

STANLEY BOORMAN

PETRUCCI IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT RESEARCH

It is in the nature of a paper with such a title as this that there can be no single over-arching theme – unless it be that the life and work of Petrucci continue to present surprises and raise problems for the modern interpreter. However, this paper will address a number of diverse issues, which will be subsumed under four different headings: his life before 1520; his contacts for the music he published; his life after 1520 – with perhaps the most interesting new evidence; and something of the implications of patterns of ownership of his editions.¹

PETRUCCI'S LIFE BEFORE 1520

Apart from two earlier documents executed in Fossombrone,² and his privilege application of 1498, Petrucci appears on the scene in 1501 with the immediate triumph of his *Harmonice Musices Odhecaton A* (RISM 1501).³ This book, with its startlingly brilliant title-initial, with the elegant impagination and individual notational characters, and with the then-unusual landscape format, must have presented an impressive face to browsers in bookshops of the time. Not surprisingly, it has led to the presumption that Petrucci had studied the craft of printing, perhaps in Venice, and presumably after he had studied music (as it was thought) at the court of Urbino. And yet there is no evidence for either. The only list known to me of the “family” of the Urbino Duke, Guidobaldo I, survives in an eighteenth-century copy.⁴

¹ Much of what follows will be examined in greater detail in my forthcoming *Ottaviano Petrucci: Catalogue Raisonné* (New York: Oxford University Press).

² These are both printed in AUGUSTO VERNARECCI, *Fossombrone dai tempo (!) antichissimi* (Fossombrone: Monacelli, 1914²; reprinted Bologna: Forni, 1969), 197-198.

³ A list of writings about, or editions of this edition would be very long: here I would again refer to my new book, where a lengthy list can be found at the end of my bibliographical description, No. 1 in the catalogue. The most recent items include an edited facsimile, edited by Stanley Boorman and Ellen Beebe (*Critical Facsimiles* VII. New York: Broude Brothers, 2001), and a performing edition of the contents, prepared by David Fallows.

⁴ GB-Lbl, Add.Ms.22027, ff. 131r-136r.

The original must have been made sometime between 1481 and 1494, for it includes Paulus de Middelburgh. The house musicians are listed, and some of Urbino's musicians are also cited in the lists of those attending the wedding of Roberto Malatesta and Elisabetta Montefeltro, in Rimini in 1475.⁵ In neither case is there mention of Petrucci, nor of musicians hailing from Fossombrone. We probably need to assume that Petrucci gained his musical knowledge in Fossombrone itself, which was not the cultural backwater that it now appears to be.

Further, it is almost certain that Petrucci had never been apprenticed to the craft of printing, or indeed as a bookseller. The evidence for this assertion lies principally in the manner in which he described himself in official Venetian documents. When he applied for his privilege for music, in 1498, he called himself "Octavian de i petrucci da fostonbron habitator in questa inclyta Cita homo ingeniosissimo".⁶ This is unusual, in that he lays no claim to professional standing in either trade. Other printers and booksellers do so, almost invariably, and often in words such as the following:⁷

- 2.III.1498] Baptista et Silvestro di torti fratelli stampadori de libri
- 14.III.1498] Lazaro di Snardi [*sic*] ... impressor diligentissimo de libri
- 29. X.1498] Antonio Moreto da Bressa mercadante de libri
- 20.IV.1514] Zuan da Brexa depentor [who had] fatto uno disegno et quello fatto intagliar in legno [and sought a privilege for] ditta sua opera laquel é, la historia de Traiano Imperator.

In the same way writers – authors or editors – tended to give the authority by which they thought themselves justified in seeking a privilege:⁸

- 20.VI.1496] Humiliter Significa el Spectabile Doctor di ragion Ciuile e canonica Messer Bernardin de Landriano milanese come havendo lui dia per il

⁵ For records of the wedding, see MARCELLO MAMINI, "Documenti quattrocenteschi di vita musicale alle Corti Feltresca e Malatestiana," *Studi urbinati*, Nuova serie, XLVIII (1974), 115-128.

⁶ This document is found in the Venetian Archivio di Stato, Collegio, Notatorio, Registro xiv (1489-1499), f. 159r (now 174r). It has been transcribed many times: see in particular AUGUSTO VERNARECCI, *Ottaviano de' Petrucci da Fossombrone, inventore dei tipi mobili metallici fusi della musica nel secolo XV*, (Bologna: Romagnoli, 1882; reprinted in 1884, and Bologna: Forni, 1971), 36-37 (with an Italian translation). Most recently, it was transcribed in MARY KAY DUGGAN, *Italian Music Incunabula: Printers and Type* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 487.

⁷ These are taken from the same collection, Notatorio, in the Venetian Archivio di Stato as follows: Registro XIV (1489-1499), ff. 169 (173)r; Registro XIV, ff. 172 (176)r; *ibid.*, f. 182 (186)r; and Registro XVII, ff. 87 (89)v-88(90)r. The last is published in RINALDO FULIN, "Documenti per servire alla storia della tipografia veneziana," *Archivio veneto* XXIII (1882), 84-212, as No. 192.

⁸ These can be found in the same collection, as Registro XIV, f. 130 (134)r and f. 144 (148)v; Registro XIV, f. 148 (152)r; and Registro XV, f. 17 (19)v. The first three are in FULIN, "Documenti," Nos. 39, 51 and 63.

- tempo de'anni cinque passati in questa vostra inclita Cita de Venexia invigilato [to publish his] molte lecture Civile e Canonice.
- 20.II.1497] Andrea mario bressan professor de studij de gramatica in Venetia [for his own books]
- 29.IX.1497] Francesco Pythio da Monteuarchi de lordine minore [for a translation of Seneca]
- 12.III.1500] Pre Marco Berto Marchian: al presente mansionario In sancto Zuane de Rialto [for his translation of] tuti li misterij de la santa messa.

Petrucchi could apparently lay claim to neither of these reasons for printing.⁹ Indeed, later documents seem to confirm that he was never a printer or bookseller while in Venice. When he reapplied, in 1514, for an extension of his Venetian privilege, he again gave no professional standing: he called himself “Octaviano di petruci da fossombron presente supplicante Como a primo Inventor de stampar librij de canto figurato.”¹⁰

I believe, as a result, that Petrucci had no experience as either printer or bookseller. This would explain why, according to his 1514 petition, he had taken as partners a member of a leading printing and publishing company, Amadeo Scotto, and a Venetian bookseller, Niccolò di Raphael.

He also had early contacts with the printer/publisher who is now most often associated in the lay imagination with the Venetian book-trade of the time, Aldus Manutius. One piece of evidence for this lies in the fonts of Greek type that Petrucci needed for one phrase in the dedicatory letter printed in his first title, *Odhecaton A*. Each of the three surviving editions of this book displays a different Greek font for the few sorts that are needed: in each case, Petrucci borrowed the type from another printer. I have not yet traced the type used in his first two editions, though I would expect the first at least to display type from one of the printers employed by Scotto. But the third edition seems to use type from Aldus' fourth Greek font.¹¹

This Aldine contact, apparent in 1504, was important for Petrucci. Aldus' type designer was Francesco Griffo of Bologna: he apparently designed the famous Greek

⁹ The Venetian laws about citizenship and permission to engage in trade are laid out in S. R. ELLIS, *Citizenship and Immigration in Venice, 1305-1900* (Ph.D. diss. University of Chicago, 1976). See also UGO TUCCI, “The Psychology of the Venetian Merchant in the Sixteenth Century,” *Renaissance Venice* ed. by John R. Hale (London: Faber and Faber, 1973), 346-378. Although the relevant laws had been formulated long before 1500, they were still in force, and new and systematic copies continued to be made. Venice, Archivio di Stato, Cinque Savi alia Mercanzia, Busta 25 [= Capitolare 2] contains most of the laws in its first five folios, copied early in the 16th century, while a later copy of a similar collection of earlier laws on citizenship is collected in Venice, Archivio di Stato, Provveditori di Comun, Busta 1 (Capitoli).

¹⁰ This is found in Venice, Archivio di Stato, Collegio, Notatorio, Registro XVII, (1512-1514/5), f. 92r (new 94r).

¹¹ James Haar, in another paper read at this conference, also comments on Petrucci's borrowing of Greek type from other publishers.

font with kerned breathings, and worked for Aldus until soon after 1500, when the two men had a falling out. Then, in 1503, Aldus sought a privilege for this Greek font, preventing anyone else, that is Griffo, from profiting from the design. Martin Lowry believes that this was a deliberate act on Aldus' part, and Soncino implies as much, when praising Griffo in 1513.¹²

In 1511, Griffo went to Fossombrone, and he was still there in August of 1512. He had already visited the Marche, for he had worked with Soncino on the coast in 1503.¹³ But there is only one plausible reason for a free-lance type-designer to stay in Fossombrone for about a year, and that must be that he designed the new type-face to be employed in printing the 1513 edition of the *Paulina de recta paschae*, the *magnum opus* of the local bishop, Paulus de Middelburgh. He may also have designed the elegant initial letters and blocks which grace that edition. The printer, of course, was Petrucci, who may well have recommended Griffo to the bishop.

It is probable that Petrucci and Griffo had known each other in the early years of the century, in Venice. The strongest evidence for this lies in a feature of Petrucci's music font, namely that several sorts are kerned. Although this feature is not unknown in earlier text fonts, it was virtually unknown (and often unnecessary) in musical fonts:¹⁴ it was something of a novelty in Aldus' Greek font (principally because of the fineness of the cutting). The elegance of Petrucci's music font, with the long note-tails which often intrude on the area reserved for text, owes much to this feature.

There is another reason for arguing that Petrucci and Griffo may have known each other in 1500 and earlier. Mary Kay Duggan has suggested, on technical grounds, that Jacomo Ungaro, who was Aldus' type-founder, may have cut Petrucci's type, to Griffo's design.¹⁵

Later, in 1513, Ungaro petitioned in Venice for a privilege for printing music. This has occasioned some speculation among musicologists; but the explanation seems to be simple, and to depend on timing. When Griffo left Fossombrone in the

¹² The details of this relationship are outlined in MARTIN LOWRY, *The World of Aldus Manutius: Business and Scholarship in Renaissance Venice* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1979); and DUGGAN, *Italian Music Incunabula*.

¹³ For Soncino, see GIACOMO MANZONI, *Annali tipografici dei Soncino* (Bologna: Romagnoli, 1885-1886; reprinted Farnborough: Gregg, 1969). On Griffo, see MARTIN LOWRY, *The World of Aldus Manutius: Business and Scholarship in Renaissance Venice* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1979), 87-88; GIACOMO MANZONI, "Francesco da Bologna, incisore di caratteri mobili metallici da stampa," *Studi di bibliografia analitica* I (1881); ADAMO ROSSI, "L'ultima parola sulla questione di M^o Francesco de Bologna, intagliatore di lettere e tipografo", *Atti e Memorie della R. Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Province di Romagna*, Ser. 3, I (1882-1883), 412-417; ALBANO SORBELLI, "'Il Mago che scolpì' i caratteri di Aldo Manuzio: Francesco Griffo da Bologna," *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 1923, 117-123; ALBANO SORBELLI, *Storia della stampa in Bologna* (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1929), 91-94; GIOVANNI MARDERSTEIG, "Aldo Manuzio e i caratteri di Francesco Griffo da Bologna," *Studi di bibliografia e di storia in onore di Tammaro de Marinis*, ed. by Romeo de Maio ([Verona]: Stamperia Valdonega, 1964), 105-149; VICTOR SCHOLDERER, *Greek Printing Types, 1465-1527* (London: The Trustees of the British Museum, 1927; reprinted Thessaloniki: Mastoridis, 1995), 6-7.

¹⁴ Details of the use of kerned type in Italian liturgical incunabula can be found in DUGGAN, *Italian Music Incunabula*, *passim*.

¹⁵ See DUGGAN, *Italian Music Incunabula*, 38-41.

Papal States, in 1513, he will have known that Petrucci was intending to print music, and that his privilege was still in application. He will also have been aware of Antico's privilege and first editions, prepared in Rome. Petrucci indeed petitioned Pope Leo X for a privilege for the Papal States during 1513. It seems more than likely that Ungaro, hearing of the state of play, decided to protect his own work and that of his colleagues, by a new application to the Venetian Senate. This interpretation may be supported by the unusual wording of the petition, including a clause that the award should not damage previous awards: "Quod fiat ut petitur ne preiudicetur Concessionibus di que sorte facte fuissens ante hac."¹⁶ Given the certainty of Petrucci's contacts with Aldus and Francesco Griffo, his known association with the Scotto family, and his probably contacts with Ungaro, he was clearly able to recruit some of the most distinguished professionals in Venice to help him establish his business of publishing music, despite his own apparent lack of professional expertise. This does not seem to have been unusual: many authors were able to do the same, editors were able to gain privileges for series of books, and the literature of printing and publishing in 16th-century Italy is full of editions published with borrowed type, or more probably hired professionals.

But Petrucci made one other petition to the Venetian authorities during his years in the city, and that is a curious case.¹⁷ In 1504, he petitioned to join the Guild of Cestieri, or box- and chest-makers, claiming that he had found a new way to mix colours to apply to fine caskets, presumably *cassoni*. The Guild rejected him, perhaps because as a foreigner he had not fulfilled the normal requirements, including apprenticeship. The surviving petition is to the Collegio of the Senate, that its members over-ride the Guild's rejection, waive the requirements, and require that the Guild admit him.

This petition is curious: one is tempted to say that Petrucci was unsure of the future of his publishing venture. But, in fact, 1504 was not a bad year, and 1503 had included two second editions of titles that were apparently popular. I do think it possible that the immediate first repertoire may have looked to be completed: the three *Canti* volumes, with the first two of motets,¹⁸ may well have exhausted Castellanus' supply of this type of music. Further, Petrucci had finished the first series of mass editions, and was yet to start on the series of frottola volumes. He may therefore have felt that he had reached a turning point in his career. However, whatever the reason for his application, the petition does help us to see that the first

¹⁶ The petition is recorded in Venice, Archivio di Stato, Collegio, Notatorio, Registro XVII (1512-1514/5), f. 78 (80)r. SORBELLI, "Il Mago," 119, maintains that Ungaro was employed in Aldo Manuzio's type-foundry, alongside Griffo.

¹⁷ This document was brought to my attention by Professor Giulio Ongaro: it is to be found in Venice, Archivio di Stato, Collegio, Notatorio, Registro XV (1499-1507), f. 132r (new 134r).

¹⁸ The logic for associating these apparently diverse sets of books is presented in HOWARD MAYER BROWN, "The Mirror of Men's Salvation: Music in Devotional Life About 1500," *Renaissance Quarterly* XLIII (1990), 744-773.

twelve titles should be seen as distinct from the rest of his output. I shall return to this, in discussing the nature of his printed repertoire and its sources.

Petrucchi moved back to Fossombrone between the last edition published in Venice, in March 1509, and the first from his home town, in March 1511. Unlike others, I believe that he moved at the start of this period. The months from late 1507 to March of 1509 had been busy and active, with nine editions in 14 months – a good rate when compared with other periods of his career. Further, it ended with the first of a pair of editions of arrangements by Bossinensis, the second of which would not appear until 1511, when Petrucci was certainly in Fossombrone. To say that Petrucci stayed in Venice for two years without producing any more editions seems implausible.

Instead, there are good reasons for arguing that he left the city during the early summer of 1509: the League of Cambrai was joined by the Pope on 5.IV.1509. His addition to a gathering group of nations, soon after a disastrous explosion at the Arsenale, on 14.III.1509 (which destroyed a significant part of the Republic's war resources), seemed to threaten Venice with imminent war, to be fought over its *terra firma*. When, on 27 April, a Papal Bull excommunicated Venice, issued an interdict against her, and allowed any other state to attack the city, her citizens, and her trading goods (wherever found), Petrucci will have found himself, with other printers, unsure of his future. Several others did in fact leave Venice in the next few months, and even Aldus Manutius left for a while, going to Ferrara at the end of May.¹⁹ There can have been little reason for Petrucci to stay in Venice, for his trade (as much as that of any printer) must have depended heavily on exports beyond the Venetian state, as indeed early provenances for surviving copies confirm.

Once in Fossombrone, Petrucci may not have intended to publish any more. I suspect that he had brought with him the music for the second book of Bossinensis'

¹⁹ In 1509 (or perhaps late 1508), Brentà went to Pesaro (and later to Rimini), followed by Petrucci to Fossombrone; Zanchis was in Mantova before 1512, Bernardo Vercellensis went to Rome during 1508 and then to Ancona, and, after 1509, but by 1515 at the latest, Callierges also went to Rome. At the same time, some printers and publishers who may have remained in Venice were much less active in the years following the end of 1508. Bindoni, de Bonelli, Paganino de Paganinis, Pencio, Rusconi and the heirs of Ottaviano Scotto all seem to have done little, and Hamman and Locatelli both apparently stopped work for good in 1509. Lowry has suggested that "there are even some signs that Aldus [Manutius] intended to abandon printing entirely" at this time. For details, see AUGUSTO CAMPANA, "Osservazioni sullo stampatore Nicolò Brenta da Varenna, con un nuovo documento riminese," *Studi di bibliografia e di argomento romano in memoria di Luigi De Gregori*, ed. by Guido Arcamone (Rome: Palombi, 1949), 57-64; DENNIS E. RHODES, *Antonio Zanchi of Bergamo, Printer or Publisher at Venice and Mantua* (Gutenberg-Jahrbuch, 1956), 141-144; reprinted in DENNIS E. RHODES, *Studies in Early Italian Printing* (London: Pindar, 1982), 149-152; FREDERICK NORTON, *Italian Printers, 1501-1520: an Annotated List, with an introduction*, Cambridge Bibliographical Society monographs III, (Cambridge: Bowes and Bowes, 1958), 158-159; LOWRY, *World*, 110 and 159; and the data supplied in FRANK ISAAC, *An Index to the Early Printed Books in the British Museum. Part II. MDI-MDXX. Section 2. Italy* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1938; reprinted London: Martino, 1999); and in ALFRED JOHNSON and VICTOR SCHOLDERER, *Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in Italy and of Italian Books Printed in Other Countries from 1465 to 1600 now in the British Museum* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1958), with the *Supplement* (London: British Library, 1986) prepared by Dennis E. Rhodes.

intabulations, perhaps even the contents of the now-lost tenth book of Frottole. But he does not move to publish until 1511, when the first of these books appears, with the second in 1512. Two books in a long period will not have provided him with an income, nor will they have allowed him to keep a qualified staff on hand. However, Paulus de Middelburgh was probably the principal reason why Petrucci began printing again. Paulus was already writing his *Paulina de recta Paschae*, which was intended to further his side of the controversy about the calendar and the dating of Easter, and also perhaps to further his own career.²⁰ Paulus had probably already decided in 1511 that he would publish this with Petrucci.²¹ This explains why Griffio should have arrived in Fossombrone that year: it may also explain why Petrucci did publish two other books during the two years 1511-1512, having acquired equipment and trained staff.

Petrucci's own revived career sees him in a different role: he now apparently took on more of the technical business of printing (rather than merely hiring other professionals). As a result, he announces himself as a printer at the end of the *Paulina* of 1513: "spectabilem virum Octavianum petrutium civem Forosemproniensem impressoriae artis peritissimum".²² This new approach is supported by the wording of two documents from the late 1510s, both concerned with the abortive attempt to print a translation of Hippocrates: in 1518, Petrucci called himself "dominus Octavianus de Petrutiis de Foro Sempronio impressor librorum etc."; then the colophon prepared for this edition, and surviving in the manuscript exemplar, asserted that the book was to be printed by Petrucci, "per Octavianum Petrucium forosemproniensem ex solertissimis impressoribus non postremum imprimendum curavit".²³ Both these citations confirm that Petrucci was, or wanted to be thought to be, responsible for his press and capable as a craftsman. This may have become necessary, simply because of the lack of permanent or temporary skilled craftsmen in the area: and it may be reflected in the real decline in standards that can be detected in his books bearing dates in 1519.

At the same time, however, Petrucci was beginning to explore paper-making. Franco Mariani has shown that, in 1513, he purchased a perpetual lease on land adjacent to some of his own, at Aqua Santa. This land included a paper-mill, and he

²⁰ Paulus' life was already the subject of study during the 19th century: see BERNARDINO BALDI, "Vita di Paolo di Middelburg," in DEMETRIO MARZI, *La Questione della riforma del calendario nel Quinto Concilio Lateranense (1512-1517)*, Pubblicazioni del R. Istituto di Studi superiori pratici e di perfezionamento in Firenze: Sezione di filosofia e filologia XXVII (Florence: Carnesecchi & figli, 1896), 233-250; and DIRK JAN STRUIK, "Paulus van Middelburg, 1445-1533," *Medeelingen van het Nederlandsch historisch Instituut te Rome* V (1925), 79-118. In suggesting that Paulus approached Petrucci, I am taking a different line from that adopted by Lorenz Welker in his essay in the present volume.

²¹ This also provides a logical explanation for Petrucci's decision to lease additional premises in Fossombrone during April 1511. The document is cited in AUGUSTO VERNARECCI, *Ottaviano de' Petrucci*, 153, fn. It is difficult to believe that Petrucci could have only recently returned from Venice at this time (rather than in 1509), leased the house in April, and then produced his first Fossombrone edition less than a month later.

²² This colophon is found on folio GG5v of the 1513 edition of the *Paulina*.

²³ The document was published in VERNARECCI, *Ottaviano de' Petrucci*, 192, fn., and in AUGUSTO CAMPANA, "Manente Leontini fiorentino, medico e traduttore di medici greci," *Rinascita* IV (1941), 501-515.

retained a full interest in that mill until 1523, by which time he was already gone from Fossombrone.²⁴ The paper-mill need not have made paper of the quality required for printing music, although it is notable that the editions of 1519 and the reprintings from 1520-1521 do use a much inferior group of papers.

Yet, in these last years of the second decade, Petrucci was increasingly looking elsewhere. One aspect of this is the range of contacts he had with Rome, and not only in the content of his musical books, the last *Motetti de la Corona* and the edition of Pisano's Petrarch settings. He had been invited to publish a translation of Hippocrates, made by the Roman humanist Marco Fabio Calvo. This would have been a significant humanistic exercise, confirming Petrucci's place among that small range of publishers who could produce a large and complicated text, a place which he must have seemed to have earned with the book by Paulus of Middelburgh. However, the project did not come to fruition, apparently because one Manente Leontini, who was Lorenzo de' Medici's house doctor, and who claimed to be an expert in Greek himself, was able to hold up publication, as Petrucci complained in the document of late 1518. However, we know that Petrucci was the intended publisher, for Calvo's autograph manuscript contains a draft colophon, naming Petrucci, and dating the edition to 1 January 1519.²⁵

This confirmation of the standing which Petrucci had, not only in Rome, but also

²⁴ FRANCO MARIANI, *Ottaviano Petrucci, inventore della stampa della musica a caratteri mobili: le vicende della cartiera di Carnello a Sora nel XVI secolo* (Fossombrone: s.n., 2001), 1-9. This edition reprints two earlier titles by MARIANI, firstly "Ottaviano Petrucci inventore della stampa della musica a caratteri mobili," in *Cultura e scuola* CXXV (1993), 144-155, on 1-9 of the new edition; and *Le vicende della cartiera di Carnello a Sora nel XVI secolo* (Sora, 1996), on new 11-32. Analysis of the material, with much new evidence, can be found in TERESA MARIA GIALDRONI and AGOSTINO ZIINO, "New light on Ottaviano Petrucci's Activity, 1520-38: an Unknown Print of the Motteti dal Fiore," *Early Music* XXIX (2001), 500-532; and GIALDRONI-ZIINO, "Ancora su Ottavio/Ottaviano Petrucci dal fondo notarile di Fossombrone," in the present book.

²⁵ Much of the evidence surrounding this abortive project has been presented in AUGUSTO CAMPANA, "Manente Leontini fiorentino, medico e traduttore di medici greet," *La Rinascita* IV (1941), 501-515; and GIOVANNI MERCATI, "Notizie varie di antica letterature medica e di bibliografia: III. Su Francesco Calvo da Menaggio primo stampatore e Marco Fabio Calvo da Ravenna primo traduttore latino del corpo Ippocratico," *Studi e Testi* XXXI (1917), 47-71. The document containing Petrucci's complaint was published in VERNARECCHI, *Petrucci*, 192, fn., and in CAMPANA, "Manente," 514-515. The autograph manuscript is I-Rvat, Vat. Lat. 4426, and the draft colophon is on folio 11r, under a paste-over. In fact, this edition is one of the ways in which Petrucci and his output can be connected with later printers, both in Rome and elsewhere. Calvo's book was finally published in 1525 by Francesco Minizio Calvo (on whom see FRANCESCO BARBERI, "Le edizioni romane di Francesco Minizio Calvo (1523-1531)," *Miscellanea di scritti di bibliografia ed erudizione in memoria di Luigi Ferrari* (Florence: Olschki, 1952), 57-98; reprinted in *Tipografi romani del Cinquecento: Guillery, Ginnasio Mediceo, Calvo, Dorico, Cartolari*, Biblioteconomia e bibliografia: Saggi e studi XVII (Florence: Olschki, 1983), 77-97). Two years later, Marco Fabio Calvo published his contribution to Raphael's plan to reconstruct the glories of ancient Rome, the *Antiquae urbis Romae cum regionibus simulacrum*. The blocks for this edition were cut by Bartolomeo Egnatio, a citizen of Fossombrone, a chancery scribe, and the future collaborator with Petrucci. Presumably much of this first edition was lost in the Sack of Rome, for in 1532 a second edition was printed by Antonio Blado and published by Valerio Dorico. Thus, by this circuitous route (as well as by a more direct one to be discussed shortly), Petrucci was linked to the next generations of music printers and publishers in central Italy. For Calvo and his edition, see ANDRÉ JAMMES, "Un chef-d'oeuvre

apparently with Lorenzo de' Medici, the current ruler of Urbino, helps explain the repertoire of the last few musical books of this phase of his output.

PETRUCCI'S MUSICAL CONTACTS TO 1520

Indeed, the question of the repertoire Petrucci printed, and of the sources of supply is a tricky one for much of his career. We do need to consider, as did Strohm (in his paper here), "Cos'è un libro?", and even more "Cos'è un libro di musica?". It is evident that the answers were different, from book to book, and not merely because of different contents or different modes of presentation.

The relevant problems have been discussed a number of times recently, by musical bibliographers, though rarely in the musicological literature. The central issue has been one of deciding for whom the book was important, who needed to see it published, and who was prepared to spend the energy and time achieving that end, for he would be the person who decided that the contents should be gathered in such a manner as to make a book. In this way, as David McKenzie has argued more than once²⁶, the printed book (and sometimes also a manuscript, or a bound collection of editions or manuscripts) is more than the sum of its parts: or, perhaps more usefully, it is different from the sum of its parts.

Much of the discussion has focussed on two issues, the interests and needs of the potential users, and the question of patronage. Both have, to some extent, seen the printed book as an extension of the manuscript tradition, and both thereby do disservice to the history of the book. For the purposes of this paper, I want to focus on the position of the publisher and printer, and primarily that of the publisher. The printer, after all, was rarely concerned with these issues: he was commissioned to print a specific text, he was often supplied paper, and he could expect to be paid. His primary responsibility lay in being accurate and careful: even if he were also the publisher, this tended to be the extent of his responsibilities as printer.²⁷

méconnu d'Arrighi Vicentino," *Studia bibliographica in honorem Herman de la Fontaine Verwey*, ed. by S. van der Woude (Amsterdam: Hertzberger, 1968), 296-316; and JOSÉ RUYSSCHAERT, "Les différents colophons de l'Antiquae urbis Romae cum regionibus simulachrum de 1532," *Contributi alla storia del libro italiano: miscellanea in onore di Lamberto Donati*, ed. by Roberto Ridolfi, Biblioteca di bibliografia italiana LVII (Florence: Olschki, 1969), 287-290; for Ptolomeo Egnatio, see below, and also GIALDRONI-ZIINO, "New light," 500-532.

²⁶ See several of the papers collected in DAVID MCKENZIE, *Making Meaning: "Printers of the Mind" and other essays*, ed. Peter McDonald, and Michael Suarez, S.J. (Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002); and also his *Bibliography and the sociology of texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

²⁷ It is perhaps worth pointing out that, even as early as this in the history of the printed book, there were many publishers who hired printers, among them the Scotto family being pre-eminent in Italy. They evidently commissioned the printing of some books by themselves, but more often they acted as intermediaries between the author or patron and the printer. As such, their responsibilities and concerns lay very close to those of the modern publisher – acquiring saleable texts, negotiating viable contracts, working with responsible printers, and publicising and distributing the printed books.

But for the publisher, there was always a different primary concern: he needed to cover his costs. For him, the question of what a book of music might be could be answered most simply as “any book which allowed him to stay in business and make a living.” For him, therefore, the content of the book was paramount, more central than its appearance, the “para-text,” which was controlled as a response to the text and its market. Even then, however, the various contents of any single book varied in significance, from first work to later ones. Petrucci could accept the duplication of pieces buried in the middle of the second book of *Laude*,²⁸ or the presence of other composers in a mass book avowedly devoted to Antoine de Févin, because the central message of the title and opening pages was sufficient for his purposes.

For Petrucci, as for other publishers, most books, including music books, will have fallen into one of three categories: the first was a response to a perceived public demand, a “sure-fire winner”, a book whose sale could be guaranteed, on the evidence of earlier books. Often this meant a second or third edition of a book that had already done well. (In this case, decisions about the “book-ness” of the volume had already been made.) The second was a book published on commission, in which the publisher acted as a middle-man for author or composer, perhaps for a bishop wanting a new missal, or for a patron willing to support a composer or poet. In such cases, he had probably little say about the content or structure, unity or formlessness of the contents, but had merely to make sure that the commissioner covered all costs – not only of producing the book, but also of disposing it. Finally, there were those books which were more speculative, comprising new repertoire, a new composer, or a new format (such as the large choirbook of Antico’s *Liber quindecim missarum* of 1516). It is at this point that the publisher might begin to have an agenda of his own, publishing books that advance a political position, or promote his own interests, and therefore be particularly concerned about how the book appears, intellectually.²⁹

All successful publishers produced a mix of all three types, and could vary the balance according to the momentary financial and political situation. We, as historians, need to look at a repertoire as a balance of these three ranges of books, and try to see how each title or group of titles might fit into the pattern.

This is particularly important for a publisher breaking into a new field. For Petrucci, there was virtually no polyphonic music in print, certainly no books that featured polyphony, rather than presenting it as an adjunct to something else. So we should expect that he would have to start out, for some years perhaps, with material from only the first two of my three categories, leaving the purely speculative for a time when he had a financial reserve, and also when he could be sure of the nature

²⁸ This duplication might not have mattered to him, on either of two levels: first, because the general concept of the book was clear and it contained 60 compositions, among which an occasional duplication might not have mattered; secondly, because this was a repertoire in which the text was more important, the music able to support a number of different texts.

²⁹ Here, again, one can cite Aldus Manutius, who went further than merely acquiring a reputation as a specialist in humanistic literature, and even developed a publishing programme of his own.

of his market. At the same time, Petrucci, more than any other publisher working in Venice in 1501, will have had to rely on such contacts as he had made, or could make: these, we know, include Scotto and Niccolò, as well as at least one other, someone who could supply him with music.

Bonnie Blackburn has outlined the career of Petrus Castellanus, and supplied many details that illumine his connection with Petrucci's first book, the *Harmonice Musices Odhecaton A*.³⁰ In so doing, she also argues that Castellanus was the supplier for many, if not most, of the editions Petrucci published in Venice before 1509. Certainly, it makes excellent sense to argue that he did give Petrucci the music for *Canti B*, *Canti C*, *Motetti A*, *Motetti ... B*, and probably also *Motetti C* (especially in the light of Jeffrey Dean's paper here). But this raises a difficulty about the financial arrangements for these books: Castellanus, as a friar, can hardly have acted as a normal patron, undertaking the costs of the editions. At the same time, Petrucci's two partners, Scotto and Niccolò, will have needed to see a return on their investment in the partnership; Petrucci himself will have felt the same. Further, Petrucci will probably still have been going through the gradual process of discovering how well each book would sell.³¹ Yet, by the time *Canti C* had been published, Petrucci had put on the market a collection of chansons and related works many times larger than that of the average chansonnier, a collection that should have met all the needs of any purchaser. At the end of that publishing programme, he apparently did not feel that he had created an on-going market for these repertoires: he turned away from them in 1504, and irrevocably. As far as we know, the experiment had been successful, making money for all concerned, but the evidence must have been there for arguing that this particular market was saturated.

Petrucci therefore had to turn to other genres if he was to continue to publish with any success. In fact, he had already turned in a surprising direction, to books of mass settings, each devoted to a single composer. Whether he could do this on the same financial terms as before (whatever those were) must be a moot point, whatever the range and diversity of Castellanus's collection of music. Both Castellanus and Scotto would have known more or less precisely how many institutions might buy editions of complex polyphony (mass settings, large-scale motets), and that number must surely have been smaller than the number of musicians, institutions, and amateurs who had been buying books such as *Canti B* or *Motetti A*. It must be more than a coincidence, therefore, that the first book of mass settings, devoted to Josquin,

³⁰ BONNIE J. BLACKBURN, "Petrucci's Venetian Editor: Petrus Castellanus and his Musical Garden," *Musica Disciplina* XLIX (1995), 15-45; reprinted in *Composition, Printing and Performance* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), ch. vi. As will become apparent, I disagree with a number of the conclusions she offers in her paper at the present conference.

³¹ This is suggested by the declining number of reprintings that each title goes through: while the *Odhecaton* needed three editions, both *Canti B* and *Motetti A* took two, while *Canti C* and *Motetti ... B* only sold through one. Certainly, Petrucci will have varied the number of copies in each printing, so that the number of editions does not represent a loss of interest on the part of purchasers, but rather a growing awareness of market-size on Petrucci's part.

appeared just as the Ferrara court was deciding whether to hire him or Isaac; and also that the book of Ghiselin's masses was published at the moment that that composer was travelling to take up a post at Ferrara.³² The Ghiselin book, in particular, is important here, for it was prepared and published in some haste, and required of Petrucci a change in house-practice, from three to two impressions.³³ It is my belief that the stimulus for these two books, at least, came from court circles in Ferrara, indeed, that they were promoted as an act of patronage, underwritten by a member of the court, in the first case wishing to help sway the argument in favour of Josquin. If that is so, then it is likely that the other early mass volumes came from the same supplier, and may have been financed in the same manner. Who the actual supplier of the music may have been we can not know: it might have been Castellanus, acting on instructions from the patron; or it may, more probably, have been a musician at Ferrara. In either case, the actual supplier will have been responding to a patronage request.

But other books were less likely to have been supplied by Castellanus. For example, we can argue that the contents for some books were probably supplied by the name on the title-page, composer or arranger: I believe this to be true for Dalza, Spinacino,³⁴ and Bossinensis, and also for Dammonis. There seems to be little reason for any intermediary, especially in the case of the early lute editions.

We can probably also say that the first six books of frottole can hardly have come from a single source: the first three, all published within ten weeks, appear to follow a programme of presenting a conspectus of composers, distinguished by what the collector thought was their town of origin. Thus a number have attached to their name some word such as "Veronensis", "Brixienis", "Mantuanus" or "Venetus". At the same time, an apparent large-scale organisation breaks down in the third volume, suggesting that the supplier had nearly exhausted the stock of what he wished to see printed. Nonetheless, since all three volumes appeared so quickly, Petrucci (with Scotto and Niccolò) was not concerned that the first two might not sell, but could rely on a guaranteed return on his costs. The three books must have been planned as a set, an argument in favour of a supplier who also acted as patron.

The second group of three frottola books, numbered 4-6, are quite different in repertoire, and, more importantly, in the manner of presentation. There seems almost to have been a didactic intent, shown in the organisation of the lists of contents by genre in two of the books (also apparent on the title page of Book IV), and in the inclusion of the three-voiced Justiniane settings at the start of Book VI, apparently as

³² I present my argument for this in more detail, in STANLEY BOORMAN, "The 500th Anniversary of the First Music Printing: a History of Patronage and Taste in the Early Years / 500. obletnica prvega glasbenega tiska: k zgodnji zgodovini mecenstva in okusa," *Musikoloski Zbornik* XXXVII (2001), 33-49.

³³ I first demonstrated this in STANLEY BOORMAN, "A Case of Work and Turn half-sheet Imposition in the Early 16th Century," *The Library*, 6th series VIII (1986), 301-321.

³⁴ It seems likely that the series of corrections in the two Spinacino books were made by the lutenist himself. They are done in an idiosyncratic manner, they are detailed and careful, and they seem to have been done at the same time, with the same pen.

a late change in planning the book. Finally, the books seem to have been concocted as a series of small collections, sometimes of no more than 6-7 pieces. In all these ways, the contents of these books point to a different supplier.

In these ways, we can draw a wider picture of the circle of contacts available to Petrucci. Seldom do these contacts have names, but they do tend to have characters, perhaps as planners, or as motivated in some way, or even as suppliers who (unlike Castellanus) took little care over what they supplied. Two examples will suffice for this last point: in the the first book of *Missarum diversorum auctorum* the five masses show very different levels of text-treatment, from detailed and precise to largely negligent. If these were indeed drawn from one source, that supplier must hardly have cared about the quality of the material he was giving Petrucci.³⁵ Secondly, the second book of Laude has several precise or close duplications of music, though to different texts. Again, whoever the collector of the music was, he either can not have examined it closely before sending it to Petrucci, or have decided that the texts were, for this repertoire, more important. In this latter case, I incline to think that Petrucci himself went to contacts in the various confraternities of the city,³⁶ and solicited music to follow up on the success of the first book, of music by Dammonis.³⁷

Whether that was true or not, the manner in which this music was presented by Petrucci, with its implications for the manner in which it was supplied to him, argues against Castellanus having been the supplier. When this is put alongside the points I have already raised about the need for Petrucci to ensure that he covered his costs, and the manner in which the first mass books or the first three books of frottole were published, it seems very likely that Castellanus did not propose those books either. I therefore believe that his role was limited to the important, the essential one of getting Petrucci started, of supplying high-quality music for the first three titles, and for a number of others.³⁸ It makes sense that Petrucci would want to look beyond a

³⁵ I have developed this discussion further, suggesting that the evidence also implies that Petrucci himself was not concerned with questions of performance practice: see STANLEY BOORMAN, "Did Petrucci's Concern for Accuracy Include any Concern with Performance Issues?," *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis* (forthcoming).

³⁶ Although we have no evidence, I presume that he was a member of some scuola or confraternity, and that some of his own contacts came through such membership.

³⁷ Despite the comments of FRANCESCO LUISI, in his facsimile edition of this book (*Innocentius Dammonis: Laude libro primo, Venezia 1508*, Venice: Fondazione Ugo e Olga Levi, 2001), the evidence for the largely-lost first edition of mid-summer 1506 is convincing. It does not only rely on the patterns of paper-use (although that is much clearer than Luisi implies) but also on the state of the typographical material. Details will be found in my book cited in footnote 1 above.

³⁸ These others include, to my mind, the other motet books, the *Fragmenta Missarum* (with which Castellanus would have been in a powerful enough position to interrupt the second sequence of frottole volumes, on his return from a visit to Recanatì), the books of Lamentations (with their interest in de Quadris), and the attempt in 1507 to broaden the available sacred repertoire, with Martini's Hymns and a book of Magnificats. They may also include some of the mass editions, even including those of the first set which (I believe) were commissioned by Ferrara.

single supplier, for he would need to supply music for diverse tastes if he were to remain in business: it makes equal sense that other musicians (such as Dammonis, or Spinacino) would come to him, once they had seen that printed music could sell, and perhaps could even advance their careers.

The situation in Fossombrone must have been different. If, as is possible, the muse for Bossinensis's second book (and even for the tenth book of frottole) came with Petrucci from Venice, this can not be said for any of the later volumes. However, the actual sources remain unclear. Richard Sherr has presented reasons for arguing that some of the music did not come to Petrucci directly from Rome,³⁹ though it is difficult not to see Roman influence on the repertoire chosen. These lie alongside other suggestions of Florentine or north Italian influence, and a clear awareness of music by a younger generation. It is tempting to argue that the supplier for some of these books was related to the court of Urbino, and here the name of Paulus de Middelburgh comes into play – though I doubt that he had the musical connections or knowledge to do more than act as an intermediary.

But the Roman connections are clear by the end of the decade, as I have already said, and here one again comes up against the most exciting of the new discoveries, those made by Franco Mariani, by Paolo Peretti, and by Teresa Maria Gialdroni and Agostino Ziino.⁴⁰

PETRUCCI AND HIS MATERIAL AFTER 1520

These new discoveries fall into two principal groups: one is the recovery of fragments of two part-books of the new 1538 edition of *Motetti del Fiore*; the other is archival material relating to Petrucci's career in Fossombrone and Sora. A third involves the ties between Bartolomeo Egnatio and Fossombrone and Petrucci himself.

One immediate impact is that the main focus of Petrucci's activities during much of the 1520s and early 1530s seems not to have been in Fossombrone, but centered on the paper-mill in Sora. Documents of 1519 suggest that Petrucci was invited to that city as "impresore de libri de canto figurato et aliter" and "l'inventore di tal stampare de canto figurato,"⁴¹ but that he had been reluctant to go, because there was

³⁹ RICHARD SHERR, "The Relationship Between a Vatican Copy of the Gloria of Josquin's Missa de Beata Virgine and Petrucci's Print," *Atti del XIV congresso della Societa Internazionale di Musicologia, Bologna, 1997: trasmissione e ricezione delle forme di cultura musicale* (Turin: EdT, 1990), II, 266-271; reprinted in *Music and Musicians in Renaissance Rome and other Courts* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), ch. vii. James Haar has reached the same conclusion for Petrucci's earlier editions: see JAMES HAAR, "Josquin in Rome: some Evidence from the Masses," *Papal Music and Musicians in Late Medieval and Renaissance Rome*, ed. Richard Sherr (Oxford: Clarendon, and Washington: Library of Congress, 1998), 213-223.

⁴⁰ See note 24, above.

⁴¹ FRANCO MARIANI, *Petrucci*, 12 and 20-21.

no ready supply of paper. In the end, Petrucci undertook to build a paper-mill at Carnello, a village not far from the city.

A second result of the new discoveries is that it allows us to redate the fragmentary madrigal edition surviving in Fossombrone itself. Since it used typographical material found in late reprints of Petrucci's editions of 1519 (as well as for another reason to emerge below), I had previously argued for this book to be dated ca.1520.⁴² Given the new discoveries, the book (which I have called *Musica XII*) can be placed somewhere between 1520 and 1538: and a date in the 1530s accords much better with the repertoire it contains. But there are problems with any dating. Firstly, the Pisano edition of 1520, the Fossombrone fragment, and the new 1538 edition all use different typographical material, at one level or another. The staves are different from those in use between 1501 and 1519, shorter and spaced differently, with the Pisano set being different from that in the two other books; the initial letters that Petrucci had used up to 1519 are found in the first two editions, while that of 1538 uses a completely new set, in a new style; that edition also has a new copy of Petrucci's device, while the Pisano edition appears not to use one at all (and the *Musica XII* is too fragmentary for us to know). A second factor concerns the transmission of the one Verdelot work in the Fossombrone fragment: *Non po far morte* is there pitched a fourth lower than in any other edition, beginning with that by Antico and Scotto of 1534.⁴³ Of the three manuscript sources for this madrigal, only one, I-MOe, Y.L.11.8, is pitched at Petrucci's level, and this is a manuscript which still contains relics of the frottola repertoire, and has been assigned to northern Italy ca.1530.⁴⁴ This, with the bibliographical factors I have mentioned, tends to argue that there was some lapse of time between this book and the *Motetti del Fiore* of 1538, and that the earlier edition probably appeared before (and surely can not have appeared much after) the Antico edition of the same work, in 1534.

We can still hope that more editions from the 1530s will surface, and that they will indicate that these two fragmentary sources represent a serious attempt on Petrucci's part to re-emerge as an active music publisher. For, in the absence of other editions, it seems very likely that Petrucci did not intend to print music (at least) when he moved to Sora, and that he did not plan to rival the Roman printers.

There are two reasons for saying this: one is the existence of new editions of Petrucci's books, published by Pasoti and Dorico in 1526 and 1527. By then, at least,

⁴² See STANLEY BOORMAN, "Petrucci at Fossombrone: some New Editions and Cancells," *Source Materials and the Interpretation of Music: a Memorial Volume to Thurston Dart*, ed. Ian D. Bent (London: Stainer & Bell, 1981), 129-153. See also the discussions of this book in GIUSEPPE CECCARELLI and MARCO SPACCAZOCCHI, *Tre carte musicali a stampa inedite di Ottaviano Petrucci* (Fossombrone: s.n., 1976); FRANCESCO COVIELLO, *Dalla tradizione manoscritta all'invenzione dei caratteri mobili della musica: Ottaviano de' Petrucci, inediti della Biblioteca Passionei* (Fossombrone: Comune di Fossombrone, 1986); IAIN FENLON and JAMES HAAR, *The Italian Madrigal in the Early Sixteenth Century: Sources and Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); and GIALDRONI - ZIINO, "New light."

⁴³ RISM 1534¹⁶ = V1220.

⁴⁴ FENLON and HAAR, *The Italian Madrigal*, 177-180; and RISM BIV/5, 276-279.

Petrucchi must have felt that he had no plans to reprint those books himself. The second, more significant reason is the appearance of Petrucci's type, and probably of his matrices, in Rome in 1521 and 1522. Eustachio Romano's *Musica duorum*, printed by Giovanni Giacomo Pasoti in Rome in September 1521 uses much of Petrucci's type. Alongside some newly cast sorts, primarily void semiminims and fusas, but also new forms of rests, the bulk of the material seems to have been cast from Petrucci's matrices. During the next year Giunta published the *Liber decem missarum*,⁴⁵ also printed by Pasoti, and also using much of Petrucci's type. Indeed, in this instance the evidence is clearer, for the initial letters with which Petrucci had graced his mass editions (especially the "K") also appear throughout this edition. The initials, unlike the musical type and staves, are unique, each individually cut: therefore, Petrucci must have passed these initials to Pasoti, and was presumably not expecting to continue printing music (or any other book needing initials of this size).⁴⁶

This is evidence that there was some direct contact between Petrucci's shop in Fossombrone, and that of Pasoti (and later Dorico) in Rome: indeed there may have been two such contacts. The first must have been someone employed in Petrucci's printing shop, someone who knew how to handle multiple-impression printing, and who also adopted many of the technical procedures followed in Fossombrone, including the manner of making corrections after press-work. We will probably never know the name of this man, though Pasoti himself makes a tempting target.

The second possible contact was Bartolomeo Egnatio. Gialdroni and Ziino have advanced the name of this man, showing something of his activities, relating him to Petrucci in the case of at least one document (as well as in the instance of the 1538 edition), and suggesting that he may have been the contact between the Roman printers and Petrucci.⁴⁷ This is certainly plausible: Egnatio was a Papal chancery scribe, working in Rome, though able to travel to Fossombrone; and he will have had contact with other scribes and probably also with Giunta and other publishers and printers. It is noticeable that no editions by Pasoti and Dorico mention Egnatio: further, Pasoti's edition of Eustachio Romano in 1521 does not mention Giunta. Since, as Howard Mayer Brown notes,⁴⁸ Eustachio was probably a local amateur musician, he probably promoted that edition himself. But the subsequent edition of 1522 evidently needed Giunta to publish it, and it is here that Egnatio is most likely to have entered the scene.

⁴⁵ This edition may represent copy that had originally been submitted to Petrucci in 1515, but not printed. LEWIS LOCKWOOD discussed the book in his "A View of the Early Sixteenth-Century Parody Mass," *Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Festschrift (1937-1962)*, ed. Albert Mell (New York: Queen's College Department of Music, 1962), 53-77; and I advance the theory that it reflects a proposal to Petrucci, in my book cited in footnote 1.

⁴⁶ These initials also reflect, in their declining use throughout the work of Pasoti and Dorico, the extent to which these two men developed a view of themselves as operating a long-term publishing business, rather than merely putting out a couple of volumes early in the decade.

⁴⁷ See GIALDRONI ZIINO, "New Light."

⁴⁸ HOWARD MAYER BROWN, "Eustachio Romano," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie (London: MacMillan, 2001), VIII, 446.

One other person needs to be associated with the decision to publish new editions of Petrucci's titles, and that is Francesco Seraphin, who added a six-voiced setting of the *Ave Maria* to the second book of *Motetti de la Corona*, in its 1526 edition. He is surely also the person who wrote the dedicatory letter to the Cardinal Pompeo Colonna, and included two other motets, in *Fior de motetti e canzoni novi* of 1523.⁴⁹ If so, then he was resident in Rome, and in contact with music printing and publishing before his contact with Pasoti and Dorico: the bibliographical evidence also suggests two distinct efforts to establish music printing and publishing in Rome.

Petrucci's initials and musical type-face continue to be found until the Sack of Rome, in 1527. At that point, they seem to disappear. But for those six or seven years, at least, Petrucci evidently ceded not only the materials, but also the opportunity to print new editions of his own titles. The extent to which the image of the musical page in these editions was derived from the image he had projected in his own books is somewhat mitigated by the manner in which title-page initials imitate those produced by Antico. As early as the *Liber decem missarum* of 1522, Pasoti was creating initials that directly copied those used by Antico, at the same time that he was using Petrucci's type throughout the inside of the book: and this pattern was only gradually modified during the rest of his activity with Dorico. Apparently the image of an acceptable book of music, one which Pasoti and Dorico believed was retained in the minds of possible purchasers, was inextricably bound up with both these earlier craftsmen – Petrucci and Antico equally.

The known documents illuminating Petrucci's later life and career have been well presented by Mariani and Gialdroni and Ziino: there is no need to rehearse them again here. Perhaps the most interesting feature is the extent to which someone – Petrucci, Egnatio, or some unknown patron – was in touch with the latest taste in music. Gialdroni and Ziino show that the book of *Motetti del Fiore* demonstrates that Petrucci "sought to be up to date"⁵⁰ in his choice of music, citing the extent to which motet editions in Italy were something of a novelty in 1538. If the *Musica XII* (Fossombrone fragments) could be dated before or soon after Antico's 1534 edition of a second book of Verdelot madrigals, then the same has to be said about the repertoire printed by Petrucci there. But I am sceptical that these two editions were "never completed and put on the market".⁵¹ The surviving fragments were certainly not sold as part of a musical edition, apparently remaining in Petrucci's shop until disposed of, as waste: but the presence of a new device on the 1538 edition, and of in-house corrections on the Fossombrone fragment, argues that Petrucci did intend to

⁴⁹ However, Bonnie Blackburn is surely right in doubting that he was also the Fra Seraphin who corresponded with Giovanni del Lago. The suggestion was first put forward by KNUD JEPPESEN, *La Frottola. I. Bemerkungen zur Bibliographie der ältesten weltlichen Notendrucke in Italien*. Acta Jutlandica, XL/2 (Copenhagen: Hansen, 1968), 64, and is questioned in Bonnie J. Blackburn, Edward E. Lowinsky and Clement Miller (edd.), *A Correspondence of Renaissance Musicians* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 1014.

⁵⁰ GIALDRONI - ZIINO, "New Light," 514.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

publish, and that he made sure that copies were corrected prior to sale. It is curious that neither edition was known to any early bibliographer, and that neither survives or is listed in any early collection: but other books have survived only as fragments of printer's waste, which is what I take these to be.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF PETRUCCI'S EDITIONS

We know nothing concrete about how Petrucci's books were distributed, and the evidence of surviving copies must be assumed not to be representative. The greater number of surviving copies of editions of sacred music merely reflects the more reliable preservation of institutional libraries: in the same manner, the relatively large number of copies of Antico's *Liber quindecim missarum* is paralleled by the survival of other large-format choir-books. But there are certain evident patterns, even given the present-day rarity of Petrucci's editions.

It seems that Amadeo Scotto's network of agents and partners was very useful in distributing Petrucci's books. Purchases by the Fugger family, and for Ottheinrich's chapel in Neuburg (Pfalz), as well as the surfacing of other copies in the Herwart collection and other German-speaking areas, show that Petrucci's editions circulated widely north of the Alps: and the early edition of *Canti B*, the *Quinquagena carminum* put out by Schöffner of Mainz in 1513,⁵² confirms that at least one of his editions was thought to have a wide market there.

I know of only five demonstrable cases of purchases of Petrucci's books during his active career: the first in importance for us, as well as in the level of information supplied, was of course Fernando Colón.⁵³ The catalogues he compiled are essential information, not only for the numbers of books that have been lost, or survive without colophon and date of publication: Colón also included the price he paid for many books, and related that in most cases to a consistent coinage, the "ducato d'oro". This allows us to re-assess the relative cost of Petrucci's books. We find that they were certainly about 50% more expensive than most of Antico's editions, once

⁵² On this book, see DAVID FALLOWS, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs, 1415-1480* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 9; and WALTER SENN, "Das Sammelwerk 'Quinquagena Carminum' aus der Offizin Peter Schoffer d.J.," *Acta Musicologica* XXXV (1964), 183-185.

⁵³ The literature on musical aspects of this collection is well-known: it includes HIGINIO ANGLÉS, "La música conservada en la Biblioteca Colombina y en la Catedral de Sevilla," *Anuario musical* II (1947), 3-39; CATHERINE WEEKS CHAPMAN, "Printed Collections of Polyphonic Music owned by Ferdinand Columbus," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XXI (1968), 34-84; and DRAGAN PLAMENAC, "Excerpta Colombina: Items of Musical Interest in Fernando Colón's Regestrum," *Miscelânea en homenaje a Monsenor Higinio Anglés* (Barcelona: Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas, 1958-1961), II, 663-687. At least as important are the following: Servando Arboll y Farando et al., *Biblioteca Colombina, Catálogo de sus libros impresos* (7 volumes: Seville: Raseo and others, 1888-1948); and ARCHER H. HUNTINGTON, *Catalogue of the Library of Ferdinand Columbus: Reproduced in Facsimile from the Unique Manuscript in the Columbine Library of Seville* (New York: Hispanic Society of America, 1905); and KLAUS WAGNER, *Catalogo dei libri a stampa in lingua italiana della Biblioteca Colombina di Siviglia* (Modena and Ferrara: Panini, 1991).

the prices are used to calculate the cost of each sheet of paper. But, when put alongside non-musical editions, the discrepancy becomes less significant. Petrucci's books were consistently much less expensive than those produced by Aldus Manutius, or other apparently de-luxe or clearly humanist editions.⁵⁴ This is important, for it suggests that his books could well have been bought by the buyers of humanistic and poetic texts, and perhaps also helps to explain the success of the series of frottola volumes. His books were more expensive, per sheet, than most musical treatises, and this may question how often they were bought by scholars and professional performers, at least until they became second-hand.

The other contemporary evidence concerns: a purchase for the chapel of Cardinal Ippolito I d'Este;⁵⁵ the probable purchase of a book of the *Motetti de la Corona* for the Santa Casa in Loreto, in 1515;⁵⁶ a notation of ownership in a copy of *Motetti C*, now in Vendrognò; and perhaps a notation in the 1536 inventory of the estate of a priest, Tristan, of Mugia Regini in Friuli.⁵⁷ This last lists five musical items, of which the last two are of polyphony: "Item octo libellus musice Iosquini et aliorum" and "Item madrigali verde lot." It is probable that the Josquin citation refers to books of the *Motetti de la Corona*, though equally possible that the editions are those of Pasoti and Dorico. This reference is not included in the table at the end of this chapter.

No doubt some of the other entries in that table do refer to early purchases, though the only evidence lies in bindings, early catalogues, and provenance. As far as I know no actual reference to purchase survives.

In fact, the range of early owners is surprisingly diverse – as the table demonstrates. But there are patterns, even within the limited amount of evidence. It is notable that a number of the surviving collections comprise only editions published in Venice or only ones published after Petrucci moved to Fossombrone. The first group includes the copies from Mantua and Split, a set now in Berlin, all but one of the extensive collection owned by Bottrigari, and the group owned by Wolff Heintzen. It is possible that each of the collectors represented by these copies had decided to acquire no more music before Petrucci's Fossombrone editions reached the market. But the opposite is not true: there is no apparent reason why a collector or institution deciding to buy printed music at any time after 1511 could not

⁵⁴ For Aldine prices, see KLAUS WAGNER, "Aldo Manuzio e i prezzi dei suoi libri," *La Bibliofilia* IXXVII (1975), 77-82, a study based on the editions catalogued by Colón. A more detailed analysis will appear in my forthcoming study.

⁵⁵ LEWIS LOCKWOOD, "Adrian Willaert and Cardinal Ippolito I d'Este: New Light on Willaert's Early Career in Italy, 1515-1521," *Early Music History* V (1985), 85-112. An alternative explanation for the provenance of the books currently in the Conservatoire at Milan can be found in WILLIAM PRIZER, "La cappella di Francesco II Gonzaga e la musica sacra a Mantova nel primo ventennio del cinquecento," *Mantova e i Gonzaga nella civiltà del Rinascimento: Atti del Convegno, Mantova 1974* (Segrate: Edigraf, 1978), 267-276; and the catalogue entries in *Splendours of the Gonzaga*, ed. by David Chambers and Jane Martineau (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1981).

⁵⁶ FLORIANO GRIMALDI, *La cappella musicale di Loreto nel Cinquecento: note d'archivio*, Ente Rassegna Musicali nuova serie di Loreto I (Loreto: Ente Rassegna Musicali, 1981), 91.

⁵⁷ UGO ROZZO, "Biblioteche e libri proibiti nel Friuli del Cinquecento," *Atti dell'Accademia di Scienze Lettere e Arti di Udine*, LXXXV (1993), 93-140.

have acquired editions printed in both cities. Nonetheless, there is a significant number of collections that only have editions printed in Fossombrone, if one includes the late editions of Ghiselin and La Rue: these include the copies bought for Assisi and Neuburg, the set now at Szombathely, the books owned by Lumley, Muti de pappazuris and Widman, and those signed by Piccolomini. This is a significant list, and it seems plausible that some of the original purchasers would have bought earlier editions if they had had access to them.

It suggests strongly that Petrucci had to use different distributors for his music, once he had moved to Fossombrone. While the Venetian editions survive in sets which might plausibly be linked to Venice (Mantua, Split, the Berlin set), there is only one possible such set (that now in Brescia) in the Fossombrone series. Instead there are copies bought for Assist and Pienza (signed by Piccolomini), and perhaps those later owned by Lumley. These are small samples, but the pattern is significant, and tends to support any hypothesis that Petrucci was rather less successful in retaining a place in the international network of publishers and booksellers once he had moved to his home town: such an argument would support the case he made when seeking an extension of his privilege, in 1514.

Recent research has radically changed much of our understanding of Petrucci's life and career. I have not even touched on the evidence for the many hidden editions and impressions, for the care Petrucci took over the printed versions of the music, for most of the changes in his technical methods and materials, for his contacts with other printers (even as far afield as Naples), or for his political career in Fossombrone. Each of those is significant, and would help to fill out many aspects of his personal and professional life. But the matters which I have discussed are more central, and they reveal a new Petrucci. His reputation may never regain the historical position it held for years, as the single-handed initiator of printed music and the progenitor of a revolution in the accessibility of music for ever wider social strata: but we do now have a more finely nuanced picture, in which his personal and professional stature were recognised in some of the most important cultural centres of Italy, and his legacy can be more clearly traced during the 1520s and 1530s.

TABLE
Early Owners of Petrucci's Editions

Institutions

- Assisi:* *Convento di S. Francesco*. Six volumes of masses, probably all purchased after 1515, still in Assisi: Ghiselin, La Rue, Agricola, Josquin Books I-III
- Ferrara:* *chapel of Cardinal Ippolito I d'Este*. Some of all of these copies may be the ones now at I-Mc, from the collection of S.ta Barbara in Mantua. It is significant that none of the books was printed after 1508
- Loreto:* *Santa Casa*. The volume of motets bought at the fair of Recanati in 1515 may have been a Petrucci edition
- Mantua:* *S.ta Barbara*. These all came to Santa Barbara later in the century, and the earlier provenance is not clear. Nine books of masses and one of motets, all printed before 1509, and all now in I-Mc
- Monte Cenis (Col du)*. Savoy or perhaps Grosskanizsa (now Nagykanizsa in Hungary): *house of Mauritani*. A copy of *I Motetti à 5* (1508), now in PL-Kj
- Padua:* *Fratelli Reverendi di Zuane Padin*. A copy of *I Lamentationes* (1506) now in the Biblioteca Antoniana
- Rome:* *S. Luigi dei francesi*. Three editions, all now lost: Ghiselin's masses, *I Motetti à 5*, and *I Motetti de la Corona*
- Rome:* *S. Giovanni Laterano*. Six books of masses, now in the Vatican library: Ghiselin, La Rue, Agricola, Josquin Books I-III
- Split*. Nine books of mass music, all printed in Venice, certainly later owned by a Venetian, and now in I-Bc: Josquin, Brumel, Obrecht, Agricola, de Orto, Isaac, Gaspar, *I Missarum diversorum auctorum* and *I Fragmenta missarum*
- Verona, Accademia filarmonica*. A copy of the third book of *Motetti de la Corona*, clearly acquired later
- Italian, perhaps a monastic house*. Both books of Bossinensis's intabulations, also owned by Dominus Qualile. Now in US-Cn and I-Mb
- Augsburg:* *S. Anna*. The frottola volumes appear to have come from Herwart. *Fragmenta Missarum*, and frottole books VI-VIII
- Munich:* *Bavaria Ducal Library*. The first nine books of frottole
- Neuburg:* *Ottoheinrich's Court Chapel*. Six books of masses, and four of motets, all printed in Fossombrone, and all now lost. Ghiselin, Josquin books I-III, Mouton, Fevin; all four books of *Motetti de la Corona*
- perhaps from the Austro-Hungarian orbit*. Nine books of mass music, all now at A-GÜ. Ghiselin, Obrecht, Agricola, De Orto, Isaac, Josquin II-III, *Fragmenta Missarum*, *I Missarum diversorum auctorum*
- perhaps also Austro-Hungarian*. Four Fossombrone editions of masses, all now at H-SY (see below, under Widman). Josquin I-III, Mouton
- perhaps a German institution*. Five early mass books, 1502-1505, related by the additional inscription on their title-pages. All are now in Berlin. Josquin I (1502), Ghiselin, Obrecht, Agricola, de Orto

Alcobaca: Cistercian monastery: Josquin: Misse (1502) (now lost)
Lisbon: Library of João IV. Of the various titles evident in the facsimile of the early catalogue, Mario de Sampaio Ribeiro, *Livraria de música de el-rei D. Joao IV: estudo musical, histórico e bibliográfico* (Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História, 1967), most are probably of the 1526 editions from Pasoti and Dorico in Rome. Three may have been from Petrucci's press: Obrecht, bound with Ghiselin, and de Orto

Individual owners

Alomanno, Pirro. *II Motetti de la Corona*, now in Krakow
Altovisi, Franciscus. Three volumes, now in Munich. Obrecht, *Motetti C*, and *I Missarum diversorum auctorum*
Bottrigari, Ercole. 21 editions, all from Venice, except for the 10th book of Frottole.
Brembilla, Tiburzio, rector of S. Giorgio in Rovagnate. *Motetti C*, later owned by *Pietro Antonio Bataliensi de Musonis*, priest in Muggiasca
Bressa, Vincislao, of Treviso. The set of *Canti* volumes later in Treviso Cathedral
Colòn, Fernando. At least 44 editions, a few of which survive in Paris and Seville
Fugger family. 33 editions, some now surviving in Vienna. See RICHARD SCHAAAL, "Die Musikbibliothek von Raimond Fugger", *Acta Musicologica*, XXIX (1957), pp. 126-137
Glareanus, Heinrich. His copies passed to *Johannes Egenolph*, and are now at D-Mu. *Motetti C* and *I Missarum diversorum auctorum*
Heintzen, Wolff, of Halle. Four editions of 1504-1505, all now at D-W. *Motetti C*, *Motetti IV*, *Josquin II*, *Fragmenta Missarum*
Herwart family. Five volumes, of which the frottola books passed to S. Anna, Augsburg, at the end of the century. Frottole VI-VIII, Spinacino I and Alemannus
Lumley (and Arundel) Four books from 1516-1519, now in London
Maren, Prospero, di San Leo. Fevin's book of masses, now in Bergamo
Medici family. Two, perhaps three, books of masses. *Fragmenta Missarum*, Josquin I (Fossombrone), perhaps also de Orto: *Misse*
Moncill, Soranus. Three editions: Obrecht, *Motetti C*, *I Missarum diversorum auctorum*. The last is also signed by *Johannes Moibam* of Passau. All are now in Munich
Muti de pappazuris, Hieronymo. All nine sacred editions published during 1514-1519, passed to *Giovanbattista Gagliardi*, and now in Brescia.
Piccolomini, Francisco Maria, Bishop of Pienza. Four books of masses, dated 1514-1516, and now in Berlin. Josquin I-III, Mouton
S. B. A. The first book of *Motetti de la Corona*, and perhaps the others of the series, in the same binding in Zurich
Suenulus, Andreas. The fourth book of frottole, now in Vienna
Ventura, Giovanni Battista. the copy of *Motetti A*, now in Bologna
Widman, Paulus, of Geras (Styria). Four mass books published in 1514-1516, which passed to *Georg Tamer (Tanner)*, *Peter Shremi*, *Peter Lehner* and *Jacob Lehner*, and are now in Szombathely. Josquin I-III, and Mouton.

Owners of the non-musical editions

Paulus: *Paulina, de recta Paschae.*

Rome: *S. Maria de Scala Urbij*

Venice: *S. Pietro in Castello* (Duomo)

Venice: *S. Salvatore*

Szambohely: *Seminary*: still at H-SY

Colón, *Fernando*

Cranmer, Thomas. The probable owner of the copy that passed to John, Lord Lumley, and thence to Arundel

Fabri, Johannes, Bishop of Vienna

Gaurico, Luca, Bishop of Civitate

Magagnico, Piero Antonio. Now in Bergamo

Seiletio, Scipione. Now in Harvard

Castiglione: *Epistola.*

Battiferri, Antonio Vergili, archdeacon at the Cathedral of Urbino

Castiglione, Camillo, son of the author

