrapped around it, says Rule, Time and Measure. 85 And I tell you, that if an architect wishes to make a beautiful palace, and although he may not be excellent, he will do it, but sometimes there will be some defect [mancamento], on this account it will nonetheless be called a palace [non per questo lascierà di chiamarsi Palazzo] but he will always be censured for this defect which he has made. And so it is necessary that everyone be excellent at his practice [essercitio] as was the great Michelangelo Good Wheel [Buona Rota], as in painting, so in sculpture, and in architecture, and see in Rome that beautiful large palace of the Most Serene Duke of Parma, and the view of the Church of II Gesù, which is the most miraculous in the whole world, and here you will see everything in true order to the letter, as is written in the aforesaid frontispiece with equal division [ugual partimento]. So in every science many are said to be masters, but few are truly perfect; so in this profession it is necessary for him who does it, he should do it with true rule and perfect theory, and not according to practice [non per prattica]; and wishing to do this corinto, it is necessary that with the left foot you do three riprese, and a trabucchetto fiancheggiato, the same you will do with the right. The name then derives from the doing of these gracious movements, they pull the heart [tirano il cuore] and the bystanders who see them done love them, and so I have given it this name. See, now I

84 The title page of Nobiltà di Dame with its Corinthian columns is reproduced above at p. 35
85 In the Forni facsimile edition of Nobiltà di Dame ‘Tempo’ is clear on this motto, ‘Misura’ less clear and the middle word is indecipherable. Might it be ‘Gratia’ as in ‘Regola XXXV’ discussed below.
have explained all the rules, and resolved all doubts concerning the movements.

The instructions for the steps, then, are like Tasso's tapestry. The last five rules form an elaborate configuration which, though the most extended rhetorical decoration in *Nobiltà di Dame*, is not in other respects unique. Many of the other rules for the steps are also decorated with derivations, some plausible, some playful, and the text generally decorated with comparisons and digressions that present images which are charming or humorous; there are plays on words, maxims, quotations and literary allusions. It seems reasonable to suppose that the dances likewise, ornamented like beautiful textures with a diversity of *trabucchetti, fioretti*, cadenzas, various leaps and other steps and movements that are virtuosic, affective and even allusive perhaps, were intended to produce a similar effect, like an oration richly ornamented with figures, like the cloth of silk or gold.
CHAPTER IV

NOBILITY, WOMEN AND THE POEMS

NOBILITY AND GRACE

ALLI LETTORI contains Platonic doctrine; the 'Regole' are Platonic in that they are cast in dialogue form and contain the various similes, quotations and references with Platonic significance discussed in the previous chapters and, whilst the choreographies are mostly straightforward instruction, Platonic concepts of harmony, rhythm and mathematics are implicit in the dance structures as will be discussed below. The poetry is suffused with Platonism. The title of the book declares its subject to be female nobility, and this notion is elegantly supported by the compliment in the dedication to the Duke and Duchess of Parma on the occasion of their wedding and is richly developed with Platonic imagery in the poems, nearly all in honour of ladies. The poems are sonnets except for the villanella quoted above, one poem in octaves and two in quatrains. Caroso, or whoever wrote the poems, was a competent lyricist, handling conventional images with taste and elegance, but they lack the density of thought and structure and the immediacy of, for instance, the sonnet on a hand enjoyed in dancing by Tasso, ‘Questa è pur quella che percote e fiede …’, quoted below at the end of this chapter:

As well as the literature of Italian lyric poetry there is also the prose literature of courtly and Platonic love, often in dialogue form

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1 See above.
2 See above.
3 See above.
5 See below.
like the rules in *Nobiltà di Dame*, the best known work of this kind being Castiglione's *Il Libro del cortegiano*. These works probably reflect what often must have been quite lively debates between courtiers as to the nature of the virtues and of the love relationship. Much is to be learned from them as to the style of deportment and demeanour but, as well, they shed light on the meaning of *Nobiltà di Dame* as a whole, the individual dances of which can be seen as choreographic statements in the same tradition. The import of many of the virtues required of ladies and gentlemen is obvious enough, for instance beauty and chastity for ladies, but that of others, such as nobility and grace for both sexes, are of some subtlety and their significance can be clarified by an examination of this literature.

On the question as to whether true nobility is a quality of the soul or the result of being born into a rich and powerful family, Caroso takes a position of compromise in the sonnet dedicating the *pavaniglia*, 'Amorosina Grimana', to the very well-regarded and nobly born Dogaressa and Princess of Venice, Moresina Moresini Grimani.6

La Real Donna in cui beata siede
   Gratia, Virtù, Bellezza, & Honestate;
   Per cui si chiaro in questa nostra etate
   L'antico honor ch'era già spento, riede;
   Quella, ch'à l'alma, e gloriosa sede

6 *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 101:

'Regal lady in whom blessed sit
   Grace, virtue, beauty and honesty;
   Through whom so clearly in this age of ours
   Shines the ancient honour which was already spent;
She, who to the divine and glorious seat
   Of eternity frequently rises,
   Where the things created high around us
   She hears and sees as in pure crystal:
Lofty swans may sing of Adria and you,
   Holy son of Apollo; and to the sweet song
   MORESINA may every hemisphere resound,
I like a night-bird, overcome with clear
   And living holy light, tax her with praises
   Rather than lessen singing the truth.'
S' alza sovente de l'eternitate,
Ove l' alte frà noi cose create
Come in puro cristallo intende, e vede:
Cantino d'Adria i Cigni alteri, e voi
Sacro figlio d'Apollo; e al dolce canto
MORESINA risuoni ogni Hemispero.
Io quasi augel notturno, i pregi suoi,
Vinto da chiaro, e vivo lume santo,
Taccio pria, che scemar cantando il vero.

Her portrait is reproduced below.\(^7\)

**Figure 7**

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Caroso often uses 'grace' to mean merely 'decoration', but the wider meaning is intended in his poems and is implicit in the style of dancing. This very necessary courtly virtue is discussed in the First Book of *Il libro del cortegiano* in the context, so fit for present purposes, of dancing (quoting from Sir Thomas Hoby's sixteenth century translation).

But I, imagynyng with my self oftentymes how this grace commeth, leaving a part such as have it from above, fynd one rule that is most general whych in thys part (me thynk) taketh place in al thynges belongyng to man in worde or deede above all other.

And that is to eschew as much as a man may, and as a sharp and daungerous rock, Affectation or curiosity and (to speak a new word) to use in every thyng a certain Reckelesness, to cover art withall, and seeme whatsoever he doth and sayeth to do it wywithout pain, and (as it were) not myndyng it. And of thys do I beleve grace is much deryved, for in rare matters and wel brought to passe every man knoweth the hardnes of them, so that a redines therein maketh great wonder. And contrarywise to use force, and (as they say) to hale by the hear, geveth a great disgrace, and maketh every thing how great so ever it be, to be little estemed. Therfore that may be said to be very art that appeereth not to be art, neyther ought a man to put more diligence in any thing then in covering it: for in case it be open, it loseth credit cleane, and maketh a man litle set by. And I remember that I have reade in my dayes, that there were some excellent Oratours, which among other their cares, enforced

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9 Castiglione's Italian for this important sentence is: "e cioè fuggir quanto più si po, e come un asperissimo e pericoloso scoglio, la affettazione; e, per dir forse una nova parola, usar in ogni cosa una certa sprezzatura che nasconda l'arte e dimostri ciò, che si fa e dice venir fatto senza fatica e quasi senza pensarvi." *Opere di Baldassare Castiglione, Giovanni della Casa, Benvenuto Cellini, a cura di Dario Cordé* (Milan: Ricciardi, 1960), p. 47.
themselves to make every man beleve that they had no sight in letters, and dissemblinge their conning, made semblant their orations to be made very simply, and rather as nature and trueth lead them, then study and arte, the whiche if it had bene openly knowne, would have putte a doubt in the peoples minde, for feare least he beguiled them. You may see then howe to shewe arte and such bent study taketh away the grace of every thing. Which of you is it that laugheth not when our M. Peterpaul daunseth after his owne facion with such fine skippes and on tipto without moving his head, as though he were all of wood, so heedfullie, that truely a man would weene he counted his paces? What eye is so blind that he perceiveth not in this the disgrace of curiosity, and in many men and women here present the grace of that not regarded agylitie and slighte conveyaunce (for in the mocions of the bodye manye so terme it) with a kinde of speaking or smiling, or gesture, betokening not to passe upon it, and to minde anye other thinge more then that, to make him beleve that loketh on that he can not do amisse?

Here M. BERNARD BIBIENA not forbearing any longer, sayde: You may se yet that our M. Robert hath found one to praise his maner of daunsing, though the reste of you set litle by it. For if this excellency doeth consist in Reckelesness, and in shewing not to passe upon and rather to minde anye other thing then that a man is in hande withall, M. Robert hath no peere in the worlde. For that men should wel perceive that he little mindeth it, manye tymes his garmentes fall from hys backe, and his slippers from his feete, and daunseth on still without taking uppe anye of both.

Then aunswered the COUNT: Seyng you will nedes have me speake, I wyll saye somewhat also of our vices. Do you not marke, this that you call in M. Robert Reckelesness, is verie curiositie? for it is well knownen that he enforceth himself with al diligence possible to make a show not to mind it, and that is to minde it to much. And because he passeth certain limites of a meane, that Recklesness of his is curious, and not comly, and is a thing that commeth cleane contrarye to passe from the dryfte, (that is to wit) to cover arte. Therfore I judge it a no lesse vyce of curiositye to be in Reckelesness (whiche likewise of it selfe is prayse worthye) in lettynge a mans clothes fal of his backe, then
is Preciseness (whiche likewise of it self is praise worthy) to carie a mans head so like a malthorse for feare of ruffling his hear, or to keepe in the bottome of his cappe a looking glasse, and a combe in his sleeve, and to have alwayses at his heeles up and down the streetes a page with a spunge and a brushe: for this maner of Preciseness and Reckelesness are to much in the extremitie, which is alwaies a vice and contrarie to that pure and amiable simplicitie, which is so acceptable to mens mindes.

Caroso refers to Giovanni della Casa's *Il Galateo* in his 'Avertimento VIII.',\(^{10}\) regarding superfluous ceremonies, presumably referring to della Casa's censure of exaggerated complimentary expressions, including those which mention kissing the hands (though the gesture has place in Caroso's art) since this is properly the sign of reverence for relics and other sacred objects, but nevertheless with the sensible advice that usage should be the guide.\(^{11}\) Neither della Casa nor Caroso call this kind of niceness 'grace', but it has something in common with Castiglione's concept.

WOMEN AND LOVE

The question as to whether women were less perfect than men, equally perfect of their kind or superior was also a matter of debate. The title of his book, the poems, his rule that the lady must always be given the position of honour on the right\(^ {12}\) and his quotation from Ovid's *Heroides*, with reference to Penelope's womanly virtue in the rule for the spondee, all make it clear that Caroso was of the more enthusiastic party in favour of women and that the ideal of

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\(^{10}\) Nobiltà di Dame, pp. 73-74.


\(^{12}\) See below.
womanhood is fairly central to the meaning of his dances. The womanly virtues are elegantly listed in this sonnet dedicating the balletto, 'Amor Prudente', to a young gentlewoman of Rome and Bologna, Lucrezia Cesi Malvasia.13

Sonetto in Dialogo
Di chi è questo si vago, e ricco Tempio?
   Di bellezza congiunta ad Honestate.
Chi le cose ministra alte, e pregiate?
   LUCRETIA gentil di virtù esempio.
Ond'è tanta armonia, che'n lui contempio?
   Dalle gratie divine à un parto nate.
Chi fan le voci angeliche, e beate?
   Voglie, che fan del vitio horrido sciempio.
De qual Indi, ò Sabei vengon gli odori?
   Da maturo pensier entro à verd'anni.
Chi accende il foco? I pargoletti Amori.
   Chi pone i lumi, e i pretiosi panni?
Timor d'infamia, e volontari honoris,
   Che fanno al Tempo, e à Morte illustri inganni.

The Third Book of Castiglione's Il Cortegiano is devoted to women. There, Gaspare Pallavicino being of the opinion that the same rules applied to the gentlewoman of the palace as for the courtier,

13 Nobiltà di Dame, p. 351:

'Sonnet in Dialogue
Whose is this temple, so graceful and rich?
   Beauty's joined with Honesty
Who ministers to things of such high esteem?
   LUCREZIA, gentle example of virtue.
Whence is the harmony, that I admire in it?
   From the divine graces, born in one birth.
Whose is the angelic and blessed singing?
   Desires, who make havoc of horrid vice.
From what do the Indian or Sabaean odours come?
   From mature thought within green years.
Who lights the fire? The baby loves.
Who sets out the lights and the precious cloths?
   Fear of infamy, and willing honours
Who on Time and Death work illustrious deception.'
Giuliano de' Medici thought that she should be otherwise although some qualities would, of course, be common.\textsuperscript{14}

For many vertues of the minde I reckon be as necessary for a woman, as for a man. Likewise noblenesse of birth, avoidinge Affectation or curiositie, to have a good grace of nature in all her doinges, to be of good condicyons, wyttye, forseeyng, not haughtie, not envious, not yll tunged, not light, not contentious, not untowardlye, to have the knowleage to wynn and kepe the good wyll of her Ladye and of all others, to do well and with a good grace the exercises comely for women. Me thinke well beawty is more necessarie in her than in the Courtier, for (to saye the truth) there is a great lacke in the woman that wanteth beawtie. She ought also to be more circumspect and to take better heed that she give no occasion to be yll reported of, and so to beehave her selfe, that she be not onlye not spotted wyth anye fault, but not so much with suspicion. Bicause a woman hath not so manye wayes to defende her selfe from sclaunderous reportes, as hath a man.

In regard to dancing and other pursuits:\textsuperscript{15}

The L. JULIAN answered: Sins I may facion this woman after my minde, I will not onely have her not to practise these manlie exercises so sturdie and boisterous, but also even those that are meete for a woman, I will have her to do them with heedefulnesse and with the soft mildnesse that we have said is comelie for her. And therfore in daunsynge I would not see her use to swift and violent trickes, nor yet in singinge or playinge upon instrumentes those harde and often divisions that declare more counninge then sweetenesse. Imagin with your selfe what an unsightly matter it were to see a woman play upon a tabour or drumm, or blowe in a flute or trompet, or any like instrumente: and this bicause the boisterousnesse of them doeth both cover and take away that sweete mildenes which setteth so furth everie deede that a woman doeth. Therfore whan she

\textsuperscript{14} Baldassare Castiglione, \textit{Il libro del cortegiano} \ldots, p. 216.
\textsuperscript{15} Baldassare Castiglione, \textit{Il libro del cortegiano} \ldots, p. 220.
commeth to daunse, or to show any kinde of musike, she ought to be brought to it with suffringe her self somewhat to be prayed, and with certein bashfulnes, that may declare the noble shamefastnes that is contrarye to headinesse.

Beauty of mind and soul, as well as of body, was most necessary in a lady, fitting her to inspire men in the love relationship to high deeds in the tradition of chivalry and, more philosophically, in the Platonic tradition to that love which leads to Divine Love - a commonplace in most of the lyric poetry of the preceding two centuries and more as well as in the poems of Nobilità di Dame. Three different kinds of love are presented in the three days of Bembo's Gli Asolani: unhappy love, human love and Platonic love. The second of these is the subject of the sonnet dedicating 'Contrapasso Nuovo' to Cornelia Orsina Cesi.17

Deh chi potria lodar le rose, e l'oro
Del volto, delle chiome, e'l chiaro Sole
De bei Vostri occhi; e l'altre rare, e sole
Parti di così degno alto lavoro?
Et vi son le virtù, nobil thesoro,
Ch'ornar di Voi la miglior parte suole:
Che non bastano à ciò voci, e parole

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16 Pietro Bembo, Gli asolani (Venice: Aldo Romano, 1505).
17 Nobilità di Dame, p. 240:
'Oh who can praise the roses and the gold
Of your face, of your tresses and the bright sun
Of your beautiful eyes; and the other rare and singular
Parts of so worthy and high a work?
And the virtues are there, a noble treasure
That is wont to adorn the better part of you:
For which speech and words do not suffice
For more than were ever worthy of the laurel.
May he come who once, gentle plant, loved you
In human form; he infuses and inspires
In his dear cultivators love of art and genius:
And hence to the sound of his learned lyre,
May he make your name fly from Bactria to Thule
Illustrious, and raise it above every other sign.'
The third kind, Platonic love, is the subject of the sonnet dedicating ‘il Piantone' to Bartolomea Senesia already quoted above.¹⁸

Later in the Third Book Cesare Gonzaga asks:¹⁹

Who woteth not that without women no contentation or delite can be felt in all this lief of outse? which ( them aside) were rude and without all sweetenesse, and rougher then the lief of forest wilde bestes?

He gives as examples of the operations of love the valorous defence of Troy and the conquest of Granada under Ferdinand and Isabella; and then takes Gaspare Pallavicino to task for censuring women:

Do you not see that of all comelye exercises and whiche delite the worlde, the cause is to be referred to no earthlye thynge, but to women? Who applyeth the sweetenesse of musicke for other cause, but for this? Who to write in meeter, at least in the mother tung, but to expresse the affections caused by women? Judge you howe manye most notable Poemes we had bine without both in Greeke and Latin, had women bine smallye regarded of Poetes. But leavinge all other a part, had it not bine a verye great losse, in case M. Francis Petrarca, that writt so divinelye his loves in this oure tunge, had applied his minde onlye to Latin matters: as he woulde have done, had not the love of the Damsell Laura sometime strayed him from it?

He gives another example: how Solomon in his song of heavenly

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¹⁸ See above.
matters saw fit to clothe them with the affection of a lover for his woman, presumably in the ‘Song of Songs’.

At the end of The Courtier it is given to Pietro Bembo to propound the Platonic position regarding love and beauty. Beauty is defined thus:

Therefore Beawtie is the true monument and spoile of the victory of the soule, whan she with heavenlye influence beareth rule over materiall and grosse nature, and with her light overcommeth the darkness of the bodye.

He concludes with a very prayer to Love, beginning thus:

What tunge mortall is there then (O most holy love) that can sufficientlye prayse thy woorthynesse? Thou most beawtifull, most good, most wise, art dirived of the unity of heavenly beautie, goodnesse and wisedome, and therein doest thou abide, and unto it (as in a circle) tournest about. Thou the most sweete bonde of the worlde, a meane beetwext heavenlye and earthly thynges, wyth a bountifull tempre bendest the high vertues to the government of the lower, and tourninge back the mindes of mortall men to their beegining, cooplest them with it.

When Bembo had finished he appeared to be transported:

... whan that the LADY EMILIA, whiche together with the rest gave most diligent eare to this talke, tooke him by the plaite of hys garment and pluckinge hym a little, said: Take heede (M. Peter) that these thoughtes make not your soule also to forsake the bodye.

Madam, answered M. PETER, it shoulde not be the first miracle that love hath wrought in me.

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20 A book of the Old Testament that attributes itself to Solomon but is probably by a Jew of Alexandria of a much later Hellenistic period.
22 Baldassare Castiglione, *Il libro del cortegiano* ... , p. 361.
23 Baldassare Castiglione, *Il libro del cortegiano* ... , p. 363.
The Third Book of Il Cortegiano is by no means unique, as there is a considerable literature from the fourteenth century of works in praise and defence of women. Conor Fahy has listed forty-one treatises on the topic written or published in Italy during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Works in the genre are mostly re-workings of traditional material which is of two kinds: examples of famous women and arguments for the equality, and even superiority of women, which kinds of material increasingly came to be combined.\textsuperscript{24} Plutarch's De mulierum virtutibus\textsuperscript{25} (of doubtful authenticity) was precedent for such works as Boccaccio's De claris mulieribus, written by about 1360 and printed in 1473,\textsuperscript{26} Christine de Pisan's Le Trésor de la cité des dames, written about 1405 and printed in 1497,\textsuperscript{27} and Martin le Franc's Le Champion des dames, a long allegorical poem dedicated to Philip the Good in 1442 and first printed in 1485,\textsuperscript{28} described in a new edition of 1530 as "copious and abundant with sentences, containing the defence of ladies against Malebouche and his associates, and victories of the former".\textsuperscript{29}

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{24} Conor Fahy, 'Three Early Renaissance Treatises on Women', in Italian Studies, XI (1956), pp.30-55. He has also written a doctoral thesis, The intellectual status of women in Italy in the later sixteenth century, with special reference to treatises on women in literary academies, (Manchester University, 1953 or 1954).
\item\textsuperscript{25} The first printed edition seems to be: Plutarch, ... De virtutibus mulierum, traductio per Alamanum Ranutium, (Brescia: Boninus de Boninis, 1485); this is earlier than the editio princeps of the Moralia: Plutarch, Opuscula LXXXX, index moralium omnium et eorum quae in ipsis tractantur, (Venice: Aldus et Andrea Asulanus, 1509).
\item\textsuperscript{26} First edition: Giovanni Boccaccio, De claris mulieribus, (Ulm: Johann Zainer, 1473).
\item\textsuperscript{27} Christine de Pisan's Le Trésor de la cité des dames, written about 1405 and printed in 1497 (Paris: A.Verard, 1497), known in an English translation by Earl Jeffrey Richards as The Book of the City of Ladies, London, Pan Books, 1983.
\item\textsuperscript{28} Martin le Franc, Le Champion des dames, 1442, (Lyons: Guillaume le Roy, 1485).
\item\textsuperscript{29} Martin le Franc, Le Champion des dames, Livre copieux & habondant en sentences, Contenant la defence des dames, contre malebouche & ses consors, & victoires dicelles ..., (Paris: Pierre Vidou ... pour Gaillot du Pré, 1530).
\end{itemize}
Ariosto, at the beginning of Canto 37 of Orlando Furioso, urges women to commemorate their own fame and not to leave it entirely to men to sing their praises. He mentions several ladies of classical fame and lists some fifteen or so male writers of his own times, mostly poets, distinguished in this enterprise. And of Vittoria Colonna he writes in terms similar to Caroso's of his ladies:

Come Febo la candida sorella  
Fa più di luce adorna, e più la mira,  
Che Venere o che Maia, o chi altra stella  
Che va col cielo o che da sè si gira:  
Cosi facondia, più ch'all'altra, a quella  
Di ch'io vi parlo, e più dolcezza spira;  
E dà tal forza all'alte sue parole,  
Ch'orna a di nostri il ciel d'un altro sole.

Vittoria è'l nome; e ben convieni a nata  
Fra le vittorie, et a chi o vada o stanzi,  
Di trofei sempre e di trionfi ornata,  
La vittoria abbia seco, o dietro o inanzi.  
Questa è un altra Artemisia, che lodata

30 Lodovico Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, (Ferrara: Giovanni Mazocco, 1516, subsequently revised), canto 37, xvii & xviii:

'As Phoebus his bright sister  
Makes more adorned with light, and gazes at her more  
Than Venus, or than Maia or any other star  
Moving with the sky or turning by itself:  
So fluency, more than in others, in her  
Of whom I sing to you, and more sweetness he inspires,  
And gives such force to her high words,  
That he adorns in our days the sky with another sun.

'Vittoria is her name; and well it suits one born  
Amongst victories, and going on or making them her own,  
Always with trophies and with triumphs adorned,  
Having victory with her, behind or before.  
She is another Artemisia, who was praised  
For piety towards her Mausolus; nay  
As greater, so much more beautiful is her work;  
That equally buries a man, to draw him up above.'
Fu di pietà verso il suo Mausolo; anzi
Tanto maggior, quanto è più assai bell'opra;
Che par sottera un uom, trarlo di sopra.

Amongst others, there are works significant in respect of Nobiltà di Dame in that their titles include 'nobility' and 'women'. There is a sixteenth century manuscript work in the vernacular entitled Discorso della nobiltà delle donne by Alessandro Griffoni. 31 There is a Latin Declamatio de nobilitate et praecellentia fæminei sexus ... , published in Antwerp in 1529, 32 apparently quite widely known as it was available in two Italian translations, the first published probably in 1530 33 and the second, attributed to Francesco Coccio, from a French translation in 1544. 34 Upon this last translation was based La nobilta delle donne by Lodovico Domenichi, 1549. 35

An Epistola in lode delle donne written by Agnolo Firenzuola to Claudio Tolommeo is dated 7th February, 1525, and so was written prior to the publication of Il Cortegiano; many of the ladies in Castiglione's Third Book are also found here. Firenzuola had been a priest and release from his vows does not seem to have rendered him incapable of the following priestly argument for the equality of women. 36

31 Alessandro Griffoni, Discorso della nobiltà delle donne, con un breve ragionamento sopra le bellezze d'alcune Honoratissime Gentildonne Bolognesi, Ms. of the 16th century, (Bologna: Biblioteca Arcivescovile, Libreria Breventani, Scansia G(1), cartone vii, fasc. 5).
32 Declamatio de nobilitate et praecellentia fæminei sexus eiumdemque supra virilem eminentia, (Antwerp: Hillenius, 1529).
33 Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim, Della nobiltà, e preecellenza del Sesso Femminile, (n.p., 1530?).
34 Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim, Della nobilta et eccellenza delle donne, nuovamente dalla lingua francese nella italiana tradotto [attributed to Francesco Coccio], (Venice: Giolito, 1544).
35 Lodovico Domenichi, La nobilta delle donne ..., (Venice: Giolito, 1549). Based on Agrippa's treatise.
... Therefore I say that, the virtues of the woman's mind [*animo*] having come with equal likeness from one and the same cause as men's, that it is necessary that they produce the same effects. And that it is the truth that from the same root and with the same likeness and worth come both these and the others, this proves it to you, that the woman's soul [*anima*] being, as is manifest to everyone, created by God as is ours, it is necessary to admit (seeing that, if any part of perfection is in it, it wholly originates in the similitude that it has to God) that it is as perfect as ours.

Very much more graceful, though not without difficulties since Firenzuola made a point of using colloquial language for literary reasons, are the two discourses written in 1541 and addressed to "the noble and beautiful women of Prato", the first on the beauty of women in general and the second on the perfect beauty of one woman.\(^{37}\) They are very Platonic in form, and, to a degree, in content with reference to the *Symposium*, but witty rather than profound. The dialogues, apparently, had the unfortunate effect of raising a storm of discontent amongst the women to whom they were addressed, both those alluded to and those whom the author neglected to notice specifically.\(^{38}\)

Worthy of note, incidentally, in respect of Caroso's manners, compliments and chivalrous ceremonies is the account, published in 1545, of a discussion held in Rome:\(^{39}\)

... by the principal court courtiers [*sic*] on the mode of proceeding of every worthy courtier; in which it treats of all those parts, which are suitable for every well-bred courtier, in serving lords of every quality as well as ladies.

There is published evidence of interest in the topic of women in the academies. Alessandro Piccolomini's address to the Accademia degli

\(^{37}\) Also published posthumously, 1548 See his *Opera scelte ...*, 1957.

\(^{38}\) 'Nota biografia' in his *Opere scelte ...*, 1957, pp. 23-24.

\(^{39}\) *Ragionamento fatto in Roma da i principali Cortigiani di Corte sopra il modo del procedere d'ogni degno Cortigiano ...*, (Venice: ad instanza di Iacopo Modonese, 1545).
Intronati of Venice is found in an edition of Agrippa's treatise in Coccio's translation published in 1545. The lecture by Girolamo Ruscelli on a sonnet by the Marquis of Terza to the Marchioness of Vasto, which seems to have been delivered to the Accademia dei Dubbiosi of Venice, is sub-titled:

... Where with new and clear arguments is proved the supreme perfection of women; and many things are discussed about the Platonic scale of the ascension through created things to the contemplation of God. And much about true beauty, grace and the vulgar tongue. Where there happens also to be occasion to name several gentlewomen of the rarest from every principal land of Italy.

The academic names of the authors of the following works are suggestive of unrequited love: 'Telefilo Filogenio', good at loving the perfection of women from afar no doubt, 'author' of *Ragionamento ... della perfettione delle donne*, 1561; 'L'umile Accademico Invaghitio', humbly in love with just one of them surely but in defence and praise of all of them apparently in his *Oratione in difesa et lode delle donne*, 1571; and 'Accademico Occulto Costante', constant but silent in secret worship of one lady perhaps but hardly silent in praise of them all in his *Discorso in laude delle donne, e d'amore*, 1573. With similarities to the title, the form and part of the content of Caroso's

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42 Girolamo Borro, *Dialogo del Flusso e Reflusso del Mare d'Alseforo Talascopio. Con un Ragionamento di Telefilo Filogenio della perfettione delle donne* (Lucca: Busdragho, 1561). Borro has two academic names in the one publication!

43 Pompeo Baccusi (L'umile Accademico Invaghito), *Oratione in difesa et lode delle donne* (Mantua: Roffinello, 1571).

44 Accademico Occulto Costante, *Discorso in laude delle donne, e d'amore* (Florence: Marescotti, 1573).
book is *La nobilità di Roma*, verses in praise of a hundred ladies, with *vilanelle* in three parts by Gasparo Fiorino, 'tabulated' by Francesco di Parise, 1571.\(^{45}\) A pamphlet by Tasso, *Discorso della virtù feminile, e donnescas*, was published in 1582.\(^{46}\) For the devout there were lives of women in scripture by Tommaso Garzoni, Canon of the Lateran and preacher, 1586: 'illustrious' women, a supplement of 'obscure and filthy' women and finally a discourse on *la Nobiltà delle donne*.\(^{47}\) Strident in tone, not neglecting the faults and failings of the other sex, would seem to be Lucrezia Marinelli's *La nobiltà et eccellenza delle donne, co' diffetti et mancamenti de gli huomini*, 1591.\(^{48}\)

**FLAVIA ORSINI AND THE PHOENIX**

Of particular interest in connection with *Nobiltà di Dame* is *Dell'eccellenza della donna discorso* by 'Ercole Filogenio', published in 1589,\(^{49}\) dedicated to Flavia Peretti Orsini, Duchess of Bracciano, to whom Caroso's *'Altezza d'Amore* is also dedicated, with these octaves.\(^{50}\)


\(^{46}\) Torquato Tasso, *Discorso della virtù feminile, e donnescas* (Venice: Bernardo Giunti e fratelli, 1582).


\(^{48}\) Lucrezia Marinelli, op.cit. (Venice: [G.B.Ciotti?], 1591).

\(^{49}\) Ercole Marescotti (Ercole Filogenio), *Dell'eccellenza della donna discorso...* (Fermo: Sertorio de' Monti, 1589).

\(^{50}\) *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 170:

> Whence had Nature a beautiful drawing
> To make a body so noble?
> Whence had she style, and art so ingenious
> To make it so magnanimous and gentle?
> I see that in beauty you pass the mark,
> And your fame extends from Bactria to Thule;
Donde hebbe la Natura un bel disegno
À far un corpo così Signorile?
Donde hebbe il modo, e l'arte tal'ingegno
À farlo si magnanimo e gentile?
Veggio che di beltà passate il segno,
E Vostra fama và da Battro à Tile;
Credo che tutti i Cieli, e la Natura
Fosser d'accordo à far vostra Figura.
O beltà rara sovra ogni beltate,
In cui posero i Cieli ogn'alta cura
Per porr'il Mondo ogn'hora in povertate;
Ogni bellezza spiegò in Voi Natura:
Tal che sete Fenice in nostra etate,
Bella, leggiadra, gratiosa, e pura:
Natura fe, à dirlo in due parole,
Voi Donna FLAVIA più bella ch'il Sole.

Note that the figure of the lady's fame extending from Bactria to Thule, i.e. from one end of the earth to the other, is used in the sonnet, above, dedicating 'Contrapasso Nuovo' to Cornelia Orsina Cesi. 51

Also in honour of Flavia Orsini is the 'temple' dedicated to her

I believe that all the Heavens and Nature
Were in accord to make your Likeness.
O beauty rare above every beauty,
In which the Heavens took every high care
To put the world each hour in poverty;
Nature in You shewed every beauty:
So that you are Phoenix in our age,
Beautiful, graceful, kind and pure:
Nature made, to say it in two words,
You Lady FLAVIA more beautiful than the Sun.'

51 See above.
by 'Uranio Fenice', which would be a pseudonym, on the face of it referring to the publisher, Giovanni Martinelli, whose sign was a phoenix.\textsuperscript{52} Responsibility for the book, however, is attributed to Tasso who might well have considered the figure also appropriate for himself and his resurging fortunes at about this time. The temple consists of about seventy poems, mostly sonnets, like the poems in Nobiltà di Dame, by more than fifty authors, including seven poems under Tasso's name. In concept and form it resembles the temple of poems to Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini published in 1600 mentioned above.\textsuperscript{53} Beneath it are the lines:\textsuperscript{54}

\begin{quote}
Sono in lei, quasi Stelle in ciel cosponte,  
Bellezza, Leggiadra, Natura ed Arte.
\end{quote}

A prose foreword is followed by this octave:\textsuperscript{55}

\begin{quote}
\textit{Da questo altero, e glorioso Tempio.}
Per opra alzato di sublimi ingegni  
Al nome di Colei, che senza esempio  
Di terrene bellezze avanza, i segni:  
Ogni basso pensier, profano, ed empio  
Sia lungi sempre, e sol v'alberghi, e regni,
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{52} Uranio Fenice (ed., i.e. Torquato Tasso?), \textit{Tempio fabricato da diversi coltissimi, & nobliss. Ingegni, in lode dell'Illustma. & Eccma. Donna Flavia Peretta Orsina, Duchessa da Bracciano, Dedicatole Da Uranio Fenice} (Rome: Giovanni Martinelli, Lib. alla Fenice, 1591).

\textsuperscript{53} See above, p. 53.

\textsuperscript{54} Uranio Fenice, \textit{Tempio fabricato da diversi coltissimi}…, in the introductory unnumbered pages:

'There are in her, like Stars scattered[?] in heaven,  
Beauty, Gracefulness, Nature and Art.'

\textsuperscript{55} Uranio Fenice, \textit{Tempio fabricato da diversi coltissimi}. Translated:

'In this lofty and glorious Temple,  
Raised by work of sublime talents,  
To the name of Her, who without example  
Of earthly beauties advances, the signs:  
May every low, profane, and impious thought  
Be always far away, and alone lodge there, and reign,  
With beautiful love, highest honesty  
Valour, and courtesy, grace, and beauty.'
Con bellissimo Amor, somma honestate,  
Valore, e cortesia, gratia, e beltate.

This is the first of Tasso's acknowledged sonnets:⁵⁶

Voi che cercate pur dal Austro, al Orse,  
E ne l'Occaso, e dove appar l'Aurora  
Le meraviglie, onde risuona ancora  
La fama, che la terra, e'l mar trascorse:  
In questo TEMPIO, di cui mai non scorse  
Occhio mortal più bel, vedrete ogn'ora;  
Quasi in sua propria stanza dimora,  
Quanto di bel Natura à FLAVIA porse.  
Qui s'honora virtute, honor si cole;  
Qui leggiadra, qui pure flamme accende  
Casta bellezza, onde'l pensier s'illustri;  
Qui fra marmi, e colori, in or risplende  
Il nome, vincitor d'anni, e di Lustri,  
E'l vivo simulacro, e'l vivo Sole.

These two poems can be compared with Caroso's sonnet to Flavia Orsini, and also with Caroso's sonnet 'in dialogue' dedicating 'Amor Prudente' to Lucrezia Malvasia, quoted above,⁵⁷ where the

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⁵⁶ Uanio Fenice, *Tempio fabricato da diversi coltissimi*, p. 1:  
'Ye, who search from Auster, to the Bear,  
And in the Sunset, and where the Dawn appears  
For wonders, whence still resound  
The fame, which runs o'er land and sea:  
In this TEMPLE, than which more beautiful  
Mortal eye never perceived, you see each hour;  
As in its own room dwelling  
What is yielded to FLAVIA from beautiful Nature.  
Here virtue is honoured, honour is gathered;  
Here gracefulness, here chaste beauty lights  
Pure flames, whence thought is evident;  
Here amongst marbles, and colours, in gold shines forth  
Your name, victor in years, and in Brilliance  
And living image, and living Sun.

⁵⁷ See above.
image of a temple and the rites celebrated there are elaborated systematically also. All four poems list similar virtues, but Fenice's octaves and Caroso's dialogue sonnet mention vices too, perhaps the shadows between the columns of the temple. Caroso's poem to Flavia Orsini does not use the figure of the temple but otherwise, in the tropes used, it is remarkably similar to Tasso's sonnet to the same lady. Both refer to the visual arts, the temple being replaced in Caroso's poem with a drawing. Both refer to her beauty, with more emphasis on its physical manifestation in Caroso's poem and both refer to her fame, although Caroso's trope is abbreviated and omits reference to the bear, the onomastic beast of the Orsini. The virtues listed are much the same. Caroso calls her a phoenix, perhaps alluding to the former glories of the Peretti, and this figure, although not in the sonnet, is a significant concept in Fenice's temple, albeit with different application. Both conclude with the metaphor of the sun, no doubt alluding to the lines in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: 58

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fertque pius cunasque suas patriumque sepulcrum
perque leves auras Hyperionis urbe potitus
ante fores sacras Hyperionis aed e reponit.
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Caroso must have been familiar with Fenice's temple and with this sonnet and must be alluding to these poems.

Although certainly very conventional the poems in *Nobiltà di Dame* clearly contain some references to personal circumstances, for instance to bereavement in the sonnet dedicating 'Contrapasso Nuovo' to Cornelia Cesi59 and youth in the sonnet in dialogue to Lucrezia Malvasia, and they surely would have been enriched and enlivened for contemporaries with allusion, in some cases at least, to known tastes, traits and even the foibles of their subjects and, as in the prose parts of the book, there would be allusions to literature familiar in the courtier society to which the book is addressed, most of them, no doubt, now

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58 Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XV, vv. 391-407:
'and piously carries what is at once its own cradle and its father's tomb
and through the light air reaching Hyperion's city
lays it before the sacred doors of Hyperion's temple.'

59 See above.
impossible to appreciate.

The picture of Flavia Orsini's heroic virtues presented in these occasional poems is 'corrected' by investigation of her personal history. As great-niece of Pope Sixtus V she was sought by the Duc de Guise as a suitable bride for his son, the Prince de Joinville, who, it was hoped, would succeed Henry III of France rather than the Huguenot King of Navarre. As these hopes faded the Duke graciously abandoned plans for such an illustrious alliance for his son and Flavia was married instead to Virginio Orsini, Duke of Bracciano, considered to be the head of his powerful family, nephew of Grand Duke Ferdinand of Tuscany and the most highly regarded lord of Italy. He was a man of letters, it seems, so Fenice's temple probably would have been directed to him as well as to Flavia with patronage in view. This marriage put an end to the enmity between the Peretti and the Orsini due to the murder in 1583 of Flavia's uncle, Francesco, by assassins of Virginio's father, Paolo Giordano, so that he would be able to marry Francesco's wife, Vittoria Accoramboni. Some years previously Paolo Giordano had strangled his first wife, Isabella de' Medici, in bed in circumstances that call to mind Othello, Bianca Cappello and Carlo Gesualdo. The wedding in 1589 was celebrated by Tasso with a canzone, 'Delle più fresche rose omai la chioma', and the marriage was apparently successful, at least to the extent of being very fruitful. Philip II made Virginio Grandee of Spain and member of the Order of the Golden Fleece.\(^{60}\) It was these honours which gave rise to the unpleasant incident that occurred at a wedding banquet in August, 1592, when the celebrated Duchess of Bracciano behaved with less than perfect self-control on meeting for the first time in public Felice Maria Orsina Caetani, the very young and newly married Duchess of Sermoneta, born an Orsini of the Neapolitan branch of the family and Caroso's "patroness and benefactress".\(^{61}\)

It was a subtle point of etiquette in connection with the Spanish titles and honours that were so sought by the Italian nobility in the sixteenth century that it was obligatory for inferiors to address princes


\(^{61}\) *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 183 and p. 185. See above.
and dukes so honoured as 'Eccellenza', but only a matter of courtesy for equals.\(^{62}\) On this occasion Flavia greeted Felice Maria with "Sua Signoria Illustrissima" and she responded in the same terms. Flavia accused Felice Maria of the bad manners \([\text{mala creanza]}\) that were habitual among the peasant women of Gravina - Felice Maria's family were Dukes of Gravina. Thus provoked, Felice Maria abused the Peretti family recalling the humble origin of Flavia's great-uncle, Sixtus V, charging her in broad Neapolitan - according to a more colourful account - with being the daughter of a washerwoman. Flavia hit Felice Maria with her fan who then retaliated by scratching Flavia on her beautiful face. The consequences were sufficiently serious to threaten the rule of Clement VIII. The Duke of Sermoneta was placed under house arrest and the Duke of Bracciano threatened with similar restraint whilst he continued to ride around the city with a guard of a hundred armed men. Not only was the Pope involved in this matter of honour but the Grand Duke of Tuscany and the King of Spain. Philip II, finally resolved the dispute by addressing the Duke of Sermoneta by letter in 1600 with the higher title.\(^{63}\) In *Nobiltà di Dame*, 'Illustrissima' is used with 'Eccellentissima' for all duchesses, unless honoured with the ducal title 'Serenissima' - though in the table of dances and dedicatees at the end of the book it seems that Caroso himself must have forgotten before printing to revise the entry for 'Rosa Felice', "All'Illustriss. Sig. Duchessa di Sermoneta", without 'Eccellentiss.', neglecting to honour the Duchess there with the title of the newly bestowed honour (or was it merely confirmed?).\(^{64}\) As well as illustrating flaws of human frailty in this jewel of nobility the incident and its consequences show the extent of Spanish influence in Italy at the end of the sixteenth century and demonstrate also the importance of the various politenesses \([\text{creanze}]\) explained in some of the twenty-four 'Avertimenti' that conclude the 'Libro Primo' of *Nobiltà di Dame*.

\(^{62}\) A report in a letter of 1594 by Ascanio Rasi, father of Francesco, to Belisario Vinta of Gesualdo's concern, regarding address by the same title, 'Eccellenza', has been noted by Warren Kirkendale in his *The Court Musicians in Florence during the Principate of the Medici*, (Florence: Olschki, 1993), p. 562, note 63.

\(^{63}\) Gelasio Caetani, *Domus Caetani ...*, v. 2, p. 274-279.

\(^{64}\) *Nobiltà di Dame*, 'Tavola de i balli et a chi sono dedicati', last page [unnumbered].
CHIVALRY AND THE DANCE

It remains to consider Caroso's reasons for using the Italianised French word, 'dama', in the choreographies in both of his books and in the title of Nobiltà di Dame, in place of the usual word, 'donna' (as found in the titles of the works noticed above). In Il Ballarino he uses 'dama' of the woman and 'uomo' of the man but in Nobiltà di Dame he more elegantly uses 'cavaliere' for the gentleman as well - with increase of gentility for the other sex as well. 'Dama' seems to have been the usual word used in choreographies: 'dama' and 'uomo' are used in the choreography given in Malvezzi’s ninth part-book for the final intermedio for 'La Pellegrina' in the wedding celebrations in Florence in 1589.65 There seems to have been a change of usage in the last decade of the century as in Le grazie d'Amore Cesare Negri also uses both 'cavaliere' and 'dama'. The use of 'dama', with its chivalrous French flavour, in the parlance of the dance perhaps indicates the original Burgundian milieu of much of the tradition of court dancing. The borrowed French word would signify that Nobiltà di Dame is about dancing.

In sum, the text of Nobiltà di Dame has been shown to combine the arts of poetry, spectacle in its illustrations, dancing and music, with reference and allusion to many of the other arts and sciences with which its public would have been familiar. It is written in a copious style graced with complexity, humour and wit, affording the reader entertainment whilst instructing in the art of dancing; and, in the configurations of its playfulness as well as in explicit statements, it presents a precise theory of the dance and places it relative to various other arts. It is artificial to an extent that is difficult to determine: perhaps, for instance, even the names of the authors of the poems in the preliminary section are fictitious and the poem attributed there to Tasso a parody of the perceived characteristics of his poetry as already noticed above. In these respects the style of Caroso's book is typical of the 'pre-Baroque' period in which it was written, as is the smile that graces it which does not, nevertheless, detract from the seriousness of

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65 See below.
its purpose. This purpose would seem to have been the elevation of dancing to a higher artistic level as had been accomplished for the visual arts, by means of assimilation of the laws of music, to an equality amongst the seven liberal arts with poetry and music. A like result was to be accomplished for dancing by reducing it to appropriate rules and by applying to its structures laws of symmetry and proportion as found in the art of architecture, but nevertheless with indication that dancing is closely allied to poetry.

Finally, this sonnet by Tasso on a hand enjoyed in dancing, though not an occasional poem like Caroso's more conventional lyrics, is concerned with an emotion experienced in dancing and can be usefully compared with them. It too is highly artificial but its imagery is fresh and warmed with a fervour of eroticism that is intensified by remarkable use of the rhetorical device of synecdoche, contemplating the hand distinct from the lady of whom it forms part.

Questa è pur quella che percote e fiede
Con dolce colpo che n'ancide e piace
Man ne' furti d'Amor dotta e rapace,
E fa del nostro cor soavi prede.
Del leggiadretto guanto omai si vede
Ignuda e bella e, se non è fallace,


'And this is the hand that thrusts and wounds
With sweet blows that hurt and please
Learned in the thefts of Love and greedy
And it makes sweet prey of our heart.
Of its lovely glove we now see it
Bare and beautiful and if it does not deceive
It offers itself defensive to mine
Like a gentle pledge of peace and sure faith.
Alas! straight away it repents of it
While I hold it and it escapes and lets go
At the end of the harmony that slows our steps.
Alas! as haughtily it puts on the scented coverings,
And my hand must consent!
Oh fleeting pleasures! Oh certain griefs!'
S'offre inerme a la mia, quasi di pace
Pegno gentile e di sicura fede.
Lasso! ma tosto par ch'ella si penta
Mentr'io la stringo, e si sottrage e scioglie
Al fin de l'armonia ch'i passi allenta.
Deh! come altera l'odorate spoglie
Riveste e la mia par che vi consenta.
Oh fugaci diletti! Oh certe doglie
ANCING was a widespread pastime in the sixteenth century, to the extent that in the latter part of the century and in the early part of the next, competence at it was all but essential for social advancement. This is attested by the publication of dancing manuals such as those by Caroso and Negri, by literary works such as Sir John Davies’ *Orchestra, or a Poeme of Dauncing*\(^1\) by books on courtly deportment, behaviour and attitudes such as Bembo’s *Gli Asolani*\(^2\) and Castiglione’s *The Courtier*,\(^3\) educational works such as Sir Thomas Elyot’s *The Governour*,\(^4\) by the many literary references to dancing in the works of Shakespeare and other authors and, in negative mode, by attacks on it in diatribes on social evils of the time\(^5\) - these last providing us, as well, with impressions of dancing in lively social contexts.

Philosophically, the cultivation of dancing was supported by Neoplatonic doctrine, according to which the art of dancing might be seen as representation on the human and moral levels of the motions of the spheres. Politically, adorned by conjunction with the other arts, its

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1 Sir John Davies, *Orchestra, or a Poeme of Dauncing*, Judicially prooving the true observation of time and measure, in the Authenticall and laudable use of Dauncing, London, printed by I.Robarts for N.Ling, 1596.
3 Count Baldassare Castiglione, *Il libro del cortegiano* del conte Baldesar Castiglione ..., Venice, Aldo Romano & Andrea d'Asola, 1528.
practice provided the secular courts with significant ceremonial, balancing the sacred liturgy of the church perhaps. Socially, it taught and provided formal occasion for chivalrous gestures to express love and other relationships of a feudal or courtly nature, combining the neo-Gothic tendencies of the sixteenth century with the Neoplatonic.

Alongside and supporting a high level of amateur dancing were the professional dancing masters, who might be retained by the nobility or who ran dancing schools. As well as teaching dancing they would have supervised the arrangements for dances at weddings, banquets and other parties, and have directed the musicians, possibly conducting when large numbers of musicians and dancers were involved in the performance. 'Avertimento VI., Nuovi avertimenti à Principi, Signori, & Cavalieri' begins with what not to do but also gives us some idea of the role of the dancing master at festivities.\footnote{\textit{Nobiltà di Dame}, p. 72. See also 'Ballo de Fiore', ibid., p. 314.}

D. Would Your Lordship do me the favour of giving me some advice about manners for princes, lords, and gentlemen in dancing.

M. There are some of the above mentioned, who want to do the dance called 'Furioso' either for six, or for twelve, and even for eighteen, according to whether the room, or place is big enough, and sufficient vessel for being able to do it for this sum, or number of persons. Such a prince, or gentleman, who commences wanting to do this dance, takes nine ladies, and puts them all in a file at one end of the room, or place where they are to dance; then he invites eight princes, or gentlemen, and those chosen place themselves at the other end. It happens, when the dancing master gets the musicians to play the balletto, that the aforesaid lords, and gentlemen stand for more than a saying of the creed to arrange themselves, only because there are two, or three very beautiful ladies, and everyone wants to dance with them ...

with indecorous consequences. In the well-known painting in the Louvre, ‘Ball for the Wedding of the Duc de Joyeuse’, there is a figure on the far right of the picture, standing in front of the musicians with
hand raised and though his face is turned towards the viewer he may be the dancing master conducting. Cesare Negri, in the account of his career referred to above, tells us that at various times in many cities he had taken part in dances with persons of the highest station. Some others of Caroso’s 'Avertimenti', concerning "manners necessary for gentlemen and ladies, in the dance and outside [it]" as he tells us, suggest that dancing masters may often have been arbiters of at least the manner of performing courtly etiquette.

Negri’s brief biographies of famous dancers, noted above, tell us that there were dancers renowned for their skill at dancing the galliard and for inventing galliard variations. Similarly, but to a lesser extent, there were specialists in the canario, and there were others, such as Caroso, famous as inventors of balletti.

SORTS OF DANCING

In Caroso’s time the great age of the basse dance was but a memory. It was danced mostly with feet flat on the floor and graced with ‘strutting’, i.e. with movements of the hips and flanks presenting one side of the body and then the other - Caroso’s word is pavoneggiare, literally ‘to peacock’. This low style of dancing, grave in one of its senses is Caroso's term, is best preserved in his dances in the formal introductions, consisting of a riverenza, i.e. a formal bow or curtsey, followed by two continenze, strutting left and right. Caroso has this to say of the continenza in his rule for it in Nobiltà di Dame:

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7 Nobiltà di Dame, p. 65.
9 Warren Kirkendale demonstrates the association of gravitas with the exordium of a Ciceronian oration and the application of this practice to music in various ways in the sixteenth century and later in the ricercar and the improvised organ prelude. See his 'Ciceronians versus Aristotelians on the Ricercar as Exordium from Bembo to Bach', Journal of the American Musicological Society, XXXII (1979), pp. 1-44 at pp. 32-36.
10 Nobiltà di Dame, p.16, and cf. above.
.. this name of continenza, is derived for this reason, as I will tell you, that in the movement of doing this continenza are contained all the grace and all the decorum of all the actions and all the movements which enrich the art of dancing, and knowing how you go about doing it is highly necessary, as much for the gentleman as for the lady.

This conceit is more elegant than accurate, however, since dances purporting to be in the grave style are often so decorated with elevated steps after their grave introductions as to be well-nigh indistinguishable from dances in the elevated styles.

The ‘pavan’, does not occur by that name in Nobiltà di Dame. There is one in Il Ballarino, ‘Pavana Matthei’, a balletto ‘of M. Battistino’, i.e. not Caroso. In Nobiltà di Dame there is a ‘Passo e Mezzo’ and that, with indeed all of Caroso’s dances in simple duple time (at a steady alla breve tempo) are of what could be called the ‘pavan type’, including the first movements of composite dances and of balletti. The origin of the name ‘pavan’ is obscure. The New Grove Dictionary article proposes that it is from the Spanish pavón, peacock, which is persuasive as the basic movements are to ‘peacock’ [pavoneggiare], however much decorated with elevated steps, as in the basse dance. Derivation from padoana is not very convincing as dances of that name are in triple time and seem to be of the piva type, as to be found in Giovanni Pacoloni’s intabulations to be described below. Any connection of the dance with Padua because of its name is unlikely as dancing the pavan was by no means limited to that city and region and, whatever the name, it was basic and universal in the style of ‘Renaissance’ dancing. The name first occurs in Petrucci’s publication of Joan Ambrosio Dalza’s intabulatons, Intabolatura de lauto IV, in 1508 (five of them alla venetiana and four alla ferrarese), each with a saltarello and piva related modally and in other ways. Three of Dalza’s forty-two dances are tabulated for two lutes. The pavan and the galliard, their metrical forms and their relationship are

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11 Il Ballarino, Tratt. secondo, ff. 112r-113v.
12 See below in the next chapter.
described by Thomas Morley in *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Music* as quoted in Chapter VI below.\(^{13}\)

The type of dance that most impressed Caroso’s contemporaries would seem to have been the galliard. We read in ‘Avertimento XXIII.’:\(^{14}\) “When the lady dances the dance called 'il Piantone', which is seen more than any other dance ...”, this dance being a framework for galliards. The galliard can be seen to express certain ideals of the time in that it elongated the figure with stretching of the legs and body, being danced mostly *demi-pointe*, and with elevation. It allowed the dancer to display his or her artistry, grace and perhaps ingenuity in syncopated variations, to show agility and dexterity in rapid foot movements and, for the men at least, to demonstrate strength in spectacular leaps. It is mostly for ladies that Caroso sometimes gives variations for galliards that are more in the low style: the galliard as such, it seems, was generally considered to be primarily a vehicle for masculine display.\(^{15}\) In the galliard of ‘Laura Suave’ Caroso writes: “So I say, that she does the same variation that the gentleman has done; and if she cannot [non saprà] do [the] groppo, or fioretti, she does this graceful variation ...”.\(^{16}\) In ‘Vero Amore’ the lady's alternative is explicitly described as “easier”.\(^{17}\) In the very virtuosic 'Tordiglione' the lady is given her own variations but they are only somewhat less demanding than the gentleman's, to the extent that for the second variation, if she cannot do it, she is given another in the *grave* style and even that concludes with a *cadenza*, the characteristic leap of the galliard.\(^{18}\) But probably neither she nor he would be dancing the *tordiglione* if not an outstanding dancer. The variations of 'Passo e Mezzo' are similarly virtuosic for both dancers.\(^{19}\)

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\(^{13}\) See below in the next chapter.

\(^{14}\) *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 86.

\(^{15}\) Cf. the variations for the ladies and the men in the choreography for ‘O che nuovo miracolo’ in Malvezzi’s ninth part-book, see below.


\(^{17}\) *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 327.

\(^{18}\) *Nobiltà di Dame* at pp. 321-320.

\(^{19}\) *Nobiltà di Dame*, pp. 130-134.
two dances, however, ‘Alta Vittoria’ and ‘Cortesia’, in which it is the gentleman who is given the option of dancing something somewhat lower which doubtless is offered as something easier as well: “... if he does not want to do the altered [i.e. elevated] variation”. The optional variations given, then, are certainly less athletic and depend more on grace for effect than the elevated ones: galliard variations are vehicles for stylish, vigorous young manhood and when less vigorous for a lady, they might be more stylishly feminine ipso facto with beautiful deportment, gesture and posture and display of beautiful gowns. In any case, ladies’ movements would be inhibited, and often impeded, by their costumes: trains and the very weight of their gowns, not to speak of high-soled chopines which appear to be worn by the ladies in the illustrations. Imagine dancing fioretti securely in chopines! In Nobiltà di Dame, however, it seems that there is for the most part the hope, if not the sure expectation, that the gentleman’s and the lady’s variations will be the same and the dance thus perfectly symmetrical. But maniera is of great importance for both sexes.

![Dance Metres]

The saltarello and the cascarda are skipped dances resembling the jig. The canario, so named because "they dance in this manner on the Canary Island" Caroso tells us, is characterised by stamping with

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20 Nobiltà di Dame, pp. 297 & 338-339.
21 e.g. Nobiltà di Dame, pp. 161 & 200.
22 'Regola XXIII.', Nobiltà di Dame, p. 32.
the feet and clapping hands. The nature of the balletto will be considered below.

The 'Libro primo' of Nobiltà di Dame is introduced with a table of the names of the steps, which do not correspond exactly, however, with the steps as given in the 'Regole' that follow. The table below shows the names of the steps from Caroso's introductory table, the types of dance (and the numbers of some particular dances) in which he says that the steps are used, the number of beats for the steps with their time values and the numbers of the 'Regole'. Suchlike from the 'Regole' is conflated with this information where it is lacking in Caroso's table or differs from it and is bracketed thus { }. Information in Caroso's table but not in the 'Regole' is shown in parentheses, thus ( ).

**TABLE 7**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names of steps</th>
<th>Kinds of dance/ dance nos.</th>
<th>Beats and time Values</th>
<th>Regola</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>THREE ... RIVERENZE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riverenza grave</td>
<td>[11], [38]</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>seconda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riverenza lunga</td>
<td>Bl</td>
<td>4 pf = 1 lg</td>
<td>terza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riverenza breve</td>
<td>Cs, [4], [10]</td>
<td>2 pf = 1 bv = 4 tr</td>
<td>quarta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOUR ... CONTINENZE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continenza grave</td>
<td>[11]</td>
<td>6 {ord}</td>
<td>quinta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continenza semigrave</td>
<td>[11], [38]</td>
<td>3 {ord}</td>
<td>sesta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continenza breve</td>
<td>Bs, Bl</td>
<td>2 {pf = 1 bv}</td>
<td>settima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continenza semibreve</td>
<td>[4], [10]</td>
<td>1 pf {sb}</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THREE ... PASSI PUNTATI</td>
<td>Passo puntato semigrave</td>
<td>3 {ord}</td>
<td>ottava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Passo puntato breve</td>
<td>2 {pf = 1 bv}</td>
<td>nona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Passo puntato semibreve</td>
<td>2 {tr = 1 sb}</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FIVE ... PASSI</th>
<th>Passo grave</th>
<th>1 {sb}</th>
<th>decima</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>{Passo naturale semibreve}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>{Passo minimo}</td>
<td>1 mn</td>
<td>XI.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Passo presto {or minimo}</td>
<td>1 tr {mn}</td>
<td>XII.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Passo largo fermato</td>
<td>{1 sb}</td>
<td>XIII.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Passetto in aria</td>
<td>[1 sm] {1 tr}</td>
<td>XIX.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>{Passetto presto ... semiminimo}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Passo trangato [= Trango inf.?]</td>
<td>[28]</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TWELVE ... SEGUITI</th>
<th>Seguito doppio [= doppio alla francese?]</th>
<th>4 {6 sb?}</th>
<th>XVII.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Seguito spezzato grave</td>
<td>3 {mn}</td>
<td>XV.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Seguito ordinario or breve</td>
<td>2 {sb}</td>
<td>XVI.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Seguito semidoppio {ornato}</td>
<td>2 {sb}</td>
<td>XVIII.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Seguito tranghato {trangato}</td>
<td>2 tr {4 mn = 1 br}</td>
<td>XIX.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Seguito finto</td>
<td>2 {sb}</td>
<td>XX.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Seguito spezzato</td>
<td>2 {tr = 1 sb}</td>
<td>XXI.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Seguito spezzato finto</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Seguito scorso</td>
<td>1 bv</td>
<td>XXII.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Seguito battuto</td>
<td>1 tr</td>
<td>XXIII.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Seguito doppio</td>
<td>2 tr</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Seguito spezzato schisciato</th>
<th>Cn</th>
<th>--</th>
<th>XXIII.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>FOUR ... DOPPII</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doppio (grave) all'Italiana</td>
<td>Bs, Bl</td>
<td>{4 [sb = 1 lunga]}</td>
<td>XXV.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doppio (grave) alla Spagnuola</td>
<td>Bs, Bl</td>
<td>{6 ord}</td>
<td>XXVII.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doppio (grave) alla Francese</td>
<td>Bs, Bl</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>XXVIII.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doppio breve {Doppio minimo?}</td>
<td>Cs</td>
<td>4 sm</td>
<td>XXVI.?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TWO ... TRABUCCHETTI</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trabucchetto breve</td>
<td>all sorts</td>
<td>1 bv</td>
<td>XXIX.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trabucchetto semibreve {Trabucchetto minimo}</td>
<td>all sorts</td>
<td>1 mn = 1/2 bv?</td>
<td>XXX.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>FOUR ... FIORETTI</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fioretto ordinario</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>{1}</td>
<td>XXXI.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fioretto fiancheggiato</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>{1}</td>
<td>XXXII.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fioretto à pie pari per fianco</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>XXXIII.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fioretto battuto</td>
<td>Cn</td>
<td>{2 [1?] tr}</td>
<td>XXXIII.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>THREE ... SALTI</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salto tondo in aria</td>
<td>Gl</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>XXXVI.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salto riverso</td>
<td>Gl</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>XXXVII.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salto del fiocco</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>XXXVIII.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIX ... CAPRIOLE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capriola in terzo</td>
<td>Gl, [4], [38]</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capriola in quarto</td>
<td>Gl, [4], [38]</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capriola in quinto</td>
<td>Gl, [4], [38]</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capriola spezzata in aria</td>
<td>Gl, [4], [38]</td>
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| Bl = balletti | pf = perfect = semibreve | [4] = 'Amorosina Grimana' |
| Bs = basse | ord = ordinary = minim | [10] = 'Gagliarda di Spagna' |
| Gl = galliards | bv = breve | [14] = 'Rosa Felice' |
| Cs = cascarde | sb = semibreve | [28] = 'Conto dell'Orco Nuovo' |
| Cn = canarii | mn = minim (undotted or dotted) | [37] = 'Ballo del Fiore' |
| ( ) = only in the table, pp. 4-7 | tr = triple beat = minim | [38] = 'Tordiglione' |
| { } = only in the 'Regole' | sm = semiminim = dotted minim |

The various lacunae and inconsistencies in the contents of Caroso's table, while probably of not much moment to his contemporaries to whom what he meant would have been obvious enough, need to be clarified for accurate reconstruction of the dances. It is only possible here to discuss a few of them.\(^{23}\)

The time value of the beats for the *riverenza grave* are in fact given in the choreography of 'Alta Gonzaga' [6], but in any case they must be 'ordinary' beats as for the other *grave* steps, i.e. minim beats in bars of sixes, the prototypical metre of *basse, alte*, the *tordiglione* and the galliard, however the sonatas for these dances may be barred, as will be discussed below. 'Perfect' beats are semibreve beats in duple time. The nomenclature of minim beats is confusing: they may be

\(^{23}\) For others see Sutton's notes to 'Rules for Dancing' in her translation of *Nobiltà di Dame*.  

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called 'ordinary' in *grave* dances and galliards, but may be called 'minim' or 'triple' in triple time dances of the *saltarello* and *canario* types, and hence the term, surely. 'Triple beats' is sometimes used, however, for what must be undotted beats as in the *pavaniglia*, 'Amorosina Grimana'. The values for the *trabuchetti* are confused: in 'Regola XXX.' we read "you should keep to the same way in doing the *trabucchetto minimo*, as was kept in the *trabucchetto breve*, which was one beat; & this is done by half ...". Probably, as suggested by Julia Sutton, the names in Caroso's table and in 'Regola XXIX.' should be 'semibreve' and 'minimo' rather than 'breve' and 'semibreve'. A more serious deficiency is the absence of any definition of 'ripresa', which is considered in the description of the *ripresa sottopiede* below.

Nor is it possible, of course, to describe here all the steps in Caroso's rules but summaries of some of them are given below in the context of various dances so as to give the reader some appreciation of the movements. Following Caroso's practice only the left steps are described, the right being their contraries, done with opposite feet, the exception being the *riverenza*. Translation of Caroso's text here as elsewhere is literal in order to avoid, as far as possible, interpretation at the point of translation but also to afford the reader the full flavour of Caroso's adorned didactic style. Certainly there are English equivalents of his literary style but Julia Sutton's translation is more in the modern idiom and more suitable for those intending to dance his dances.

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24 *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 103.
25 *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 37.
26 See her translation of *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 114, n. 12.
**Grave steps**

The introductory gravi first sections, or tempi, of most of the dances are decorated with elevated steps. This first tempo from the balletto, 'Alta Vittoria', therefore, is not typical in containing, other than the seguiti scorsi, only typical grave steps.\(^{27}\)

Wishing to begin this balletto, the gentleman takes the lady by the ordinary hand with the usual chivalrous ceremonies, with both doing the riverenza lunga of four beats of the music, with two continenze brevi of two beats each; then they do a passeggio with two passi puntati brevi, & four passi semibrevi of one beat for each step, & two continenze. Then they do two seguiti brevi, at the end of which they leave each other in the manner of a mezza riverenza with the usual ceremonies, the gentleman going to one end of the room, and the lady to the other end, doing two seguiti scorsi, turning first to the left hand, & then to the right hand, in the manner of an S. And at the end they find themselves in view, beginning all these movements with the left foot; and not as previously [i.e. as in *Il Ballarino*], where they turned only to the left hand: and this was false.

**Riverenza**

The gentleman takes off his hat in the proper manner as described in 'Regola prima'. He then faces his partner, with body [vita]\(^{28}\) and legs well extended and feet parallel, about four inches apart and with the left in front of the right. The four movements of this most important

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\(^{27}\) *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 296.

\(^{28}\) Julia Sutton considers that Caroso uses the word, vita, with its older meaning of 'body', 'torso' or 'trunk', as defined in John Florio's dictionary, rather than with its modern meaning, i.e. 'waist': John Florio, *Queen Anna's New World of Words*, 2nd ed., London, Melch, Bradwood, 1611: facsimile reprint, Menston (U.K.), Scolar Press, 1968, 1973; see the introduction to Sutton’s translation, op.cit., p.7.
step that then begins the dance may be summarised for present convenience with numbers thus.29

(1) Raise the point of the left foot a little;
(2) Draw the left foot backwards in a straight line with the foot flat on the floor until the point of the left foot is level with the right heel;
(3) Gracefully bend the knees a little, raising the left heel and pulling the foot back a little, pulling the body [vita] back a little and holding the head high;
(4) Rise, joining the left foot to the right.

In the lunga version, as here, each of the four movements is in the time of a semibreve but in the triple time, grave version the first and second movements are combined in the first two of the six beats.

**Continenza**

Similarly summarised with numbers the movements of this step are.30

(1) Bend the left flank a little, i.e. moving the body [vita] to the right, keeping the head straight and taking care not to let the left shoulder drop, giving it only a "hint of grace". Lift the left foot, moving it out a four or five finger width, and put it down, strutting to the left.
(2) Join the right foot to the left, bending the body a little. Rise up on the toes a little, raising the heels and strutting towards the lady, i.e. to the right, and finally lower the body.

Each of the two movements in the breve version, as here, is in the time of a semibreve. In the triple time grave version the right foot is not joined to the left until the sixth semibreve and, presumably in the semigrave version at the third, although this is not specified in the rule.

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29 *Nobiltà di Dame*, pp. 12-15: 'Regole Prima, Seconda, Terza & Quarta'.
30 *Nobiltà di Dame*, pp. 16-19: 'Regole Quinta, Sesta & Settima'.

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Passi naturali semibrevi

No gracing is specified for these 'natural' steps but probably they are to be more or less graced as for the first movement of the continenza. The passo minimo is graced as is the first movement of the passo puntato below, the knees are stretched and the feet kept straight.31

Passo puntato

There are two movements in this step.32

(1) Bend the left flank to the right a little as in the continenza. Move the left foot forwards so that the heel passes the point of the right foot by about four or five finger breadths, and then pause somewhat "as if it were a sigh".
(2) Join the right foot to the left as for the continenza, i.e. strutting slightly to the left, then do a slight bow. Rise, raising the heels and strutting to the right, and finally lower the body.

The 'pointing' of the name of the step is the joining of the feet - as Caroso explains vividly but not very clearly in his rule, as discussed above.33

Seguito

This step is decorated with some elevation.34

(1) Raising the point of the left foot, extending the knee well, step with a little jump onto the point of the left foot.
(2) Take a similar step onto the right point so that the instep is level with the point of the left foot.

31 Nobiltà di Dame, pp. 22-24: 'Regola Decima - Regola XII.'.
32 Nobiltà di Dame, pp. 19-21: 'Regole Ottava & Nona'. See also below.
33 See above.
34 Nobiltà di Dame pp. 26-27: 'Regola XVI.'.
(3) Step with the left foot flat on the floor, raising the right heel and lifting the body [vita].

The seguito finto is a 'feigned' movement, i.e. the first two steps backwards and the third forwards.\textsuperscript{35}

\textit{Mezza riverenza}

This is not described in the rules but seems to be a less formal obeisance than the riverenza, often at the end of some other step, consisting perhaps of bending the knees a little as in the galliard of 'Coppia Colonna'\textsuperscript{36} and other suitable gestures including removing the hat as in the alta of 'Bassa et Alta',\textsuperscript{37} depending on the context, or else of swinging the foot as in the campanella, described below.

\textit{Seguito scorso}

This curved figure is done in ten little steps in the time of a breve, each step less than half a foot long and with the feet about two fingers from each other and on the points of the feet. They are done in pairs, correctly in an S-shaped figure as Caroso insists in the choreography of 'Alta Vittoria' above as elsewhere.\textsuperscript{38} They are sometimes called doppii scorsi, as at the end of the galliard of 'Laura Suave',\textsuperscript{39} or scorsi à modo d'una S as at the end of galliard conclusion of 'Coppia Colonna'\textsuperscript{40} and similarly elsewhere. Although not in fact previously mentioned in the choreography, "the aforesaid running movements [gli predetti moti scorsi]", turning like an S, in the second tempo of 'Nido d'Amore', also would mean seguiti scorsi.\textsuperscript{41} In the second tempo of 'Tordiglione' spezzati scorsi are specified which must

\textsuperscript{35} Nobiltà di Dame, pp. 29-30: 'Regola XX.'.
\textsuperscript{36} Nobiltà di Dame, pp. 180-181.
\textsuperscript{37} Nobiltà di Dame, p. 163.
\textsuperscript{38} Nobiltà di Dame, pp. 31-32, 'Regola XXII.'.
\textsuperscript{39} Nobiltà di Dame, p. 114.
\textsuperscript{40} Nobiltà di Dame, p. 181.
\textsuperscript{41} Nobiltà di Dame, p. 290.
be the same or very similar. Whatever they are called they seem to be, if not actually galliard steps, most often associated with galliards and when occurring in duple time movements, as in 'Alta Vittoria' and in 'Nido d'Amore', they serve the purpose of moving the dancers to opposite ends of the room for subsequent galliard variations, or from there to meet in the middle of the room.

**Ordinary hands**

This is the usual way of holding hands: the gentleman with his right hand holding the lady's left. The various other ways of holding hands will be discussed below.

**Passeggio**

Caroso's steps, as will be already apparent, are very small and the various sequences of steps for the most part use very little floor, variations being danced all but on the spot. A *passeggio* is a walk through the room, sometimes forwards, as above in 'Alta Vittoria' presumably, sometimes in a circle as in, for instance the *cascarda*, 'Doria Colonna', sometimes probably to the left and then to the right in zigzag fashion when done 'on the left side' and then 'on the right side [al lato destro]' as in the *passeggi* in 'Passo e Mezzo' and with sideways and backwards movements interspersed, in more extended *passeggi* particularly, as in that at the beginning of 'Bassa et Alta', making optimum use of the floor in what were often, no doubt, rather confined spaces.

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42 *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 319.
43 See below.
44 *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 196.
45 *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 131.
46 *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 162.
In view

When holding hands, of course, the dancers would be quite close to each other. At other times they stand 'opposite each other [all'incontro] without holding hands' as in the revised beginning of 'Barriera' where they are presumably not far from each other. At other times they are 'in view' [in prospettiva], which seems to mean facing each other, from as far away as opposite ends of the room as in 'Alta Vittoria'.

The third tempo of 'Barriera' (which is the contrary of the second tempo) includes instruction on how to count the dance steps in terms of the music of the sonata.

... And as is true, for each tempo of this Barriera sonata, there are sixteen perfect beats. So note in the second tempo, for the two passi puntati there are four beats, two each; for the four passi semibrevi, four more, which are eight; two for the seguito breve, which are ten; one for [the] saffice, which are twelve; four for the two continenze, which make the number of sixteen perfect musical beats ...

Saffice

This leaves only the saffice and this is one of the 'poetic' steps discussed above. It is made up of two other common steps thus.

(1) Do a sottopiede, raising the left foot forwards.
(2) Do a trabucchetto onto the left foot, strutting to the left.

The saffice gives some elevation to the essentially grave passeggio in 'Barriera', and the sottopiede and the trabucchetto being elevated steps will be described all but immediately below, under 'Galliard steps'.

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47 Nobiltà di Dame, p. 139.
48 Nobiltà di Dame, p. 140.
49 Nobiltà di Dame, pp. 61-62: 'Regola LXVI'.

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GALLIARD STEPS

Here, first, is the standard set of five galliard steps given in the rules, making one tempo di gagliarda.\(^50\)

**Cinque passi in gagliarda**

(1) Do a zoppetto, i.e. a little limp, on the right foot with the left foot raised forwards.
(2) Put the left foot straight down, extending the knee.
(3) Do a sottopiede with the right foot, i.e. putting the point of the right foot under the heel of the left, raising the left foot forwards, taking care to keep the feet moving in a straight line.
(4) Put the left foot down where it was before, simultaneously raising the right foot forwards: this is a passo in aria.
(5) Putting the right foot down, do a left cadenza, i.e. leap with the legs extended, keeping the feet straight and the points high, moving the left foot forwards and the right backwards, and falling onto both feet, the left flat on the floor and onto the point of the right so that it is about four fingers from the heel of the left, spreading the knees a little before rising. The gentleman holds the hilt of his sword with the left hand to keep it from "dancing" and the right hand is held stretched downwards, the hand moving gracefully but the fingers kept still. The body [*persona*] is held straight and the eyes raised but not too much.

Caroso maintains that the name of these five steps in six beats is corrupt. In *Il Ballarino* he says that they were formerly four but in *Nobiltà di Dame* only two, but without specifying which. The discrepancy of two steps, or four in *Il Ballarino*, is partly explained by the fact that Caroso does not count the *cadenza*, i.e. (5) above, in the *cinque passi*. The zoppetto, i.e. (1), with the left foot forward, looks like a preparatory step as does the *sottopiede*, which has the effect of changing step; but that leaves two others! Probably they are the two

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steps with a foot flat on the floor, i.e. the left foot in (2) above and again in (4), in the passo in aria with the right. Arbeau's simplest set of the five steps is four grèves, equivalent to Caroso's passi in aria, followed by a saut majeur on the fifth beat ending in a posture on the sixth, equivalent to Caroso's cadenza. In Caroso’s galliards the dancer may substitute some other virtuosic leap or capriola for the cadenza.

In Caroso's choreographies, however, we find "mutanze", translated here as 'variations', which seem to mean virtuosic solo sequences of steps in elevated galliard style, usually "di gagliarda" but sometimes in other sorts of dances too. They decorate and 'transmute' the basic dance structure - like lead into gold as it were. A not particularly demanding galliard variation of four tempi is to be found in the balletto, 'Laura Suave'. The gentleman is given the option of dancing his own variation, so long as it begins and ends with the left foot forward, according to the rule for galliard variations.51 Note that in a variation of four, or other number, of tempi the cadenza is postponed until the end of the last, in this case the fourth tempo.

The whole sonata changes into a galliard

The gentleman alone, if he knows how to dance the galliard, does a variation [mutanza], or partita as I like to say, of four [galliard] tempi, remaining at the end of it, however, with the left foot forward, as he finishes it with the cadenza, otherwise it will be false, because as I have said in my rules, if the variation begins with the left foot forward, it has to finish with the same foot forward; and not as many do, who begin the variation with the cadenza and finishing it do the cadenza with the right foot forward; and this is badly done. Therefore I say, that if the gentleman wishes to do this variation of mine, first he does a groppo, two fioretti, with two passi minimi, that is fast [presti] backwards, two mezze riverenze fast, beginning every movement with the left, & with the same he does a trabucchetto, another with the right, a sottopiede with the left, & then with the right he does two more fioretti, two passi

51 Nobiltà di Dame, pp. 112-114.
minimi backwards, & the *cadenza*, standing again with the left foot forward, as when he began it.

**The lady's variation**

The lady must be warned, while the gentleman does his variation, during the time that he is dancing, I tell her that she should not stay standing still, but nicely pretending to arrange the train of her dress, gracefully twisting with her waist, putting on her glove, or, if it is summer and she has her fan, making a few beautiful movements with it, so that she does not look like a statue, doing the which she makes a very beautiful sight with these beautiful and virtuous movements, and she will be welcomed and liked by all present. So much said, I say that she does the same variation that the gentleman has done; and if she doesn't know how to do the groppo, or fiorretti, she does this gracious variation, i.e. with the left foot she does a seguito fiancheggiato on the left side, another with the right on the right side; then she does two trabucchetti slow [adagio], and a seguito finto with the left foot, and at the end of it she bends her knees a little, doing like a mezza riverenza.

The gentleman, when the lady has finished her variation, begins the same variation again as before, beginning it and ending it with the right foot: and take care not to do another one of four tempi with different movements, which although it be done in time, is not good for that reason, as I have said in the rules.

The lady similarly does the second variation, as before, beginning it with the right foot.

The gentleman in these [next] four tempi does a terminated one,\(^{52}\) i.e. of two tempi per foot: the way to do it is this; he does two zoppetti with the left foot in the air, and he hops with the right, and with the left which he finds that he has in the air he does two fast [*preste*] mezzo riverenze, two *trabucchetti*, a *sottopiede* with the left and the *cadenza* with the left foot forwards; he does the same beginning with the right. The lady does two *doppii alla francese*, one on the left

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\(^{52}\)'Regulated 'and 'terminated' are explained below in this Chapter.
side, the other on the right. Then together they do two [sic] doppii scorsi turning first to the left, and then to the right hand like an S, and approaching each other they take each other by the ordinary hand.

The sottopiede and the cadenza have already been described above. Here are summaries of the rules for the remaining steps in the gentleman's first variation.

**Trabucchetto**

The name means 'trap'.

(1) Strutting, i.e. bending the left flank and raising the right side, and with legs and body [vita] extended, raise the left foot and do a little sideways jump onto it.
(2) Join the right foot to the left, resting it lightly on its point about two fingers width from the left foot.

**Groppo**

The name means 'knotting'.

(1) From a position with the left foot behind the right, do a left trabucchetto, crossing the right foot behind the left.
(2) Do a right trabucchetto, crossing the left foot behind the right.
(3) Do a left trabucchetto, putting the right point under the left heel, raising the left foot in a sottopiede.

**Fioretto**

Fioretti are usually done in pairs. They require a high degree of agility.

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53 Nobiltà di Dame, pp. 36-37, 'Regole XXIX. & XXX.'.
54 Nobiltà di Dame, pp. 52-53, 'Regola LI.'.
(1) Raising the left foot forwards so that its heel is about two fingers in front of the point of the right foot, about one finger to the left of it and about two fingers high, and with knees extended, leap into the air as in a *cadenza*, moving the left foot backwards and landing on the points of the feet, with the left point about one finger behind the right heel and about two fingers to the side of it.

(2) Do a right *sottopiede*, raising the right foot forwards, keeping the feet straight.

More substantial is the gentleman's first variation in 'Passo e Mezzo'. This dance is not in galliard metre, being of the pavan type in duple metre, but the variation consists entirely of galliard steps, including even the *cadenza*.

He does two *zoppetti* pushing the left foot forwards in the air, and with the same he does two *mezze riverenze preste*, like three bell rings [*tre battute di campanella*], & a *groppo*, beginning these movements with the left foot; then immediately he does a *passo in aria* with the right, and the *cadenza* with the *trito minuto*; that is with the said *cadenza* he does three *balzettini* on the left side: & this is called the *trito minuto*; then he does a *sottopiede* with the right, a *trabucchetto* with the left, & another *sottopiede* with the right, two *passi in aria presti*, one with the right, the other with the left, & with the same he does a *fioretto*, & another with the right, with two *passi minimi* backwards, two more *mezze riverenze*, two *trabucchetti*, a *sottopiede*, & at the end the *cadenza*, standing again with the left forwards as he began it. Then with the right foot which is found to be behind, he begins to do this variation again, and with the same [foot] he will finish it; & doing it thus these variations will be very exact, and done in time with the music.

The restricted vocabulary of steps usually used is demonstrated by the fact that there are only three steps in this variation.

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55 *Nobiltà di Dame*, pp. 37-38: 'Regola XXXI.'.
56 *Nobiltà di Dame*, pp. 130-131.
that have not already been described, and one of these is, in effect, hardly more than decoration of the *cadenza*.

**Campanella**

This imaginatively named step is done thus.\(^57\)

1. From a position with the left foot forwards, pull the left foot backwards.
2. Push the left foot forwards.
3. Pull the left foot backwards.

The moving foot must move in a straight line like the clapper of a bell, while for each of the three 'rings' the dancer hops on the other foot in *zoppetti*.

**Balzettini**

Presumably these are the same as *balzetti à piedi pari* and are, as the name tells us, little sideways bounces on both feet, slightly apart, jumping about two fingers high.\(^58\)

**Trito minuto**

This step in galliards is done as described in the choreography. In the rule there is added detail: with the left foot a little bit in front of the right, do three little jumps to the left, very fast, on the points of the feet with heels raised, with the feet straight and the legs extended.\(^59\) The *trito minuto* in *canarii* is different and the description of it in 'Laura Suave' is quoted below.\(^60\)

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\(^{57}\) *Nobiltà di Dame*, pp. 54-55, 'Regola LV.'.

\(^{58}\) *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 52, 'Regola L.'

\(^{59}\) *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 51, 'Regola XLIX.'.

\(^{60}\) See below.
As noted above in respect of 'Laura Suave' Caroso sometimes leaves it to the gentleman to do his own variation. Another instance is found in the balletto 'Alta Vittoria', where "he can also do capriole if he knows how to do them". 

**Capriola**

Four of the rules for the steps are devoted to capriole. In all versions the body is raised into the air with the help of the right arm, using the back of a chair or a suspended rope. The step is so named, Caroso tells us, "because the man raises himself to do it moving his feet quickly forwards, and backwards like a deer [capriolo]". The first version described is the *capriola in terza.*

(1) From a position with the left foot in front of the right so that its heel touches the point of the right, with the help of the right arm raise the body into the air, keeping the arms and the legs well extended.
(2) Move the feet backwards and forwards three times as quickly as possible.
(3) Fall lightly onto the points of the feet with the left foot forwards as at the beginning.

*Capriole in quarta* and *in quinta* are similar but done moving the feet backwards and forwards four and five times respectively. A *capriola spezzata in aria* is decorated with preliminary shuffling movements with the feet. In a *capriola intrecciata* the feet 'weave', moving from side to side and crossing instead of backwards and forwards.

Presumably the leaps [*salti*] of various kinds and the pirouette [*pirlotto* or, onomatopoetically, *zurlo*] could also be done if the gentleman so wished and could do them (the usual sensible proviso).

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61 Nobiltà di Dame, pp. 296-297.
62 Nobiltà di Dame, pp. 45-47: 'Regole XXXIX.-XLII.'.
63 Nobiltà di Dame, pp. 44-45: 'Regole XXXVI.-XXXVIII.'.
64 Nobiltà di Dame, p. 53: 'Regola LII.'.
To conclude this consideration of galliard steps, here is a variation done together holding hands, from 'Amorosina Grimana', which probably demonstrates Caroso's expectations of his average dancers.\textsuperscript{65}

In the second tempo, they do a passeggio without letting hands go, doing two passi puntati of one perfect beat of the music of the sonata of this dance, which is two triple beats [i.e. undotted minims in this context]; then they do a trabucchetto with the left foot, & a sottopiede with the right; & they do not do the mezza riverenza as they used to do formerly: & when they have done the said movements, they immediately do two passi ordinarii, two fioretti, two more passi, with two more fioretti, & the cadenza, standing again with the left foot behind. Then with the right foot they do a zoppetto, & at the end of the sonata they conclude this passeggio doing the cadenza, but [this time] standing again with the left foot forwards.

**STEPS IN SALTARELLI**

This is the saltarello concluding the balletto, 'Forza d'Amore'.\textsuperscript{66}

In this last tempo they do a riverenza breve of four triple beats, but standing in view, with two saffici, one to the left side, the other to the right; then they turn to the right hand with two passi minimi, & a spezzato forwards; then they do a groppo, two fioretti, & a spezzato puntato, beginning them with the left foot, & [a] mezza riverenza with the right: they turn to do the same contrariwise [per contrario]. Finally they do two more flanked saffici [saffici fiancheggiati], with two fioretti, and two trabucchetti; then doing two passi puntati semibrevi forwards, they take each other gently by the ordinary hand with the aforesaid chivalrous ceremonies, & doing the

\textsuperscript{65} Nobiltà di Dame, p. 104.

\textsuperscript{66} Nobiltà di Dame, p. 218.
riverenza in time with the sonata, they finish this charming and gracious balletto.

The steps here have all been described already except for the characteristic skip-like 'broken' steps of the saltarello: the seguito spezzato, or spezzato, and the spezzato puntato.

**Seguito spezzato**

The ordinary version of the step is done in the time of two dotted minims, the first movements in the time of the first of them and the second in the time of the second as Caroso states with emphasis.\(^67\)

1. Step with the left foot flat on the floor. Put the point of the right foot behind the left heel.
2. Raise the left foot forwards as in a sottopiede, stretching the leg and keeping the body straight. Put the left foot straight down on the floor.

**Spezzato puntato**

This is done the same as the spezzato except that it is pointed, i.e. with final joining of the right foot to the left.\(^68\)

**Flanked saffici**

It may be that these saffici are to be flanked only insofar as they are to be done sideways like those before, to the left and to the right sides, so that this extra direction would not actually affect the performance of the step. On the other hand, perhaps the body is to be turned so that the sideways movements of the step move the body forwards 'crabwise', as is apparently intended in the 'spezzati flanked forwards' in the saltarello from 'Barriera' quoted below.

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\(^{67}\) *Nobiltà di Dame*, pp. 30-31: 'Regola XXI'.

\(^{68}\) *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 57: 'Regola LX.'
Cascarde are dances of the saltarello type but are generally longer and more varied in the kinds of steps used and in structure than the saltarelli in balletto suites. As they so frequently include sequences of canario steps they will be considered separately below, after the canario steps.

CANARIO STEPS

A canario may follow the saltarello in a balletto suite, providing a lively and perhaps somewhat exotic penultimate climax, in an extended and elaborate dance structure, before the quieter concluding figures and riverenza. Here is the canario from 'Laura Suave'.

The gentleman does a seguito doppio del canario with the left foot with the trito minuto, that is three fast beats of [the] feet, beginning them with the right foot, & at the end a seguito battuto, which finishes with the left foot forward as it began: & this is the trito minuto. The lady does the same, & they do this four times each; then they do a spezzato puntato with the left foot, & [a] mezza riverenza with the right, touching the right faith [i.e. hand: toccandosi la fè destra]; they do the same contrariwise.

Seguito battuto

Each is done in the time of a dotted minim.

(1) Push the left heel forwards a little, raising the point.
(2) Drag the left point backwards, raising the heel.
(3) Pushing the left foot forwards until it is halfway along the right foot, stamp with it "as if putting on shoes".

The seguito doppio battuto is the seguito battuto done twice with the

Nobiltà di Dame, p. 32, 'Regola XXIII'.
same foot, in the time of two dotted minims.

Sometimes the *canario* steps are not specified, as in the *canario* of 'Celeste Giglio'.\(^{71}\)

At this *canario* sonata, they do eight *tempi di canario*, always two per foot, that is, two with the left foot, and two with the right, & they turn around to do these another time per foot [& *queste si torneranno à fare un'altra volta per piede*]: then the lady gives one beat with her hands to those of the gentleman; the gentleman does the same to the lady. They then do a *passo puntato presto* with the left, & [a] *mezza riverenza* with the right, touching right hands at that instant; they do the same contrariwise. ...

*CASCARDA STEPS*

*Cascarde* are usually varied with figures, with holding right and left hands, letting hands go and leaving each other and turning left and right, as in 'Doria Colonna'.\(^{72}\)

In the third *tempo*, they do the two *pavaniglia* closes [i.e. a *zoppetto*, a *passo in aria* and the *cadenza*, beginning the first with the left foot and the second with the right] ; then they do two *riprese sottopiede* on the left side, & a *fioretto*: they do the same contrariwise; & at the end two *trabucchetti*. Then they take right hands, doing a *seguito semidoppio* with the left foot, & two *fioretti* forwards, & a *saffice* on the right side, beginning them with the right foot; then leaving each other, they do two *passi minimi*, & at the end a turned *saffice* with the left flank to the inside [*un saffice volto col fianco sinistro per dentro*], beginning these actions with the left foot.

In the fourth *tempo*, they do contrariwise what they did in the third *tempo*.

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\(^{71}\) *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. [xii].

\(^{72}\) *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 197.
**Pavaniglia close**

All but the last of the fifteen tempi of the pavaniglia, 'Amorosina Grimana',\(^73\) end with this formula.

**Taking right hands**

This figure would be done turning in a clockwise direction. When holding left hands in the fourth tempo they would turn anti-clockwise.

**Ripresa sottopiede**

This is probably the full name of the sottopiede. The sottopiede, strictly speaking, may be only the final 'under-foot' movement of the step described in the rule. The ripresa sotto piede is included in Caroso's list of steps at the beginning of the 'Libro Primo' of Nobiltà di Dame, "and this is done in galliards, cascarde, & balletti",\(^74\) but it is not described in the 'Regole'. A ripresa grave resembling the continenza is described in Il Ballarino.\(^75\) Going by its name the ripresa was probably originally a concluding step. These are the movements given in 'Regola XLVII.'\(^76\)

(1) Do a passo or a trabucchetto to the left side with the left foot, and putting it down raise the right foot.

(2) Put the point of the right foot under the heel of the left, raising the left foot in the air.

Whether the under-foot movement is to be added to and in the time of the previous step in the choreography or is to have its own passo or trabucchetto may have to be decided in context.

\(^73\) Nobiltà di Dame, pp. 103-107.

\(^74\) Nobiltà di Dame, p. 7.

\(^75\) Il Ballarino, II, f. 9r: 'Regola XXII.'

\(^76\) Nobiltà di Dame, p. 50.
**Seguito semidoppio ornato**

This curiously named step is done in the time of four minims thus.  

(1) Do a left *passo minimo* on the point of the foot.  
(2) Do a right *passo minimo* flat on the floor.  
(3) Do a left *seguito spezzato* as above.

**Turned saffice**

Sutton translates this as "a Sapphic step with the left hip turned in". If it is the step that is turned, rather than just the hip, it would turn in an anti-clockwise direction, presumably positioning the dancers to face in the right direction for the fourth *tempo*.

Finally, to broaden the consideration of the steps in their contexts, here in full is 'il Piantone', a framework for galliards or other dances, which presents us with the etiquette of dancing itself formalized into dance. The gentleman asks a lady to dance, then when their dance is finished he retires and she invites another gentleman to dance and so on, like changing the guard, whence the name 'il Piantone'.

The gentleman begins this dance taking the cap, or hat from his head, doing the *riverenza lunga*, with two *continenze*; then he does a *passeggio* towards the ladies doing two *passi semibrevi*, that is slowly [adagio], & a *seguito semidoppio breve*, beginning them with the left foot: he does the same contrariwise; then with the left foot which will be found to be behind he does two *passi puntati brevi* forwards, & looking at the lady whom he wishes to invite, he does her the *riverenza lunga*; then he waits while the lady rises from her seat, & when she has risen they both do the usual chivalrous ceremonies, &

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77 Nobiltà di Dame, p. 28: 'Regola XVIII.'.
78 See her translation, p. 220.
79 Nobiltà di Dame, pp. 335-336.
doing the *riverenza* as above, they gracefully take ordinary hands; & this *riverenza* finished, they begin a *passeggio* with two *passi semibrevi*, & a *seguito breve*, beginning them with the left foot: they do the same contrariwise; & at the end of the right *seguito* they bend the knees a little, doing like a *mezza riverenza*, & in doing this movement they let hands go with the said manners. Then the gentleman covers his head, doing the same *passeggio*, going to one end of the room, & the lady does the same, going to [the] other end of the room. And this *passeggio* is at the will of the gentleman as to how many *tempi* long he wishes to make it; finally approaching his place, with the foot that he finds that he has behind he does two *passi puntati*, & the *riverenza* as above: & the lady turns around in view to the gentleman, at the same time doing the *riverenza* to him. And if the gentleman wishes to do this *passeggio* as a galliard [*in gagliarda*], with variations, & *capriole*, it is his option.

This last option might apply to the preceding *passeggio* but more probably refers to the dance that follows. Music for a galliard is included with the sonata, 'La Gagliarda detta Mezza notte'. In *Il Ballarino* there are ten variations given, apparently of varying lengths, and two galliard sonatas, 'La Gagliarda detta Cesarina' as well as 'La Gagliarda detta Mezza notte', the second substantially the same as in *Nobiltà di Dame*. The choreography continues.

The lady keeps to the same order as is given above, & she can also do this other *passeggio ducale*, that is, four *passi semibrevi*, & a *seguito breve*; & this goes with more gravity [*questo và con più gravità fatto*] & she takes care, that she should never take leave [of her partner] in the middle of the room, but withdraws towards the chair where she was sitting, & turning in view to the gentleman, they both do the *riverenza* in time with the music, doing a wriggle, turning herself a little to that side

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80 *Il Ballarino* II, ff. 183v-184r.
81 *Nobiltà di Dame*, pp. 333-334.
82 It is regrettable that there is not a more graceful word in English than 'wriggle' for a movement that Caroso intends to be done gracefully.
where she sees that the train of her dress is: & doing this graceful movement, as I have said in the Notice [Avertimento] how the lady should sit down, her train will put itself into the space between the feet of her chair; & before she sits down, she greets the lady who is on her right side; & when seated, she greets the other on the left side. Finally it continues thus from hand to hand, & do not fail to do as I have said in the Notice in my rules on how one should do this dance, so that observing the instructions, no one can go wrong.

Chivalrous ceremonies

The notices concerning manners to which Caroso refers in the quotation from ‘il Piantone’ above, i.e. 'Avertimento XIII.' and 'Avertimento XXIII.', contain much very practical advice as to what is to be avoided as well as his approved way, apparently making some distinction between ceremonies and manners. ‘Avertimento VIII, How superfluous ceremonies must be loathed’ tells even more about ceremonies albeit in a negative way.

D. I would like to know if it is wrong to do many ceremonies, or not?
M. Be assured that superfluous, vain and exquisite, ceremonies are flattery that is scarcely hidden, indeed they are obvious and noticed by everyone, such as doing many riverenze, dragging the feet, kissing hands and caps, and bowing and bending themselves to their favourite ladies; and by it they think to gain rather than lose; with the result that their enticing manner makes them unpleasant and annoying to these [ladies]. And those who force themselves to do such affected things, beyond what is proper, do them out of levity and vanity, like men of little value, as Galateo says. There are some others who are superabundant in words and acts of courtesy to supplement a

83 Nobiltà di Dame, pp. 77-78 & 86-87.
84 Nobiltà di Dame, p. 73-74.
85 Julia Sutton notes in her translation of Nobiltà di Dame, p. 140, that Caroso’s ‘Avertimento VIII’ is a paraphrase of ‘le ceremonie vane, isquisite & soprabondante’ in Giovanni Della Casa’s Galateo, Milan, 1559, p. 21.
defect in their low and humble natures; be advised that if they were as lacking and wanting in words as they are in deeds, men [sic] would not be able to suffer them; and so it is in truth.

The ‘aforesaid chivalrous ceremonies as they take each gently by the ordinary hand’ at the end of the concluding saltarello of ‘Forza d’Amore’, as quoted above, is not very helpful for understanding these stylish gestures since earlier in the choreography Caroso specifies nothing more specific than ‘the usual [solite] chivalrous ceremonies’. They would have been stylish but yet fairly personal and expressive in their execution. Some idea of what may have been ‘usual’ and admired may be surmised from the feint of kissing hands accompanying the blows to the hands of the partner in the saltarello of 'Barriera'.

Together they do four flanked spezzati forwards; then the lady feigning to kiss her hands, gives a beat [battuta] to the gentleman's hands, & he then does the same; then together they do a trabucchetto to the left, giving each other a blow with the right hand [dandosi una botta alla man destra]; another trabucchetto to the right, giving another beat with the left; after which they take each other's hands, doing two continenze, one with the left, the other with the right; and at the end of the time of the sonata the riverenza.

The ‘beats’ are characteristic of the canario, in mimicry of the blows in the combat of the tournament, and as such are not the usual chivalrous ceremonies that decorate them. One is reminded of Tasso’s sonnet quoted at the end of Chapter IV above and perhaps these beats and stylish ceremonies may have been charged with some of the emotions expressed there.

There would have been occasions for ceremonies in the framework dances, such as ‘Ballo del Fiore’ and ‘il Piantone’ in

86 See above.
87 Nobiltà di Dame, p. 142.
88 See above.
89 Nobiltà di Dame, pp. 314 ff.
90 Nobiltà di Dame, pp. 333 ff.
which dancers invite other ladies and gentlemen to dance, and also in ‘Contrapasso da farsi in Ruota’ when done as part of ‘il Piantone’ in which a gentleman invites others to dance\textsuperscript{91} as also, presumably, in ‘Contrapasso da farsi in sesto’\textsuperscript{92} and in other dances for more than one couple. ‘Avertimento XXIII’ expands the instructions in the choreography of ‘il Piantone’, \textsuperscript{93} and the last avvertimento, ‘Avertimento XXIII’, ‘How ladies when they are dismantled and sitting in public with others in the room, or other place where there is a festivity’, gives instructions to ladies signifying that they would like to dance by not wearing their mantles but who do not wish to accept particular invitations, should behave so as to avoid personal offense which sometimes can end a party. \textsuperscript{94} ‘Avertimento XIX’, ‘How ladies should invite gentlemen to dance’, gives some details of ceremonies for both sexes.\textsuperscript{95} However, ‘Avertimento VIII’, ‘How superfluous ceremonies should be loathed’ warns against excess, with examples.\textsuperscript{96}

The ceremonies were doubtless habitual and fairly automatic, much like that ceremony in living memory of raising the hat out of respect, particularly for ladies, which had its antecedent in Caroso’s time (as we learn from his first rule),\textsuperscript{97} or of the still current ceremony of the handshake. However little or much that they were expressions of genuine feelings of mutual respect, they would have added to the graciousness of the demeanour of the dancers and hence to the quality of gratia in the dances in Caroso’s book.

\textbf{SOME GENERAL PRINCIPLES}

As well as the numbered rules for the steps in the 'Libro Primo' of \textit{Nobiltà di Dame} there are several general principles, which are also called 'regole', frequently stated throughout the rules for the steps and also in the choreographies in the 'Libro Secondo'. In these

\begin{footnotes}
\item[91] \textit{Nobiltà di Dame}, pp. 284-286.
\item[92] \textit{Nobiltà di Dame}, pp. 242-243.
\item[93] \textit{Nobiltà di Dame}, pp. 86-87.
\item[94] \textit{Nobiltà di Dame}, pp. 87-88.
\item[95] \textit{Nobiltà di Dame}, pp. 82-83.
\item[96] \textit{Nobiltà di Dame}, pp. 73-74.
\item[97] \textit{Nobiltà di Dame}, pp. 10-13, ‘Regola Prima’.
\end{footnotes}
general principles are to be found the bases of Caroso’s theory of the dance.

I. Sequence of feet

Most basic of all is that one foot should follow the other, the two feet being used equally. From this it follows that steps, sequences of steps and variations are invariably done first 'on the left side', i.e. beginning with the left foot, and then 'on the right side', i.e. beginning with the right foot, by both the gentlemen and the ladies, the exception being the riverenza which is always done on the left.

II. Tempo, Grazia e Misura

Also required are Tempo, Grazia e Misura, as stated in 'Regola XXXV.' translated below.

‘Time’ sometimes would be intended quite generally but in a first, more particular sense, in 'Regola XXXV.' translated by Julia Sutton as 'rhythm', it is evidently used to mean at least finishing in time with the music, but note that good dancers seem to have been expected to dance contra tempo, i.e. syncopated, especially in galliard variations. An example of 'tempo' used in this first particular sense is to be found in 'Tordiglione', in one of the several corrections of the Il Ballarino version at the end of the choreography.

... and for this reason the said passeggii were false, because they did not finish the passeggio that they did on the the left side in the time of the sonata ...

In another particular sense a tempo di gagliarda is the five steps or equivalent in the time of six beats, familiar to us from Shakespeare and his contemporaries as the ‘sink-a-pace’. The explanation would be

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99 Nobiltà di Dame, at p. 324.
that a *tempo di gagliarda*, was conceived as being one bar of six minims, as in Arbeau's *Orchésographie* and as in *Nobiltà di Dame* in the sonata of 'Laura Suave',\(^{100}\) rather than in pairs of bars of \(\frac{3}{2}\) or in three of \(\frac{3}{2}\) as galliards are also notated there. A *tempo di canario* seems to be four dotted minims long.\(^{101}\) 'Tempo' may also be used to mean a section of a dance as will be discussed below.\(^{102}\)

‘Grace’ [spelled *gratia* in *Nobiltà di Dame*], although never clearly defined, seems to correspond to the *maniera* of earlier treatises\(^{103}\) and includes embellishment of various kinds as well as the more subtle and less tangible qualities discussed by writers such as Castiglione.\(^{104}\)

What Caroso meant by 'Measure', and something of what he meant by 'Time' (and a very little of what he meant by 'Grace' in this context) may be gathered from this passage from 'Regola XXXV.', 'Dei cinque Passi in Gagliarda, nome corrotto'.\(^{105}\)

This is the foundation of every sort of dance, and the true rule, because with that foot which commences, with the same it must finish: and when you have done the aforesaid five movements, or steps, (as I mean) begun or finished with the left, it is meet that you should do the same with the right, (which is the brother of the left foot); and so it should be done in other dances and cascarde, as well as in all variations [*mutanze*], or *partite* of this galliard dance, what the left foot has had so should the right; and so equally in every sort of dance, and every sort of action, and movement, what one foot has had so should the other,

\(^{100}\) See below.

\(^{101}\) See ‘Celeste Giglio’, *Nobiltà di Dame*, at p. [xii] and its sonata at p. [xviii], and see below.

\(^{102}\) See below.


\(^{104}\) See also below.

\(^{105}\) *Nobiltà di Dame*, pp. 42-43.
otherwise the dance is false. And keep in mind, that if in a
dance there are two variations, that which is done with the left
is to be done with the right; and do not do as some do, who,
when they have done a variation of four, or six *tempi* with the
left foot; with the right foot they do another one in a different
way, but of the same number of *tempi*. I tell you, that the
variation will go well, but not yet following the rule which I
have told you, because it is necessary that the movements and
the actions be reciprocal. And know, as do all those (who are
also esteemed experts in the galliard dance) [that those] who
begin the variation with the left foot, and in time with the music
finish it with the right foot do not do well.

D. But wait, please, Signor Maestro. It seems to me that this
variation would be good, because it is done in time, seeing that
he has wished to observe your terms. Namely, that he who
wishes to dance, must needs have these three things, Time,
Grace and Measure.

M. I reply to this doubt of yours, that it is well, if you have
danced with grace, and concluded the variation in time with the
music; but take care that you have done it with measure; since
measure means nothing other than compassing with rule,
whatever is being done, as I have shown at the beginning of this
rule, when I said, that a variation which is begun with the left
foot should finish with the same; and so in five movements, or
steps, as I mean: is that reason for finishing it with the right? but
this is the teacher’s error. Finally I conclude, he who begins the
five steps with the left, should finish them with the same, and so
likewise with the right: as in all variations, and every kind of
action, and movement, so in the galliard dance, as in every other
kind of dance, as much as has the one foot, so much the other,
otherwise everything, whatever is done, will be false. But with
the left foot, it is necessary to commence every sort of dance,
and with the same it must finish.

D. And (if I remember correctly) a little while ago you told me,
that every movement, that is done with the left, must be done
with the right. Why then at the beginning is the *riverenanza* done
with the left and not need to finish with the right, so that this
movement, as much as it has the one, should have the other
foot?
M. I reply, the which I have already clearly demonstrated in the rule for doing the *riverenza*, that it must always be done with the left foot. Now I will tell you again, that the *riverenza* is like a door in the facade *[prospettiva]* of a palace, done with good architecture, and it is necessary for him who wishes to enter it, that he enter it by the door, and that he come outside again by the same; the windows and other adornments, which are there on one, and on the other side are equal. But the *riverenza* alone with the left; and the other variations and actions are done equal.

### III. Stepping from joined feet

When one foot is joined to the other it must be first to move, as is found stated in 'Regola Nona' and also at various places in the choreographies.\(^{106}\)

### IV. Doing the *riverenza* from the foot behind

We are warned in an 'Avertimento' in ‘Alta Vittoria’ that doing the *riverenza* with the foot that was behind is “against nature’s movement, and against the rule”.\(^{107}\) The principle is also found stated near the beginning of 'Barriera', for which see below. In order to achieve correctness, in the *Nobiltà di Dame* version the two *seguiti* are replaced by *corinti*, the lightly elevated sequence of steps of apparently Caroso's own invention with the fanciful architectural name discussed above.\(^{108}\)

### V. The lady stands on the gentleman's right

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\(^{106}\) *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 21. See also ‘Bassa et Alta’, at p. 162 and at pp. 164-165.

\(^{107}\) *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 297.

\(^{108}\) See above.
That the gentleman must always give the lady the position of honour on his right is found stated in the revised choreographies of 'Barriera' and of 'Le Bellezze d'Olimpia'.

The *Il Ballarino* version of ‘Barriera’, a choreographic representation of knightly encounter by M. Battistino,\(^{109}\) begins with the man and the lady moving with a turning figure from reversed positions to the correct positions, taking ordinary hands for a *riverenza* at the end of the *tempo*. At the beginning of the *Nobiltà di Dame* version he gives his reasons for revising this opening:\(^{110}\)

In my other work when the Barriera was done the gentleman stood holding hands on the right of the lady, as I show you in the accompanying drawing; but knowing, that all princes, lords and gentlemen, as in the dance, so also outside the dance, always give all honours that are appropriate to the lady: thus was it good that he placed himself on her right? and then with two *seguiti*, passing backwards at the end of the *tempo*, with the foot that he found that he had behind would he do the *riverenza*? but everyone should loathe this, because it is against the rule, and badly done. Forasmuch as they want to do it theoretically and with correct terms, they will do it this way . ..

This fifth principle is again stated at the beginning of 'Bellezze d'Olimpia',\(^{111}\) another dance from *Il Ballarino* revised,\(^{112}\) with a similar, but more extensive, introductory section to that of the *Il Ballarino* 'Barriera'. The *Il Ballarino* version, which was apparently a well-known dance although no other authorship is acknowledged, begins thus:

More than the various ways [which] until now [have been] followed in beginning this dance, this way still seems to me [best] for making variety [*m'è parso di porre per variargli*].

\(^{109}\) *Il Ballarino*, Tratt. secondo, f. 77v.

\(^{110}\) *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 139.

\(^{111}\) *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 236.

\(^{112}\) *Il Ballarino*, Tratt. secondo, f. 65r.
In *Nobiltà di Dame* Caroso repents of this preference for variety for two reasons.

This *balletto* in my first work was begun with the gentleman standing on the right hand of the lady, and then he turned to the left hand, and it was badly done, and without politeness, because the gentleman should always give precedence to the lady ... .

The second "error" in the *Il Ballarino* version of 'Bellezze d'Olimpia' noted in the *Nobiltà di Dame* version is that in changing places they turn to the left without subsequent turning to the right: "and for this [reason] it was false". Also to be found in the *Il Ballarino* version but not noted in *Nobiltà di Dame* is a *riverenanza* done with the right foot. The revised first *tempo* of the *Nobiltà di Dame* version, with *passi gravi*, *seguiti*, *spezzati* and *trabucchetti*, ending with *passi puntati* and a *riverenanza*, is more dignified as well as more correct. It would attract more attention to the individual dancers and would probably be more beautiful but it would certainly not have the variety of the earlier version.

A corollary of the fifth principle is that, for a single couple at least, there are four correct ways of holding hands. 'Ordinary hands' is defined in 'Regola Prima' thus:113

... then you take her by the ordinary hand, *verbi gratia*, the gentleman with his right hand takes the lady's left hand; and these are ordinary hands ... .

Holding right hands, holding left hands and holding both hands are to be seen in illustrations in *Nobiltà di Dame*.114 The gentleman holding the lady's right hand with his left hand is not correct. These ways of holding hands are well illustrated in 'Bellezze d'Olimpia': in the first, second, third and sixth *tempì* they take ordinary hands for the

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113 *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 11.
114 e.g. *Nobiltà di Dame*, pp. 151, 189, and many others, for holding ordinary hands, p. 195 for holding right hands and p. 210 for holding both hands.
concluding riverenze; in the third tempo they also take both hands briefly; in the fourth tempo, done on the left, they take right hands; and in its contrary in the fifth tempo, done on the right, they take left hands.

In 'Alta Colonna' and in 'Contentezza d'Amore' they dance almost the whole of the first tempi holding both hands, including the opening riverenza and continenze.\footnote{Nobiltà di Dame, pp. 201 & 251.} In the fifth tempo of 'Barriera' we are warned against taking right hands only, and not left hands subsequently, as in the Il Ballarino version "which was badly done and false".\footnote{Nobiltà di Dame, p. 141.} Otherwise they stand "opposite each other" [all'incontro] without holding hands, as in the corrected beginning of 'Barriera', and in its illustration.\footnote{Nobiltà di Dame, pp. 138-139.} They also sometimes hold arms, as in the saltarello of 'Amor Costante' where they hold right arms doing two spezzati, and in the contrary, of course, left arms.\footnote{Nobiltà di Dame, p. 212.}

That these general principles were by no means universally accepted is implied in the passage quoted above from 'Regola XXXV.', and it is plain from the several corrections of dances from Il Ballarino that in his earlier years Caroso himself did not always apply them strictly, if he had even clearly formulated them by then. The very many virtuosic galliard variations in Le Gratie d'Amore show that Cesare Negri did not subscribe to them. The ‘theory’ of Nobiltà di Dame would have the effect of giving the dance a beautiful and classic symmetry but might very well restrict the spontaneity and invention of the dancer, particularly in variations.

There was certainly difference of opinion as to which foot should execute the riverenza. Arena recommends the left.\footnote{Antonius Arena Provincialis, … ad suos Compagnones … (1572), f. 22v, 'When beginning a dance the reverence is always done
Looking in the face of your lady,
Giving it plenty of leg remember to swing the reverence like a scythe:
But the woman keeps her feet correct in proper fashion
As for the leg, the reverence is always done with the left,
Many staunchly want it to be ad libitum.}
Incipiendam dansam fit reverentia semper,
In facie dominam respiciendo tuam,
Largando gambas ipsam fauchare memento:
Sed tenet iustos foemina rite pedes.
De gamba semper reverentia fitque sinistra,
Ad libitum plures quamvis id esse velint.
Bragardi certant & adhuc sub iudice lis est,
De quali gamba sit facienda salus.
Atque omnes dansas tibi gamba comendar,
Byrettum moveat atque sinistra manus.

Not only did Arena's law students esteem dancing but it seems, *tempora mutantur*, that they would have appreciated the parody of Horace in the seventh line of the above.\(^{120}\) Arena’s *reverentia* is similar to Caroso’s. Women, it seems, should keep the feet straight rather than turned out as quite likely was a masculine fashion of walking, without as with spurs. In his rule for the *riverenza grave* Caroso insists on straight feet for both sexes: \(^{121}\)

… taking care, that the points of the feet stay very straight, and turned in view towards the lady, or whatever other person, that you do it to, either dancing, or outside dances: and be mindful not to do, as generally everyone does, so that one foot stares at the Sirocco, and the other at the Tramontana, and they look as if they have naturally crooked feet, and this produces a very ugly sight.

Arbeau, who in discussion of Arena's view quotes the parody of Horace, says that the *révérence* should be done with the right

\(^{120}\) Cf. Horace, *Ars poetica*, v. 78: 'grammatici certant et adhuc sub iudice lis est'.

\(^{121}\) *Nobiltà di Dame*, pp. 13-14, 'Regola seconda'.

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Braggarts contend and the cause is still *sub judice*,
As to the leg with which the salute should be done
And I will commit all the dances to you by leg
And the left hand will move the cap.'
foot. Cesare Negri says that the left foot should be used for the riverenza in balletti but the right when doing the galliard. Livio Lupi recommends the left foot for his riverenza alla francese.

DANCE STRUCTURES

TERMINATED AND REGULATED TEMPI

Most of Caroso's dances are composed of sections, called tempi as already noted above. Tempi in this sense are of two kinds: 'regulated' and 'terminated'. A regulated tempo ends with the same foot forwards as it begins and the first of a pair, beginning and ending with the left foot forwards, must be followed by its 'contrary' "on the right side", beginning and ending with the right foot forwards.

'Terminated' is first defined in Nobiltà di Dame, briefly, in the third dance, 'Alta Regina', but in the next dance, 'Amorosina Grimana', it is more extensively defined and explained at the end of the first tempo. The tempo opens breve and gravesemibreve, i.e. lunga, though Caroso counts the steps in "triple beats", by which, since the sonata is in duple time, he must mean undotted minims as already noticed above. 'Amorosina Grimana' begins thus.

In this first tempo of the pavaniglia (standing as shown in the picture) they do together the riverenza breve, in the time of four triple beats of music, as I have said in the cascarda of Alta Regina, with two continenze sembrevi of two triple beats, which is one semibreve beat; then they do a trabuchetto with

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122 Thoinot Arbeau, Orchesography, translated by Mary Stewart Evans, with a new introduction and notes by Julia Sutton ..., New York, Dover, 1967, p. 54 and p. 79.
125 Nobiltà di Dame, p. 98.
126 Nobiltà di Dame, pp. 103-104. Sutton's translations of tempo terminato and passeggi regolato are 'Symmetrical Section' and 'Well-Ordered Passage': see her translation of Nobiltà di Dame, p. 158.
the left foot, a *sottopiede* with the right, & a *fioretto* with the left, on the left side: they do the same on the right side contrariwise; taking care, that with the right foot which they will find that they have on the ground, they do a *zoppetto*, a *passo in aria*; then with the same foot they do another *zoppetto*, a *passo in aria*: & at the end of the sonata they do the *cadenza*, as I have said above, standing so with the right foot forwards. And because this is a single *tempo*, in which so many beautiful movements occur, I call it a Terminated Tempo, as one might say, that in dividing a piece of land between two brothers, one places the boundary [termine] so that each can recognise his part; & so both the feet being brothers, I have done it so that they both have as many movements as the one has, so many has the other, (and so I call it this, when it is only one *tempo* of the sonata, terminated) because it is done with true theory: & not as it used to be done formerly, which was very false; for this reason I have corrected it, and reduced it to true perfection, & further because the said movements are very exact [giustissimi], it will be a very graceful sight to those present.

The second *tempo* is a *passeggio*, or walk through the room, also containing mostly galliard steps and ending with the left foot forwards, not the right as in the preceding terminated *tempo*.

Note that this is called a regulated *passeggio*, because with the foot that they begin doing the first movement, with the same they have to finish doing it, as I show in doing the five steps, or movements as I like to say, that with the foot that they begin them, with the same they have to finish them.

In the third *tempo* they do almost exactly the same as in the second *tempo* but beginning everything with the right foot and so ending with the left foot forwards.

The more simply organised dances are structured as successions of terminated and regulated *tempi* in patterns as shown in the following tables. Thirty-one of the dances in *Nobiltà di Dame* have been judged to be of this kind. The most common is the structure of five *tempi* and
there are twelve dances in this category. There are nearly as many of
four tempi, viz eleven. There are four dances of six tempi and five of
more than six.

Dances of four tempi

Of the eleven dances of four tempi six are cascarde. Three of
the four balletti in the category conclude with saltarelli, while the third,
'Cesarina', is an elevated dance in triple time, possibly conceived as a
re-creation of the antique alta. The remaining dance, 'Spagnoletta
Nuova', with an obscure subtitle, al modo di madriglia, which Sutton
translates as "In the Style of Madrid",\footnote{Her translation, p. 193.} is virtually indistinguishable
from a cascarda. Triple time dances of saltarello type prevail in this
category.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dance &amp; page nos.</th>
<th>Name of dance &amp; type</th>
<th>Time sigs. in the sonata</th>
<th>Opening riverenza</th>
<th>Terminated / Regulated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[9] 151</td>
<td>Spagnoletta Nuova al modo di madriglia</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>breve of four triple beats</td>
<td>T T T T 'done all terminated'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[18] 206</td>
<td>Allegrezza d'Amore cascarda</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>breve</td>
<td>[T] [T] [T] [T]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[19] 211</td>
<td>Amor Costante balletto</td>
<td>[C]</td>
<td>longa</td>
<td>[T] [T] [T] salt [T]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sciolta 3</td>
<td></td>
<td>Walker has halved the values</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Dance</td>
<td>Dance Type</td>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>217</td>
<td>Forza d'Amore balletto</td>
<td>3 &amp; C</td>
<td>longa</td>
<td>Walker has rebarred the C in triple time sciolta 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>229</td>
<td>Cesarina balletto</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>grave of six beats of the music</td>
<td>T T [T] [T]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>257</td>
<td>Bassa Savella balletto</td>
<td>[C] sciolta 3</td>
<td>lunga of four beats</td>
<td>[T] [T] [T] [salt] [T]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>273</td>
<td>Ghirlanda d'Amore cascarda</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>breve of four triple beats</td>
<td>T {R R }[T]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300</td>
<td>Ninfa Leggiadra cascarda</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>breve in the time of four triple beats</td>
<td>T {Rmd Rms} [T]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>348</td>
<td>Rara Beltà cascarda</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>breve</td>
<td>T {R R} [T]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>365</td>
<td>Fulgenti Rai cascarda</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>breve</td>
<td>T {Rmd Rms} [T].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>369</td>
<td>Alta Cardana cascarda</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>breve</td>
<td>T {Rmd Rms} [T]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

T = Terminated  R = Regulated  [ ] = not described as such in the text,  { } = paired in some way, i.e. contraries and/or as otherwise indicated,  md = holding right hands  ms = holding left hands  / = change of dance type  /salt = change to a saltarello.
Dances of five tempi

Nine of the twelve dances of five tempi are balletti and three of them cascarede. Typically they consist of an introductory terminated tempo, a terminated passeggio, two regulated tempi, one on the left and the other on the right, and a concluding terminated tempo which may be a saltarello. Three of the balletti, however, differ from this pattern in that the tempi are all terminated, some other means of making a pair of the third and fourth being employed in two of them, while in 'Alta Gonzaga' variety is provided in the fourth tempo which is a galliard done together from opposite ends of the room. Two of the cascarede consist of two pairs of regulated tempi followed by a concluding terminated tempo.

TABLE 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dance &amp; page nos.</th>
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<th>Opening riverenza</th>
<th>Terminated / Regulated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[2] 93</td>
<td>Nuova Regina balletto</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>[breve] of four triple beats</td>
<td>T T {Rmd Rms} [T]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[6] 123</td>
<td>Alta Gonzaga balletto</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>grave of six ordinary beats [3 i.e. 3/2 ]</td>
<td>[T] [T] [T] [T] [T]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[13] 179</td>
<td>Coppia Colonna balletto</td>
<td>[C] sciolta 3</td>
<td>lunga ... of four beats of the music</td>
<td>[T] [T] {[R] [R]} /gall [T]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[16] 196</td>
<td>Doria Colonna cascarda</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>breve (but at the end)</td>
<td>{[R] [R]} {[R] [R]} [T]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[17] 201</td>
<td>Alta Colonna balletto</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>[lunga of four beats] - specified at the final riv.</td>
<td>T T {R R} [T]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Piece</td>
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<td>Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>[28] 262</td>
<td>Conto dell'Orco Nuovo balletto</td>
<td>[C]</td>
<td>breve</td>
<td>T T {Rmd Rms} [T]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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128 This saltarello is done in two times [volte] of the sciolta of the sonata. It may therefore amount to two tempi.
Dances of six tempi

The four dances of six tempi extend the pattern of five tempi in various ways, for instance by inclusion of a pedalogo as in the third tempo of 'Bellezze d'Olimpia'.

TABLE 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dance &amp; page nos.</th>
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<th>Terminated / Regulated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

129 Caroso seems to be using Il Ballarino terminology here.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dance &amp; page nos.</th>
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<th>Time sigs. in sonata</th>
<th>Opening riverenza</th>
<th>Terminated / Regulated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[23] 236</td>
<td>Bellezze d'Olimpia balletto</td>
<td>[C]</td>
<td>longa</td>
<td>[T] [T] [T] {[R]md [R]ms} [T]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

T = Terminated  R = Regulated  [] = not described as such in the text,  
{ } = paired in some way, i.e. contraries and/or as otherwise indicated,  
md = holding right hands  ms = holding left hands  / = change of dance type,  
c = gentleman alone  d = lady alone.  
/salt = change to a saltarello.

**Dances of more than six tempi**

These five dances are either extended sets of variations, or else alternation of some kind is drawn out to considerable lengths.

**TABLE 6**
| [4] 103 | Amorosina Grimana, pavaniglia | breve in the time of four triple beats | T {R R} {[R] [R]} {[R] [R]} T {[R] [R]} {[R] [R]} {[R] [R]} {[R] [R]} T {T} |
| [10] 156 | Gagliarda di Spagna balletto | breve of two beats | T T T {Tc Td} {Tc Td} T T 'this whole balletto is done with true terminated rule' |
| [14] 185 | Rosa Felice balletto | lunga | T {R R} [T] {[T]md {[R] [T]ms} [R]} [T] [T] |

T = Terminated  R = Regulated  [] = not described as such in the text,  {} = paired in some way, i.e. contraries and/or as otherwise indicated,  md = holding right hands  ms = holding left hands  c = gentleman alone  d = lady alone.

Two ‘framework’ dances, viz. 'il Piantone', translated above, and 'Ballo del Fiore'\(^\text{130}\), have not been included in the above tables since,

\(^{130}\) *Nobiltà di Dame*, pp. 314-317.
though of undeniably simple structure, they are not built in patterns of terminated and regulated *tempi*. The dances that might be included within these framework dances, however, might very well consist of regulated and terminated variations, particularly galliards. The galliard variations in 'Laura Suave', translated above,¹³¹ show the typical structure:

\{Rc \ Rd Rc \ Rd\} \ {Tc \ Td}\).

The galliard in 'Alta Vittoria'¹³² is similarly structured except that the terminated variation is done together.

'Balletto suites', to use Julia Sutton's term, are composite dances built of movements in proportionally related times. 'Geometric' dances for more than one couple that use the floor in a mathematical way will be considered below in the next chapter.

THE BALLETTO

Caroso's use of the term *balletto* lacks precision - unfortunately so since the word is of interest because of its subsequent history. In 'Alli lettori' he distinguishes the various kinds of dances: "grave dances, balletti, the galliard dance, cascarde, passo mezzo, tordiglione, pavaniglia and canario" but the subtitles of the dances show that *balletto* is not an exclusive term. Of the forty-nine dances in *Nobiltà di Dame* thirty-one, mostly for single couples, are subtitled *balletto*, including such traditional dances as 'Bassa et Alta', 'Tordiglione' and 'Passo e Mezzo'. The exceptions are as follows.

- The *pavaniglia*, 'Amorosina Grimana'.
- The eleven *cascarde*, one of which, 'Allegrezze d'Amore', is for three dancers, the others for single couples.

¹³¹ See above.
¹³² *Nobiltà di Dame*, pp. 296-298.
• Four dances for more than one couple, three of them with subtitles indicating the number of dancers, viz. 'Barriera Nuova' and 'Contrapasso Nuovo', \textit{da farsi in sesto} for six dancers, and 'Furioso Nuovo', \textit{da farsi in ottavo} for eight; and a fourth, 'Contrapasso Nuovo', \textit{da farsi in ruota}, "to be done in a wheel". On the other hand, the other two \textit{furiosi}, 'all'Italiana' and 'alla Spagnuola', are subtitled \textit{balletto} although for six dancers.

• One of the two \textit{spagnolette}, 'Spagnoletta Nuova', subtitled 'al modo di madriglia'.

• 'Il Piantone' with no subtitle, perhaps because the full title, 'Ballo del Piantone', already contains the word \textit{ballo}, although such reasoning is not followed in 'Ballo del Fiore' which is subtitled \textit{balletto}.

The form of subtitle may have been dictated by typographical considerations as much as by any other.

In the first edition of \textit{Le istitutioni Harmoniche}, 1558, Zarlino gives \textit{balletti} as examples of dances in trochaic metre in unequal proportion, i.e. of measures of a long and a short in triple time; whereas the \textit{passomezzo} and \textit{padovano} are spondaic in equal proportion, i.e. of measures of two longs in duple time.\textsuperscript{133}

A more contemporary writer, Baltasar de Beaujoyeulx, in 'Au lecteur' of his booklet, published in 1582, of the \textit{Balet comique de la Royne}, produced in the previous year for the wedding of the Duc de Joyeuse, which is generally regarded as the first ballet in the modern sense of the word, justifies the title on the grounds that his ballet combines dancing and comedy, always giving "first title and honour to the dance". He defines 'ballet' thus.\textsuperscript{134}

\textsuperscript{133} Gioseffo Zarlino, \textit{The Art of Counterpoint: Part Three of 'Le Istitutioni Harmoniche', 1558}, translated by Guy A. Marco and Claude V. Palisca (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), p. 120.

\textsuperscript{134} 'Au lecteur', \textit{Balet comique de la royne}, faict aux nopces de Monsieur le Duc de Ioyeuse & madamoyselle de Vaudemont sa soeur. (Paris: Adrian le
As for the ballet, although it is a modern invention, or at least, repeated so long after antiquity, that one could call it such; being in truth nothing but geometric mixtures of several persons dancing together to a diverse harmony of several instruments ...

Caroso's balletto suites, which most closely fit Beaujoyeulx' definition, are not in fact called balletti but are named "new" and have more precise - if more pretentious - subtitles, "to be done in the sixth etc.", indicating the number of dancers.

But what originally was the force of the diminutive in the word? Was 'balletto' to 'ballo' as was 'cantata' to 'opera'? Was the balletto the chamber music of dancing, smaller in scale, more intimate, more finely wrought, high art, the dancing of connoisseurs? What is sure is that the meaning had ramified considerably by Caroso's time and the core concept is difficult to discern.

If the fifteenth century were to be generalised as the age of the basse dance and the sixteenth as the age of the pavan and galliard, Caroso's balletti show a return to the classical principles of the fifteenth. He was interested not in setting down innumerable galliard and canario variations, like Cesare Negri and Livio Lupi, but in discovering "the true rule, perfect theory and mathematics of dancing" and in building intellectually controlled choreographic structures with the qualities of symmetry and proportion. Arbeau had written in 1589: \[135\]

the basse dance has been out of date some forty or fifty years, but I foresee that wise and dignified matrons will restore it to fashion as being a type of dance full of virtue and decorum.

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Caroso did not advocate a mere revival of the basse dance, but rather a distillation and perfection of what his age viewed as a classical form.

COURT DANCING IN ITS SOCIAL CONTEXT

To conclude this chapter more broadly and socially: Cesare Negri gives accounts, in ‘Trattato Primo’ of Le Gratie d’Amore, of dancing at festivities for important occasions. These put the dancing in the social context of grand occasions - amidst the names of all the ladies and gentlemen who performed (Negri’s students included), their costumes - most important seemingly - and other matters to interest the reader. For instance, at a festivity on 18th July, 1599, in a theatre in the ducal palace in Milan, the Spanish Governor with Archduke Albert of Austria and the nobility welcomed Cardinal Diatristano, the Papal Legate. (Archduke Albert, a Habsburg, was Joint Sovereign of the Netherlands with his wife, the Infanta Isabella who had herself visited Milan shortly before.) Negri describes the entrées of five quadriglie of ladies and four of gentlemen at this festivity. Whereas most of the dances in Caroso’s and Negri’s books are for couples the dances at this festivity were for groups of ladies and gentlemen separately. There is more dancing noted for gentlemen than for ladies. Was there more interest in men’s dancing or was it that the ladies’ costumes were sufficient?

LADIES’ QUADRIGLIE

There were ‘five principal ladies with their quadriglie two by two … [cinque Dame principali con le sue quadriglie à due à due …]’.
Introduction. ‘First entered an alpine [woman], a lutenist and then four little boys, dressed in livery, dancing together [Entro prima una alpa e un leuto sonando e poi quattro figliuolini vestiti à livrea entrorno ballando in concerto] …’.
• The first *quadriglia* consisted of ten named ladies, masked and ‘pompously dressed’ in a livery, and four ‘matrons’, fourteen ladies in all. No dancing or music is mentioned.

• The second consisted of eight ladies. No dancing or music is mentioned.

• The third consisted of six ladies holding flaming torches. It included a dance accompanied by five viols [violoni], and concluded with singing of verses to an accompaniment on a theorbo, a musician of the Duke of Parma and a page with a basket of flowers for presentation to ‘His Highness’.

• The fourth consisted of ten ladies for whom there is no dancing or music mentioned.

• The fifth consisted of three ladies, a mother and her two daughters, with six pages, four of whom performed a mock battle while another recited verses in praise of ‘the two Highnesses’ [sic]. The ladies were attired in armour in ancient style, like three great warriors.

**GENTLEMEN’S QUADRIGLIE**

• The first *quadriglia* consisted of six gentlemen ‘dressed pompously in Hungarian style [*all’un/garesca ’*], preceded by four instrumentalists with four alpine [men? *alpi*] dressed in livery, with six pages with lighted torches, four in front, two by two, then the other two with Love in the middle, then the six named gentlemen, two by two, who danced with the lighted torches in their hands (no accompanying instruments are given).

• The second consisted of twelve gentlemen who danced to four viols [violoni] and three lutes.

• The third consisted of eight gentlemen who danced to a ’concerto’ of four viols [violoni da braccio].

• The fourth consisted of twelve gentlemen who danced to three flutes, one theorbo and one lute.

Interesting is the use of *quadriglia* in this context, some century and a half before the eighteenth and nineteenth century quadrilles. As used by Negri *quadriglia* seems to be fairly broad in meaning, without any
notion of fours or of squares, to mean a small group of indefinite number, (up to fourteen in the ladies’ first *quadriglia*) something like the English ‘squad’, in a formation of some kind, for instance ‘two by two’. It would seem, on account of its lack of definition, to be not a new term but an established one. It may have been borrowed from the equestrian art of dressage, as to be found in the teaching of Neapolitan nobles. Giovan Battista Pignatelli established the first important equestrian school in Naples. The tradition was continued and disseminated in books: Federico Grisone’s *Gli ordini di cavalcare* originally published in 1550; Cesare Fiaschi of Ferrara’s *Trattato dell’imbrigliare, atteggiare, & ferrare cavalli*, first published in 1556, in which actions of equitation are put to music in mensural notation on five-line staves with clefs, key signatures and time signatures with time names underlaid; Claudio Corte of Pavia’s *Il Cavallarizzo*, published in 1562. These books were republished and translated many times and were very influential. We might speculate that Negri, and perhaps his Milanese contemporaries, encouraged by the Spanish connection of the Duchy of Milan to the Kingdom of Naples, where interest in equestrianism was particularly strong, considered a common equestrian term, *quadriglie*, fitting for the groups of nobles in a performance in Milan that somewhat resembled a military parade. We might speculate further that the equestrian arts and their literature influenced not only the form of Caroso’s and Negri’s books, but also their content.

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137 Cesare Fiaschi, *Trattato dell’imbrigliare, Atteggiare, & Ferrare Cavalli*: diviso in tre libri, ne’ quali sono tutte le figure à proposito delle Briglie, de gli Atteggiamenti, e de Ferri. Et in questa Quarta impressione aggiuntovi il Trattato di Mescalzia di Filippo Scacco ... Nel quale sono contenute tutte le infermità de Cavalli così interiori, come esteriori ... Opera utilissima à Principi, à Gentilhuomini, à Soldati, & in particolare à Manescalchi ... (Venice: Vicenzo Somascho, 1614).

particularly the galliard variations and the cadenzas consisting of athletic *capriole* and other leaps.
CHAPTER VI

THE MATHEMATICS OF DANCING

As has been shown already above, time and metre are of essential importance in Caroso's dances and the proportional principle of binary and ternary division of longer time values, that was so important in the music and fundamental to the system of mensural musical notation in use in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, is implicit in them. Caroso clearly seems to have been aware of the musical theory. These aspects of his dance metres, his use of musical terminology to express them, their relationship to the music and the apparent and real inconsistencies in the sonatas as notated are extensively discussed in Sutton's introduction to her translation of Nobiltà di Dame, generally in Chapter 6, 'The Music', and more particularly in Chapter 7, 'The Musical Edition'. The bases of her discussion include experience of actual performance of the dances and the observations made here as above in respect of the steps must be seen as in part summary of what she has written there and in part additional to hers, but based only on reading of the text without that practical experience. When confronted with real or apparent inconsistency between time values in a choreography and its sonata, it is well to keep in mind that since Caroso was first and foremost a dancer and since barring in any case was used rather pragmatically by musicians of his time as an aid to counting rather than as indication of metre, the values given for the steps are likely to be the more reliable. Marian Walker's well-considered transcriptions of the sonatas in Sutton's translation are most persuasive.

It would seem that time and metre are established at the beginnings of Caroso's different kinds of dances by the opening riverenza and two continenze as shown in Figure 9 below.
Figure 9

**MENSURATION**

*Regole II-VII*

"**LUNGA**" METRES

**Regola III**

Riverenza lunga

**Regola VII**

Continenza breve

"**GRAVE**" METRES

**Regola II**

Riverenza grave

**Regola VI**

Continenza semigrave

**Regola V**

Continenza grave

"**BREVE**" METRES

**Regola IV**

Riverenza grave

**Regola VII**

Continenza semibreve

Continenza semibreve
For comparison with Caroso’s, Domenico da Piacenza’s ‘proportions of the dances’, from nearly two hundred years earlier, are given in

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1 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. fonds it. 973, *De arte saltandi & choreas ducendi*, c.1420.
Figure 11, reproduced from Mabel Dolmetsch’s *Dances of Spain and Italy, from 1400 to 1600*, showing the four dances in the ratios of 1, 5:6, 2:3 and 1:2.

Musical parallels may be noted in the semibreve and two minim openings of many of keyboard toccatas by Caroso's contemporaries, for instance Ercole Pasquini, organist at St. Peter's from 1597 to 1608, and his successor, Frescobaldi, which seem to serve a similar function. Consideration of these opening steps would seem to be the best point of departure for discussion of the metrical structures of the dances.

Since Caroso’s thinking develops from *Il Ballarino* through to *Nobiltà di Dame*, the metres in *Il Ballarino* will be noted briefly first. In *Il Ballarino* there are two versions of the *riverenza* and *continenza* and of five other steps, the first versions *grave* and the second 'minim' or 'ordinary'. The second versions are used in 'altered' dances, to use Caroso's term, and usually are done much the same as the *grave* versions but to ordinary or minim beats, i.e. in half the time. A third version of the *riverenza*, the *riverenza semiminima in balzetto* done in *cascarde*, is elevated in style and would be done in dotted minim beats, in the same time as the minim version, which version, Caroso tells us, he prefers. In ‘Delle Riverenza, & prima della grave, Regola II.’ he says:

And because in the greater part of balletti there are [intervengono] eight perfect beats of music, which are sixteen ordinary beats; and so one has to know, that in the four first beats one begins, & finishes all the *riverenza*: and in the four last the two *continenze* ...

and in ‘Della Riverenza Minima, Regola III.’:

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4 *Il Ballarino*, Tratt. primo, f. 3v.
5 *Il Ballarino*, Tratt. primo, f. 4r.
The *riverenza minima* is done in four half *tempi*, i.e. in four beats of music ....

**STEPS BY METRE IN NOBILTÀ DI DAME**

**GRAVE** (minim beats in triple time)

In the rules in *Nobiltà di Dame* Caroso has changed his terminology, renaming the former duple time *grave* versions *lunga* and introducing new triple time versions of the *riverenza, continenza* and some other steps, calling them *grave* and *semigrave*, with the aim, perhaps, of giving an air of more authenticity in older dance types, viz. ‘Bassa, et Alta’ and ‘Tordiglione’, in which two dances, he tells us, the new version of the *riverenza grave* of six beats is done, although this *riverenza grave* is also specified in some other dances. There is a new version of the *continenza grave*, done in six beats, which is used in 'Bassa et Alta', but not, however, in the introductory formula following the *riverenza* where the new *continenza semigrave* in three beats is used, in half the time of the *riverenza*. An absolute time value for the beats of these *grave* and *semigrave* steps is given in the 'Regole' for the *continenza semigrave*, where it seems that no effort has been spared to emphasise that the matter is well considered.

So I say, that I used not know as much of this profession then as now, and I have removed the rust from my brain, and have thus reduced it to true rule, & perfect theory; & they used to call it *continenza ordinaria*, because it was ordinarily done in that way in *basse*, & in *balletti*. Now having studied it more, I have come to know, that it should be called *continenza semigrave*, because it is necessary to divide it in [the] time of three ordinary beats of [the] music; and for this reason it is called *continenza semigrave*, because it is less [by] half than the *grave*; ...
The sonatas of ‘Bassa, et Alta’ and ‘Tordiglione’ in both *Il Ballarino* and *Nobiltà di Dame* are in lute tablature only and so the absolute time values are ambiguous but if the beats of these *grave* and *semigrave* steps are minims the bars of these sonatas must be semibreve-long, i.e. the sonatas are notated in $\frac{2}{2}$ in modern terms.\(^9\)

**Figure 11**

Bassa, et Alta

Walker has transcribed this sonata of 'Bassa, et Alta' and that of 'Tordiglione' in minims barred in sixes to show the rhythmic organisation better, and she notes the possibility of thus bringing the pattern into agreement with the mensural division of the long into two breves divided into six semibreves.\(^{10}\) With minim values for the beats the introductory formula of *riverenza grave* and two *continenze semigrave*, done in six bars in the original, in mensural terms divides the long imperfectly into two breves; the *riverenza grave* with its three movements in six beats subdivides its breve perfectly into three semibreves, divided imperfectly into two minims each; while the two *continenze* subdivide their breve imperfectly into two (dotted) semibreves divided perfectly into three minims each as shown in the

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\(^9\) *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 165.

\(^{10}\) Sutton’s translation of *Nobiltà di Dame*, pp. 201-205, 287, 322 & 329.
diagram, 'Mensurations', Figure 9 above. Sutton and Walker note three more dances in this time and metre, "in triple using grave and semigrave steps": 'Alta Gonzaga', 'Cesarina' and 'Vero Amore'. The sonatas of 'Alta Gonzaga' and 'Cesarina' are notated in triple time (i.e. in $\frac{3}{2}$) and that of 'Vero Amore' is notated in duple time like 'Bassa et Alta' and 'Tordiglione'.

The choreography of 'Alta Gonzaga' requires "the riverenza grave of six ordinary beats", i.e. six minim beats, and "two continenze semigravi of three beats of the music each" whilst the sonata is notated in triple time with dotted semibreve-long bars (i.e. $\frac{3}{2}$ in modern terms) with, as well as tablature, stave parts that give absolute values for the music. 

Figure 12

Alta Gonzaga

In 'Cesarina', for the opening bars of which see below, the riverenza grave "of six beats ..." and two continenze semigravi "of three beats each" are also specified and the sonata, in lute tablature

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11 See above.
12 Sutton’s translation of Nobiltà di Dame, pp. 61-62.
13 Nobiltà di Dame, pp. 123-127. The accidental in the last bar quoted is supplied from the tablature.
14 See below.
only, is in triple time, cast in groups of four dotted presumably semibreve bars (i.e. in $\frac{3}{2}$ in modern terms). The very syncopated rhythm of the sonata does not help interpretation but the large number of steps in the dance makes $\frac{3}{2}$ time likely. The riverenza and continenze would then be danced to minim beats as in 'Alta Gonzaga'.

In 'Vero Amore' "the riverenza grave to the triple beat, & two continenze semigravi of three beats each" are specified, to be danced to a sonata, in tablature only, of duple time bars cast in sixes like those of 'Bassa et Alta' and 'Tordiglione'. The first two tempi of this dance contain very few steps and so it seems that the sonata should be fairly fast and these two tempi at least danced extremely grave, in the sense of 'slow'. Walker has rebarred this sonata in triple time in the equivalent of modern $\frac{3}{2}$ time, as shown above the treble stave. Conceivably the riverenza grave "to the triple beat" here would be danced to dotted semibreves (as in the bass as barred by Walker) in four movements as in the Il Ballarino version of the step and the lunga version in Nobiltà di Dame, but each continenza semigrave as above in the time of three semibreves (or two dotted semibreves in $\frac{3}{2}$).

This solution would fit the sonata well. It might be that "to the triple beat" should be taken to mean 'dotted minim beats', the values halved and the sonata reduced to modern $\frac{3}{4}$. What then, though, of the sciolta in saltarello that follows in the choreography but for which there is no sonata given? In the 'Regole' in Nobiltà di Dame Caroso describes the grave and semigrave versions of the riverenza and the continenza before the

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15 Nobiltà di Dame, pp. 229-232. See below. In Il Ballarino, Tratt.second., f. 151r-v, there is a dance named 'Cesarina', attributed to an anonymous, but in the Nobiltà di Dame dance both its choreography and its sonata are new. However, this Nobiltà di Dame sonata is substantially the same as that of 'La Gagliarda detta Cesarina', Il Ballarino, Tratt.secondo, f. 183v.
16 Nobiltà di Dame, pp. 326-328.
17 Sutton's translation of Nobiltà di Dame, p. 289.
duple time *lunga* and *breve* versions. As to be seen above in the diagram, the *lunga* steps would be twice as slow as the *grave* and the beats even slower than that, and the *breve* steps the same and the beats somewhat slower, and so it would seem more logical to have put the *lunga* steps at least, if not the *breve*, before the *grave*.

Julia Sutton raises the possibility that for the dances in triple metre with sonatas barred in duple time the tactus would be in sesquialteral proportion, i.e. the value of the minims of the *grave* would be equal to that of the minims of the *lunga*.19 However, equal values for the semibreve in duple metre movements and for the dotted semibreve in triple metre galliard movements is indicated by the sonatas of 'Coppia Colonna' and 'Alta Vittoria', in tablature only, in which the galliard movements are barred in duple but with triple time signature, i.e. 3, (Walker has rebarred these movements in $\frac{3}{2}$)20 and there seems little doubt that this relationship is intended in balletto suites although it is possible that slower, sesquialteral values could be intended in 'Bassa, et Alta', 'Tordiglione' and some *basse*.21

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19 Sutton's translation of *Nobiltà di Dame*, pp. 59-60.
21 *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 181.
Gagliarda

Caroso would seem to have revised his steps by metre less thoroughly than he might, unless the grave steps are left first because they were felt to be more antique and therefore to have had more gravitas, which by the rules of rhetoric of course comes first in a forensic oration - as also in a French overture.

Figure 14

The independent galliard sonata of ‘Mezza Notte’ with ‘il Piantone’\textsuperscript{22}, in tablature only and incompletely rhythmically signed and barred in both \textit{Il Ballarino} and \textit{Nobiltà di Dame}, also appears to be intended to be in triple metre though notated in duple time. Though this method of notating grave triple metre in the sonatas of ‘Bassa et Alta’ and ‘Tordiglione’ may have been used to suggest antiquity, the sonata of 'Mezza Notte' suggests that it may have been for convenience of notation, it being easier to write and read more complex rhythms in shorter bars perhaps. And perhaps the rhythms of 'Mezza Notte' were too much for the typesetters even in these shorter bars. Coelho remarks that completely rhythmless pieces are found generally in pedagogical manuscripts and were probably written down from memory, either the teacher's or the student's. Also, it may have been the usual method of teaching for students to learn the notes, frets and fingerings first and the time and rhythms later.\textsuperscript{23} Manuscripts for professional use seem to have been copied rapidly, sometimes with

\textsuperscript{22} \textit{Nobiltà di Dame}, at p. 159 (in tablature only).
\textsuperscript{23} Victor Coelho, \textit{The Manuscript Sources of Seventeenth Century Lute Music} (New York: Garland, 1995), pp. 31-32.
rhythms and ciphers unconventionally lined up and sometimes the rhythms are only sketched. Some such manuscript may have been provided for the typesetter.

*LUNGA* (in perfect beats, i.e. semibreves)

There are twenty-six dances with choreographies that begin with the *riverenza lunga* and *continenze brevi*. Of these there are five that seem to be really in triple time and their sonatas have been transcribed thus by Walker: on the basis of the harmonic rhythm, fingering dots in the tablature indicating weak beats and most importantly the total number of step values compared to the sonata, e.g. when step values totaling eight semibreves are to be danced to a strain of a sonata totaling twelve semibreves the time must be triple and the steps danced to eight dotted semibreves. An example of this kind of adjustment that must be made is 'Contrapasso Nuovo'.

To do this Contrapasso three gentlemen & three ladies are necessary, who stand in a circle in this order, namely, a gentleman, & a lady, and in the time of the sound without holding hands they all do the *riverenza lunga*, and two *continenze brevi* ...

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25 Sutton's translation of *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 53.
26 *Nobiltà di Dame*, pp. 242, 244.
Figure 15

Contrapasso Nuovo

Walker's transcription:

Figure 16
In eleven of the remaining twenty-one sonatas for duple-time dances and duple-time opening movements, Walker has halved the note values and rebarred in $\frac{2}{3}$, thus halving the number of bars: so two semibreve bars of the sonata as originally notated equal one semibreve beat in the choreography. For example, in 'Passo e Mezzo' reduction is necessary because there are sixteen semibreves in each tempo in the choreography and thirty-two in the sonata. Apart from considerations of tempo (in the modern musical sense), the alternative would be to dance two tempi of the choreography to one of the sonata. The same reduction seems to be necessary for the first movement of the sonata for 'Barriera', making a twelfth. In the choreography for the third tempo of this movement Caroso states that "in every tempo of this 'Barriera' sonata, there are sixteen perfect beats". In fact in the sonata, with stave parts as well as tablature, there are twenty-four bars: one strain of sixteen bars and a second of eight; but the sonata in Il Ballarino, consists of thirty two bars, bars 25 - 32 being a variation of bars 17 - 24: so the second strain of the Nobiltà di Dame sonata must be repeated and the values must be halved, as suggested by Sutton and Walker, notwithstanding the 'absolute' values of the stave parts.

Nine of these twelve sonatas are for balletto suites and in order to get subsequent sciolte in gagliarda and sciolte in saltarello into proper proportional relationship, in $\frac{2}{3}$ and $\frac{3}{4}$ respectively, it is necessary to reduce the values in these movements too in most cases. The first movement of 'Coppia Colonna' is danced to a sonata in duple time in tablature only and the first tempo reads thus:

At the beginning of this balletto, the persons stand as shown in the illustration, that is the lady at [one] end of the room, & the gentleman at the other, & and at the beginning of the sound, they do the riverenza lunga, completed in four beats of the

27 Nobiltà di Dame, p.130.
28 Nobiltà di Dame, p. 140.
29 Il Ballarino, Tratt. secondo, f. 78v.
30 Sutton’s translation of Nobiltà di Dame, p. 321.
music, with two *continenze* of two beats per *continenza*. Then they do the *pedalogo*, the gentleman commencing doing a *passo puntato* of two beats with the left flank inwards: the lady does the same. Then he does another with the right: & she again does the same. The gentleman does two *seguiti ordini*: & the lady likewise, beginning them with the left. Then with the usual etiquette they take each other by the hands, doing two *trabucchetti semibrevi* of one beat each, with a *corinto* to the left side: they do the same contrariwise. The gentleman lets go the lady's right hand, kissing his own [*basciandosela*] & immediately with that left hand gently takes off his cap, both doing the *riverenza* together as at first.

Allowing for the etiquette, the steps, most of which are given time values, would amount to some forty semibreves. The sonata is of four strains, the first being of eight semibreve bars (with corrections such as those made by Walker), the second of sixteen, the third of eight and the fourth of eight, totaling forty. And so the steps would fit the sonata as notated played without repeats, or would fit it as reduced by Walker at twice the speed with repeats, which is more likely. The following galliard movement of this sonata is unusual in that it is notated in duple time bars with a time signature of \(3\), as noted above, and in that it is barred thus in this position in a balletto suite: Walker has rebarred it without reducing values. As reconstructed by Walker the galliard sonata is twenty bars long, i.e. in equal proportion to the first movement reduced. Musical considerations also would support her reduction.

*Breve* (to ordinary beats in altered time, i.e. minims)

In 'Amorosina Grimana', 'Gagliarda di Spagna' and 'Conto dell'Orco Nuovo', with sonatas in duple time, the choreographies

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31 Sutton translates this as "kissing it", i.e. the lady's right hand. See her translation of *Nobiltà di Dame*, at p. 211.
32 *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 179.
33 See Walker's transcription in Sutton's translation of *Nobiltà di Dame*, at pp. 213-214.
34 *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 103.
specify 'the riverenza breve of two beats, and two continenze of one beat per continenza'. and so these dances must be in altered time, danced to the minim, and reduction seems to be necessary. Caroso’s nomenclature seems to be theoretical rather than consistent and he seems to be already sometimes reducing the values. In 'Amorosina Grimana' there seem to be too many steps for the sonata of two strains: musically the quite pretty sonata seems to be quite self-contained and so internal repeats are unlikely. Perhaps something has been omitted, most likely a ritornello-like third strain. The riverenza breve in the choreography is described as 'in the time of two triple beats of the music', which probably merely means minim beats. Walker, however, has included a few bars of a suggested adjustment of the duple time sonata into triple. In 'Gagliarda di Spagna' the sonata of thirty-two beats, sixteen bars with reduced values, seems to need eight more beats; possibly the first strain must be repeated but the last repeated would also go well. The sonata of 'Conto dell'Orco Nuovo' is so short, eight bars as notated, that many repeats would be necessary for each tempo. Walker has not reduced it.

The riverenza breve is also specified in triple time dances of saltarello type, i.e. in cascarde and the madriglia, 'Spagnoletta Nuova', as well as in the saltarelli and canarii in balletto suites, done in these dances to the dotted minim. The sonatas as notated sometimes need to be reduced to modern form.

BALLETTO SUITES

Binary division, ternary division and a combination of the two are brought into proportional relationship in Caroso’s balletto suites. The proportional relationships are typically thus (with modern time signatures):

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35 Nobiltà di Dame, p. 156.
36 Nobiltà di Dame, p. 262.
37 Nobiltà di Dame, ‘Regola settima’, at p. 19: ‘Now coming to tell you of the semibreve ... but is divided in one beat, & thus is called semibreve, because it is half less than the breve.’
38 Sutton’s translation of Nobiltà di Dame, at p. 319.
so that whilst the overall metre remains constant, the shorter values shift. This would be at least theoretically so and the sonata of 'Celeste Giglio' suggests that it was probably so for the most part in practice as well, since in that sonata we find the time signature $3$ and the change to triple time for the second, galliard movement coming two bars early, during the final chord of the opening, duple time movement.\textsuperscript{39}

The same musical material is used in the various movements of the sonata of a balletto suite, the music recast in the time of each new movement in a sciolta, the most common term in Nobiltà di Dame and already noted above. In Il Ballarino the usual term is 'rotta' (i.e. 'breaking') which is found occasionally in Nobiltà di Dame too, for instance in the sonata of 'Altezza d'Amore' whereas in the choreography the heading is "the sonata changes [si scioglerà] into [a] saltarello" i.e. that it is done in triple beats [in battuta tripla], showing conclusively that 'rotta' is synonymous with 'sciolta'.\textsuperscript{40} Other terms used for a change of time or metre, already encountered in tables above, are 'in proportione', 'in tripla', 'in battuta tripla', 'sciolta grave', 'sciolta in gagliarda' and 'sciolta in saltarello'.

The stock of metres used, however, is rather limited, being less than that used in contemporary music. There were, of course, musicians who were aware of the limitations of dance music in this respect and of the wider range of possibilities offered by theory. In A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music Thomas Morley gives a playful account of the newly invented proportions, "Sesquiblinda".

\textsuperscript{39} Nobiltà di Dame, p.[xiv].
\textsuperscript{40} Nobiltà di Dame, pp. 173 & 176.
and "Sesquihearkenafter" and Mersenne in *Harmonie universelle*, criticises composers of dance music for not using more of the possible metres. Caroso certainly might be criticised in this regard, and for being less than adventurous in the use of proportional relationships.

'Measure' is symbolised on the title-page of *Nobiltà di Dame* by the compasses depicted on the plinth on the right hand side of the architectural order. It is also very broadly defined, if not particularly usefully, in 'Regola XXXV.' in the context of the sequence of feet in galliard variations, quoted and discussed above. Probably the concept of measure is implied in such passages as where Caroso assigns perfect and ordinary beats to the *riverenza* and *continenze* in 'Regole II. & III.' in *Il Ballarino*, and where he counts the beats in 'Barriera' in *Nobiltà di Dame* quoted in Chapter V above. In a rather similar way Arbeau measures his bass dances in 'quaternions', or 'tetrardions', of four bars each, but the matter is fully, and perhaps best, explained by Morley in his explanation of the pavan, the galliard, the alman and other dances, as quoted above.

The next in gravity and goodness unto this [i.e. the Fantasy] is called a Pavan, a kind of staid music ordained for grave dancing and most commonly made of three strains, whereof every strain is played or sung twice; a strain they make to contain eight, twelve, or sixteen semibreves as they list, yet fewer than eight I have not seen in any Pavan. In this you may not so much insist in following the point as in a Fantasy, but it shall be enough to touch it once and so away to some close. Also in this you must

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43 See above.
44 See above.
cast your music by four, so that if you keep that rule it is no matter how many fours you put in your strain for it will fall out well enough in the end, the art of dancing being come to that perfection that every reasonable dancer will make measure of no measure, so that it is of no great matter of what number you make your strain.

After every Pavan we usually set a Galliard (that is a kind of music made out of the other [i.e. a sciolta]), causing it to go by a measure which the learned call 'trochaicam rationem', consisting of a long and short stroke successively, for as the foot trochaeus consisteth of one syllable of two times and another of one time so is the first of these two strokes double to the latter, the first being in time of a semibreve and the latter of a minim. This is a lighter and more stirring kind of dancing than the Pavan, consisting of the same number of strains; and look how many fours of semibreves you put in the strain of your Pavan so many times six minims must you put in the strain of your galliard ...

The alman, also, is in proportional relationship to the pavan.

It is made of strains, sometimes two, sometimes three, and every strain is made by four; but you must mark that the four of the Pavan measure is in Dupla Proportion to the four of the Alman measure, so that as the usual Pavan containeth in a strain the time of sixteen semibreves, so the usual Alman containeth the time of eight, and most commonly in short notes.

"Like unto this" are the various kinds of branles, voltes, courantes, country and other dances, but which vary in the number and length of strains and in tempo. "The French Branle ... goeth somewhat rounder in time than this, otherwise the measure is all one" may mean that in modern terms it is in compound quadruple metre. The dances named by Morley are not the same as those of the same names in Arbeau's *Orchésographie*, but Arbeau's dances in this group, while somewhat irregular, are mostly "by four" and in 'simple time', including the *coranto* and the *canario*, but not the volta which is in
'compound duple' metre.\textsuperscript{47} The degree of ambiguity in regard to simple or compound metre in the literature and in the repertoire of this class of altered dances indicates that the difference may have been considered less than essential.

In Caroso's balletto suites, then, we find three kinds of metre similar to Morley's and Arbeau's: measures of four bars of $\frac{2}{4}$, of four bars of $\frac{3}{4}$ usually as in 'Celeste Giglio' (but of four bars of $\frac{6}{8}$ in 'Laura Suave')\textsuperscript{48} and of four bars of $\frac{4}{4}$, amounting to duple, triple and compound quadruple time. It should be noted that Caroso apparently uses the time signatures $\text{c}\text{3}$ and $\text{c}\text{4}$ without distinction.\textsuperscript{49} The following table shows this metrical relationship of movements in dances for single couples, i.e. balletto suites, in \textit{Nobiltà di Dame}.

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|}
\hline
Dance & Name of dance and type & Time signatures in the sonatas and dance movements \\
\hline
[1] & Celeste Giglio balletto & $\text{c}\text{3}$ [i.e. $\frac{3}{4}$] $\text{3}$ [i.e. $\frac{3}{4}$] \\
\hline
& & \textit{Gagliarda} \textit{Tripla [saltarello]}
\hline
& Canario & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Balletto Suites}
\end{table}


\textsuperscript{48} For more detailed discussion of the metres of the galliards in these two dances see below.

\textsuperscript{49} See below.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Laura Suave balletto</th>
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<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>( \mathcal{E} ) ( \text{i.e.} , \frac{6}{8} )</td>
<td></td>
<td>( 3 ) ( \text{i.e.} , \frac{3}{4} )</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gagliarda</td>
<td></td>
<td>Saltarello</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Canario</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[8] 139</td>
<td>Barriera balletto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>( \mathcal{E} ) ( \text{i.e.} , \frac{3}{8} )</td>
<td></td>
<td>( \mathcal{E} ) ( \text{i.e.} , \frac{3}{4} )</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sciolta</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sciolta …</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Sciolta …</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>grave</td>
<td></td>
<td>in saltarello</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>in Gagliarda</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>([\mathcal{E}]) ([\mathcal{E}]) ([\mathcal{E}]) (\mathcal{E})</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>([\text{bassa}]) Alta Gioioso il fine che và con la bassa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[12] 172</td>
<td>Altezza d'Amore balletto</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>([\mathcal{E}]) (3 \text{ i.e.} , \frac{3}{2})</td>
<td></td>
<td>(3 \text{ i.e.} , \frac{3}{4})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gagliarda</td>
<td></td>
<td>Saltarello</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>canario</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[34] 296</td>
<td>Alta Vittoria balletto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>([\mathcal{E}]) (3 \text{ i.e.} , \frac{3}{2})</td>
<td></td>
<td>(3 \text{ i.e.} , \frac{3}{4})</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Gagliarda</td>
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<td>Saltarello</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>canario</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[42] 338</td>
<td>Cortesia balletto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>([\mathcal{E}]) (3 \text{ i.e.} , \frac{3}{2})</td>
<td></td>
<td>(3 \text{ i.e.} , \frac{3}{4})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gagliarda</td>
<td></td>
<td>Saltarello</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[47] 359</td>
<td>Selva Amorosa balletto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>([\mathcal{E}]) (3 \text{ i.e.} , \frac{3}{2})</td>
<td></td>
<td>(3 \text{ i.e.} , \frac{3}{4})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gagliarda</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sciolta in Saltarello</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As already noted, Caroso is sometimes very helpful, indicating necessary repeats in the sonatas. He uses the term *tempo* in the choreographies for a new section, notably in the opening \( \mathcal{E} \) (i.e. \( \mathcal{E} \)) movements of balletto suites, and *volta* in the sonatas for a repeat, as in modern usage. It might be expected that the terms be synonymous but the relationship seems to be more complicated. Sutton and Walker...
seem to take them as synonymous in Sutton’s translation of Nobiltà di Dame\textsuperscript{50} but, in the suggested choreography for a realization of this dance in Figure 29 below\textsuperscript{51} the present author considers the ‘1\textdegree tempo’ to be twelve longs long, including two longs for the opening riverenza and continenze, and the ‘2\textdegree tempo’, consisting of two passeggii and their contraries only ten longs long. Suggested repeats, i.e. volte, of the strains of the sonata are also given there.

MATHEMATICS IN THE GALLIARD OF ‘CELESTE GIGLIO’

Also interesting is that the galliard in ‘Celeste Giglio’, is notated in minims, i.e. ‘ordinary beats’. The first ‘variation’, i.e. mutanza, consists of four sets of six beats in triple time, i.e. two tempi di gagliarda, marked with a concluding cadenza, followed by another two, making four tempi di gagliarda in all, then followed by its contrary making eight tempi di gagliarda. Each tempo di gagliarda of six minims in triple time, i.e. two bars of $\frac{3}{2}$, would be one breve long and the whole variation of four tempi di gagliarda would be equal to two longs, and with its contrary four longs. The second variation is of four continuous tempi di gagliarda ending with a cadenza without the intermediate cadenza, giving it a semblance of being twice as long as the first, although it also is of two longs and with its contrary of four longs. The galliard is danced simultaneously by the gentleman and the lady, and the elegant contrasts with the formality of the galliard variations of dancing from and to the ends of the room, scorsi, ‘ceremonies’, and a riverenza at the end, throw the mathematical proportions of the varitions into relief. In spite of his unease with the ‘corrupt name’ of the ‘cinque passi in gagliarda’ in ‘Regola XXXV’ and the ‘half-time’ $\frac{3}{2}$ minim beats in the sonata, Caroso’s mensural thinking seems to break through clearly in the choreography of this galliard.

\textsuperscript{50} Op. cit. p. 162 and 165-166.
GEOMETRIC DANCES

Explicitly mathematical are the balletti for more than two dancers. Caroso's preference was clearly for dances for single couples, perhaps because they were more manageable, or perhaps because they explore the relationships between the numbers 1 and 2 and with Boethian overtones. However, eight of the forty-nine dances in Nobiltà di Dame, like Beaujoyeuľx's ballets exploring more complex relationships, seem to be considered as being in a new style, although, needless to say, dances for more than two were by no means new. The novelty would seem to lie in the use of floor in a consciously geometric fashion to describe figures, the Neoplatonic significance of which was exploited in the masques and ballets de cour. The geometric figures are not described in the 'Regole' but are to be found in the choreographies.

The RUOTA or 'wheel', which may be incatenata, i.e. 'chained'.

The CATENA, 'chain', or meaning the same figure, INTRECCIATA, 'plait'. Done al filo, it is described in 'Furioso all'Italiana'. The dancers meet in the middle of the room in two files and proceed thus.

Then when they have arrived in file, they do the intrecciata, or catena in this way: the gentlemen do four seguiti, as above, slowly or running [adagio, overo scorsi], beginning turning to the right, & the ladies to the left, continuing from hand to hand; then at the end of the tempo the lady who was on the left goes in the middle; & so contrariwise that gentleman who was on the right goes into the middle: and doing it in this way, at every tempo, everyone finds himself in his place, which would not

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53 Nobiltà di Dame at p. 267.
come about if everyone at the beginning of this catena or intrecciata turned to the left, as this dance was formerly done

**Figure 18. Nobiltà di Dame** p. 241

In the somewhat confused instructions for the next catena in this dance there are observations that are of interest in respect of Caroso's rule and perfect theory. It is better if the files are composed thus: one file of two ladies with a gentleman in the middle and the other of two gentleman with a lady in the middle, so that the dancers can touch hands with dancers of the opposite sexes as they change places, a gentleman touching that of the lady on his right first, and then that of the lady on his left, and a lady contrariwise; it is not good if gentlemen touch gentlemen's or ladies ladies' hands. Also it is false if the gentleman leading the dance, when turning around at the end of the chain, lets the hand of the third lady go with his right and with the same hand takes the hand of the lady coming behind him; he should take the next lady's left hand with his left as he makes his way around the figure-of-eight.\(^{54}\)

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\(^{54}\)Nobiltà di Dame, pp. 267-268. For a catena danced by couples holding hands see 'Furioso alla Spagnuola', at pp. 278-279.
The TRIANGOLO, 'triangle', which we are told (surprisingly) in 'Furioso alla Spagnuola', is the same as the ruota.

A VOLTA (DI CONTRAPASSO), '(contrapasso) turn', is turning around in a small circle, clockwise holding right hands and anticlockwise holding left hands, already described above.55

DRITTA LINEA, 'straight line'.

FILO, 'thread' or 'file'.

SEGUITI SCORSI or DOPPII SCORSI, running in the shape of an 'S', already described above.

FOLLA, 'crowd', four blows of the hands: the gentlemen clap right hands (presumably) with the right hands of the ladies on their right, then left hands (presumably) with the left hands of the ladies on their left and repeat.56

The polarity of the ENDS OF THE ROOM is exploited in the Furiosi.

The eight dances are listed in the table below which gives the number of dancers and the geometric 'features' that grace them..

TABLE 8  GEOMETRIC DANCES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dance &amp; page nos.</th>
<th>Name of dance and subtitle</th>
<th>Time signatures and movements</th>
<th>No. of dancers</th>
<th>Geometric figures</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

55 See above.
56 Nobiltà di Dame, p. 192.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Piece</th>
<th>Details</th>
<th>Measures</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 190  | Barriera Nuova da farsi in sesto | 3 [i.e. $\frac{3}{2}$] * sciolta grave*  
3 [i.e. $\frac{3}{4}$] * sciolta in salt*  
3 [i.e. $\frac{3}{2}$] * sciolta in gagli*  
The same sonata as 'Barriera', p. 143 | 6 | *Ruota*  
*Passeggio in ruota incatenato*  
or *intrecciato*  
*Doppio scorso*  
*Folla*  
*Catena* |
| 206  | Allegrezza d'Amore cascarda | 3 | 3 | *Ruota*  
*Doppio scorso*  
*Spezzati incatenati*  
*Triangolo* |
| 242  | Contrapasso Nuovo da farsi in sesto | [c]  
Walker has transcribed it in $\frac{3}{2}$ | 6 | *Ruota*  
*Passeggio in ruota*  
*Passeggio incatenato*  
to be done in ruota,  
or *catena in ruota*.  
"Done with true rule,  
perfect theory and mathematics". |
| 266  | Furioso all'Italiana balletto | 3 [i.e. $\frac{1}{4}$] * c [i.e. c]*  
*sciolta [in salt]*  
3 [i.e. $\frac{3}{2}$] * c [i.e. c]*  
*sciolta*  
3 [i.e. $\frac{3}{4}$] * sciolta [in salt]* | 6, 12 or 18 | At one end of the room  
*per filo*  
*Seguiti scorsi*  
*Joined ... al filo*  
*Intrecciata or catena*  
*Ruota* |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[31] 278</td>
<td>Furioso alla Spagnuola balletto</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>At the end of the room per dritta linea, Doppi scorsi, Catena or intrecciata, In triangolo, i.e. in ruota, Ruota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[32] 284</td>
<td>Contrapasso da farsi in ruota</td>
<td>e i.e. 3/4</td>
<td>6, 8 or 12, Ruota, Volte, Passeggiio in ruota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[35] 305</td>
<td>Furioso Nuovo da farsi in ottavo</td>
<td>e i.e. 3/4</td>
<td>At the ends of the room, Catena in ruota, Ruota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[37] 314</td>
<td>Ballo del Fiore balletto</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>Ends of the room, Filo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Furioso alla Spagnuola balletto:
- e
- 3 [i.e. 3/4] e [i.e. e]
- sciolta [in salt]
- 3 [i.e. 3/4] e [i.e. e]
- sciolta [in salt]
- 3 [i.e. 3/4]
- sciolta [in salt]
The same sonata as 'Furioso all'Italiana' above

Contrapasso da farsi in ruota:
- e i.e. 3/4
- The same sonata as 'Contrapasso Nuovo', p. 244, above

Furioso Nuovo da farsi in ottavo:
- The same sonata as 'Furioso all'Italiana' but the sciolte as in 'Furioso alla Spagnuola' above

Ballo del Fiore balletto:
- e
- Walker has halved the values and barred it at every second bar of the original

Ruota:
- Volte
- Passeggiio in ruota

Catena or intrecciata:
- In triangolo

Ends of the room:
- Filo
From statements in the dances themselves and in the 'Avertimenti'\textsuperscript{57} it appears that 'Barriera Nuova' can be incorporated in 'il Piantone', 'Allegrezza d'Amore' in 'il Ballo del Fiore' and 'Contrapasso da farsi in Ruota' and 'Furioso Nuovo' done within either. The 'frame-work' dance, 'il Piantone', has been translated in full and discussed above; 'il Ballo del Fiore' seems to adapt the principle of ‘changing guard’ to dances for more than two: the first dancer, with the flower and who chose the others, at the end of the included dance gives the flower to one of the ladies who chooses the dancers for the next dance and passes the flower on to one of the gentlemen, and so on. While admitting the common practice of giving the flower to any one of the dancers of the opposite sex, Caroso much prefers that it be given to the first chosen since that dancer has precedence and should not be dishonoured, and so as "to avoid scandals".

Four of these dances, 'Barriera Nuova', 'Allegrezza d'Amore' and the two contrapassi are circular dances, using the wheel and the chain, while 'il Ballo del Fiore' and the three furiosi use the ends of the room and lines and files, and passing from one end of the room to the other and meeting in the middle, as well as wheels and chains. In addition, four of them contain 'literary features', viz. steps for poetic metres as apparently invented by Caroso and described in his last few rules, discussed in Chapter III above: 'Barriera Nuova' contains saffici and destici, i.e. sapphics and distichs, 'Allegrezza d'Amore' contains saffici; 'Contrapasso Nuovo' contains sponnei and dattili, i.e. spondees and dactyls, and 'Furioso all'Italiana' contains saffici. Most theoretical of all is 'Contrapasso Nuovo' which according to the caption on its illustration is "... done with true mathematics on the verses of Ovid", but though the spondee might be the seguito reversed the movements and figures are ordinary enough. Caroso's disciple declares that the name of the sapphic is very harsh and difficult [scabroso]\textsuperscript{58} - probably he had heard too much of it at school - and one is left a little suspicious of the seriousness of Caroso's intentions in respect of poetic and mathematical dancing. Is he being a trifle ironic?

\textsuperscript{57} 'Avertimenti VI. & VII.', Nobiltà di Dame, pp. 72-73.

\textsuperscript{58} 'Regola LXVI.', Nobiltà di Dame, p. 61.
Elliott Sober presents the case in modern philosophy for ‘mathematical Platonism’.\(^{59}\) For instance, numbers, as distinct from numerals which are merely names, are ‘supernatural’ (at least literally) in that they are without ‘spatiotemporal location’. His example is the infinitely many prime numbers but it might be simpler to consider this veracity in this more homely way: that one is one and two are two whether counting apples or oranges. Geometry, because it has spatial dimension, might be considered less supernatural than arithmetic which may have neither spatial nor temporal dimension. So whilst art and architecture are geometry of space, music on the other hand, being numbers (i.e. frequencies), is arithmetical, without spatial but, as we have already seen, with temporal dimension. The caption concerning “true mathematics” in dancing, in the illustration for ‘Contrapasso Nuovo’ above, indicates that Caroso would have subscribed to this view that Platonic ideals are to be found in mathematics, as here in geometry as well as in arithmetic and more generally. It is interesting to consider Sober’s insights in his presentation in relation to those of Aristotle in the Poetica concerning imitation, and to consider the possibility of a diagram of subdivisions for the mathematical arts along the lines of Mei’s for the ‘constructive arts’ in Chapter II above.\(^{60}\) Where would we place dancing in such a Platonic diagram?

\(^{59}\) Elliott Sober, *Did Darwin write the Origin backwards: philosophical essays on Darwin’s theor*, (Amherst, New York: Prometheus Books, 2011), pp. 139-140.

\(^{60}\) See above and see Figure 5. Also see Chapter III above concerning the monad and the dyad. For the illustration for ‘Contrapasso Nuovo’, *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 241, see above.
CHAPTER VII

THE SONATAS

*Nobiltà di Dame* contains forty-five 'sonatas' for the dances, counting the galliard, ‘Mezza notte’, included with ‘Il Piantone’, as a separate sonata. The first eight have soprano and bass stave parts as well as lute tablatures and the remainder are in lute tablature only. Statistics, of course, depend on how data are counted and so the figures given here differ a little from Sutton’s. Five of the forty-nine dances in the book are different versions of other dances and for the sonatas Caroso refers his readers to the sonatas of the other versions. Three of the sonatas are identical, or virtually so, with parts of others and there are two pairs of variants but with sufficient difference for them to be considered distinct. Counting thus, there are forty-two distinct sonatas in *Nobiltà di Dame* as listed below.

### TABLE 9

**THE SONATAS IN NOBILTÀ DI DAME**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page &amp; Dance Nos.</th>
<th>Name and subtitle</th>
<th>Length (Walker's bars)</th>
<th>Movements (original time sigs.)</th>
<th>Clefs &amp; lines</th>
<th>Key sig.</th>
<th>Final chord</th>
<th>Lute tuning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[xiii] [1]</td>
<td>Celeste Giglio balletto</td>
<td>121</td>
<td><strong>C:3:3</strong></td>
<td>G 2nd { F 3rd }</td>
<td>Bb</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>A 7th G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Piece</td>
<td>Tempo</td>
<td>Key</td>
<td>Mode</td>
<td>Suite</td>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Key</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>Nuova Regina balletto</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>C 1st F 4th</td>
<td>Bb</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>G 7th F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Alta Regina cascarda</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>C 1st F 4th</td>
<td>Bb</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>G 7th F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>Amorosina Grimana pavaniglia</td>
<td>8 ¶</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>C 1st F 4th</td>
<td>Bb</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>116</td>
<td>Laura Suave balletto</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>[e:3]</td>
<td>C 1st F 4th</td>
<td>Bb</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>G 7th F</td>
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<tr>
<td>126</td>
<td>Alta Gonzaga balletto</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>C 1st F 4th</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>G 7th F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135</td>
<td>Passo e mezzo balletto</td>
<td>16 ¶</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>C 1st F 4th</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>A 7th G</td>
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<tr>
<td>143</td>
<td>Barriera balletto</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>[e:3]</td>
<td>C 1st F 4th</td>
<td>Bb</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>G 7th F</td>
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**SONATAS IN LUTE TABLATURE ONLY**

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<th>Page</th>
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<th>Key</th>
<th>Mode</th>
<th>Suite</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Key</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>153</td>
<td>Spagnoletta Nuova al modo di madriglia</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>A §</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>159</td>
<td>Gagliarda di Spagna balletto</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>[e]</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>165</td>
<td>Bassa, &amp; Alta balletto</td>
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* As in Sutton’s translation.

¶ Walker has rebarred these in other times, reducing the number of bars.

§ Walker has transcribed these six sonatas in G tuning.

a Discant similar to that of the saltarello, i.e. the 3rd mvt., of [47].
b Variant of [23].
c Virually identical with the sciolta, i.e. the 3rd movement, of [33].
d Identical with the sciolta (with canario), i.e. the 3rd movement, of [34].
e Identical with the saltarello, i.e. the 2nd movement, of [21].

Twenty-three of the sonatas are substantially repeated from *Il
Ballarino, in whole or in part, mostly exactly but some with added detail or other minor variation, but all have been re-engraved. A further ten are variant versions of the same chord patterns or otherwise related to other sonatas in Il Ballarino.

TUNING, MODALITY AND KEY

The lute tablatures, as to be expected, are in the Italian system.\footnote{i.e. six lines for six courses, the first course on the bottom line of the tablature; numbers from 0 for the open string, 1, 2, 3, 4 for the first, second, third and fourth frets, but normally only up to 3 on the fourth course, up to 4 on the second, third, fifth and sixth courses, and for the high notes on the first course usually up to no more than 5 for the 5th fret, i.e. a range of two and a half octaves but occasionally more. A note for the open seventh course is shown as 0 on a leger line above the tablature. In G tuning the courses are tuned from high G, on the first course, downwards in pitch to D, A, F, C, and sixth, to bottom G, and a seventh course to open F; in A tuning, a tone higher, similarly to A, E, B, G, D and F and a seventh course to G.} In the first eight sonatas the two parts in staff notation, since they give absolute pitches, make simple and certain the task of establishing the intended lute tunings for their tablatures. But the sonatas with stave parts also help in determining principles of modality and key in this interesting body of pieces and hence they also help establish the tunings for which the other sonatas were conceived, on whatever size of instrument they in fact might have been played.

In the clefs used the stave parts conform to a contemporary convention: all but one have C clefs on the first line of the stave and F clefs on the fourth line, which are the top and bottom of the four clefs known as chiavi naturali, while those used in 'Celeste Giglio', i.e. G clef on the second line and F on the third, are top and bottom of the chiavette used for higher registers.\footnote{Nobiltà di Dame, pp. [xiii-xiv].} As well as accommodating the wide range of this sonata from low G on the 7th course up to D at the fifth fret on the 1st course, the chiavette signify 'highness' in some sense: the 'high keys' may have been used to make for "more life" rather than the "more gravity and staidness" of the 'low keys' as...
explained by Thomas Morley in *A Plain and Easy Introduction ...* ³, and Harold S. Powers has observed that, in the modally ordered sets and collections of polyphonic vocal music that became increasingly common in the later sixteenth century, the high and low clef systems were used to distinguish pieces in authentic and plagal modes.⁴ 'Celeste Giglio', Figure 19 below, indeed has high clefs on the staves with plagal soprano part and authentic bass and high A lute tuning, whilst 'Passo e mezzo', in Figure 20 below,⁵ has low 'natural' clefs with A lute tuning, but with the object, it would seem, of effecting untransposed Dorian in the low authentic mode in the soprano and plagal in the bass, the reverse of the *ambitus* in 'Celeste Giglio'.

⁵ *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 135.
An examination of the eight sonatas with stave parts shows that those with finals on G and D are in minor mode and those with finals on F are in major mode. The pattern seems to be that those with finals on G and F with key signatures of B flat are in transposed modes with plagal soprano and authentic bass: i.e. those with finals on G are in minor mode, those with finals on F in major mode; those with finals on D without key signature are in untransposed mode, one of them, 'Passo e mezzo' with authentic soprano and plagal bass, but the other, 'Alta Gonzaga' [6], has a plagal soprano and low plagal bass, the latter low in that it ranges from F to F, as in Figure 21 below. Since it is generally low it might be thought that this latter sonata would be more conveniently notated in G minor but if the sonata were transposed up a 4th the lute tablature would require up to high F (in the fourth bar for
instance), in A tuning at the eighth fret of the 1st course - the fifth fret seems to be the limit - and this is probably the reason for the lowness of this sonata.⁶

Figure 21

The modes of the eight sonatas with stave parts may be summarised thus:

- Transposed Dorian, up a 4th with a key signature of B flat and final on G:
  - Celeste Giglio [1]
  - Amorosina Grimana [4]

- Transposed Mixolydian, down a 2nd with key signature of B flat and final on F:
  - Nuova Regina [2]
  - Alta Regina [3]
  - Laura Suave [5]
  - Barriera [8]

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⁶ Nobiltà di Dame, p. 126, and see above.
• Dorian untransposed, with no key signature and final on D:
  Alta Gonzaga [6]
  Passo e mezzo [7]

Eight sonatas, however, make a very small sample but more are provided by *Il Ballarino*.

There are eighty sonatas in *Il Ballarino*, counting as separate pieces the two galliards with 'Il Piantone', i.e. 'Cesarina' and 'Mezza notte', of which the first twenty-two have soprano stave parts as well as tablature, for which see the table below for information on the scoring, tuning and mode of each.

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7 *Il Ballarino*, II, ff. 183\(^{v}\)-184\(^{r}\).
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<th>Clef &amp; line</th>
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* There are no B flats in this short piece, but B naturals in the second last bar at the cadence.
† It may, however, be Mixolydian transposed. But the key signature, though for practical purposes unnecessary, may signify that the mode is Mixolydian.
§ From the tablature it seems that a key signature of B flat has been omitted from the stave part. The tablature of the first and second strains of the first tempo of the sonata and of the sciolta contain several B flats, E flats and one A flat some of which are not marked with accidentals in the stave part. As there is no change from duple time in the sciolta, the choreography of which seems to be a saltarello, there may be mistakes of more than one kind in this sonata. Then again, the absence of key signature may signify something - that the mode is transposed Aeolian perhaps.

The stave parts of these twenty-two sonatas have low C clefs, on the first line, i.e., chiavi naturali, except for one, 'Fulgente Stella', which has a G clef on the third line, i.e. the high G clef. Thirteen have key signatures of B flat (counting 'Copia Felice', assuming that a key signature has been omitted), four of them with finals on G, five with
finals on F, three with finals on C and one with final on D. Nine are without key signature: four of them with finals on G, one with final on F and four with finals on D. Thirteen of the lute tablatures (i.e. all but one of those with key signatures and that with omitted key signature, 'Copia Felice') must be in G lute tuning; and nine (i.e. all but one of those without key signatures and one of those with key signatures) must be in A tuning. As well as having a clef that is unique in the group, 'Fulgente Stella' presents a problem in that, whilst the tablature is in minor mode with B flats, E flats and A flats with final F, the stave part lacks a key signature or accidentals other than an Ex (i.e. E natural) at the final cadence. Though omitted accidentals are not rare in these stave parts, there are rather more than usual in this sonata. The mode would seem to be Dorian transposed upwards to F and it may be highness in this respect that is indicated by the high clef on the stave part and not the lute tuning which must be G. This larger sample of sonatas with stave parts in *Il Ballarino* includes sonatas with finals on C, so the pattern of keys and modes is more complete.

Summarising for the sonatas with stave parts in *Il Ballarino*:

- sonatas with key signatures of B flat with finals on G are, as already established above for *Nobiltà di Dame*, in transposed Dorian;

- sonatas with key signatures of B flat with finals on F are in transposed Mixolydian, as above, with the exception of 'Fulgente Stella' with final on F in Dorian transposed up a 3rd;

- sonatas with finals on D are in minor mode, i.e. Dorian, again as above, or possibly in transposed Aeolian;

- sonatas with finals on C are usually major, i.e. Mixolydian transposed down a 5th, but may be minor, i.e. Dorian transposed down a 2nd.

Most of the pieces in transposed modes have key signatures of B flat.

It would seem likely that the same system of keys and modes would prevail in the thirty-four sonatas without stave parts in *Nobiltà*
di Dame: G or A tuning, as shown in Table 9 above, produces minor modes on G and major on F, minor on D and major on C. The result is ten sonatas in A tuning out of thirty-four, i.e. about 30% in A tuning which is slightly more than for the sonatas with stave parts in Nobiltà di Dame, though considerably less than for the sonatas with stave parts in Il Ballarino. In Sutton's translation Walker has used G tuning except when stave parts in concordances in Nobiltà di Dame or Il Ballarino indicate A tuning and her tunings that differ are indicated in Table 9. The modality of 'Gagliarda di Spagna' [10] is rather ambiguous, predominantly major but part minor, and although it begins as well as ends in major, it seems that it should be perceived as minor, the major resulting from musica ficta, and hence it should be assigned to A tuning with G as final. It has a concordant sonata with a stave part in Il Ballarino which also indicates A tuning. 'Alta Colonna' [17] begins in minor but ends in major; the major at the end is cadential, two times on I - IV - V - I, so the sonata as a whole would be minor, transposed Dorian or perhaps Aeolian with final on G in A tuning.

Keys with B flat also seem to be the usual for these sonatas without stave parts in Nobiltà di Dame whether in G or A tuning. Of those sonatas with B natural with finals on C, 'Coppia Colonna' [13] and 'Bassa Honorata' [21] contain essential B flats, i.e. have chords built on B flat, and have authentic canti and apparently authentic basses, although restricted by the range of the six course lute in 'Bassa Honorata', and would seem to be in transposed Mixolydian. The two very short sonatas, 'Specchio d'Amore' [25] and 'Conto dell'Orco Nuovo' [28] are very restricted in range and in the chords used but are probably to be taken as being in this same mode. Generally the cantus is on the second course with excursions down to the third and up to the first course, as high as the fifth fret, i.e. C in G tuning and D in A tuning. The range of some is quite narrow, for instance in 'Conto dell'Orco Nuovo' the cantus moves only within the 5th from C up to the G of the open first course, but on the other hand in 'Alta Colonna' [17] there is a fine passage sweeping from B, second fret on the first course, right down to the low G of the open seventh, as to be seen in the third line of the tablature reproduced below in Figure 22. In 'Forza d'Amore' [20], however, the cantus is mainly on the first course, going as high as the seventh fret, i.e. high D - perhaps the better to express
the strength of the amorous affection.

To summarise then, the modes of the thirty-two distinct sonatas without stave parts in *Nobiltà di Dame* are:

- **Transposed Dorian, with final on G:**
  - Gagliarda di Spagna[10]  
  - Alta Colonna [17]  
  - Bellezze d'Olimpia [23]  
  - Ballo del Fiore [37]  
  - Cortesia [42]  
  - Donna Leggiadra [46]

- **Transposed Mixolydian with final on F:**
  - Altezza d'Amore [12]  
  - Rosa Felice [14]  
  - Allegrezza d'Amore [18]  
  - Amor Costante [19]  
  - Forza d'Amore [20]  
  - Contrapasso Nuovo [24]  
  - Contentezza d'Amore [26]  
  - Furioso all'Italiana [29]  
  - Nido d'Amore [33]  
  - Alta Vittoria [34]  
  - Tordiglione [38]  
  - Ninfa Leggiadra [40]  
  - Il Piantone [41a]  
  - Mezza notte [41b]  
  - Rara Beltà [44]

- **Dorian untransposed, final on D:**
  - Spagnoletta Nuova [9]  
  - Bassa, & Alta [11]  
  - Bassa Savella [27]  
  - Vero Amore [39]  
  - Pungente Dardo [43]

- **Transposed Aeolian, final on D:**
  - Doria Colonna [16]  
  - Cesarina [22]  
  - Selva Amorosa [47]  
  - Fulgenti Rai [48]
• Transposed Mixolydian, final on C:

Coppia Colonna [13]  
Bassa Honorata [21]  
Specchio d'Amore [25]  
Conto dell'Orco Nuovo [28]

G tuning  
A tuning  
G tuning  
G tuning

The tuning for these sonatas without stave parts may be of no more than theoretical importance but if a smaller, higher instrument is implied for some of the sonatas some reference to contemporary instruments may be of interest. Howard Mayer Brown equates the lauti piccoli used in the Florentine intermedii with Praetorius' soprano lutes in A, the lauti mezzani with his alto lutes in G, the standard and most common size, and the lauti grossi with tenor and bass lutes in E and D respectively. Melii, in his second book of tablature, 1616, refers to the liuto coristo and the liuto piu grando [sic] un tasto that were tuned a major 2nd apart, as the duets in the book make clear, perhaps in A and G, though perhaps lower, in G and F, since the larger may have been a theorbo-like instrument. The intended tunings may also have implications for the tempo and style of the pieces, viz. the "more life" of the high keys and the "more gravity and staidness" of the low keys as Morley puts it.

HUDSON'S MODES AND POWERS' TONAL TYPES

Richard Hudson's concept of mode for the essentially harmonic dance music of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries is useful for understanding the structures of Caroso's sonatas and the shifts and ambiguities of mode encountered in them. From his investigation of the repertoire in the rasgueado style for the Spanish guitar that

8 Howard Mayer Brown, Sixteenth-Century Instrumentation, the Music for the Florentine Intermedii (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1973), p. 29. Michael Praetorius, Syntagma musici ... tomus secundus ... de organographia, Wolfenbüttel, Fürstl, Braunsch, 1618, pp.49-51, xxiv Capitel, 'Testudo, laute'.
9 Pietro Paolo Melii (da Regio), Intavolatura di liuto attiorbato libro secundo ... (Venice: Vincenti, 1616) pp. 50, 52, 54, 56, 58 & 60.
survives in printed instruction books Hudson has drawn attention to a special system of chordal variation which, he then claims, applies to the whole of the repertoire of Italian dance music of the period.\textsuperscript{10} A transcription of 'Doria Colonna'\textsuperscript{11} is reproduced below as an example of Hudson's mode \textit{per B molle}, centred around the basic chord relationship of III - i, and associated with each its secondary dominant, i.e. VII and V respectively.

The first movement of 'Altezza d'Amore', transcribed in Figure 23 below, exemplifies his mode \textit{per B quadro} centred around IV - V - I.\textsuperscript{12} These examples include some harmonic decoration with chords in the relationship of V - I and IV - V and the melodic decoration with E flat in bar 2 of 'Altezza d'Amore' may be better explained, perhaps, as major in relationship to the following B flat chord than in terms of the church modes.

Caroso's sonatas, however, do differ from the guitar repertoire in that the positions of the chords are important: the harmonies being almost entirely root position chords with occasional first inversions and suspended 4ths at some cadences.\textsuperscript{13}


\textsuperscript{11} \textit{Nobiltà di Dame}, p. 198.

\textsuperscript{12} \textit{Nobiltà di Dame}, p.175.

\textsuperscript{13} But see below.
Powers, investigating polyphonic vocal repertoire that is clearly more consciously artistic than dance music, identifies a number of 'tonal types', distinguishing them by 'system', i.e. whether B flat or B natural is used, by *ambitus*, i.e. whether high *chiavette* or low natural clefs are used, and by final. These tonal types are not modes since modal theory was applied only to melodies in single lines, but he shows that in many modally ordered collections of motets and madrigals published in the period these types were used, though not always consistently or clearly, to 'represent' the church modes. Whilst rejecting the usual explanation of evolution from modality to tonality, on the ground that in the later sixteenth century interest in the eight church modes increased rather than decreased, and contending that this explanation is in any case false since modality and tonality are of different orders, he has no doubt that particular sixteenth century tonal types did evolve into particular seventeenth and eighteenth century tonalities.\(^{14}\) Similar use of tonal types to represent modes is also to be found in modally ordered sets of keyboard music.

Of particular interest in regard to Caroso's sonatas is the Castell'Arquato manuscript collection of keyboard pieces,\(^{15}\) dating probably from about the middle of the sixteenth century, which includes fifteen sets of pavans and *saltarelli* with either *riprese* or codas, resembling Caroso's balletto suite sonatas, and two independent sets of *riprese* and a *saltarello*. They are composed in a fairly artless keyboard style of passage work for the right hand with mostly open 5th chords for the left, written on staves mostly of seven lines but some of six. Most of them are based on the *passamezzo moderno*, i.e. in Hudson's mode *per B quadro*, with finals on F and key signatures of B flat, or with finals on C without key signatures. Two of them are on the *romanesca*, i.e. in the mode *per B molle*, one with final on C with a


key signature of B flat and E flat and the other with final on A without key signature. There seems to be some distinction between high and low cleffing, i.e. Powers' *ambitus*, but the clefs, often three to the stave, do not seem to be used consistently. In the original about half of the arias are barred in triple time, five with the proportional signature, 3, two with C, one with C3 and 3 on different staves and four without time signatures, whilst the other half are barred in duple time like 'Contrapasso Nuovo', four with the signature C the rest without time signatures. In the following aria from the collection the original barring has been reconstructed from Slim's transcription, with his barring shown above.\(^\text{16}\)

**Figure 24**

Caza la veggia/milanese

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Powers notes that Antonio Gardano, though himself a composer, does not seem to have recognised modal ordering when

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\(^{16}\) At ff. 11\text{r}-10\text{v} [sic], in Harry Colin Slim (editor), *Keyboard Music at Castell’Arquato …*, no. 31, p. 48.
republishing Lasso's first Munich motet collection in 1562, regrouping the motets by tonal type instead, and so apparently the tonal types were perceived, at least sometimes if not generally, as independent of the formal church modes and more useful than them for purposes of classification. The Castell'Arquato dance pieces and Caroso's sonatas use these tonal types without, it seems, any representation of the church modes intended.

In Nobiltà di Dame then, we generally find Hudson's mode *per B quadro* transposed down from G to F with key signature B flat with, in the sonatas with stave parts, plagal soprano and authentic bass, with B flat as the seventh degree if used, as in 'Bassa Honorata' [21]; whilst the mode *per B molle* is found either untransposed on G with key signature B flat, with plagal soprano and authentic bass, or transposed down to D, with authentic soprano and plagal bass, some with sixth degree B natural but others with B flat in perfect 4th relationship to F. The latter tend towards modern D minor and the former are more modal in effect. The minor quality of the mode *per B molle* pieces is often obscured by the use of the *ritornello* pattern, I - IV - V - I, as a concluding formula, invariably major but sometimes rendered ambiguous with open 5th final chords. Thus, generally, application of Hudson's two modes produces four tonal types approximating modern F and C majors and G and D minors.

Viewing Caroso's sonatas with considerable hindsight it can be seen that less conventional than the simple chordal vocabulary in them are the freedom with which the chords of the various degrees are used, the flexibility of modality and tonality and an absence of inhibition regarding ending in the same key and mode as established at the beginning. The explanation of this last is, no doubt, the reverse rather: that it was not felt necessary to establish the key and the modality strongly at the beginning! Examples of this are 'Bassa Savella' [27], the first strain of which moves quickly from G to A whilst the second and final strain is anchored and ends firmly in D, and 'Bassa, & Alta' [11], a long sonata which begins in G minor, is ambiguous for most of the way and only at the end is the ambiguity resolved in favour of C.

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17 Powers, ‘Tonal Types and Modal Categories in Renaissance Polyphony’, *Journal …*, as above, at pp. 460-461.
Whether or not the mode is major or minor, major I - IV - V - I is used like an extended *tierce de Picardie* to establish a tonality; major modality seems to have been felt to be more stable and therefore more suitable for conclusions and often for beginnings. Similarly the chord on the flattened seventh degree, natural of course in most of the modes, is more useful in the frequent circle of 5ths progressions than the chord on the leading note in the developed major/minor system: being consonant and in perfect relationship with chords on the fourth degree it may function like a secondary subdominant. The modal cadence on a falling 2nd in the bass, i.e. what we will call a 'falling 2nd' cadence,\(^\text{18}\) which in strong positions is rather archaic, is used sometimes with deliberate intention for particular effect it would seem, but the perfect cadence is the usual.

**METRE AND RHYTHM**

In *Nobiltà di Dame* time signatures are given at the beginnings of duple time sections only for stave parts, invariably $\text{C}$. Triple metre of both kinds, i.e. $\frac{3}{2}$ and $\frac{6}{4}$, is shown by $3$. In triple time sonatas, and when there is a change of time, a time signature is given in the tablature as well. When there is a return to duple time after triple time, as in 'Barriera', $\text{C}$ is used in the stave parts but $\text{C}$ in the tablature: both must signify duple time without any difference in tempo. The metres of the dances and of the music are indicated by the lengths of the strains, as has already been discussed in regard to balletto suites in Chapter VI above; but in respect of the sonatas as notated (recapitulating to an extent) we find: for dances in duple metre the strains are of multiples of four bars as also for dances in triple metre notated in $\frac{3}{2}$, but for triple metre *grave* dances and galliards notated in bars of $\frac{3}{2}$ the strains are of multiples of three bars. The choreographies sometimes show that the time values of duple-time dances need to be

\(^{18}\) See below.
reduced, e.g. 'Passo e mezzo' and the first movement of 'Barriera' as discussed above.\textsuperscript{19} Altered dances 'in triple proportion', notably \textit{cascarde}, have the time signature $3$, generally meaning $\frac{3}{4}$, but sometimes $\frac{3}{2}$, as in 'Alta Regina' [3], apparently without any difference of tempo intended.\textsuperscript{20} The different time values may be used for convenience of notation, contrast between white and black notes being preferred perhaps, and in the tablatures to avoid note values shorter than $\frac{1}{4}$, i.e. a quaver.

As discussed above, the phrases of six bars in duple time in 'Contrapasso Nuovo' [24] as notated must be phrases of four bars in triple time as transcribed by Walker,\textsuperscript{21} but perhaps not fully convincing thus either, as the accents indicated by the note values in Caroso's version are regular in neither duple nor triple time. Like Walker's transcription, the version in Amigoni's manuscript is also in triple.

There are sufficient examples in \textit{Il Ballarino} and \textit{Nobiltà di Dame} in both duple and triple time, both with and without stave parts, notated in almost the modern way, to show that the notation of upbeats presented no problem, and so some other reason would seem necessary, perhaps irregularity of metre to a degree at which notation in triple time would have been considered misleading. This way of notating irregular triple metres with hemiola is found also in the keyboard arias in the mid-sixteenth century Castell'Arquato manuscript.

Caroso's cantus rhythms are not complicated but in the sonatas a very characteristic rhythmic device used is a kind of polymetric subdivision of longer values into halves and thirds simultaneously, producing an ambiguous metrical effect of two against three, as to be

\textsuperscript{19} See above.
\textsuperscript{20} For Walker's principles for transcribing these metres and for rebarring some of the sonatas, see Sutton's translation of \textit{Nobiltà di Dame}, at pp. 58-59.
\textsuperscript{21} See above.
seen for instance in the transcription below of 'Vero Amore', bar 15,\footnote{See below.} and in that of the beginning of the galliard from 'Laura Suave'.\footnote{See below.}

**Figure 25**

Contrappasso Nuovo

![Contrappasso Nuovo](image)

Such rhythms at cadences might serve to cue the dancers as well as serving aesthetic purposes and hemiolas before cadences are, of course, very common in late sixteenth and early seventeenth century music but this kind of syncopation is used in such an automatic way in Caroso's sonatas as to be a mannerism - but a very

\footnote{See below.}
\footnote{See below.}
graceful one nonetheless. They are not found in the Castell'Arquato dances and only rarely in the arias, one of the few instances being at the conclusion of 'Caza la veggia/milanese' above, although hemiola, viz. alternating $\frac{6}{4}$ and $\frac{3}{2}$, is regularly used in the pieces in triple metre in the collection. From 1588, and so closer in provenance and in idiom to Caroso's sonatas, are Marco Facoli's dances and arias, to be discussed in the next chapter, in which this kind of rhythmic elaboration of static chords is used in a way similar to Caroso's, although Facoli's rhythms are more variegated and complex.24

These syncopations in the music may represent the practice of dancing contratempo, or syncopated, particularly characteristic of the galliard. But however stereotyped some may be, these rhythms are also representative in dance music of the metric and rhythmic complexities of Renaissance and early Baroque music that were generally abandoned in the Age of Reason. Proportional divisions in sesquialtera, sesquitertia etc. are found systematised for purposes of instruction in the art of playing stringed instruments and singing, as well as of playing the recorder, in Silvestro Ganassi's Fontegara, 1535,25 and may have been heard in more expertly executed divisions and other improvised ornamentation of performed music. Complexities of polyrhythm and syncopation are to be found in the music of the more recherché styles, in keyboard works such as, from a great wealth of examples, the 'Canzon francese del Principe', i.e. Carlo Gesualdo, in Luigi Rossi's collection of pieces in honour of Giovanni de Macque,26 with its cadenza-like passages of extremely rapid notes in a variety or grouping. In Byrd's 'Fantasia', no. LII in the Fitzwilliam

24 See below.
25 Silvestro Ganassi, Opera intitulata Fontegara, laquale i*segna a sonare di flauto chò tutta l'arte opportuna a esso i*strumento di fiato et chorde: et āchora a chi si dileta di canto, Venice, Ganassi, 1535.
Virginal Book,27 within an overall proportional scheme similar to that of Caroso's balletto suites, the shifts of metre and various syncopations are elaborated with considerable inventiveness. And to take some Spanish examples, in the obras, tientos and vajos for organ by Sebastian Aquilera de Heredia,28 what have become typical jazz syncopations and patterns similar even to Bartok's Bulgarian rhythms are found, which are of some importance, apparently, in seventeenth century Spanish organ music and are found also in the organ works of Sweelinck and Scheidt.29

The phrasing of Caroso's dances and sonatas is very regular, either in fours or sixes as already noted, and if not actually deriving from the Franconian mensural system it can be explained readily in terms of that system, as Caroso indeed does in explaining the names of the various riverenze and in demonstrating that his tempi are sixteen semibreves long as noted above.30 In the sonatas irregularities are occasionally found at endings which would usually be mistakes and Walker corrects these, for instance she takes the semibreve as notated at the end of 'Contrapasso Nuovo' [24] as a '2a. volta' ending, interpolating a bar of '1a. volta' before it,31 and adds an extra bar to the seven bar phrases at the ends of the saltarelli of 'Celeste Giglio' [1] and 'Laura Suave' [5].32 The vigour of the Franconian system in contemporary perceptions is demonstrated by the extended treatment of it in some theoretical works of the time, such as Zacconi's Pratica

28 E-E, Ms. of organ pieces, (c.1660), (unnumbered); see Willi Apel (editor), Spanish Organ Masters after Cabezón, Rome, American Institute of Musicology, 1971, (Corpus of Early Keyboard Music, 14), pp. 69-109. nos. 17-23.
30 See above.
31 Sutton's translation of Nobiltà di Dame, p. 244.
32 Sutton's translation of Nobiltà di Dame, p. 85 and p. 171. But see below.
di Musica, 1592, and its Seconda parte, 1622, and the four hundred and fifty-nine manuscript pages of Francesco Valentini's Trattato del tempo, del modo e della prolatione, dated 1643. On the other hand, Diruta, in his Transilvano, 1593, did not consider such explanation necessary for keyboard players nor, in 'Libro quarto' of the Seconda parte, 1609, for singers.

### TEXTURES

The strength of chordal feeling in the sonatas is particularly palpable in the passages of thick four and five note chords, but whereas in the contemporary chordal rasgueado guitar style the

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33 Lodovico Zacconi, *Prattica di musica, utile et necessaria si al compositore per comporre i canti suoi regolatamente, si anco al cantore per assicurarsi in tutte le cose cantabile; divisa in quattro libri; ne i quali si tratta delle cantilene ordinarie, de tempi de prolationi, de proportioni, de tuoni, et della convenienze de tutti gli istromenti musicali ...*, (Venice: Bartolomeo Carampello, 1596) first published in 1592, ff. 18r-36r, Libro primo, cap.xxviii-xlvii; and his *Prattica di musica, seconda parte ...*, (Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1622), pp. 11-29, cap. [x]ii-xxix.

34 Pier Francesco Valentini, *Trattato del tempo, del modo e della prolatione ... nel quale amplamente si dimostra che cosa sia tempo, modo, prolatione, e copiosamente si discorre delle figure e proportioni musicali de' segni, delle perfetzioni, delle imperfetzioni, de' punti, delle legature, et di ciascuno altro accidente, a cui dette figure sono sottoposte. Oltre di questo si tratta del valore delle note e pause sotto qualsivoglia segno, et volto le più praticabili proportione [sic?] di altre cose appartenenti alla figurata musica. Opera utilissima per li professori d'essa; con una tavola copiosissima delle cose più notabili che in lei si contengono*, 1643, I-Rvat, Ms.Barb.Lat. 44419.

35 Girolamo Diruta, *Il Transilvano, dialogo sopra il vero modo di sonar organi, & istromenti di penna, ... nel quale facilmente, & presto s'impara di conoscere sopra la tastatura il luogo di ciascuna parte, & come nel diminuire si devono portar le mani, & il modo d'intendere la intavolatura; provando la verità, & necessità delle sue regole, con le toccate di diversi eccellenti organisti, poste nel fine del libro, ...*, (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1593); and his *Seconda parte del Transilvano, dialogo ... nel quale ciascun canto, semplice, & diminuito con ogni sorte de diminuizioni; & nel fin dell'ultimo libro v'è la regola, la qual scopre con brevità e facilità il modo d'imparar presto à cantare*, (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1609).
positions of the chords are of very little moment, being mostly a matter of convenience, in Caroso's sonatas, as in much of the lute music, the harmonies are almost entirely root position triads with some occasional first inversions as already noted. The chords are predominantly in perfect 5th and 4th relationships but varied with other progressions and decorated with passing notes and suspended 4ths at some cadences, the 'parts' making reasonable, if rather free, counterpoint. The texture of Caroso's lute writing is varied; as well as chordal passages there are quasi-polyphonic passages, simple two part writing and all but monophonic melody accompanied by the barest of harmonic outlines. The roots of the chords in Hudson's modes are contained in the bass lines which hence function like tenors in polyphonic music.

The lute parts in both books generally follow the stave parts (or vice versa more likely), with chords and sometimes with added imitative lines, but are a little freer although they seldom go beyond first position. The texture varies from between two, three, four and five parts, but the fifth part, and often the fourth, does not much more than fill out chords or it may have a rhythmic function. Since in normal lute technique chords of up to four notes are usual, the five note chords might indicate that the tablatures were transcribed from keyboard arrangements.

Occasionally it seems from differences in the use and treatment of unessential notes that the stave parts might belong to different arrangements rather than be supplements to lute parts. This is particularly noticeable in 'Laura Suave' [5].

It is not always easy to distinguish the mistakes from what would have been acceptable in dance music and, although much is no doubt due to carelessness, some of the divergences from standard practice are interesting nevertheless in that they may indicate how the music was actually performed and a tolerance of rather high levels of unessential discord.\[36\]

\[36\] For a 'new invention' (surely ironic) for producing improvised and simultaneously embellished counterpoint see Adriano Banchieri, Cartella musicale nel canto figurato, fermo, contrapunto, 3rd impression, (Venice: Vincenti, 1614), pp. 216-219, and see Ernst Thomas Ferand, Improvisation in Nine Centuries of Western Music ..., (Cologne: Arno Volk, 1961), originally published as Die Improvisation ..., (Cologne: Arno Volk, 1956).
Contrasts of texture are generally less pronounced in *Nobiltà di Dame* than in *Il Ballarino*. An example of the rather softer contrast is to be found in *Nobiltà di Dame* in 'Vero Amore' [39], reproduced below from Walker's transcription, consisting of two statements of III - VII - i - V, the first beginning and ending in chordal fashion but melodic in between, the second varied with more consistently melodic decoration, followed by the *ritornello* pattern, here with open 5th chords.37

**Figure 26**

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37 *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 328.
The sonatas in *Il Ballarino* are all tabulated for six-course lute. Sometimes the lack of low F in G tuning is evident in the use of first inversion F chords on low A, on the sixth course at the second fret, in place of root position on the unavailable low F, even at final cadences. By the time of the publication of *Nobiltà di Dame* the seven course lute must have become commonly used for dance music as fifteen of the sonatas, mostly new, are tabulated for it, twelve of them requiring low F in G tuning and three of them G in A tuning. The remaining twenty-seven sonatas in *Nobiltà di Dame* are for six courses, but all but four of them are exactly repeated, or almost so, from *Il Ballarino*. Three of those fairly exactly repeated retain first inversion F chords on A: 'Contentezza d'Amore' [26] has some incidental instances of this first inversion chord which are, however, tolerable within the style; 'Furioso all'Italiana' [29] has important F chords voiced on A, even in final cadences, which might well have been modified in the later book; and there are similar instances in the galliard of 'Alta Vittoria' [34] which may be mistakes and have been amended or omitted by Walker in her transcription.

Three of the four sonatas for six courses which are not repeated exactly from *Il Ballarino* are nevertheless rearrangements: 'Amorosina Grimana' [4] is a new name for 'Pavaniglia' in the earlier book and the sonata, too, is revised, 'Amor Costante' [19] is the same but for added detail and 'Cesarina' [22] is a variant of 'Cesarina', the first of the two galliards included with 'Il Piantone' in *Il Ballarino* but omitted in *Nobiltà di Dame*. The fourth of these sonatas for six courses, 'Selva Amorosa' [47], is no closer than a variant of two of the sonatas in *Il Ballarino*: 'Fiamma d'Amore' and 'Pavana Matthei'. Walker considers that the apparent use of crotchet and quaver triplets in the second strain of 'Selva Amorosa' "and the frequency of higher fret positions than normal in *Nobiltà di Dame*, set this work apart from the other balletti". These higher positions are found on the lower courses and

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38 *Il Ballarino*, II, f. 39⁵, f. 27⁵ and f. 183⁵ respectively, and see below


so, as far as the actual notes go, this sonata is not particularly high. Musically the low F of the missing seventh course is no great loss, since the final is D, but its absence probably indicates a source for this sonata older than those of the other new sonatas in Nobiltà di Dame and the untypical rhythms and chord voicings suggest some other composer or arranger.

Three of the sonatas from Il Ballarino have, however, been rearranged for seven-course lute. In 'Alta Regina' [3] both the soprano stave part and the cantus of the lute part have been altered as well as some of the chord voicings, while Fs on the open fourth course have been reinforced or replaced at important cadences with low Fs on the seventh course.\textsuperscript{41} The rearranged 'Passo e mezzo' [7] contains only one rather incidental note on the seventh course.\textsuperscript{42} 'Barriera' [8] is extensively rearranged. The version in Il Ballarino contains many 1st inversion F chords on A, although the final cadence is to a root position chord on F, open fourth course, whilst the Nobiltà di Dame version makes great and effective use of the seventh course low F.\textsuperscript{43} Of course the seventh course should solve the problem of how to voice the chords of finals on F in G tuning and G in A tuning but in any case the bass lines of most of the sonatas repeated from Il Ballarino lie high enough to avoid the difficulty.

STRAINS AND REPEATS

The sonatas vary in length from a single strain of eight bars, as in 'Conto dell'Orco Nuovo' [28], to the six strains of varying length in 'Bassa & Alta' [11], totalling two hundred and one bars of $\frac{2}{2}$ in the original, reduced to 67 bars of $\frac{5}{8}$ in Walker's transcription.

Some of the sonatas are very short and rudimentary indeed, as noted above, and that for the cascarda, 'Specchio

\textsuperscript{41} cf. Il Ballarino, II, f. 9r.
\textsuperscript{42} cf. Il Ballarino, II, f. 49r.
\textsuperscript{43} See Il Ballarino, II, f. 78v-79v.
"d'Amore' [25], is transcribed below in Figure 27.

Specchio d'Amore

It consists of eight bars of I-IV-I, I-V-I followed by bars 9-12 which must be what in the choreography Caroso calls the ripresa, but which is hardly different from bars 5-8.\textsuperscript{44}

The choreography specifies five tempi, each requiring three playings of bars 1-8 followed by two times of the ripresa, i.e. bars 9-12.\textsuperscript{45} Obviously so many repetitions of the sonata and its ripresa would require considerable variation but although so short and marked off by double barlines with dots into only two strains this sonata shows, in its rudimentary way, the typical three strain structure of Carosos' sonatas.

Generally the double barlines and dots can be taken as reliable guides to the choreographer's intentions and the usual number of strains is three but some sonatas consist of only two strains and some of four or more. In cases of only two, sometimes a strain can be divided to make three in all. 'Altezza d'Amore', for instance, is notated in two strains but the last twelve bars could be intended to be a third although there is no double barline. Also, in this sonata there are two extra bars: is there one repeat of d-C too many at the beginning of the second strain, viz. bars 9-14? In cases of more than three strains, sometimes the extra strains are varied repeats in a basically three strain structure, as in 'Contrapasso Nuovo' [24] in which the first six bars are

\textsuperscript{44} Nobiltà di Dame, p. 248.
\textsuperscript{45} Nobiltà di Dame, p. 247.
already harmonically decorated and are then repeated with melodic
decoration but simplified harmony. Several written-out variations are
found in 'Amor Costante' [19], where the fourth and fifth strains of the
first movement are varied repeats of the third, on I - IV - V - I, i.e. the
ritornello, and are omitted in the sciolta.

More complex is 'Selva Amorosa' [47] with its first strain of
four bars, i - I, a second strain of eight bars beginning the same as the
first but moving from i to III and then back to I and a third strain of
four bars, cadential in character over i - IV - V - I, i.e. a ripresa or
ritornello. The second strain of 'Mezza Notte' [41b] begins with a
repeat of the first, varied by use of the 5th of the chord in the cantus
instead of its 3rd, a device used with blatant effect in 'Barriera' [8].
More subtle is the variation of the three statements of IV - V - I at the
repetition and contrasts of texture are used with artistry to decorate the
very slow harmonic rhythm of the double three-part structure of this
long sonata. Other means would be employed for decorating the
repetitions of the strains necessary for a danced performance of the
balletto. Sometimes, as in the sonatas of 'Furioso all'Italiana' [29] and
'Barriera' [8], there are helpful instructions as to how many times
various sections of the sonata are to be played, but usually not.
Somewhat unusual sequences of metres are found in the sonatas of
these two balletto suites.\textsuperscript{46} Repeats would have been decorated
melodically, rhythmically, perhaps harmonically, with changes of
texture as to be found in Caroso's sonatas, and perhaps with some
variety of instrumentation when resources were available.

'CELESTE GIGLIO'

The sonata of 'Celeste Giglio' [1], the first movement of which
is reproduced in Figure 11 above, is the most musically developed and
finished of the eight sonatas for four movement balletto suites in
Nobiltà di Dame. It is, like 'Selva Amorosa', in the mode per B molle
but untransposed with final on G. The first strain is of eight bars, i - I,

\textsuperscript{46} Walker's rebarring of the sonata of 'Furioso all'Italiana' makes more sense
of it. See Sutton's translation of Nobiltà di Dame, at p. 258.
the second is of sixteen bars, III - I, and the third is cadential, consisting of eight bars on I - IV - V - I twice which in character and function is a transition to the next movement. The strains are marked off with double bars and dots. The repeats are not explicitly specified as in 'Specchio d'Amore' but it is possible to deduce them with fair probability from directions given in the sonata and in the choreography. Thus, there is an instruction at the end of the second strain indicating a shorter time value for the last note the second time and so this strain must be repeated; and the time and rhythm of the last two bars of the third strain are adjusted to triple time in anticipation of the following galliard sciolta, indicating that this strain is to be played only once, i.e. immediately before the galliard. Other indications, though not so clear, of repeats of the music required are to be found in the choreography. The following correlation of choreography and sonata, summarised in Figure 28, is offered as a 'solution' to the 'problem'.

There are two tempi danced to the first movement of the sonata, the first introductory, beginning with the riverenza without holding hands followed by a sequence of elevated steps in circles, first to the left and then contrary to the right, concluding in prospettiva with the riverenza. The second tempo consists of two passeggii of elevated steps, done holding hands, concluding with running to opposite ends of the room, doing seguiti scorsi, and "an act of mezza riverenza", presumably a bow. Forty-eight bars, i.e. twelve four-bar units, are required by the choreography for the first tempo but only forty bars for the second, i.e. ten four-bar units. For the first tempo, then, the first strain, bars 1 - 8, and the second strain, bars 9 - 24, must be repeated (without the concluding third strain); and for the second tempo the first, second and third strains must be played without repeats. Interpreted thus, "la secôda volta" in the instruction regarding the shorter time value at the end of the second strain must be taken to mean "in the second tempo" before going on to the third strain. This solution is supported by subsequent instructions in the sonata: at the end of the second strain of the galliard movement we read "The end of the first time [volta]", and at the beginning of the third strain, at what amounts to a modern second-time bar, "The end of the second time [volta] which begins the riprese".
CELESTE GIGLIO

1º Tempo
(12 longa)

1a volta
(1)
Riverenza
(5)
Continenza
Continenza

2a volta
(1)
Passeggi (circling left, holding right hands)
(5)

2nd strain
1a volta
(9)
(13)

(17)
In prospettiva
Continenza
(21)
Continenza
Riverenza

2º Tempo
(10 longa)

1a volta
(1)
Passeggi (holding hands)
(5)

2nd strain
3a volta
(9)
(13)
Contrary

(17)
Passeggi
(21)

2nd strain
3a volta
(25)
(29)
Contrary

Figure 28
There are several difficulties in the text of the choreography of the galliard of 'Celeste Giglio'. The sonata for the galliard consists of the
same number of notated bars as does the first movement and equal length of bars in strict proportion is indicated by the anticipatory bars at the end of the first movement. The choreography has headings giving numbers of *tempi di gagliarda*, each of which, it will be recalled, is done in the time of two of the triple-time bars. Also, although Caroso uses *tempo di gagliarda* as a term for a unit of time, the choreographies of his galliard variations are not restricted by it: they consist of various numbers of mostly elevated steps, the *cadenza* being deferred to the end of every second *tempo* perhaps, or to the end of the fourth or to the end of the variation,\(^{47}\) as to be seen here in 'Celeste Giglio'.

Caroso's choreography for the galliard of 'Laura Suave' has been translated above and the structure of his galliards is considered elsewhere;\(^{48}\) and it seems clear that galliard variations are danced solo usually, alternately by the gentleman and the lady and that solo dancing is of the essence of the galliard; in Sir John Davies' fancy the sun dances in display primarily for his partner.\(^{49}\)

For that brave Sunne the Father of the Day,  
Doth love this Earth the Mother of the Night,  
And like a revellour in rich array  
Doth daunce his Galliard in his Lemmans sight,  
Both back, and forth, and side-wayes passing light,  
His Princely grace doth so the Gods amaze,  
That all stand still and at his beautie gaze.

But see the Earth, when hee approcheth neere,  
How she for joy doth spring and sweetly smile;  
But see againe her sad and heavie cheere  
When changing places he retires a while:  
But those black clouds he shortly will exile,  
And make them all before his presence flye  
As mists consum'd before his cheerful eye.

\(^{47}\) See above.  
\(^{48}\) See above. Regarding the galliard of 'Laura Suave' see also below, p.  
However, in the choreography of 'Celeste Giglio' Caroso uses verbs in the plural in the galliard variations so that it appears, at least, that they are to be danced simultaneously by the gentleman and the lady. If done thus this galliard would be most unusual. In 'Alta Gonzaga' [6] and 'Gagliarda di Spagna' [10] variations that are to be done together are very clearly specified in headings, nor are the contexts altogether comparable with 'Celeste Giglio', as these are terminated variations subsequent to other terminated tempi - done together in the cascarda-like 'Alta Gonzaga' but solo variations in the galliard-like 'Gagliarda di Spagna'.

In the choreography of 'Celeste Giglio' there are three headings, the first of which reads: "The given galliard sonata is played" and the following text begins "In these four first tempi di gagliarda ...", giving steps for a variation with two cadenze beginning with the left foot which must be danced to the first time of the eight bars of the first strain, i.e. bars 41 - 48. The variation is then danced contrariwise [per contrario], i.e. beginning with the right foot, and this contrary must be danced to a repeat of the first strain. The next section of "eight tempi di gagliarda" has a second heading referring to "mutatione" which would be merely an elegant variation of 'mutanza'. During the first four tempi of the first time of this second strain, i.e. bars 49 - 56, meeting they circle left holding right hands, let go with courtesies and run in seguit scorsi to opposite ends of the room, presumably beginning with the left foot. In the second four tempi, i.e. bars 57 - 64, they begin a second regulated variation with one cadenza, dancing towards each other from opposite ends of the room. The choreography seems to be disordered, or confused, at this point, requiring the contrary of the variation before scorsi back to the opposite ends of the room.

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50 'Farassì la detta Sonata in Gagliarda.'
51 This all but untranslatable second heading reads: "Segue detta Sonata, in cui si fà mutatione, che sono otto Tempi di Gagliarda." A third heading, for the second variation, reads: "A questi altri quattro tempi di Sonata, faranno la seguente Mutanza di quattro Tempi". Sutton renders these two headings thus: "Continuation of the Piece, in which You Do a Variation of Eight Galliard Patterns" and "In the Next Four Patterns of the Piece Do the Following Four-Pattern Galliard Variation", her translation, at p. 75. Sutton takes 'mutatione' to be synonous with 'mutanza'.
Then they take each other by the left hand, and turn to do the same variation, & they return each doing the scorsa to his [and her] place, but beginning with the right foot. Then when they have finished these variations [Poi finite dette mutanze], they do two passi puntati, one with the left foot, and the other with the right: after this is done [dopo ciò fatto], they take each other by the ordinary hand, & with the usual ceremonies, they do the riverenza longa.

But the contrary also must be danced from the opposite ends of the room, or at least at positions at some distance from each other without holding hands, for them to meet at the end in the middle. And so in the first half, i.e. bars 49 - 56, of the second time of the second strain, circling right and holding left hands contrariwise, they might leave each other with courtesies, dancing seguiti scorsi to the ends of the room beginning with the right foot. In the second half, i.e. bars 57 - 64, of the second time they then would dance the contrary of the second variation beginning with the right foot. Or else the contrary is to be done immediately after the first time of the variation, then the scorsi and taking hands, as in the first variation. Either way, concluding during the third strain, i.e. bars 65 - 72, which is played only once, they do puntati, meet, take ordinary hands and conclude with the riverenza. If the variations are to be danced thus simultaneously, the galliard of this balletto, is condensed. The galliard, with the first and second strains played only twice, requires twenty-eight galliard tempi. If the variations were danced solo in the usual way, with the first and second strains played three times in all and the third once, the galliard would require forty-four galliard tempi, which would exactly correspond to the twenty-two four-bar units of the first movement with the same scheme of repeats as proposed above. The balletto would be so much more symmetrical. Has Caroso erred in his directions?

The last two bars of the galliard sonata, i.e. bars 71 - 72, are in the diminished triple time of the saltarello and so, as in the first

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52 Nobiltà di Dame, p. [xi].
movement, anticipate the time of the next movement. It is to be noticed that, although with the two anticipatory bars this third strain does consist of eight bars, mensurally speaking it is only seven semibreves long: repetition of one of the bars to make eight does not seem to be musically possible here and so it would seem that either the end of the galliard sonata would need to be played *ritenuto* to accommodate the *riverenza* or, more likely, the *riverenza* would need to be abbreviated, as discussed below for the end of the *saltarellis* of both 'Celeste Giglio' and 'Laura Suave'.

Two bars of the *saltarello* are equal in duration to one of the first two movements so that in effect the time is $\frac{3}{4}$ and the tempo, in the modern sense, is doubled. A repeat of the first strain is written out, however, so that the sixteen bars of the first strain are not repeated and are the equivalent, proportionally speaking, of the eight bars of the first strain in the first and second movements repeated. The second strain has no written out repeat and so needs to be repeated and in duration is equal in total to only half of the equivalent repeated in the preceding movements. The third strain, lacking the internal repeat found in the first two movements, needs to be repeated. As it is only seven bars long, Walker supplies an extra bar of I at the end to make eight, no doubt correctly for the first time but possibly not so for the repeat. Since the following *canario* is in the same diminished triple time no anticipatory change of time at the end of the *saltarello* is necessary. The choreography of the *saltarello* consists of an eight bar *passeggio* and its contrary danced to the double statement in the first strain (not repeated); then, in a first time of the sixteen bars of the second strain, circling to the left and the contrary to the right, then in a second time of the second strain away from each other and back again in a contrary; and then, in a first time of the third strain, dancing to face each other and, in the third strain repeated, concluding with *puntati* and the *riverenza*.

The *canario* sonata which follows consists of a four-bar

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53 See below.
54 Sutton's translation of *Nobiltà di Dame*, at p. 85, bar 112.
55 For discussion of the same seven bar phrase in 'Laura Suave' see below.
cadential figure on I - V - V - I repeated with only the slightest rhythmic variation and the eight bars must be played eight times for the choreography. This amounts to sixteen times of the same simple figure which therefore would need extensive and brilliant variation to make for a fitting and exciting conclusion to the *balletto*. The first half of the choreography consists of eight *tempi di canario* comprising stamping and sliding of the feet, two followed by their contrary and then all four repeated, the end of the eight marked with hand claps at the end of the fourth time of the twofold sonata; formalised courtesies occupy the fifth time; *spezzati* and a *saffice* occupy the sixth and the contrary the seventh and in the eighth they conclude, ending with the *riverenza* holding hands. Hopefully the chart above will help make this complex structure of dance and music clear.

The sonata of 'Celeste Giglio' shows considerable care in its composition, with instructions for repeats, written out first and second time bars and anticipatory bars in the times of following movements. It is remarkable for its consistency of texture in a style somewhat closer to the madrigal than that of the others, lacking the characteristic alternation of textures which is perhaps rather an idiom of lute music. The more regular harmonic rhythm in the continuous texture, with consistent interplay of melodic and harmonic interest, and particularly the 'modulatory' chain of sequences embellished with free imitation in the lute part in the second strain, bars 15 - 20, give this sonata, especially the first movement, a rather 'eighteenth century' quality. But although in some respects stylistically modern, in some others it is archaic: for instance the second strain ends with a falling 2nd cadence onto G, although in the other movements there are conventional modern perfect cadences at this point. The falling 2nd cadence is used quite a number of times in 'Bassa, & Alta' and would there seem to be a conscious revival of the modal cadence of the modal cadence in a sonata for an archaic dance form, and it is probably used in 'Celeste Giglio' for some similar artistic effect. The sonata is conceived in minor mode, in Hudson's mode *per B molle* or else in transposed Dorian, but at the beginning of the second strain strongly major on B flat, in perhaps transposed modified Lydian with E flats, and ends in the *canario* in what, to the modern listener at any rate, sounds like major without ambiguity. Heard inevitably in retrospect - through the eighteenth century - the effect of the sonata is of G minor with modulation back from the relative major in the second strain, so common a procedure in the later
binary forms. It seems that return towards the vocal style of the madrigal results in approach to the texture and structure of later Baroque dance music.

STYLES OF WRITING FOR THE LUTE AND TYPES OF LUTE

As shown in Table 9 above, all of the forty-nine sonatas in Nobiltà di Dame are in lute tablature, and there are what might be taken as added soprano and bass parts for the first eight of them. It will be helpful for understanding the sonatas to consider lute styles in late sixteenth century Italy and their development.

Many particular instances of development were considered in papers at the conference held in Tours in July 1991. In his introductory paper, Jean-Michel Vaccaro characterizes the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as the age in which the vocal and instrumental styles achieved a sort of synthesis which led on to the great music of J. S. Bach. Prior to this synthesis the vocal and instrumental traditions were very different and he gives a chart like this.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Church} & \text{World} \\
\text{\textnumero} & \text{Minstrel} \\
\text{Cleric – Composer} & \text{Instrumental playing.} \\
\text{\textnumero} & \text{Monody} \\
\text{Vocal polyphony} & \text{Improvisation.} \\
\text{\textnumero} & \text{Ornamentation} \\
\text{Mensural counterpoint} & \text{Oral tradition} \\
\text{\textnumero} & \\
\text{Written tradition} & \\
\end{array}
\]

56 See above.
58 Le concert des voix et des instruments à la Renaissance, Actes … at p. 16.
In her survey of the musicians in forty or fifty Parisian parishes over three centuries, Yolande de Brossard found that the minstrels’ patron saint, St. Julian – patron saint of minstrels along with hotel keepers, travellers and boatmen - rather than St. Cecilia became patron saint of a new composers’ association after 1575.\(^{59}\)

Victor Coelho gives a broader view of the synthesizing process: lute tablature, first printed by Petrucci in 1507 (or perhaps shortly before),\(^{60}\) made direct, practical playing of polyphonic works possible, even for students and amateurs without much musical education, notated on a single stave, usually of six lines, thus exposing players to the contrapuntal repertoire and familiarizing them with the ‘learned’ style, as well as encouraging the development of an idiomatic lute style.\(^{61}\) The resourcefulness of the lute players, and the musicianship of many of them, should not be underestimated.

Influences on this process of synthesis were the laicization of music at the secular courts, the growth of chamber music, both amateur and professional, and the practice of intabulating madrigals, chansons and other ‘art music’. And not only for lutes but for keyboard instruments as well, although organists would have been at some advantage here, generally being already familiar with the sacred music. The great monument of the growth of solo keyboard music is, of course, *The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*. Similarly for melodic instruments, viols, flutes and even brass, although easier for them because the instrumentalists most likely would have been already familiar with mensural notation. In listening to the earlier instrumental music, it is always interesting to observe the fluctuations of style between passages closer to the melodically linear and contrapuntal

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\(^{60}\) Francesco Spinacino, *Intabolatura de lauto, I & II*; Giovanni Maria Alemanni, *Intabolatura III* (lost); Joan Ambrosio Dalza, *Intabolatura de lauto IV*.

vocal models and the more idiomatic instrumentally conceived varied and ornamented passages.

Complementing Yolande de Brossard’s insight into the status of French instrumental musicians described above, Victor Coelho identifies three distinct later performance traditions, in seventeenth century Italian lute music:\(^{62}\)

1) a *modern professional* tradition, largely for theorbo or archlute, written in a contemporary style …

2) a *courtly professional* tradition, written in more conservative idiom by court lutenists such as Santino Garsi da Parma and Lorenzo Allegri, and intended for courtly events, such as banquets, wedding festivities, or *balletti*; usually this music comes down to us for archlute … and occasionally for lute ensemble …

3) a *domestic* tradition made up of amateur and student players who, for the most part, played smaller instruments. Their books [i.e. surviving manuscript books] often contain works by ‘classical’ composers like Francesco da Milano, conservative contemporaries such as Santino Garsi da Parma, settings of famous dances like the *Barriera*, the *Spagnoletta*, the *Pavana d’Espana* …

Caroso’s dances seem to be intended for events such as those listed for the second group above but the sonatas are conceived rather in Coelho’s third tradition.

The *Actes* of the Tours conference contain many interesting detailed studies of the increasing status of instruments and instrumentalists during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, an example being ‘The Status of Music and Musicians in the Early Italian Renaissance’ by Iain Fenlon which is largely a study of music at the Gonzaga Court at Mantua and of the musical interests of the renowned

Marchioness and Regent, Isabella d’Este, who was herself a lutenist.\textsuperscript{63} This princely interest in ‘practical’ music began in the later fifteenth century.

The wider background of lute music at the end of the sixteenth century, more contemporary with Caroso, is to be found in an article by John Griffiths, ‘The music of Castrato lutenists at the time of Caravaggio’.\textsuperscript{64} His paper begins with consideration of the painting by Caravaggio, \textit{The Lute Player}. He concludes that the subject of the painting is probably intended to be a castrato singer and lutenist, of which there were a number in Rome at the time and some of them very competent musicians. He then discusses the manuscript album of solo lute music that was for some centuries in Berlin but, after being lost in World War II, is now in Kraków, generally referred to as either Berlin or Kraków Mus. ms. 40032.\textsuperscript{65} It is a very fine collection of lute music, an album probably compiled in Naples over thirty years or more before 1611, including tabulations of older vocal works that were still in demand in the late sixteenth century, such as works by Orlando de Lassus, Palestrina and Josquin des Près, lute works by Francesco da Milano as well as works for lute by Caroso’s contemporaries, notably Santino Garsi da Parma. The name of the compiler and owner of the manuscript was obliterated but with the aid of modern technology his surname has been recovered: Barbarino, but which of the several Barbarinos of the time cannot be established. He was probably a castrato lutenist.\textsuperscript{66} John Griffiths draws attention to the fact that the music on the pages from which Caravaggio’s lutenist is


\textsuperscript{65} Kraków. Biblioteca Jagiellońska / Berlin. Deutsche Staatsbibliothek . \textit{Ms. of Italian lute tablature}, (late 16th century), with additions up to 1625 (formerly lost). Mus. ms. 40032.

\textsuperscript{66} John Griffiths, ‘The music of Castrato Lutenists at the time of Caravaggio’ … at pp. 92-101.
performing are very carefully depicted by Caravaggio and Colin Slim has identified the music as madrigals from the 1530s by Arcadelt, Francesco de Layolle and Jacquet de Bechem, thus evidently still currently favoured more than fifty years later.\footnote{H. Colin Slim, ‘Music Inscriptions in Paintings by Caravaggio and his followers’ in \textit{Music and Context: Essays for John M. Ward} (Cambridge, Mass.: Dept. of Music, 1985), pp. 241-263. Cited by John Griffiths in ‘The music of Castrato Lutenists …’, p. 88.} The lutenist is apparently singing one part of a madrigal while accompanying himself on the lute from a bass part, presumably using it as an unfigured bass for a more or less improvised continuo. The solo lute pieces in Barbarino’s manuscript, on the other hand, are fully tabulated and presumably more carefully considered. The lute pieces by Santino Garsi, and a ‘Gagliarda’ by Cipriano (presumably de Rore), contained in this manuscript, as well as those in the Cavalcanti and Dusiacki manuscripts of lute music, have been transcribed by Helmuth Osthoff in his study of the music of Santino Garsi da Parma, including some by Donino Garsi and one piece by Ascanio Garsi.\footnote{Helmuth Osthoff, \textit{Der Lautenist, Santino Garsi da Parma: ein Beitrag zur Spätrenaissance. Faksimile-Nachdruck der Erstausgabe von 1926 …} (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1973), pp. 123-145.}

The extent of the musicianship and musical knowledge of sixteenth century instrumentalists has been somewhat controversial. Howard Mayer Brown, in ‘The Instrumental Repertory of the Sixteenth Century’, the second of the papers in the \textit{Actes} of the 1991 conference,\footnote{\textit{Le concert des voix et des instruments à la Renaissance, Actes …} (Paris: CNRS – Éditions, 1995), pp. 21-32.} uses a wealth of evidence from German, French and Italian pedagogical sources to demonstrate that the instrumentalists were, or at least were expected, to know much of the musical theory and repertoire that was studied in the cathedral schools and universities, and he demonstrates that they in fact performed much of the vocal repertoire, sacred as well as secular. He considers that the number of published instructional books attests to the interest of, to quote Brown, ‘the aspiring middle classes who wished to be included in the cultural elite of their society’ by educating their children in the playing of music.\footnote{See Howard Mayer Brown’s paper at p. 25.} Brown exemplifies from Luther’s Protestant
contemporary, cantor and schoolmaster at Magdeburg, Martin Agricola’s *Musica instrumentalis deudsch*, published in 1529, revised and enlarged in 1545. Brown quotes from Agricola’s title-page:

> German Instrumental Music, in which is included how one is to learn various kinds of wind instruments from vocal notation, and how it [that is, vocal notation] is to be transcribed into the correctly established tablature for the organ, harp, lute, fiddle, and all kinds of keyboard and string instruments.

So his instructions include mensural notation, solfege syllables as names for notes, the hexachord and he recommends singing for those learning to play instruments.

And the French: music publisher, Robert Ballard’s, partner, Adrien Le Roy’s, instructions on intabulating for the lute, *Instruction de partir toute musique des huit tons divers en tablature de luth*, demand a milder musicianship.

> [...] to teach them that are desirous to play on the Lute, how they maye without great knowledge of Musicke set upon that instrument all Ballets or songs, which they shall thinke good, so as they can onely sing, *ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la*, and know the valuation or time of the notes.

His examples for intabulating in all eight modes for solo lute are taken from chansons by Lasso.

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72 Quoted from William Herrick’s unpublished translation of Agricola’s work by Howard Mayer Brown, with the translator’s permission, in his paper at pp. 24-25.

73 Music Publishers, Le Roy and Ballard, were successors to Attaignant. Although Le Roy’s French original does not survive, it was translated into English by Alford (London: 1568) and by ‘F. K. Gentleman’ (London: 1574). Quotation from *Œuvres d’Adrian le Roy. Les Instructions pour le luth (1574)*, edited by Jean Jacquot, Pierre-Yves Sordes and Jean-Michel Vaccaro (Paris: CNRS, 1977), vol. 1, p. 5.
Closer in time and place to Caroso was the lutenist, Vincenzo Galilei, a member Bardi’s camerata, who in 1568 published *Fronimo*, a dialogue which also urges the importance of modal theory and counterpoint for the lutenist.\(^{74}\) One might think from the sequence of Brown’s treatment of these three works of instruction for lutenists that Italian interest in the lute was later than German and French but the publication of Petrucci’s collections of tabulations for lute in 1507 and 1508, preceding Attaignant’s in 1529 and 1530 by twenty odd years, attest the antecedence of Italian interest. Vaccaro, in *La Musique de luth en France au XVIe siècle*, attributes this interest to the rise of the culture of the humanist courtier, particularly at the court of Mantua and Isabella d’Este, at the end of the fifteenth century, mentioned above, and disseminated throughout Europe by Castiglione’s *Il Cortegiano*.\(^{75}\)

Nevertheless, of course, it must be kept in mind that then, as now, there would have been vast differences in the amount, variety and quality of instrumentalists’ musicianship. Agricola, Le Roy and Galilei present us with ideals. Of the various types of musicians, John Griffiths, in his paper ‘The music of Castrato lutenists at the time of Caravaggio’ above, classifies Caravaggio’s lute player as a ‘singer lutenist’.\(^{76}\) Similarly Caroso could be classified as a ‘dancing master lutenist’ - along with Cesare Negri and most of the other dancing masters. The style of lute playing, however, would have been much more ‘popular’, in the modern sense, something like that, for instance, of a twentieth century dance band. There was not so much need for modal theory and counterpoint as required of lutenists by Agricola, Le Roy and Galilei, although the sonatas are, to a degree, informed by it.


\(^{76}\) See above.
Mensural theory, however well understood, is very evident in Caroso’s ‘Regole’ for the steps, particularly the riverenze, the continenze and the passi puntati. The musical tradition may have been largely aural rather than musically literate. There are many mistakes in the lute tabulations. Did Caroso not know or didn’t he care much? The musicianship of the dancing master lutenist must have been very different from that of the sixteenth century musician as we generally conceive it, dependent, as we are, on the written, particularly printed, sources designed for amateurs largely interested in playing the classical music of their past and the art music of their present, but including, as we learn from their contents, dances. The position of the practising dancing master lutenist may have been closer to that of the minstrel in Vaccaro’s diagram above than to that of the courtly or domestic amateur lutenist of the instruction manuals.

Dinko Fabris in his paper, ‘Voix et insruments pour la musique de danse. A propos des Airs pour chanter et danse dans les tablatures italiennes de luth’, in Actes of the 1991 conference, considers the literary and musical evidence for the survival of the dance song [chanson à danser] throughout the whole of the sixteenth century and its influence in the birth of a popular music tradition still current today. He examines the manuscript evidence of music for simultaneous singing and dancing and for vocal improvisation, classifying the manuscripts into four categories with tables.

First: dances with the titles of vocal compositions, such as frottole, villancicos and chansons françaises, often used with vocal improvisation in commedia dell’arte. Stretching the category a little, Gastoldi’s original compositions, Balletti a cinque, con li suoi versi per cantare, sonare, & ballare

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77 Nobiltà di Dame, pp. 13-21, Regole II – VIII.
78 See above.
(although in part-books, not tablature) and, of course, Cavalieri’s ‘O che nuovo miracolo’ with its new title ‘Laura Suave’ (but surely still quite recognizable) in Nobiltà di Dame, could be in this class.

Second: ostinato basses such as ‘Ruggiero’.

Third: the numerous arias (in the pre-Baroque sense) and dances for singing with titles of genres, often with local characteristics.

Fourth: formulae for improvisation (like an extension of the third category) include the more or less standard arias for singing terza rima, ottava rima and capitoli.

Fabris points out that musicologists have mostly used printed sources and manuscripts, and hence have concentrated on professional repertoire and performance, losing sight of the aurally transmitted music and the less learned performance of a wide class of amateur musicians. It is likely that Caroso and Negri were in a dancing master tradition of lute playing, essentially aural and fairly plain and obvious but nevertheless aware of aspects of the more learned notated styles.

Nobiltà di Dame, in lute tablature with some soprano and bass parts, is clearly conceived for entirely instrumental performance and does not contain evidence of vocal participation, although that was no doubt possible. In Nobiltà di Dame there are no underlaid texts, no incipits. The Concordance of the Sonatas below shows the ultimate vocal sources of some of the sonatas but mostly these sources are masked by new titles punning on the names of the ladies to whom the dances are dedicated, an exception being, however, ‘Se pensando al partire’, a balletto of M. Bastiano, in Il Ballarino.

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80 Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi, Balletti a cinque, con li suoi versi per cantare, sonare, & ballare; con una mascherata de cacciatori a sei voci, & un concerto de pastori a otto ... . (Venice: Ricciardo Amadino , 1591). 5 part books.

81 See Chapter 9 below.

82 Il Ballarino, f. 56r.
Victor Coelho, in a review of Jean-Michel Vaccaro’s *La Musique de luth en France au XVIe siècle*, a very favourable review though with two reservations, the first concerning right-hand technique but the second takes issue with Vaccaro’s argument that a solo lute would have been too soft to accompany dancing. Coelho maintains that an authentic, lightly built and resonant lute is more than sufficiently loud for dancing. Vaccaro, Coelho claims, limits himself by using only French sources. ‘Once again Italian sources should have been consulted, for they prove without a doubt that at least in Italy, the solo lute was the preferred instrument to accompany dancing’ (Coelho). Coelho himself has very successfully used a solo lute for dancing and John Griffiths has done likewise at the Early Music Studio at the University of Melbourne.

Julia Sutton rates *Nobiltà di Dame* most useful for reconstruction of the Italian dances of the period, particularly in regard to correlation of the choreographies and their music, but in arriving at a precise understanding of Caroso's dances there are nonetheless difficulties to be encountered. It seems that the author's choreographic right hand is not always sure of what his musical left hand is doing. It is attractive to conjecture that Caroso was, like Emilio de' Cavalieri, a musician and composer of his own music as well as dancer, dancing master, choreographer, poet and courtier (or at least an associate of courtiers) but awkwardness in his references to the music, inconsistencies and at least apparent contradictions in instructions for repeats, and indeed lengths of strains and movements in the sonatas in respect of the choreographies of some of the dances. These and the many mistakes in the tablatures, and in the proof-reading of the music, cast doubt as to the extent of his musicianship.

**LUTE CONSORTS**

As to how Caroso’s sonatas might have been amplified or varied for grander occasions, much information is to be found in

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Howard Mayer Brown’s study of the instrumentation for the sixteenth century Florentine *intermedii*. The scope of Brown’s book is much broader than one would think from its subtitle: *The Music for the Florentine Intermedii*. The *intermedii* themselves are well covered in an ‘Appendix’ but in the text they are taken rather as reference points for a study of the flowering of instrumental music in the sixteenth-century. ‘Chapter III: Plucked string instruments’ can be of particular interest for readers of Caroso. It treats of the size of lutes and of lutes in combination. Brown emphasizes the importance of the plucked string instruments in the later part of the century.

And by 1589 almost every ensemble was supported by a group of foundation instruments, including lutes, *chitarroni*, harps, keyboards ... the *lira da braccio* and the *lirone*. But variety rather than convention seems to have been the rule governing their combination into groups, and specific choices were apparently made for specific reasons, applicable only to individual compositions.

And in discussion of Giovanni Antonio Terzi’s intabulation for two lutes, published in 1593, of a madrigal by Alessandro Striggio, Brown compliments the musicians thus.

Terzi’s arrangements, by the way, illustrate the practical bent of sixteenth-century musicians, or at least of their publishers, and their practical bent in matters of performance.

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Of when in later sixteenth-century *intermedii* the number of accompanying lutes matches the number of voices he writes this.\(^{88}\)

Each performer in a group of three or more lutenists accompanying in a vocal or mixed vocal and instrumental ensemble took charge of one segment of the texture, and so together they duplicated all of the contrapuntal lines of the original. But the musical effect with three, four or more lutes must have been quite different from that with one or two. Instead of a precise and literal intabulation, ensembles with multiple lutes must have produced a massive body of plucked string sound against which the vocal soloists could project their words.

He also cites two composers of pieces for three or even more lutes. The earlier was Giovanni Pacoloni of Padua who in 1564 published music for passamezos, *paduane*, saltarellos, easy galliards, mostly with various titles such as *Padoana Commun*, *Passemezo Milanese*, *Passemezo della Battaglia*, *Saltarello Francese*, *Padoana Desperata*, *Padoana della Duchessa*, *Saltarelo del mio amore*, *Saltarello Ungaro*, and at the end some pieces by another composer unnamed. The pieces are notated in French tablature on five-line staves for three lutes in part books, *Superius*, *Tenore* and *Bassus*.\(^{89}\) The padoanas have time signatures of 3 and hence are not pavans, as commonly understood, but would be more like pivas. The three title pages have this instruction for tuning:

\[
\text{oportet autem testudines sic coaptare ut Superius à Tenore per Diatessaron id est per quartam Bassus verò uno tono superetur à Tenore.}
\]

which would mean that the Superius is to be a 4\(^{\text{th}}\) higher and the

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Bassus is to be a tone above the Tenore, but that must mean at the lower octave, i.e. at a minor 7th beneath the tenor. Michael Praetorius in his Syntagma Musicum, Volume Two, De Organographia, First and Second Parts has this to say.⁹⁰

How to set up an ensemble of lutes of different sizes.

When it is desired to tune several lutes together, their various treble strings must be tuned as follows:

1. small octave lute  d’ or c’
2. small discant lute  b’
3. discant lute  a’
4. usual choir or alto lute  g’
5. tenor lute  c’
6. bass lute  d
7. large octave bass lute  g

Pacoloni’s instructions for the Tenore and the Bassus lutes would fit into Praetorius’s scheme but the Superius would need to be a tone lower than Praetorius’s ‘usual choir or alto lute’. The five-line stave would suggest five-course lutes but all three parts have letters on ‘leger’ lines beneath the tablatures indicating sixth courses for low notes. The tablatures are quite full: in each part there is fast passage work on top with chords underneath, often reinforced, particularly at cadences. The effect must be like that described by Brown above as ‘a massive body of plucked string sound’, without the voices of the Florentine intermedii.

The other composer who wrote for more than one lute cited by Brown⁹¹ was Emanuel Adriaenssen (1554-1604) of Antwerp, lutenist,

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teacher, composer and publisher. He went to Rome to study in 1574 (when he may well have come into contact with Caroso) and absorbed many features of Italian music. The breadth of genres and styles of the pieces in his collection show that Adriaenssen must have been a ‘complete lutenist’ - like Izaak Walton’s ‘compleat angler’. His Pratum musicum, more learned than Pacoloni’s collection, was first published in 1584, then in a 2nd edition in 1592 and in a 3rd in 1600, ‘an edition richer in topics than the previous’. The eighty-five compositions in it are in French tablature for lute, and for the voices and melodic instruments in mensural notation. Included are Italian madrigals, French chansons, songs from the Netherlands, songs in Neapolitan style, some German and English pieces, motets, fantasias for lute composed by Adriaenssen himself and thirty dance pieces for solo, two, three or four lutes and some for lute with two melodic instruments (like Caroso’s sonatas). In the 1592 edition he also gives instructions for intabulating polyphonic music for lute. The dances are virtuosic variations for lute on popular songs and on standard basses. There are galliards, passamezzos, courantes, voltas and branles.

SANTINO GARSI DA PARMA

In the nature of a transition to the next chapter on concordances: it is interesting to compare two of Caroso’s sonatas with settings of the same by Santino Garsi, most likely an associate of Caroso. The sonata of ‘Cesarina’ is found, unbarred, in Il Ballarino as the first of two galliards in ‘Il Piantone’. In Nobilità di Dame it is

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92 Emanuel Adriaenssen, Pratum musicum longe amoenissimum, cuius in ambitu comprehenduntur ... omnia testudinis tabularum fideliter redacta. (Antwerp: 1584 and 1600, editio nova priori locupletior). 2nd edition: Novum pratum musicum ... selectissimi diversorum autorum et idiomatum madrigales, cantiones, et moduli ... opus plane novum, nec hactenus editum (Antwerp: 1592).


95 Il Ballarino, f. 183v.
omitted from ‘Il Piantone’ but is found as an independent balletto dedicated to Livia Orsina Cesarina, Duchess of Cività Nuouva [Civitanova]. Helmut Osthoff, noticing the similarities of style of the two composers, gives the first strain of eight bars and then the second strain of four bars of Caroso’s ‘Cesarina’ from Nobiltà di Dame with, on parallel staves for easy comparison, two versions by Garsi, one from the Cavalcanti lutebook ‘La Gagliarda’ and the other, a little fuller in texture, from Kraków Mus. Ms. 40032, ‘La Cesarina’. The first nine bars of these two Garsi versions with the first nine bars of ‘Cesarina’ from Nobiltà di Dame are given below in the next chapter at Figure 37. Osthoff is so strongly impressed with the similarity of Garsi’s piece to Caroso’s balletto that he gives another comparison, this time with transcriptions in parallel systems of the two whole pieces: from the Kraków manuscript, and from Nobiltà di Dame, both transposed down a minor 3rd. It should be noted that ‘Cesarina’ may have been ‘borrowed’ by Garsi from Caroso, or vice versa. In Nobiltà di Dame the title, whatever its origin, is used to pun on the name of the dedicatee, Livia Orsina Cesarina. Or perhaps it was in the common stock of dance tunes to be used by either or both, the name giving particular personal point to the Nobiltà di Dame dedication.

And to conclude this chapter, here is Garsi’s setting of the ‘Aria del Gran Duca’ from the Dusiacki Lute Book for comparison with Caroso’s sonata for ‘Laura Suave’. ‘Laura Suave’ is tabulated for seven course lute in G tuning with the seventh course tuned to low

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96 Nobiltà di Dame, p. 229-232
97 Cavalcanti, ‘No. 2, Gagliarda’ f. 8v. and fully transcribed at Osthoff, ..., p. 146.
98 Kraków. Mus. ms. 40032 f. 120v. See Helmut Osthoff, Der Lautenist, Santino Garsi da Parma ... (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1973), pp. 87 & 88; Osthoff gives a full transcription of the Kraków version, ‘No. 9 La Cesarina’, at p. 132, and of the Cavalcanti version, ‘No. 2 Gagliarda’ at p. 146; and then for comparison of the Kraków version with Caroso’s sonata, both in full but transposed down a minor 3rd, from D to B, on parallel staves in ‘Verschiedenes’ at pp. 177-178.
99 Helmuth Osthoff, Der Lautenist Santino Garsi da Parma, pp.177-178
100 Transcribed in Helmut Osthoff, Der Lautenist, Santino Garsi da Parma ..., ‘No. 2 Aria del Gran Duca’, pp. 162-163.
101 Nobiltà di Dame, pp. 116-120, and see above.
F, whereas Garsi’s version is set for theorbo, with some fine writing for the lower courses, as appears from Osthoff’s transcription.¹⁰² ‘Aria del Gran Duca’, Santino Garsi da Parma from the *Dusiacki lutebook*. (Osthoff’s transcription).

**Figure 29**

![Score of 'Aria del Gran Duca'](image)

CHAPTER VIII

THE REPERTOIRE AND CONCORDANCES

As about two thirds of the dances in Nobiltà di Dame have fanciful titles, usually puns on the names of the ladies to whom they are dedicated, and as the sonatas are not otherwise identified, the musical sources are by no means immediately manifest. Dance music was free for all to use, no doubt, and the use of known music a general practice, and so Caroso's sources were probably fairly evident to his contemporaries and the old music in its new garb would have had point in many instances - like so much else in his book. The task of identifying the sources and of tracing the influence of the sonatas in later music would seem to be well nigh boundless, even if systematic investigation of suggestion and inspiration as part of the creative process were possible. However the 'Commentary: Notes on the Musical Transcriptions' in Sutton’s translation \(^1\) gives the concordances of sonatas in Nobiltà di Dame in Il Ballarino. The concordances given in Lawrence Moe's doctoral thesis, Dance Music in Printed Italian Lute Tablatures from 1507 to 1611, \(^2\) are very extensive and cover many manuscripts, keyboard and other sources. And Victor Coelho's The Manuscript Sources of Seventeenth-Century Italian Lute Music \(^3\) covers the lute music of the next century.

\(^1\) Her translation of Nobiltà di Dame, at pp. 317-332.
A more specific study is Daniel Heartz's introduction and commentary in his edition of the pieces in lute tablature published by Attaignant in 1529 and 1530,4 and the studies of particular species of this repertoire by Warren Kirkendale5 and John Wendland6 show the amount of research that has been done in identifying and tracing the harmonic and melodic patterns in the dance and related kinds of music of this period. Another interesting study of this specific kind is Luigi Tagliavini's 'Il Ballo di Mantova',7 although this tune is not found in Nobiltà di Dame. More general works such as Willi Apel's The History of Keyboard Music to 17008 are also useful. One may have misgivings sometimes that relationships may have been too ingeniously traced and that correspondences should rather be seen as similarities, but the aural transmission of the greater part of this by its nature largely fleeting kind of music and the element of improvisation in its performance would encourage conservatism in the materials and structures used, and must be taken into account when considering the many similarities encountered, musical matters which are well considered in a musicianly way by Tagliavini in his article.

The international character of the culture of the aristocracy and the mobility of the musicians are demonstrated in the printed and manuscript sources that have preserved some of this music: for instance Petrucci's publications show that in Italy there was interest in French and Netherlands secular music as well as in the more

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5 In particular Warren Kirkendale, L'Aria di Fiorenza, id est Il Ballo del Gran Duca (Florence: Olschki, 1972).
artistically ambitious sacred music of the north. Nor is it surprising that, transformed by the new homophonic techniques being developed in the more informal styles that were to become the science of harmony in the music of the future, these dance music patterns should be found exported with so much else of Italian culture in these centuries.

EARLIER SOURCES AND THE REPERTOIRE

Sources earlier than *Il Ballarino* have not been found for about thirty of the sonatas in *Nobiltà di Dame* and so these sonatas may have been originally composed for Caroso’s books, though possibly based on pieces that have been unidentified or lost. However, that the roots of Caroso's music reach well back into the sixteenth century is sufficiently attested by the sonatas which are more or less closely based on pieces from the earlier repertoire. For example, Lawrence Moe has found fairly early sources for 'il Piantone' and for 'Pungente Dardo', which are both repeated in *Nobiltà di Dame* from *Il Ballarino*; the sonata of the former also used there with a *sciolta*, for 'Alta Ruissa'. These two sonatas are variants respectively of 'Saltarello ditto la Torchia fa la danza Jo. Petro' and 'Saltarello ditto la Traditorella' by Pietro Borrono in the collection of pieces in lute tablature published by Casteliono, or Castiglione, in 1536. The dances are by Borrono: see 'Sources of lute music' in *The New Grove Dictionary* ... , Vol. 24, p. 41. See also Lawrence Henry Moe, *Dance Music in Printed Italian Lute Tablatures from 1507 to 1611* ... , Vol. 2, pp. 223-224. See Lawrence Henry Moe, *Dance Music in Printed Italian Lute Tablatures from 1507 to 1611* ... , Vol. 1, p. 150.
Moe distinguishes two types of the passamezzo antico. On the first of these is based 'Ballo del Fiore', found in the sonata of the same name in Il Ballarino which is identical to that in Nobiltà di Dame, and the same basic scheme is used in 'Ardente Sole' in Il Ballarino.\textsuperscript{14} He finds it first in the last phrase of the 'Padoana alla francese II' in the Capirola manuscript of about 1517\textsuperscript{15} and then in many publications of lute music including those of Attaignant, as a 'Gaillarde', 1530, Hans Newsidler, 1536, Narváez, 1538, and in two arrangements by Dominico Bianchini, 1546.\textsuperscript{16} Moe's 'second type' of the passamezzo antico, the more usual, is represented by 'Passo e mezzo' in Nobiltà di Dame, found variant but with the same name, in Il Ballarino.\textsuperscript{17} Moe finds this second type first as 'La brosse, Basse dance' in Attaignant's Neuf basses dances, 1530, for instruments and then first in printed lute tablature as 'Pass'e mezo secondo' in Giulio Abondante's collection, 1546.\textsuperscript{18} The passamezzo moderno is not represented in Nobiltà di Dame.

The common harmonic grounds, such as the passamezzi, the romanescas and the folias, were well established by the end of the sixteenth century and examples of their use are virtually countless as their influence extends well into Baroque music to shape the harmonic idiom of later times. Moe sees them as crystallizations of harmonic procedures rather than as conscious borrowings of bass lines, used either in regular harmonic rhythm or freely and becoming more or less closely associated with various discants in an instrumental style deriving from the homophonic Italian vocal forms generically known as frottola.\textsuperscript{19}

\textsuperscript{14} Nobiltà di Dame, p. 317; Il Ballarino, tratt. sec., f. 159r and f. 18f.
\textsuperscript{15} Vicenzo Capirola, Composizione di Meser Vicenzo Capirola, gentil homo bresano. c.1517. Ms. of Italian lute tablature. Newberry Library, Chicago. US-Cn, Case MS VM C. 25.
\textsuperscript{17} Nobiltà di Dame, p. 135; Il Ballarino, Tratt. sec., f. 49f.
\textsuperscript{18} Lawrence Henry Moe, Dance Music in Printed Italian Lute Tablatures from 1507 to 1611 … , Vol. 1, p. 129, and Vol. 2, pp. 229-231.
\textsuperscript{19} Lawrence Henry Moe, Dance Music in Printed Italian Lute Tablatures from 1507 to 1611 … , Vol. 1, p. 129.
Since the patterns of many of the dance pieces can be traced back to French sources it might be thought that the style, too, was originally French; not only patterns like the passamezzi but also others not based on the common harmonic grounds such as 'Amor Costante', repeated substantially from 'Amor Costante' in Il Ballarino, and 'Meraviglia d'Amore', which is a variant but its sciolta identical, the pattern of which Moe finds first in 'Pavane I' for instruments in Attaignant's Six gaillardes ... , 1530, then in a keyboard arrangement followed by a 'Gaillarde sur la Pavane' in Attaignant's Quatorze gaillards ... of the next year, 1531. A possible explanation would be the availability and excellence of Attaignant's publications, covering the music of the new Italian dances, the pavane and the galliard, as well as the French repertoire, thus giving a French 'hue' to a body of music that was probably fairly international, drawn from various sources including Italian. A more general explanation might be the musical invasion of Italy from the later fifteenth century by the 'Netherlanders', from Burgundian and other Habsburg lands, which was no doubt felt in the sphere of largely aurally transmitted dance music as well as in that of more artistic music. Petrucci's publication of chansons attests the demand for northern repertoire in the early years of the century and would have contributed to its dissemination, and no doubt Italian musicians used this fashionable material fairly indiscriminately, naturalised in their own homophonic idiom, without

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20 Nobiltà di Dame, p. 213, Il Ballarino, Tratt. sec., f. 27r, and f. 138v.
21 See Lawrence Henry Moe, Dance Music in Printed Italian Lute Tablatures from 1507 to 1611 ... , Vol. 2, pp. 270-271.
22 See Lawrence Henry Moe, Dance Music in Printed Italian Lute Tablatures from 1507 to 1611 ... , Vol. 1, pp. 124-129, for discussion of the views of Otto Gombosi and John Ward as to the Italian or Spanish origins respectively of the folia and of the other 'isometric patterns'; and for discussion of the Italian origins of the pavan and the galliard and of their adoption by the French, see Daniel Heartz's introduction to his edition of Attaignant's Preludes, Chansons and Dances for lute ... , pp. xlviii et seq., and particularly p. lii for discussion of the different styles of music in Attaignant's Dixhuit basses dances ... , (1529).
adoption of the *cantus firmus* techniques of the courtly French and Burgundian *basse dance*.\textsuperscript{24}

Lawrence Moe observes that although lute tabulations were made of both the less elevated and the more artistic vocal music, the style of the dance repertoire was for the most part kept distinct from that of the chanson and the madrigal.\textsuperscript{25} The same does not seem to hold for keyboard music for later in the period at least, since very artistically composed dances from the early seventeenth century that show the influence of the techniques of various kinds of vocal composition have come down to us (and no doubt much of this repertoire has been lost), for instance the variations on both varieties of the *passamezzo* in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book, not to speak of Frescobaldi's secular works which include, in addition to sets of more conventional variations on dance patterns, contrapuntal *capricci* on common dance tunes.\textsuperscript{26} Adriano Banchieri wrote a mass on the *ballo del Granduca*, i.e the *aria di Fiorenza*,\textsuperscript{27} and there are the two eight-part masses that were mistakenly attributed to Frescobaldi, one on the *monica* and the other on the *aria di Fiorenza*.\textsuperscript{28} However, even the


\textsuperscript{25} Lawrence Henry Moe, *Dance Music in Printed Italian Lute Tablatures from 1507 to 1611 ...*, Vol. 1, p. 151.

\textsuperscript{26} e.g. the 'Capriccio sopra la Bassa Fiamenga', 'Capriccio sopra la Spagnoletta' and 'Capriccio sopra l'Aria di Ruggiero' in Girolamo Frescobaldi, *Il primo libro di capricci fatti sopra diversi soggetti, et Arie in partitura* (Rome: Soldi, 1624).

\textsuperscript{27} 'Messa concertata sopra l'Aria del Granduca' (1620), transcribed by Warren Kirkendale in his *L'Aria di Fiorenza, id est Il Ballo del Gran Duca* (Florence: Olschki, 1972), pp. 100-124.

\textsuperscript{28} 'Missa a 8 sopra l'Aria della monacha' and 'Missa a 8 sopra l'Aria di Fiorenza' in Girolamo Frescobaldi, *Due messe*, edited by O.Mischiati and L.Tagliavini (Milan: Edizioni Suvini Zerboni, 1976, *Monumenti musicali italiani*, 1). Regarding this mistaken attribution, see Claudio Annibali,
most artistic instrumental 'air and variations', composed with elaborate free counterpoint though it may be, clearly owes much to the dance music style in which improvised variation was so necessary in the many repeats. Many of the common variation procedures used in this kind of composition may well have originated in dance music.

THE STROPHIC ARIA

From the homophonic secular songs of about 1500, as found in Petrucci's eleven books of frottole published between 1504-1514, developed the strophic aria of sixteenth century monody, discussed by Caccini in Le nuove musiche, 1602, and the practice of building recitatives as well as the more metrically organized and dance-like sections of the early operas on strophic patterns persisted well into the seventeenth century. The dance tune is a closely related form also derived from the frottola. The resemblance of the aria to dance music became obscured eventually as the aria was developed in the middle and late Baroque for the display of vocal virtuosity, with devices such as more complex repeat patterns, modulation etc., to culminate in the operatic form of the da capo aria.

Petrucci's fourth book of frottole contains evidence of the practice of singing verses to 'airs' early in the sixteenth century as it includes a 'modo de cantar sonetti', transcribed in Figure 30 below, and an 'aer de versi latini', both without words.

1Ancora sulle messe attribuite à Frescobaldi ..., in Girolamo Frescobaldi nel IV. centenario della nascità (Florence: Olschki, 1986), pp. 125-129.
30 Ottaviano dei Petrucci, Strambotti, Ode, Frottole, Sonetti. Et modo de cantar versi latini e capituli. Libro quarto, [1505?].
With words are another 'sonetto' and an 'aer de capituli', capitoli being long poems, often satirical, in Dante's three line metre, terza rime, as well as a number of other airs with words. The air of the sonetto with words is similar to that transcribed in that it is of only three phrases, or 'strains', and it shows how the quatrains of a sonnet can be
accommodated to a three strain air by singing the third line to a repeat of the second strain. It does not seem too anachronistic to describe this air, 'modo de cantar sonetti', as being in Richard Hudson's 'mode per B quadro'. The harmonies in the first strain (to use major and minor chord numbers) move from I to v with chordal decoration, although it is probably going too far to describe the falling 2nd cadence at the end of it as II7c (with suspended 7th) - v. But continuing in the same terms nevertheless, the second strain moves from v to I with a similar falling 2nd cadence that might be described as flattened vii (with suspended 4th and 7th) - I. The third strain consists of a fourfold descending sequence in the bassus, falling from ii down to IV, imitated and with decorative crotchets in the cantus, before what we might call an 'archaic' perfect cadence, i.e. the bass leaps up an octave, crossing parts, to the 5th of I, leaving the tenor to fall correctly by step to the final at the base of the final chord, i.e. the root of I: in modern terms bass and tenor exchange notes, the falling 2nd cadence thus in the tenor part, but with notes as in the modern perfect cadence.\textsuperscript{32} The texture is clearly two parts with free contrapuntal filling in the inner voices and points of imitation at the beginning of strains, but the texture is more integrated in the concluding strain where the cantus is involved with the tenor and the bassus in the imitation, the altus here moving somewhat like a tenor. In various respects this air is remarkably similar to Caroso's sonatas.

Victor Coelho notes \textit{arie da cantare} from as late as the early seventeenth century, by which time they had become a Florentine specialty.\textsuperscript{33}


\textsuperscript{33} Victor Coelho, \textit{The Manuscript Sources of Seventeenth-century Italian Lute music ...} (1995), at pp. 46-47, and see also his \textit{'Rafaello Cavalcanti's Lutebook (1590) and the Ideal of Singing and Playing' in Le concert des voix et des instruments à la Renaissance, edited by Jean Michel Vaccaro.} (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1994).
THE RIPRESA AND THE RITORNELLO

It is interesting to compare Filippo de Lurano's 'Aer de Capituli', also in Petrucci's fourth book of *frottola* with the 'Aria da Cantar Terza Rima' in Marco Facoli's second book of dances and airs "for singing all kinds of rhyme" published in Venice in 1588.

Lurano's air is of three strains for the verses:

\begin{quote}
Un solicito amor, una gran fede,  
Un ampla servitu fervente e calda  
Me struge amante haver de si mercede.
\end{quote}

followed by a fourth strain marked 'La fin'. The first strain moves from III to VII, the second from IV to V, both with falling 2nd cadences, the third from III to I with a perfect cadence, all very homophonic except for some melismatic crotchet movement before the cadence in the third strain in the cantus, altus and bassus, but not in the tenor which moves like a proper tenor in semibreves and minims almost throughout. Facoli's air is without words but is similarly of four strains, the first moving from V to VII with a falling 2nd cadence, the second from VII to IV and the third from IV to I, both the second and third strains ending with perfect cadences onto IV and I respectively. Although not marked as *riprese*, as are the concluding strains of some of Facoli's other airs, the more idiomatic

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36 Translated:

'A sought love, a great faith,  
An ample servitude, fervent and hot  
Consumes me, loving to be so rewarded.'

37 Marco Facoli, *Il secondo libro d'intavolatura di balli d'arpicordo, pass'e mezzi, saltarelli, padovane, et alcuni aeri novi dilettevoli, da cantar ogni
keyboard writing and the cadential character of the last four bars, as well as the requirements of the verse form, indicate that this is their function. For comparison, the final strains of Lurano's and Facoli's airs are given below in Figure 31. Both composers' strains consist of two *riprese*: in Lurano's the second differs from the first, though the essential movement of each is I - V - I, with iv inserted in the second to produce the typical *ritornello* progression, I - iv - V - I; but in Facoli's strain the two *riprese* are very similar, each built on iv - V - I, with a suggestion of imitation and the second with some light division on the first.

**Figure 31**

Marco Facoli

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Many examples of riprese are to be found in the dance music repertoire, for instance in Facoli's fine 'Pass'e mezzo Moderno'\textsuperscript{38} where each of the six parts is followed by a 'Prima' and a 'Seconda Ripresa', quite extended and built on alternating I and V with cadential IV - V - I at the end. The pairs of riprese differ from each other but the second of each pair is divisions on the first. Another example is in John Bull's 'Quadran Pavan'\textsuperscript{39} where each pair of variations on the passamezzo moderno is followed by a pair of variations on a progression of many bars of V alternating with II, concluding with a repeated cadential formula. In his collection of dance music entitled Terpsichore, 1612, Michael Praetorius gives four sets of "reprise", amounting to fifty-

\textsuperscript{38} Marco Facoli, \emph{Il secondo libro d'intavolatura di balli d'arpicordo, pass'e mezzi, saltarelli, padovane, et alcuni aeri novi dilettevoli, da cantar ogni sorte di rima } ... (1588): no. 1, p. 1.

nine in all, "for the conclusion of galliards, just as would be diminished and varied by French dancing masters". The general function of these cadential sections, often much repeated and much varied apparently, as well as serving as conclusions, seems to be to lead back from the end of the air or dance to the beginning for a repeat, as expressed by the new term, *ritornello*, apparently synonymous with *ripresa*, which is found for the first time with this meaning in *Il Ballarino*. It is striking that the term, 'turnaround', used in Jazz styles for sections with this same function, is quite a close translation of 'ritornello'. Since the musical function of the *ripresa* as purely instrumental interlude is so clear in the *aria da cantare* this may have been its form of origin. And then again it may have been perceived in the dance music as accompaniment for concluding continenza-like *riprese* without the *sottopiede* finish at the end of the *tempo*.

'Ripresa' in the musical sense is not used in *Il Ballarino*, but 'ritornello' is found there three times, first in 'Amor Costante', where there is the instruction that "this *ritornello* is to be done twice", the *ritornello* occurring at the end of the duple time part of the sonata and consisting of two approximately six bar phrases (in the original barring), the first on I - IV - I and the second on I - IV - V - I. It is related to the 'air' of the sonata melodically as the discant of each phrase begins with the first half dozen notes of the first and second phrases of the first strain of the sonata, which motif also occurs in the third strain: so that the *ritornello*, in a manner of speaking, summarizes the air of the sonata. The *ritornello* does not occur at the

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42 See *Il Ballarino*, II, f. 27v. Although the sonata for this dance in *Nobilità di Dame*, pp. 213-214, is almost identical, less the *sciolta*, this instruction is not included there. The dance is considerably different and as there is some ambiguity as to the time values of the steps it is not possible to be certain whether the *ritornello* is to be repeated in the *Nobilità di Dame* version, but probably not.
end of the following sciolta. The second occurrence of the term is in 'Bella Gioiosa', in which there is a short ritornello of four bars at the end of a short sonata of twenty bars in all, the ritornello being, in fact, merely a repetition of the last four bars of the preceding strain. At the head of the sonata is the instruction "to be done two times [tempi] without the ritornelli", and over the ritornello itself is the instruction "this ritornello is to be done three times [volte]". The third occurrence, in the cascarda, 'Fedeltà', is similarly a short ritornello to a short sonata, to be played twice after the second tempo of the sonata, to which steps are specifically assigned: the man [uomo] does a seguito and a cadenza in the first time of the ritornello and the lady similarly in the second. It would seem from the number of steps that in the fifth tempo either the sonata would have to be repeated or the ritornello played very many more times than twice.

Whatever the origins of the ritornello, Richard Hudson shows also how the various chord series used in the dance music are to be found sometimes used less obviously in other kinds of music with the framework chords unequally spaced As example he notes the monody, 'Bellezze di Laura' from Affetti amorosi by Giovanni Stefani, Venice, 1618, and demonstrates that it is based on the folia. Elsewhere he also contends that the romanesca is essentially a vocal form, but in his concordance Lawrence Moe cites numerous examples of its use in dance music: in a 'Gaillarde' in Attaignant's Dix-huit basses dances, 1530, in 'Amor mio', 'Gratia d'Amore' and 'Chiaranzana' in Il Ballarino and in 'Vero Amore' in Nobiltà di Dame. Moe also argues that the usual galliard called 'La meza notte' is a variant of the romanesca, from the similarity of the first part of the bass pattern, the

43 See Il Ballarino, II, f. 95v.
44 See Il Ballarino, f. 147r.
46 Attaignant, Dix-huit basses dances, f. 24r.
second being the ritornello, but the argument is not entirely convincing. The sonata for the galliard 'Mezza notte' included by Caroso in 'il Piantone' in both *Il Ballarino* and *Nobiltà di Dame*, however, is quite different and apparently not related at all to the other galliard of the same name.

The sonata of 'il Piantone', identical in *Il Ballarino* and *Nobiltà di Dame*, is given for comparison with Facoli's 'Aria della Signora Fior d'Amor' in Figures 32 and 33 below: both are built on the same chord pattern, i.e. I - IV - VI - II, I - IV - V - I, known as 'Torchia' or 'Tu te parti', followed by the ritornello. The different discants, the extra decoration in Facoli's piece and the different solutions to the problem of the similarity of the chords of the ritornello to those of the second strain of the 'Torchia' pattern are to be noted. In both pieces IV in the second strain is touched lightly: Caroso's piece has only the bass note and in Facoli's the full chord is of only one minim's duration in a weak position. In Caroso's concluding third strain, i.e. the last two and a half bars as transcribed, the chords of the ritornello are quite simply and clearly stated. Facoli's third strain, i.e. the last four and a half bars, consists of two strongly cadential bar-long phrases beginning on the up-beat and a concluding longer phrase of two and a half bars beginning with an up-beat of cadential preparation. The first of the shorter phrases is a straightforward perfect cadence (i.e. transposed), I – IV, and the second, with a very similar figure, a falling 2nd cadence to I, while the third phrase begins with the same figure on I alternating with vi, concluding with the stock ritornello progression, IV - V - I.

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49 *Il Ballarino*, II, f. 184r; *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 335. Moe has found no concordances for this sonata, see Lawrence Henry Moe, *Dance Music in Printed Italian Lute Tablatures from 1507 to 1611 ...*, Vol. II, pp. 278.
50 *Il Ballarino*, II, f. 183v, and also 'Alta Ruissa', 176r; *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 335. Walker bars this sonata in $\frac{3}{2}$ but it is barred here in $\frac{4}{4}$ for ease of comparison with Facoli's air.
51 Marco Facoli, *Il secondo libro d'intavolatura di balli d'arpicordo, pass'e mezzi, saltarelli, padovane, et alcuni aeri novi dilettevoli, da cantar ogni sorte di rima ...* (1588): no. 18, p. 31.
Ballo detto il Piantone
Figure 33

Aria della Signora Fior d'Amor

Il secondo libro d'intavolatura... Marco Facoli
Hudson, in explaining the "special system of chordal variation" used in rasgueado chordal guitar music, observes that the framework chords with their clusters of added variation chords, usually in the relationship of IV - V - I, are "not unlike secondary dominants or secondary groups in tonal music theory". The IV in the first phrase of Facoli's third strain seems to be emphasised in that kind of way; in the second phrase the falling 2nd cadence, i.e. ii\#6 - I, 'modulates' back to the 'tonality' of I. The third, longer phrase of the strain begins similarly (in the third last bar), with an 'inverted' cadence, i.e. sharpened VII\#6 - I, which is further weakened by the movement back and forth from I to vi, the strain concluding with a full and decorated root position cadence with subdominant 'preparation'. It is hard to resist deducing from the paralellism of the repetitions of this cadential figure that Facoli was thinking in terms of inversions of chords, e.g. first inversions at the beginnings of these three phrases and perhaps, even, the ii\#6 and the sharpened VII\#6 noted may be intended as inversions of the penultimate dominant chord, i.e. as V\#7c and V\#b. In the final phrase vi is fairly clearly used as a substitute for I for the sake of continuity, and if it is going too far to interpret the 6/3 chords on ii and sharpened VII as inversions of the dominant chord, they seem nevertheless to have been conceived as substitutes for it, each containing the sharpened seventh degree leading to I.

Whatever the explanation, the texture of these final bars is quite plain compared with that of the ripresa of some of Facoli's other airs: perhaps on account of the richer harmonic structure here, divisions and imitations were felt to be not so necessary to differentiate this ripresa-like conclusion from the preceding strains of the air. Whereas Caroso's conclusion is a single statement, Facoli's is like three short riprese. Essentially the style of Caroso's sonata is similar to Facoli's with alternation of rhythmic, melodic and harmonic elaboration of framework chords, but it is simpler, using a more restricted vocabulary of stereotypes, resulting in what could be described as a style of limpid clarity, which soon might pall, however,

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unless elaborated and varied in some such way as in Facoli's *riprese*, as was no doubt the practice in performance. In the vocal pieces the instrumental *ritornelli* would provide contrast, but in the dances the dancing too, it must be remembered, would provide interest.

THREE TUNES WITH LONG HISTORIES

'A MOROSINA GRIMANA'

A piece of dance music, the *pavaniglia*, originating in vocal music, so it appears from Moe's concordance, went on to have a long and distinguished career in art music and is represented in *Nobiltà di Dame* by the sonata of 'Amorosina Grimana', a revised version of 'Pavanaglia' in *Il Ballarino*. The *pavaniglia* is a variant of the *folia* which Moe has traced to a transcription of a chanson, 'Jay mis mon couer' in a manuscript of organ tablature written by Johann Kotter between 1513 and 1532, and then found in various arrangements printed by Attaignant, 1529 and 1530, and in Hans Newsidler’s *Lautenbuch*, 1536. In the *pavaniglia* form it is found in a version for vihuela by Mudarra, 1546, and as 'La pavana del duca' in a lute version by Melchioro de Barberiis, 1549. The *pavaniglia* was

56 Alonso Mudarra, *Tres libros de musica en cifras para vihuela ...* (Seville: Juan de León, 1546), f. 18r, n. 15, 'Pavana I', and f. 23v, n. 22, 'Pavana III'. Melchior de Barberiis, *Intabolatuta di lauto ... libro nono intitolato Il*
subsequently arranged by Cabezón as 'Discante sobre la Pavana Italiana', published posthumously in 1578, as 'The Spanish Paven' by John Bull in *The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, as 'Pavane de Spaigne' by Michael Praetorius in *Terpsichore*, 1612, and by many others in the seventeenth century, mostly with the title 'Pavaniglia'.

'BASSA SAVELLA'

Mudarra's 'pavana del Duca' in the paragraph above should not be confused with Caroso's 'Bassa Ducale', in *Il Ballarino*, dedicated to the Duchess of Brunswick, which is then to be found in *Nobiltà di Dame* with the new title ‘Bassa Savella’. The sonata of ‘Bassa Savella’ is based on a pattern with a similar history, as from Moe's concordance it seems ultimately to derive from a fragment of Claude de Sermisy's chanson, 'Au joly bois', in Attaignant's *Trente et une chanson*, 1529. It subsequently appears in collections by Susato, 1551, Fruytiers, 1565, Phalèse, 1568, 1570, 1571 and 1583, and Vredeman, 1569, entitled 'Bruynsmedelijn' in various spellings, in the *Dublin Virginal Book*, c.1570, without title and in some other

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58 *Il Ballarino*, II, f. 51v.


60 Tilman Susato (publisher), *Het derde musyck boexken* ... (Antwerp: Susato, 1551), 'Allemande 7'. Jan Fruytiers, *Ecclesiasticus oft de wijze spoken Jesu de Soons Syrach* ... , (Antwerp: Willem Silvius, 1565), 'Frisch Meechdalyng'. Pierre Phalèse (publisher), *Luculentulum theatrum musicum* ... (Louvain: Phalèse, 1568), f. 87 , 'Almande smeechdelijn'. Sebastian Vredeman, *Carminum quae cythara pulsantur liber secundus: in quo selectissima*
manuscripts about 1600, in *Il Ballarino* as 'Bassa Ducale', the sonata
used again in *Nobiltà di Dame* as 'Bassa Savella', in Negri's *Le Gratie
d'Amore*, 1602, and as 'Capriccio quinto sopra la Bassa Fiamenga' in
Frescobaldi's collection of 1624, reprinted in 1626, 1628 and 1642.

'BARRIERA'

The sonata of 'Barriera', Coelho's 'catchy balletto', is in the
*bataglia* genre. Its fanfare-like opening figure probably derives from
the second part, beginning "Fan frere-le-le-lan fan", of Janequin's
famous chanson known as 'La guerre' or 'La bataille de Marignan' or
by the opening words, 'Escoutez, escoutez'. This genre would reflect
the formalised jousting known as the *barriera* or *sbarra* which was a
favoured form of princely occasional entertainment. Literary parallels
come to mind: the ball in the form of a tournament, danced to the

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d'Amore*, p. 187, 'Alemana d'Amore'. The sonata of 'Bassa Savella', *Il
Ballarino*, II, f. 74r, is different from that of the same name in *Nobiltà di
Dame*.

62 Girolamo Frescobaldi, *Il primo libro di capricci, canzon francese e
recercari fatti sopra diversi soggetti, et arie in partitura ...* (Venice:
Alessandro Vincenti, 1626), p. 40.

63 *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 143: this has been revised from 'Barriera' in *Il
Ballarino*, II, f. 78v.

Attaignant, 1528), no. 2.
music of fantastic instruments in a game of chess, described in Book V of Rabelais' *Gargantua and Pantagruel*; and yet further abstracted from actual physical combat in the dialogue between Truth and Opinion in the 'Barriers' of Ben Jonson's *Hymenaei, or Solemnities of Masque and Barriers at a Marriage*, for the wedding of the Earl of Essex, Twelfth Night, 1606. The trumpet-call and repeated notes in the 'Medleys' (in the sense of mêlée) by Byrd and Edward Johnson in *The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*\(^{65}\) bear some resemblance to the sonata of 'Barriera' and there may be some connection between these pieces and balletic representations of jousts such as Caroso's. From Moe's concordance\(^{66}\) it seems that the *Il Ballarino* version of the sonata may be the earliest: it is possibly predated by versions in manuscripts in Lucca, tentatively dated 1570-1580, and in Venice, lost and for which no date is available.\(^{67}\) Subsequently a version is found in Terzi's second book of lute tablatures, 1599;\(^{68}\) the same sonata is to be used for two dances in *Nobiltà di Dame*, for 'Barriera Nuova' as well as 'Barriera'; a version is found in Negri's *Le Grazie d'Amore*;\(^{69}\) the opening figure is used by Frescobaldi in his *Capriccio sopra la Battaglia*, 1637;\(^{70}\) and versions are found in many manuscripts, notably for present purposes the Cavalcanti lute book, 1590.\(^{71}\)


\(^{66}\) Lawrence Henry Moe, *Dance Music in printed Italian Lute Tablatures from 1507 to 1611*, p. 273.


\(^{68}\) Giovanni Antonio Terzi, *Il secondo libro de intavolatura di liuto* ... (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1599), p. 33, 'Barriera balletto con tutte le sue repliche'.

\(^{69}\) Cesare Negri, *Le Grazie d'Amore*, p. 123, 'Barrera'.

\(^{70}\) Girolamo Frescobaldi, *Toccate d'intavolatura di cimbalo et organo, partite di diverse arie et corrente, balletti, ciaccone, passachagli* ... (Rome: Nicolò Borbone, 1637), a cart. 89.

\(^{71}\) Cavalcanti, Raffaello (former owner), *Ms. of Italian lute tablature*, 1590, Bibliothèque Royal de Belgique Albert Ier., Departement de la Musique, Ms. II. 275, f. 40v, 'Bariera Balletto'.

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SOURCES RELATED TO NOBILTÀ DI DAME

The reader is referred to the ‘Concordance of the Sonatas’ below for comprehensive information concerning the dance music repertoire with which Caroso would have been familiar, its sources and its subsequent occurrences. As Lawrence Moe points out, his Concordance is not exhaustive: it covers observation and research up until the nineteen-fifties and our knowledge of the concordances has been amplified since by the work of others, particularly useful in respect of lute and guitar music. The ‘Selected Concordances’ immediately below have been selected for consideration of the more immediate provenance of the sonatas in Nobiltà di Dame. They are identified in certain printed and manuscript sources fairly close in time and place to Nobiltà di Dame. They have been selected from the ‘Concordance of the Sonatas’ to illustrate the immediate provenance of the music in Nobiltà di Dame.

TABLE 9   SELECTED CONCORDANCES

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| [7] | Passo e mezzo  
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| [8] | Barriera  
_balletto_ | Ball v  
Grat  
Caval |
| [9] | Spagnoletta Nuova  
al modo di madriglia  
_balletto_ | Ball i  
Grat  
Caval |
| [10] | Gagliarda di Spagna  
_balletto_ | Ball i |
_balletto_ | Ball i  
Amig |
| [12] | Altezza d’Amore  
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| [13] | Coppia Colonna  
_balletto_ | Ball i |
| [14] | Rosa Felice  
_balletto_ | -- |
| [16] | Doria Colonna cascarda  
Nob i [47]  
Ball i |
| [17] | Alta Colonna  
balletto  
Nob v [23]  
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| [18] | Allegrezza d’Amore cascarda  
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<td>[22]</td>
<td>Cesarina balletto</td>
<td>Ball v</td>
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<td>Caval Mus.ms</td>
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<td>40032</td>
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<td>[23]</td>
<td>Bellezze d’Olimpia balletto</td>
<td>Nob v [17]</td>
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<td>Ball i</td>
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<td>[24]</td>
<td>Contrapasso Nuovo da farsi in sesto</td>
<td>Ball i</td>
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<td>Caval Amig</td>
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<td>[25]</td>
<td>Specchio d’Amore cascarda</td>
<td>Ball i</td>
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<td>[26]</td>
<td>Contentezza d’Amore balletto</td>
<td>Ball i</td>
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<td>[27]</td>
<td>Bassa Savella balletto</td>
<td>Ball i</td>
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<td>Grat</td>
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<td>[28]</td>
<td>Conto dell’Orco Nuovo balletto</td>
<td>Ball i</td>
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<td>Caval</td>
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<td>Furioso all’Italiana <em>balletto</em></td>
<td>Caval</td>
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<td>Nido d’Amore <em>balletto</em></td>
<td>Nob i [30]</td>
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<td>34</td>
<td>Alta Vittoria <em>balletto</em></td>
<td>Nob i [45]</td>
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<td>37</td>
<td>Ballo del Fiore <em>balletto</em></td>
<td>Ball i</td>
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<td>38</td>
<td>Tordiglione <em>balletto</em></td>
<td>Ball i</td>
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<td>39</td>
<td>Vero Amore <em>balletto</em></td>
<td>Ball i</td>
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<td>40</td>
<td>Ninfa Leggiadra <em>cascarda</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>41a</td>
<td>Ballo detto il Piantone</td>
<td>Ball i</td>
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<td>41b</td>
<td>La Gagliarda <em>detta Mezza notte</em></td>
<td>Ball i</td>
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<td>42</td>
<td>Cortesia <em>balletto</em></td>
<td>Ball v</td>
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<td>43</td>
<td>Pungente Dardo <em>balletto</em></td>
<td>Ball i</td>
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<td>44</td>
<td>Rara Belta <em>cascarda</em></td>
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<td>[46]</td>
<td>Donna Leggiadra <em>cascarda</em></td>
<td>Ball i</td>
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<td>[47]</td>
<td>Selva Amorosa <em>balletto</em></td>
<td>Nob v[[16]] Ball v</td>
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<td>[48]</td>
<td>Fulgenti Rai <em>cascarda</em></td>
<td>Ball i</td>
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* Nob. = *Nobiltà di Dame*  
  Ball = *Il Ballarino*  
  Grat = *Le Gratie d'Amore*  
  Caval = Cavalcanti's lute book.  
  Amig = Amigoni's ms.  
  Kraków, Mus.ms. 40032  
  i = identical  
  v = variant

**IL BALLARINO**

Twenty-three of the forty-two sonatas, i.e. a little more than half of them, are repeated from *Il Ballarino*, in whole or in part, exactly or with minor variation (the unbarred sonatas for ‘Mezza notte’ seem intended to be identical in spite of the many mistakes in both versions). A further ten are variants to some degree in some respect of sonatas in *Il Ballarino* ‘Amor Costante’ [19] is substantially the same but with added detail and the pavaniglia, ‘Amorosina Grimana’ [4], is a revision of ‘Pavaniglia’ in the earlier book; there are some rearranged sonatas for the same dances with the same names, viz. ‘Alta Regina’ [3], ‘Passo e mezzo’ [7] and ‘Barriera’ [8]; whilst the other five are for more or less new dances with new names. For some of the sonatas with ‘identical’ concordances in *Il Ballarino* there are variants as well and for some sonatas several. Thus, approximately three quarters of the sonatas in *Nobiltà di Dame* are taken from *Il Ballarino*, either repeated or reworked. To this extent, in respect of the music, Caroso’s description of *Nobiltà di Dame* as ‘a book previously
called *Il Ballarino*’ is accurate, i.e. 75 per cent. Here as example is the beginning of the sonata of 'Alta Regina' in *Il Ballarino*:72

**Figure 34. Alta Regina (*Il Ballarino*)**

![Alta Regina](image)

and its concordance of the same name in Nobiltà di Dame.73

**Figure 35. Alta Regina (*Nobiltà di Dame*)**

![Alta Regina](image)

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72 *Il Ballarino*, II, f. 9r.
73 *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 100.
One might assume from Negri’s praises of Caroso, quoted above, that Negri knew only Caroso’s earlier book. The musical concordances suggest that he was familiar with the sonatas of *Nobiltà di Dame* too, even that some of them may have been his sources. All of them have been thoroughly rearranged in Negri’s book however. Six of the sonatas in *Le Gratie d’Amore* have been found to be concordant with sonatas in *Nobiltà di Dame*, five of them concordant with sonatas in *Il Ballarino* as well: i.e. two ‘Pavaniglie’ are concordant with the *pavaniglia*, ‘Amorosina Grimana’ [4], a ‘Barrera’ with ‘Barriera’ [8], a ‘Balletto Spagnoletto’ with ‘Spagnoletta Nuova’ [9] and the other three not related by name. There is another of Negri’s sonatas with a concordance in *Nobiltà di Dame* but not in *Il Ballarino*, i.e. Negri’s sonata for his ‘Bianco Fiore’, which is the only concordance that Moe has identified for the sonata of ‘Forza d’Amore’ [20]. For Negri’s sonata, ‘Cesarino’, only six concordances have been identified: four of them in *Il Ballarino*, i.e. ‘Alta Regina’ and three others with different names, ‘Alta Regina’ [3] in *Nobiltà di Dame* and another ‘Alta Regina’ in Amigoni’s manuscript discussed below. Negri’s ‘Barrera’ has some few more concordances in other collections but the *Il Ballarino* version of ‘Barriera’ may be the earliest of them and the source of the others. The original of Negri's 'Cesarino' is reproduced with a transcription in Figure 36 below.
Raffaelo Cavalcanti, owner of the manuscript that is known by his name and probably scribe of much of it, was presumably of the Florentine Cavalcanti family, the members of which took very little active part in the politics of the city during the sixteenth century, and he may have lived elsewhere, possibly in Rome. His manuscript of lute tablature is dated 1590 and the tables of contents show that it includes arie da cantare, madrigals, napoletane, tenors, contrapunti, balletti, saltarelli, "Ghalghardi Di Santino e ricerche e Fantassie". As well as seventeen pieces by Santino Garsi, mostly galliards (some of which are also found in the Kraków manuscript of pieces in Italian lute tablature referred to below) the Cavalcanti manuscript includes pieces by Giovambatista da Milano, Giulio Giovanni, Orazio Vecchi, Mortali, Cristofano Malvezzi, Alessandro Striggio and others and a
number of anonymous pieces. The last two of these named composers suggest Cavalcanti's Florentine connections, as the pieces by Santino Garsi suggest his contact with the Farnese, perhaps in Parma or perhaps in Rome, but the anonymous pieces, amongst which are six concordant with sonatas in Nobiltà di Dame, indicate a body of common dance music in addition to that based on the traditional rows.

Examples in Figure 37 below, taken from Helmut Osthoff's transcriptions, show the similarity of two pieces by Santino Garsi with their concordance in Nobiltà di Dame: the first nine bars of a 'Gagliarda' from the Cavalcanti lute book and also the first nine bars of 'La Cesarina di Santino Garsi da Parma', from a manuscript of more than three hundred pieces, formerly in the Deutsches Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, now in Kraków, in the Biblioteca Jagiellońska, commonly referred to as 'Berlin 40032', of pieces in Italian lute tablature, mostly copied in the late sixteenth century (but with additions up to 1625)

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74 Johannes Wolf, Handbuch der Notationskunde ... (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1913-1919), 2. Bd., p. 70:
76 Helmuth Osthoff, Der Lautenist, Santino Garsi da Parma, pp. 87-88.
77 Cavalcanti, Raffaello (former owner), Ms. of Italian lute tablature, 1590, Bibliothèque Royal de Belgique Albert Ier., Departement de la Musique, Ms. II. 275, f. 8v.
78 Kraków (formerly D-Bds, Berlin), Mus.ms. 40032, f.120v. This manuscript is described by Osthoff in Der Lautenist Santino Garsi da Parma, pp. 41-51; by John Griffiths in ‘Berlin Mus. MS 40032 y otras nuevos hallazgos en el repertorio para vihuela’ in España en la Musica de Occidente, vol. 1, ed. E Casares, I Fernández de la Cuesta & J. López-Calvo (Madrid: Ministero de Cultura, 1987) pp. 323-325 and ‘The Music of Castrato Lutenists at the time of Caravaggio’ in La musica al tempo di Caravaggio a cura di Stefania Macioce, Enrico De Pascale, coordinamento e collaborazione scientifica Alessio Calabresi, Malena B. McGrath, volume speciale dal Convegno Internazionale di Studi La musica al tempo di Caravaggio, Milano,
for comparison with the first nine bars of 'Cesarina' [22] from *Nobiltà di Dame*.\textsuperscript{79}

**Figure 37**

Gagliarda  
[Cavalcanti’s Lute book]  
Santino Grassi

La Cesarina  
[Mus. ms. 40032]  
Santino Garsi

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\textsuperscript{79} *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 232.
Regarding Garsi’s pieces and the title, ‘La Cesarina’ are discussed above in Chapter VII. It must be noted that, in spite of the similarity of names, this ‘La Cesarina’ is a different piece from Negri’s ‘Cesarino’ in Figure 36 above.

This Kraków manuscript is a collection of pieces for solo lute and contains only this one piece concordant with a sonata in Nobiltà di Dame but it is nevertheless interesting in that it is contemporaneous with Caroso. The manuscript has been very well described by John Griffiths, who with Dinko Fabris has prepared an edition which is as yet not available. In the manuscript the name of the copyist and owner has been crossed out but the surname can be deciphered as ‘Barbarino’. He was probably a professional castrato singer-lutenist and probably Neapolitan, but there were many musicians of this kind employed, in capella as well as in camera, in noble households of which there were many, particularly in Rome. We look forward to the availability of this interesting source.

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80 See above.
VINCENZO GALILEI’S LUTE TABLATURE AND THE DUSIACKI LUTE BOOK

The concordances indicate these two other manuscripts of interest in regard to this repertoire. There is Vincenzo Galilei's book containing dance pieces in lute tablature, 1584, with a concordance for 'il Piantone'. And there is a manuscript known as the Dusiacki lute book, unusual in that it contains Italian music in French tablature, copied in Padua by Santino Garsi's son or grandson, Donino, for his student, the Polish nobleman, Kasimierz Dusiacki, containing mostly pieces by Santino and Donino Garsi, including a version of the 'Aria di Fiorenza' concordant with 'Laura Suave' [5] to be discussed below in the next chapter.

AMIGONI'S MANUSCRIPT

Interesting in that it is of the same Roman provenance as Nobiltà di Dame, but some thirteen years later than it, is the manuscript copied by the Mantuan, Giovanni Amigoni, dated 1613 in Rome. It is in score but appears to be a practical collection, mostly of music in from two to six parts for instrumental ensembles, many arranged from vocal music but without texts, some canons, nine toni ecclesiastici, i.e. falsobordone psalm tones, a few arie da cantare in two and three parts with texts for singing, including twelve 'parti' in two parts on the romanescas, and many dances, an extensive section of basses of much of the other material, a table of chord letter names for the Spanish guitar and a concluding section, 'Prattica Musicale', of what is nowadays known as 'theory'. The repertoire includes both sacred and secular without apparent distinction, ranging from Josquin des Prés to Kapsberger.

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81 Libro d'intavolatura di liuto, nel quale si contengono i passamezzi, le romanescas, i saltarelli, et le Gagliarde et altre cose ariose ... (1584, I-Fn, Fondo dei anteriori di Galileo, Ms. 6).
82 Joannes Amigonus Mantuanus (scribe), Spartitura generale, e particolare di diversi motetti, et madrigali, con altre opere belle ... (Rome, 1613), I-Bc, Ms. Q 34.
The dances are grouped: first, French dances, viz. eleven pavans, eight galliards, ten corenti, ten volte and five 'Brandi di Hay', then ten Lombard galliards with titles and nine 'Gagliardi diversi', including two on the favorita, i.e. the romanesca, and one each by Kapsberger and Santino, presumably Garsi. Following these dances, which apparently were felt to be foreign to some extent, are the 'Balletti alla Romana': 'Romanesca', 'Rogiero', 'Monaca', 'Aria di Firenze', 'Aria del Gazella', 'Follia', 'Pavaniglia', 'Tortiglione', 'Alta Vittoria', the same in gagliarda, 'Bass'e alta' with 'Gioiosa' following it, 'Contrapasso', 'Alta Regina', 'Baccio Honorato' and 'Riccio ardente', more than half of them also occurring in Nobiltà di Dame, mostly with the same titles. It is likely that these may well have owed their currency to Caroso and his books, in particular 'Alta Regina' and 'Alta Vittoria', which are found only in Il Ballarino and Nobiltà di Dame and this manuscript, and 'Bass'e alta' with its 'Gioiosa' and 'Tortiglione', which are found only in these three sources and in one other each. Below in Figure 38 find the bass and the two part version of Amigoni's 'Monaca' and in Figure 39 its concordance in Il Ballarino, 'Alta Morona', for comparison with 'Celeste Giglio', the first movement of which is reproduced above in Figure 19.

83 In Nobiltà di Dame the dance is printed as 'Bassa, e Alta' but the sonata as 'Bassa, & Alta' and a longer title for the dance is found in 'Regola XXVII', p.35: 'Bassa, & Alta di Castiglia alla Spagnuola'. 'Bassa & Alta' is also found as 'Baxa Alta' in ms. leaves at the end of a copy of Alonso Mudarra, Tres libros de musica en cifras para vihuela ... (Seville, in E-Mn). Three versions of 'Tordiglione' are found in D-Ngm, Ms. 33, II, ff. 3v & 4v, entitled 'Tordiglione' & 'Altro Tordiglione', and III, f. 19v 'Tordiglione'.
84 Joannes Amigonus Mantuanus (scribe), Spartitura generale, e particolare di diversi motetti, et madrigali, con altre opere belle ... (Rome, 1613), I-Bc, Ms.Q 34, f. 91v and f. 99v.
85 Il Ballarino. II., f. 135v.
Monaca
[Balletti alla Romana]
Joannes Amigonus

Balletti alla Romana
Joannes Amigonus
THE COMPOSER OF THE SONATAS?

The skill of accompanying dancing on the lute in a conventional, but not very ‘learned’, dance-music style, in a tradition stemming from the art of the minstrels, may have been part of Caroso’s equipment as a dancing master and, in spite of the reservations at the end of Chapter VII above, concerning Caroso as a musician, he therefore can be taken to have been the composer of the sonatas in his books, if ‘composer’ is the appropriate word for this skill. In fact there is no mention in Caroso’s books of anyone else as ‘composer’. Nor does Negri make any mention of anyone responsible for Caroso’s dance-music or for that of any other dance-master or inventor of dances. It seems likely, then, that the dance music in

86 See above.
Caroso's books and in these manuscripts represents a central Italian repertoire, Roman at least and probably also Florentine and Parmesan as well, with the influence of the Farnese Dukes, particularly evident in the works of Santino Garsi. This, within the broader tradition, was to some degree distinct from the Lombard as well as from the French repertoire of dance and dance music.

It seems from the presence of his music in the manuscripts, that Santino Garsi was of some consequence in this tradition. The article on him in the *New Grove Dictionary* states that he was studying in Rome until recalled to Parma in 1594 by Duke Ranuccio I Farnese, to whom, with the Duchess, Margarita Aldobrandini, *Nobiltà di Dame* is dedicated, in the year of their marriage, 1600. It has not been possible to discover with whom Garsi was studying in Rome or who may have been his contacts there. He may have contributed in some way to Caroso’s sonatas - and may have been influenced by him and no doubt would himself have learned much from such contact. But Caroso, or whoever else composed and arranged the music in Caroso's books, was at least familiar with this central Italian repertoire and, since as well he most probably would have composed many of the sonatas for which no concordances have been found, he would have been a significant contributor to it. If not Caroso himself, he must surely have been of the same circle of lutenists and musicians. Caroso’s and Garsi’s harmonic procedures are certainly very similar, as are those in the other dance music considered. Generally however, Caroso's melodies are rather smoother, the rhythms and textures more graceful and more persistently maintained, though somewhat stereotyped and the general effect relatively bland. But these differences of style might possibly be due to the indubitably practical purposes for which the music in Caroso's books was intended.

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There is a fair degree of homogeneity in the style of Caroso's sonatas although some difference is to be noted: e.g. a certain melodic angularity in 'Alta Gonzaga' and 'Passo e mezzo' on the one hand and on the other a finish and modernity in 'Celeste Giglio' and 'Laura Suave' and there are some sophisticated archaic features in 'Bassa, & Alta'. This homogeneity encompasses a variety of textures, less so, it should be noted, in Nobiltà di Dame than in Il Ballarino. It is most likely that the sonatas were arranged from a variety of sources and freshly composed in varying degrees by the one musician, the extent of revision from other sources being somewhat uneven, like that of the sonatas in F major repeated from Il Ballarino in Nobiltà di Dame discussed above, some revised for seven course lute and others not.\(^88\) Cesare Negri in Le Gratie d'Amore makes no reference to Caroso as a musician,\(^89\) but then he does not discuss dance music or musicians as such. In both Il Ballarino and in Nobiltà di Dame, as already noted, there is no acknowledgement of any composer, although some poets are acknowledged in both, engravings of dancers and Caroso’s portrait used again from Il Ballarino are signed by Giacomo Francho and some other choreographers are acknowledged in Il Ballarino.

In his essay ‘Authority, Autonomy, and Interpretation in Seventeenth Century Italian Lute Music’,\(^90\) Victor Coelho, from a seventeenth century point of view, sheds much light on Italian lute music during the sixteenth century, and particularly at the turn of the century. He helps our understanding of the place of Caroso’s sonatas in the lute repertoire. The printed sources are the performer’s ‘authority’ of Coelho’s title whilst the manuscripts preserve traditions of performance, and the ‘autonomy’ of the performer is the final part of the process. Coelho distinguishes three traditions.\(^91\)

\(^88\) See above.
\(^89\) See above.
\(^91\) Victor Coelho (ed.), ‘Authority, autonomy, and interpretation …’ at p. 109.
(1) A *modern professional* tradition, largely for theorbo or archlute, of which Kapsberger, Giuseppe Baglioni, Andrea Falconieri and the Piccinini brothers were exemplars, constituting the Roman school.

(2) A *courtly professional* tradition, written for court occasions in a more conservative idiom, by lutenists such as Santino Garsi da Parma and Lorenzo Allegri.

(3) A *domestic* tradition for amateur and student players who mostly played the smaller types of lute of seven or eight courses. They played works by ‘classical’ composers such as Francesco da Milano and by ‘conservative contemporary’ composers such as Santino Garsi da Parma. Later in the essay, Coelho adds Caroso’s sonatas, from both *Il Ballarino* and *Nobiltà di Dame*, to this domestic repertoire.\(^{92}\)

\(^{92}\) Victor Coelho (ed.), ‘Authority, autonomy, and interpretation …’ at p. 124.
CHAPTER IX

'O CHE NUOVO MIRACOLO' AND 'LAURA SUAVE'

'O CHE NUOVO MIRACOLO'

AROSO’S most illustrious musical source in Nobiltà di Dame is that of the sonata of 'Laura Suave' which is based on the opening section of 'O che nuovo miracolo', the finale of the sixth and final intermedio for the play, La Pellegrina, by Girolamo Bargagli, performed in Florence in 1589 for the wedding of Grand Duke Ferdinand I to Christine of Lorraine, the lady to whom 'Laura Suave' is dedicated. This aria also stands out from all of the sources of Caroso's sonatas in that it is so well documented. Warren Kirkendale has written a book devoted entirely to the circumstances of its birth and to the extensive repertoire based on it. The total concept of the six intermedii, representing various aspects of ancient music, was the invention of Count Bardi, assisted by Emilio de’ Cavalieri who also composed one, or perhaps two, of the musical numbers in addition to

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1 Nobiltà di Dame, p. 116.
'O che nuovo miracolo', and the sets were by Bernardo Buontalenti. The tune which was extracted from Cavalieri's *ballo* became known as the 'Ballo del Gran Duca' or the 'Aria di Fiorenza' and Caroso, in perhaps being the first to adapt it to a form suitable for a *balletto*, in 'Laura Suave', might share some of the distinction for its genesis as a tune.

The Platonic source of the topic of the sixth *intermedio* which was its first birth has already been quoted above. Here is the myth in the words of Bastiano de' Rossi, secretary of the Accademia della Crusca:

Jove, having compassion on the human race, tired and replete with toils, decided, so as to give some refreshment, that Apollo, Bacchus and the Muses should take responsibility for this care, and charged them to carry Harmony and Rhythm to earth, so that in dancing, and singing, and gladdened with such performed delights, [the race] might find some relief after so many labours.

The liveliness and delight of the spectacle and sound, however, are better communicated to us in this account from Bastiano de' Rossi's description of this event in the wedding celebrations.

Commencing with the gods, descended to earth, and the clouds dispersed, like a flash, hands taken, and those nymphs, and the shepherds, singing still, and teaching them to dance with them:

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and at the end of the verse 'Muova leggiadramente i passi suoi' those of the earth also dancing with them, they sing the rest of the canzone, aided by a harmony, of other instruments, and of voices, coming out of the open heaven, that it seemed, that all the hierarchies of the angels had stopped there to sing, which canzone, and the madrigals of this whole intermedio were compositions of Ottavio Rinuccini, already mentioned several times, the music of the madrigals by the maestro di capella aforementioned [i.e. Cristofano Malvezzi], that of the canzone with dance by Emilio de' Cavalieri, and the canzone is this 'Lassù nel bel sereno ...'. Which song, with the gentle dance, was of such sweet entertainment, and agreeable, that one would never wish to see the end.

Rossi's account of the occasion presents a difficulty in that it states that the text of the ballo was Rinuccini's canzone, 'Lassù nel bel sereno', given in full in Rossi's Descrizione ... . The metre of Rinuccini's poem, however, could not possibly fit Cavalieri's music as we have it: perhaps the account preserves something originally projected but replaced by Cavalieri's ballo, 'O che nuovo miracolo'. There is no setting of Rinuccini's canzone extant but perhaps a choreography that is preserved in the ninth of the fourteen part-books of the edition of the Intermedii et concerti by Cristofano Malvezzi was intended for one. The discrepancy almost certainly would have some connection with the conflict between Rossi and Bardi, members of the Accademia della Crusca, and Cavalieri, newly arrived from Rome to be appointed superintendent of all the artists of the court, including the musicians of the chapel, by Grand Duke Ferdinand who had known Cavalieri during the fifteen years that he had spent in Rome on account of his dislike of Bianca Cappello. The undoubted great success of the ballo, in spite of any criticism that might have been made on academic grounds in respect of Cavalieri's procedure,

8 See Kirkendale, L'Aria di Fiorenza ... (Florence: 1972), p. 56.
could be attributed to the fact that he composed the dance and the music first according to Malvezzi's ninth partbook:¹⁰

The music of this dance, and the dance itself were by Signor Emilio de' Cavalieri and the words were done after the air of the dance by Signora Laura Lucchesi de' Guidiccioni principal gentlewoman of the city of Lucca adorned with rare qualities and virtues. And thus concluded the intermedii but not the amazement of the audience who remained full of desire to hear them all over again.

Primacy so clearly given to dance and music before poetry might have been contrary to the humanist views of Bardi and his circle, but nevertheless, writing more than forty years later, Giovanni Battista Doni awards Cavalieri's ballo the distinction of considering that it might very well have served as a model for the ancients.¹¹

The music of Cavalieri's ballo¹² remarkably prefigures the

¹² There has been controversy over the originality of the music of Cavalieri's ballo: see, for a comparatively recent example, John Hill, "O che nuovo miracolo": A New Hypothesis about the "Aria di Fiorenza" in In Cantu et in Sermone: For Nino Pirotta on his 80th Birthday (Florence: Olschki, 1989), pp. 283-322, which has been answered by Warren Kirkendale in 'Ancora
concerto grosso in its textural structure as it consists of five-part choruses - like the ritornello sections of a concerto - essentially homophonic but with a trailing soprano part to give contrapuntal interest. Alternating with these choruses - like the concertino sections in a concerto - are the risposte, in imitative style and very static harmonically, for three female singers who were probably intended to emulate the famous concerto delle dame of Duke Alfonso II of Ferrara. Both D. P. Walker and Warren Kirkendale have analysed the ballo, showing a structure resembling ritornello-form. The five-part 'ritornello' consists of three segments according to Kirkendale but of six in D. P. Walker's more detailed analysis whilst the trio section consists in its complete statement of three segments in both analyses. There are complete statements of both sections at the beginning and at the end, with partial statements of both sections in between. Here is yet another diagrammatic representation of this very complex structure in which both the three and the five-part sections are shown as consisting of six segments:

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sull'Aria di Fiorenza' in Rivista italiana di musicologia, v. 31 (1996), n. 1, pp. 53-59, defending his position taken in L'Aria di Fiorenza ... (Florence: 1972), pp.50-53. In his thesis, The Art of Dancing in 1600: The balletti of Fabrizio Caroso ... (Melbourne: 1986,) Vol. 1, pp. 160-162, the present writer considered the evidence of the presence of the bass and some of the tablature of the aria with some verses in the manuscript, Intavolatura di leuto da suonare e cantare, Lucca, Biblioteca Governativa, Ms.774, f.44r, which has been assessed, not very precisely, as dating from the latter half of the 16th century, probably from 1570-1580. Such dating is far from conclusive evidence, in fact very flimsy, and Kirkendale's opinion is supported by very extensive knowledge of and familiarity with the very large repertoire. His argument based on the 'recent' style of the harmonic progression is particularly persuasive.

13 Musique des intermèdes de "La Pellegrina" ... (1963), p. xxviii.
14 Warren Kirkendale, L'Aria di Fiorenza ... (Florence: 1972), p. 47.
### TABLE 10  THE STRUCTURE OF 'O CHE NUOVO MIRACOLO'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vocal parts</th>
<th>Time signatures and Ballo sections</th>
<th>Choreographic sections</th>
<th>Fugal sections</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 parts</td>
<td>5 parts</td>
<td>3 parts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( \frac{6}{4} xxxy'zz )</td>
<td></td>
<td>1. Exposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( \frac{2}{2} AABCDE )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 parts</td>
<td>5 parts</td>
<td>3 parts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( \frac{6}{4} xx; yx ; zz )</td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Counterexposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( \frac{2}{2} AA; B; DE )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 parts</td>
<td>5 parts</td>
<td>3 parts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( \frac{3}{2} xx; yx ; zz )</td>
<td></td>
<td>3. Variation I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( \frac{3}{2} AA; B; DE )</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Sciolta I.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 parts</td>
<td>5 parts</td>
<td>3 parts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( \frac{3}{2} xx; yx ; zz )</td>
<td></td>
<td>4. Variation II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( \frac{6}{4} AA; B; DE )</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Sciolta II.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 parts</td>
<td></td>
<td>5 parts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( \frac{2}{2} AABCDE )</td>
<td></td>
<td>5. Reprise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 parts</td>
<td></td>
<td>5 parts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( \frac{6}{8} PPQQPRPRR )</td>
<td></td>
<td>6. Coda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here, Caroso's dance music term, *tempo*, has been applied to the six main sections (with sonata terms in parentheses), and in the next column the terms of Kirkendale's headings which demonstrate structural resemblance to another great Baroque form, the fugue.
In the piece the material is proportionally transformed in various ways: in the first two tempi the five-part choruses are in C time (shown in the diagram as \( \frac{2}{4} \)), those in the third tempo are in \( \text{O}_3 \) (shown as \( \frac{3}{4} \)) and those in the fourth are also in \( \text{O}_3 \), but predominantly \( \frac{6}{8} \) (as shown), returning to C (i.e. \( \frac{2}{4} \)) in the fifth tempo. In the trios this series is reversed: those in the first and second tempi being in \( \text{O}_3 \), i.e. \( \frac{6}{8} \) (as shown), those in the first variation in C and those in the second in \( \text{O}_3 \), i.e. predominantly in \( \frac{3}{4} \) (as shown). Although not exactly retrograde, this reversion of the series of times in the trios would be quite apparent, aurally as well as visually. The final riprese in the sixth tempo, 'P' and 'Q' with falling 2nd cadences on V and I respectively and 'R' on the I - IV - V - I pattern with a perfect cadence, are in C, presumably \( \frac{6}{8} \). The series of proportional times, duple, triple and compound duple, is the norm in Caroso's composite dances but the use by Cavalieri of the series in both directions simultaneously must have been novel in dance music, as well as ingenious, and most likely was suggested by contrapuntal procedures.

The full five-part chorus sections are in regular phrases of four bars, for which Laura Lucchesini's verses\(^ {15} \) are of eight syllables each, in iambic tetrameter, for instance the opening lines:\(^ {16} \)

\[ \begin{align*} 
\text{O che nuovo miracolo} \\
\text{Ecco ch'in terra scendono ...} 
\end{align*} \]

changing to seven syllables in iambic trimeter for the riprese in the

\(^{15}\) Malvezzi (ed), Intermedii e concerti ... (1591), 'nono', pp. 19-29: see Musiques des intermèdes de "La Pellegrina" ... (1963), pp. liv-lv.

\(^{16}\) 'Oh what new miracle,

See who is descending to earth ...'.

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last eight lines, beginning: \(^{17}\)

Guidin vezzosi balli
Fra queste amene valli ... .

The trio risposte \(^{18}\) are somewhat unusual in being in phrases of five bars, except for the 'y' segment which is of four bars and more homophonic in texture and in faster harmonic rhythm. The verses of the risposte are mostly of seven syllables in iambic trimeter, though a few are longer being of eleven syllables in iambic pentameter, for instance the verse of the first risposte, i.e. in the first tempo: \(^{19}\)

Del grande Heroe, che con benigna legge
Hetruria frena e regge
Udito ha Giove in Cielo
Il purissimo zelo
E dal suo seggio santo
Manda il ballo, & il canto.

The couplets of the 'xx' risposte in the third and fourth tempi are also in the longer metre. These metres are accommodated to the imitative entries in the five-bar phrases with repetitions of words, hemiolas, longer notes and short melismata. The trio sections are more complex than the choruses in all ways other than the harmonic.

Regarding the scoring and choreography of the ballo, Malvezzi's ninth part-book begins thus:

This dance was sung by all the voices and played by all the instruments given above.

---

\(^{17}\) 'May graceful dances lead
Through these delightful vales ...'.

\(^{18}\) The first of the trio sections is entitled 'Risposta del Sig. Emilio Cavalieri'.

\(^{19}\) 'Of the great Hero, who with benign law
Curbs and rules Etruria
Jove in Heaven has heard
Of his purest zeal
And from his holy seat
Sends dance and song.'
Then after the verses of the first five-part chorus there is this note:20

The terzets [i.e. the risposte], were all sung and danced by Vittoria Archilei, and Lucia Caccini, and Margherita, and Vittoria, and Lucia, each played a guitar, one of the Spanish kind, and the other of the Neapolitan, and Margherita a tambourine adorned with silver jingles with such sweet harmony and marvellous gracefulness, and attitude, that greater could neither be heard or seen.

Howard Mayer Brown has reconstructed the scoring, noting that the largest piece, the preceding chorus by Malvezzi himself, 'O fortunato giorno', is scored in thirty parts for seven choirs, two voices to each part,21 and so for 'O che nuovo miracolo' there would also have been at least sixty singers available. This number is supported by the engraving of Buontalenti's set by F. Succhielli which shows approximately sixty performers including the gods in the heaven.22 In addition to the two guitars23 and tambourine, played by the three ladies of the terzets, Brown gives a "possible disposition for voices and instruments" that includes: four lutes, two of the new chitarroni24, two lire da braccio, a lirone, a violin, five viols, four trombones, two

20 Malvezzi (ed.), Intermedi e concerti … (1591), 'nono', p. 19, see Musique des intermèdes de "La Pellegrina" ... (1963), p. liv.
21 Musique des intermèdes de "La Pellegrina" ... (1963), pp. 122-139. and p.liii. The sixty singers are noted by Malvezzi in his Intermedii e concerti … (159), 'nono', p. 17.
23 Howard Mayer Brown, in Sixteenth-Century Instrumentation … (1973), p. 27, n. 4, considers that these guitars may have been a standard instrument with four or five courses and a mandolin played with a plectrum and most often strummed, although he has found no sixteenth century references to it.
24 See Douglas Alton Smith, 'On the Origins of the Chitarrone, Journal of the American Musicological Society, Vol. 32 (1979), pp. 440-462, in which it is proposed that the chitarrone was invented for this occasion, but an entry for a chitarrone has been discovered in an inventory of 1587: see Coelho, The Manuscript sources … (1995), p. 38 & n. 2.
cornets, a cittern, a psaltery and a mandora; and one or more of the wooden organs, two *all'unisono* and a third in the musicians' gallery behind the scenes at the octave below, may have been included in the ensemble. Although harpsichords were usual only Rossi's account makes mention of them, which may be unreliable: the organs may have been used instead in this very large musical number.

The choreography in Malvezzi's ninth part-book is a *ballo* for the 'Seven', presumably the gods, and for the 'Twenty', presumably the mortals, and it is clearly at variance with Rossi's description; not only are there four additional gods, three of them men, but the solo sections could not possibly fit the trio sections of Cavalieri's music. Whether or not it was danced on the occasion, this choreography is nevertheless of considerable interest as an example of theatrical dance and also for comparison with 'Laura Suave' and Caroso's other balletto suites and geometric dances.

Malvezzi's choreography resembles Cavalieri's *ballo* in so much as that it is of six parts [*parti*], meaning the same as Caroso's *tempi* clearly. It lacks detail, contains some errors, is obscure in places and seems to be incomplete but the following is offered as a general outline.

At the beginning, all twenty-seven dancers stand on the stage in a line represented by the outside semicircle of this figure taken from the part-book.

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26 Malvezzi, 'A i lettori', see *Musique des intermèdes de "La Pellegrina"* ... (1963), p. [1]. Howard Mayer Brown also notes that a regal was used for two pieces in the *intermedii*: see his *Musique des intermèdes de "La Pellegrina"* ... (1963), p. 26.
28 Malvezzi, 'nono', sig.KK ff.: see *Musique des intermèdes de "La Pellegrina"* ... (1963), pp.lvi-lvii.
29 In the sixth part, Dancer 7, in 'e questi, 7.4.2. ...' must be Dancer 6. See *Musique des intermèdes* ... (1963), p. lviii, in which some other errors are noted.
After twelve 'rests' [pause], which must be for the dancers not the musicians, the Seven, i.e. Dancers 2 - 6 from the middle of the line and + and 7 from central positions on the left and right sides, advance doing two seguiti to form a smaller semicircle at the front, as shown in the diagram, to commence the first part of the dance. Assuming that the dance began in duple time and that the rests were semibreves, the twelve plus four semibreves for the two seguiti would make sixteen - which may have been the length of the sonata, played once without repeats, as an introduction. The First Part begins thus, perhaps thirty-two semibreves long, i.e. the sonata with repeats:

This dance begins with seven persons, that is four ladies, and three men, of these the ladies being +, 3, 5, 7, and these 2, 4, 6 the men, and together with the left foot they do the riverenza, and on the left hand the continenze, and the riverenza on the left hand, and two cangi [i.e. cambii\textsuperscript{30}] with the left foot, and a seguito trangato\textsuperscript{31} forwards, and one backwards, and then all in a circle on the left hand with the left foot, four spezzate, and another four scorse returning to their places, and immediately the men a trabocchetto forwards on the left foot, and one backwards on the right, and a scorsa of one seguito exchanging places; and the ladies do the same.

\textsuperscript{30} See 'Regola XLIII., Del modo del Cambio, overo Scambiata', Nobiltà di Dame, p. 48.
\textsuperscript{31} See 'Regola XLIII., Il modo di far il Trango', Nobiltà di Dame, pp. 48-49.
The steps used are quite recognizably those in Caroso's vocabulary.

As the Second Part contains galliard variations the time most likely changes to triple here. The Part is like a dialogue, though somewhat irregular, between the ladies and the men, the ladies beginning: after some introductory steps with taking hands and continenze they do a seguito scorso turning to the left; answered by the men with three continenze, two trabocchetti and a spezzata to the left and to the right. Notable is that the ladies dance their variations first, the reverse of Caroso's order, and that there seems to be no attempt made to make the men's variations correspond with the ladies'.

In the Third Part the men dance a figure, done in a virtuosic passeggio of eighteen fioretti (very many more than Caroso ever requires), and the ladies some galliard variations.

The Fourth Part begins with the Seven, both ladies and men, dancing a figure. Then the men dance a galliard variation followed by all Seven doing two trabocchetti adagio and a spezzata, immediately followed by a galliard variation with capriole for the men. The ladies then dance riprese, presenting shoulders turned first outwards and then inwards, and a scorsa, Dancers 2 - 6 running around the ladies at the ends, through the middle and returning to their places. The Part concludes with another galliard variation for the men.

These first four Parts, then, are apparently sufficient divine instruction for the mortals who join the dance in the Fifth Part. There would probably be a proportional change to compound time here for the last two Parts, as for a saltarello. The Fifth Part begins with all twenty-seven doing the riverenza. The Twenty then do a treccia, presumably like, if not the same as the intrecciata, which is answered by the Seven with continenze and a figure in which, holding hands, they pass under the arms of the man in the centre of their line, i.e. Dancer 4. All twenty-seven conclude the Part with the riverenza.

In the concluding Sixth Part the four groups of the Twenty take hands and reform, the four Dancer 5s leading, moving forwards with two seguiti, to positions behind the Seven at the front, the four Dancer 1s remaining where they were, as in this figure.
The dancers in each of the four groups, holding hands, do a figure, passing under the arms of the men in their group, and then the men of the Seven, leaving their ladies, do a treccia with fioretti and mezze capriole, various capriole and other leaps, and finally close with the riverenza.

The structure of this dance resembles that of Caroso's balletto suites in that it uses the same steps and figures, or something very like them, and consists of six tempi with, it can fairly safely be assumed, the same proportional time changes. Some of the differences would be due to the theatrical nature and to the much larger scale of Malvezzi's dance, and herein might lie some of the significance of the diminutive form of the word, balletto, used of social dances such as Caroso's. Making allowance for the more careful description in Caroso's instruction manual, it still seems that Caroso's dances are much more carefully constructed, with balance and symmetry through from the fine detail of the steps to the strict ordering of the variations within the overall structures. But in the freer structure of the choreography given by Malvezzi there is no attempt to make the variations the same: the ladies do their figures first, as already noted, followed by the men doing something different, athletic and brilliant.

It is very evident that this choreography could not have been danced to 'O che nuovo miracolo': the word, risposte, is used there for the sections in which the three ladies danced as well as sang and played and so the dance must have been sectionalized in the same way.

Figure 41

![Diagram of the dance pattern]
as the music. The vocal parts in the *risposte* are not very demanding and the static harmonies would lend themselves to simple chordal accompaniment, probably strummed in the new *battente* manner, i.e. in Spanish *rasgueado* style, and the ease of this technique may have been the reason for importing the guitars from Naples for the occasion. It seems reasonable to assume that the dance steps were similarly undemanding and that on account of the instruments that they carried and played the ladies would not have taken hands in their trios and that rapid movement and any more than slight elevation would not have been feasible on account of the demands of the musical performance.

The three ladies may have danced something like the easier, *grave* galliard variations that Caroso gives in some of his *balletti*, adapted to the five-bar phrasing of the music perhaps by the addition of preparatory steps, or more likely, by holding over a posture from the end of a preceding phrase, making the dance smoother for the sake of the singing and playing. Perhaps, even less active movements, such as *mezze riverenzen*, were done to the second four-bar segment of the *risposta*, 'y' in the diagram above, so that the ladies playing the guitars could give more attention to the changing chords. Dancing, singing and playing instruments simultaneously in the style of the ancients must have required particular care if the performance were to be graceful.

After a standard opening of *riverenza*, *continenze* and other introductory movements surely, perhaps the three soloists may have

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32 Juan Carlos Amat's *Guitarra española de cinco ordines* was first published in 1596, though the earliest surviving copy is that now in the Newberry Library, Chicago: *Guitarra española de cinco ordenes, la qual enseña de templar, y tañer rasgado todos los puntos naturales, y b, mollados, con estilo maravillos ...*, (Lerida: viuda Anglada, y Andreu Llorens, 1626). This and later editions, up to 1819, certainly do teach the strummed style: see Monica Hall, 'The 'Guitarra española' of Joan Carles Amat' in *Early Music*, Vol. 6 (1978), pp. 362-373.


34 See above.
danced figures, such as a *passeggio* in a circle in the first trio of twenty-nine bars in the first *tempo*. In any of the trios of two five-bar phrases in $\frac{6}{4}$, not requiring rapid chord changes, i.e. those that are 'xx' and 'zz' in the diagram, there would have been time for simple figures, such as changing places in an *intrecciata*. Cavalieri may have made do with known steps but he may have invented some of his own for the common Italian lyric metres of the verses added to his music by Laura Lucchesini. Caroso may have been prompted to the invention of his poetic steps by Cavalieri's example.

There would not have been a great deal of room for the other approximately sixty dancers and their movements would also have been restricted by the demands of the singing, unless not all were expected both to dance and sing all the time. Howard Mayer Brown observes in regard to the Florentine *intermedi* that it was usual to have no more than one singer on a line, no matter how large the instrumental accompaniment, and that doubled voices were only used with accompaniment in finales, and then never more than four to a part.\[35\] Perhaps this *ballo* was an exception but, in the light of Brown's observations, an average of about twelve singers on each line does seem excessive and so it is possible that there was some division of labour, as in the strophe and antistrophe of Greek drama. A plausible scheme, if all were to dance, would be that the whole *corps* would dance the opening and closing sections, with a sedate *saltarello* to the concluding section of *riprese* (musical) in diminished time in the last *tempo*, and that the nine intermediate full sections, in dialogue with the three soloists, would be danced by three groups of twenty each, or fewer, the groups dancing one each of the sections in duple, triple and compound time whilst the others carried the singing, thus allowing, possibly, for some balletic display such as *capriole* and leaps. It seems likely that the marvellous effect of Cavalieri's *ballo* would have depended on the brilliance of the spectacle and the music and on the concept of imitation of the ancients rather than on spectacular dancing.

An immediately obvious difference between the sonata of 'Laura Suave' and 'O che nuovo miracolo' (Figure 42 and 43 below) is that, since the piece is in the major, i.e. in the B *quadro* mode, it has been transposed from G down to F major, i.e. to Lydian mode with B flat, as is usual for pieces in major in *Nobiltà di Dame*. An important difference is that whereas the first full chorus of the latter, on which the *aria di Fiorenza* is based, is of six four-bar phrases, the first movement and the *saltarello* of 'Laura Suave' are of seven. Caroso must have been able to assume that the musicians would know that the second phrase of Cavalieri's chorus is virtually the same as the first since he omits to inform them that the one statement of it in his sonata must be repeated. In the first movement he notes that the final phrase, which is sung only once in the original, must be played twice - to make seven phrases. In the galliard the final phrase is not repeated, making six phrases as in Cavalieri's original. In the *saltarello* movement adjustments are made, to be described below, to make seven phrases. The sonata is divided into three strains: the first consisting of the first phrase, which is to be repeated in all three movements, the second consisting of the second, third and fourth strains (equivalent to Cavalieri's third, fourth and fifth phrases) which is not repeated, and the third is the fifth phrase (Cavalieri's sixth), repeated in the first and *saltarello* movements but not in the galliard.

36 See above.
37 *Nobiltà di Dame*, pp.116-117.
Laura Suave - Caroso
[First movement]
O che nuovo miracolo
[First Section]

Cavalieri

Figure 43
In the saltarello the second strain is reduced to three phrases and played only once, the third strain is to be repeated and there is an additional fourth phrase of only seven bars, for which Marian Walker reasonably supplies an eighth,\(^{38}\) which must be played only once. He also notes at the beginning of the sonata that the whole of the duple time movement "must be done twice, and then the galliard begins". The first playing would be for the first tempo of the balletto and the second playing for the second tempo. Since the galliard and the saltarello consist of only one tempo each, the whole movements are not repeated. The dance concludes with a canario to a sonata of eight bars consisting of two statements of the same simple pattern. The choreography, as to be seen in Figure 46 below,\(^{39}\) requires that the eight bars of the canario be played twelve times, i.e. twenty-four times of the pattern.

Warren Kirkendale discusses the nature of the progression in the first chapter of his book on the aria.\(^{40}\) In the light of his examination of a great number of pieces based on it he is able to show that it is a harmonic-bass progression, and remarkable in that the harmonic rhythm is so consistently maintained in the repertoire based on it. In a chart he gives the bass lines of four examples, including 'Laura Suave', for comparison with that of Cavalieri's original. The following Figures 44 and 45, with similar but more limited purpose, show the bass line with the top two parts of 'O che nuovo miracolo' and the stave parts only of 'Laura Suave'. The bass lines are very similar, the most noticeable difference being the falling in dotted rhythm from the 3rd to the root of the chord in bar 3 (an obvious enough decoration but so persistent in later versions as to be significant surely), and the chords are even more so, allowing for some different positions. The main harmonic differences are in the cadential penultimate bars of the phrases in which the suspensions are generally simplified in 'Laura Suave'. The upper parts are given to show the extent to which the canto and alto of 'O che nuovo miracolo' may have suggested the single line of the soprano of the more homophonic 'Laura Suave'.

\(^{38}\) See Sutton's translation of *Nobilità di Dame*, p.171.
\(^{39}\) See below, p.
Figure 44

O che nuovo miracolo

Emilio de' Cavalieri

Figure 45

Laura Suave

Fabrizio Canuso
Resemblances are closest at the beginnings of phrases but in the middles Caroso's soprano melody mostly goes its own way within the limits of the harmonic progression. Caroso's adaptation is fairly successful, except for the consecutive 5ths in the stave parts at the beginning of the second strain, in bars 5 and 6, and the mistake in the stave bass part in bar 13.

As noted above, 'Laura Suave' may be the earliest arrangement of the aria for social dancing but it could be thought that it might be predated by the 'Aria del Gran Duca' by Santino Garsi da Parma, who died only a few years after the publication of Nobiltà di Dame, in 1604. The aria is not found in either of the earlier manuscripts containing Santino's works considered above and an examination of the pieces also suggests that Garsi's piece, found in the much later Dusiacki manuscript where the falling dotted crotchet figure in the bass of bar 3 is further elaborated, would be a late work and based on Caroso's arrangement rather than the reverse. In the first movement, the lute part of 'Laura Suave' is unusual in Nobiltà di Dame in that it does not contain the melody of the soprano stave part but lies beneath it, functioning like a continuo part. The chordal statements in Caroso's lute part resemble Garsi's piece: compare, for instance, the first and third phrases of Cavalieri's original (Figure 44 below) and the first and second phrases of 'Laura Suave' (Figure 45 below), with Garsi's first statement of the first phrase, its repeat with divisions and his third phrase (Figure 29 above). Both Garsi's first and third phrases and

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41 Dusiacki Lute Book, 1620, PL-Kj (formerly D-Bds), Mus Ms.40153. f.7v. The manuscript, in French lute tablature, was copied in Padua by Donino Garsi, Santino's son or grandson, for his student, Kasimierz Dusiacki. See Helmuth Osthoff, Der Lautenist, Santino Garsi da Parma: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der oberitalienischen Lautenmusik am Ausgang der Spätrenaissance, Faksimile-Nachdruck der Erstausgabe von 1926 ... , Wiesbaden, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1973, pp. 54-64, and for the piece, pp. 146-147. This manuscript, formerly in the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, was removed for safekeeping in about 1945; it was thought to be lost but has been found since in Krakow.
42 Nobiltà di Dame, p. 116.
43 Dusiacki Lute Book, 1620, PL-Kj ... , f. 7v, from Helmut Osthoff's transcription in his Der Lautenist, Santino Garsi da Parma: ein Beitrag zur
Caroso's lute part are substantially the same as Cavalieri's first and third phrases without his canto. Another early arrangement is Kapsberger's 'Aria di Fiorenza' in nine partite, published in 1604, the initial statement of which also shows signs of being derived from Caroso's version as it too lacks Cavalieri's uppermost part and has the dotted crotchet descending figure in the bass of bar 3. These two pieces, if not actually based on Caroso's sonata, would seem to stem from 'O che nuovo miracolo' through the same intermediate source.

Victor Coelho notes an untitled dance based on the aria di Fiorenza in a manuscript of northern Italian provenance, probably Florentine, which he dates "towards the early side of 1600-1610". The manuscript contains some fine music and was probably intended for professional use as it seems to have been copied in haste and is by no means free of ambiguities. He has this to say of the piece:

An interesting example of seventeenth-century embellishment is provided by the untitled dance (no. 6) based on the Aria di Fiorenza bass pattern. It is, in fact, a tastefully ornamented version of Laura Soave Balletto [sic] from Caroso's Nobiltà di Dame. Above the piece appears a phrase of which only the words "Canzona Citarra" are clearly visible, possibly referring to the manner in which this piece is to be played. Interestingly, Sutton mentions in her discussion of Laura Soave that the fast chordal repetition suggests "the influence of contemporary Italian and Spanish guitar strumming techniques."

Caroso's balletto is choreographed for a single couple. The following interpretation of the text and correlation of the dance with the sonata is offered for consideration, as summarised in Figure 46 below.

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46 Victor Coelho, The manuscript sources of ..., at pp. 67-68.

47 See below, p.
In the first *tempo* the dancers commence at the ends of the room with the *riverenza* and two *continenze* done during the first strain of the sonata and its repeat, and then to the second strain they dance a *passeggio*, first regulated for four bars on the left and the contrary on the right, then terminated for four bars approaching each other. In the third strain and its repeat they conclude, taking hands with chivalrous ceremonies for two *continenze* and the *riverenza*. Poetic steps, viz. *saffici* and *destici*, adorn the *passeggio*.

The second tempo is a *passeggio* of elevated galliard steps, beginning with two two-bar segments and their contraries danced to the first strain and its repeat, followed by *seguiti semidoppii* with decoration to the second strain and a first time of the third, at the end of which they leave each other with ceremonies and, to the repeat of the third strain, they run in *doppii scorsi* to opposite ends of the room, concluding in view with a *mezza riverenza*.

The two *passeggi* in these two *tempi* danced thus would be rather busy; repetition of the second strain would certainly provide more 'air' in the dancing, breathing space for the dancers and time for striking poses at the ends of poetic steps in particular, but that it be danced more actively to one time of the second strain seems more likely.

The galliard sonata of 'Laura Suave' is scored in bars of $\frac{6}{8}$, each bar equivalent, as the harmonies show, to one $\frac{3}{2}$ bar of the triple time statement in 'Sciolta I.' of Cavalieri's original and to one $\frac{2}{5}$ bar in the first movement of 'Laura Suave', as to be seen in Figure 47 below.48

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48 See below.
GALLIARD
(12 longs)

1st strain
1a volta
(18)
\[\begin{array}{cccc}
\checkmark & \checkmark & \checkmark & \checkmark \\
\end{array}\]
4 tempi di gagliarda (Gentleman’s solo) [regulated] \\
\begin{array}{c}
\text{cadenza}
\end{array}

2a volta
(22)
\[\begin{array}{cccc}
\checkmark & \checkmark & \checkmark & \checkmark \\
\end{array}\]
4 tempi di gagliarda (Lady’s solo) [regulated] \\
\begin{array}{c}
\text{mezza riverenza}
\end{array}

2nd strain
1a volta
(26)
\[\begin{array}{cccc}
\checkmark & \checkmark & \checkmark & \checkmark \\
\end{array}\]
Contrary (Gentleman’s solo) \\
\begin{array}{c}
\text{cadenza}
\end{array}

(30)
\[\begin{array}{cccc}
\checkmark & \checkmark & \checkmark & \checkmark \\
\end{array}\]
Contrary (Lady’s solo) \\
\begin{array}{c}
\text{mezza riverenza}
\end{array}

(34)
\[\begin{array}{cccc}
\checkmark & \checkmark & \checkmark & \checkmark \\
\end{array}\]
4 tempi di gagliarda (Gentleman’s solo) \\
\begin{array}{c}
\text{terminated}
\end{array}
\begin{array}{c}
\text{cadenza}
\end{array}

3rd strain
1a volta
(38)
\[\begin{array}{cccc}
\checkmark & \checkmark & \checkmark & \checkmark \\
\end{array}\]
Doppi alla francese (Lady’s solo) \\
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Taking ordinary hands}
\end{array}
Scorsi (together toward each other)
So each bar is equivalent in time to two bars of the duple time movement and the galliard, less the repetition of the third strain, is expanded to twice the length of one tempo of the preceding movement, i.e. it is nearly as long as the whole of it. Julia Sutton notes that this galliard is unique in *Nobiltà di Dame* in that it is "barred by the perfect breve under 3" and she suggests that it be read at half
value,\(^49\) i.e. reduced to \(\frac{4}{4}\). Her suggestion has merit but it can be argued that Caroso's regulated variation in the choreography of four tempi di gagliarda, danced to four bars of \(\frac{6}{4}\), contains seventeen movements, counting the groppo at the beginning as three trabucchetti, which is about the same number of movements as in most variations of that length in other balletto suites, and exactly the same as in the regulated variations of four tempi di gagliarda in 'Celeste Giglio', the sonata of which is in phrases of eight bars of \(\frac{3}{2}\)\(^50\) (i.e. twenty-four beats in both cases) and so the same proportional relationship to the first movement, and to the tactus, with minim values for the beats would be necessary, i.e.

\[1 \times \frac{3}{4} \text{ in 'Laura Suave'} = 2 \times \frac{3}{2} \text{ in 'Celeste Giglio'}.\]

Also, minim values for the beats of the galliard preserve the proper proportional relationship of the saltarello to the rest of the balletto; if the galliard values were reduced by half it would be virtually in the same time and metre as the saltarello. However, whatever the theoretical relationship, in practice the tempo would be determined by the dancers and their dancing of course, particularly in technically demanding dances such as galliards.

The chord row, then, is disposed in \(\frac{3}{4}\) but there is, as to be expected in a galliard, hemiola at the sextuple level, emphasized by suspensions, in the penultimate bars of the phrases. Very striking indeed in the slow harmonic rhythm of this movement is the very chordal nature of the sonata; the strummed chords may recall Vittoria and Lucia playing the guitars imported from Naples for the performance of 'O che nuovo miracolo' in 1589. In the more static moments the insistent minims of the chords in the lute part are measured into their sixes by a hemiola counter-rhythm of

\(^49\) Sutton's translation of Nobiltà di Dame, p. 319.
\(^50\) Nobiltà di Dame, pp.[x] - [xi] & [xiv] - [xvi].
syncopations in the 'tenor'. Compound triple metre is established in the first phrase but subsequently this 'double' rhythm becomes typical, as in the second phrase. Julia Sutton, as already quoted by Coelho above, compares the strumming in this movement to rhythms in seventeenth century guitar tablatures.\footnote{Sutton's translation of Nobiltà di Dame, p. 319 & p. 320. Here Sutton also notes the many mistakes in the sonata of this galliard.} The incomplete rhythms given with the tablature for the galliard 'Mezza notte' in 'il Piantone' have already been noticed\footnote{See above.} and the tablature of this movement in 'Laura Suave', with all its mistakes, may be a more conscientious attempt to notate and print the complex rhythms employed in the battente style of playing than in 'Mezza notte' where similar rhythms might have been intended. The five-line stave parts follow those of the first movement mainly, with some variation in the detail. The tablature in the first strain of the galliard follows the soprano stave part with some decoration, but subsequently it reverts to the continuo-like role, but at some of the cadences it reinforces the soprano stave part as in the first strain.

In the choreography Caroso gives the gentleman the option of beginning the galliard with his own variation of four tempi but also offers him a regulated variation consisting of the usual trabucchetti and fioretti, ending with a cadenza. During the repeat of the first phrase of the sonata the lady would dance the same variation preferably, but if not she would dance a grave variation ending with bending her knees a little like a mezza riverenza. The gentleman would dance the contrary of his variation during the next four bars of the sonata, i.e. the beginning of the second strain, and the lady would dance her contrary in the next four bars. During the third phrase of the second strain the gentleman dances a terminated variation of four tempi: eight movements ending with a cadenza on the left in the first two bars and the contrary on the right in the third and fourth. In the first half of the third strain the lady does two doppi alla francese, each consisting of two trabucchetti backwards and sideways, three steps forwards and a graced joining of the feet. During the second half they run towards each other in two doppi scorsi to meet and take hands.
The *saltarello* of 'Laura Suave' is notated in $\frac{2}{4}$ but the metrical sense is the same as in the corresponding sections of Cavalieri's *ballo*, i.e. $\frac{6}{16}$, as to be seen in Figure 48 below.\(^{53}\) The hemiola of dotted rhythm in one bar followed by crotchet and minim in the next, resembling $\frac{2}{4}$, produces an effect of metrical ambiguity only resolved in the two bars of the final chord of each phrase, which are unambiguously in $\frac{4}{4}$. The melody is more significant than in the galliard, the chords are lighter and the harmonic rhythm is faster with additional harmonies interpolated between the chords of the row, e.g. in the first phrase of the *saltarello* above, IV is inserted at bar 45 and I at bar 46. In the second phrase there is an additional ii - vi, in either bar 51 or bar 52, with in effect a 'passing modulation to G minor', and similarly in bars 53 - 54 there is a ‘passing modulation to B flat major', making sense of the modal seventh degree, E flat, as a secondary subdominant in eighteenth century diatonic terms.\(^{54}\)

The second strain in the *saltarello* is only sixteen bars long instead of the twenty-four that would be necessary for it to correspond to the second strains of the other two movements: in the *saltarello* its third phrase becomes the third strain. At the end of the *saltarello* there is a compensating additional fourth strain which is virtually the same transposed as that of the *ripreza* at the end of the *saltarello* in 'Celeste Giglio', only differing from it in that it begins with the E flat, seventh degree harmony of the third strain in the other movements and in that it is more fully harmonised, with a falling 2nd cadence inserted, at bars 77-78. This ripresa-like section also resembles that in 'Celeste Giglio' in that it consists of only seven bars. Marian Walker's added extra bar, here as already noted, and at the end of the *saltarello* in 'Celeste Giglio', make strains of eight bars in her transcriptions of both sonatas. Perhaps, though, the shorter strain of seven bars was intended

\(^{53}\) See below.

\(^{54}\) For consideration of the use of the flattened sixth degree in ‘Bassa Honorata’ [21] see above.
both here and, in the second time at least, in 'Celeste Giglio' requiring that the *riverenza* at the end of the *saltarello* be abbreviated, so that the following *canario* would begin precipitately for an exciting conclusion to the *balletto*. In any case (whether or not the shortened phrases are mere typographical errors), these similar strains in the sonatas of *Laura Suave* and *Celeste Gìglio*, both in 'recent' style and new in *Nobiltà di Dame*, suggest that they are the work of the same composer.

The choreography of the *saltarello* consists of three regulated eight-bar sequences, the first of skipped *spezzati*, *canario* steps and a poetic *saffice*, done together holding hands to the first time of the first strain, and its contrary to the second time. In the second eight-bar sequence, to the second strain which is not repeated, they let go hands and leave each other turning left and right with *spezzati* and an architectural *corinto* and the contrary. In the third eight-bar sequence, they do *riprese*, *trabucchetti* and a *doppio* to the first time of the third strain and the contrary to the repeat. To the fourth ripresa-like strain, which is not repeated, they conclude with *puntati* and a *riverenza breve* "in the time of four beats of the music", but which may, to fit the sonata if uncorrected, be done in three!

The *canario* sonata of *Laura Suave* is also all but identical with that in *Celeste Gìglio*. It is eight bars of unambiguous $\frac{3}{4}$: two almost identical four bar segments on I - V - V - I. The twelve times necessary to accommodate the choreography would require much decoration.

The *canario* is choreographed as a 'pedalogue' divided into two sections, the first section of five times of the sonata, the first four of which are danced separately by the gentleman and the lady in quick alternation and the fifth danced together; the second section of six times of the sonata, structured similarly to the first section, and a concluding time - to make a whole of twelve times. In the first time the gentleman does four bars of *canario* steps on the left,\(^{55}\) answered

\(^{55}\) 'Il cavaliere farà un seguito doppio del canario con il piè sinistro con il trito minuto, cioè tre battute preste di piedi, principiandole col destro ... '. This is
by the lady with the same. In the second time they do the contrary on the right. These steps are repeated in the third and fourth times and in the fifth together they do a *spezzato puntato* and a *mezza riverenza* on the left, touching right hands, and the contrary on the right touching left hands. The steps and figures in the second section are like those in *saltarelli* and *cascarde*: in the sixth, seventh, eight and ninth times they separate and alternate in the same way as in the first section with a four-bar figure of *trabucchetti* and a *saffice*, turning left and right; then in the tenth they turn left with *spezzati* and *passi minimi* and in the eleventh time they do the contrary turning right. In the twelfth and last time of the sonata they do two *puntati* and finish, taking hands, with the *riverenza breve*.

Compared with 'O che nuovo miracolo', although it lacks the advantages of the contrast of large and small forces, the variety of instruments of many kinds, both high and low, that were available for the *intermedii* for 'La Pellegrina', and the complex yet symmetrical beauty of the twofold structure of Cavalieri's *ballo*, the sonata of 'Laura Suave' in some respects may be the more interesting piece, as for all its roughnesses it presents considerable variety of texture and harmonic rhythm, and within the proportional structure of Caroso's *balletto* it surprises with various turns of melody and metre as well as of harmony. It is not possible to compare the choreographies but both dancers had high reputations as choreographers and Caroso's *balletto*, since his dancers did not play and sing as well as dance, may have been the more interesting choreographically, for all its so much smaller scale, than the lost choreography of Cavalieri's spectacular *ballo*. Quite likely Caroso made allusions to that *ballo* in his choreography as well as in his music.

taken to be four bars worth. The *canario* in 'Celeste Giglio', worded differently but seeming to produce the same result, begins: 'A questa sonata del canario, faranno otto tempi di canario, sempre due per piede, due con il piè sinistro, e due col destro, & queste si torneranno à fare un'altra volta per piede ... ', *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. [xii]. See also above.
Emilio de' Cavalieri

SCIOLTE II

Saltarello

Fabrizio Caroso
CONCORDANCE OF THE SONATAS

This concordance of the sonatas in Nobiltà di Dame with other music of the sixteenth and succeeding centuries consists mainly of material extracted from Lawrence Moe’s concordance in his Dance Music in printed Italian Lute Tablatures from 1507 to 1611, vol. I, pp. 219-290, with the addition of items from other sources, notably in the case of ‘Celeste Giglio’ from John Wendland’s article, ‘Madre non mi far Monaca: the Biography of a Renaissance Folk song’, but also from various writings by Julia Sutton, John Ward, Daniel Heartz, Richard Hudson, Victor Coelho and others as well as from personal observation. The concordances have been arranged alphabetically. The page numbers in Nobiltà di Dame are followed in square brackets by the numbers of the dances in Julia Sutton’s translation. It is hoped that the concordance will be helpful for an appreciation of Caroso’s Nobiltà di Dame in its musical environment.

Although Moe’s lists are so very extensive, his concordance is, as he points out in his introductory note, ‘by no means all-inclusive, but only represents a sample of trends’. His concordances for the ‘monica’, the basis of ‘Celeste Giglio’, have been expanded as noted above, so as to show the ‘spread’ of a very common international tune that has been very thoroughly researched, which can hence be taken as reasonably complete for what survives of the repertoire. Those for Moe’s two ‘types’ of the passamezzo antico, given under ‘Ballo del Fiore’ and ‘Passo e Mezzo’, have been left within the stricter parameters of his study, viz. of printed lute tablatures for the century from 1507 with indication of possible origins in other music. For the ‘Aria di Fiorenza’, the basis of ‘Laura Suave’, the reader is referred to
Warren Kirkendale’s study of the tune and its repertoire. ¹

The citations of ‘versions in other collections’ are arranged in chronological order in the case of printed collections but in alphabetical order in the case of manuscript collections, since many of these can, of course, be dated only approximately. The citations for the sources are abbreviated but dates are given and sufficient other information for precise identification is to be found in the Bibliography below, which gives bibliographical details and locations of manuscripts. The sources have been checked as far as possible in such general works as the various volumes of RISM, the U.S. Library of Congress, National Union Catalogue, Pre-1956 Imprints, the Catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale and The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians etc., and as appropriate in special catalogues such as Bianca Becherini’s Catalogo dei manoscritti musicali della Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze, Augustus Hughes-Hughes’ Catalogue of Manuscript Music in the British Museum and Daniel Heartz’s Pierre Attaingnant, Royal Printer of Music, a historical study and bibliographical catalogue.


No other known concordance.


¹ Warren Kirkendale, L’Aria di Fiorenza, id est il Ballo del Gran Duca, Florence, Olschki, 1972.
Version in *Nobiltà di Dame*: p. 225, ‘Bassa Honorata’, variant but the *saltarello* identical, which see below for other citations. No other known concordance.


No other known concordance.


No known concordance.

**ALTA REGINA,** *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 100 [3] cascarda


Versions in other collections:

**Printed**
Negri, 1602. p. 150, ‘Cesarino’.

**Manuscript**
Amigonus, 1613. f. 105v, ‘Alta Regina’.
ALTA VITTORIA,  
Nobiltà di Dame, p. 300 [34]  
balletto.

Used twice in Nobiltà di Dame: p. 354. Amor Prudente, identical with the sciolta.

Repeated from Il Ballarino: II. f. 104v. ‘Alta Vittoria’, identical, and f. 32v, ‘Florido Giglio’, identical with the sciolta but for an added strain.

Version in another collection:

**Manuscript**
Amigonus. 1613. f. 101v, ‘Alta Vittoria’.

No other known concordance.

ALTEZZA D’AMORE,  
Nobiltà di Dame, p. 175 [12]  
balletto.

No other known concordance.

AMOR COSTANTE,  
Nobiltà di Dame, p. 213 [13]  
balletto.


Versions in other collections:

**Printed**
Attaignant. *Six gaillardes ...,* 1530. f. 3v, ‘Pavane I’.
Attaignant. *Quatorze gaillardes ...,* 1531. f. 1v-5r, ‘Pavane’ and
Manuscript
Venice. Ms. It. IV 1227. c. 1520. no. 13, ‘La Sguizera’.

AMOR PRUDENTE, Nobiltà di Dame, p. 354 [45]
cascarda.

Used twice in Nobiltà di Dame: p. 302, ‘Alta Vittoria’ - sciolta identical, which see above for other citations.

No other known concordance.

AMOROSINA GRIMANA, Nobiltà di Dame, p. 108 [4]
pavaniglia

Common names of the ‘tune’: Pavaniglia, Spanish Paven.


Versions in other collections:

Traced by Moe from a keyboard piece, ‘Jay mis mon couer’ by Johann Kotter, no. 11 in his ms., 1513-1532, with the following citations of pieces of the ‘pavaniglia’ type of the folia.²

Printed
Barberiis, 1549. nos. 6 and 7, ‘La pavana del Duca’ and ‘Saltarello’.
Cabezón, 1578. f. 187a, ‘Pavana Italiana’.
Negri, 1602. p. 135 and p. 159, both ‘Pavaniglia’.
Besard, 1603. f. 105r, ‘Pavana Hispanica’.
Montesardo, 1606. p. 21, ‘Pavaniglia’.
Praetorius, 1612. XXIX à 5, ‘1. Pavane de Spaigne’.
Costanzo, 1627. p. 38, ‘Pavaniglia’.
Millioni, 1627. p. 19, ‘Pavaniglia’.
Abbatessa, 1637. p. 9, ‘Pavaniglia’.
Colonna, 1637. p. 24, ‘Pavaniglia’
Trombetti, 1639. p. 60, ‘Pavaniglia’.
Calvi, 1646. p. 12, ‘Pavaniglia’.
Marchetti, 1660. p. 15, ‘Pavaniglia’.

Manuscript
Amigonus, 1613. f. 101r, ‘Pavaniglia’.
Ballet, c.1600. p. 112, ‘The Spanish pavin
Berlin. Bibliothek der Streit’schen Stiftung, c. 1640. f. 34r, ‘Paduana Hispania. M.J.P.S, et S.S.O’. (i.e. 4 variations, 2 by Sweelinck and 2 by Scheidt; 3 in common with ‘Pavana Hispanica …’ in Düben, 1641, variations, for which see below.3
Cavalcanti, 1590. f. 8r and f. 22v. both ‘Pavaniglia balletto’.
Düben, 1641. f. 24v, ‘Pavana Hispanica à M.J.P. [et] S.S (i.e. 7

variations. 4 by Sweelinck and 3 by Scheidt; 3 in common with “Paduana Hispania...” in Berlin, Bibliothek der Streit’schen Stiftung, c. 1640, for which see above.

_Fitzwilliam_ ..., 1609-1619. [CXXXIX], ‘The Spanish Paven’ (John Bull).

Florence, MS, Magl. XIX 179, late 16th century. ‘Pavaniglia’.

Holmes, early 17th century. f. 25, ‘The sp. paven’.

Leipzig, 1619, p. 126. ‘Pavan ilglia’.


Lucca, c. 1570-1580? f. 19v and f. 38v, both ‘Pavaniglia Spagnuola’.


Pickeringe, 1616-1625, ff. 10r - 11v, ‘The treble to the Spanish Pavinge by Alfonte’ and ‘the ground to the treble’.

Rasponi, 1635. pp. 10 and 11. ‘Pavaniglia’.

_Thysius_ ... c. 1600. f. 140r, ‘Pavane d’Espaigne’.

Venice, Ms. It. IV 1793, mid-17th century. no. 18, ‘Pavaniglia’.

Venice, Ms. It. IV 1910, mid-17th century. nos. 39 and 40, both ‘Pavaniglia’.

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_BALLO DEL FIORE_, Nobiltà di Dame, p. 317 [37]

balletto,

Common name of the ‘tune’: Passamezzo antico - ‘1st type’.

Repeated from _Il Ballarino_: II, f. 159r, ‘Ballo del Fiore’, identical; f. 18r, ‘Ardente Sole’, same basic scheme.

Versions in other collections:

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4 Moe’s 1st type is the ‘passamezzo antico’ chord pattern in sixteen bars, whereas the 2nd type is augmented into thirty-two bars as in ‘Passo e mezzo’, which see under ‘Passo e mezzo’ below. See Moe, _Dance Music_ ..., Vol. 1. p.130. Moe’s citations, of course, do not include all pieces using this pattern, being limited to those in printed Italian lute tablatures with some other important sources: see his concordance, at p.219.!
Printed
Newsidler, 1536. f. tr. ‘Welscher tantz Wascha mesa’.
Narváez, 1538. VI, f. 88v. no. 51. ‘Otras tres diferencias hechas por otra parte’ (‘Guárdame las vacas’).
Bianchini, Dominico, 1546. nos. 8 and 9, ‘Pass’e mezo’ and ‘La sua padoana’, and no. 11, ‘Le forze derculle’.
Francesco (Canova) da Milano, *Intabolatura...*, 1546. ff. 19v and 20v, ‘Pavana Milanesa’ and ‘Saltarello primo’.
Mudarra, 1546. f. 19, no.16, ‘Pavana II de Alexandre’.
Pifaro, 1546. nos. 1 and 2, ‘Chiarenzana de megio’ and ‘II suo saltarello’.
Rotta, 1546. no. 4, ‘Pass’e mezo’ - 2nd statement only. no. 5, ‘Gagliarda’, and no. 6, ‘Padoana’.
Gardane, 1551. no. 7, ‘Le forze d’Hercole’ - 1st statement only.

Manuscript
Capirola, c. 1517. f. 47r, ‘Padoana alla francese II’ – last phrase on f. 48r.
Florence, Panciatichi, 27, early 16th century. cc. 116b -117a, no. 152, ‘Caminata’.

BARRIERA, *Nobiltà di Dame*, p.143 [8]
balletto.

Versions in other collections:

Printed
Terzi, 1599. p. 33, ‘Bariera balloto con tutte le sue repliche’.
Frescobaldi, 1637. a cart. 89, ‘Capriccio sopra la Battaglia’ (opening figure).
Manuscript
Cavalcanti, 1590. f. 40v, ‘Bariera Balletto’.
Lucca, c. 1570-1580?. f. 20v, ‘Bariera’.
Nuremburg, late 16th and early 17th century. II, f. 9r, ‘Bariera Balletto’.
Venice. Anonymous...’Mascherada’.

BARRIERA NUOVA, [15]
da farsi in sesto.

Sonata the same as for ‘Barriera’, supra.

balletto.

Versions in other collections:

Manuscript
Amigonus, 1613. f. 102v, ‘Bass’e Alta’.
Madrid, ms. leaves bound at the end of Mudarra, 1546. ‘Baxa Alta’.

BASSA HONORATA, [21]
balletto.

Used twice in Nobiltà di Dame: p. 370, ‘Alta Cardana’, identical with the saltarello.
Versions in other collections:

Printed
Becchi. 1568. pp. 54 and 56, ‘Pavana della Francesa’ and ‘La sua
gagliarda’.

**Manuscript**

Amigonus, 1613. f. 106r ‘Baccio honorato’.
Cavalcanti, 1590. f. 10v, ‘Bassa Marchesse’.
Lucca, c.1570-1580?. f. 19r, ‘Basscia Marcese’.

**BASSA SAVELLA, balletto.**

Nobiltà di Dame, p. 259 [27]

Common names of the ‘tune’: Bruynsmedelijn, Bassa Fiammenga.
Versions in other collections:

**Printed**

Traced from a fragment beginning “En ung jardin” from C. de Sermisy’s ‘Au joly bois’ in Attaignant’s *Trente et une chansons musicales a quatre parties*, 1529, p. 4.
Susato, 1551. ‘Allemande 7’.
Fruytiers, 1565. ‘Frisch Meechdalyng’.
Phalèse, 1568. f. 87v, ‘Almande smeetchdelijn’.
Vredeman, 1569. f. 2r, ‘Almande bruynsmedelijn’.
Phalèse, 1571. ‘Allemande smedelijn’.
Phalèse, 1583, f.18v, ‘Allemande Bruynsmedelijn’.
Frescobaldi, 1624. p. 40, ‘Capriccio quinto sopra la bassa fiammenga’ (also in the editions of 1626, 1628 and 1642).

**Manuscript**

*Dublin*, c.1570. no. 19, no title.
Nörmiger, 1598. no. 116, ‘Ein Ander Teuttscher Tanntz’ and ‘Der Sprungkh Drauff’.
Soldt, 1599, f. 12r, ‘Allemande Brun smeedelyn’.
*Thysius*, c. 1600. f. 490r, ‘Bruynsmedalijn’.
BELLEZZE D’OLIMPIA,  

*Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 239 [23]  
balletto.  


Repeated from *Il Ballarino*: II, f. 66r. ‘Bellezze d’Olimpia’,  
identical; f. 91r, ‘Coppia Capelli’, variant.  

No other known concordance.  

CELESTE GIGLIO,  

*Nobiltà di Dame*, (p. xiii) [1]  
balletto.  

Common names of the ‘tune’: Monica, Balo Todesco, Une jeune  
pucelle, Une jeune fillette, Almande nonette, Ich ging einmal  
spazieren, Von Gott will ich nicht lassen, Helf mir Gottes Güte  
preisen, The Queen’s Almain, The Old Almain etc..  

only.  
Versions in other collections:  

Printed  
Le Moigne, 1520. ‘Une jeune Pucelle’. Cited with some doubts by  
Julia Sutton, in her ‘The music of J. B. Besard’s “Novus  
Partus”, 1617’ at p. 201 n. 55, from J. Tiersot, *Histoire de la  
chanson populaire en France* ..., p. 247.  
*Recueil de plusieurs chansons* ..., 1557. ‘Une jeune Fillette’  
(perhaps words only and perhaps only in a 2nd edition), cited by  

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To Moe’s mainly Italian concordances for this tune, many additional  
citations have been included from John Wendland’s article, ““Madre non mi  
Far Monaca” ...”, and some from articles by Julia Sutton, John Ward and  
others.


Le Roy, 1565. f. 23v, no. 23, ‘Branle de la nonnette’.

Phalèse, 1568. f. 88r , ‘Almande nonette’.

Barker, 1568-1569, ‘... To the tune of the Queen’s Almayne’.

Phalèse, *Selectissima ...*, 1570. f. 75v, no. 96, ‘Branle de la nonneste’.

Egenolff, 1572 [1571?]. ‘Von Gott will ich nicht lassen: Wahrer Christen Wegeliet’.

Magdeburg, 1572. no. 8, ‘Von Gott will ich nicht lassen’.


Neysidler, 1574. f. K1v-K2, ‘Ich gieng ein mal spacieren; Volget der Hupffauff’.

Phalèse, 1574, f. 80r, no. 64, ‘Almaned la nonette’.

Figulus, 1575. n. 16, ‘Helft mir Gotts Güte preisen, ihr lieben Kindelein’.

Chardavoine, 1576. f. 135r, ‘Une jeune fillette’.

Kargel, 1578. sig. M1, no. 78, ‘Almande Ich ging ainmal spacieren’.

Gorzanis, 1579. nos. 34 and 35, ‘Balo Todesco’ and ‘La sua gagliarda’.

Phalèse, 1582. f. 70v, ‘Almande de la nonette’.

Adriaensen, 1584. f. 88r, no. 81. ‘Alman De Nonette’.


Munday, 1588. no. 14, ‘This Ditty may be sung to Maskers Allemaigne, commonly called the olde Allemaigne’.


Besard, 1603. f. 73r, ‘Ma Belle si ton ame’, and f. 131v ‘Allemande: Une jeune fillette’.

Montesardo, 1606. p. 38, ‘La Monica’.
du Caurroy, 1610. ‘Fantasie, Une jeune fillette’.

Prieel ..., 1614. p. 329, ‘Bienheureus’ est un’ ame’.


Besard, 1617. f. 4v-5r, ‘Une Jeune fillette’.

Pieuse alouette, 1619. ‘Bienheureus’ est un’ ame, (ou ) Une jeune fillette etc., ou Dedans quatre chambrettes, ou Ma belle si ton âme’.

Colonna, Intavolatura, 1620. p. 29, ‘Monache diverse’.


Turini, 1621. pp. 31-34, ‘È tanto tempo hormai’.

Milanuzzi, 1622. pp. 56-57, ‘Monica’ and ‘Rotta della monica’.

Rossi, 1622. p. 9. ‘È tanto tempo hormai’.


Puliti, 1624. Violin or cornett part, p. 3, ‘La Monica’.


Marini, 1626. p.18, ‘Sonata sopra la monica’.


Costanzo, 1627, p. 48, ‘Aria della monacha’.


Millioni, Seconda impressione del quarto libro..., 1627. p. 35, ‘Monicha con trilli per O’, and p. 36, ‘Monicha per D’.

Millioni, Quarta impressione del primo, secondo, et terzo libro...1627. p. 43, ‘Monicha’.

Schein, 1627. ‘Von Gott will ich nicht lassen’.

370
Foscarini, 1629. p. 17, two pieces, ‘Monache diverse’.
Colonna, 1637. p. 28, ‘Monicha’.
Carbonchi, 1643. pp. 19-20, ‘Monica’ in all twelve keys.
Uccellini, 1642. pp. 35-36, ‘È tanto tempo hormai’.
Pesori. 1648. p. 30, indexed as ‘arietta attempata, ma vaghissima’.
Storace, 1664. p. 29, ‘Monica’.
Lebègue, [?1685]. ‘Une vierge pucelle’.
Dandrieu, ?1721-1723, Noël: ‘Une vierge pucelle’.
Daquin, c. 1740. no. XI, ‘Noël en recit en Taille’.
Binard, 1741. p. 31, ‘Une jeune pucelle’.
Bach, J. S., Sechs Choräle... c. 1748-1749. no. 3: ‘Wer nur den lieben Gott lässt walten’ (BWV 647) – transcribed from Cantata 93, iv.
Willems, 1849 [1848?], p. 446, ‘Van den Nachtegael’.
Péreynès, 1867. p. 702 [or p.194 (Wendland)], ‘Ancien Noël Lorrain: Entends ma voix fidèle’.
Foscarini, n.d.. p. 4, three pieces entitled ‘Monica’.

Manuscript
Amigonus, 1613. f. 99v, ‘Monaca’.


Bach, J. S., Cantata 197: *Gott ist unsre Zuverslch* (Traungs-Cantate), c. 1742. Chorale: ‘So wandelt froh auf Gottes wegen’ (7th stanza, altered, of ‘Wer nur den lieben Gott lässt walten’).


Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Mus. ms. 40085, late 16th century, f. 25r, ‘La monacha’.

Bologna, c.1640-1680, f. 17v, ‘Monica’.

Chilesotti, 1890?. p. 225 (ms) and p. 90 (tras.), ‘Ich Gieng ein mage Bayieren’.

Creigton, 1635. f. 27, ‘The Queense Allmaine’.


Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale ..., Ms. Magl. XIX 115, late 16th century, cc. 8b-9a, no. 15, ‘La Monaca’.

Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale ..., Ms. Magl. XIX 138, early 17th century. cc. 9b -10a,’La Monacha’.

Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana..., Ms. 2774, c. 1660-1670, f. 84r, f. 84v and f. 85r, ‘La monaca’.

Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana..., Ms. 2804, c. 1660-1670, f.
31v, ‘Aria veneziana detta la monica’.
Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana ..., Ms. 2951, c. 1660-1670. f. 83v, ‘La monica’.
Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana ..., Ms. 2952, c. 1660-1670. f. 41r, ‘La monaca’.
Herbert, 1608-1640. ff. 23v-25, ‘La jeune fillette’ by ‘Mr Daniel’.
Holmes, early 17th century. f. 31v, ‘The queenes Almaine’.
La Faille, 1625. p. 67, ‘Une jeune fillette’.
Los Angeles, c. 1620-1660. f. 23r-23v, ‘Madre mia non mi far monica’.
Modena, Ms. Campori, App. 719, f. 16v, ‘La monacha’.
New York, Drexel, Ms. 5609, [early 17th century]. p. 113, ‘The Queen’s Almaine’.
Pazio, 1610. f. 16r, no. 32, ‘Madre non mi far monaca’.
Perugia, Ms. 586, mid-17th century. ff. 40v-41r, ‘Monica’ and ff. 51v-52r, ‘Monica’.
Pickeringe, 1616-1625. ff. 30v-31r. untitled, five variations for lute.
Ravenna. Ms. 545, 1630-1640? f.113r, ‘Monica’, and f. 113v, ‘Monica 2o modo’.
Rome, Archivio Doria-Pamphili, Ms. M 250 B. c. 1630-1650, f. 8v-10r, ‘Madre mi non far monaca’.
Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Ms. Z 121, c. 1650-1660. f. 15r-17r, ‘Aria sopra la Monica’, and f. 43r-44r, ‘Monaca’.
Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Ms. Chigi Q iv 29, c. 1630-1650. f. 42v-45r, ‘La Monicha’
Rome, Conservatorio ..., Ms. A 247. [1619]. f. 5r, two pieces headed ‘Monica’.
Rome, San Giovanni in Laterano ..., Mazzo XI no. 8 car. 1, ‘Missa sopra l’aria della Monacha’ (G.Frescobaldi?)
San Francisco, 1615-1625. no 29, ‘Almana in soprano baletto’.
Soldt, 1599. f. 4r ‘Allemande de la nonette’.

CESARINA, Nobiltà di Dame, p. 232 [22]
balletto.

Versions in other collections:

Manuscript
Berlin, Deutche Staatsbibliothek/Krakow, Mus. ms. 40032, late 16th century ..., f. 120v, ‘La Cesarina di Santino da Parma’.
Galilei, 1584. p. 246, ‘La Cesarina’.

CONTENTEZZA D’AMORE, Nobiltà di Dame, p. 253 [26]
balletto.

Repeated from Il Ballarino: II, f. 61v, ‘Contentezza d’Amore’, identical.
Version in another collection:

Manuscript
Lucca, c. 1570-1580?. f. 32v, ‘Contentezza d’Amore’.

CONTO DELL’ ORCO NUOVO, Nobiltà di Dame, p. 263 [28]
balletto.

Repeated from Il Ballarino: II, f. 51r, ‘Il Conto dell’ Orco’, identical.
Version in another collection:

Manuscript
Cavalcanti, 1590. f. 16v, ‘Cascarda Baletto’.

374
CONTRAPASSO

da farsi in ruota. [32]

Sonata the same as for ‘Contrapasso Nuovo’, above.

CONTRAPASSO NUOVO, Nobiltà di Dame, p. 244. [24]
da farsi in sesto.


Versions in other collections:

**Manuscript**
Amigonus, 1613. f. 105r. ‘Contrapasso’.
Cavalcanti, 1590. f. 2r, ‘Contra Passo’.

COPPIA COLONNA, Nobiltà di Dame, p. 181. [13]
balletto.


CORTESIA, Nobiltà di Dame, p. 340. [42]
balletto.

Repeated from Il Ballarino: II, f. 5v. ‘Aba Novella’, variant.

DONNA LEGGIADRA. Nobiltà di Dame, p. 357. [46]
cascarda.

Repeated from Il Ballarino: II, f. 123r, ‘Gloria d’Amore’.

375
DORIA COLONNA,

Nobiltà di Dame, p. 198. [16]
cascardà.

Version in Nobiltà di Dame, p. 361, Selva Amorosa, discant similar.

Repeated from Il Ballarino: II, f. 113v, ‘Pavana Matthei’- sciolta, identical; f. 98v, ‘Fiamma d’Amore’, discant similar.

FORZA D’AMORE,

Nobiltà di Dame, p. 219. [20]
balletto.

Version in another collection:

**Printed**


FULGENTI RAI.

Nobiltà di Dame, p. 367. [48]
cascardà.

Repeated from Il Ballarino: II, f. 120r, ‘Rustica Palina’ - tripla, and f. 140v, ‘Castellana’, identical.

FURIOSO ALL’ITALIANA,

Nobiltà di Dame, p. 270. [29]
balletto.


Versions in another collection:

**Manuscript**

Cavalcanti, 1590, f. 2r, ‘Furioso b.’, and f. 2v, ‘Treccia di b. K’.

FURIOSO ALLA SPAGNUOLA. [31]
balletto.

Sonata the same as for *Furioso all’Italiana*, above.

**FURIOSO NUOVO.**

[35]
da farsi in ottavo,

Sonata the same as for *Furioso all’Italiana*, above.

**GAGLIARDA DI SPAGNA,** *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 159. [10]
balletto.


**GHIRLANDA D’AMORE,** *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 275 [30]
cascarda.

Used twice in *Nobiltà di Dame*: p.293, ‘Nido d’Amore’ - *rotta* almost identical.

No other known concordance.

**LAURA SUAVE,** *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 116. [5]
balletto.

Common names of the ‘tune’: Ballo del Gran Duca, Aria di Fiorenza.

Versions in other collections:

Based on: Emilio de’ Cavalieri, *Ballo dell’ ultimo intermedio*, ‘O

Very many pieces of the 17th and 18th centuries - see Warren Kirkendale, *L’ Aria di Fiorenza, id est Il Ballo del Gran Duca* ..., especially pp. 67-183, Bibliography of Musical Sources.

NIDO D’AMORE, *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 292. [33]
balletto.

Used twice in *Nobiltà di Dame*: p. 275, ‘Ghirlanda d’Amore’, *rotta* almost identical.

No other known concordance.

NINFA LEGGIADRA, *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 331. [40]
cascarda.

No other known concordance.

NUOVA REGINA, *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 95. [2]
cascarda.

No known concordance.

balletto.

Common name of the ‘tune’: Passamezzo antico - ‘2nd type’


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6 See under ‘Ballo del Fiore’, above.
Versions in other collections:

**Printed**

Attaignant, *Neuf basses dances ...*, 1530. f. 3v, ‘La brosse, Basse dance’.


Bianchini, Dominico, 1546. nos. 8 and 10, ‘Pass’e mezo’ and ‘Il suo saltarello’.


Paladino, 1560. f. 33v and f. 35r, ‘Pavana chiamata la Milanesa and ‘Gagliarda sopra la detta’.

Gorzanis, 1561. nos. 1, 2 and 3, ‘Pass’e mezo antico primo’, ‘Padoana del ditto’ and ‘Saltarello del ditto’.


Barbetta, 1582. no. 16, ‘Passomezo secondo Musicale detto il
Milanese’.

Ballo detto il PIANTONE Nobiltà di Dame, p. 335 [41a]
Common names of the ‘tune’: Torchia, Tu te parti.
Versions in other collections:

Printed
Casteliono, 1536. f. 23a, ‘Saltarello ditta la Torchia Fa la danza Jo. Petro’, by Pietro Paolo Borrono.
Abondante. 1546. no.25, ‘Tu te parti cor mio caro’.
Bianchini, Dominico, 1546. no. 24, ‘Torza Saltarello’.
Francesco (Canova) da Milano ..., Intabolatura . ., 1546. f. 22r, ‘Saltarello le pur bono Ruschina’ - 1st phrase.
Pífaro, 1546. no. 20, ‘Saltarello non ti partir da me’.
Barberiis, 1549. no.30, ‘Saltarello la villanella’.
Gardane, 1551. no. 8, ‘Tu te parti Gagliarda’.

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Balletti, 1554. no 4, ‘Non ti partir da me’.
Gorzanis, 1561. no. 21, ‘Te parti cor mio caro’.
Striggio, 1567. Transcribed in Somma’s edition (1947) of
Striggio’s *Il cicalamento delle donne al bucato* …, at p. 26ff..
Abundante, 1587. p. 46, ‘Padoana ditta la Fondi’.
Facoli, 1588. f. 31b ‘Aria della signora Fior d’Amor’.
Vincenti, 1602, p. 10, ‘Tu te parti’.
Zannetti, 1645. pp. 14, 34 and 72, ‘Saltarello Cor mio Caro’, and
p. 96. ‘Il ballo della Torchia’.

**Manuscript**

Gagliarda’, and p. 254, no title.
Lucca, c. 1570-1580?. f. 9v , ‘Tu ti parti cor mio caro’.
Munich, Mus. ms.1511b, c. 1570-1575. f. 6v, ‘La torza’ and f.
19v, ‘Ballo della torza’.
Munich, Mus. ms. 1511d, c. 1555-1580. no 18, ‘La torca’.
Venice, Ms. It. IV 1227, c. 1520. no. 25, ‘La torga over tu te
parti’.

**Included with ‘Piantone’:**

La Gagliarda detta MEZZA NOTTE

[41b]

Repeated from *Il Ballarino*: II, f. 184r, ‘Meza notte’, many
mistakes but seems to be intended to be identical.

**PUNGENTE DARDO,** Nobiltà di Dame, p. 345 [43]
balletto.

Common name of the ‘tune’: Traditora’

Repeated from *Il Ballarino*: II, f. 89v, ‘Pungente Dardo’.
identical.
Versions in other collections:

**Printed**
Casteliono, 1536. f. 38b. ‘Saltarello ditto la Traditorella’ by Pietro Paolo Borrono.
Abondante, 1546. no. 9, ‘La traditora’.
Paladino, c.1549, p.21. ‘Gaillarde’.
Waissel, 1573. no. 37, ‘La Traditora. Gagliarda’.
Phalèse, 1583. f. 11v, ‘Gaillarde la Traditore’.
Arbeau, 1589. f. 52v, ‘Air de la gaillarde apellee “La Traditore my fa morire”’.
Waissel, 1592. ‘Gaillarda n. 3. La Traditora’.

**Manuscript**
Antonius, c. 1570-1580. nos. 1 and 2, ‘Pasameza de la Traditore’ and ‘Saltarello ditta la traditora’, and no. 10, ‘La traditora’
Breslau (Wrocław). 1537-1544, f. 74v, ‘La Traditora’.
Munich, Mus. ms. 266, c. 1555-1575. f .28r, nos. 27n, 27o 27p, 27q and 27r, ‘La traditora’.
Munich, Mus. ms. 272. 3rd quarter of the 16th century. ff. 54v and 56v, ‘La traditora’ and f. 68v, ‘Pass e mezo su la traditora’.
Munich, Mus. ms. 1511b, c. 1570-1575. f. 20v, ‘La traditora saltarello’.
Munich, Mus. ms. 1511d, c. 1555-1580. no. 17, ‘Tenor de la traditora’.
Munich, Mus. ms. 1512, 1533 and 1544. f. 70r, ‘Der drit danntz La traditora’.
Venice, Ms. It. IV 1227, c. 1520, no. 19, ‘La traditora’.


No known concordance.
ROSA FELICE

Nobiltà di Dame, p. 187. [14]
balletto.

No known concordance.

SELVA AMOROSA,

Nobiltà di Dame, p. 361 [47]
balletto.

Version in Nobiltà di Dame: p. 198, ‘Doria Colonna’, discant similar, which see above for other citations.

SPAGNOLETTA NUOVA

Nobiltà di Dame, p. 153 [9]
al modo di madriglia.

Common name of the ‘tune’: Spagnoletta.


Versions in other collections:

Printed

Based on the section beginning “Turela me” from ‘Dal orto se ne vien’ in Azzaiolo, Il primo libro de villote ..., 1557. at p. 6.
Barbetta, 1585, p. 19, ‘Baletto Francese detto la Volta’.
Terzi, 1599, p. 21, ‘Balletto Francese’.
Negri, 1602, p. 117. ‘Balletto Spagnoletto’.
San Severino, 1622, p. 30, ‘Spagnoletta’.
Frescobaldi, 1624. p. 47, ‘Capriccio sesto sopra la Spagnoletta’
(also in the editions of 1626, 1628 and 1642).
Monte, c. 1625. p. 10, ‘Due Spagnolette’.
Costanzo, 1627. p .46, ‘Spagnoletta’.
Millioni, 1627. p. 44, ‘Spagnoletta’.
Colonna, 1637. p. 22, ‘Spagnoletta’.
Corbetta, 1639. p. 22, ‘Spagnoletta’.
Trombetti, 1639. p. 70, ‘Spagnoletta’.
Calvi, 1646. p. 10, ‘Spagnoletto’.
Marchetti, 1660. p. 24, ‘Spagnoletta’.
Storace, 1664. p. 24, ‘Aria sopra la Spagnoletta’
Foscarini, n.d.. p. 8, ‘Spagnoletta’.

**Manuscript**

Berlin. Mus. ms. 40115, 1593. f.10v, ‘Galliard’.
Cavalcanti, 1590. f. 10r, ‘Spagnoletta’ (two examples).
*Fitzwilliam* ..., 1609-1619. (CCLXXXIX), ‘The old Spagnoletta’ (Giles Farnaby).
Florence, Ms. Magl. XIX 179, late 16th century. ‘Spagnoletta’.
Lucca, c.1570-1580? f. 20r, ‘Spagnoletta’.
Nuremburg, late 16th and early 17th century. V, f. 9v, ‘Spagnoletta’.
Rasponi, 1635. f. 11v,’Spagnoletta’.
*Thysius* ..., c. 1600. f. 377v, ‘L’Espagnolette’.
Venice, *Anonymous* ..., Title indecipherable.
Venice, Ms. It. IV 1793. no. 19, ‘Spagnoletta’.
Venice, Ms, It. IV 1910, mid-17th century. no 25, ‘Spagnoletto’, nos. 26, 27, 28 and 51, ‘Spagnoletta’.

SPAGNOLETTA REGOLATA, balletto.

Sonata the same as for ‘Spagnoletta Nuova’, *supra*.

SPECCHIO D’AMORE, cascarda.

*Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 248 [25]

No other known concordances.

**TORDIGLIONE**, *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 324 [38] balletto.


Versions in other collections:

**Manuscript**
Amigonus. 1613. f. 101v. ‘Tortiglione’.


Common names of the ‘tune’: Romanesca, Guárdame las vacas, Favorita, Todeschina etc..


Versions in other collections:

**Printed**
Narváez, 1538. VI, f. 82v, ‘Cuatro diferencias sobre Guárdame las vacas’.
Newsidler, 1540. f. E4r, ‘Ein gutter Venecianer tantz’ and ‘Hupff
auff’.
Newsidler, 1544. p. 29, ‘Ein guter Wellscher tantz’ and ‘Der hupff auff’.
Francesco (Canova) da Milano ..., Carminum ...
..., 1546. f. 145v, ‘Passa mezo devaccas’, and f. 164r, ‘Romanescha’.
Rotta, 1546. nos. 20, 21 and 22, ‘Pass’e mezo alla villana’, ‘Saltarello cioe Gagliarda’ and ‘Padovana gaiarda’.
Valderrabano, 1547. f. 96v, ‘Siete diferencias sobre Guárdame las vacas’.
Barberiis, 1549. nos. 2, 3 and 4, ‘Passo e mezo’, ‘Gagliarda’ and ‘Saltarello’.
Pisador, 1552. f. 2b, ‘Las vacas con sus diferencias’.
Ortiz, 1553. ‘Recercada settima’.
Balletti, 1554. no. 6, ‘La favorita’.
Gorzanis, 1561. nos. 9 and 10, ‘Il Todischino’ and ‘Padoana del ditto’.
Gorzanis, 1564. nos. 23 and 24, ‘Pass’e mezo del Todeschin’ and ‘Padoana del ditto’.
Phalèse, 1568. ff. 80v and 81r, ‘Padoana Romanisca’ and ‘La Gaillarda’.
Phalèse, 1574. p. 69, ‘Pavane la Romanesque’.
Valente, 1576. p. 85, ‘La Romanesca con cinque mutanze’.
Cabezón, 1578. ff. 185b, 197b and 199b, ‘Diferencias sobre las vacas’.
Vincenti, 1602. pp. 2 and 3, ‘Romanesca’ and ‘Gagliarda della Romanesca’.

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Kapsberger, 1604. p. 41, ‘Romanesca’.
Mayone, 1609. p. 124, ‘Partite sopra il Tenore antico, o Romanesca’.
Melii, 1614. p. 8, ‘Favorita’.
Frescobaldi, 1615. p. 46, ‘Partite sopra la romanesca’ (also, with added variations, in the revised editions of 1615/16, 1628 and 1637).
Monteverdi, 1619. p. 27, ‘Ohime dove il mio ben, Romanesca a 2’.
Landi, 1620. p. 32, ‘Romanesca’.
Marini, 1620. p. 27, ‘Romanesca per Violin solo è Basso se piace’.
San Severino, 1622. p. 22, ‘Romanesca’.
Piccinini, 1623. p. 92, ‘Romanesca’.
Rossi, 1623. ‘L’Aria della Romanesca’.
Monte, c.1625. p. 7, ‘Romanesca’.
Millioni, 1627. p. 16 and p. 33, ‘Favorita’.
Frescobaldi, 1634. p. 41, ‘Canzon seconda, sopra Romanesca’.
Abbatessa, 1637, p. 8, ‘Romanesca’.
Kittel, 1638, ‘Aria n. 6 a 2 Soprani sopra la Romanesca, Gleichwie zur Sommerzeit’.
Calvi, 1646. p. 32, ‘Romanesca’.
Granata, 1646, p. 32, ‘Romanesca’.
Marchetti, 1660. p. 27, ‘Romanesca’.
Storace, 1664. p. 20, ‘Romanesca’.
Strozzi, 1687. p. 75, ‘Romanesca con partite, Tenori, e Ritornelli’.

**Manuscript**

Amsterdam, c. 15S0. f. 34r, ‘Pass e Mezo venetianer’ and ‘Saltarello’.
Amigonus, 1613. f. 89v, ‘Gagliarda Favorita’, f. 91r, ‘Romanesca’ and f. 99r, ‘Romanesca’ (two examples).
Berlin, Mus. ant. pract. W 510, c. 1600. f. 15v, ‘Passomezo
Venetianer’ and ‘Saltarello’.
Bowie, 1558. ff. 120v and 121r, three variations without title.
Cavalcanti, 1590. f. 2r, ‘Ballo della torcia’.
Dublin ..., c. 1570, no. 9. no title.
Florence, Ms. Magl. XIX 168, 1582. ‘Romanesca’.
Lucca, c. 1570-1580?. f. 23r, ‘Fiorentina’, and ff. 30r, 38r and 40r, ‘Romanescha’.
Munich, Mus. ms. 1511b, c. 1570-1575. f. 25v, ‘Totem [?] Mamia’.
Munich, Mus. ms. 2987, c. 1550. ‘Pavane’ and another piece without title.
Nuremburg, late 16th, early 17th century. II, f. 3r, f. 24v, III, f. 7v, f. 20v,’Romanescha’
Rasponi, 1635. f. 11v , ‘Romanescha'
Thysius..., c. 1600. ff. 127v-130v, ‘Passomezo la Romaneska’.
Venice, Ms. It. IV 1793, mid-17th century. no.13, ‘Favorita’.
Venice, Ms. It. IV 1910, mid-17th century. nos. 33-38, each entitled ‘Romanesca’.
For printed music, RISM, Series A/I Vols.1-9 and B/I, has been taken as authority for whether items should be listed as books by individual composers or as collections. Some collections have been listed by their titles but many of them under the names of the publishers. The forms of names used in RISM have generally been preferred.

For other printed works, the U.S. Library of Congress National Union Catalogue and the Australian National Bibliography have generally been followed for the forms of names.

For manuscripts, entry under personal name of composer, arranger, scribe, former owner or other established name has been preferred when possible to entry under library or other institutional location. Locations of manuscripts are, however, also given as precisely as possible at the ends of entries.

As a rule only the earliest editions have been listed except when specific references have been made to subsequent editions. The entries in this list occasionally differ in detail from the citations in the footnotes.

Included are some items from my thesis on topics covered there but not in this study, e.g. costume and the masques at the Jacobean court and elsewhere which may be of interest to students of the dance.

Abondante, Giulio. *Intabolatura... sopra el lauto de ogni sorte de balli... libro primo*. (Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1546).

Abundante, Giulio. *Il quinto libro de tabolatura da liuto...* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1587).

Accademico Occulto Costante, *Discorso in laude delle donne, e d'amore* (Florence: Marescotti, 1573).


Aelian. *De natura animalium*.

Aelius Donatus. ‘*P. Vergilii Maronis vita per Aelium Donatum celebrem grammaticum aedita*’ in *Pub. Vergilii Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, Aeneis cum Servii commentarius...*. *Sequitur Probi Celebris Grammatici in Bucolica, Georgica commentariolus, non ante impressus. Ad hos Donati*


Agrippa von Nettesheim (Heinrich Cornelius). *Della nobiltà e preecceelenza del Sesso Femminile*. (n. p., [1530?]).


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cantionibus musicis, passomezzo, padoanis, gaillards, ... ad tabulaturam communem redactis. Quibus accessit dilucida in cytharam isagoge, quo suo marte quilibet eam ludere discat. Neugestalt Cytharbuch, Darinn vilerlai art Gesäng... nach gemainen Tabulatur auf die teutsch Cythar ... (Strasbourg: Bernhart Jobin, 1578). Earlier edition, 1575 (lost).


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Marchetti, Tomasio. Il primo libro d'intavolatura della chitarra spagnola... (Rome: Francesco Moneta, 1660).

Marescotti, Ercole (Ercole Filogenio). Dell'eccellenza della donna discorso ... . (Fermo: Sertorio de’ Monti, 1589).

Marinelli, Lucrezia. La nobiltà et l'eccellenza delle donne, co’ diffetti et mancamenti de gli huomini. (Venice, [G. B. Ciotti?], 1591).

Marini, Biagio. Arie, madrigali et corenti a 1, 2, 3 ... opera terza. (Venice: Alessandro Gardano, 1620).

Marini, Biagio. Sonate, symphonie, canzoni, pass'emezzi, baletti, corenti, gagliarde, & retornelli ... opera ottava. (Venice: Gardano, 1626).


Melii, Pietro Paolo (da Regio). *Intavolatura di liuto attiorbato libro secondo, nel quale si contiene corrente, volte, gagliarde, preludi & una tastata, un capriccio, una corrente, & una volta cromatiche, un'aria di Firenze passeggiata dall'autore, un preludo, & una corrente per la tiorba, & nel fine del libro tre canzoni, & una corrente concertate a due liuti, dopo l'opera aggiuntove una volta, & una galiarda*. (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1614 and 1616).


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Milanuzzi, Carlo. Terzo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze... con l'aggiunta nel fine di alcuni balletti, saravende, spagnolette, gagliarde, follie, ciacone, & altre sonate ... opera nona. (Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1623).

Millioni, Pietro. Quarta impressione del primo, secondo et terzo libro d’intavolatura ... di chitarra spagnola ... . (Rome: Guglielmo Facciotti, 1627).


Millioni, Pietro. Seconda impressione del quarto libro d’intavolatura di chitarra spagnola... (Rome: Guglielmo Facciotti, 1627).

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Millioni, Pietro, and Monte, Lodovico. Vero e facil modo d’imparare


Monte, Lodovico (compiler). *Vago fior di virtu dove si contiene il vero modo per sonare la chitarriglia spagnuola ... raccolte da me Lodovico Monte ...*. (Venice: Angelo Salvadori, c. 1625).

Montesardo, Girolamo. *Nuova inventione d’intavolatura per sonare i balletti sopra la chitarra spagnuola ...*. (Florence: Christofano Marescotti, 1606).

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Monteverdi, Claudio. *Lamento d’Arianna... et con due lettere amorose in genere rappresentativo*. (Venice: Bartolomeo Magni, 1623).


Mudarra, Alonso. *Tres libros de musica en cifras para vihuela*… (Seville, Juan de León, 1546).


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Ortiz, Diego. Libro primo, trattado de glosas sobre clausulas y otras generos de puntos en la musica de violones. (Rome: Valerio Dorlco y Luis su hermano... .1553).


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Ovid. Metamorphoses.


Paladino, Giovanni Paulo. Tabulature de lutz en diverses sortes... (Lyons: Jacques Moderne, c. 1549).

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Personeni, Angelo. *Notizie genealogiche, storie, critiche e letterarie del Cardinale Cinzio Personeni da Ca Passero Aldobrandini, nipote di Clemente VIII S. P...* (Bergamo: Locatelli, 1786).


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Pickeringe. Jane (scribe). *Ms. of dances and other tunes for one and two lutes in French tablature*. 1616-1625. The scribe was probably the daughter of Sir Thomas Puckering, bart., created in 1612. The manuscript also contains pieces by another scribe, c. 1670-1685. British Library, Ms. Egerton 2046.

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*La pieuse alouette avec son tirelire... Partie premièere*. (Valenciennes: J. Vervliet, 1619).

Pifaro, Marc’Antonio. *Intabolatura de lauto... de ogni sorte de balli... libro primo*. (Venice: Antonio Gardane, 1546).

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praecclare quadriennio gestas adnumerat ad eundem Sixtum Quintum Pont. Max.. (Rome: apud F. Zannettum, 1589).


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Plato. Gorgias.

Plato. Leges.

Plato. Respublica.

Plato. Symposium.

Plato. Timaeus.

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*Het prieel der gheestelicker melodie*. (Antwerp: 1614). Cited by John Wendland in ‘‘Madre non mi far Monaca”... ’, see below, at p. 193 and p. 201, citing Florimond van Duyse, see above, II, p. 1779, and Ludwig Christian Erk, see above, III p. 706, but it has not been possible to establish this source elsewhere.

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*Ragionamento fatto in Roma da i principali Cortigiani di Corte sopra il modo del procedere d’ogni degno Cortigiano ...*. (Venice: ad


*Recueil des plus belles chansons de ce temps, mis en trois parties*. (Lyons: 1559). Cited by John Wendland in “‘Madre non mi far Monaca’...’, see below, at p. 192 n. 48, from Antoine-Jean-Victor Le Roux de Lincy, *Recueil de chants historiques français, depuis le XIIe jusqu’au XVIIIe siècles, avec des notices et une introduction...*, (Paris: C. Gosselin, 1841-1842), II at p.585. The 1559 collection has not been established, but the citation may refer to another edition of the preceding *Recueil...* published by Rigaud and Saugrain in 1557, cited by Jean-Baptiste Weckerlin and Julia Sutton.

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Robortello, Francesco. *In librum Aristotelis De arte poetica explicationes.* (Florence: L. Torrentinus, 1548).


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San Severino, Benedetto. *Intabolatura facile delle passacaglia, ciaccone, saravande, spagnolette, fulie, pavaniglie, pass’e mezzi, correnti, & altre varie suonate composte, & accommodate per la chitarra alla spagnuola... opera terza.* (Milan: Filippo Lomazzo, 1620).

San Severino, Benedetto. *Il primo libro d’intabolatura per la chitarra alla spagnuola ... di nuovo ristampato con aggiunta d’alcune canzonette dal istesso autore ... opera terza.* New edition of *Intabolatua facile ...*, above. (Milan: Filippo Lomazzo, 1622).

Saracini, Claudio. *Le musiche ... nelle quali sono madrigali et arie a una e due voci per cantar e sonar nel chittarone, arpicordo et
altri simili stromenti, con due toccate per il liuto attiorbato. (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1614).


Schneider, Max. ‘Eine unbekannte Lautentabulatur aus den Jahren 1537-1544’ in Musikwissenschaftliche Beiträge; Festschrift für Johannes Wolf, zu seinem sechzigsten Geburtstage, herausgegeben von Walter Lott [et al.]. (Berlin: M. Breslauer, 1929), pp. 176ff..


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Stalpart van der Wiele, Jan Baptist. *Extractum Catholicum, tegen alle Gebreken van verwarede hersenen*. (Louvain: B. Masius, 1631). Also published in Antwerp [?].

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Striggio, Alessandro. *Il primo libro de madrigali a sei voci*. (Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1565)


Suetonius. ‘Vita Vergilii’ in his *De viris illustribus, De poetis*.


Tasso, Torquato. Discorsi del poema heroico ... . (Naples: Stamparia dello Stigliola. ad instantia di P. Venturini, 1594). Published in an earlier form in 1587.


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Thomas Aquinas. In Boetii de Trinitate.

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Tregian, Francis (scribe). *The ‘Egerton’ manuscript*, [1609-1619?].


Turini, Francesco. *Madrigali a una, due, tre voci, con alcune sonate a due et a tre, libro primo*. (Venice: Bartolomeo Magni, 1621).


Valentini, Pier Francesco. Trattato del tempo, del modo e della prolatione... nel quale amplamente si dimostra che cosa sia tempo, modo, prolatione, e copiosamente si discorre delle figure e proporzioni musicali de' segni, delle perfettioni, delle imperfettioni, de' punti, delle legature, et di ciascuno altro accidente, a cui dette figure sono sottoposte. Oltre di questo si tratta del valore delle note e pause sotto qualsivoglia segno, et volto le più praticabili proporzione [sic?] di altre cose appartenenti alla figurata musica. Opera utilissima per li professori d'essa; con una tavola copiosissima delle cose più notabili che in lei si contengono, 1643. Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana. Ms. Barb. Lat. 4419.

Valerius, Adriaen. Neder-landtsche Gedenck-Clanck ... . (Haarlem: autheur, 1626).

Vallet, Nicolaes (publisher). Het geheymenisse der zang godinnen ... . Secretum musarum ... . (Amsterdam: Vallet, 1615).

Varchi, Benedetto. Lezione della maggioranza delle arti (1546). Cited by Tibor Klaniczay in his ‘La lotta antiaristotelica dei teorici del Manierismo’ in Tiziano e il Manierismo europeo ..., see above.

Vasari, Giorgio. Delle vite de’ più eccellenti pittori, scultori et architetti... In questa nuova edizione ... . (Bologna: gli heredi di Evangelista Dozza, 1647. First edition published in 1550).


Vecellio, Cesare. Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il Mondo... . (Venice: Giovanni Bernardo Sessa, 1598).


Venice. Anonymous manuscript of Italian lute tablature (lost), Described by Oscar Chilesotti in his Lauten-Buch del cinquecento, trascrizioni ..., see above.


Vermigli, Pietro Martire. *A briefe treatise concerning the use and abuse of dauncing collected oute of the learned workes of Peter Martyr by Mister Rob. Massonus and translated... by I. K..* (London: printed by Ion Iugge, [1580?]).


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Vignola, Giacomo Barozzi da. *Regola delli cinque ordini d’architettura ...*. (Venice: [1562?]).

Vignola, Giacomo Barozzi da. *Regola delli cinque ordini d’architettura ...* (Siena: Oppi, 1635). The plates are for the most part reversed copies of those in the 1607-1610 edition.

Vincent de Beauvais. *Speculum naturale*.


Virgil. *Aeneis*.

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Vitali, Filippo. *Arie a 1, 2, 3 voci* ... , libro quarto. (Venice: Alessandro Gardano, 1622).


Waissel, Matthäus. *Tabulatura continens insignes et selectissimas quasque cantiones* ... (Frankfurt an der Oder: Johann Eichorn, 1573).

Waissel, Matthäus. *Lautenbuch Darinn von der Tabulatur und Application der Lauten gründlicher und voller Unterricht* ... . (Frankfurt an der Oder: Andreas Eichorn, 1592).


Wecker, Hans Jacob. *Lautenbuch von mancherley schönen und lieblichen Stucken mitt zweyen lauten ...* (Basle: 1552 (lost)). Twenty pieces included in Wolff Heckel’s *Lautten Buch von mancherley schönen und lieblichen stucken ...*, see above.

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Willcock, Christopher. ‘*Let all the Peoples*’ (*Ps. 102*), in his *Songs of Prayer*. (Kew, Vic.: printed at Xavier College, 1975), pp. 110-113.

Willems, Jan Frans (editor). *Oude Vlaemsche Liedern, ten deele met de melodien...* (Ghent: F. en E. Gyselynck, 1848).


Zacconi, Lodovico. *Prattica di musica, utile et necessaria si al compositore per comporre i canti suoi regolatamente, si anco al cantore per assicurarsi in tutte le cose cantabile; divisa in quattro libri; ne i quali si tratta delle cantilene ordinarie, de tempi de prolationi, de proportioni, de tuoni, et della convenienze de tutti gli istumenti musicali ...*. (Venice: Bartolomeo Carampello, 1596). First published in 1592.


Zannetti, Gasparo. *Il scolaro... per imparar a suonare di violino, et altri stromenti, ove si contengono gli veri principii dell’arie, passi e mezzi, saltarelli, gagliarde, zoppe, balletti, alemane, et correnti, accompagnate con tutti le quattro parti cioè canto, alto, tenore e basso; con una nova aggiunta d’intavolatura de numeri non più datti alla stampa.* (Milan: Carlo Camagno, 1645).

Zarlino, Gioseffo. *Le Istitutioni Harmoniche ... Nelle quali; oltra le materie appartenenti alla musica; Si trovano dichiarati molti luoghi di Poeti, d’Historici, & di Filosofi; Si come nel leggerle si potrà chiaramente vedere.* (Venice: 1558).


