

LUCIA MARCHI

*Antonfrancesco Doni and the madrigal in Piacenza:
the “Dialogo della Musica” revisited*

*To my mother,
the Piacentina who encouraged me
to ask questions.*

In April 1544, the Florentine polymath Antonfrancesco Doni (1513-74) published his *Dialogo della Musica* with the Scotto press in Venice.¹ The print appeared during the two years in which the author resided – with some interruptions – in Piacenza. Doni had been a Servite friar in the Annunziata monastery in Florence, but left in 1540 to start a series of peregrinations in Northern Italy that brought him to Genoa, Alessandria, Pavia (1542) and Milan.² By January 1543 he was in Piacenza. Between February and May 1544, Doni took a trip to Venice to supervise the publication of the *Dialogo*, and left Piacenza for good before October 1545.³

¹ *Dialogo della Musica di M. Antonfrancesco Doni fiorentino*, Venice, Scotto, 1544. The copy preserved in Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica is available at <<http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/scripts/gaspari/scheda.asp?id=1308>> [Accessed on 20 December 2021]. Modern editions are in ANNA MARIA MONTEROSSO VACCHELLI, *L'opera musicale di Antonfrancesco Doni*, Cremona, Atheneum Cremonese, 1969; and *Antonfrancesco Doni. Dialogo della Musica*, a cura di G. Francesco Malipiero, messi in partitura i canti da Virginio Fagotto, London, Universal, 1965.

² See GIOVANNA ROMEI, «Doni, Antonfrancesco», in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, XLI, Rome, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1992 (available online at <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/anton-francesco-doni_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/> [Accessed 20 December 2021]). A complete bibliography on Doni by Giorgio Masi, updated to 2010, can be found at <<http://www.nuovorinascimento.org/cinquecento/doni.pdf>> [Accessed 20 December 2021]).

³ Doni's travels can be reconstructed from the *Lettere di M. Antonfrancesco Doni. Libro Primo*, Venice, Scotto, 1544. All the citations in this article refer to its 1545 reprint (*Lettere di M. Antonfrancesco Doni, Libro Primo. Con altre lettere nuovamente alla fine aggiunte*, Venice, Scotto, 1545), available at <<https://onb.digital/result/1087A32A>> [Accessed 20 December 2021]. In particular: 8 January 1543 from Piacenza (f. 4v); 20 February 1544 from Venice (f. 102v); 20 July 1544 from Piacenza (f. 123r); 22 October 1545 from Flo-

In the early sixteenth century, Piacenza was alternately ruled by France (1499-1512 and 1515-21) and the Pope (1512-15 and 1521-45). In 1545 Paul III created the Duchy of Parma and Piacenza and gave it to his son Pier Luigi Farnese. The new Duke initially designated Piacenza as its capital, but his assassination by a conspiracy of Ghibelline nobility caused the city to return to Imperial control between 1547 and 1556. When Piacenza was restored to the Farnese, the second Duke Ottavio had already chosen Parma as his seat.

In his dialogue on the nature of love, *Il Raverta* (Venice, 1544), Giuseppe Betussi included a letter to his friend Doni in which he praised Piacenza's cultural life and advised him to remain in the city.⁴ Among the members of the local aristocracy cited by Betussi are the Landi (Giulio, Agostino) and the Anguissola (Teodosio, Girolamo with his wife Ippolita Borromeo Anguissola); these were the most prominent Ghibelline families which would be – only a few years later – the leaders of the plot against the Farnese. Betussi also mentioned the «most magnificent knight Sir Luigi Cassola», whose poetic madrigals (*Madrigali del magnifico signor cavalier Luigi Cassola piacentino*, Venice 1544) were set to music with great frequency in the early Cinquecento. His verses appear – long before the textual *princeps* – in the first madrigal prints such as *Il libro primo de la Serena* (Rome, 1530) or *Delli madrigali a tre voci* (Venice, 1537).⁵

The *Dialogo della Musica* is divided into two parts with different interlocutors, four in the first and eight in the second. On the model of Renaissance dialogues, the protagonists discuss love, poetry, and music; they narrate jokes and short stories. But its novelty is the insertion of twenty-eight musical pieces for four to eight voices – mostly madrigals, but also motets and a *chanson* – which are sung and discussed by the interlocutors.⁶ The literary dialogue

rence (f. 137v). Other trips of this time were to Como (20 July 1543, f. 47r) and Rome (November 1544). On this last trip see a letter printed in the *Zucca* and cited in SALVATORE BONGI, *Novelle di M. Antonfrancesco Doni colle notizie sulla vita dell'autore*, Lucca, Fontana, 1852, p. 26.

⁴ *Il Raverta, dialogo di messer Giuseppe Betussi, nel quale si ragiona d'amore et degli effetti suoi*, Venice, Giolito de' Ferrari, 1544. Cited in GIANMARCO BRAGHI, *L'Accademia degli Ortolani (1543-45). Eresia, stampa e cultura a Piacenza nel medio Cinquecento*, Piacenza, LIR, 2011, pp. 63-68.

⁵ On the importance of Luigi Cassola in the development of the madrigal genre see CLAUDIO VELA, *Luigi Cassola e il madrigale cinquecentesco*, «Bollettino Storico Piacentino», LXXIX, 2, 1984, pp. 183-217; and GIULIANO BELLORINI, *Luigi Cassola madrigalista*, «Aevum», LXIX, 3, 1995, pp. 593-615.

⁶ Eleonora Beck calls this genre «musical narrative» and traces its evolution from Boc-

and the music print thus form a sort of hybrid, defined by Cristle Collins Judd as «a generic struggle [...] reflected in the physical production of the volume».⁷ The print consists of four partbooks with musical notation, while the literary text of the dialogue appears only in the Cantus partbook. Some composers of the inserted music are of international fame - Jacques Arcadelt, Cipriano de Rore, Jacques de Wert – whereas others are closely connected to Piacenza, for example Claudio Veggio, Paolo Iacopo Palazzo and Girolamo Parabosco (I return to them below).⁸

The *Dialogo* was dedicated to Catalano Trivulzio (1508-57), the bishop of Piacenza. The prelate was a member of the Milanese family which kept land in Piacenza's territories; he had inherited the title at seventeen from his uncle and always administered the see *in absentia*.⁹ The Trivulzio had marriage ties with the Landi: these connections could explain why the famous lutenist Francesco da Milano resided for a time in Piacenza in the years following the Sack of Rome (1527).¹⁰ A frequent visitor to the Roman court, Trivulzio was an educated man, whose literary interests are witnessed by his ownership of a copy of the *Sonetti e Canzoni di diversi antichi autori toscani* published by the heirs of Giunta in 1527.¹¹

Doni's musical abilities have been sometimes called into question.¹² His literary production is best known and studied, but his musical interest should

caccio to Zarlino. ELEONORA M. BECK, *Boccaccio and the Invention of Musical Narrative*, Florence, European Press Academic Publishing, 2018.

⁷ CRISTLE COLLINS JUDD, *Music in Dialogue: Conversational, Literary, and Didactic Discourse about Music in the Renaissance*, «Journal of Music Theory», LII, 1, 2008, pp. 41-74: 45.

⁸ For a complete list of the compositions in the *Dialogo* see JAMES HAAR, *Notes on the "Dialogo della Musica" of Antonfrancesco Doni*, «Music and Letters», XLVII, 3, 1966, pp. 198-224. Modern editions of the music are in MONTEROSSO VACCHELLI, *L'opera musicale di Antonfrancesco Doni* cit. and in *Antonfrancesco Doni. Dialogo della Musica* cit.

⁹ PIERO CASTIGNOLI, *Un contributo alla ricerca sull'eresia luterana e la repressione inquisitoriale a Piacenza nel Cinquecento*, «Bollettino Storico Piacentino», XCIII, 1998, pp. 3-42: 7.

¹⁰ MARIAGRAZIA CARLONE, *A Trip to Venice in 1530 by Francesco da Milano*, «Journal of the Lute Society of America», XXXIV, 2001, pp. 1-36: 21.

¹¹ See the description of acquisitions by the William and Katherine Devers Program in Dante Studies at the University of Notre Dame, <<https://www3.nd.edu/~devers/home/library/2000-01.html>> [Accessed 20 December 2021].

¹² See the not-so-flattering judgements in HAAR, *Notes on the "Dialogo della Musica" of Antonfrancesco Doni* cit., p. 201 and in MONTEROSSO VACCHELLI, *L'opera musicale di Antonfrancesco Doni* cit., p. 45.

be considered neither erratic nor unprofessional. Writing to the Duke of Florence, Doni declared himself first as a «musician», and only later listed his other abilities:

And I am a musician, writer, literate in the vernacular [...] I am a poet [...]; and I am sending a song to your singers.¹³

Sending music to the recipients of his letters was a frequent gesture for Doni, one appreciated by his correspondents and praised, for example, by Pietro Aretino and Alessandro Campesano.¹⁴ Together with his inclusion in the list of «composers» of the *Dialogo*, this circumstance testifies how musical composition was a regular occupation for him. His performance skills were solid: in the *Dialogo* he plays the *viola da gamba* in an ensemble of Milanese musicians.¹⁵ Writing about instruments to Ottavio Landi (8 April 1544), he revealed quite precise organological knowledge.¹⁶ Finally, Doni was the first musical bibliographer: in his *Prima* and *Seconda Libreria*, later reprinted in a single volume by Giolito de' Ferrari in 1557, he included a section of musical prints, further divided into madrigals, motets, masses and *canzoni*.¹⁷

After leaving Genoa, Doni wrote to the sculptor and architect Giovan Angelo Montorsoli (1507-63) about his later travels in Northern Italy.¹⁸ The names that he mentions help reconstruct the network of people and experiences that would converge in the *Dialogo*. In Alessandria, he had been received by Signor Antonio Trotti and his wife Isabella Guasca, who is prominently praised in all the final sonnets of the *Dialogo*; in Pavia, by Signora Maria da Crema; in Milan, by Massimiliano Stampa the Marquis of Soncino, Giovanni Iacopo Buzzino and Lodovico Bosso, who also appear as instru-

¹³ Letter to the Duke of Florence of 27 March 1543 in *Lettere [...] Libro primo* cit., f. 24r.

¹⁴ Letter by Alessandro Campesano to Doni, 22 July 1543 in *Novo libro di lettere scritte dai più rari auttori e professori della lingua italiana volgare*, Venice, Gherardo, 1544, f. 79r. The letter of 29 March 1543 to Aretino mentions music shipments. See *Lettere [...] Libro primo* cit., f. 25v.

¹⁵ *Dialogo della Musica* cit., f. 6v.

¹⁶ *Lettere [...] Libro primo* cit., f. 110r.

¹⁷ JAMES HAAR, *The "Libreria" of Antonfrancesco Doni*, «Musica Disciplina», XXIV, 1970, pp. 101-123.

¹⁸ *Lettera di M. Antonfrancesco Doni fiorentino, con sonetti di alcuni gentili huomini piacentini in sua lode*, Piacenza, Simonetta, 1543; later republished, with variants, in *Lettere [...] Libro Primo* cit., ff. 36v-40r (dated 6 June 1543).

mentalists in the *Dialogo*.¹⁹ In Piacenza he was «most honorably entertained by Count Girolamo Anguissola» and his wife Ippolita Borromeo Anguissola, whom he also served as secretary.²⁰

Among the pleasures of life in Piacenza, Doni enumerated the musical entertainments in the homes of Signor Guido della Porta, Alessandro Colombo and the Marquis Annibale Malvicino, where Pietro Antonio Burla and Bartolomeo Cossadoccha were regular players.²¹ Other local musicians he praised include Claudio Veggio, Paolo Iacopo Palazzo, Brambiglia, Prete Anton Francesco Bergoto and Giuseppe Villani (1519-post 1591), who was the organist of the Cathedral for many years.²²

In Piacenza Doni formed ties with the Accademia degli Ortolani. This group of young intellectuals was inspired by the Accademia della Vigna in Rome and by the several institutions of this kind in the early Cinquecento; from a literary point of view, it offered an alternative to Petrarchism, leaning instead towards the witty poetry of Pietro Aretino.²³ The Accademia was dedicated to Priapus, the god of Gardens. Its motto was «if humor does not fade away», which played on the double meaning of the Italian word «humore» connoting both «humor» and «vital fluid». Their official name was «Ortolani», but in private they used a much more obscene one. Members of the Accademia were – besides Doni – Bartolomeo Gottifredi,

¹⁹ *Dialogo della Musica* cit., f. 6v.

²⁰ *Lettera di M. Antonfrancesco Doni fiorentino* cit.; and BRAGHI, *L'Accademia degli Ortolani* cit., p. 63. Count Girolamo Anguissola and his wife Ippolita Borromeo Anguissola lived in the parish of S. Antonino (see the census of 1546 preserved in Piacenza, Biblioteca Comunale Passerini Landi, Com. 474).

²¹ *Lettera di M. Antonfrancesco Doni fiorentino* cit. and *Dialogo della Musica* cit., dedication of the Tenor part. Annibale Malvicino lived, with his wife Barbara, in the parish of Santa Maria del Tempio (see the census of 1546 preserved in Piacenza, Biblioteca Comunale Passerini Landi, Com. 474).

²² GIORGIO FIORI, *Notizie biografiche di musicisti piacentini dal '500 al '700*, «Bollettino Storico Piacentino», LXXIV, 2, 1979, pp. 183-189. Fiori identifies Villani as chapel master, but the musician appears in the documents as the *organist* of the Cathedral in the years 1546, 1554 and 1563. See Piacenza, Archivio e Biblioteca Capitolari della Cattedrale, Ordinanze Capitolari, 29, ff. 22v, 66r and 114v.

²³ On the Accademia degli Ortolani see: ALESSANDRA DEL FANTE, *L'Accademia degli Ortolani (rendiconto di una ricerca in corso)*, in *Le corti Farnesiane di Parma e Piacenza, 1545-1622, II: Forme e Istituzioni della Produzione Culturale*, edited by Amedeo Quondam, Rome, Bulzoni, 1978, pp. 149-170; MASSIMO BAUCIA, *Per l'ambiente letterario volgare piacentino nel medio Cinquecento*, «Bollettino Storico Piacentino», LXXIX, 2, 1984, pp. 141-182; and BRAGHI, *L'Accademia degli Ortolani* cit.

Antonio Bracciforti (the nephew of Luigi Cassola), Girolamo Mentovato, the notary Tiberio Francesco Maruffi (or Tiberio Pandola), Ludovico Domenichi, Giovanni Battista Bosello and probably Count Giulio Landi; they adopted horticultural names such as Semenza (=Seeds) for Doni, Cipolla (=Onion) for Gottifredi, Porro (=Leek), Mentolone (=Mint), Cocomero (=Watermelon), and so on.²⁴ Doni describes its activities thusly:

Many good things are done here; [...] a very educated young man by the name of Messer Giovanni Battista Bosello reads rhetoric; members read philosophy, Latin and vernacular poetry. But the major accomplishment is this: there is no young man who does not produce something by himself and, in the six or eight months of my stay here, two books of letters, two of love poems, a book about the sacred love of nuns, four large dialogues on different subjects, six comedies and a volume of compositions in Latin and Italian dedicated to the god of gardens have been produced.²⁵

The «book about the sacred love of nuns» is certainly the lost anticlerical satire *L'amor santo delle Monache* by the academician Bartolomeo Gottifredi. Among the «four large dialogues on different subjects», one could count the *Specchio d'amore* by Gottifredi (later published in Florence by Doni in 1547) and our *Dialogo della Musica*. The «compositions [...] dedicated to the god of gardens» most likely included a long poem in *endecasillabi* by the title *Moreto*, probably by the academician Ludovico Domenichi, in which Virgilian imitation is translated into a series of obscene metaphors.²⁶

Doni's description does not specifically mention music as one of the activities of the Accademia, but the several characters shared by the Ortolani and the *Dialogo* make their link quite clear. Ludovico Domenichi is an interlocutor in the second part, and at the end he recites 'to the lyre' – accompanied by Ottavio Landi – a series of sonnets by Antonio Bracciforti, Luigi Cassola and Giovanni Battista Bosello. Bartolomeo Gottifredi, the Prince of the Academy, is most likely the character 'Bargo' in the *Dialogo*. Under the pretence of returning the 'keys' of the Academy to Gottifredi after his return from Hungary, Doni indulges in a four-page

²⁴ See BRAGHI, *L'Accademia degli Ortolani* cit., pp. 57-62. Girolamo Mentovato was born around 1523 and lived with his father in the parish of S. Pietro in Foro. Bartolomeo Gottifredi was 30 years old in 1546, was married to Maria and lived with his parents in the parish of San Donnino. Count Giulio Landi was 34 years old in 1546 and lived in the parish of S. Savino, probably in the Landi palace still existing today and used as a courthouse. See the census of 1546 preserved in Piacenza, Biblioteca Comunale Passerini Landi, Com. 474.

²⁵ *Lettera di M. Antonfrancesco Doni fiorentino* cit.

²⁶ BRAGHI, *L'Accademia degli Ortolani* cit., pp. 131-137.

obscene disquisition on the ‘key’ and its variations (musical as well as sexual). If its *double-entendre* had been missed by the first studies of the work, its erotic meaning has been recently fully recognized by Melanie Marshall.²⁷

Canto VI of the *Dialogo*, the madrigal *Noi v’abbiam donne mille nuov’a dire*, dwells on the same motif. Under the metaphor of couriers who cover many miles with «a good animal underneath», its text has a clear erotic meaning:

Noi v’abbiam donne mille nuov’a dire, Ma non possiamo far troppo soggiorno: Siam corrier tutti, et quando udiamo il corno A forza ci convien da voi partire.	O women, we have much news for you, But we cannot stay very long: We are all couriers, and when we hear the horn We are forced to leave you.
L’arte nostra qual sia voi la sapete, Che l’è nota per tutto; Facciam per hora sette miglia et otto, Et chi si trova buona bestia sotto, Pur che non piova et sia il camin’ asciutto Ne fanno dieci, o più senza fallire.	You know our trade, Since it is well-known everywhere; We cover seven or eight miles per hour, And whoever can count on a good animal underneath, As long as it does not rain and the road is dry, Can do ten or more without failing.

The image of riding a beast is very similar to the one used by Doni in *La mula*, another erotic text dedicated to the painter Francesco Bergamo in 1550; among the good qualities of a she-mule is its ability to cover «easily nine miles [...]».²⁸ But *Noi v’abbiam donne* was not specifically written by Doni, nor for the Accademia Ortolana. It is, instead, a so-called ‘canto di mestieri’ (‘trade song’) typical of the Florentine Carnival celebrations modelled on the *Canto di Mulattieri* or the *Canto di Calzolari* by Lorenzo il Magnifico. Attributed to Benedetto Varchi, the verses were published in *Tutti i Trionfi, Carri, Mascherate [...] dal tempo del Magnifico Lorenzo*, printed by Lasca in Florence in 1559.²⁹ Given his Florentine birth, it is not difficult

²⁷ See MELANIE MARSHALL, *Cultural Codes and Hierarchies in the Mid-Cinquecento Villotta*, Ph.D. diss., University of Southampton, 2004, 2 vols., I, pp. 56-61. The letter on the key was later republished in *Lettere [...] Libro Primo* cit., ff. 84v-87v (Doni to Bartolomeo Gottifredi, 3 December 1543) and again in the *Specchio d’amore* by Bartolomeo Gottifredi (Florence, Doni, 1547). See BRAGHI, *L’Accademia degli Ortolani* cit., p. 82.

²⁸ See *La mula, la chiave e madrigali satirici del Doni fiorentino*, Bologna, Tipi del progresso, 1862 («Scelta di curiosità letterarie inedite e rare dal secolo XIII al XIX», 8), p. 14.

²⁹ On the *canti carnascialeschi* in Florence at the time of Doni see PHILIPPE CANGUILHEM, *Courtiers and Musicians Meet in the Streets: the Florentine Mascherata under Cosimo I*, «Urban History», XXXVII, 3, 2010, pp. 464-473.

to imagine that Doni used a known text which conformed, in style and subject, to both the Accademia and his *Dialogo*. Moreover, the presence of the poem in the *Dialogo* provides a *terminus ante quem* for its dating. The expression of the erotic through music is not a unique feature of the Ortolani. Marshall has convincingly argued how the genre of the *villotta*, with its abundance of sexual metaphors, could be linked to academic culture: the *Villotte alla padovana* by Filippo Azzaiolo (1557) bear the *impresa* of the Accademia dei Costanti in Verona and express political dissent in the form of obscene verses.³⁰

The interlocutors of the *Dialogo* frequently mention the author of the music for the madrigals they sing, and in some instances also that of the text. Such is not the case for *Noi v'abbiam donne*; for this reason, Anna Maria Monterosso Vacchelli and James Haar attributed it to Doni himself.³¹ Its music is in the style of the *canti carnascialeschi* as well: homorhythmic writing with several syllabic declamations on short-note values. It could have been composed by Doni, who certainly was familiar with the genre; or he could have reused a preexisting piece and adapted it to a new text.³²

The madrigal before *Noi v'abbiam donne*, Canto V, is a cento of the upper voice of the famous *Il bianco e dolce cigno* by Arcadelt, accompanied by fragments of other madrigals.³³ This *pastiche* does not convince all the interlocutors and causes a discussion of its aesthetic value:

Grullone: You can see that one can do to music whatever one wants: and I will show you that – not wanting to do something properly – one can conflate everything. Here is a song all muddled with other words underneath. Here is another: the words come from another song and it originally had different words, but you can see that the new ones are better fitting than the old ones.

³⁰ MARSHALL, *Cultural Codes* cit., I, pp. 10, 118-132.

³¹ According to Haar, Doni is the author of Canto VI, VII and perhaps XV. See HAAR, *Notes on the "Dialogo della Musica" of Antonfrancesco Doni* cit., pp. 204 and 208. Anna Maria Monterosso Vacchelli attributes only Canto VI to Doni. See MONTEROSSO VACCHELLI, *L'opera musicale di Antonfrancesco Doni* cit., p. 78.

³² On the relationship between the *canti carnascialeschi* and the early madrigal see ANTHONY M. CUMMINGS, *The Maecenas and the Madrigalist: Patrons, Patronage, and the Origins of the Italian Madrigal*, Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, 2004. It is interesting to notice that Francesco de Layolle, a member of the Florentine circle of the Orti Oricellari, was a lauda singer in the same Convento dell'Annunziata where Doni lived until 1540 (*ivi*, p. 33).

³³ See the reconstruction of the cento in HAAR, *Notes on the "Dialogo della Musica" of Antonfrancesco Doni* cit., p. 223 f.

Bargo: Who is the author?

Grullone: The master who mingled them in order to make people talk.³⁴

Grullone's words express Doni's opinion: he defends creative liberty against a certain pedantic attitude and declares that adapting music and words is not only possible, but sometimes produces better results. The author thus justifies his cento of *Il bianco e dolce cigno*, as well as his operation on *Noi v'abbiam donne*. The final exchange between Bargo and Grullone («Who is the author?» / «The master who mingled them [...]») goes as far as claiming authorship for the modified material. With a text by Varchi and unattributed music (by Doni?), the madrigal is somehow perceived by the Florentine as his own creation.

James Haar has suggested that the first evening of the *Dialogo* reflects the activities of the Ortolani in Piacenza, whereas the second was set in Venice.³⁵ In her study of musical practice in the Italian academies of the 16th and 17th centuries, Inga Mai Groote argued that the gatherings described in the *Dialogo* do not represent formal meetings of the Ortolani, and the presence of music is only due to Doni's personal interest.³⁶ Both these hypotheses are partially problematic.

The two evenings of the *Dialogo* do not need to take place in two precise and separate cities, but should be interpreted as a synthesis of Doni's experiences during his travels in Italy and his extensive network of contacts. Marco Bizzarini has noticed how the dedication of the *Dialogo* opens with the sentence: «ITALY [...] has many rivers worthy of praise and eternal memory: the Po, Tiber and Arno and infinite others».³⁷ The proposition – which recalls Petrarch's *Canzone all'Italia* – clearly underlines the pan-Italian nature of the work.

During the first evening Doni mentions characters of different origin, for example the musicians Giovanni Iacopo Buzzino or Ludovico Bosso, a canon of Santa Maria della Scala in Milan, who were part of the Milanese *entourage* of the author. Among the women praised, Isabella Guasca was the wife of Antonio Trotti of Alessandria, and a sonnet celebrates the Senese poet Virgi-

³⁴ *Dialogo della musica* cit., f. 11r. Also cited in HAAR, *Notes on the "Dialogo della Musica" of Antonfrancesco Doni* cit., p. 216.

³⁵ *Ivi*, pp. 203-209.

³⁶ INGA MAI GROOTE, *Musik in italienische Akademien. Studien zur institutionellen Musikpflege, 1543-1666*, Laaber, Laaber Verlag, 2007 («Analecta Musicologica», 39), p. 208 ff.

³⁷ MARCO BIZZARINI, *L'evoluzione del gusto musicale di un gentiluomo dubbioso*, in *Fortunato Martinengo. Un gentiluomo del Rinascimento tra arti, lettere e musica*, edited by Marco Bizzarini and Elisabetta Selmi, Brescia, Morcelliana, 2018 («Annali di Storia Bresciana», 6), pp. 153-165: 155.

nia Salvi.³⁸ Michele Novarese, author of Canto XII and probably the interlocutor ‘Michele’ of the first part, represents a link among a group of not-very-distant cities. The letter addressed to him in 1544 mentions two of his patrons: Girolamo Anghisola from Piacenza and Livia Torniella Borromeo, originally from Novara but living in Milan.³⁹

The abundance of music in the *Dialogo* does not imply that the Ortolani would constantly practice the art. It seems plausible, though, that music was part of some of the academic occasions described by Groote, as it was in other institutions of the same time, for example the Roman Accademia dei Vignaiuoli or della Virtù.⁴⁰ The sonic component was present during parties and banquets, both as performance and as discussion on musical topics.⁴¹ The academies also employed paid musicians: indeed, at the beginning of the first evening of the *Dialogo* the guests had just finished dancing accompanied by instruments.

Haar’s hypothesis implies that the second evening, during which the music expands from the madrigal for four voices to the genres of *chanson* and motet up to eight vocal parts, is a ‘crescendo’ that moves from Piacenza’s provincial landscape to the splendours of Venice. In reality, the link of the *Dialogo* to Piacenza is not limited to the first evening. Among the interlocutors of the second part we can find the city’s other cultural representatives: Gottifredi, Veggio, the jurist Ottavio Landi, Ludovico Domenichi, along with the writer and musician Girolamo Parabosco.

Parabosco (c.1524/5-1557) was born in Piacenza to the Alloti or Alioti family, called Paraboschi, who lived in the parish of San Donnino. His father Vincenzo was the organist of Brescia Cathedral from 1536, and died there in 1556.⁴² Girolamo was a pupil of Willaert in Venice probably after 1541, and from 1551 to his

³⁸ On Salvi see KONRAD EISENBICHLER, *The Sword and the Pen: Women, Politics and Poetry in Sixteenth-Century Siena*, South Bend, University of Notre Dame Press, 2012.

³⁹ Letter to Michele Novarese from Venice, 3 February 1544 in *Lettere [...] Libro primo* cit., f. 95v f.. The countess Livia mentioned at the end of the letter is most likely Livia Torniella Borromeo, the recipient of another letter of the same period.

⁴⁰ On music in the Roman academies of this time and their relationship with the madrigal see STEFANO CAMPAGNOLO, *Il “Libro primo de la Serena” e il madrigale a Roma*, «Musica Disciplina», L, 1996, pp. 95-133; and PHILIPPE CANGUILHEM, *I ‘musicisti convivi’ di Roma (1530-1540) e la dimensione sonora del banchetto nel Rinascimento*, «Predella Journal of Visual Arts», XXXIII, 2013, pp. 117-132.

⁴¹ GROOTE, *Musik in italienische Akademien* cit., p. 27.

⁴² See DANIELE GHIRLANDA - LUIGI COLLARILE, «Parabosco, Girolamo», in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* cit., LXXXI, 2014 (<https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/girolamo-parabosco_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/> [Accessed 22 December 2021]); and FRANCESCO BUSSI, *Umanità e arte di Girolamo Parabosco: madrigalista, organista e poligrafo*, Piacenza, Liceo Musicale “G. Nicolini”, 1961.

death occupied the position of organist in S. Marco. Although his career seemed to focus mostly on Venice, the links to his native city should not be overlooked: he visited Piacenza several times between 1548 and 1551, and again in 1556, when he named the organist of Piacenza Cathedral, Giuseppe Villani, as the executor of his will.⁴³

The other musician who appears prominently in the *Dialogo* is Claudio Veggio, as an interlocutor during both nights and the author of four madrigals. Two are placed at the beginning and at the end of the first part (*Donna per acquetar vostro desire* and *Madonna il mio dolore*, for four voices); the two others are a second setting of *Madonna il mio dolore*, for eight voices with a canon at the unison, and *Madonna or che direte*, which concludes the *Dialogo*. In addition to their prominent position at the beginning and the end, Veggio's madrigals have a close link to Doni, who is the author of two texts: *Madonna or che direte* and *Madonna il mio dolore*. These verses appear in a letter to Tiberio Pandola of May 1544,⁴⁴ and the eight-voice version of *Madonna il mio dolore* was made by Veggio «at Doni's request».⁴⁵ The text of the first madrigal, *Donna per acquetar vostro desire*, was written instead by Bartolomeo Gottifredi for Candida, the woman praised by him.⁴⁶

Claudio Veggio (c.1505-1557?) was a singer and organist in several Piacenza churches: S. Francesco (1539), S. Agostino and S. Alessandro, where he was hired in 1542.⁴⁷ His activity as a consultant for organ-building is attested by contracts in both Piacenza (S. Francesco) and Lodi, where he was called to test the organ for the Church of the Incoronata in 1550-53.⁴⁸ A census preserved in the manuscript Piacenza, Biblioteca Comunale Passerini Landi, Com. 474 noted that Veggio lived with his family in the parish of S. Donnino, in the city's center

⁴³ *Ivi*, p. 34.

⁴⁴ Letter from Venice of 9 May 1544 in *Lettere [...]* *Libro primo* cit., f. 129v. In the *Dialogo* Michele says that the words of the madrigal are «taken from the *Dialogo del poco cervello delle femine*», probably an unpublished work by Doni, also mentioned in the letter to Bartolomeo Comino of 24 August 1543 (*Tre libri di lettere del Doni, e i termini della lingua Toscana*, Venice, Marcolini, 1552).

⁴⁵ *Dialogo della Musica* cit., f. 41r.

⁴⁶ *Ivi*, f. 4r. Later published in *Rime diverse di molti eccellentissimi autori*, edited by Ludovico Domenichi for Giolito in 1545. See *Rime diverse di molti eccellentissimi autori (Giolito 1545)*, edited by Franco Tomasi and Paolo Zaja, San Mauro Torinese, RES, 2001, p. 223.

⁴⁷ FRANCESCO BUSSI, *La musica dai Visconti e gli Sforza sino all'avvento dei Farnese*, in *Storia di Piacenza*, 3 vols., Piacenza, Tip. Le. Co., 1997, III (1313-1545), pp. 909-944: 931-944. On the composer, see LUCIA MARCHI, «Veggio, Claudio Maria», in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* cit., XCVIII, 2020. (accessible at <[https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/claudio-mar\(DBia-veggio_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/claudio-mar(DBia-veggio_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/)> [Accessed 22 December 2021]).

⁴⁸ LUIGI SWICH, *Gli organi*, in *Storia di Piacenza* cit., pp. 945-957.

(the same parish where the Parabosco resided).⁴⁹ The document identifies two of his children, Francesco and Giovanni Agostino, as significant figures of the same family. Francesco Veggio (1534 – after 1588) was a notary and poet: his Petrarch-inspired *canzoniere* is preserved in Piacenza, Biblioteca Comunale Passerini Landi, Pallastrelli 226, while other verses were printed in the *Rime di diversi eccellenti autori: libro IX* (Cremona, Conti, 1560).⁵⁰ Giovanni Agostino Veggio, born around 1536, was a musician like his father, but left Piacenza to follow the Farnese court to Parma, where he was employed from 1563 to at least 1586.⁵¹ He published two books of madrigals, one for five voices dedicated to Duke Ottavio Farnese and another for four voices (Parma, Seth Viotto, 1574 and 1575); he finished his career as chapel master in Carpi Cathedral between 1587 and 1590.⁵²

The relationship between Doni and Veggio appears particularly close as a result of their common cultural circle. We do not know if Veggio was a member of the Ortolani, but it seems likely that he was somehow involved in their musical activities. The archive of the Collegiate Church of Castell'Arquato, a town ruled by the Sforza di Santa Fiora about twenty miles south-east of Piacenza, preserves one of the most important collections of early 16th-century keyboard music with works by Jacopo Fogliano, Marcantonio Cavazzoni and Giulio Segni.⁵³ It also includes eight *recercari* by Veggio (plus two others of uncertain attribution) and a number of his tablatures of Latin, Italian and French compositions: among these are pieces by Clément Janequin, Arcadelt and Veggio's madrigal *Donna, per Dio vi giuro*. Thus, Veggio could

⁴⁹ MASSIMO BAUCIA, *Francesco Veggio e le sue "Rime". Appunti su un "libro" piacentino di Rime del tardo Cinquecento*, «Archivio Storico per le Province Parmensi», XXXIV, 1982, pp. 303-345: 304 n. 3.

⁵⁰ *Ivi*, p. 305 f.

⁵¹ SEISHIRO NIWA, *Duke Ottavio Farnese's Chapel in Parma, 1561-1586*, Ph.D. diss., Graduate School of International Christian Universities (Tokyo), 2002; available at <http://niwasse.sakura.ne.jp/niwa_diss.pdf> [Accessed 22 December 2021].

⁵² MARIO BIZZOCCOLI, *Maestri di musica a Carpi dal 500 ad oggi*, in *Antonio Tonelli da Carpi (1686-1765) nel tricentenario della nascita*, edited by Andrea Talmelli and Gabriella Borghetto, Carpi, Comune di Carpi-Istituto Musicale Pareggiato "A. Tonelli", 1988, pp. 73-76: 73.

⁵³ H. COLIN SLIM, *Keyboard music at Castell'Arquato by an Early Madrigalist*, «Journal of the American Musicological Society», XV, 1962, pp. 35-47; modern edition by H. Colin Slim, in *Keyboard Music at Castell'Arquato. III: Ricercari, Mass Movements, Motet, Chanson and Madrigal Arrangements*, Middleton (WI), American Institute of Musicology, 2005; and MARIO GIUSEPPE GENESI, *L'Archivio musicale di Castell'Arquato, il fondo manoscritto. Connessioni con gli Sforza di Santa Fiora signori del borgo*, Bologna, Forni, 1988.

easily have entertained Piacenza intellectual circles not only by composing madrigals, but also with his abilities as an instrumentalist.

In 1540, Veggio published his only surviving book of madrigals, the *Madrigali a quattro voci* (again with Scotto). They are dedicated to a member of the Anguissola family, Federico dei Conti de la Riva, and contain several texts by Luigi Cassola; some of them praise aristocratic women of Piacenza or its immediate surroundings.⁵⁴ *Tant'è vostra beltade* and *Hippolita, s'amor in quel bel viso* celebrate Ippolita Borromeo Anguissola, wife of Count Girolamo Anguissola. *Quando col rozzo stile lodar Camilla voglio* could refer to either Camilla Valente, the «woman not less educated than honest and very beautiful» cited by Betussi in *Il Raverta*,⁵⁵ or Camilla Pallavicina, the wife of the Marquis of Cortemaggiore Girolamo Pallavicino, mentioned by Domenichi in *La nobiltà delle donne*.⁵⁶ Both Camilla Valente and Ippolita Anguissola are praised in the *Dialogo* as well.⁵⁷

None of the madrigals in the 1540 print appears again in the *Dialogo*, suggesting that Doni had easy access to new music. Veggio's productivity is also clear from the request, made by Doni on 10 April 1544 from Venice, to send him other madrigals to be published.⁵⁸ From a stylistic point of view, Veggio's pieces do not deviate significantly from the first generation of madrigalists (Verdelot and Arcadelt): contrapuntal writing without strict imitation, homophonic passages and clearly marked sections with repetitions of text and music, especially at the end. Notably, however, this is the very first collection to bear the definition «della misura a breve» on the titlepage.⁵⁹ This kind of madrigal, also called 'chromatic' or 'black-note madrigals' because of its prominent use of black figures (minims and semiminims), includes a larger scale of rhythmic values to attain a heightened expressivity.⁶⁰ Veggio's print includes

⁵⁴ Not very much is known about Federico Anguissola. He was possibly the military commander in the service of Pier Luigi Farnese who died in the Lazio region in 1541 and brother of Giovanni, the leader of the plot against the Farnese. See ORAZIO ANGUSSOLA SCOTTI, *La famiglia Anguissola*, Piacenza, TEP/Gallarati, 1976, p. 165.

⁵⁵ VELA, *Luigi Cassola* cit., p. 201 and BRAGHI, *L'Accademia degli Ortolani* cit., p. 64.

⁵⁶ LUDOVICO DOMENICHI, *La nobiltà delle donne. Corretta, e di nuovo ristampata*, Venice, Giolito de' Ferrari, 1552, f. 262v.

⁵⁷ *Dialogo della musica* cit., f. 26r and the dedication of the Bassus part.

⁵⁸ *Lettere [...] libro primo* cit., 10 April 1544, f. 110v f.

⁵⁹ JAMES HAAR, *The "note nere" madrigal*, «Journal of the American Musicological Society», XVIII, 1, 1965, pp. 22-41: 25.

⁶⁰ On this style see *ivi* and KATE VAN ORDEN, *Cipriano de Rore's Black-Note Madrigals and the French Chanson in Venice*, in *Cipriano de Rore. New Perspectives on His Life and*

six chromatic madrigals by Arcadelt, probably added by the printer Scotto, and four by Veggio. Two of these, *Sia benedett'amore* and its variation *Sia maledetto amore*, show a particular link to Piacenza because of the paternity of the first text, by Luigi Cassola. In contrast with the nervous and syncopated writing by Arcadelt, Veggio's chromatic madrigals utilize short values mostly for declamation and homorhythmic passages. Doni reported ironically on this new style in the *Dialogo*, calling them «Turkish songs» with a reference to their black colour.⁶¹ The interlocutors apparently scorn them, but in reality Doni incorporates several in his work: *Donna per acquetar vostro desire* by Veggio, *Ma di chi debbo lamentarmi* by Vincenzo Ruffo, *Lassatemi morire* by Prete Maria Riccio and *Maledetto sia amore* by Paolo Iacopo Palazzo.⁶² In particular, the first three pieces in the *Dialogo* (*Donna per acquetar*, *Ma di chi debbo lamentarmi* and *Lassatemi morire*) are chromatic madrigals. Perhaps Doni had learned to appreciate this new style in Piacenza?

Paolo Iacopo Palazzo's *Maledetto sia amore* plays on *Sia maledetto amore* from Veggio's *Madrigali a quattro*; their textual affinity leads to a similar stylistic choice as chromatic madrigals. This piece and the following one, Tommaso Bargonio's *Alma mia fiamm'e donna*, are announced in the *Dialogo* as «new, never yet seen nor sung».⁶³ As with Veggio, Doni seems to have had access to fresh material of local composers. Bargonio is praised as a musician and poet («he is able to compose songs, Latin and vernacular texts»)⁶⁴; a letter from Doni to Veggio of 10 April 1544 places him in Piacenza and part of the same circle of musicians.⁶⁵ The text of *Alma mia fiamm'e donna* is by Pietro Aretino.⁶⁶ It is possible that Bargonio's textual choices were influenced by Doni and the Ortolani, for whom Aretino represented a mo-

Music, edited by Jessie Ann Owens and Katelijne Schiltz, Turnhout, Brepols, 2016, pp. 125-151.

⁶¹ *Dialogo della Musica* cit., f. 9v.

⁶² BIZZARINI, *L'evoluzione del gusto musicale* cit., p. 160.

⁶³ *Dialogo della Musica* cit., f. 15r.

⁶⁴ *Ivi*, f. 16v.

⁶⁵ *Lettere [...] Libro primo* cit., 10 April 1544, f. 110v f.

⁶⁶ This is the same text that Niccolò Martelli heard being recited by Aretino in the garden of Agostino Chigi in Rome. See *Scritti di Pietro Aretino nel codice Marciano IT 11 66 (6730)*, edited by Danilo Romei, Florence, Cesato, 1987; available at <<http://www.nuovorinascimento.org/n-rinasc/testi/pdf/aretino/scritti.pdf>> [Accessed 22 December 2021]; and CECILIA LUZZI, *Pietro Aretino, una circolazione manoscritta di Rime e l'influenza dell'improvvisazione in ottava rima nei libri di madrigali di Paolo Aretino*, «Polifonie», n.s., V, 2017, pp. 17-48: 32.

del.⁶⁷ Besides the singing ‘on the book’ used by the interlocutors to perform the music included in the *Dialogo*, Aretino’s fame as poet and improviser recalls the practice of singing ‘to the lyre’, i.e. reciting verses with instrumental accompaniment also testified in several passages of the work.⁶⁸

Bonnie Blackburn identified Paolo Iacopo Palazzo with a Palazzo da Fano who wrote letters to the Florentine exile Ruberto Strozzi, in which he mentioned – among other things - the presence of Cipriano de Rore in Brescia in the early 1540s.⁶⁹ Bizzarini has recognized the Palazzo as an ancient feudal family from Brescia, who held residence in Fano as well.⁷⁰ Despite his Brescian origin, Paolo Iacopo worked in Piacenza; indeed, in the city he was arrested for heresy in 1550, later freed, and imprisoned again up to 1553.⁷¹

⁶⁷ On Pietro Aretino’s influence on the Ortolani see LUZZI, *Pietro Aretino, una circolazione manoscritta di Rime* cit., p. 25 ff.

⁶⁸ In the *Dialogo*, several sonnets are recited to the lyre (or to the *viola*). See *Dialogo della musica* cit., f. 46v f.; or f. 35r. On performance practice in the *Dialogo* see HAAR, *Notes on the “Dialogo della Musica” of Antonfrancesco Doni* cit., pp. 218-21; PHILIPPE CANGUILHEM, *Singing Poetry “in compagnia” in Sixteenth-Century Italy*, in *Voices and Text in Early Modern Italian Society*, edited by Stefano Dall’Aglia, Brian Richardson and Massimo Rospocher, New York, Routledge, 2017, pp. 113-123; and more recently BLAKE M. WILSON, *Singing to the Lyre in Renaissance Italy: Memory, Performance and Oral Poetry*, Cambridge and New York, Cambridge University Press, 2020.

⁶⁹ BONNIE J. BLACKBURN, *Fortunato Martinengo and His Musical Tour Around Lake Garda. The Place of Music and Poetry in Silvan Cattaneo’s “Dodici Giornate”*, in *Fortunato Martinengo* cit., pp. 179-209: 180.

⁷⁰ BIZZARINI, *L’evoluzione del gusto musicale* cit., p. 158.

⁷¹ CASTIGNOLI, *Un contributo alla ricerca sull’eresia luterana* cit., p. 15.

The *Cronaca di Anton Francesco da Villa* describes his arrest in this way: «On 6 August of that year [1550] my son Camillo came from Avignon [the son of the author, Anton Francesco da Villa] where he was the auditor of Monsignor Camillo Mentuato Vicelegate, and in that same day a Paulo Jacomo da Palatio was arrested, a person greatly gifted in music, and very well respected; and the cause of the arrest was the he – as many others in Piacenza – shared the opinions of the Lutheran sect; he was handed over to the Inquisitor of the Dominican order, tried and sent to Milan to his Excellency. And another person from Padua was arrested: he had made himself a priest and publicly declared that [the Sacrament of] confession was not necessary, and that the consecrated host was not the body of Christ and other similar things; having put him to trial and sent him as above [to Milan], the order came to hang him, and so was done; the rumors are that in our city many people have fallen into this mistake [.....].» *Cronaca di Anton Francesco da Villa dal 1511 al 1556*, in *Chronica civitatis Placentiae Johannis Agazzari et Antonii Francisci Villa*, edited by Giuseppe Bonora, Parma, Fiacadori, 1862, «Monumenta Historica ad Provincias Parmensem et Placentinam Pertinentia», III, 2, pp. 79-223: 201.

Palazzo's arrest raises the issue of heterodoxy in Piacenza in the early Cinquecento. In his study of heresy and inquisition in the city, Piero Castignoli attributed the spread of anti-Roman sentiments to a crisis in religious life caused by a lack of leadership – absent bishops who left the administration to vicars – and the consequential weakness of the secular clergy.⁷² To this impasse the Ortolani responded with playful mockery; an example is the already-mentioned *L'amor santo delle monache* by Gottifredi, modelled on Erasmus' anticlerical satires. Ludovico Domenichi was the translator and editor of several heterodox works – for example of Calvin's *Nicomediana* – and was accused of heresy.⁷³ Doni had anticlerical sympathies, but was never formally branded as a heretic. In *I Mondi* (1552), he expressed ideas of social reform based on Thomas More's *Utopia*; he had read the work in the translation made by Ortensio Lando, and looked at the primitive Church – with its non-hierarchical organization – as an alternative model.⁷⁴

The Lutheran sympathies of members of the Accademia degli Ortolani could explain the presence – otherwise mysterious – of some musical pieces in the *Dialogo*. The author of the madrigal opening the second part, *S'io potessi mirar quegli occhi belli*, is identified by the interlocutor Claudio as Nolet, a composer known for only a few other madrigals published in Venice in the early 1540s. One of his texts, *Non resse al colpo il core*, was later included – with an attribution to Fortunato Martinengo – in the *Rime di diversi eccellenti autori bresciani* (Venice, 1553).⁷⁵ Martinengo was a Brescian gentleman with a taste for art, literature and music; he could have been Nolet's patron, and perhaps Rore's when he was in the city. Martinengo had welcomed Pietro Aaron in 1539, who dedicated his *Lucidarium* to him. He and his intellectual circle, the Accademia dei Dubbiosi, were open to the ideas of the Lutherans, Waldensians, Anabaptists and Antitrinitarians spreading at this moment in the Veneto.⁷⁶ The link between Doni and Martinengo is provided by their mutual friend Iacopo Bonfadio, mentioned in the dedica-

⁷² CASTIGNOLI, *Un contributo alla ricerca sull'eresia luterana* cit.; and ID., *Eresia e inquisizione a Piacenza nel Cinquecento*, Piacenza, Tip. Le. Co., 2008 («Biblioteca Storica Piacentina», 25).

⁷³ ANGELA PISCINI, «Domenichi, Ludovico», in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* cit., XL, 1991 (<[https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ludovico-domenichi_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ludovico-domenichi_(Dizionario-Biografico))> [Accessed 22 December 2021]).

⁷⁴ BRAGHI, *L'Accademia degli Ortolani* cit., pp. 92-94.

⁷⁵ BLACKBURN, *Fortunato Martinengo and His Musical Tour* cit., p. 180.

⁷⁶ MARCO BIZZARINI and ELISABETTA SELMI, *Introduzione to Fortunato Martinengo* cit., pp. 7-15: 10.

tion of Doni's *Lettere*, and by the hint at Martinengo's net of relations in the fifth dialogue of *I marmi*.⁷⁷ Overall, exchanges between Piacenza and Brescia were made easy by physical closeness of the two cities, and by figures such as Girolamo Parabosco, whose father was organist in Brescia's Cathedral. These connections could explain – according to Bizzarini – the presence in the *Dialogo* of Cipriano de Rore's motet *Quis tuos praesul* dedicated to Cristoforo Madruzzo, the bishop of Trent after 1542. Its text is similar to other verses honoring the prelate written by Martinengo's father-in-law, Nicolò d'Arco.⁷⁸ Most likely the motet was commissioned by d'Arco during Rore's stay in Brescia and acquired by Doni through a network of personal relations typical of the Cinquecento.⁷⁹

Claudio Vela has noticed how a series of works with links to Piacenza was published in close succession in Venice in the 1540s⁸⁰: Doni's *Dialogo* and first book of *Lettere*, the *Madrigali del magnifico signor cavalier Luigi Cassola piacentino*, edited by Betussi and dedicated to Pietro Aretino⁸¹; Ludovico Domenichi's *Rime* and *Il Raverta* by Giuseppe Betussi, a writer from the Veneto region with close ties to Doni and Domenichi.⁸² If these prints testified to a group experience linked to the city, Piacenza also displayed openness to a larger cultural landscape: the collection *Rime diverse di molti eccellentissimi autori*, edited by Domenichi for Giolito in 1545, gathers the production of local intellectuals (Bracciforti, Cassola, Doni, Parabosco, Pandola), together with an ample selection of poets of different provenance such as Bembo, Aretino, Francesco Maria Molza, Vittoria Colonna and Veronica Gambara.⁸³

With the notable exception of the *Dialogo*, these publications are mainly literary; however, their intrinsic musicality should not be underestimated in a world in which sung poetry was one of the main forms of entertainment.

⁷⁷ BIZZARINI, *L'evoluzione del gusto musicale* cit., p. 154. See also *Lettere [...] libro primo* cit., f. 4r.

⁷⁸ BIZZARINI, *L'evoluzione del gusto musicale* cit., p. 158 f.

⁷⁹ On this aspect see BRIAN RICHARDSON, *Manuscript Culture in Renaissance Italy*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009, cited in LUZZI, *Pietro Aretino, una circolazione manoscritta di Rime* cit., p. 22 n. 14.

⁸⁰ VELA, *Luigi Cassola* cit., p. 208.

⁸¹ LUZZI, *Pietro Aretino, una circolazione manoscritta di Rime* cit., p. 30.

⁸² VELA, *Luigi Cassola* cit., p. 208. On the relations between Domenichi, Doni and Betussi see FRANCO TOMASI, *Introduzione to Rime diverse di molti eccellentissimi autori (Giolito 1545)* cit., p. xiii f.

⁸³ *Rime diverse di molti eccellentissimi autori (Giolito 1545)* cit.

This is immediately clear for Cassola's *Madrigali*, on which Vela commented:

It is possible that the audience would connect the work with contemporary musical experiences and would consider all its texts as virtual musical text. Whoever had familiarity with music and musicians had already encountered many of those poems in several musical settings.⁸⁴

Their first reprint from 1545 contains a letter by Doni to Ippolita Borromeo Anguissola, in which the author makes fun of not-too-refined musicians dealing with the setting of the texts:

O my Lady, I seem to hear a multitude of bangers on the rebecs making a din with these beautiful madrigals in all the parties and all the weddings [...].⁸⁵

A more specifically musical work completes the picture of the publications linked to Piacenza: the already-mentioned *Madrigali a quattro voci* by Veggio, printed by Scotto in 1540.

Around the middle of the Cinquecento Piacenza's cultural environment was neither peripheral nor provincial, but rather remarkably vital. Thanks to figures such as Gottifredi, Domenichi and Cassola, the city was well connected to other Italian centres. Despite the political and religious crisis, Piacenza attracted intellectuals of the stature of Doni, whose interests included music as well. The musical scene that Doni found in Piacenza, cultivated in the aristocratic palaces by Veggio, Palazzo or Villani, was of high quality, and not inferior to other centres of similar political importance. The relatively new genre of the madrigal was successfully embraced; while Cassola nurtured its Petrarchan roots, the Ortolani appreciated the more ironic and irreverent style of Pietro Aretino. From a musical point of view, the *Dialogo* testifies to the reception of a variety of styles, from the homophonic simplicity of the *canti carnascialeschi* to a stronger commitment to contrapuntal writing. Together with the appreciation (and revisiting) of 'classics' such as Arcadelt, more modern styles – the black-note madrigal – blossomed in a fruitful exchange with the major centers of the peninsula.

⁸⁴ VELA, *Luigi Cassola* cit., p. 209.

⁸⁵ Cited in *ivi.*, p. 147 n. 14.

LUCIA MARCHI
 DePaul University (Chicago – USA)
 lmarchi@depaul.edu

Abstract

Antonfrancesco Doni (1513-74) published his *Dialogo della Musica* in April 1544, during the two years in which the author resided in Piacenza. A critical re-evaluation of the work suggests that the *Dialogo* was the fruit of the numerous experiences of its author; at the same time, it reveals a strong link to Piacenza. Far from being at the margins of the musical scene in the peninsula, the city appreciated the most innovative tendencies in secular practices, for example the so-called ‘black-note madrigal’. In Piacenza Doni was part of the *Accademia degli Ortolani* (dedicated to Priapus, the god of Gardens); its influence on the *Dialogo* is evident in the correspondence among characters, texts and music. In particular, the madrigal *Noi v’abbiam donne mille nuov’a dire* (Canto VI of the *Dialogo*) could have been included because it matched the Academy’s ironic and irreverent aesthetics.

Keywords

Accademia degli Ortolani, music and eroticism, Girolamo Parabosco, Claudio Veggio, Lutheranism in Renaissance Italy, black-note madrigal