MUSIC PRINTING IN RENAISSANCE VENICE

The Scotto Press • (1539–1572)

Jane A. Bernstein

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TO DANIEL HEARTZ

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PREFACE

My work on Venetian music printing began some seventeen years ago. At that time, I embarked on what turned out to be a broad investigation that would take me to fifty-six libraries and archives all over Europe and the United States to examine the music books printed by Girolamo Scotto. But the topic also led me on a journey of a different sort. As a printing dynasty that for over a century published in several subjects besides music, the Scotto firm proved to be even more fascinating than I had anticipated, for it allowed me to explore various fields beyond my own discipline. Every time I opened a book published by the Scotto press, I discovered whole new areas of inquiry from printing, bibliography, and iconography, to the history of books, philosophy, and medicine. Most important, by studying the Venetian book trade in general, I gained a great deal of insight into the cultural, political, and economic history of sixteenth-century Europe.

Over the long period this work has been in progress, I received invaluable help from many institutions, colleagues, and friends. The book could have never been written had it not been for the generosity of numerous libraries and archives in Europe and the United States, which allowed me to consult their holdings and responded to my requests for microfilms and information. I especially wish to thank the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, the Archivio di Stato, and Dr. David Bryant of the Fondazione Cini in Venice; Dr. Enrico Paganuzzi, librarian of the Accademia Filarmonica in Verona; the Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica Santa Cecilia in Rome; the Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica in Milan; the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence; the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna; Dr. Marian Zwiercan of the Biblioteka Jagiellońska in Cracow; Dr. Dietrich Nagel, Director of the Ratsschulbibliothek in Zwickau; the August Herzog

Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel; Don Pedro Aizpurua of the Archivo de la Catedral Metropolitana in Valladolid; Frances Barulich of the New York Public Library; the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C.; the Rare Book Room of the University of Pennsylvania Library; and John Roberts and the staff of the Music Library of the University of California at Berkeley.

Four libraries must be singled out for their extraordinary support and hospitality. The former librarians, Sergio Paganelli and Giorgio Piombini, and the wonderful staff of the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale in Bologna, on several occasions, offered me liberal access to the incomparable Padre Martini collection; Oliver Neighbour, Hugh Cobbe, and the staff at the British Library granted me special assistance; and Dr. Robert Münster, Dr. Helmut Schaefer, and the staff of the Musikabteilung of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich went out of their way to help me during my visits. Above all, I am greatly indebted to my dear friends and colleagues at the Isham Memorial Library at Harvard University, in particular the late Larry Mowers, John Howard, Virginia Danielson, and Douglas Freundlich, for their overwhelming support over the years.

I owe much to several institutions for financial assistance. A fellowship from the Gladys Krieble Delmas Foundation and a summer stipend from the National Endowment of the Humanities in 1982 enabled me to do the groundwork for this study in Venice. A travel grant from the American Philosophical Society allowed me to visit libraries in Europe. A Fellowship for College Teachers and Independent Scholars from the National Endowment for the Humanities provided me with a year's leave in 1987–88 from my teaching duties at Tufts University in order to work on the project. I am grateful to the Music Department of Harvard University for making it possible for me to spend the spring semester of 1990 as a Visiting Scholar at Harvard, where I completed the catalogue. I also wish to thank the Tufts University Faculty Research Awards Committee, which awarded me several grants for research assistance on the book.

Parts of chapters 4, 5, and 6 first appeared in preliminary versions as "Financial Arrangements and the Role of Printer and Composer in Sixteenth-Century Italian Music Printing" in *Acta musicologica* 62 (1990): 39–56; "Girolamo Scotto and the Venetian Music Trade" in *Atti del XIV congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia, Bologna, 27 agosto–1 settembre 1987*, ed. A. Pompilio, D. Restani, L. Bianconi, and F. A. Gallo (Turin, 1990), 1: 295–305; and "Printing and Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Italy" in *Actas del XV congreso de la Sociedad Internacional de Musicología, Madrid, 1992* (Madrid, 1997), 2603–13. I thank the International Musicological Society for permission to reuse these materials here.

Many friends and colleagues came to my aid by providing important information, advice, and support. I hope I may be forgiven if I have left someone out of the following list: Richard Agee, Lorenzo Bianconi, M. Jennifer Bloxam, Stanley Boorman, Thomas Bridges, Reinhold Brinkmann, the late Howard Mayer Brown, David Bryant, David Butchart, Donna Cardamone Jackson, Tim Carter, David Crawford, Ruth DeFord, Mark DeVoto, Mary Kay Duggan, Rebecca Edwards,

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I would also like to thank Daniel Page, Andrew Dell'Antonio, and Cinzia Scafetta, who assisted me with the catalogue. In particular, I am indebted to Andrew Dell'Antonio for taking on the heroic task of creating the first-line and composer indexes to the music catalogue.

There are others to whom I owe a special debt of gratitude. Mary Lewis has been unstinting in her generosity. She made available to me much of her research on Venetian music printing, her private microfilm collection, and, during the early stages of the project, helped me gain access to the Honeywell Multics computer at MIT before the advent of the personal computer. My friend and colleague Jessie Ann Owens read through several rough drafts of the historical study. She offered many astute comments and kept me going during the final stages of the project. Craig Monson and Martha Feldman cheerfully read the entire manuscript. Vincent Pollina provided me with valuable criticisms on chapter 1. My sister, Betty Wolsky, stepped in at the end to create the map in figure 5.1.

I wish to thank the staff at Oxford University Press, in particular Maribeth Payne, Nancy Hoagland, Jessica Ryan, and Suzanne Holt for being so flexible and helpful in all matters of production. I have benefited greatly from the helpful comments of Lewis Lockwood, Tim Carter, and Bonnie J. Blackburn, the three readers solicited by the press. I am also indebted to Leofranc Holford-Strevens for his comments and corrections on all things Latin. My gratitude especially goes to Bonnie J. Blackburn, who also served as copyeditor of the entire manuscript. I am not the first author to benefit from her wide-ranging knowledge, generosity, and remarkable dedication. Her critical expertise and helpful suggestions have greatly improved this book.

The greatest debt I owe is to my family. My daughter, Lily, who has grown from a small infant to a young woman over the course of my work on this project, has contributed to this book in different ways. She has patiently accompanied me on numerous research trips, resulting in her belief that the tourist sites of Europe are libraries and archives. I especially wish to thank her for creating figures 3.1 and 3.2. My husband, James Ladewig, read the book countless times, offering much wisdom and sound advice. Without his endless patience, unfailing encouragement, and Herculean support, this book would have never been completed.

It has been thirty years since Daniel Heartz published his study on Pierre Attaingnant and sixteenth-century French music printing. His book played an important role in the shaping of my dissertation on the French chanson. It has again become the touchstone and inspiration for this study. It seems only fitting that I dedicate my book to him.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND GLOSSARY

S	Superius
A	Altus
T	Tenor
B	Bassus
5	Quinta pars
6	Sexta pars
7	Septima pars
Adams	Herbert Mayrow Adams, ed., *Catalogue of Books Printed on the Continent of Europe 1501–1600 in Cambridge Libraries*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1967)
AIM	American Institute of Musicology
ASV	Archivio di Stato, Venice
BM	British Museum, *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, 1958)
Bohatta	Hans Bohatta, *Bibliographie der Breviere 1501–1850* (Stuttgart, 1963)
CMM	Corpus mensurabilis musicae
compartment	a carved, single-piece, decorative enclosure with one or more spaces cut out of the center for insertion of type
DBI	*Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 46 vols. to date (Rome, 1948–)
Durling	Richard J. Durling, comp., *A Catalogue of Sixteenth-Century Printed Books in the National Library of Medicine* (Bethesda, 1967)

Edizioni	*Le edizioni italiane del XVI secolo: censimento nazionale*, ed. Maria Sicco and M. A. Baffio, 4 vols. to date (Istituto centrale per il catalogo unico delle biblioteche italiane e per le informazioni bibliografiche; Rome, 1985–)
Essling	Victor Massena Essling, *Études sur l'art de la gravure sur bois à Venise. Les livres à figures vénitiens de la fin du XV^e siècle et du commencement du XVI^e* (Paris, 1907–14)
Eitner, *Quellen-Lexikon*	Robert Eitner, *Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten*, 10 vols. (Leipzig, 1899–1904; 2d rev. ed. Graz, 1959–60)
f.	folio
frame	a border made up of two or more decorative ornaments
IA	*Index Aureliensis: Catalogus Librorum Sedecimo Saeculo Impressorum* (Baden-Baden and Geneva, 1962–)
inc.	incomplete
JAMS	*Journal of the American Musicological Society*
Kallendorf	Craig Kallendorf, *A bibliography of Venetian editions of Virgil, 1470–1599* (Florence, 1991)
MGG	*Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Friedrich Blume, 14 vols. (Kassel, 1949–86)
New Grove	*The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 20 vols. (London, 1980)
Nuovo Vogel	Emil Vogel, Alfred Einstein, François Lesure, and Claudio Sartori, *Bibliografia della musica italiana profana pubblicata dal 1500 al 1700. Nuova edizione interamente rifatta e aumentata con gli Indici dei musicisti, poeti, cantanti, dedicatari e dei capoversi dei testi letterari*, 3 vols. (Pomezia, 1977)
OCLC	Online Computer Library Center (formerly Ohio College Library Center)
olim	at one time or previously in a specific library or collection
Pastorello	Ester Pastorello, handwritten catalogue of books printed in Venice, 1469–1600, held in selected northern Italian libraries. Sala dei Manoscritti, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice
pr. mk.	printer's mark
Primo	*Primo catalogo collettivo delle biblioteche italiane*, ed. Centro nazionale per il catalogo unico delle biblioteche italiane e per le informazioni bibliografiche, 9 vols. (Rome, 1962–79)
RISM	*Répertoire international des sources musicales*. A/I/1–9. *Einzeldrucke vor 1800*, ed. K. Schlager (Kassel,

	1971–92); B/I/1. *Recueils imprimés XVI^e^ –XVII^e^ siècles. Liste chronologique*, ed. François Lesure (Munich, 1960)
rule	printer's rule or straight line often used on title page to separate imprint and date
s.d.	no date indicated
s.l.	no place indicated
s.n.	no printer's name indicated
STC	*Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in Italy and of Books in Italian Printed Abroad 1501–1600 Held in Selected North American Libraries*, ed. Robert G. Marshall, 3 vols. (Boston, 1970)
Shaaber	M. A. Shaaber, ed., *Sixteenth-Century Imprints in the Libraries of the University of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1976)
tavola	table of contents
type orn.	type ornament other than ornamental leaf or flower
v	verso
vv	voices
Vogel–Einstein	Emil Vogel, *Bibliothek der gedruckten weltlichen Vocalmusik Italiens, aus den Jahren 1500 bis 1700* (Berlin, 1892). Revised and enlarged by Alfred Einstein (Hildesheim, 1962) [Repr. from *Music Library Association Notes*, 2–5 (1945–48)]

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INTRODUCTION

> From almost the earliest years of my childhood I strove with all my might, main, effort and concentration to assemble as many books as I could on every sort of subject. Not only did I copy many in my own hand when I was a youth, but I spent what I could set aside from my small savings on buying books. For I could think of no more noble or splendid possession, no treasure more useful or valuable, that I could possibly gather for myself. Books ring with the voices of the wise. They are full of the lessons of history, full of life, law, and piety. They live, speak, and debate with us; they reveal matters which are furthest from our memories, and set them, as it were, before our eyes. Such is their power, worth and splendor, such their inspiration, that we should all be uneducated brutes if there were no books.
>
> *—Cardinal Bessarion, letter accompanying the donation of his library to the Republic of Venice, 1468 (trans. Chambers and Pullan)*

his book is about music print culture in mid-Cinquecento Venice as viewed through an exploration of the Scotto press, one of the foremost printers of the Renaissance. It examines the mercantile activities of the firm through a historical study, illuminating the wide socio-economic world of the Venetian printing industry. It also presents a catalogue describing the music editions brought out by the Scotto firm during its most productive period.

The commercial phase of music printing began at a particularly propitious moment in Venetian history, for the years from 1540 until 1570 marked an era of unbroken peace and prosperity for the Most Serene Republic. The sense of stability and affluence prompted Venetians to turn their attention to external appearances. Proclaiming themselves the new Romans, they became concerned with ceremonial display and artistic endeavors, made manifest in the construction of new civic buildings and in an ambitious program of patrician patronage.[1] Architectural

1. On the Venetians patterning themselves on Ancient Rome see D. S. Chambers, *The Imperial Age of Venice*, 1380–1580 (London, 1970), 12–30.

projects multiplied, commissions for paintings and sculpture proliferated, and music and literature flourished in both the public and private spheres.[2]

This atmosphere of economic and cultural growth provided the ideal stimulus for the burgeoning business of music printing. The Scotto firm, under the leadership of Girolamo Scotto, exemplified the new period of intense commercialism. Active as a publisher, bookseller, and composer from around 1536 until his death in 1572, Girolamo issued more than four hundred music publications containing a huge repertory that ranged from Masses and motets to madrigals, chansons, and instrumental music by all the leading composers of the day. The influence of the Scotto press as printer and publisher extended beyond music into other fields, in particular philosophy, medicine, and religion, where it published a number of books equal to the firm's music production.

Girolamo Scotto came from a dynasty of printers, who for over a century played an instrumental role in the international book trade. They marketed books throughout Europe, held interests in retail stores, and acted as publishers who underwrote the editions of other printers. Their prodigious output, the importance of the repertories they published, their business activities in indisputably the greatest center of sixteenth-century printing and publishing, and their impact on other areas of Renaissance thought made them a pivotal force reflecting the fascinating relationship between the worlds of commerce, culture, and scholarship in Cinquecento Venice.

Over the past four decades, a number of studies have appeared on sixteenth-century music printers. Claudio Sartori's catalogue of Petrucci and François Lesure and Geneviève Thibault's bibliographies of the Parisian firms of Le Roy and Ballard and Du Chemin were among the pioneering works.[3] Musicologists of the next generation expanded the format by including historical studies with their catalogues. Daniel Heartz broke new ground by placing the Parisian printer Pierre Attaingnant within his socio-cultural milieu.[4] Samuel Pogue in his book on Jacques Moderne dealt with music printers in Lyon, while Catherine Chapman explored Italian music printing at the time of Andrea Antico.[5] These studies served as prototypes for later catalogues. More recently, scholars of music print culture have

2. An introduction to the subject of patronage of the arts in Venice appears in Oliver Logan, *Culture and Society in Venice, 1470–1790* (London, 1972). On architectural enterprises see Deborah Howard, *Jacopo Sansovino: Architecture and Patronage in Renaissance Venice* (New Haven, 1975). Discussion of patronage in the other visual arts appears in several sources, among them David Rosand, *Painting in Cinquecento Venice: Titian, Veronese, Tintoretto* (New Haven, 1982). Martha Feldman explores music and literature in the private sphere in *City Culture and the Madrigal at Venice* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1995).

3. Claudio Sartori, *Bibliografia delle opere musicali stampate da Ottaviano Petrucci* (Biblioteca di bibliografia italiana 18; Florence, 1948); François Lesure and Geneviève Thibault, *Bibliographie des éditions d'Adrian Le Roy et Robert Ballard (1551–98)* (Paris, 1955); "Bibliographie des éditions musicales publiés par Nicolas Du Chemin (1549–1576)," *Annales musicologiques* 1 (1953): 269–373.

4. Daniel Heartz, *Pierre Attaingnant, Royal Printer of Music* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1969).

5. Samuel Pogue, *Jacques Moderne: Lyons Music Printer of the Sixteenth Century* (Geneva, 1969); Catherine W. Chapman, "Andrea Antico" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1964).

brought to the field a variety of methodologies. They have examined typographical issues and production methods. They have also utilized archival evidence and the tools of descriptive bibliography in their work. Kristine Forney, Henri Vanhulst, and Robert Weaver have concentrated on music printers from the Low Countries.[6] Italian music printers have been the subject of works by Suzanne Cusick, Stanley Boorman, Mary Lewis, and Thomas Bridges.[7] All of these musicologists have contributed a great deal to our knowledge of music print culture during the sixteenth century.

The present book follows in the tradition of previous scholarship in documenting the history and musical output of the Scotto press. But I also seek to view music printing in a new way. By exploring the economics of the trade, I propose that commerce played a crucial role in every aspect of music printing. I stress the role of the entrepreneur, with the Scotto press serving as the vehicle for the narrative. This book can be viewed, then, as a socio-economic study, in which the transmission of music is perceived primarily as a business phenomenon.

The idea of capitalistic enterprise as the modus operandi of the sixteenth-century book trade is certainly not a new one; it has already been advanced by several historians and bibliographers. Febvre and Martin, Voet, Lowry, Grendler, Chartier, and Quondam, to name a few, have dealt with this subject from different perspectives.[8] Above all, Eisenstein has emphasized economics as the moving force of the printing industry. She has also expressed concern that "one rarely gets a sense of its significance as a whole" given the fact that the topic of print culture has been "segmented, subdivided, and parcelled out" among economic and social historians, literary scholars, media analysts, bibliographers, librarians, and print

6. Kristine K. Forney, "Tielman Susato, Sixteenth-Century Music Printer: An Archival and Typographical Investigation" (Ph.D. diss., University of Kentucky, 1978); Henri Vanhulst, *Catalogue des éditions de musique publiées à Louvain par Pierre Phalèse et ses fils 1545–1578* (Brussels, 1990); Robert Weaver, *A Descriptive Bibliographical Catalog of the Music Printed by Hubert Waelrant and Jan de Laet* (Warren, Mich., 1994).

7. Suzanne Cusick, *Valerio Dorico, Music Printer in Sixteenth-Century Rome* (Studies in Musicology 43; Ann Arbor, Mich., 1980); Stanley Boorman, "Petrucci at Fossombrone: A Study of Early Music Printing with Special Reference to the Motetti de la Corona (1514–1519)" (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1976); Mary S. Lewis, *Antonio Gardano, Venetian Music Printer, 1538–1569: A Descriptive Bibliography and Historical Study*. Vol. 1: *1538–49;* Vol. 2: *1550–1559* (New York and London, 1988–1997); Thomas W. Bridges, "The Publishing of Arcadelt's First Book of Madrigals," 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1982).

8. Roger Chartier, *The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Princeton, 1989); Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450–1800*, trans. David Gerard, ed. Geoffrey Nowell-Smith and David Wooton (London, 1976). Originally published as *L'Apparition du livre* (Paris, 1958). Paul S. Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press, 1540–1605* (Princeton, 1977); Martin Lowry, *Nicholas Jenson and the Rise of Venetian Publishing in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford, 1991) and *The World of Aldus Manutius: Business and Scholarship in Renaissance Venice* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1979); Amedeo Quondam, "Mercanzi d'onore, 'Mercanzia d'utile': produzione libraria e lavoro intellectuale a Venezia nel Cinquecento," in *Libri, editori, e pubblico nell'Europa moderna: guida storica e critica*, ed. Armando Petrucci (Rome, 1977), 51–104; and Leon Voet, *The Golden Compasses: A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1972).

designers.[9] To Eisenstein's list we must also add musicologists, for scholars of music print culture have only just begun to look beyond their specialty.

It is surprising that the relationship between the specialty of music printing and the sixteenth-century book trade in general has received only cursory treatment. The Scotto press, with its impressive body of publications encompassing fields beyond music, provides the ideal starting point for this discussion. Yet, until now, little attention has been paid to the Scotto firm. The main reason for this lack of interest lay with the artificial boundaries that divide traditional academic disciplines. Musicologists have tended to ignore the dynastic firm's activities in the fields of philosophy, medicine, and religion. Conversely, historians, bibliographers, and literary scholars have not realized that the Scotto press played an important role in the discipline of music.

My aim is to broaden the picture. In the present study, I hope to bridge the gap between music and other disciplines. I have tried to incorporate music printing into the wider world of the printing industry, and to demonstrate that music printing was no different from any other specialty of the book trade. Within that framework, the singular theme of commercial enterprise runs throughout the historical study. But I also consider Cinquecento music print culture from another angle by examining closely the individual books that comprise the impressive *opere* of the Scotto press. The detailed commentaries presented in the catalogue provide an important source of information about the social, economic, and cultural life of Cinquecento Venice.

The book is divided into two large sections. The first, a historical study, contextualizes the Scotto press within the framework of the sixteenth-century Venetian printing industry. Chapter 1 sets the stage with a broad overview of the book trade. Who were the leading firms? How many books were published? Where were the presses located? The emphasis is on the community of printers and publishers. We observe how familial and personal relationships provided the structural underpinnings for most commercial activities, how the bookmen governed themselves, and what their connections were to the intellectual and artistic world of Venice. This chapter reveals how printing specializations became the basis for the marketing strategies of the industry. It concludes with a survey of those specializations with particular attention given to the field of music.

Chapter 2 narrows the focus to the Scotto dynasty by presenting a history of the firm. It begins with the origins of the family and the founding of the firm by Ottaviano Scotto and then proceeds with a discussion of the various second-generation heirs and leadership of the press under Ottaviano II. The period of the firm's greatest productivity under Girolamo Scotto's directorship occupies the central portion of the chapter. The narrative continues with a description of other branches of the family active in the book trade and closes with the final years when the firm was in the hands of Girolamo's heir, Melchiorre Scotto. This chapter suggests how the

9. Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1979).

financial successes and failures of the firm throughout its history mirrored those of the book trade at large. It also examines the contributions made by the Scotto dynasty in shaping the Venetian publishing industry in general, and music printing in particular.

The manufacturing of a music book takes center stage in chapter 3. We experience, through the Scotto press, the organization of the workforce within the shop, how a music book was produced, and what materials and supplies were required. The chapter provides crucial details concerning editorial practices, typographical materials, formats, and title pages unique to the Scotto press. It also gives us a sense of how a typical music print shop operated in the sixteenth century.

Chapter 4 is concerned with the financial arrangements made in the publishing of music books, describing independent sponsorship and partnerships with other bookmen. Publications commissioned by composers and other third parties are also explained. In this chapter I attempt to define the close relationships that existed among Cinquecento Venetian music printers.

In chapter 5 we move away from the print shop into the international world of book distribution. Here, the complicated networks of agents, book carriers, and foreign printers are discussed. The chapter provides information on the trade routes used by the Venetians in their travels throughout the Italian peninsula, as well as across the Alps to northern Europe. It details the northern European book fairs and explains such marketing tools as book-fair trade lists and printers' broadside catalogues. The chapter concludes with a brief consideration of customers and collectors, both individual and institutional, who purchased music books.

Chapter 6 considers what influence the music-printing industry had upon its clients. We see how composers could augment their income by commissioning and then selling their own editions and, in some cases, even entering into the business of printing and publishing. The role of the patron and the involvement of the composer in the printing process are also addressed.

The last part of the historical study concentrates on the marketing of musical repertories. Rather than present a traditional survey, in this section I look at repertories from an economic perspective. Chapter 7 opens with a general discussion of Girolamo Scotto and Antonio Gardano, the two major music printers of mid-Cinquecento Venice, and the musical repertories they published. It examines previous hypotheses concerning possible rivalry or cooperation between the two printers. It then proposes a new view of their relationship, based on the strategies Scotto and Gardano followed in the acquisition and marketing of their music books. The final two chapters explore these business strategies through a chronological account of specific publications. Acting as case studies, these music editions not only help clarify the marketing tactics used by the Venetian music presses, they also suggest a new methodology in the analysis of repertorial issues and cultural tastes.

While the historical study portrays the multi-faceted world of music printing, the second part of the book focuses on the publications themselves. It offers a catalogue of 409 extant music editions brought out by the Scotto press from 1539 to 1572. Each entry includes a detailed description of a single music edition: its title

page, dedication page, and colophon, as well as information concerning collation, typography, and paper. A list of the contents, locations of surviving copies, secondary literature, modern editions, and a brief commentary about the edition are also provided. A short-title catalogue listing non-music editions issued by Girolamo Scotto during the same time period appears in appendix D. Four other appendices present a table of all extant Venetian music editions from 1539 to 1572, the names of dedicatees found in all Italian music editions from 1536 to 1572, an inventory of binder's volumes containing Scotto music editions, and a list of lost music editions issued by Girolamo Scotto.

The catalogues and appendices constitute the foundation of the work. Many of the concepts found in the historical study stem from an exploration of individual books. Taking up the lion's share of the present book, they offer significant bibliographical information on individual publications, authors, repertories, and patrons of the sixteenth century. It is my hope that they will serve as valuable reference tools for future studies in Renaissance music.

PART I

Historical Study

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One

PRINTERS AND PUBLISHERS

The Merchants of Venice

> Venice may be called a summary of the universe, because there is nothing originating in any far-off country but it is found in abundance in this city. The Arabs say that if the world were a ring, then Ormuz, by reason of the immeasurable wealth that is brought thither from every quarter, would be the jewel in it. The same can be said of Venice, but with much greater truth, for she not only equals Ormuz in the variety of all merchandise and the plenty of all goods, but surpasses her in the splendor of her building, in the extent of her empire, and, indeed in everything else that derives from the industry and providence of men.
>
> —Giovanni Botero, *Della relatione della Republica Venetiana,* 1605 (trans. Chambers and Pullan)

he Venetians never wanted an empire," remarked Gore Vidal, "They just wanted to do business . . ."[1] and business did flourish in sixteenth-century Venice. Venice was indeed the marketplace of the world. Its location on the lagoons and its unique connection with the sea distinguished it among the great commercial centers of the Renaissance. A maritime power and trading emporium, it survived for a thousand years as an independent city-state protected from internal strife and foreign invasion. It gained its power and prosperity neither from the quantity of lands owned by its patriciate nor from a powerful military force but solely from the mercantile activities of its residents.

It is in this larger context that we must begin our study, for commerce and trade played a central role in the development and achievements of music printing in general and of the Scotto press in particular. Venetian merchants inhabited a cosmopolitan world, where they trafficked in luxury goods, dealt in high finance, and set the standard for international trade. They sold spices, salt, cotton, grains—items they had imported from the East for centuries. They also traded in commodities

1. Gore Vidal, *Vidal in Venice* (New York, 1985), 48.

they manufactured themselves: woolen cloth, glassware, soap, and silks. In the late fifteenth century, these entrepreneurs created a whole new industry, the production of books.[2]

Venice offered an ideal center for the printing of books. It boasted the best and most advanced distribution system in the world. As a Republic, it was not hampered by the controls of an authoritative monarch or the Church. And because its printers and publishers could not rely on the patronage of a ruler but depended solely on market forces in order to make their living, the Venetian printing industry, from its inception, became a capitalistic enterprise, producing books in larger quantities and distributing them much further afield than any other European center.

The first book was not printed in Venice until 1469 when a German immigrant named Johannes de Spira obtained a five-year monopoly from the Venetian Senate.[3] The monopoly did not last long, for Johannes died only a few months after his request was granted. Others quickly came to Venice to seek their fortune in the new industry, and by 1473 there were at least a dozen printers active in the city. Printing became a boom industry, in which many competed but few survived.[4] One of them, the Frenchman Nicolas Jenson, became the most celebrated publisher in Venice during this period. Jenson and Johannes de Spira's firm, now headed by Johannes's brother Wendelin and by Johannes de Colonia, formed two syndicates that dominated the industry. Between them they produced some sixty-four editions during the period 1471–72—about half of the total for all Venetian presses.[5] A number of Italians from other cities came to Venice during the last two decades of the fifteenth century. These new arrivals succeeded the Germans and French who had dominated Venetian printing during its formative years. Several of them prospered and, in turn, established their own dynastic presses, some of which lasted for over a century.

Among these printers, the houses of Giunti, Giolito, and Manuzio became the preeminent publishers of Cinquecento Venice. To these illustrious firms we must add the Scotto press, which, until now, has remained unrecognized as a leader of the Cinquecento book trade. During its 134-year history, the House of Scotto printed more than 1,650 editions—a number that matched or exceeded the other great printing houses of Venice. Indeed, the Scotto firm was not just an important Venetian press, it was one of the most renowned publishing houses of Renaissance Europe.

2. For an overview of these industries see Frederick Lane, *Venice: A Maritime Republic* (Baltimore, 1973), 309–21.

3. Rinaldo Fulin, "Documenti per servire alla storia della tipografia veneziana," *Archivio veneto* 23 (1882), 99, doc. 1. On the early years of printing in Venice, see Victor Scholderer, "Printing at Venice to the End of 1481," in *Fifty Essays in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Bibliography*, ed. Dennis E. Rhodes (Amsterdam, 1966), 74–89; Leonardas Gerulaitis, *Printing and Publishing in Fifteenth-Century Venice* (London, 1976); and Horatio Brown's pioneer study, *The Venetian Printing Press 1469–1800* (London, 1891).

4. From the one hundred or so printing firms established in Venice up to 1490, twenty-three continued into the next decade, and only ten outlived the century. Lowry, *The World of Aldus Manutius*, 9, as calculated by Rudolph Hirsch, *Printing, Selling and Reading, 1450–1550* (Wiesbaden, 1967), 42–43.

5. Scholderer, "Printing at Venice," 75.

Scholars of print culture have been at a loss for what to call the dynastic bookmen, in view of the wide repertoire of roles they played in the printing industry. Eisenstein designated them master printers; Lowry simply labeled them publishers.[6] Grendler noted that the terms *stampatore*, *libraio*, and *bibliopola* were commonly used to identify booksellers and printers.[7] But the Scotti, Giunti, and Gioliti belonged to a different class; they were men of distinction and reputation, who sometimes stylized themselves as *nobile*. Contemporaries did have a name for these early capitalists; they called them *mercatori* or merchants.

The Venetian *mercatori* dealt with all facets of their trade. They directed a complex mechanized operation that employed a highly skilled workforce and used expensive equipment and materials. They oversaw every aspect of the production of their books, from the acquisition of manuscripts to the setting of type, running of presses, and proofreading of copy. As a prototype of the early capitalist, the *mercatori* were responsible for all financial aspects of the business. They solicited other printers, publishers, and entrepreneurs to form syndicates or invest in their publications and, in turn, they underwrote the publication of books produced by other bookmen. They cultivated potential authors and clients, who might commission books. Above all, these dynastic printers supervised a complex distribution network that extended throughout Europe. They retained book carriers, who hawked their publications from town to town, formed alliances with foreign presses to sell their books, and employed book agents to look after their interests abroad. They owned or invested in bookshops, and, in several cases, maintained satellite offices in other cities.

GROWTH OF AN INDUSTRY

The rise of these publishing houses reflects the rapid development and success of the Venetian book business in general. Figures compiled by modern bibliographers show that printing and publishing reached its zenith in *La Serenissima* during the period from 1540 to 1575—an era of unbroken peace which came to an end with the disastrous plague. Scholars have conservatively estimated that in the sixteenth century, Venetian presses published around 7,560 to 17,500 editions.[8] Yet the total

6. Eisenstein, *Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, 1: 56 n. 49.

7. Grendler, *Roman Inquisition*, 4.

8. Ester Pastorello, in her pioneering work, *Tipografi, editori, librai a Venezia nel secolo XVI* (Florence, 1924) based her total of 7,560 editions on the holdings of selected northern Italian libraries. Her unpublished catalogue listing the titles brought out by Cinquecento Venetian printers is located in the Sala dei Manoscritti of the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice. The higher total of 17,500 appears in Grendler, *Roman Inquisition*, 8. He arrived at this figure by doubling Pastorello's total, and then by adding the outputs of the firms of Manuzio, Gioliti, Giunti, and Marcolini, as cited in S. Bongi, *Annali di Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari* (Rome, 1890–97); Scipione Casali, *Annali della tipografia veneziana di Francesco Marcolini da Forlì* (Forlì, 1861–65); Paolo Camerini, *Annali dei Giunti* (Florence, 1962); and Antoine Renouard, *Annales de l'imprimerie des Alde, ou Histoire des trois Manuce et de leurs éditions*, 3d ed. (Paris, 1834).

number is even greater than has been reckoned. The production of individual printers, in many cases, is three to twenty times greater than the figures first cited by Pastorello.[9] Surviving editions published by Venetian music printers demonstrate this point: Pastorello counted 347 Scotto editions for the entire sixteenth century, whereas extant titles number about 1,500. She cited twenty-nine editions by Antonio Gardano, while Lewis noted 438. Pastorello listed only two editions from Merulo's press, whereas thirty-four survive. Neither Pastorello nor Grendler, furthermore, took into account Cinquecento editions that no longer exist. Though an exact total cannot be determined until all significant Venetian presses have been studied, doubling the number to 35,000 individual editions seems a more reasonable estimate.[10]

The size of the pressrun for Venetian editions varied from title to title, depending on the type of publication. A "vanity" book commissioned and financed by an author or patron probably ran to about 500 copies, since the Venetian Senate refused to grant a privilege for a pressrun of fewer than 400 copies.[11] "Bestsellers" brought out by a major publisher might number as high as 2,000 to 3,000 copies. The pressrun for an ordinary edition was about 1,000 copies.[12] Pressruns in specialty areas such as music correspond to these figures.[13] The total number of copies printed also depended on whether a private party commissioned the edition or a syndicate financed it. In 1565 Girolamo Scotto printed 500 copies of the *Passiones, Lamentationes, Responsoria* of Don Paolo Ferrarese, an edition commissioned by the Monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore.[14] In 1516 Andrea Antico contracted in a partnership with Ottaviano II Scotto and other bookmen to print 1,008 copies of an anthology of Mass settings titled *Quindecim missarum.*[15] How many books did the Venetian printers produce? On the basis of the size of average pressrun and total number of editions, we can estimate that more than thirty-five million books were printed over the course of the sixteenth century.[16]

The locations of the bookmen's presses and shops emphasized the success of the Venetian printing industry. Unlike bookmen in Paris, who were generally

9. Pastorello's estimates are also questioned by Quondam, "Mercanzi d'onore," 56.

10. Grendler's analysis of imprimaturs in *Roman Inquisition*, 8–9 as another method of deducing the total production of Venetian books is also flawed, since printers did not seek licenses for the vast majority of their books. See Richard J. Agee, "The Privilege and Venetian Music Printing in the Sixteenth Century" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1982).

11. Grendler, *Roman Inquisition*, 9.

12. Ibid.

13. On the pressrun of music books see the survey of extant contracts in Agee, "A Venetian Music Printing Contract in the Sixteenth Century," *Studi musicali* 15 (1986): 59–65. The contract discovered by Bonnie J. Blackburn, in "The Printing Contract for the *Libro primo de musica de la salamandra* (Rome, 1526)," *Journal of Musicology* 12 (1994): 345–56, should be added to Agee's list. On Spanish contracts, see John Griffiths and Warren E. Hultberg, "Santa Maria and the Printing of Instrumental Music in Sixteenth-Century Spain," in *Livro de homenagem a Macario Santiago Kastner*, ed. M. F. Cidrais Rodrigues, M. Morais, and R. Veiera Nery (Lisbon, 1992), 347–60.

14. Agee, "Venetian Music Printing Contract."

15. Chapman, "Andrea Antico," 448.

16. Again this figure is approximately double Grendler's estimate of 15 to 20 million books; *Roman Inquisition*, 12.

FIGURE 1.1 Detail of Venice showing locations of music presses. After George Braun, *Civitas orbis terrarum* (1573). 1. Scotto firm ca. 1480; 2. Scotto firm ca. 1534; 3. Scotto firm ca. 1547; 4. Scotto firm after 1560; 5. Gardano firm ca. 1539; 6. Marcolini firm, 1536; 7. Rampazetto firm ca. 1562. Photo courtesy of The Newberry Library.

confined to a single area on the Left Bank near the University,[17] Venetian printers and booksellers established their businesses in practically all the districts of the city. Most of the bookstores and presses were located in the *sestieri* of Castello, Cannaregio, and San Marco. Situated above the Grand Canal, these three districts were, in the sixteenth century as today, the commercial areas of the city, while Santa Croce, San Polo, and Dorsoduro, located below the Grand Canal, were more residential in nature. Bookshops and stalls filled the Merceria, the main thoroughfare linking the financial and commercial center at the Rialto to the Piazza San Marco, the political and intellectual hub of the city. The bookstores and presses stretched from the Rialto district as far east as the parish of SS. Giovanni e Paolo to the precinct of San Zacharia, to the north of the Piazza San Marco.[18]

The addresses of the music presses, as seen in the map in figure 1.1, reveal the widespread dispersement of printing concerns around the city. During its long history, the Scotto firm moved its press several times. Ottaviano Scotto established

17. Elizabeth Armstrong, *Robert Estienne, Royal Printer* (Cambridge, 1954), 3, and Heartz, *Pierre Attaingnant*, 3–4.

18. Fernanda Ascarelli and Marco Menato, *La tipografia del '500 in Italia* (Florence, 1989), 321–470 provide the press locations for several of the Venetian printers.

his firm in the district of San Marco in the parish of San Samuele (1). By the time his nephew Ottaviano took over the business, the press was situated in the parish of San Felice (2) in Cannaregio. After 1547 the firm returned to the district of San Marco, first to San Benedetto (3) and then to the Corte del Albero in the parish of Sant'Angelo (4). Antonio Gardano first owned a shop in the Calle de la Scimia (5) in the *sestiere* of San Polo near the Pescaria. In 1536 Francesco Marcolini's press was located in Cannaregio in the parish of Santi Apostoli (6) at the house of the Order of Crutched Friars (Frati Crosachieri). Francesco Rampazetto established his press in Castello in the Calle dalle Rasse (7) right off the Riva degli Schiavoni.

COMMUNITY OF BOOKMEN

Printers, publishers, and booksellers made up the main constituency of the Venetian book trade. They worked cooperatively, with the printer in charge of the press-work, the publisher financially responsible for the publication and distribution, and the bookshop selling the books. Distinctions among the occupations were often blurred, with the majority of bookmen carrying out two or more aspects of the trade. A printer who worked on consignment, or a bookseller who did not own a press, might occasionally finance a title on his own or in collaboration with a publisher. *Mercatori* such as the Scotti or Giunti took on all three professional roles at the same time.

Whatever their stature, Venetian bookmen maintained strong alliances with one another. Besides forming partnerships, they bought, sold, and lent typographical materials to one another, witnessed each other's contracts, and collectively carried out other matters of the trade. The small presses relied on the large publishers for the distribution of their editions, while the larger firms subcontracted to the more modest presses the printing of some of their books.[19]

Familial and personal relationships often formed the basis for commercial activities. Venice, more than any other European city, emphasized these connections. Family enterprises and workshops played a central role in defining the socio-economic hierarchy, whether in the woolen cloth trade, the printing industry, or the artist's workshop.[20] Under Venetian law, upon the death of the head of a family, all of the male heirs shared jointly in the estate. Brothers or cousins would form a *fraterna* or family partnership, collectively operating their own business and often living together in the same house.[21] Nearly all of the leading publishing firms of Venice were run by *fraterne*. It was not uncommon even for distant relatives to work for the press. As in other industries, advantageous marriages within the book

19. Ibid.

20. David Rosand comments on this phenomenon in connection with artistic production in *Painting in Cinquecento Venice*, 7–9.

21. On the *fraterna* see Frederic C. Lane, "Family Partnerships and Joint Ventures," in *Venice and History: The Collected Papers of Frederic C. Lane* (Baltimore, 1966), 36–55.

trade were used to strengthen the large presses. Widows who inherited established firms would sometimes marry other bookmen in order to further the interests of the press. One fascinating case is that of Paola da Messina, whose second husband was Johannes de Spira, Venice's first printer. After his death in 1470, she married another printer, Johannes de Colonia, who, by joining the press, made it a powerful syndicate that rivaled the firm of Nicolas Jenson. When Johannes de Colonia died, Paola married her fourth husband, another printer named Reynaldus de Novimagio, who promptly joined the company created by Johannes de Spira and strengthened by Johannes de Colonia.[22]

Journeymen and aspiring young printers would seek strategic marriages to the daughters of established bookmen. The Frenchman Antonio Gardano married the daughter of the Venetian printer Agostino Bindoni. Gardano may have worked as a journeyman at Bindoni's press when he first arrived in Venice.[23] Besides or in lieu of the usual cash gift, the dowry Bindoni provided his daughter conceivably could have contained material goods, such as books, presses, typographical equipment, and paper. Most important, it must have included the intangible assets of business connections and clients—all of which could facilitate the establishment of Gardano's own printing concern.[24]

Though business connections reduced the kind of cut-throat competition that might have destroyed the industry as a whole, it did not entirely eradicate disagreements among Venetian printers. Bookmen took out privileges from the Venetian Senate to protect their work from pirated editions. They could seek redress in court for infringement of their privileges or other business disputes but did so infrequently, choosing instead to govern themselves in an informal manner. Printers and publishers usually settled their legal conflicts privately, or if that failed, set up arbitration boards to deal with the disagreements. For every dispute, each of the opposing parties selected another bookman to serve as an adjudicator; the two chosen then named a third, and the three had the responsibility of reaching a binding decision.[25] The conflicts concerned all sorts of legal issues, and often involved printers from other cities. In one such case, the Milanese printers Pietro and Francesco Tini were awarded recompense by the arbitrators, Damiano Zenaro and Francesco Ziletti, for two bales of books which were water-damaged during transport by the book carrier Pietro Longo.[26]

22. The documents appear in Gustav Ludwig, "Contratti fra lo stampador Zuan di Colonia ed i suoi soci e inventario di una parte del loro magazzino," *Miscellanea di storia veneta, Reale deputazione veneta di storia patria*, 2d ser., 8 (1902): 45–48. See also Gerulaitis, *Printing and Publishing*, 21–24.

23. Claudio Sartori, "Una dinastia di editori musicali," *La bibliofilia* 58 (1956): 176–208.

24. Examples of dowries given by other printers appear in Grendler, *Roman Inquisition*, 18. Speculation on the Bindoni dowry is taken from Lewis, *Antonio Gardano*, 1: 20 n. 22.

25. Grendler, Roman Inquisition, 18. Bridges, "Publishing of Arcadelt's First Book," 1: 130, mentions that peer arbitration was apparently used by Venetian merchants in other trades besides printing. See also Wilfrid Brulez, *Marchands flamands à Venise, I (1568–1605)* (Études d'histoire économique et sociale 6; Rome and Brussels, 1965), pp. xxxii–xxxiii.

26. Corrado Marciani, "Editori, tipografi, librai veneti nel regno di Napoli nel Cinquecento," *Studi veneziani* 10 (1968): 457–554 at 516.

As part of their governance, the bookmen maintained their own guild or *arte*.[27] Each industry had its own guild: the *Arte della Seta* for the silk weavers, the *Arte della Lana* for those involved in the woolen cloth industry. Even the painters belonged to a guild, the *Arte dei Depentori*, which in its membership not only included figure painters but also sign painters, mask makers, illuminators, gilders, leatherworkers, and embroiderers.[28] Every guild met on the premises of a church and placed itself under the protection of a saint.[29] The *Arte* (or *Università*) *delli Librari et Stampadori* convened their meetings at SS. Giovanni e Paolo in the chapel of Santa Maria del Rosario.[30] This was an appropriate place, since the Dominican church had a warehouse where bookmen occasionally stored their books.[31] The protectors of the *Arte* were Our Lady of the Rosary and St. Thomas Aquinas.[32]

Unlike the *arte* of several other Venetian industries, the guild of printers and booksellers played a relatively minor role in the internal affairs of the book trade. It was not officially instituted until 1567, though bookmen must have had an informal organization before then. Membership was confined to master printers and booksellers and was not open to journeymen and apprentices. Brown estimated that the membership ranged from sixty-six to seventy-five, figures significantly lower than the 125 presses active at the end of the century. But the guild counted a number of distinguished printers of Venice among its members. These included the heads of the firms of Giunti, Valgrisi, Arrivabene, Tramezzino, and Ziletti. Girolamo Scotto was elected the first prior in 1571, with Gabriel Giolito, Zuan de Varisco, Giovanni Griffio, Pietro da Fino, and Gasparo Bindoni serving as officers.[33]

The guild offered limited social and welfare services, such as the granting of dowries to unprovided daughters of deceased members.[34] It also gave printers and booksellers a united voice in their negotiations with state and Church authorities. Even before the official promulgation of its regulations in 1567, the guild on several occasions sent representatives to petition the Venetian Holy Office against the Index of Prohibited Books, which threatened their business.[35]

27. The best general history and discussion of the guilds appears in Richard Mackenney, *Tradesmen and Traders: The World of the Guilds in Venice and Europe, c. 1250–c. 1650* (Totowa, N.J., 1987).

28. Rosand, *Painting in Cinquecento Venice*, 9–15; also Elena Favaro, *L'Arte dei Pittori in Venezia e i suoi statuti* (Florence, 1975).

29. The locations of churches, scuole, and altars used by the guilds appears in Mackenney, *Tradesmen and Traders*, 244–48, app. 1.

30. In either 1575 or 1582, the confraternity known as the *Scuola di S. Maria del Rosario* acquired the chapel, which became the most famous chapel and center for art owned by any late sixteenth-century *scuola piccola*. Giulio Lorenzetti, *Venice and its Lagoon: Historical-Artistic Guide*, tr. John Guthrie (Trieste, 1926; repr. 1975), 353. F. Z. Boccazzi, *La Basilica dei Santi Giovanni e Paolo in Venezia* (Padua, 1965), 194–98.

31. Grendler, *Roman Inquisition*, 5.

32. The Virgin Mary is mentioned in the first rule of their by-laws. The complete by-laws or *Mariegole* appear in Venice, Museo Civico Correr, MS Cicogna 3044. A complete transcription occurs in Brown, *Venetian Printing Press*, 243–48, doc. 3. Brown also provides an English translation on pp. 83–87. An illustration of Our Lady of the Rosary and St. Thomas Aquinas as protectors of the guild also appears in the manuscript, and is reproduced in Grendler, *Roman Inquisition*, 7, pl. 1.

33. Brown, *Venetian Printing Press*, 83–91 details various aspects of the printers' guild.

34. Grendler, *Roman Inquisition*, 19 n. 65.

35. Ibid., 99–100.

Printers and booksellers forged important alliances with members of the intellectual world of Venice. Their business distinguished them from other merchants by bringing them into contact with writers, artists, and musicians. Academies established by patricians and men of letters in the Veneto formed close relations with the Venetian press. The Neacademia, founded at the Aldine press in 1502, was perhaps the most distinguished Hellenic academy of its day.[36] By mid-century, other Venetian academies with connections to presses also sprang up. The Accademia Pellegrina, a literary group founded in 1549, used Marcolini as their official printer.[37] The Accademia Veneziana or Accademia della Fama, established in 1557 by the patrician Federigo Badoer, operated its own printing establishment with the aid of Paolo Manuzio, then head of the Aldine press. The Academy set itself an extraordinary agenda of publishing some 300 titles, only twenty-two of which were printed before its disbanding in 1561.[38] The Accademia degli Infiammati of Padua, founded in 1540 by professors at the university and intellectuals from the Venetian patriciate, also provided an important bond between the scholastic world and the printing industry; the works of a few of its members were published by the Scotto press.[39]

The informal gatherings or *cenacoli* of Venetian intellectuals became valuable sources for publications. Discussions, debates, and performances by writers, artists, scholars, and musicians held at the homes of such Venetian noblemen as Domenico Venier, Antonio Zantani, Marcantonio Trevisan, and Paolo Paruta moved from the private sphere to the public arena with the printing of dialogues, letters, essays, poetry, and madrigals.[40]

Several *mercatori* were well educated in the fields they published, and a few gained a considerable reputation in the intellectual and artistic world. One of the first was Aldo Manuzio. As a distinguished man of letters in his own right, he wedded serious scholarship to the business of printing. He set himself the enormous task of printing Greek and Latin classical works from the best texts available and in so doing revolutionized the standards of the printing industry. Many of the great scholars of the day, including Bembo, Egnazio, Sabellico, Sanudo, and Erasmus, collaborated with the Aldine press.[41]

Several leading publishers of the next generation also pursued scholarly interests. Printers of vernacular literature were particularly well connected with intellectuals and artists. Francesco Marcolini da Forlì, an architect, diplomat, printer,

36. Lowry, *World of Aldus Manutius*, 195.

37. See Grendler, *Critics of the Italian World, 1530–1560: Anton Francesco Doni, Nicolò Franco, and Ortensio Landi* (Madison, Wis., 1969), 58–59; Michele Maylender, *Storia delle accademie d'Italia* (Bologna, 1926–30), 4: 244–48.

38. Paul Lawrence Rose, "The *Accademia Venetiana*: Science and Culture in Renaissance Venice," *Studi veneziani* 11 (1969): 191–242.

39. A summary on the early years appears in Richard S. Samuels, "Benedetto Varchi, the *Accademia degli Infiammati*, and the Origins of the Italian Academic Movement," *Renaissance Quarterly* 29 (1976): 599–633.

40. On Venier and Zantani see Feldman, *City Culture*, 63–81, 83–119; Paruta's activities appear in Oliver Logan, *Culture and Society in Venice*, 54–59.

41. Lowry, *World of Aldus Manutius*.

and secretary to the Venetian Accademia dei Pellegrini, enjoyed the friendship of such leading artists as Titian, Tintoretto, and Sebastiano del Piombo.[42] Marcolini's edition of Serlio's architectural treatises and his reprint of Vitruvius' *De architectura* in Italian translation helped shape Venetian taste in architecture, as exemplified in the works of Jacopo Sansovino.[43] Some of the designs for the woodcut illustrations that accompany Marcolini's editions have been attributed to Titian.[44] Gabriel Giolito of Ferrara actively supported and encouraged such authors as Ortensio Lando, Lodovico Dolce, and Lodovico Domenichi, who served as editors, translators, and compilers of his editions.[45]

At the Scotto press, Ottaviano II and his brother Girolamo were both proficient in their publishing specialties. Ottaviano held a doctorate in medicine and was well versed in the field of scholasticism. On occasion he edited Aristotelian commentaries for the press. He moved comfortably in the intellectual circles of Venice and was on good terms with several members of the renowned Accademia degli Infiammati in Padua. His brother Girolamo pursued an interest in music. Highly skilled as a composer, he published several editions of his own music, including madrigals, motets, and instrumental works in the contrapuntal idiom.

PRINTING SPECIALIZATIONS

The Venetian printers understood that their liaisons with the patriciate and the intellectual world provided them with advantageous business opportunities. They were keenly aware that books were merchandise to be bought and sold, and they knew that market demand determined what they should print. Venetian dominance of the European printing industry depended upon the marketing strategies of its bookmen. The most important practice was the restricting of fields in which each bookman published. The *mercatori* learned the significance of this strategy when an economic crisis hit the industry only four years after its inception in 1469. During the early 1470s, printers issued classical Greek texts only in Latin translation. They printed so many copies of the same titles that by 1473 they glutted the market. Many publishers and printers, particularly the small firms and transients, went bankrupt in this new venture.[46] The financial disaster made apparent to the Venetians the basic principles of supply and demand. Those who survived learned several lessons. The industry as a whole would have to diversify the subject matter it printed. At the same time, individual firms would have to create their own

42. Casali, *Annali della tipografia veneziana di Francesco Marcolini da Forlì*, pp. ii–xvii.
43. Howard, *Jacopo Sansovino*, 3, 26.
44. Fabio Mauroner, *Le incisioni di Tiziano* (Padua, [1943]).
45. Quondam, "Mercanzi d'onore," 96.
46. Scholderer, "Printing at Venice," 78.

specialized fields, so as to avoid direct competition among themselves.[47] Yet when printers discovered titles that sold well, they cautiously reprinted them in a "follow-the-leader" fashion.[48]

These marketing strategies played an important role in the success of the industry for the next hundred years. While the smaller firms, who usually worked on commission, printed almost anything, the dynastic presses limited the subjects in which they printed.[49] The House of Manuzio continued to publish classical literature in Greek as well as humanist commentaries in Latin translations. The Giunti press held the market in liturgical volumes, particularly breviaries and missals; they also maintained an interest in illustrated books. The Scotto firm specialized in music and in university textbooks. The Giolito press restricted itself to vernacular literature.

The bookmen even sub-specialized in branches of particularly large and lucrative subjects. For example, several printers divided up the sizeable university market for Aristotelian studies.[50] The Giunti concentrated on complete editions of the works of Aristotle in Latin translation, while the Aldine press continued to offer Aristotle in the original Greek. The Scotto firm focused on Aristotelian commentaries.[51] Printers even partitioned Aristotle's works and commentaries into separate subject areas. Works belonging to the field of classics and humanism, such as the *Rhetoric*, were issued in the original Greek by Giovanni Griffio in 1546 and in Latin translation by Comin da Trino in 1544.[52] Those texts concerned with the sciences, such as the *Physica* and the *Parva naturalia*, were mainly printed by the Scotto press. Almost all the smaller firms that issued "scientific" titles were in one way or another connected with the House of Scotto. These included the printers Giacomo Fabriano, Giovanni Griffio, Gasparo Bindoni, and Giovanni Maria Bonelli.

The business tactic of narrow specialization helped to establish Venice as the most important printing and publishing center for many different fields. The Latin texts for the academic market, the legal and medical professions, and the clergy, the primary subjects printed in the incunabular period, continued to dominate the Cinquecento book trade. With the preeminence of Aristotelian studies at the University of Padua, the Veneto became the primary site for philological scholarship.[53] In the sixteenth century, a new wave of intellectuals issued countless translations,

47. Lowry, *World of Aldus Manutius*, 14.

48. Gerulaitis, *Printing and Publishing*, 9.

49. Grendler, *Roman Inquisition*, 6.

50. For an introduction to the Aristotelian tradition in the Renaissance see various writings by Paul Oskar Kristeller in *Renaissance Thought and its Sources*, ed. Michael Mooney (New York, 1979); see also Charles B. Schmitt, *Aristotle and the Renaissance* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983).

51. F. Edward Cranz, *A Bibliography of Aristotle Editions 1501–1600*, 2d ed., ed. Charles B. Schmitt (Baden-Baden and Geneva, 1984). For a list of Aristotelian commentaries issued by Girolamo Scotto see below, app. D.

52. Cranz, *Bibliography of Aristotle Editions*, no. 108.094.

53. For an introduction to this field see Schmitt, *Aristotle and the Renaissance*; on the Paduan School see Bruno Nardi, *Saggi sull'aristotelismo padovano dal secolo XIV al XVI* (Florence, 1958).

commentaries, *tabulae*, and indices of Aristotelian texts in Venice. Printers brought out a flurry of lexicons, grammars, and studies in orthography, meter, and prosody—all intended to elucidate the classical Greek and Latin publications. These books formed the basis of the lucrative university textbook trade, and were issued in various formats to fit the pocketbook of patricians, professors, and students.

Though Latin remained the *lingua franca* of the international scholarly community, publications in the *volgare* increased dramatically in the sixteenth century. Linguistic works in Latin gave rise to studies of Italian usage. Pietro Bembo's *Prose della volgar lingua* (1525) and Sperone Speroni's *Dialogo delle lingue* (1542), advocating a modern classicism in Italian based on Ciceronian rhetoric and Petrarchan poetic style, signaled a new phenomenon: the advent of the vernacular press. The firms of Marcolini, Giolito, Comin da Trino, Valgrisi, Tramezzino, and others responded to and encouraged the new enthusiasm for books in the *volgare*. They published volumes of sonnets, dialogue verses, and other poetic forms by such *literati* as Annibale Caro, Benedetto Varchi, Luigi Tansillo, Domenico Venier, and Gaspara Stampa. They introduced a new type of non-scholarly prose, the *Libro di lettere volgari*, which, inherited in part from Latin Ciceronian models studied and imitated by pre-university students,[54] became the publication par excellence of the Venetian press.[55] They issued chivalric romances or *libri de batagia* with great frequency,[56] making a handsome profit from the sales of successive editions of Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*, by far the most popular book of the Cinquecento.[57] Venetian bookmen printed the scurrilous letters, plays, and dialogues of Pietro Aretino and the other *poligrafi*, Ortensio Lando, Antonfranceso Doni, and Nicolò Franco. They made the *popolaresco* plays of Ruzzante, Calmo, and Molino, with their use of dialect for satiric and comic effects, widely available to eager readers.[58] The dazzling breadth of non-scholarly literature issued by the vernacular press was due in part to the relative freedom enjoyed by the printing industry—at least until 1562, when Church and state began to tighten their control over the press.[59]

A surge also occurred in vernacular publications of a scholarly nature. Historiography became an important genre, with examples ranging from the writings of Francesco Patrizi, Paolo Paruta, and Nicolò Contarini, to the popularized histories

54. On the use of Cicero's letters in the Latin curriculum see Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300–1600* (Baltimore, 1989), 217–29.

55. Over 540 volumes of familiar letters were issued over a hundred-year period of 1538–1627; see Quondam, *Le "carte messaggiere": retorica e modelli di comunicazione epistolare, per un indice dei libri di lettere del Cinquecento* (Rome, 1981), 13–157.

56. The term is taken from Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy*, 289.

57. Daniel Javitch, *Proclaiming a Classic: The Canonization of Orlando Furioso* (Princeton, 1991).

58. On Aretino see Thomas Chubb, *Aretino, Scourge of Princes* (New York, 1940) and Christopher Cairns, *Pietro Aretino and the Republic of Venice: Researches on Aretino and his Circle in Venice, 1527–1556* (Florence, 1985). On Doni, Lando, and Franco, see Grendler, *Critics of the Italian World*. On Ruzzante, Linda L. Carroll, *Angelo Beolco (Il Ruzante)* (Boston, 1990).

59. See Grendler, *Roman Inquisition*.

of Francesco Sansovino.[60] Didactic literature formed another category. Baldassare Castiglione's best seller, *Il Cortegiano* (1528), and Alessandro Piccolomini's *De la institutione di tutta la vita de l'homo nato nobile* (1542), for example, were devoted to the education of the young aristocrat.[61] Books concerned with commercial arithmetic (*abbaco*) and accounting (*quaderni*) were used in the teaching of merchants. Bible translations and devotional books rounded out the titles offered in Italian. The most popular religious books of the Cinquecento were *Fior di virtù*, a medieval book of virtues and vices, and Thomas à Kempis's *Imitation of Christ*. Both texts were used as readers in Italian vernacular schools. They were also prescribed as devotional books for the home.[62]

Book illustration, though not exclusively a Venetian specialization, also enjoyed some measure of success. Printers and authors received privileges for a variety of illustrated books. The Venetian Senate approved Sebastiano Serlio's and Agostino di Mussi's request to publish woodcuts of Venetian architecture in their *Regole generali di architetura sopra le cinque maniere de gli edifici* of 1537. The book, published by Marcolini, contained 126 woodcuts, fifty-six of which were full-page illustrations. It was the first book on architecture in which illustrations assumed a prominent role.[63]

Gabriel Giolito sought a privilege in 1541 for several ornaments and designs that accompanied his 1542 edition of the *Orlando Furioso*. The forty-six woodcut illustrations, which appeared at the head of each canto in the edition, served as models for several future editions. Giolito used them for no fewer than twenty-eight succeeding editions. Other Venetian bookmen copied the illustrations for their editions, as did printers in Florence, Lyons, and Paris.[64]

Two books exclusively containing illustrations were intended for those dabbling in artistic crafts and collecting. The first was a book of lace patterns issued in 1546 by Florio Vavassore.[65] It contained forty-seven intricate designs, which were to be torn out and used by ladies in their needlework. The second book, *Le imagini con tutti i riversi trovati et le vite de gli imperatori*, reflects the predilection at that time by the Venetian nobility for antiquities. It was published in 1548 by the nobleman Antonio Zantani, an avid collector, music lover, and owner of an important medal collection. The book consisted of sixty-two copper plates illustrating coins and medals, all produced by the noted engraver Enea Vico.[66]

60. On the formal histories see Logan, *Culture and Society in Venice*, 112–26. For histories in the more popular vein see Grendler, "Francesco Sansovino and Italian Popular History, 1560–1600," *Studies in the Renaissance* 16 (1969): 139–80.

61. A summary of the literature on the education for the *vita civile* appears in Grendler, *Critics of the Italian World*, 136–42.

62. Grendler clarifies the teaching of Italian literature and merchant skills as parts of the vernacular curriculum in *Schooling in Renaissance Italy*, 275–329.

63. See Brown, *Venetian Printing Press*, 103, and Ruth Mortimer, comp. *Harvard College Library, Department of Printed Books and Graphic Arts. Catalogue of Books and Manuscripts, Part II, Italian 16th Century Books* (Cambridge, Mass., 1974), 2: 651–61.

64. See Mortimer, *Italian 16th Century Books*, 1: 35–37 for discussion of the illustrations.

65. Ibid., 2: 720.

66. Ibid., 2: 777–78.

Venetian bookmen made vital contributions to the printing of specialized languages. Aldo Manuzio was renowned for his texts using Greek type. Over a period of twenty years he printed some 130 titles, including thirty first editions of Greek literary and philosophical works. Aldo brought out the works of Aristotle, Homer, Thucydides, Herodotus, Xenophon, and Sophocles. During the first two decades of the sixteenth century, he printed Demosthenes' *Orationes*, Plutarch's *Moralia*, the comedies of Aristophanes, Aesop's *Fables*, the tragedies of Euripides, and works by other ancient Greek authors.[67]

Aldo was also the first printer to experiment with Hebrew type, which appeared in his 1498 edition of Poliziano's *Opera*. Full-scale operation of a Hebrew press, however, did not take place until Daniel Bomberg's arrival in 1516. A Christian from Antwerp, Bomberg became the most prominent printer of Hebrew texts in Venice. From 1516 to 1548, he published some 200 titles, including a milestone edition of the complete Talmud, issued over a four-year period.[68] During the 1540s other printers, including the two patricians, Marc'Antonio Giustiniani and Alvise Bragadino, followed Bomberg's lead. Under their aegis, the printing of Hebrew texts continued to flourish in Venice, only to fall into sudden decline when anti-Semitism and a papal order provoked the burning of the Talmud and similar Hebrew books in 1553 and again 1568.[69]

Bookmen sought privileges from the Venetian Senate for editions in other languages. In 1498 Democrito Terracini obtained a privilege for twenty-five years to print all books in "arabica, morescha, soriana, armenicha, indiana et barbarescha."[70] Terracini died before he could apply his privilege. The first five books printed in Armenian appeared in Venice in 1511–13. Edited by Jacob Melapart, the titles included a missal, a book of religious and secular poetry, a horoscope and astronomy book, a book of prayers and magic spells, and a simplified calendar.[71]

The earliest-known Venetian book in Arabic dates from 1537–38; it was a Koran printed by Paganino Paganini and his son Alessandro.[72] The Paganinis sought to publish Arabic texts intended for export to the Islamic market. Their undertaking was apparently a failure, since no other book in Arabic survives from their press.

67. Lowry, *World of Aldus Manutius*.

68. Grendler, *Roman Inquisition*, 90; see also David W. Amram, *The Makers of Hebrew Books in Italy, Being Chapters in the History of the Hebrew Printing Press* (Philadelphia, 1909) and Joshua Bloch, "Venetian Printers of Hebrew Books," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 36 (1932): 71–92.

69. For a summary of the repeated burning of Hebrew books in mid-century Venice see Grendler, *Roman Inquisition*, 89–93; 140–45 and id., "The Destruction of Hebrew Books in Venice, 1568," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 45 (1978): 103–30.

70. Fulin, "Documenti," 133–34.

71. See Raymond H. Kévorkian, *Catalogue des "incunables" arméniens (1511–1695) ou Chronique de l'imprimerie arménienne* (Geneva, 1986). *Le livre arménien a travers les ages*, Catalogue de l'exposition tenue au Musée de la marine, Marseille, 2–21 octobre 1985 (Marseilles, n.d.), and E. Schütz, "The Evolution of Armenian Typographic Art in the West-European Period (16th–17th Centuries)," *Atti del quinto simposio internazionale di arte armena* (Venice, 1991), 449–58 at 450.

72. Angela Nuovo, "Il Corano arabo ritrovato (Venezia, P. e A. Paganini, tra l'agosto 1537 e l'agosto 1538)," *La bibliofilia* 89 (1987): 237–71.

Books using Cyrillic typography appeared in Venice early in the sixteenth century. From 1519 to 1561, Božidar Vuković and later his son, Vicentije, specialized in Slavonic editions. Most of their publications were of liturgical books that used the Cyrillic alphabet. The Vuković press were the main suppliers of books to the Greek Orthodox church. Their distribution network stretched across the Levant from Dalmatia and Albania to Greece, and from Hungary and Romania to Turkey.[73]

Of greater interest to our study is the specialty of music. Though not the first Italian city to bring out a book with music notation printed from movable type,[74] Venice established itself by the 1480s as a world center, issuing more than seventy-six editions or more than half of all Italian music incunabula. Some seventeen Venetian printers participated in the production of music books. The two most important, Johann Hamman and Johann Emerich, were solely responsible for half of the total Venetian production.[75]

Most of the music incunabula were Roman missals intended for liturgical use. Venice continued as a major player in the publication of plainchant service books well into the next century. Several Venetian printers, including Liechtenstein, Scotto, Griffio, and Varisco, issued such books. Giunti was the leading press of liturgical music books until 1569, when Pope Pius V issued to another printer an exclusive privilege to print the post-Tridentine missal.[76]

Of all typographies, music proved one of the most challenging. Besides requiring a different set of symbols, it presented technical difficulties not associated with other specialized languages. Several types of notation were used in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. These included white mensural notation, black mensural notation, various lute and keyboard tablatures, and three different plainchant notations (Roman, Gothic, and Ambrosian). But the major obstacle facing the early music printer was how to align the music symbols on the lines and spaces of a fixed staff. During the incunabular period, bookmen solved this problem in two ways. One was the xylographic method, wherein the music notation was carved into wooden blocks. Music illustrations for late fifteenth-century theoretical treatises were, for the most part, produced in this manner. The second and more common procedure was to print music from movable type using a multiple-impression process in which the staves were printed first. The paper was then run through the press a second and sometimes a third time with type containing the notes, symbols, initials, and text.[77] This procedure was generally used in liturgical chant books, in

73. F. Leschinkohl, "Venedig, das Druckzentrum serbischer Bücher im Mittelalter," *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* (1957): 116–21 and Corrado Marciani, "I Vuković tipografi-librai slavi a Venezia nel XVI secolo," *Economia e storia* 19 (1972): 342–62.

74. The Roman printer Ulrich Han issued in 1476 the first book, a *Missale Romanum*. See Mary Kay Duggan, *Italian Music Incunabula* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1992), 13.

75. Ibid., 17–21.

76. For the conflict that occurred in the printing of Reformation liturgical texts between the Venetian bookmen and the Roman papacy see Grendler's fascinating account in *Roman Inquisition*, 169–81.

77. Duggan, *Italian Music Incunabula*, 14. She also notes that in some cases the black impression preceded the red impression (n. 10); also see Stanley Boorman, "A Case of Work and Turn Half-Sheet Imposition in the Early Sixteenth Century," *The Library*, 6th ser., 8 (1986): 301–21.

which the staves were printed in red ink with the notes superimposed in black ink. Though exceedingly labor-intensive, the multiple-impression method continued to be used in the printing of chant books throughout the sixteenth century.

In 1501, Ottaviano Petrucci printed in Venice the first book of polyphony set from movable type. The method he used to produce his books was not revolutionary, for it was the same multiple-impression process employed by printers of music incunabula.[78] Petrucci's achievement lay not with the method he used but with the complexity of the white mensural notation he printed and the smallness of his type font.[79] Furthermore, unlike the earlier printers, whose books had relatively few pages of music, Petrucci's volumes consisted entirely of music. No one could equal the precision with which Petrucci aligned notes on the staff nor rival the elegant look of his music pages. Following the custom of the time, Petrucci purposely designed his printed music books to resemble manuscripts.[80] Aldo Manuzio, for example, claimed that the Greek type fonts he used in his books were "as good, if not better, than any written with a pen."[81] Petrucci's music editions were deemed an artistic success, but the process used to achieve that success had a serious disadvantage. The time it took to run each sheet of paper two or more times through the press with correct alignment was so great that only a relatively small number of copies could be produced with each pressrun.[82] The high cost of Petrucci's books prompted others to experiment with different techniques.

Andrea Antico, an Istrian musician working in Rome in the 1510s, reverted to the xylographic method of printing music. Skilled as an *intagliatore*, Antico carved all of the music notation into wood. Upon completion, the woodblocks were set in the forme along with movable type containing the text underlay, initials, and decorative typographical materials. This process appeared to be more economical than the multiple-impression method, for the paper went through the press only once. The lesser cost of the presswork made it feasible for Antico to produce larger pressruns than those of Petrucci. Throughout the 1530s, the woodcut procedure became the method of choice for polyphonic music publications, and Antico, who moved to Venice in 1520, remained the main producer, working either with or for the Scotto press.

But xylography proved an outmoded method. It is true that Antico's woodblocks could be reused for later editions and more copies could be produced per pressrun than with the multiple-impression process. However, the time it took to carve the notes and staves into the strips of wood was apparently so great that,

78. Duggan, *Italian Music Incunabula*, 38–41 goes further to hypothesize that the mensural type font used by Petrucci for his music books may have been crafted by the typecutter Jacomo Ungaro, who may have made the mensural music type used in Venice as early as 1480.

79. Boorman, "Petrucci at Fossombrone," 29–30.

80. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, 1: 51, Lowry, *World of Aldus Manutius*, 116, and Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt, *Peter Schoeffer of Gernsheim and Mainz, with a List of his Surviving Books and Broadsides* (Rochester and New York, 1950), 37–38.

81. Lowry, *World of Aldus Manutius*, 131.

82. Lewis, *Antonio Gardano*, 1: 5.

when factored into the cost of printing, the technique turned out to be more expensive than multiple-impression printing.[83] In 1536, Francesco Marcolini da Forlì received a privilege from the Venetian Senate "to print or have printed both music and tablature with characters of tin or of other mixture." The granting of a privilege suggests that he had discovered a new method for printing music. In reality, he had simply resuscitated the double-impression process previously used by Petrucci. Without a single-impression method using movable type, the printer's craft would not be truly profitable.

The single-impression method of printing polyphonic music was introduced in London.[84] The printer John Rastell apparently first used it in 1519–23 for the printing of broadside song sheets and part-songs for his play books.[85] Only three songs and one part-song survive. The ephemeral nature of the large single-page broadsides makes it difficult to determine whether Rastell's music-printing enterprise was a financial success. John Milsom suggests that in the England of the 1520s and 30s music printing might have been a more substantial trade than has previously been thought. But it was the Parisian printer Pierre Attaingnant who in 1528 realized the full commercial potential of the new technology. By using the single-impression method, Attaingnant propelled music printing into a moneymaking enterprise. During the 1530s, the new process was quickly adopted by other printers. It spread across northern Europe from Paris to Lyons to the German cities, and finally, in 1538, to Venice.

The single-impression process proved to be simple. Each music note or symbol was combined with a short vertical section of the staff on the same piece of type. The compositor could then set the type on his composing stick, just as he would for type containing letters for text. While the resulting line of type gave the illusion of a continuous row of music notes, the breaks in the staff lines between each piece of type looked crude in comparison with Petrucci's and Antico's editions. Yet despite this disadvantage, the problem of alignment that had plagued the multiple-impression method had been solved. The aesthetic appearance of earlier music books was sacrificed in favor of mass production. Music books could now be published more cheaply, more quickly, and in greater quantity than hitherto imagined.

The adoption of a single-impression process in Venice at the end of the 1530s radically changed the music-printing industry. It entered a new era—moving away from the artisan stage into the commercial period. The music printers Girolamo Scotto and Antonio Gardano exemplified this coming of age. Scotto, who was born

83. Cusick, *Valerio Dorico*, 14.

84. Stanley Boorman has discovered even earlier experiments with single-impression printing. Around 1507–10, two printers of liturgical chant books in Venice and Vienna used the method for specific musical notes in their Salzburg missals. See "The Salzburg Liturgy and Single-Impression Music Printing," in *Music in the German Renaissance: Sources, Styles and Contexts*, ed. John Kmetz (Cambridge, 1995), 235–53.

85. A. Hyatt King, "The Significance of John Rastell in Early Music Printing," *The Library*, 5th ser., 26 (1972): 197–214. John Milsom reviews the early use of single impression music printing in England in "Songs and Society in Early Tudor London," *Early Music History* 16 (1998), 235–93.

into a renowned Venetian publishing firm, and Gardano, a French emigré who established his own dynasty, became the giants of the industry. For the next thirty years, they produced more than 850 music editions, a figure that surpassed the total output of all other European music printers combined. Thus, what began in 1501 with Petrucci's financially precarious venture turned into a prosperous business enterprise. Venice could now claim preeminence in music printing.

The commercial accomplishments of the music printers embody the spirit of the industry at large. The Venetian book trade, as we have seen, was a complicated one in which printers, publishers, and booksellers relied on each other to print and distribute books. In the course of the century, more than five hundred printers and publishers made their living from the presses of Venice. Most of them came and went quickly, issuing one or two editions each and then returning to obscurity. Only a handful of firms had the business acumen to endure for three or four generations. One of these was the House of Scotto, whose development and impact will be traced in the next chapter.

Two

THE HOUSE OF SCOTTO

A Printing Dynasty

> To Girolamo Scotto, famous printer of Venice. . . . So numerous are the excellent books in every branch of philosophy, most distinguished Girolamo, that your workshop, which once belonged to your father [*sic*] Ottaviano of happy memory, has published, greatly to the glory of both of you, so that the name of Girolamo Scotto has long been most famous everywhere in the world. . . .[1]
>
> —Conrad Gesner, *Pandectarum* . . . 1548

By the closing decades of the fifteenth century, a wave of "foreigners" arrived in Venice to try their hand at the burgeoning printing industry. The imprints and colophons of their books show that they came from all parts of the Italian peninsula—Bernardino Benalio from Bergamo, Andrea Torresano from Asola, and Luc'Antonio Giunti from Florence. One such émigré was Ottaviano Scotto. He arrived prior to 1479 and very quickly gained prominence as a printer and publisher.

The press he established was to flourish for over a century. Making a name for itself as a publisher of Latin texts, the Scotto firm also acted as a primary player in the development of music printing in Italy. The dynasty mirrored the growth of the Venetian book trade from its inception in the latter decades of the fifteenth century through its years of expansion and commercial success in the sixteenth century. In order to understand the major influence the Scottos had on music printing and the Venetian book trade as a whole, we must first examine the history of the firm.

1. "Tantus est optimorum in omni philosophia libroru[m] numerus, Hieronyme vir clarissime quos officina tua & felicis memoriae patris tui Octaviani, magna cum gloria vestra in lucem protulit, ut nomen tuum ubique gentium iam dudum celeberrimum." Conrad Gesner, *Pandectorum sive Partitionum Universalium . . . Libri XXI* (Zurich, 1548), fol. 311.

ORIGINS OF THE SCOTTO FAMILY

The Scottos of Venice came from Monza, a small town not far from Milan. Although the Venetian branch preferred the name Scotto, the original family name was Scotti. The Scotti of Monza, along with other branches of the family, are believed to have first come from Milan.[2] By 1130 numerous Scotti resided in Milan, but the destruction of the city by Barbarossa in 1162 caused their dispersion to neighboring areas. Various branches moved to Chiavenna, Varenna, Piacenza, and the Como area. From there, others made their way to Bergamo, Brescia, Cremona, and elsewhere in Lombardy.

The Scotti family appear in the archival records of Monza as far back as the thirteenth century.[3] By the fifteenth century, they lived in the district of San Michele.[4] One member of the family, Ballino Scotti, held the important government position of Mayor of Novara and Lodi under Duke Filippo Maria Visconti in Milan. Ballino married Elisabetta Aliprandi, daughter of Fazio Aliprandi. He died on 7 February 1458. Although there is no evidence to connnect Ottaviano, the founder of the Venetian branch, with Ballino Scotti, Claudio Sartori believes that the chronology and the fact that Ballino was a member of the Monza nobility suggest strongly that Ottaviano was his son.[5] We know from archival documents that Ottaviano had four brothers, Brandino, Antonio, Agamennone, and Bernardino (see table 2.1).

Bernardino Scotto resided in Milan, where he was noted as a "nobille millanese,"[6] who had traveled nearly throughout the whole world. In 1494 he accompanied Pietro Casola, Francesco Trivulzio, and others to Jerusalem.[7] He died on 1 August 1537 at the venerable age of ninety years and was buried in the church of Santa Maria della Pace in Milan.[8] Of the other brothers, we know that Antonio and Brandino lived in Porta Orientale and Agamennone stayed in Monza.[9]

2. Giovanni Scotti, "L'antica famiglia verennate degli Scotti," *Periodico della Società Storica della Provincia e antica Diocesi di Como* 22 (1915): 65–97 at 65; cited in Claudio Sartori, "La famiglia degli editori Scotto," *Acta musicologica* 36 (1964): 19–30 at 20 n. 3.

3. Anton Francesco Frisi, *Memorie storiche di Monza e sua Corte* (Milan, 1794), 3: 140 as cited by Sartori, "La famiglia," 20.

4. Ibid.

5. Sartori, "La famiglia," 21.

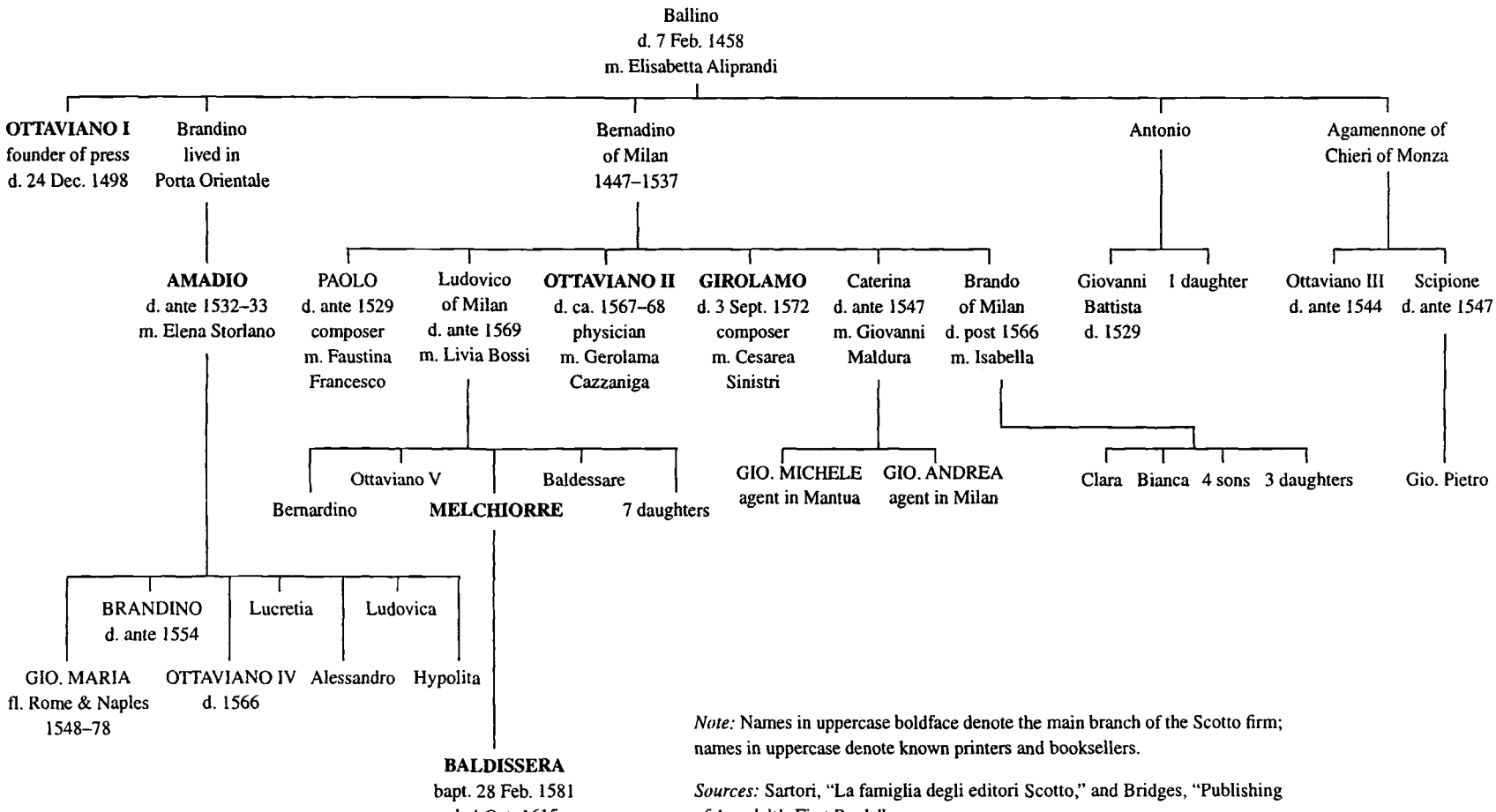
6. Bernardino's noble title is mentioned in both of Ottaviano II's wills.

7. Carlo Volpati, "Gli Scotti di Monza, tipografi-editori in Venetia," *Archivio storico lombardo* 49 (1922): 365–82 at 373–74.

8. Vincenzo Forcella, *Iscrizioni delle chiese e degli altri edifici di Milano dal secolo VIII ai giorni nostri* (Milan, 1889–93), 1: 296 n. 435 and Filippo Argellati, *Bibliotheca scriptorum Mediolanensium* (Milan, 1745), 2: 1, col. 1305.

9. Antonio's place of origin appears in the will of his son, Giovanni Battista, in Archivio di Stato, Venezia (hereafter ASV), Notarile Testamenti, b. 887, no. 61, while Brandino's is mentioned in Girolamo's will (ASV, Notarile Testamenti, not. Benedetto Solian, b. 899, no. 233; as cited in Sartori, "La famiglia," 27 n. 31). Agamennone's residence appears in Ottaviano II's first will (ASV, Notarile Testamenti, not. Angelo Calvi, b. 307, no. 308), as cited in Sartori, "La famiglia," 23 n. 24, 25 n. 29.

TABLE 2.1 Genealogy of the Scotto family



Note: Names in uppercase boldface denote the main branch of the Scotto firm; names in uppercase denote known printers and booksellers.

Sources: Sartori, "La famiglia degli editori Scotto," and Bridges, "Publishing of Arcadelt's First Book."

THE FOUNDING OF A PRINTING FIRM

Ottaviano Scotto left his family in Monza in the 1470s. He presumably went to Venice to seek his fortune in a new industry, where "the glitter of gold was more inviting than anywhere in fifteenth-century Europe."[10] How and where Ottaviano learned the printing trade remains unknown. He set up a shop in the parish of San Samuele,[11] where, in 1479, he printed his earliest surviving book, *Ordo compendii diurni iuxta Romanae Curiae*.[12] For the next nineteen years, Ottaviano was active as a printer, underwriter, and bookdealer, producing no fewer than 220 books.[13] Scotto did not break new ground in the fields in which he chose to print, but instead followed the patterns already set up by Venetian printers in the 1470s, who targeted their production toward an established readership of doctors, clergy, lawyers, teachers, and students. He published a variety of subjects ranging from theology, law, astronomy, and medicine to vernacular texts, but his strength lay in the areas of philosophy and classical literature in Latin translation. These subjects were aimed at the academic market of the universities. While students in Bologna, Pavia, Perugia, Siena, and Ferrara all bought their books from Venice, Scotto's main outlet for his scholastic texts was Padua, a university town ruled and frequented by the Venetians. It was considered an important center for Aristotelian studies during the sixteenth century. This academic market, as we shall see, became the bread and butter of the Scotto press, which throughout its long history, was one of the foremost printers of Aristotelian commentaries.

Ottaviano made several contributions to the history of printing. He was the first printer to use quarto and octavo formats for liturgical books. These small formats not only made liturgical books more affordable, but also allowed greater portability for the clergy, since the bulk and weight of large folio volumes required them to remain stationary on lecterns.[14] Ottaviano was the first Italian to print music from movable type.[15] His first effort in music printing occurred in 1481, when he completed a *Missale Romanum* in quarto format containing blank spaces for music on 29 December. Both the staves and the note heads were to be filled in later by hand.[16] The next year, on 31 August 1482, Ottaviano brought out a *Missale*

10. Lowry, *World of Aldus Manutius*, 8.

11. An endorsement of a will dated 1 March 1481 mentions one Battista, son of Andrea de Dentis of Bellano, as an "impressore librorum de confinio S Samuelis in domibus ser Ottaviani Scotti." See B. Cecchetti, "Altri stampadori ed altri librai," *Archivio Veneto* n. ser., 29 (1885): 412–13 at 413.

12. British Museum, *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century now in the British Museum. Part V. Venice*, ed. Julius Victor Scholderer (London, 1924), 275.

13. Bridges, "Publishing of Arcadelt's First Book," 1: 134.

14. In popular literature, Aldo Manuzio has often been credited with the invention of the so-called portable book. As Lowry, *World of Aldus Manutius*, 142–43, notes, octavo format had already been used in manuscripts and in printed books of a religious or devotional nature.

15. German printers working in Italy issued books with music notation printed from movable type before Scotto. See Duggan, *Italian Music Incunabula*, 102 and Sartori, "La famiglia," 22.

16. Duggan, *Italian Music Incunabula*, 102–5; a plate of a folio from the missal appears as fig. 39.

Romanum in folio format; this time the book contained music printed from movable type. In this and two other later missals, Scotto employed the double-impression method, whereby the staves printed first in red ink were overlaid with the notes in black ink.[17] Ottaviano printed four missals before 1484 and published another three in the 1490s with music printed by Johann Hamman.[18]

Ottaviano used his monogram, O.S.M. (Octavianus Scotus Modoetiensis), as his device. Initials placed within an orb and surmounted by a double cross was a favorite symbol among Venetian printers during the incunabular period.[19] Ottaviano employed it in four printer's marks of varying sizes (fig. 2.1). This monogram and its modified version S.O.S. (Signum Octaviani Scoti) continued to be used by his heirs throughout the life of the firm.

By 1484, only five years after his first publication, Ottaviano abandoned his work as a printer to become a publisher-underwriter whose books were printed by others. Among the printers who worked for the Scotto firm were Matteo Capcasa, Giovanni and Gregorio de Gregori, Antonio di Gusago, Johann Hamman (Herzog), Giovanni Leoviler di Hall, Andrea di Paltascichi, Cristoforo di Pensa da Mandello, Albertino Rossi, Giovanni Tacuino da Cerato, and Bartolomeo Zanis da Portesio. But the most important printer identified with the Scotto firm was Boneto Locatelli, a priest from Bergamo, whose long association with the Scotto firm lasted well into the next century.[20] During this time Ottaviano concentrated his efforts on the commerce of bookselling. Noted as a *mercator* who underwrote the publications of other printers, he was mainly involved with the international distribution of books. His commercial relationships extended from Italian bookmen throughout the entire peninsula to printers and publishers as far away as Valencia, Spain.[21]

On 24 December 1498, Ottaviano died in Venice. He was buried in the Franciscan church of San Francesco della Vigna, where his tombstone on the floor of the cloister still remains today with the inscription: "Nobilis Octavianus Scotus de Modoe[t]ia Mercator Libror[um] Imp[re]ssor sibi et successoribus qui obiit XXIIII Decembri[s] 1498." His coat of arms, a crest containing a dove in the upper left-hand section and his monogram printer's mark on the right-hand side, is carved in the middle of the marble slab.[22]

17. Ibid., 103.

18. William H. J. Weale and Hans Bohatta, *Bibliographia liturgica: catalogus missalium ritus Latini, ab anno M.CCCC.LXXIV impressorum* (London, 1928), nos. 870, 875, 877, 926, 938, 1815, 1822 (no. 1821 is a ghost); Kathi Meyer-Baer, *Liturgical Music Incunabula* (London, 1962), nos. 126, 127, 152, 156, 212, 215; and Duggan, *Italian Music Incunabula*, nos. 55, 60, 62, 95, 104, 131, 136.

19. See Giuseppina Zappella, *Le marche dei tipografie degli editori italiani del Cinquecento* (Milan, [1986]), 2: no. 53, "Cerchio et croce," for several examples of this sign.

20. British Museum, *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century*, 5: xxii.

21. ASV, Serenissima Signoria, Lettere sottoscritte, Mar. I I.a 164 dal 12 marzo al novembre 1492, as cited by Volpati, "Gli Scotti di Monza," 369.

22. Other members of the Scotto family, including Girolamo, are buried in the same church. Only Ottaviano I's tombstone survives in the cloister; a sketch of the stone appears in Sartori, "La famiglia," 20[bis]. According to a Franciscan monk of the church, the remaining family stones were destroyed during the Napoleonic occupation.

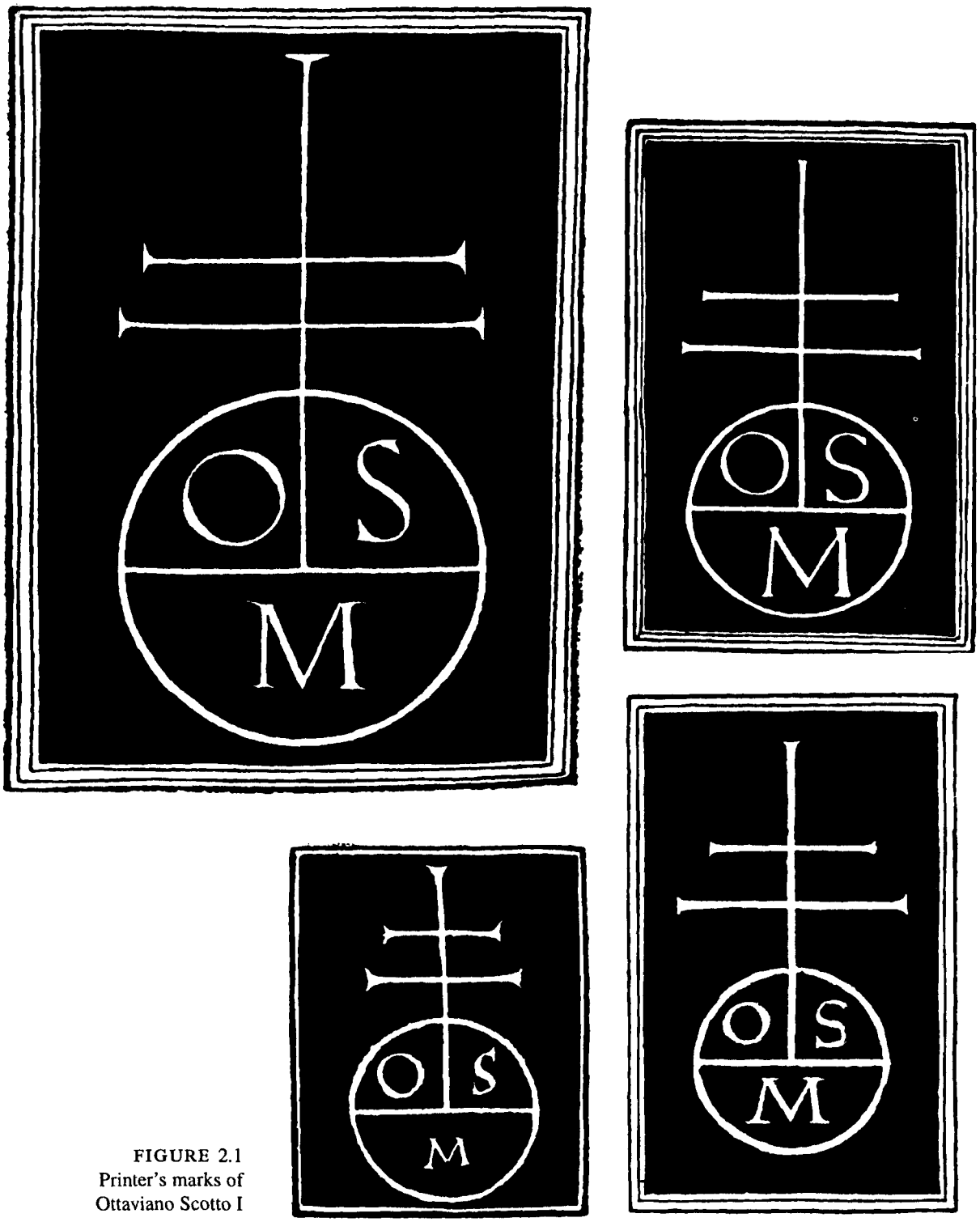


FIGURE 2.1
Printer's marks of
Ottaviano Scotto I

THE HEIRS OF OTTAVIANO SCOTTO (1500–1533)

Only months after Ottaviano's death, Venice succumbed to one of the worst financial crises in its entire history. Political enemies threatened the Most Serene Republic on two fronts: to the east, the Ottoman Empire endangered its naval supremacy in the Mediterranean by capturing nearly all of the Venetian ports in Greece, while to the west, the shifting alliances of France, Spain, Germany, and the Pope jeopardized both its newly acquired and established territories on the mainland. In order to finance its military operations on land and sea, the Venetian state imposed forced loans in the form of government bonds upon the taxpayers. Excessive demands for money compelled Venetians to withdraw their own funds from the banks, which, in turn, caused a run on all the banks in Venice. The panic that ensued prompted the failure of two banks.[23] The shortage of cash and credit during the crash of 1499 had a profound effect upon all commercial enterprises. It caused a major catastrophe for the relatively new printing industry. Of the twenty-three firms active in the 1490s, fewer than ten survived the century.[24]

The Scotto press turned out to be one of the fortunate few. In 1499 editions continued to be issued under Ottaviano's name, but during the following year the imprint of the firm was changed to the "Heirs of Ottaviano Scotto" (Heredes Octaviani Scoti). In accordance with Venetian law, the estate apparently did not pass solely to the eldest surviving male heir, but was shared jointly by all male heirs. Since Ottaviano died without male issue, the inheritance of the firm reverted to the sons of his three brothers, Brandino, Antonio, and Bernardino. The heirs, who probably held financial shares in the press, included Ottaviano's nephews: Amadio, son of Brandino Scotto; Giovanni Battista, son of Antonio Scotto; and Paolo and Ottaviano II, sons of Bernardino Scotto. All of these nephews lived in Venice. They presumably formed a *fraterna* or family partnership, designating one of them, perhaps the oldest, to serve as manager of the firm.

Although Ottaviano Scotto's last will and testament no longer survives, we learn from a contract dated 27 November 1499 that Amadio di Brandino Scotto had been named Ottaviano's beneficiary.[25] We know that Amadio soon assumed the directorship of the firm, for in 1500 he requested a privilege from the Venetian Senate to print the unedited works of Galen, a book of "Rhasis . . . continens omnia quae ad medicinam spectant, cum novo ordine et correctione," the problems of Aristotle, a "Descrizione di Terra Santa," and "Cesario de exemplis."[26] The fact that Amadio did not use his own name in the imprints to the books issued by the Scotto firm also points to joint ownership of the press by the nephews. Divisiveness among

23. Frederic C. Lane, "Venetian Bankers, 1496–1533," in *Venice and History*, 69–86 at 69–79.

24. Hirsch, *Printing, Selling and Reading*, 42.

25. ASV, Quattro Ministeriali: strida e clamori, Registro 79, c. 108. Parts of the document are quoted in Sartori, "La famiglia," 22 n. 20.

26. ASV, Notat. Collegio 28, c. 28; as cited in Fulin, "Documenti," 142–43. Aristotle's *Problemata* appeared in 1501 (a copy of this book is located in London, British Library).

the heirs might have prompted the collapse of the firm, but the soundness of the business and the acumen of its new director helped guide the press through these perilous years of financial instability in Venice.

Amadio moved the press to the parish of San Felice, where he lived with his cousins, Giovanni Battista, Paolo, and Ottaviano II. They continued to publish subjects that their uncle had established as specialties of the House of Scotto. The total output of the heirs during the thirty-five-year period exceeded 280 books.[27] By 1531 Amadio was proud to declare in a petition to the Venetian Senate that the House of Scotto was "famosissimi impressori di opere nove non piu stampate precipue della sacra teologia, de logica et philosophia et medicina."[28] As with his uncle, most of his books were either printed by others or published with the help of a consortium of bookmen.

During the early years of the century from 1500 to around 1509, Boneto Locatelli, who served as the principal printer for Ottaviano Scotto, continued in that capacity. His colophon can be found on practically all the non-liturgical Scotto books from this period. Shortly thereafter, other printers, such as Giorgio Arrivabene and the firm of Francesco Bindoni and Maffeo Pasini, replaced Locatelli as printers for the Scotto press.

From 1513, editions issued with the Scotto imprint included the added phrase, "ac Sociorum." This meant that the Scottos joined with others to form partnerships. The scarcity of printing agreements among sixteenth-century bookmen prevents us from knowing all the partners who helped finance these books, but a contract dated 25 June 1507 does name Luc'Antonio Giunti, Zorzi (Giorgio) Arrivabene, the brothers Battista and Silvestro de Tortis, and Antonio Moreto as partners with Amadio Scotto to print several books.[29]

We cannot be sure how many of these titles were actually issued, for only two years after the contract was signed, an alliance of all the great European powers known as the League of Cambrai plunged Venice into a war that threatened her very existence. On 9 May 1509 Venice suffered a disastrous defeat at Agnadello; in a matter of weeks, French and Habsburg forces overwhelmed nearly all of her possessions on the Italian mainland. Venice was forced to cede the empire she had carefully built up during the previous century. Only in her darkest hour was the Most Serene Republic saved by the loyalty of her citizens in the neighboring towns of Padua, Vicenza, and Treviso, and by the Pope and Spanish king, who decisively switched their allegiance away from the French and the Habsburgs to the Venetians. *La Serenissima*, after seven years of war, regained most of her territory.

27. This estimate is calculated from a number of published and unpublished catalogues that list the holdings of several European and American libraries. To mention a few: Adams, BM, Durling, *Edizioni*, *IA*, Pastorello, *Primo*, RISM, STC, Shaaber, and Margaret H. Jackson, ed., *Catalogue of the Francis Taylor Pearson Plimpton Collection of Italian Books and Manuscripts in the Library of Wellesley College* (Cambridge, Mass., 1929).

28. ASV, Senata Terra, Registro 126, fol. 184; as cited in Volpati, "Gli Scotti di Monza," 372.

29. ASV, Miscellanea Gregolin, b. 32; transcribed in Fulin, "Nuovi documenti per servire alla storia della tipografia veneziana," *Archivio veneto* 23 (1882): 390–405 at 401–5.

The war with the League of Cambrai, however, took its toll on the Republic; it became a turning point in Venetian history.

The years 1509 to 1513 were difficult ones for the Venetian printing industry. Several printers went bankrupt, while others were forced to suspend operation. The total output of all twenty firms still in business amounted to only fifty editions per year.[30] In 1509 the great Aldine press dissolved temporarily, and its director Aldo Manuzio was forced to leave Venice and to travel around northern Italy for the next three years.[31] Little is known about the Scotto press during this time period. Though it survived these turbulent years of war and financial instability, the firm's production declined drastically. In 1508 the Scotto firm issued at least fifteen editions, while their output for the next four years dwindled down to a total of only three publications.

That the wars had a devastating effect on the printing industry may be observed in a request made by Ottaviano Petrucci to the Venetian Senate. In his petition dated 24 June 1514, Petrucci appealed for a renewal of his monopoly on music printing. He stated that he and his partners were unable to benefit from his invention, since the war had disturbed business and they were unable to recoup their initial capital investment.[32] The Venetian Senate granted Petrucci and his partners a five-year renewal. This petition turns out to be a seminal one for our study, since one of Petrucci's silent partners was Amadio Scotto. Scotto's connection with Petrucci and his other partner, Nicolò di Raffaele, apparently began with the establishment of Petrucci's music press some fifteen years before. The fact that the House of Scotto acted as publisher-underwriter and bookseller for several printing enterprises suggests that Amadio Scotto helped finance the original venture that allowed Petrucci to be the first to print polyphonic music from movable type.

With the end of the war in 1513, the Scotto press resumed its printing and publishing activities at a normal level, and the firm prospered once again, as is evident from the properties Amadio Scotto purchased. In that year, he rented a house that was explicitly not used for the business of printing,[33] and in 1522 he acquired ten fields with buildings and farmland.[34] Several documents refer to Amadio not only as a "libraro" but also as a "mercadante di libri." He was clearly well respected by other Venetian bookmen; his name appears as executor of the estates of Bernardino Benalio and Lazzaro di Soardi, two important Venetian printers of the incunabular period.[35]

30. Georg Panzer, *Annales typographici ab artis inventae origine ad annum 1500* (Nuremberg, 1800), 8: 410–24.

31. Lowry, *World of Aldus Manutius*, 160–61.

32. ASV, Registro Notatorio XXV, 1512–1514, c. 92. A transcription of the petition appears among other places in Sartori, *Bibliografia delle opere musicali*, 19. For further discussion see Boorman, "Petrucci at Fossombrone," 21–22.

33. Volpati, "Gli Scotto di Monza," 371.

34. ASV, Dieci Savi Decime, reg. 1233, 64; also ASV, Dieci Savi, Condizioni di decima, b. 92, no. 57.

35. ASV, Notarile Testamenti, B. 974, no. 7. Benalio's two wills date from 1516 and 1517. Soardi died in 1517; his will appears in ASV, Notarile Testamenti, B. 999, no. 145. Cited in Volpati, "Gli Scotto di Monza," 369 n. 4.

Another nephew who originally inherited the press from Ottaviano was Giovanni Battista di Antonio Scotto. Although only his will has come to light, we know that Giovanni Battista owned a share in the main branch of the firm, since his cousin, Ottaviano (II) di Bernardino Scotto, mentioned in his own will "the particular portion of our account of printed books inherited from Giovanni Battista."[36] Giovanni Battista died sometime between 1529, the year he drew up his will, and 1533, the year that Ottaviano II took over the firm. Since Giovanni Battista died without male issue, his cousin, Ottaviano II, became executor of his will and also inherited the bulk of Giovanni Battista's estate.[37]

The two remaining original heirs of the Scotto press, Paolo and Ottaviano II, were sons of Bernardino Scotto. Paolo Scotto was first named as a printer in a will he witnessed in 1514.[38] He was also a bookdealer, according to a posthumous document of 1534, which referred to him as "Paulo de Scoti liberer."[39] In addition to his activities as a printer-bookseller, Paolo apparently composed music. As Thomas Bridges notes, works by "Pauli Scoti" or "Paulus Scotus" appeared in several Petrucci music publications.[40] That these works are by Paolo Scotto cannot be doubted, in light of Petrucci's indebtedness to the Scotto firm and the specificity of his attributions. Paolo was a friend of the music theorists Giovanni Spataro and Pietro Aaron, who send him greetings in letters of 1523; he also wanted a copy of one of Spataro's masses.[41] Paolo died sometime before 1529, since his wife, Faustina, is referred to as a widow in his cousin Giovanni Battista's will of that year. He presumably bequeathed his share of the printing concern to his son Francesco, who, as we shall see, also became a bookdealer.

Amadio, the director of the firm, probably died around 1533, the year the imprint of the firm changed back from "Heredes Octaviani Scoti" to "Octaviani Scotti." Upon the deaths of Paolo, Giovanni Battista, and then Amadio, ownership of the main branch of the firm passed to Ottaviano II. His shares, combined with those inherited from his cousin Giovanni Battista, gave Ottaviano II a controlling interest in the firm, while the shares owned by Amadio and Paolo were divided among their heirs.

36. ". . . tutta la mia particular portion della raggion nostra di libri a stampa hereditata dal quondam messer Zuanbapt. mio cuxin fiolo del quondam messer Antonio." ASV, Notarile Testamenti, Angelo Calvi, b. 307, no. 308. A partial transcription of the will is in Sartori, "La famiglia," 25–26 n. 29.

37. ASV, Notarile Testamenti, b. 887, no. 61; partially transcribed in Sartori, 23–24 n. 24. The remaining bequests in the will not transcribed by Sartori are to female relations for dowries, etc. Giovanni Battista left Faustina, widow of his cousin Paolo, 25 ducats; to Lucretia, daughter of Amadio, 100 ducats to be spent at the time of her wedding with the consent of his cousin, Ottaviano II. He also left 100 ducats for a marriage dowry to a Margherita "who lives with me."

38. "Paulo de Scotis de Mediolano domini Bernardini," ASV, Notarile Atti, Registro 10635, fol. 1; cited in Volpati, "Gli Scotto di Monza," 374.

39. The document quoted in Volpati, 374, ASV, Provveditor di Comun, b. 10, Atti 1534–45, Registro n. 8, fol. 11^{v}, concerns a 30 lire debt owed by his widow, Faustina, to Isabeta, widow of Bartolomeo Tagliapietra.

40. "Publishing of Arcadelt's First Book," 1: 136.

41. See Bonnie J. Blackburn, Edward E. Lowinsky, and Clement A. Miller, eds., *A Correspondence of Renaissance Musicians* (Oxford, 1991), 1013–14.

LEADERSHIP UNDER OTTAVIANO SECONDO (1533–1539)

Ottaviano II took over the press sometime during the latter part of 1533. The colophon to an edition of Verdelot's First Book of Four-Voice Madrigals of 1533 contains the phrase "Ad instantia deli Scotti," suggesting that Amadio was still alive. By the end of year, however, Ottaviano brought out his own publications; his very first independent publication may have been an edition of Gabriele Zerbo's *Anathomie* dated 1 October, 1533.[42]

Ottaviano kept the press at the same location in the district of San Felice, where it remained until 1547, if not later. He continued to employ many of the printer's marks used by his predecessors as well as a few of his own, in particular a figure representing Fame carrying a trumpet atop a winged globe with the initials O.S.M. (see fig. 2.2). The monogram O.S.M. in this device as well as the earlier orb and double cross printer's marks referred to his uncle Ottaviano (Octavianus Scotus Modoetiensis), but it also applied to Ottaviano II, who was from Milan (Octavianus Scotus Mediolanensis).

For the next six years, Ottaviano Scotto carried on the tradition of the firm by publishing over sixty texts in fields that had established the reputation of the House of Scotto, particularly philosophy, medicine, and religion. Ottaviano held more than a passing interest in at least the first two subjects, for he was a Doctor of Medicine and was conversant in the field of philosophy. On more than one occasion, Ottaviano served as editor of the Aristotelian commentaries that his firm published. In his dedication to an edition of Aristotle's *De Physica* printed in 1540, Ottaviano stated that he had emended the commentary and "tried to cleanse it of errors." He may even have made his own translation of the Commentaries to Aristotle's *Topica*.[43]

Ottaviano's abilities in both of these fields should not surprise us since within the faculty of arts of Italian universities, logic and natural philosophy played an integral role in the curriculum, being considered preparatory subjects for the study of medicine.[44] He clearly moved in academic circles and was well known by the *literati* not only of Venice, but also at the University of Padua, from where he most assuredly received his doctorate in medicine. In his preface to Alessandro Piccolomini's *De la Institutione*, Ottaviano extolled the virtues of the Sienese humanist's book and cited his own participation in the famed Accademia de gli Infiammati in Padua. He addressed his preface to Alfonso d'Avalos, the marquis of Vasto and governor-general of Milan, and his wife Maria d'Aragona, important patrons of the Scotto press during the early 1540s.

42. "Impressum Venetiis apud Octavianum Scotum Anno Domini 1533 Kal. Octobris." A copy of the edition is located in the library of the University of Pavia.

43. *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum: Medieval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries*, ed. Paul Oskar Kristeller ([Washington, 1960]), 1: 103.

44. Kristeller, "The Aristotelian Tradition," in *Renaissance Thought*, 42.

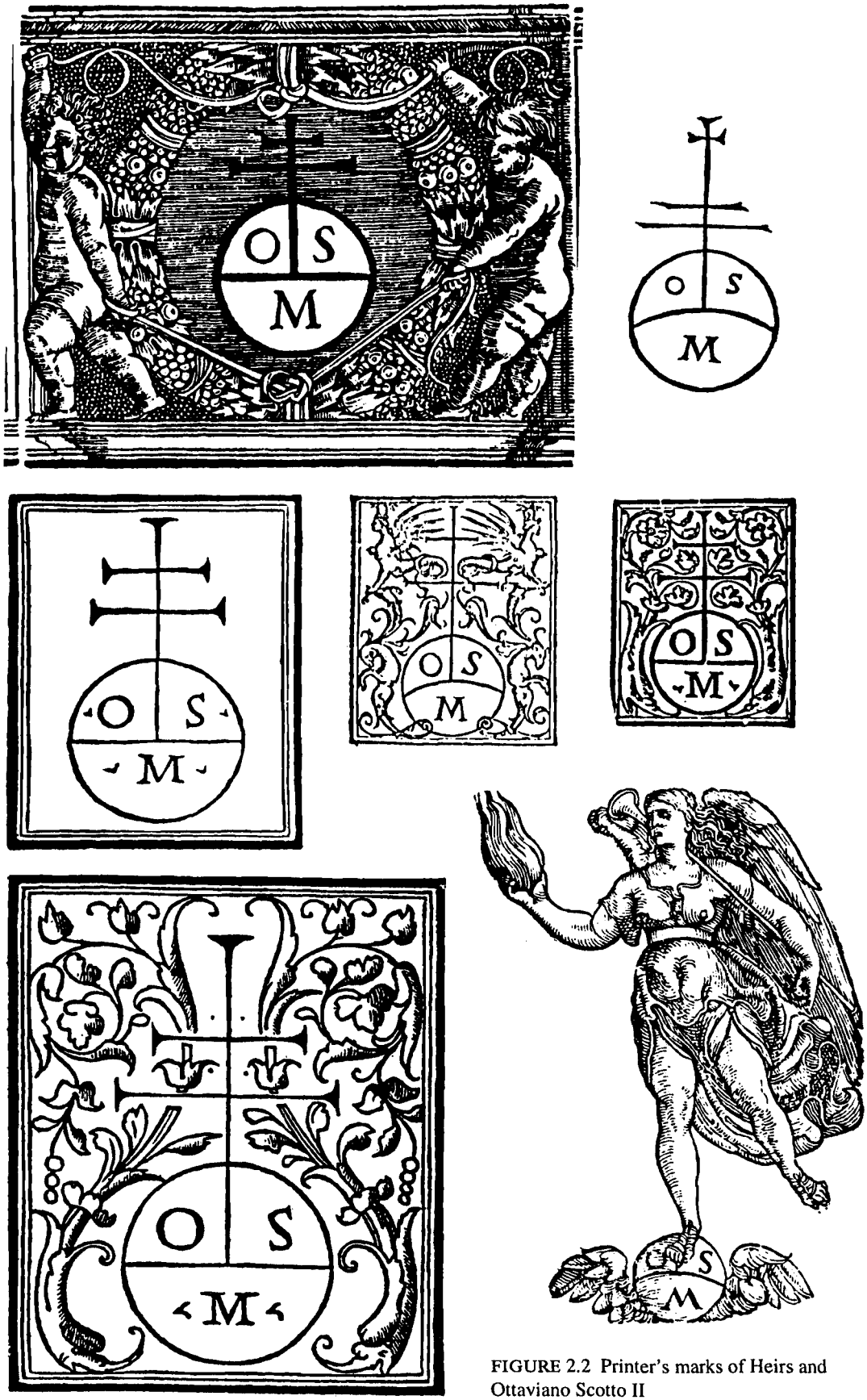


FIGURE 2.2 Printer's marks of Heirs and Ottaviano Scotto II

Ottaviano's name is mentioned more than once in the published letters of at least two literary figures.[45] In his dedication to Marco Antonio Venier, the important Aristotelian scholar, Guglielmo Doroteo stated that he came to Venice from Naples at the urging of his dear friend Ottaviano Scotto.[46] From 1535 on Ottaviano referred to himself as "nobilis vir" in the colophons to his publications.[47] He also might have used this designation to distinguish himself from his second cousin, Ottaviano IV, son of Amadio Scotto, who was also a printer.[48]

Besides publishing in the areas of scholastic writings and medicine, Ottaviano introduced publications of polyphonic music to the Scotto book list during his tenure as director of the press. From 1533 until 1538 he issued, in collaboration with the woodcarver-musician Andrea Antico, a series of at least sixteen music editions. Ottaviano's connection with Antico and with music printing did not start in the 1530s, but went as far back as 1516, when Scotto acted as a financial underwriter for Antico's *Liber quindecim missarum.*

The first cooperative music publication of the 1530s between Antico and the Scotto press was Verdelot's First Book of Four-Voice Madrigals of 1533. The colophon at the back of the Bassus partbook states that the Scotto firm, acting as the financial backer, requested the press of Giovanni Antonio Nicolino de Sabio and his brothers to print the edition, while Andrea Antico prepared the woodcuts. Ottaviano II published no fewer than fifteen other editions containing works by Verdelot, Willaert, Festa, Arcadelt, and others. All of them used woodblocks cut by Antico.

Whether Antico acted as an equal partner with the Scotto press or worked as a hired artisan whom Ottaviano commissioned on a fee-for-job basis to prepare the woodblocks for his music publications is impossible to ascertain.[49] Antico might simply have supplied Ottaviano with the woodblocks, which then became the property of the Scotto press. It is also hard to determine if Ottaviano printed

45. Pietro Aretino, the most notorious writer in Venice, referred to Ottaviano in two of his letters. Aretino, *Lettere: Il primo e il secondo libro* (Tutte le opere di Pietro Aretino, 1; [Milan], 1960, 128–29, 475–77), as cited in Bridges, "Publishing of Arcadelt's First Book," 1: 152–53. In the final letter of his *Lettere* (1549), Antonio Minturno, a humanist who lived in Rome, Pisa, and then Naples, praised Ottaviano as a teacher of philosophy. The book is listed as no. 147 in app. D.

46. "Cum è Neapoli decedens Octaviani Scoti à typis & studiorum & partium necessitudine coniunctissimi mei suasu Venetias venissem, nihil mihi potius & studiosis Philosophiae utilius faciendum venit in mentem quam antiquos Aristotelis interpretes Graecos Latinis literis mandare, ut officina bonarum in Philosophia literarum quae tot ante annos conticuerunt, vel omnibus maxime nostris hominibus pateret"; from dedication in *Alexandri Aphrodisei . . . in octo libros topicorum . . . Aristotelis Commentatio . . .* (1541). The book is listed as no. 14 in app. D.

47. Ottaviano's connections with Milanese nobility may be inferred from two witnesses to his second will: Ottaviano Raverta "eletto di Terracina nobile Milanese . . ." and Giovanni Battista Visconti, son of Pietro Francesco "nobile Milanese canonico di Parma," both of whom lived in Venice.

48. Volpati, "Gli Scotto di Monza," 366 n. 1, notes without citing documentation that Ottaviano II was a "cubiculario" of Pope Paul III, and a Roman citizen. He also mentions that Ottaviano was married to Gerolama Cazzaniga, who is not cited in either of Ottaviano's wills.

49. Chapman, "Andrea Antico," 134, supports the latter view. See also Martin Picker, ed. *The Motet Books of Andrea Antico* (Monuments of Renaissance Music 8; Chicago, 1988), 4, and Beth Miller, "Antico, Andrea," in *Music Printing and Publishing*, ed. D. W. Krummel and Stanley Sadie (New York and London, 1990), 145.

any of the editions himself; he might not have had any musical expertise. His interest in music printing could have been limited only to the publishing and marketing side of the trade. If Ottaviano Scotto could not edit music, and Antico was only commissioned to prepare the woodblocks, then who at the Scotto press had the technical and musical knowledge to see the editions through the press? The obvious candidate was Ottaviano's brother, Girolamo Scotto.

GIROLAMO SCOTTO AND THE PRESS (1539–1572)

Practically nothing is known about the early life of Girolamo Scotto. The colophon to his 1557 edition of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola's *Opera omnia* indicates that he was originally from Milan ("Apud Hieronymum Scotum Mediolanensem").[50] Precisely when Girolamo became involved in the activities of the printing firm and when he arrived in Venice remain mysteries. Although his name does not appear on any publication issued by the Scotto press until 1539, he was certainly involved in the business before that time.

The first known document naming Girolamo is a petition to the Venetian Senate dated 20 October 1536, in which a "hier[onymo] scoto mercadante de libri" requests a privilege to print "le correttioni, tauole et digressioni d[e]l q[uondam] ex[cellente] M. Marcantonio cimara sop[ra] li testi de aristotele con il commento de Aueroys."[51] The House of Scotto published a folio edition of the Zimarra "Tables" in 1537. The privilege requested by Girolamo is mentioned on the title page to the edition, but the colophon names Ottaviano as printer. Two printer's marks identified with the Scotto press also appear in the edition. The O.S.M. monogram in an orb surmounted by a cross within a large rectangular floral frame, usually identified with Ottaviano and his predecessors at the press, appears in the colophon (see fig. 2.2), while Fame V, a device later employed by Girolamo, appears on the title page (see below, fig. 3.11). This edition has been attributed to Ottaviano, since his printer's mark and name appear in the colophon, but Girolamo could easily have been responsible for the publication. Other printer's marks later used by Girolamo occur in Ottaviano's publications beginning in 1535, suggesting that Girolamo might have been active at the press at this time, if not from the very beginning of Ottaviano's tenure as director.[52]

Girolamo might have been responsible for a handful of music editions dating from 1536. Chapman hypothesizes that perhaps Girolamo rather than Ottaviano printed the *Intavolatura de li madrigali di Verdelotto da cantare et sonare nel*

50. The edition appears as no. 239 in app. D.

51. ASV, Senato Terra, reg. 29, fol. 81^{v} (new fol. 102^{v}).

52. Certainly by 1537, the year of his father's death, Ottaviano, who inherited his father's noble title, might have begun to ease himself out of his role as manager of the day-to-day operations of the firm.

lauto, intavolati per messer Adriano, since a colophon naming the printer does not appear at the end of the edition, and Girolamo used the same woodblocks when he reprinted the edition in 1540 (see Catalogue no. **13**).[53] Furthermore, the printer's mark of fame (Fame IV) on the title page is one that Girolamo frequently utilized in his music books from 1558 until 1563.[54] Another edition of Verdelot's Second Book of Five-Voice Madrigals dating from 1538 also shows signs of Girolamo's work. Again the colophon and printer's name are lacking, but the title page contains the same design layout as several music editions printed by Girolamo in 1539–41. The printer's mark, an anchor with palm frond on left and olive branch on right (Anchor I), was also one that Girolamo used on the title page or colophon of all but one of his music editions of 1539.[55]

There are two other xylographic music editions (albeit in incomplete states) that lack colophons: *Madrigali a cinque libro primo* issued around 1537 and *Il secondo libro de madrigali d'Arcadelt* (Catalogue no. 1) printed at the very beginning of 1539.[56] In both cases there is no physical evidence to help us determine which Scotto brother was responsible for either of them. Throughout his career, Girolamo generally avoided the use of colophons in his music editions. This might suggest that he was in charge at least of *Madrigali a cinque libro*. Unfortunately, only the Cantus and Altus partbooks of the Arcadelt edition survive; since in his publications Ottaviano customarily placed the colophon at the end of the Bassus partbook only, we cannot be sure if this edition originally contained a colophon.

Whether or not Girolamo was responsible for some or all of the xylographic prints issued by the Scotto press in the 1530s, he did not make his mark in the field of music until he took over the active management of the Scotto firm in 1539. Why Ottaviano II relinquished control of the firm to his brother remains unclear. That he drew up two separate wills in 1544 and again in 1547 suggests that he may have been ill. Indeed, by this time Ottaviano must have already been in his fifties. In light of his other professional interests as a physician and philosopher, he might simply have had neither the time nor the inclination to continue directing the day-to-day operations of the business. He did execute his own publications of mainly Aristotelian commentaries on a sporadic basis; the last imprint bearing his name appears in the colophon of a 1552 Aristotelian commentary

53. Chapman, "Andrea Antico," 145.

54. See table 3.1 and fig. 3.11 in chap. 3.

55. Anchor I is reproduced in fig. 3.10. Iain Fenlon and James Haar, *The Italian Madrigal in the Early Sixteenth Century: Sources and Interpretation* (Cambridge, 1988), 306, also speculate that Girolamo might have been responsible for *Libro secondo a cinque*, stating that the device found on the Cantus partbook was one preferred by Girolamo. This statement is slightly misleading since it implies that this particular printer's mark (Anchor I) was used quite often by Girolamo. As we shall see in the next chapter, the Scotto firm employed at least eight different printer's marks depicting the anchor with palm frond and olive branch. Anchor I was, in fact, used by Girolamo for only one year (and only in his music editions); he replaced it with a smaller anchor in which the palm frond and olive branch are reversed.

56. For the precise dating of Arcadelt's Second Book of Four-Voice Madrigals see the discussion in chap. 8.

issued jointly with Girolamo.[57] Yet even though he was not an active participant at the press, Ottaviano did remain a partner in the business until his death, sometime between 10 April 1567, when he witnessed a notarial contract for his brother Girolamo,[58] and October 1569, when Girolamo mentions his inheritance from Ottaviano in his own will.

Whatever Girolamo's role was in the printing firm from 1533 to 1538, by 1539 his position had changed dramatically. From that time onwards, nearly all of the books published by the main branch of the House of Scotto contained Girolamo's imprint. Girolamo continued to print subjects that had always been central to the Scotto press. Half of his output—over 400 extant publications—dealt with medicine, classics, religion, and scholastic writings.[59] The Latin translations, commentaries, and interpretations of Aristotle still remained staple publications of the Scotto press, but when Girolamo assumed leadership of the firm he quickly divided the book production equally between the fields of Aristotelian literature and music—the two areas in which he and his brother maintained intellectual interests.

It was an opportune time for Girolamo to combine his musical avocation with printing, for by the late 1530s the Italian music-printing industry had entered a new commercial period. One of the most important innovations leading at that time to the commercialization was the introduction into Italy of the method of single-impression music printing.[60] The single-impression technique was but one of many factors that transformed music printing from a craft (which it clearly had been for both Petrucci and Antico) into a commercial venture. It is no accident that Girolamo's accession as director of the Scotto press coincided with the use of the single-impression method in music printing. Girolamo Scotto was the ideal person to undertake this new enterprise. As the head of a wealthy, established publishing house with a distribution network throughout Europe, he could turn music publishing into a profitable business. The number of music books increased so dramatically that by the end of the 1540s as many as twenty music books were published by the Scotto press each year. By comparison, the complete surviving output of the Antico–Scotto collaboration over the seven-year period of 1533–39 totaled only sixteen xylographic books.

Girolamo Scotto was one of the most prolific music printers of the Renaissance. From 1539 until his death in 1572, he issued over four hundred music editions. This prodigious output made him a major figure in music printing, rivaled only by his contemporary, Antonio Gardano. Yet unlike Gardano, Scotto also published books on other subjects, which comprised half of his output. Girolamo Scotto's

57. *Aristo. posteriorum libri una cum linconiensi atque Burleo fidelissimis interpretibus his adiecimus Pamphili Montij Bononiensis glossemata, in marginalibus apposita* . . . Venetiis, Apud Hieronymum Scotum. M. D. LII. See no. 176 in app. D.

58. ASV, Notarile Atti, Benedetto Solian, b. 11875, fols. 60^{v}–61^{v}.

59. A catalogue of short titles of his non-music publications appears in app. D.

60. See chap. 1.

production was truly enormous; during a thirty-three year period, he published over 800 books.

Printing represented just one aspect of Scotto's business. Girolamo continued to pursue other activities that established the Scotto press as a prominent company. Over one hundred notarial contracts in the Venetian archives document various business arrangements by Girolamo and other parties from the year 1555 until his death. Some deal with debts owed to Girolamo, while others pertain to the various properties he owned, particularly in the city of Padua. The remainder bear some relationship with the printing trade. Through these documents, we catch a glimpse, not so much of the printing and publishing end of the business, but the marketing side, since Girolamo was also noted as a *mercator*, responsible for the shipping and selling of books in other cities. Notarial records also document the many connections that Girolamo maintained with bookmen all over the Italian peninsula. Several of them relate details of accounts between Scotto and these bookdealers, debts incurred, and also shares in stores.[61]

As the firm continued to grow, the Scotto family increasingly became absorbed in investing their capital in mainland properties. Girolamo mentioned in his joint tax declaration with Ottaviano of 1566: "that little money which is raised from trade in the said goods [i.e., books] I have withdrawn into these small pieces of real estate . . ."[62] In this they emulated the Venetian nobility who, in the sixteenth century, gradually shifted their income from commercial to landed interests.[63] Girolamo Priuli noted in 1509: "Venetian merchants, given that voyages are few, without spices and hardly profitable, have retired from trade and have invested their money in property . . ."[64] Girolamo, along with other members of his family, owned property in Venice and the neighboring provinces of Padua and Treviso.

We can get an idea of the size of their wealth by piecing together information gleaned from wills, rental contracts, and tax declarations.[65] Beginning with the tax census of 1566, Girolamo and Ottaviano reported in their joint statement that they rented a house in the Corte dell'albero in the district of Sant'Angelo from the magistrate Domenico Priuli, for the enormous sum of 120 ducats per year; here, they

61. All extant documents from the years 1555–72 drawn up by Girolamo's personal notary, Benedetto Solian, are in ASV, Notarile Atti, Benedetto Solian, b. 11866–72.

62. "quelli pochi denari che soleva traficar in ditta mercantia li ho retirati in questi pochi stabili . . ."; ASV, Dieci Savii sopra le Decime in Rialto, Condizione di Decima, 1566, San Marco, b. 126, no. 115.

63. Brian Pullan, "Occupations and Investments of the Venetian Nobility," in *Renaissance Venice*, ed. John R. Hale (London, 1973), 379–408.

64. As quoted in Ugo Tucci, "The Psychology of the Venetian Merchant in the Sixteenth Century," in *Renaissance Venice*, ed. John R. Hale (London, 1973), 346–78 at 352.

65. A census for the purpose of tax collection was taken by the Dieci Savii sopra le decime in Rialto in 1514, 1537, 1566, 1581, and 1661. Taxes were only levied on investment property within the Venetian Republic; income from the Scottos' business, the house in which they lived, and property outside the state were exempt. Although "Ottaviano and Girolamo Scotto, stampadori," are listed in the book of summaries for the 1537 Decima (Dieci Savii sopra le decime, red. 1537, reg. 1475, c. 560), the actual statement (*condizione*) in nuove or stravaganti, no. 457 is missing from the archives.

operated two printing presses.[66] They also owned three rental properties in Padua along with a woodland containing thirty-two cultivated fields as well as another thirty-two and one-quarter fields, all located in the environs of Padua.[67] In addition, Girolamo along with his cousin, Francesco, bought property in Treviso in 1550.[68]

The acquisition of cultivated land and residential property turned into a lucrative passive investment for the Scotto family, for sixteen years later, Girolamo's heir, Melchiorre, declared that he owned two houses in Padua and from 110 to 120 fields, which produced an income of 276 ducats.[69] These properties represented only a fraction of the family's wealth, since other income generated from business concerns such as residences, shops, and other properties outside the jurisdiction of the Venetian republic were excluded from the *Decima*.[70]

Wills and contracts reveal additional sources of income. In his will of 1547, Ottaviano mentions real estate inherited from his father in Milan and Monza, as well as business property in Naples, Siena, and Bologna. Added to these investments were interests in bookshops in at least Venice, Rome, and Sicily. The Scottos enjoyed investment income not only comparable to the larger printing houses, but also to members of the professional class, such as lawyers, doctors, and secretaries, whose property generated 100 to 150 ducats annually.[71] Needless to say, this does not take into account the income generated from their most lucrative source—their printing and publishing establishment. All of these business activities led the Scotto firm to financial prosperity.

Along with wealth came praise by contemporaries. In his *Pandectae* of 1548, the Swiss bibliographer Conrad Gesner selected eighteen printers from all over Europe as dedicatees of various parts of his bibliography. He dedicated his section on civic philosophy to Girolamo Scotto. Only three other Venetians, Vincenzo Valgrisio, Tomaso Giunta, and Paulo Manuzio—all from eminent dynastic presses—receive such a tribute.

Girolamo Scotto was also honored by his peers, when, in 1571, the guild of printers and booksellers elected him their first *priore*. The membership included several major figures in the Venetian book trade. Gabriel Giolito and Giovanni de Varisco served as councillors under Scotto, while Giovanni Griffio and Pietro da Fino, business associates of the Scotto press, acted as syndics. Gasparo Bindoni, who also entered into partnership with Scotto, was named secretary.[72]

66. During Girolamo's tenure, the press moved at least twice. It was located in the district of San Felice until at least 1547. By 1561 the firm had moved to the parish of San Benedetto, and in 1564 it was established in the Corte dell'Albero at Sant'Angelo; see fig. 1.1 for locations.

67. ASV, Dieci Savii sopra le Decime in Rialto, Condizione di Decima, 1566, San Marco, b. 126, no. 115.

68. ASV, Serenissima Signoria, Lettere sottoscritte, Terra, Filza 10, 19 dic. Cited in Volpati, "Gli Scotto di Monza," 379 n. 2.

69. ASV, Dieci Savii sopra le Decime in Rialto, Condizione di Decima, 1582, San Marco, b. 158, no. 859.

70. Grendler, *Roman Inquisition*, 19 n. 67.

71. Ibid., 20.

72. Venice, Museo Correr, Cod. Cicogna 3044, fol. 15v. Cited in Brown, *Venetian Printing Press*, app. 4. The minute book of the guild lists 50 members present for the election.

Girolamo Scotto died on 23 September 1572. He was buried in Venice at San Francesco della Vigna, the same monastic church as his uncle, Ottaviano I. In his will, he appointed his wife Cesaria Sinistri as executor of his estate. Since he had no children,[73] Girolamo bequeathed the firm and all his property in the Veneto to his nephew, Melchiorre, son of his eldest brother, Ludovico.[74]

OTHER BRANCHES OF THE FAMILY

During Girolamo's tenure as head of the Scotto press, several members of the Scotto family were engaged in the printing industry as printers, booksellers, and agents. Though some ran their own independent presses and shops, most of them maintained a connection with the main branch of the firm.

Francesco, the son of Paolo Scotto, was a bookseller in the district of San Salvatore.[75] He evidently did not have a printing press of his own, but his activities in the book trade are well documented during the 1540s. He is first mentioned in a property dispute of 3 August 1535 brought up by his cousin Amadio's widow, Elena Storlano.[76] In 1540 Francesco was obliged under penalty of a 100 ducat fine to present four printed works to the office of the *Provveditori* for an unspecified reason. The four titles, three Aristotelian commentaries and a work by Plato, had all been published during that time by his cousin Girolamo Scotto.[77] Girolamo and Francesco maintained other business connections. Francesco's device, the sign of the griffin ("francesco schoto libraro al grifo"), reveals a further connection with Girolamo's press. From 1553 onwards, printer's marks of two sizes depicting a griffin on top of an amphora appear on the title page or colophon of several editions printed by Girolamo Scotto (see fig. 2.3). Since we do not know when Francesco died, it is possible that he shared in the underwriting of these particular editions or that Girolamo inherited Francesco's device at his cousin's death.[78]

When Amadio Scotto died around 1533, his share of the original press was bequeathed to his four sons, Brandino, Ottaviano IV, Alessandro, and Giovanni

73. Remo Giazotto, *Harmonici concenti in aere veneto* (Rome, 1954), claims that Girolamo Scotto had a daughter named Laura, who, in 1568, he endowed with a printing shop upon her marriage to Alessandro Gardano, son of Antonio. No daughter is mentioned in Girolamo's will. Furthermore, the document referred to by Giazotto has not turned up in any archive in Venice.

74. ASV, Notarile Testamenti, not. Benedetto Solian, b. 899, n. 233. A partial transcription of Girolamo Scotto's will appears in Sartori, "La Famiglia," 27 n. 33.

75. ASV, Proprio: Compromessi, reg. 3, c. 130^{v}. Cited in Volpati, "Gli Scotto di Monza," 377 n. 2.

76. Ibid.

77. ASV, Provveditori di Comun, Atti, reg. 10, c. 83. Cited by Volpati, 377 n. 3. The four titles, Simplicius, *Commentarium in decem cathegorias Aristotelis . . . Praedicamenta*; Aristotle, *Oeconomicorum . . . libri duo*; Donato, *De Platonicae . . . differentia libellus*; and Alexander of Aphrodisias, *In quatuor libros Meteorologicorum* appear as nos. 11, 6, 8, and 1 in app. D.

78. The griffin was also used as a symbol of another Venetian printer, Giovanni Griffio, who had a close relationship with the Scotto press.

Griffin II

Griffin I

FIGURE 2.3 Printer's marks of Francesco Scotto (?)

Maria. Brandino and Ottaviano IV operated a press in Venice, while Giovanni Maria Scotto maintained his own printing firm, first in Rome and then in Naples.

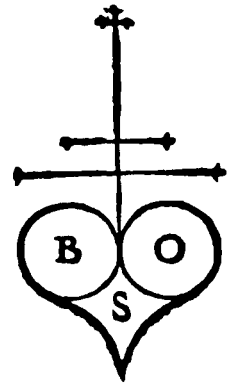
Brandino is first mentioned along with his second cousin Francesco in the same suit issued by his mother. Here he is identified as a bookdealer in the Merceria at the sign of the angel.[79] The following year both Brandino and Ottaviano IV are named in an action dated 9 June, in which Lionello Nigro, agent of Elena Storlano, must relinquish to them all movable goods and money belonging to the late Amadio.[80]

By 1539 Brandino and Ottaviano di Amadio had their own press.[81] The titles they published were related to those issued by the main branch of the firm. At least three Aristotelian commentaries, a 1540 edition of Terence's Comedies, and a 1541 edition of Cicero's Epistles bear the imprint "in praelo Brandini et Octaviani Scoti fratrum." The brothers also brought out two editions of Girolamo Savonarola's *Prediche* in 1539 and 1540 with a special woodcut depicting the monk preaching to a congregation from a lectern containing their initials. As seen in figure 2.4, the Scotto brothers employed several printer's marks. One had their

79. "ser Brandinj librarij in marzaria ad insigna Angeli." See n. 75.

80. ASV, Estraordinari e Giudice delegato, Proprio, reg. 6, c. 85. First cited in Volpati, 376 n. 3. A transcription of the document appears in Sartori, "La famiglia," 24 n. 25.

81. Both the location and device of the press are named in the suit listed in n. 75.



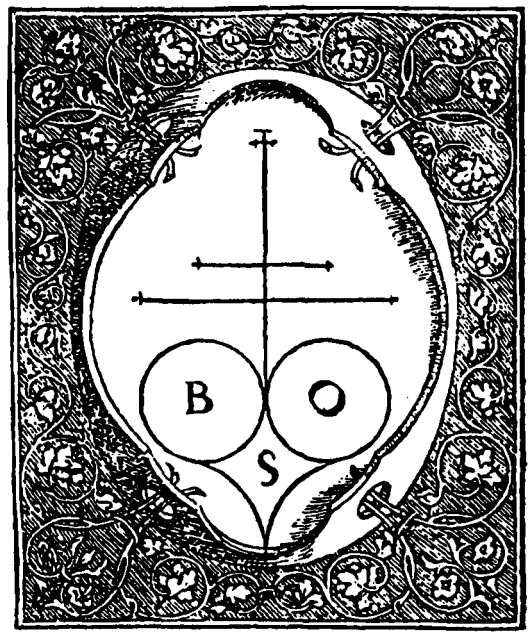


FIGURE 2.4 Printer's marks of Brandino and Ottaviano di Amadio Scotto

monogram B.O.S. in a heart surmounted by a cross, all within a highly floriated frame, while another represented the monogram within the heart unframed and unadorned. Another device employed by the two brothers depicts a pomegranate tree illuminated by the sun with a young woman climbing the tree to pick fruit, which she offers to an old woman sitting naked below. A palm frond appears to be growing out of the left side of the tree.[82] Their sign of the angel in prayer on a winged globe is portrayed in yet another printer's mark. This device appeared on the title page of the 1539 edition of Willaert's Second Book of Four-Voice motets. The colophon, "Impressum Venetijs per Brandinum & Octavianum Scotum. Ad instantiam Andre[a]e Antiqui. MDXXXIX," confirms the fact that Antico not only made the woodblocks for this, his last music book, but also underwrote the cost of the edition; in this case the Scotto brothers acted as printers. A second music book, Giovanni del Lago's *Breve introduttione di musica*, was issued by Brandino and Ottaviano in 1540.

By 1541, Ottaviano di Amadio began to issue publications without his brother's name. He usually signed his books "Octavianus Scotus domini Amadei filius," presumably to distinguish himself from his second cousin, Ottaviano II. As Bridges suggests, even though Brandino is not named in the imprints, he might have continued as a silent partner in the firm.[83] Both the B.O.S. monogram and pomegranate tree device appeared on Ottaviano di Amadio's editions until at least 1554. Brandino might have died around this time, since Ottaviano IV altered the B.O.S. monogram to O.S.V. in his 1554 edition of Aristotle's *Physica*. Again the initials O.S.V. (i.e.: Octavianus Scotus Venetus) were used to distinguish his publications from the main branch of the firm. Although Ottaviano di Amadio appears to have stopped printing after 1555, he remained an agent for his second cousin, Girolamo, until his death sometime at the end of 1565 or beginning of 1566.[84]

Ottaviano IV apparently died without male issue, since in April and May of 1566 his surviving brothers and sisters and their heirs sought an arbitration of his estate. From these documents we learn that Ottaviano di Amadio had three brothers and three sisters. Brandino, already dead, does not appear in the arbitrations, which mention his remaining brothers, Giovanni Maria and Alessandro, as well as his sisters, Hypolita Blanco, Lucretia Marchesini Figolin, and Ludovica Scotto.[85]

Amadio's third son, Giovanni Maria Scotto, brother of Ottaviano di Amadio, was a bookseller and printer first in Rome and then in Naples. Some thirty-seven

82. Zappella, *Le marche*, 1: 246, no. 148b, believes that both figures are male, while Emerenziana Vaccaro, *Le marche dei tipografi ed editori italiani del secolo XVI nella Biblioteca Angelica di Roma* (Biblioteca di bibliografia italiana 98; Florence, 1983), correctly identifies them as women. The device appears both in Zappella, 2: 827, fig. 828 and Vaccaro, 342.

83. "Publishing of Arcadelt's First Book," 1: 152.

84. Ottaviano di Amadio witnessed one of Girolamo Scotto's notarial contracts on 8 September 1565; ASV, B. Solian Notarile Atti 11874 (1565), fol. 144^{v}. By 2 April 1566 his estate was arbitrated by his heirs; ASV, M. Cavagnis Notarile Atti 3777, fol. 219.

85. The arbitration dated 16 May 1566 (ASV, M. Cavagnis Notarile Atti, b. 3277, fol. 410^{v}) refers to all of Ottaviano's heirs.

books printed by him survive.[86] He must have arrived in Naples before 1548, since a "creditum" of 1558 made with his second cousin Girolamo of 1558 mentions an earlier contract between the two, notarized in Naples on 24 March 1548.[87] Although his last surviving edition in Naples dates from 1566, he remained in that city until at least the beginning of 1575, when he is mentioned in a notarial document by his brother Alessandro as living in Naples.[88]

Giovanni Maria was the one brother who specialized in fields different from the main branch of the firm. He geared his publications to the Neapolitan market, issuing titles of a secular and religious nature by local authors. Giovanni Maria evidently did not wish to duplicate the fields in which the Venetian firm published, since Girolamo Scotto used Giovanni Maria's shop as an outlet to sell his books in Naples. Giovanni Maria also served as a procuratore or agent for Girolamo, collecting books, money, and goods from various bookmen in the city of Naples.

The financial accounts between Giovanni Maria and his second cousin Girolamo illustrate the difficulties printers and bookmen had in operating a successful business in a secondary city. Often Giovanni Maria owed thousands of ducats to Girolamo, which he was allowed to pay back over an extended period. Several loan contracts date from a twenty-five-year period beginning in 1548. In his will, Girolamo absolved Giovanni Maria of a debt of 200 ducats owed him. Even after Girolamo's death, Giovanni Maria still accrued debts with Girolamo's heir, Melchiorre.[89]

Like his cousins, Girolamo's nephews worked for the main branch of the firm. Girolamo's sister Caterina, who was married to a Milanese merchant named Giovanni Maldura, had two sons who served as agents. Gian Michele Maldura took care of the press's business in Mantua, while Giovanni Andrea Maldura was stationed by the firm in his native Milan.

Melchiorre or Marchio Scotto joined his uncle at the press around 1565, if not before. He was the son of Girolamo's brother Ludovico, who lived in Milan. In 1565 Melchiorre signed an agreement to act as agent for Girolamo.[90] The following year he negotiated a printing contract between the Scotto press and the Monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore, under which he signed the agreement, collected money, and delivered books on behalf of his uncle.[91] The increased output of the press during the latter half of the 1560s, particularly in the field of music, suggests that Melchiorre played an active role in the business at this time.

86. Pietro Manzi, "Annali tipografici di Giovanni Maria Scotto (1559–1566)," in *La tipografia napoletana nel '500.* [3] *Annali di Giovanni Paolo Suganappo, Raimondo Amato, Giovanni de Boy, Giovanni Maria Scotto et tipografi minori (1533–1570)* (Florence, 1973), 159–206.

87. ASV, B. Solian Notarile Atti 11869, fols. 229^{v}–230^{v}.

88. ASV, M. Figolin Notarile Atti b. 580, fol. 5^{v}.

89. Marciani, "Editori, tipografi, librai," 500.

90. ASV, B. Solian Notarile Atti, b. 11874, fol. 10^{r-v}.

91. Agee, "A Venetian Music Printing Contract," 61. For further discussion of this contract see chap. 4.

DIRECTORSHIP UNDER MELCHIORRE SCOTTO (1572–1613)

Girolamo named Melchiorre in his will as his sole heir to the press on the condition that his nephew renounce his inheritance from his father Ludovico. In a notarial document issued after Girolamo's death in 1572, Melchiorre relinquished his portion of Ludovico's property in Milan to his brothers, Baldiserre, Ottaviano V, and Bernardino. When he took over the firm after Girolamo's death, he employed Girolamo's imprint until 1573, after which he changed it to "Herede di Girolamo Scotto." He continued to use the elaborate anchor printer's mark (Anchor V) found on Scotto music editions dating from the 1560s.[92] When the original woodcut wore out, Melchiorre replaced the mark with an exact duplicate. He also employed other devices, including one depicting the three graces within an elaborate compartment containing personifications of justice, fame, and peace (see fig. 2.5).

Melchiorre carried on the firm's tradition, issuing titles in philosophy, law, religion, medicine, classical literature, and music, but his output declined sharply to half the former level. Unlike his uncle, he tended to rely more on music publications. Of the 375 editions that survive, 291 or three-quarters of Melchiorre's publications were in the field of music. This contrasted with the parity between music and non-music publications that existed in the catalogue of books issued by Girolamo Scotto. The change in the balance of the press could reflect a personal interest in music or possibly indicate changes in university curricula.

For the next forty years, Melchiorre issued first editions and reprints of works by new composers and those already established with the Scotto press in the 1560s and 70s, such as Monte, Palestrina, Striggio, and Marenzio. The Scotto firm was the exclusive press for such composers as Vinci, Ferretti, Piccioni, and Dragoni. Melchiorre also published several first editions of Pontio, Isnardi, and Conversi. He printed a wide variety of genres, including Masses, motets, madrigals, *canzoni alla napolitana*, and instrumental pieces in mensural notation as well as in lute intabulation. The press tended to specialize in the lighter secular genres, in particular the *canzona alla napolitana*.

By 1588 the majority of music publications brought out by the Scotto press consisted of reprinted editions. From 1592 until 1596 Melchiorre's output decreased dramatically. After a brief revival, production at the press came to a halt in 1610, and then resumed only for the year 1613. Melchiorre had an illegitimate son Baldissera, born 28 February 1581. Girolamo's widow Cesarea Sinistri named Melchiorre in her will of 1589, where she also stated that in the event of Melchiorre's death, his natural son Baldiserra would be her heir. Baldissera presumably apprenticed with his father at the press. We do not know when Melchiorre died, but a hiatus in publications in 1610 coupled with the fact that Baldissera

92. See fig. 3.10 in chap. 3.

FIGURE 2.5 Printer's mark of Melchiorre Scotto

made out his own will that same year[93] suggests that Melchiorre had died at that time. Baldissera might have taken over the firm, printing only a handful of music publications in 1613. On 4 October 1615 Baldissera died in the town of Montà near Padua. Since he was illegitimate, Baldissera could not be buried in the Scotto family tomb in the church of S. Francesco della Vigna, nor was his will recognized by the Venetian authorities, who sold his property at public auction.

Baldassera's death signaled the end of one of the most important music printing firms of Cinquecento Venice, for, as we have seen, the Scotto family played a remarkable role at every step in the development of music printing in Italy. Ottaviano, founder of the press, was the first Italian to print music from movable type. Amadio Scotto acted as a silent partner to Ottaviano Petrucci, providing the financial backing to the first printer who published polyphonic music using the

93. ASV, Cancelleria Inferiore, Cedole, b. 68, no. 216. A transcription of parts of Baldissera's will appears in Sartori, "La famiglia," 29 n. 34. In the will, Baldissera mentions his inheritance from Girolamo's widow, Cesarea Sinistri, further suggesting his father's death by that date.

multiple-impression method. Paolo Scotto had compositions printed in several of Petrucci's publications. Ottaviano II underwrote Andrea Antico's *Liber quindecim missarum* and collaborated with the *intagliatore* on a series of sixteen xylographic music books. Brandino and Ottaviano, sons of Amadio, undertook a short-lived enterprise in music printing when they joined Antico in publishing an edition of Willaert's motets in 1539. Ottaviano di Amadio probably took part in the publication of eighteen unsigned music editions issued from 1545 to 1547.[94] Nonetheless, it was Girolamo who boldly switched to the single-impression method of music printing, thus making the publication of music books a commercially viable enterprise for the Scotto press. His contributions to the commercialization of music printing along with his prodigious output established the House of Scotto as one of the foremost Renaissance music publishing firms, enabling his heirs to continue printing music books up until the beginning of the seventeenth century.

94. See Jane A. Bernstein, "The Burning Salamander: Assigning a Printer to Some Sixteenth-Century Music Prints," *Music Library Association Notes* 42 (1985/86): 483–501.

Three

INSIDE THE SCOTTO PRINT SHOP

The Manufacturing of a Music Book

> We print in the said house with two presses and support our family as best we can because the book trade has much declined . . .
>
> *Ottaviano and Girolamo Scotto,*
> *Tax declaration, 1566*

irolamo acquired a business already geared to standardized book production when he assumed active management of the Scotto press. The manufacturing techniques perfected by his predecessors enabled Scotto to mass produce music books. In this chapter, we will concentrate on the operation of a sixteenth-century Venetian music press by examining various features of the Scotto print shop: its workforce, the materials it used, and its editorial practices. The process of typesetting a music book and the typographical style unique to the Scotto press will also be described. The materials and physical features that comprised Girolamo Scotto's music publications—papers, formats, title pages, printer's marks, decorative initials, and typefaces—help us to identify what books came from his press. They also assume a greater significance in reflecting the changes in cultural taste and consequently the marketing strategies of music printers in mid-Cinquecento Venice.

THE ORGANIZATION OF A MUSIC PRESS

As we have noted, Girolamo Scotto was a *mercator*, who directed and financed every aspect of a major printing and publishing business. Though he co-owned the Scotto firm with his brother Ottaviano, Girolamo apparently operated the printing shop on his own. The cost of running a press required an enormous outlay of capital. Fortunately, Scotto did not have to cover the one-time expense for the presses and typographical equipment he inherited, though he did need, from time to time, to replenish his stock with new type fonts.

Scotto also had to tie up a great deal of capital in unsold inventory. A 1596 book list of 256 music editions printed by the Scotto firm attests to the large build-up of inventory.[1] Publications dating back some fifty years appear in the catalogue. Large sums of money were also held up in unpaid balances created in the marketing process. It often took years to collect from agents and booksellers, as seen with the Carrara brothers, booksellers in the cities of Messina and Palermo, who owed Scotto the enormous sum of 1,305 ducats and 20 lire for books they had sold for him some eight years earlier.[2]

The cost of labor was also considerable. The workers Scotto employed ranged from young apprentices and piece-work journeymen to pressmen, compositors, and proof correctors. Apprentices came from a variety of middle-class backgrounds. Usually the regulations regarding apprenticeships required a knowledge of Latin, and most assuredly in the case of the Scotto press, the apprentice had to read music notation. The age of the apprentice averaged between fifteen and twenty years old with the period of service fluctuating from two to five years. In addition to teaching the apprentice his craft, the master was required to provide room and board, clothes, and pocket money. The apprentice, in return, had to obey the master printer and perform all the menial tasks of the shop.[3]

Other members of the print shop might include a journeyman who, after serving his apprenticeship, traveled from town to town, often for several years. A journeyman would stay in a particular locality anywhere from a month to one or two years, where he worked at the shop of a master printer.[4] Ranking above the journeyman were the trained laborers, who worked either as compositors setting type and preparing formes or pressmen who pulled the sheets of paper and operated the press. At the top of the workforce was the head compositor, who supervised the other workers and corrected the first proofs. Finally, the job of proof correction was usually assumed by the *mercator* or a member of the family. It also appears that in many cases, the composers themselves were obliged to read and correct proofs for their own publications.

The workforce usually divided into groups of four or five men, consisting of two compositors, two pressmen, and an apprentice. Each group operated one press, so that in the largest printing establishments, there might be as many as forty to fifty men on eight to ten presses.[5] The two presses that Girolamo and Ottaviano Scotto declared in their 1566 tax declaration suggest that at least ten workers were employed at the shop. The total number of editions issued by the press per year indicates that in good years the Scotto firm operated three or four printing presses

1. See fig. 5.2 and discussion of publisher's book lists in chap. 5. A modern transcription of the list appears in Oscar Mischiati, *Indici, cataloghi e avvisi degli editori e librai musicali italiani dal 1591 al 1798* (Florence, 1984), 99–106.
2. ASV, Notarile Atti B. Solian, b. 11876, fols. 185^{v}–186.
3. Febvre and Martin, *Coming of the Book*, 129–30.
4. Ibid.
5. As was the case with the Plantin press; see Voet, *Golden Compasses*, 2: 335.

rather than the two declared, so that up to twenty men might have worked at the shop during certain peak periods. In addition, the Scotto press contracted other independent printers in Venice to print their books.

PRODUCTION METHODS

The process of printing a music edition began with the preparation of the copy. In most cases, the copy was a composer's manuscript or fair copy prepared by another scribe.[6] On other occasions, it could be a printed edition.[7]

Upon receipt of the copy, the typesetter or master would cast off the copy, that is, calculate precisely how the contents of the book were to be laid out. The calculation of line-breaks and page layout differed according to the type of musical genre printed. Madrigal editions were most often set one piece per page, but on occasion three works could be spread over two pages, as seen in Verdelot's *Tutti li madrigali del primo et secondo libro a quatro voci* (1540).[8] Motets, often divided into two parts, would fit onto two pages (not necessarily facing each other). An entire Mass setting, in contrast, took up the inordinately large number of around eight pages or one gathering of quarto format.[9]

With preparation and casting off completed, the copy was then ready to be set in type. The compositor took each piece of type from large type-cases, which housed the type in different compartments. He then set both the music and text type on a hand-held tray called a composing stick. When he completed a line of music with its text underlay, the compositor slid the contents of the composing stick onto a wooden tray or galley that usually held one page of type.[10]

On completion of the appropriate number of pages of type, the compositor was ready to impose the pages into a forme. The forme was the arrangement of the pages on one side of a sheet of paper. The outer and inner formes made up the back and front of the sheet when printed. The number and arrangement of the pages was determined by the format of the book. Several different formats were employed by

6. In requesting a privilege on 6 May 1542, Girolamo Scotto mentions a copy made of Piccolomini's *De la institutione di tutta la vita de l'homo*. ASV, Senato terra, Registro 32, fol. 29 (new fol. 50).

7. The term "edition" used throughout this study is defined as including all copies of a text printed from the same setting of type. For a more detailed description see Fredson Bowers, *Principles of Bibliographical Description* (New York, 1962), 42–77 and Stanley Boorman, "Edition," pt. 3 glossary of *Music Printing and Publishing*, ed. D. W. Krummel and Stanley Sadie (New York, 1990), 503–7.

8. See Catalogue no. **14**.

9. In the case of smaller presses, the organization of the musical works in the book was determined by the decorative initials. If a press owned only one set of decorative initials, then the compositor had to plan one piece of music beginning with a particular letter to be set in each forme; see Forney, "Tielman Susato," 147. Since Girolamo owned several sets of decorative initials, this was not a factor in the sequence of the contents of his music books.

10. Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford, 1972), 40.

Scotto, but the one most common for his music books was oblong quarto. In oblong quarto, the outer forme contained pages 1, 4, 5, and 8, while the inner forme held pages 2, 3, 6, and 7. Both outer and inner formes made up one gathering.[11]

The compositor created the forme on a flat slab of marble called an imposing stone. Next he set a wooden or metal frame known as a chase around the forme. He then filled the spaces between the forme and chase with furniture (large wooden inner frames) and locked the forme into the chase with thumbscrews attached to two sides of the chase.[12]

As Mary Lewis has discovered, Venetian printers apparently employed a special kind of furniture for their music publications. She has speculated that the wooden inner frame contained indentations or grooves that held each line of music type in place. This caused alignment of music staves that is remarkably consistent from one page to another not only within a given music edition, but also in all editions using the same music type font. Scotto employed this special mechanism in his earliest music editions of 1539, while Gardano began to use it around 1542.[13]

After the forme had been printed off, it was returned to the compositor, who cleaned off the ink and distributed most of the type back to the cases. Since the arrangement of every forme of a book remained the same, the compositor would retain certain typographical parts, in particular headings, repeated rules, and ornaments, known as standing type, along with the chase and furniture. All of these components made up what is called the skeleton forme.[14] The skeleton forme was then reused for successive formes. The use of standing type was a labor- and time-saving device in the production of all books, and, as Lewis notes, was particularly effective in the printing of music in partbooks.[15]

Title pages, headings containing composer's names, sectional indications, and pagination all remained as standing type to be used in the typesetting for all of the partbooks. Lewis suggests that in addition to the type for headings and border material, Gardano's compositors from 1542 on retained much of the text underlay of the page as standing type. She further speculates that the purpose of the specially notched furniture was not only to align the staves within an edition, but to keep the music type fixed in position while shifting around the text underlay, when setting the forme for successive parts.[16] This may have been true in the case of Gardano, but not with Scotto. A cursory examination of Scotto's music editions from representative years reveals discrepancies in the text type of the underlay and,

11. For an explanation of formats, see the section on format further on in this chapter.

12. According to Gaskell, *New Introduction*, 80, Italian printers used chases with thumbscrews instead of quoins (small wooden wedges driven between the furniture and chase) up until the eighteenth century.

13. Lewis, *Antonio Gardano*, 1: 66, theorizes that the patent Gardano received in 1542 for the discovery of a new way of printing music was for this special grooved furniture. Scotto's employment of the same mechanism three years before Gardano proves this hypothesis to be untenable.

14. Gaskell, *New Introduction*, 109.

15. *Antonio Gardano*, 1: 64.

16. Ibid., 1: 66.

in some cases, in the decorative initials from part to part. All of these deviations in the text between partbooks imply that compositors at the Scotto press did not retain the text underlay as part of the standing type. That setting both the music and the text underlay together on the composing stick one line at a time was the prevalent method of typesetting employed by Scotto and other Venetian printers for all partbooks may be seen in the tenor book of an unsigned edition of Ghibel's Motets of 1546. Here an error occurs in no. 17, *Ecce salvator mundi*, where lines two and three of both the music and the text underlay were switched around.[17]

Music partbooks presented the opportunity for a different method of typesetting for compositors accustomed to working with single-volume publications. Following the usual manner of typesetting for single-volume editions, compositors could set all the formes for each partbook before proceeding to the next book (all of the cantus book, then all of the tenor book, etc.) But, as Lewis has shown, they could also take advantage of standing type, by setting all the partbooks one gathering (i.e. one forme) at a time. Lewis has coined the term "vertical setting" to describe this technique, in contrast to the traditional order, which she calls "horizonal setting."[18] Apparently, Gardano's compositors employed vertical setting of all music publications dating from 1545 onwards. It is also clear that after 1544, the Scotto press followed the same practice, though not with the same consistency as the Gardano firm.

EMENDATIONS DURING PRODUCTION

After the compositor locked the forme into its chase, he gave the newly imposed formes to the pressmen, who printed them on paper. A reader would check one of the earliest sheets pulled from the press. Girolamo Scotto or a professional proofreader knowledgeable in music presumably did this task for many of the music editions, particularly the anthologies, but a composer or his representative was usually responsible for correcting commissioned publications of their own works.

In general the Scotto firm did not bother to correct errors deemed minor or insignificant. Certain mistakes, such as turned letters in the text, designation of the wrong vocal part in the heading, or errors in pagination and signatures, remained, in many instances, uncorrected. More blatant mistakes, particularly concerning the music itself, were corrected after the pressrun by a variety of methods.

One standard practice was the issuing of an errata sheet. If Scotto printed errata sheets for his music publications, then none survives. Extant copies of music editions from the Scotto press, however, do display other forms of emendation. One of them was the paste-over, whereby a slip of paper containing the printed correction was affixed over the error, as seen on the altus title page of the Verona

17. See Catalogue no. **57**.
18. Lewis, *Antonio Gardano*, 1: 68.

copy of *Missae cum quatuor vocibus paribus decantandae, Morales Hispani, ac aliorum* . . . of 1542, where the word "TENOR" is pasted over with the correct voice part.[19]

The most common kinds of corrections were handwritten ones, which appear most frequently in the emendation of signatures. Sometimes the Scotto press would employ white ink to hide the error and then correct it by hand, as seen on pages 1 and 2 of all the parts to a copy of Ruffo's *Armonia celeste* (1559), where text underlay is blotted out.[20] Incorrect notes could also be stamped over with square woodblocks by hand, known as overprinting, as seen on page 4 of the tenor to a copy of Contino's Lamentations (1561).[21]

Larger errors required more complicated correcting methods. Sometimes during the printing process, the press was stopped to make corrections in the type, or printed corrections could be appended to a page containing an error after the forme was printed. In some cases, variant states exist in different copies of the edition. For example, an entire musical phrase was left out in the bassus part of the fourth piece in the unsigned edition of Perissone Cambio's *Madrigali a cinque voci* (1545).[22] The four surviving copies of the bassus partbook differ from each other with regard to the correction. The Rome copy contains the page unemended in its original state.[23] The copy in Wolfenbüttel also left the press uncorrected, but has the missing musical phrase handwritten in ink at the bottom of the page with indication of placement at the beginning of the second system. The Modena and Verona copies have different variant states of the edition. Both have a typeset addendum containing the musical phrase with text underlay overprinted at the bottom of the page. Only the Verona copy includes a small hand printed at the beginning of the second system to indicate the placement of the addendum. It is clear that these emendations were not stop-press corrections, but were changes that took place after the pressrun.

Irregularities in typography, pagination, gathering structure, signatures, and watermarks can reveal a great deal about the laying out of a book during the printing process. They can, as Stanley Boorman has shown, signal a change of plan, interruption, or miscalculation on the part of the printer.[24] The gathering structure and foliation in some of the early Mass publications reveal that the compositor at the Scotto press was not only careful in calculating the number of leaves needed for an edition, but also how the individual pieces were laid out in the volume. Unlike madrigal and motet publications, which were made up of short pieces,

19. See Catalogue no. **26**.

20. See Catalogue no. **169**.

21. See Catalogue no. **193**.

22. See Catalogue no. **49**.

23. I am using the term "state" to mean an alteration of a book where no change is made to the original title page. See Bowers, *Principles of Bibliographical Description*, 42–77 and Boorman, "Edition," pt. 3 glossary of *Music Printing and Publishing*.

24. "Printed Music Books of the Italian Renaissance from the Point of View of Manuscript Study," in *Actas del XV congreso de la Sociedad Internacional de Musicología, Madrid, 1992* (Madrid, 1993), 2587–2602.

Mass editions required more precise planning because of the long and variable lengths of individual Mass settings. Gathering structures of Mass publications tended to deviate from the normal pattern of four leaves per gathering, and in some instances, the number of leaves would vary among the individual partbooks. *Liber primus quinque missarum* (1540), *Sex missae cum quinque vocibus* (1542), and *Missae cum quatuor vocibus* (1542) demonstrate this point. In all three cases, the first Mass required six leaves, while the remaining Masses were accommodated by four leaves each. Instead of the irregular gathering of six leaves being placed in its customary position at the end of the volume, it occurs at the beginning of the book, confirming that it was the last forme to be typeset.[25] The same situation apparently occurred with *Missae cum quatuor vocibus* (1540), but in this case, a change of plan took place after the book went into production. Both the foliation and signatures tell us that the Mass setting intended to start off the edition was omitted and a separate leaf added for a new title page.[26]

Besides change of plans, miscalculations in the number of leaves required in an individual partbook could occur while the book was in press. The signature "*2" for the last gathering of the altus of Gasparo Alberti's *Il primo libro delle messe* (1549) demonstrates this point. In this case, the compositor realized he needed two extra leaves for the altus partbook after production of the tenor partbook took place.[27]

On occasion, differences in typographical features and watermarks between gatherings might indicate an alteration in the plan of the edition to accommodate an extra gathering. The fourth gathering of a posthumous collection of four-voice motets by Maistre Jhan (1543), for example, is set apart from the first three in that it does not employ decorated initials and contains different watermarks.[28] The contents of the fourth gathering also suggest that it was added at a different time in the production process. In this instance, the *secunda pars* of the last motet by Maistre Jhan spilled over onto the first folio of a fourth gathering. Scotto provided two additional motets by Leonardo Barré in order to fill out the last gathering.

Another example of an extra gathering occurs in the 1540 edition of Verdelot's *Tutti li madrigali del primo et secondo libro a quatro voci*. Here, the word "FINIS" appears at the bottom of p. LIIII of the last complete duerno (G4), implying that the compositor believed this folio to be the final one of the edition. But there is an additional gathering of two leaves (signatures: H–H2) *after* this gathering. Apparently Scotto decided to append three additional madrigals, which might not have been available when production of the edition commenced.[29]

25. The collation as defined in the signatures of the three editions are: A^6 B^4 C^4 D^4 E^4 [F^4] (See Catalogue nos. **10**, **25**, and **26**).

26. The first Mass begins on fol. 7 instead of fol. 2, and is signed B*i* instead of A*ij* (See Catalogue no. **10** for the complete signature).

27. See Catalogue no. **76**.

28. The first three gatherings only use a paper containing an anchor and circle with star watermark, while the fourth gathering of each of the partbooks uses papers containing other watermarks (cardinal's hat and fleur-de-lys). See Catalogue no. **30**.

29. See Catalogue no. **14**.

Having described the hierarchy of the workforce at the Scotto press and the process of typesetting, we now turn to the materials and elements—the paper, formats, printer's marks, decorative initials, and typefaces—that made up the unique typographical style of the Scotto press. Today these physical characteristics play an important role in the identification of unsigned or incomplete editions. In the sixteenth century, they signaled to the general readership the contents and intended function of the edition.[30] Music publications in octavo format with small typefaces that contained *canzone villanesca* were aimed at a universal audience. Large books in upright quarto or folio format with elaborately decorated initials and large typefaces often served as presentation editions for important personages.[31] Furthermore, alterations in formats, title-page designs, and typographical features of music books at the Scotto press that occurred during the three decades of Girolamo's tenure reflect the rapid changes that were taking place in the new print culture.

PAPER

The kind of paper used by Scotto determined the size and shape of the music book he produced. Paper was Scotto's most important and most expensive material. His firm consumed vast quantities of it—about three reams a day per press.[32] Like all Venetian printers, Scotto maintained close contact with paper manufacturers, depending on an industry that had developed long before the advent of the printing press.

Paper first appeared in Europe sometime around 1100, when it was first manufactured in the Spanish towns of Xativa, Valencia, and Toledo. The industry reached Italy at the end of the thirteenth century. The town of Fabriano, situated near Ancona, became the first Italian center for the manufacture of paper. Renowned for the quality and quantity of its paper, Fabriano retained its status as a major producer of paper for centuries. By the middle of the fourteenth century, paper mills spread to other Italian cities, notably Padua and shortly thereafter to Treviso.[33]

The paper industry expanded quickly with the spread of printing, and by the sixteenth century, large amounts of paper were produced all over Italy as well as in France and Germany. The location of paper mills in the Venetian Republic proved a boon to printers, who obtained their paper mainly from the surrounding environs

30. On this point see Paul F. Grendler, "Form and Function in Italian Renaissance Popular Books," *Renaissance Quarterly* 46 (1993): 451–85.

31. For discussion of the relationship of the appearance of music books and their intended purpose, see Lewis, "The Printed Music Book in Context: Observations on Some Sixteenth-Century Editions," *Music Library Association Notes* 40 (1990): 899–918.

32. Febvre and Martin, *Coming of the Book*, 40.

33. Carlo Castellani, "Watermarks," in *Early Venetian Printing Illustrated* (New York, 1895), 3. See also Febvre and Martin, *Coming of the Book*, 33–44.

of Padua, Treviso, and the Friuli, as well as the Riviera di Salò on Lake Garda.[34] Girolamo Scotto acquired most of his paper from Padua. One of his closest associates, Jacopo Fabriano, was not only a printer and bookdealer in Padua but was also described as a "cartolarius Patavinus."[35]

Paper came in several dimensions, which varied slightly according to the mold size. In the fourteenth century four sizes of paper were established as the standard measurements for papermaking in Bologna. They were *imperialle* (74 × 50 cm.), *realle* (61.5 × 44.5 cm.), *mezane* (51.5 × 34.5 cm.), and *rezute* (45 × 31.5 cm.).[36] These four sizes remained fairly standard throughout the fifteenth century. Toward the end of the century most books in folio format were printed on paper corresponding to the smaller sizes of *rezute* and *mezane*. Italian printers, however, reserved the largest, most expensive *imperialle* size for their special books.[37] Certain musico-liturgical books intended for the choir to share at a single lectern required *imperialle* paper. Indeed, the largest size paper used for any incunabulum appeared in the *Graduale Romanum* (1499/1500) and companion *Antiphonarium Romanum* (1503–4) printed by Johann Emerich of Speyer for Luc'Antonio Giunti in Venice.[38]

By the middle of the sixteenth century, *rezute* became the most common size paper used by Italian printers. Some extant printing contracts specify the paper size if it differed from the standard *rezute*. The Roman agreement between Andrea Antico and Ottaviano Scotto, for example, specifies that the *Liber quindecim . . .* must be printed on "regali folio." So does another Roman contract between Morales, Dorico, Antonio de Salamanca, and Della Gatta which stipulates that the paper used must be "carta reale." The measurements of extant copies of these two editions, falling in the range of 43.3 × 28.5 cm., verify that the paper used was indeed the royal or *realle* size stated in the contracts.[39] As with the extra-large folios of the incunabular period, these editions of polyphonic Mass settings in choirbook format required a large paper size, since they were intended for ecclesiastical use by a choir singing from one book.

Girolamo Scotto employed *rezute* paper for practically all his music books.[40] Antonio Gardano also used the *rezute* size, but printed a few specially commis-

34. Giuseppe Fumagalli, *Lexicon Typographicum Italiae* (Florence, 1905), p. xxvi.

35. *IA* 47, no. 108.120.

36. Charles Briquet, *Les Filigranes* (Paris, 1907), 1: 2–3; A. F. Gasparinetti, "Notes on Early Italian Papermaking," *The Paper Maker* 27 (1958): 25–32 at 25; and Gaskell, *New Introduction*, 67.

37. Konrad Haebler, *The Study of Incunabula*, trans. Lucy Eugenia Osborne (New York, 1933), 49. A perusal of the leaf measurements of Italian music incunabula listed in the catalogue in Duggan, *Italian Music Incunabula*, confirms this statement.

38. Duggan, 130.

39. Cusick, *Valerio Dorico*, 172.

40. Scotto editions containing untrimmed leaves in three different formats conform to the *rezute* size: a 1559 folio edition of Alexander of Aphrodisias, *Quaestiones naturales et morales* (see no. 255 in app. D) measures 33.2 × 22.2 cm; the 1572 quarto oblong edition of Cavatoni's *Scielta de Madrigali* (Catalogue no. **387**) measures 22.9 × 17 cm., and a 1542 upright octavo edition of Cardano's *De Consolatione Libri Tres* (see no. 31 in app. D) measures 16.5 × 11.7 cm.

sioned editions on larger size sheets. The paper measurements for Willaert's *Musica nova* of 1559 and Giovanelli's *Novus Thesaurus* volumes, both in upright quarto, correspond to *mezane*, while those of the 1562 folio editions of Morales's Magnificats and Kerle's Mass settings conform with *realle*.[41]

Each sheet of paper carried the distinctive pattern of the mold in which it was made. The mold consisted of a frame containing wires running vertically (laid lines) and horizontally (chain lines) to form a grid. Paper manufacturers constructed their own personal design or watermark from wire and then sewed it onto the grid of laid and chain lines.[42]

At least nineteen or more families of watermarks appear in the paper used by the Scotto press. I have identified them only in general terms, since none of them exactly matches any of the watermarks cited in such secondary sources as Briquet and Mošin, where one "family" or type of watermarks may run into hundreds of different varieties. The anchor, the symbol of the Scotto press, is the watermark most commonly found in Scotto's publications. Mošin has categorized the marks with the anchor design into six types. As might be expected, most of the papers used by the Scotto press containing the anchor watermark were manufactured in northern Italy—first in Fabriano and then later in the sixteenth century in the Veneto. The most common group of anchor watermarks was an anchor in double outline, within a circle surmounted by a star.[43] This watermark and at least three from other families with the anchor design appear in paper found in Scotto publications. Other watermark designs include two types of fleur-de-lys, a cardinal's hat surmounted by a Greek cross, an ox head with turned-in horns surmounted by a cross, a crescent within a circle surmounted by a star, two types of crowns, crossed arrows surmounted by a star, a cross bow with arrow, a dragon, an angel within a circle surmounted by a star, scales within a circle surmounted by a star, three mounts within a circle surmounted by a star, a four-pointed star, and a heart surmounted by a cross.

FORMAT

During the sixteenth century, books were printed in a variety of formats. The term refers to the relationship between an individual leaf of a book and the original printed sheet of paper, which can vary in the number of leaves it contains.[44] The arrangement of the printed pages on one side of the sheet of paper known as the forme and the subsequent folding of the original sheet determine the format of a volume.

41. Lewis, *Antonio Gardano*, 1: 39.

42. Gaskell, *New Introduction*, 61.

43. Vladimir Mošin, *Anchor Watermarks*, ed. and trans. J. S. G. Simmons and B. J. van Ginneken-van de Kasteele (Amsterdam, 1973), 24–25, Type It. II.2.A.d.

44. Boorman, Glossary in *Music Printing and Publishing*, 510–13; Gaskell, New Introduction, 80.

The most common formats are folio, quarto, octavo, duodecimo, and sextodecimo. In folio format, two pages are printed on each side of a sheet of paper, which is then folded once along the shorter side (crosswise) to make a two-leaf, four-page gathering. A quarto is produced from a sheet containing four pages printed on each side folded twice, once crosswise and once along the longer side (lengthwise), thus creating a four-leaf or eight-page gathering (duerno). Printed sheets for octavo format have eight pages printed on each side; the paper is subsequently folded once crosswise, once lengthwise, and then crosswise again, making an eight-leaf or sixteen-page gathering (quaderno).

The standard orientation of a format is upright. Some formats can also be oblong, whereby the horizontal axis is longer than the vertical. During the mid-sixteenth century, the most common format for music books was oblong quarto. The layout or imposition of the pages on the forme and folding sequence for an oblong format differs from that of an upright format. Figure 3.1 illustrates the page placement and folding scheme of oblong quarto. The position of the watermark and the direction of the chainlines on the leaf also differ between the two formats. As seen in figure 3.2, the chainlines run horizontally and the watermark appears in the middle of the spine fold in upright quarto. Oblong quarto, in contrast, has vertical chainlines with the watermark at the top center of the leaf.[45]

Scotto employed at least six different formats for all his books: upright folio, upright and oblong quarto format, upright octavo, upright duodecimo, and upright sextodecimo. The subject of the book dictated the type of format used. As seen in appendix D, the majority of Scotto's non-music books appeared in folio format. They included many of his Aristotelian commentaries and classical texts in Latin. These large volumes were intended for the libraries of wealthy patricians. The Scotto press also produced some of the same titles found in the folio editions in upright octavo format. Aimed at the academic market, the smaller, cheaper volumes must have been lucrative for the Venetian firm. Scotto also reserved the octavo format for medical handbooks, dictionaries, letters, and other familiar writings of vernacular literature such as Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* (1556) or Contarini's *La republica ei magistrati di Vinegia* (1544).[46] On rare occasions, Scotto would employ upright quarto format for special literary projects, such as his first edition of Alessandro Piccolomini's *De la institutione di tutta la vita de l'homo . . .* (1542), or for chivalric romances containing several woodcut illustrations, such as Boiardo's *Orlando Inammorato* (1545) and Pulci's *Morgante maggiore* (1545).[47] Scotto also printed several of his liturgical books (*Missale Romanum and Breviarum Romanum*) in this mid-size format. Only a handful of books in the tiny formats of duodecimo and sextodecimo survive from the Scotto press; they include

45. Krummel, "Oblong Format in Early Music Books," *The Library*, 5th ser., 26 (1971): 312–24 at 312; Forney, "Tielman Susato," 164–68; and Lewis, *Antonio Gardano*, 1: 37.

46. See nos. 229 and 51 in app. D.

47. See nos. 34, 69–70, and 85 in app. D.

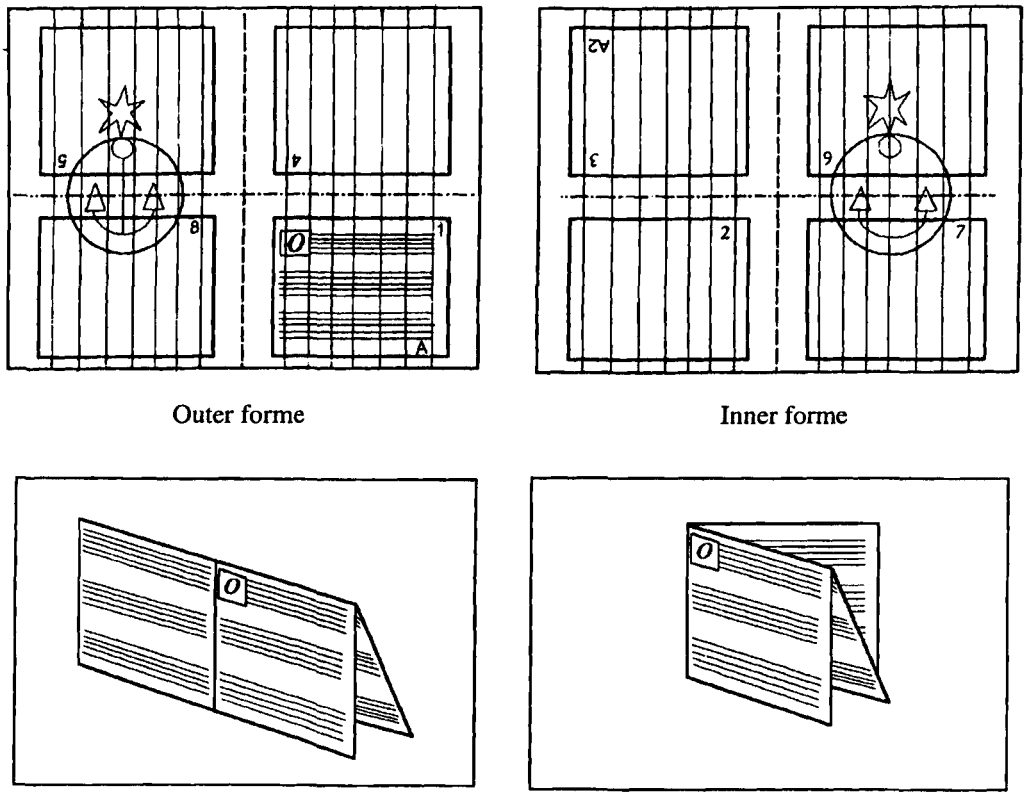
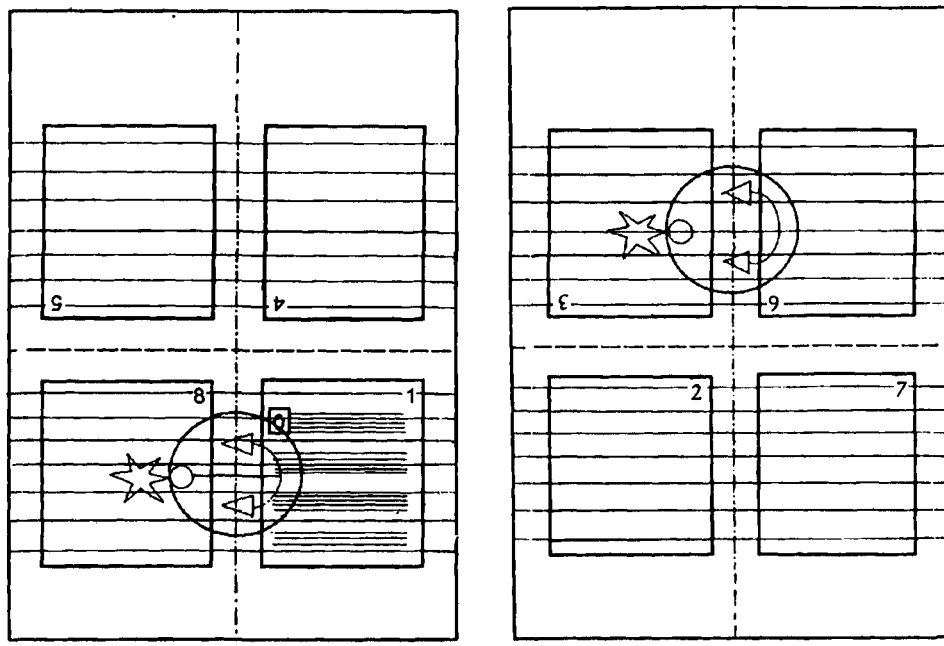


FIGURE 3.1 Imposition and folding scheme of oblong quarto format

religious devotional books and Bibles in the vernacular, such as the *New Testament* (1548) and St Augustine's *Meditations* (1566).[48]

Scotto's music publications appeared in four basic formats at different times in his publishing career. He used oblong quarto from 1539 until the early 1560s for all his music publications. An exception occurred in 1544, when he reversed the orientation to upright quarto. The catalyst for this sudden change in format was probably Antonfrancesco Doni, for whom Scotto printed both the *Dialogo di musica* and *Lettere*. The *Dialogo's* unusual conception as a hybrid musico-literary work presumably prompted the use of upright quarto. Upright octavo, traditionally employed for literary dialogic works, was too small to incorporate both music works and dialogue, while the oblong quarto of music editions was too wide and therefore wasted space for the texted portions. Scotto seemed to like the idea of the new format, for in that year he issued at least another six music editions in upright quarto.

48. See nos. 127 and 332 in app. D.



Inner forme Outer forme

FIGURE 3.2 Imposition of upright quarto format

The experiment, however, did not last. Girolamo ceased to print music from 1545 to 1547, and when he resumed his music-printing operations in 1548, he reverted to the traditional orientation of oblong format.[49] With one exception, oblong quarto continued as the favorite format until 1564, when upright quarto superseded it at the Scotto press. Scotto was, in fact, the first Italian music printer to change from oblong to upright quarto format. It took another twenty years for the upright orientation to become standard for all music printers.

The format of choice for *villanesche* editions by most printers was the smaller oblong octavo. Colonia in Naples, Dorico and Barré in Rome, Moscheni and Pozzo in Milan, Susato in Antwerp, and Le Roy and Ballard in Paris all used the diminutive format.[50] Even Gardano adopted it in 1560 for his *Villotte alla napolitana* series. Perhaps in response to Gardano's change in format, Scotto, in 1561, inaugurated another new format, upright octavo, for his music editions of *canzone alla napolitane*, *villote*, and other three-voice dialect songs. No other music printer took up the upright orientation for the octavo size. The diminutive dimensions of the

49. On the unsigned music publications printed during these years see J. Bernstein, "Burning Salamander," 483–501.

50. Donna Cardamone, *The Canzone villanesca alla napolitana and Related Forms, 1537–1570* (Studies in Musicology 45; Ann Arbor, Mich., 1981), 1: 7. Earlier printers such as Petrucci, Antico/Scotto, and Attaingnant also employed the format.

format fit in well with the modest size and style of the pieces. Scotto adopted two different methods of presenting the poetry and music on the page. In most cases, he followed Gardano's lead by printing only the first stanza of text underneath the music and placing any additional strophes in a group at the bottom of the piece (see fig. 3.3). On rare occasions, Scotto copied the arrangement used by other printers, by placing the music with one stanza of text underlay on the verso page and the entire poem on the opposite page.[51]

Only two of Scotto's music publications survive in folio format. They are single-volume lute books that were commissioned by their authors, Galilei and Barbetta.[52] Unlike Gardano's editions, none of Scotto's sacred books appears in choirbook format. Only one volume, the *Villancicos* of 1556, is laid out in choirbook fashion. Unusual for this arrangement and upright quarto format, the *Villancicos* is the only book of Spanish-texted music to be published in Cinquecento Venice.[53]

Scotto's music partbooks generally followed the typical structure of four leaves per gathering in quarto format, and eight leaves per gathering in octavo. The average edition consisted of four or five gatherings (either sixteen or twenty leaves), but some editions, particularly of liturgical music, would run into more. Six staves of music were printed to the page in oblong quarto, but from 1554 to 1556, while experimenting with a larger music font, Scotto used five staves.[54] When he turned his quarto books upright, Scotto either employed eight or nine staves of music per page, depending on the size of the music and text fonts. His upright octavo books could accommodate up to six staves of music, but often contained only four, leaving space at the bottom of the page for additional stanzas of text. The editions of lute tablatures printed in oblong quarto contained four staves per page.

PAGINATION AND SIGNATURES

Unlike Gardano, who used pagination for almost all his editions,[55] Scotto tended to be inconsistent in his numbering system, especially in the early years. He preferred pagination for his madrigal editions, foliation for his liturgical publications and lute books, and simply numbered each piece in his early motet editions. By the 1550s pagination became standard in Scotto publications. Whatever the numbering system, Roman numerals appeared in the majority of Scotto's music editions until 1559, when they were superseded by arabic numbering.

Signatures appear on the bottom right-hand corner of the recto of at least the first and second leaves of a gathering. They consist of a letter from the Latin

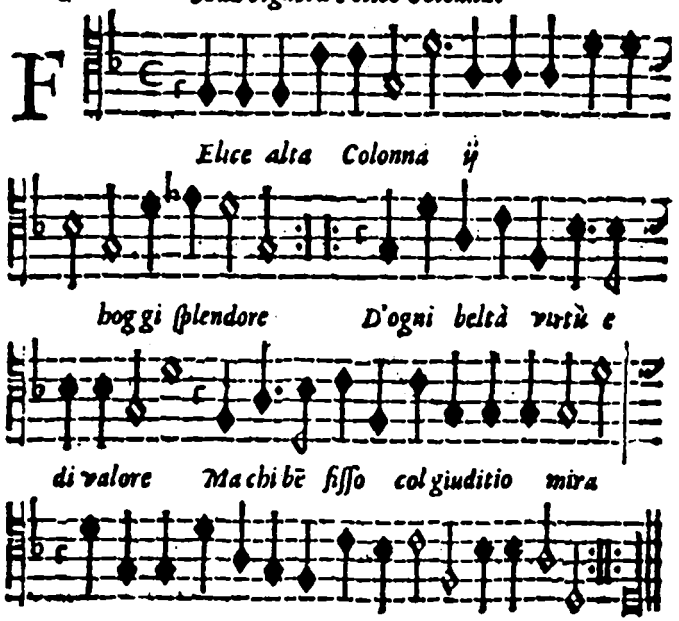
51. As seen in *Corona delle napolitane* 1570/reed. 1572 (Catalogue nos. **360** and **397**) and *Il primo libro delle justiniane* 1570/reed. 1572 (nos. **359** and **398**).

52. Catalogue nos. **306** and **314**.

53. See Catalogue no. **153**.

54. The use of five staves only lasted for two years; Scotto then reverted back to the more economical six staves of music.

55. Lewis, *Antonio Gardano*, 1: 36.



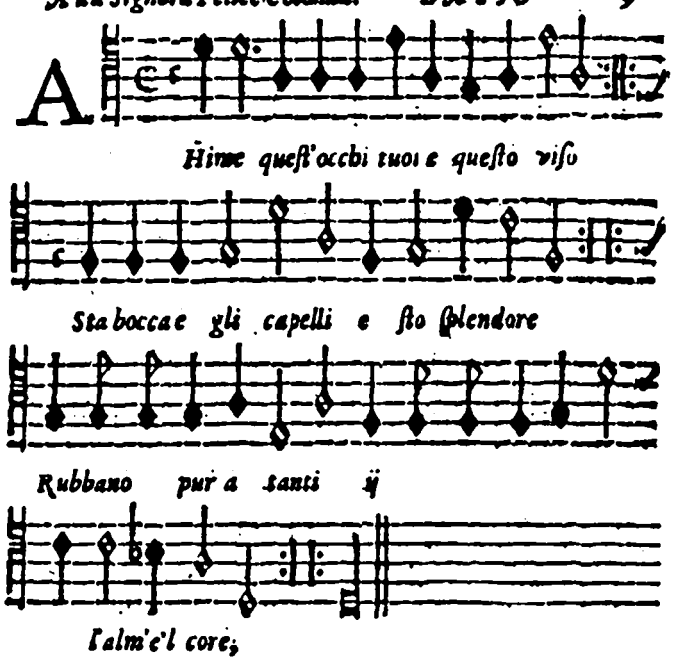


FIGURE 3.3 Venturi, *Il secondo libro delle villanelle a tre voci* (Venice: Scotto, 1571), bassus, pp. 88–89. Reproduced with permission of the Library, University of California, Berkeley.

alphabet and sometimes a brief phrase or signature title identifying the work. Signatures assisted the printer in assembling the book by enabling him to identify the order of the gatherings and the correct way to fold them. Since books were shipped and sold in unbound gatherings, signatures and signature titles also helped booksellers and their customers in distinguishing between different publications.

The signatures for a set of partbooks presented a unique problem. They had to be similar in order to show that the set belonged together, but they also had to differentiate each of the partbooks. Several methods were devised by music printers. One system consisted of starting all the partbooks with the same letter, but distinguishing among them by using a different font or doubling the letters (A–F for cantus, *a–f* for tenor, AA–FF for altus, etc).[56] Scotto utilized this method for all of his pre-1545 music publications. Another method favored by many Italian printers was to letter the partbooks consecutively (e.g., A–D for cantus, E–H for the tenor, I–M for the altus, etc.).[57] This scheme became the predominant system employed by the Scotto press from 1548 until 1572. A third system, in which each partbook contained the same signature in upper-case letters (e.g., A–E; A–E; A–E etc.), proved untenable, since it did not differentiate the partbooks. Scotto used this method for the brief period 1554–55, and only sporadically thereafter.[58]

TITLE PAGES AND COLOPHONS

The development of the title page ran parallel to the history of printing as a whole. Deemed "one of the most distinct, visible advances from script to print,"[59] the title page not only played a substantive role in facilitating the organization of libraries and catalogues, but it also made a crucial contribution to the commercialization of the book trade.[60] In an age of "self-fashioning,"[61] it acted as an advertisement for the book, author, patron, and publisher all in one. It offered convenience by providing the necessary data upon which consumers could base their decision whether or not they wished to purchase a book. This was especially crucial in the field of music, where the consumer more than likely did not have the musical expertise to browse through and comprehend a music edition laid out in separate partbooks.

Soon after the advent of the printing press, bookmen began to print short titles on the blank front leaf of the book. At the end of the fifteenth century, practically

56. This scheme was employed by the Parisian printer Attaingnant. See catalogue to Heartz, *Pierre Attaingnant*. It also appears on rare occasions in later Scotto editions.

57. These included Petrucci, Dorico, Antico/Scotto, and Gardano. See Lewis, *Antonio Gardano*, 1: 38, and catalogues in Cusick, *Valerio Dorico*, and Boorman, "Petrucci at Fossombrone."

58. This method was commonly used by Moderne and Susato.

59. S. H. Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years of Printing* (London, 1955), 105.

60. Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 1: 52.

61. The term was coined by Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago, 1980).

all books had title pages. At first the title page consisted of only a brief designation with all publishing information retained in the colophon. By the second decade of the sixteenth century, printers realized its marketing potential and soon presented prolix titles detailing the various sections of the book, identifying the author, editor, commentator, and/or translator, and displaying the printer's mark.[62]

The title pages of Venetian music editions took a longer time to evolve than those of other fields. Petrucci, at the beginning of the century, employed generic titles that simply identified the number and kind of pieces contained in the volume. This practice continued through the 1530s. Only in the early 1540s, when music printing became a commercially viable enterprise, did the title page catch up with other fields. Both Gardano and Scotto quickly adopted more elaborate titles promoting the fame of the composer, the novelty of the music, and, most significantly, the correctness of the edition. Girolamo Scotto's earliest music publications reflected the new marketing approach, as seen in the title page to Gombert's four-voice motets:

> Of the most excellent Gombert, by his skillful genius chief among those in the art of music, *maestro di cappella* of Emperor Charles V, Music for four voices (commonly called motets), apt for viols and for shawm band. Recently composed with great diligence, never before published, but with great accuracy newly brought to light. Book one . . .[63]

The style of title pages at the Scotto press changed several times over the course of Girolamo's career. Some of the alterations reflect the market place's penchant for newer, more up-to-date designs, others indicate experimentation, and still others reveal the influence of other printers. Title-page styles for Scotto's music publications fall roughly into five periods, 1539–44, 1545–47, 1548–53, 1554–56, and 1558–72, with minor variants occurring among editions within each period.

The most significant feature during the earliest period was the use of two completely different title pages—one for the cantus book, and the other for the lower voices. Title pages of multiple partbooks obviously raised an intriguing dilemma for the Scotto press. Rather than repeat the same information on the title pages to all the partbooks, Girolamo decided to follow the same procedure used by his brother Ottaviano in the 1530s. He displayed the complete matter on the title page of the cantus only, and offered an abbreviated version identifying the composer, work, and voice part on the remaining partbooks, which were intended as

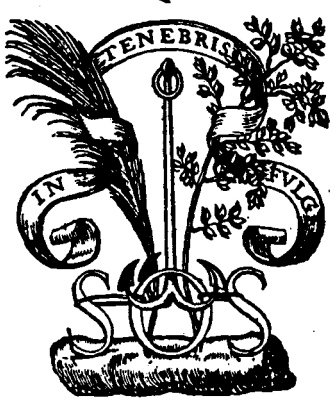
62. See Mortimer, *Harvard College Library . . . Italian 16th Century Books* for examples in the transformation of the title page.

63. "Gomberti excellentissimi, et inventione in hac arte facile principis, chori Caroli quinti imperatoris magistri, musica quatuor vocum (vulgo motecta nuncupatur), Lyris maioribus, ac Tibiis imparibus accomodata. Nuper maximo authoris studio composita, nulli hactenus visa, sed noviter accuratissime in lucem edita. Liber primus . . ." (Catalogue no. 3). This unusual word order is part of the advertising for the volume, giving greatest prominence to the composer and less to the actual contents, Music for four voices.

DI VERDELOTTO

TVTTI LI MADRIGALI DEL PRIMO, ET SECONDO
Libro a Quatro Voci. Con la Gionta de i Madrigali del medeſmo
Auttore, non piu Stampati.

AGGIONTOVI ANCHORA ALTRI MADRIGALI
nouamente Compoſti da Meſſer ADRIANO, & da altri Eccellentiſſimi
Muſici, Come appare ne la ſequente Tauola.



Apud Hieronymum Scotum.

1540.

FIGURE 3.4
Verdelot, *Tutti li madrigali del primo et secondo libro a quattro voci* (Venice: Scotto, 1540), cantus title page. Reproduced with permission of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Musikabteilung.

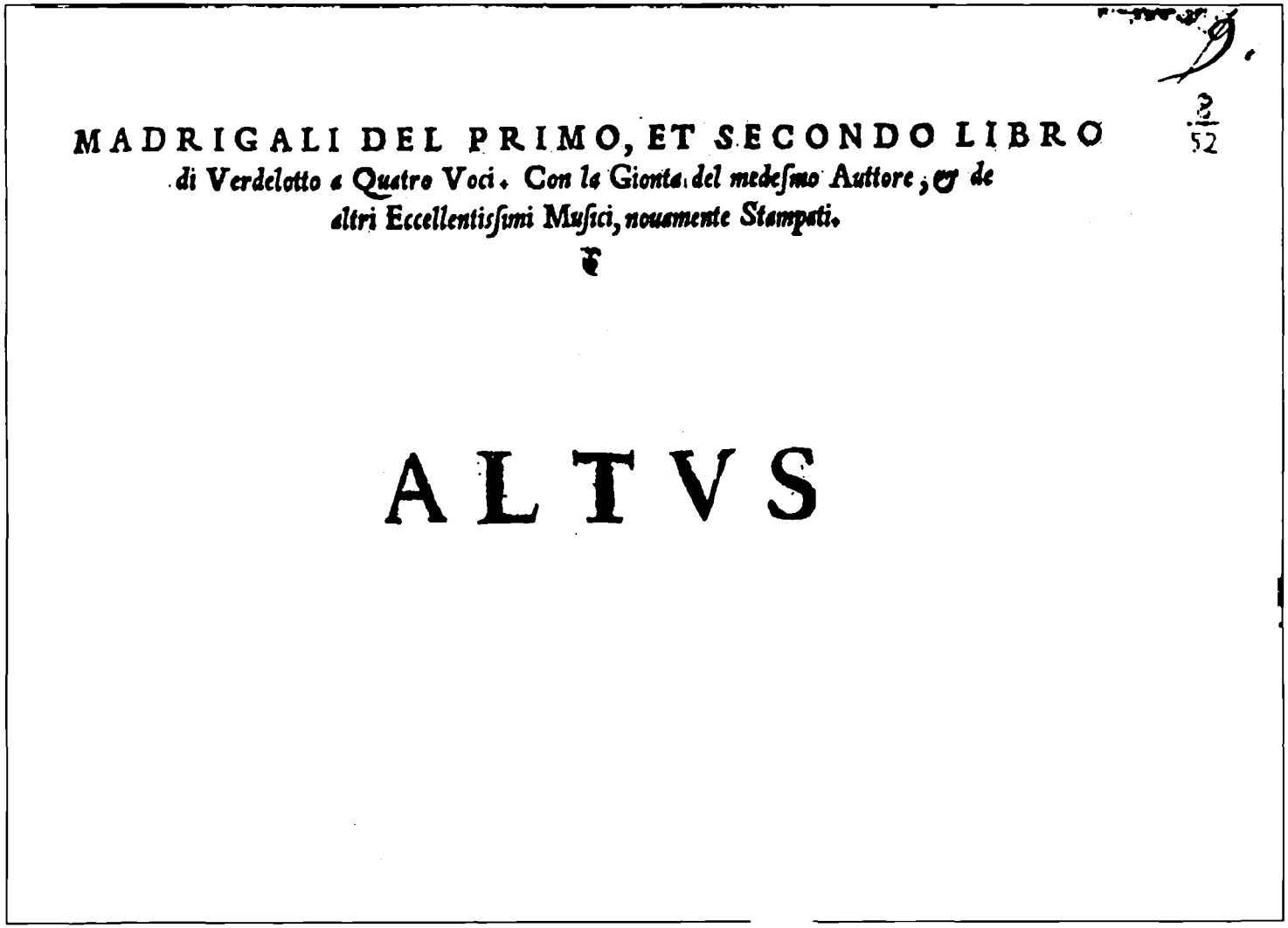


FIGURE 3.5
Verdelot, *Tutti li madrigali del primo et secondo libro a quattro voci* (Venice, Scotto, 1540), altus title page. Reproduced with permission of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Musikabteilung.

companion volumes to the cantus.[64] By 1544 Scotto decided to follow Antonio Gardano's example and adopted the same title page for all his partbooks. This was one way of streamlining production, since the compositor did not have to set two different title pages, but could keep the standing type and simply change the voice part indication.

The style of the cantus title pages dating from 1539 through 1544 vary from edition to edition, but they normally include anywhere from two to four different sizes of roman capitals, often with a small italic or roman lower-case type font for subheadings (fig. 3.4). The abbreviated title pages of the lower-voice partbooks—much simpler in design than the cantus book—usually used two sizes of roman capitals (fig. 3.5). All of Scotto's early music editions share two common traits: the layout of the page above the printer's mark formed an inverted triangle and a printer's leaf always appeared on the line before the printer's mark. The inverted triangle design was routinely employed by many sixteenth-century printers.

The unsigned editions of 1545–47, though not printed by Girolamo Scotto, were underwritten by the Scotto firm. The title-page styles of these editions fall into three categories: (1) a simple design of all roman capitals in an inverted triangle with no printer's marks; (2) an inverted triangle format containing a mixture of roman capitals and lower-case italic found in all the lute-tablature editions; and (3) a lozenge-shape layout with fleurons straddling the top line of the title and the device of a burning salamander (fig. 3.6). The differences among the three styles suggests the work of two if not three presses.

The next major modification of Scotto's title-page design occurred in 1548 with the introduction of a medium-size italic upper-case font with more elaborate swash capitals.[65] Scotto employed this new typeface in his non-music publications as early as 1545, but they did not appear with any regularity in his music editions until 1548. At first Scotto exclusively employed the swash italic capital on a few of his title pages (fig. 3.7), but from 1549 until 1553 he toned down its dynamic appearance by combining it with more austere upright roman capitals.

Only five years after the appearance of the italic swash capital, Scotto introduced yet another typeface: a large roman lower-case font, which he combined with anywhere from one to four sizes of roman capitals in the heading. Occasionally he mixed the new roman font with the swash italic capitals typeface found in the editions of 1548–53. Title pages vary in their use of smaller lower-case italic and roman typefaces for subheadings and the imprint. This stylistic phase lasted only from 1554 through 1556 (fig. 3.8).

64. When a set of partbooks has been split up, or only the lower-voice partbooks survive (a common occurrence among extant prints), the use of different title pages among the partbooks as well as the absence of date, place of publication, and printer/publisher information in the lower-voice partbooks has led to confusion among present-day bibliographers. See, for example, the entry for the 1539 edition of Arcadelt's *Terzo libro dei madrigali a quattro voci* (Catalogue no. 2) in RISM-A and RISM-B as well as *Nuovo Vogel.*

65. The term "swash" refers to a slanted cursive form of the italic capital, often with extended flourishes.

IL PRIMO LIBRO

DI MADRIGALI DI DIVERSI ECCELENTISSIMI AVTORI
A MISVRA DI BREVE NVOVAMENTE
RISTAMPATO.

Con gratia & privilegio.

VENETIIS M D XLVII.

BASSVS

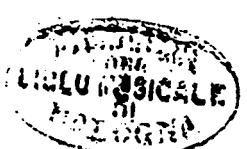


FIGURE 3.6
Il primo libro di madrigali di diversi eccelentissimi autori . . . (Venice: n.s., 1547); bassus title page. Reproduced with permission of the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Bologna.

BASSVS

CANZON VILLANESCHE
ALLA NAPOLITANA DI MESSER
ADRIANO A QVATRO VOCI
Con la Canzon di Ruzante.

LIBRO PRIMO

In Vinegia Appreſso Girolamo Scotto.
M. D. XLV III.

FIGURE 3.7
Willaert, *Canzon villanesche alla napolitana . . . a quatro voci, . . . libro primo* (Venice: G. Scotto, 1548); bassus title page. Reproduced with permission of the Musiksammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.

TENOR

MOTETTI DEL LABERINTO,

A quatro Voci Libro Secondo.

Sacrarum Cantionum ſiue Motettorum,

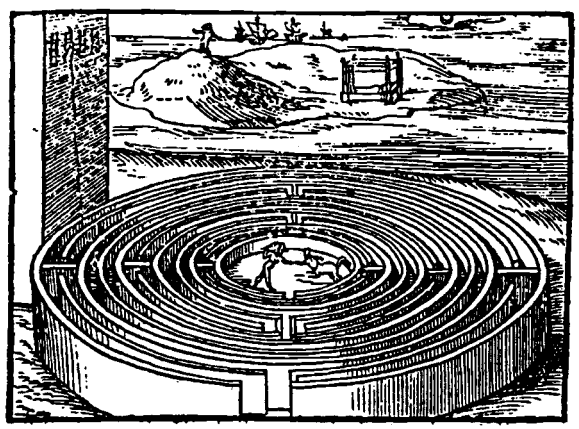
THOMAE CRICQVILLONIS:

CLEMENTIS NON PAPÆ,

Aliorumque Præſtantiſsimorum Auctorum.

CHORO.

ILLVSTRISSIMI AC REVERENDISSIMI DOMINI,
D. Chriſtophori Madrutij S. R. E. Cardinalis, Epiſcopi,
Principis Tridentino, & Brixienſis.
Paulus Caligopœus dedicauit.



Venetiis apud Hieronymum Scotum

MDLIIII.

FIGURE 3.8
Motetti del Laberinto a quatro voci libro secondo (Venice: Scotto, 1554); tenor title page. Reproduced with permission of the Musiksammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.

ALTO

IL TERZO LIBRO DELLE FIAMME

MADRIGALI A CINQVE VOCI
DE DIVERSI ECCELLENTISSIMI MVSICI

Di nouo posti in luce per Giulio Bonagionta da S. Genesi
Musico della Illustriss. Signoria di Venetia in S. Marco
& con ogni diligentia corretti.

IN VINEGIA,
APPRESSO GIROLAMO SCOTTO

M D LXVIII.

FIGURE 3.9 *Il terzo libro delle Fiamme madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice, Scotto, 1568); altus title page. Reproduced with permission of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Musikabteilung.

The longest period began in 1558 and remained stable until 1572. The main characteristics of the title-page design include the use of a decorated frame on top of the page containing the voice part within, and the return in the predominance of roman capitals (fig. 3.9). The typefaces and sizes of fonts used on the page also grew fewer in number.

PRINTER'S MARKS AND DECORATED INITIALS

Originally intended for the convenience of the book carriers, printer's marks became a visual advertisement for the publisher. They not only served a decorative function on the title page, but also acted as a trademark, attesting to the quality of the book. These symbols were considered so crucial to the identity of a press that they were regulated by the government. In Paris, François I banned the use of any printer's mark that might be mistaken for one of an existing press,[66] and in Venice the Magistrato alla Giustizia Vecchia oversaw the recording and exchanging of printer's marks.[67]

Devices began as simple monograms of the publishing house, as seen with Ottaviano I's printer's marks.[68] Soon printers and publishers created woodcuts depicting allegorical figures and emblems to symbolize their press. Often printer's marks were synonymous with their shop signs. In sixteenth-century Venice, a complicated iconography developed in the devices employed by some presses that coincided with emblems associated with the Most Serene Republic itself.

The central themes of peace, justice, fame, virtue, victory, and wisdom all symbolized the power and wealth of Venice and became part of a propaganda campaign that in the sixteenth century grew into what is known as the "myth of Venice."[69] These symbols, along with other attributes representing Venice, appeared in the sculpture and paintings that decorated the public buildings of Venice, in particular the Ducal Palace.[70]

Some of the publishing houses of Venice appropriated these emblems for their own printer's marks. The anchor and dolphin, maritime symbols of speed and stability, became the device of the famed Aldine press. Justice with her sword and balancing scales appeared on the title pages of books issued by the Bindoni firm. Minerva, the goddess of wisdom, riding atop a lion, the symbol of Venice, was adopted by the publishing house of Bonelli (see below, fig. 3.15).

66. Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years of Printing*, 63.

67. ASV, Magistrato alla Giustizia Vecchia, Constituti, b. 48–49. I am indebted to Rebecca Edwards for this information.

68. See figs. 2.1 and 2.2 in chap. 2.

69. For more on the myth of Venice see Ellen Rosand, "Music in the Myth of Venice," *Renaissance Quarterly* 30 (1977): 511–37; Myron Gilmore, "Myth and Reality in Venetian Political Theory," in *Renaissance Venice*, ed. John R. Hale (London, 1973), 431–44; Logan, *Culture and Society in Venice*; and David S. Chambers, *Imperial Age of Venice*.

70. Juergen Schulz, *Venetian Painted Ceilings of the Renaissance* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968), 104–16.

The symbolic connection between printer's marks and the Most Serene Republic was no more evident than in a series of printer's marks belonging to the Scotto press. Three of the emblems representing the Scotto firm during Girolamo's directorship were intrinsically linked with the new iconography of Venice. The main device of the press depicted an anchor surrounded by a palm frond and an olive branch with the initials S.O.S. (Signum Octaviani Scoti) all set into a log. A banner above the anchor proclaims the motto: "In tenebris fulget" ("In darkness he shines"), a reference to the Scotto name, of which the Greek, *skotos*, means darkness.[71] The anchor and log, symbols of stability both on sea and land, refer directly to Venice, the great maritime power with dominions on the Italian mainland. The olive branch represents peace, while the palm frond symbolizes victory or virtue.[72] The Scotto press used nine different printer's marks containing the anchor design (see fig. 3.10).

Fame and peace, prominent symbols of the Venetian Republic, appear in two other series of Scotto printer's marks. The image of Fame occurs in five different printer's marks used by Girolamo (fig. 3.11).[73] In all of them, Fame is personified with her trumpet standing atop a winged sphere inscribed with the monogram O.S.M. In some cases, the motto "Famam extendere factis est virtutis opus" ("To spread fame by deeds is the work of virtue") frames the printer's mark. The motto, a rewording of "sed famam extendere factis hoc virtutis opus" from Vergil's *Aeneid* (Book X, lines 468–69), had a twofold connotation. It represented the printing press as an important vehicle, which offered to composers immortality or lasting fame.[74] As a central symbol of the Republic, the word "virtutis" also depicted Venice as a virtuous state.

Along with virtue, the concept of domestic peace was an important aspect of the myth of Venice. Both themes figure prominently in a third emblem used by the Scotto press. In two different printer's marks, Peace appears seated atop a globe of Europe and Africa (Peace I) or the celestial skies (Peace II) inscribed with the initials O.S.M. (fig. 3.12). She holds her symbol, an olive branch, in her right hand, while in her left hand she unfurls a banner declaring *Fiat pax in virtute tua* ("Let peace be in thy strength").[75]

In addition to these three symbols, a fourth image appears in two other printer's marks associated with the Scotto press. The emblem portrays a griffin standing on

71. Hugh William Davies, *Devices of the Early Printers* (London, 1935), 500–1, and Bridges, "Publishing of Arcadelt's First Book," 1: 144.

72. James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols of Art* (New York, 1974), 144.

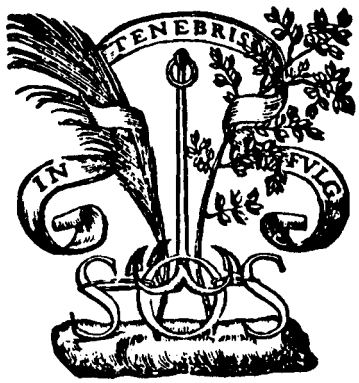
73. A sixth printer's mark of Fame (see fig. 2.2) employed by Ottaviano Scotto in the 1530s was not reused by Girolamo after he took over the firm.

74. This quotation from the *Aeneid* was well known in musical circles. Tinctoris, for example, used it to glorify music and composers in his *Expositio manus*, chap. 19, lines 6–12. The Tinctoris passage is cited in Wegman, "From Maker to Composer: Improvisation and Musical Authorship in the Low Countries, 1450–1500," *JAMS* 49 (1996), 409–79 at 461.

75. The frame to a woodcut found on several Scotto publications dating from the late 1560s also contains a motto referring to virtue: "Virtus in omni re dominatur" ("Virtue rules in all matters") (see fig. 3.13 below). This motto reappears in one of Melchiorre Scotto's printer's marks depicting the three graces (see fig. 2.5).

Anchor I

Anchor II



Anchor III

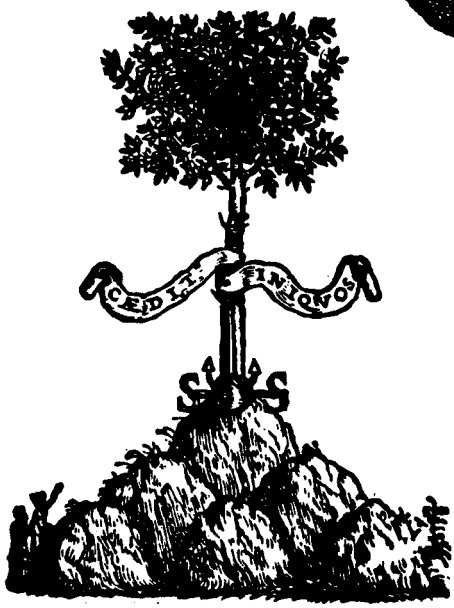
Anchor IV

Anchor V

FIGURE 3.10 Anchor printer's marks of Girolamo Scotto

Anchor VI

Anchor VIII



Anchor VII

Anchor IX

FIGURE 3.10 (*continued*)

Fame I

Fame II

Fame III

Fame V

Fame IV

FIGURE 3.11 Fame printer's marks of Girolamo Scotto

top of a winged amphora. It probably belonged to Girolamo's cousin Francesco, whose bookshop in the Merceria was "at the sign of the griffin," and might suggest a collaboration in the printing of books containing this device.[76]

Altogether Girolamo Scotto used some eighteen printer's marks, which, as seen in table 3.1, came in several sizes. The different sizes matched the various formats, ranging from large folio to tiny duodecimo and sextodecimo editions. Some of the printer's marks found in Scotto's non-music editions never appeared on the title pages of the music publications. Of the nine anchor devices, the three largest (Anchors II, VII, VIII) were too big to accommodate quarto format and thus

76. See chap. 2, fig. 2.3.

TABLE 3.1 Measurements of Scotto printer's marks (1539–1572)

Mark	Size (cm.)
Anchor I	5.4 × 5.0
Anchor II	9.7 × 8.8
Anchor III	5.0 × 4.5
Anchor IV	4.8 × 4.6
Anchor V	10.0 × 8.2
Anchor VI	4.1 × 3.6
Anchor VII	7.7 × 5.7
Anchor VIII	10.9 × 10.0
Anchor IX	3.6 × 3.6
Fame I	7.4 × 6.2
Fame II	5.0 × 4.1
Fame III	4.6 × 3.5
Fame IV	4.7 × 3.5
Fame V	7.0 × 4.8
Peace I	4.7 × 3.8
Peace II	9.9 × 8.0
Griffin I	9.6 × 7.8
Griffin II	4.9 × 5.1

appeared almost exclusively on the title pages of the non-music folio editions.[77] Anchor IX, with its portrayal of St. Jerome in prayer, was only used for missals and other liturgical publications.

Anchor VII differs from the rest of the anchor marks in that it portrays an oak tree growing out of six mounts. The anchor and SOS monogram appear at the base of the tree. At the bottom of the left-hand side are two figures pointing up to a banner wrapped around the tree with the motto "Caedit iniquos" ("He cuts his enemies to pieces"). This particular printer's mark was employed in only a handful of Scotto's publications and was probably specially prepared for a commissioned book. The "monte e quercia" (six mounts and oak tree) symbol, also depicted in the "crest" set of initials used by Scotto, was the coat of arms of the Cesi, a powerful family who mainly resided in Todi and Rome.[78]

Of the four symbols, the anchor device was the main emblem of the firm. It is difficult to form a chronology of Scotto's printer's marks since, in comparison with Gardano, who tended to use one version of his lion and bear device at a time, Scotto employed several of his devices simultaneously throughout his publishing career and in no specific order. Thus, we find that Fame III, which occurred in the

77. Anchor II appeared in only one musical publication: Doni's *Dialogo della musica* of 1544, where it is found as the colophon to the cantus partbook. See Catalogue no. 40.

78. In 1540, Girolamo's brother Ottaviano dedicated an edition of Aristotle's *De physico auditu libri octo* (no. 4, app. D) to Federico Cesi, Bishop of Todi.

Peace I

Peace II

FIGURE 3.12 Peace printer's marks of Girolamo Scotto

music publications of 1555–56 and 1563–69, made its first appearance twenty years earlier in non-music publications issued by Girolamo's brother, Ottaviano.

Sometimes in commissioned editions a different device would substitute for one of Scotto's printer's marks. A few display the heraldic device of a patron, such as the emblem of the dolphin for Giovanni Ferro, count of Macerata, in the *Corona della Morte* (1568) (fig. 3.13) and Ferretti, *Secondo libro delle canzoni alla napolitana a 5* (1569), or the "palle" of Cosimo de' Medici, duke of Florence, found in Corteccia, *Libro primo de madriali a 4* (1544). Others exhibit the printer's mark of another bookman, presumably the underwriter of the edition. This is particularly the case with the Bonagiunta series of music editions dating from 1565–68, where several different devices appear, such as Giacomo Anielli Sanvito's device of an eagle (fig. 3.14), Giovanni Maria Bonelli's printer's mark of Minerva (fig. 3.15), and Pietro da Fino's emblem of a rooster.[79]

In a few instances, Scotto employed woodcut illustrations that had no connection with a dedicatee or another printer, but instead represent fanciful titles given to the edition, such as the circular labyrinth found in the *Motetti del Laberinto* series of 1554–55 (see fig. 3.8) or a flaming book to symbolize the *Libri delle Fiamme* series (see fig. 3.9). These illustrations were often recycled from earlier

79. For further information on the Bonagiunta editions and these other printers see chaps. 6 and 9.

CORONA

DELLA MORTE

DELL'ILLVSTRE SIGNORE,
IL SIG. COMENDATOR ANIBAL CARO.

AL NOBILE ET GENEROSO CAVALIERO
Il Signor Giouanni Ferro da Macerata.

Di nouo posta in luce per Giulio Bonagionta da S. Genesi.

CON GRATIA ET PRIVILEGGIO.

BAS SO

IN VINEGIA,
APPRESSO GIROLAMO SCOTTO
M D LXVIII.

FIGURE 3.13 *Corona della morte* (Venice: Scotto, 1568); basso title page. Reproduced with permission of the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Bologna.

DI MADALENA CASVLANA

IL PRIMO LIBRO DE MADRIGALI

A QVATTRO VOCI,

Nouamente posti in luce, e con ogni diligentia corretti.

TENO RE

IN VINEGIA,

APPRESSO GIROLAMO SCOTTO.

M D LXVIII.

FIGURE 3.14 Casulana, *Il primo libro de madrigali a quattro voci* (Venice: Scotto, 1568); tenor title page. Reproduced with permission of the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Bologna.

non-music publications. The labyrinth first appeared in Scotto's 1543 edition of Ovid's *Heroides,* where it depicted both the story of Theseus and the Minotaur (Book X) and Hermione and Orestes (Book VIII). Sometimes the woodcut would have no apparent association with the publication, such as the ship at sea displayed on the title page of Maistre Jhan's *Symphonia quatuor modulata vocibus* (1543). The most enigmatic illustration occurs only in the cantus partbook of Anselmo Reulx's *Madrigali a quatro voci* (1543). It depicts a man ravaged by horses—a possible allusion to the Hercules story, where King Diomedes of Thrace is eaten by his wild mares (fig. 3.16).

By far the most elaborate title page, which did not contain a printer's mark, was Stefano Rossetto's *Il Lamento di Olimpia* of 1567. It consists of a large pictorial compartment, containing a hole at the top and bottom center into which type was inserted for the actual title and publishing information (see fig. 3.17). Evidently specially commissioned for this particular edition, the compartment was used by Girolamo Scotto only once more for the title page of *I dolci frutti. Primo libro de vaghi et dilettevoli madrigali* of 1570.

One of the important typographical distinctions between music printing and other fields was the inordinate number of woodcut initials needed to produce a set of partbooks. A normal music edition demanded one and sometimes two woodcut initials for every page, while only a handful of initials were required for an ordinary text edition. In all, the Scotto press employed some seventeen different sets of decorated initials in their music editions (see fig. 3.18). Some of them included a complete alphabet with a few duplicate letters, while others only consisted of a handful of letters. The sets vary in size from 1.8 × 1.7 and 1.6 × 1.6 cm. for the Dark floral I and Putti series to 4.2 × 4.2 cm. for the Crest-and-virtue set (see table 3.2). Nearly all of the initial series appeared in both Scotto's music and non-music publications. With the exception of the calligraphic Gothic letters, all initial series were composed of white roman letters containing a variety of pictorial backgrounds set within a frame.

Girolamo, in his first year of operation, continued to employ the fanciful calligraphic Gothic initials or "lettre cadeau" used by his brother Ottaviano in the 1530s. But only one year later, in 1540, he abruptly changed to descriptive or decorative initials. The symbolic shift from the calligraphic Gothic of the manuscript tradition to "humanist" iconographic initials went hand in hand with the introduction of the single-impression method of music printing. Scotto's woodcut initials illustrate many of the decorative styles commonly used in Cinquecento books.[80] Floral or stylized botanical decoration appeared in three sets of initials (Dark floral I and III and White floral II). A more arabesque decoration occurred in the background of the Dark floral II and White floral I series, where the swirling, floriate

80. Terms used to describe initial styles are those of Steven Harvard, *Ornamental Initials: The Woodcut Initials of Christopher Plantin, a Complete Catalogue* (New York, 1974), 1–3. The names of specific initial series are my own.

IL CICALAMENTO

DELLE DONNE AL BVCATO,

ET LA CACCIA DI ALESSANDRO STRIGGIO,

CON VN LAMENTO DI DIDONE

Ad Enea, per la ſua partenza, DI CIPRIANO RORE,

a quatro, cinque, ſei, & ſette voci.

Di nouo poſte in luce per Giulio Bonagionta da San Geneſi
Muſico della Illuſtriſs. Signoria di Venetia in S. Marco
& con ogni diligentia corretti.

CON GRATIA ET PRIVILEGIO.

CAN TO

IN VINEGIA M D LXVII.

APPRESSO GIROLAMO SCOTTO.

FIGURE 3.15 Striggio, *Il cicalamento delle donne al bucato* . . . (Venice: Scotto, 1567); cantus title page. Reproduced with permission of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels.

C A N T V S

DI ANSELMO REVLX

MADRIGALI A QVATTRO VOCI

NVOVAMENTE DAL PROPRIO AVTTOR
COMPOSTI ET MANDATI
IN LVCE.

Venetijs apud Hieronymum Scotum.

1 5 4 3.

FIGURE 3.16
Anselmo Reulx, *Madrigali a quattro voci . . .* (Venice: Scotto, 1543); cantus title page. Reproduced with permission of the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Bologna.

FIGURE 3.17 Stefano Rossetto, *Il Lamento di Olimpia* (Venice: Scotto, 1567); tenor title page. Reproduced with permission of the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Bologna.

TABLE 3.2 Initial sets

Series	Dates*	Size (cm.)	Description
Calligraphic Gothic	1539–40; 1561–63	1.7 × 1.6	Complete set with duplicates
Dark floral I	1539–48; 1551–56; 1563; 1566; 1569; 1572	1.8 × 1.7	Complete set
Putti	1540–56	1.6 × 1.6	Complete set with some duplicates; similar initials used by Gardano
Ghosts	1548–56; 1566–68	2.1 × 2.1	Double set
Centaurs	1548–56; 1566–68	2.1 × 1.9	Complete set with some duplicates
Large Bible	1548; 1560–72	3.6 × 3.6	Complete set
Large myth	1548–72	3.6 × 3.5	Complete set
White floral I	1549–56; 1561	2.1 × 2.1	Complete set
Large knight	1549–72	3.5 × 3.5	Complete set
Small Bible	1551–72	1.9 × 1.8	Almost complete set
White floral II	1554	1.8 × 1.8	Only a few letters
Dark floral II	1554–72	2.0 × 2.0	Complete set
Dark floral III	1554	2.3 × 2.2	Only a few letters
Trees	1556–72	2.8 × 2.7	Complete set
Medium Bible	1561–72	2.8 × 2.8	Half set
Crest	1569–72	4.2 × 4.2	Almost complete set
Virtues		4.2. × 4.2	Only 4 letters (E, M, N, O); always with Crest initials

*Dates of initials refer only to music editions and not the other editions printed by the Scotto press.

design grows out of faces and urns. Three sets of Scotto's initials were inhabited in style: the Putti initials containing small boys playing in and out of the letters; the Ghosts series, also peopled with naked boys, whose arms and legs often go through the letters; and the Centaurs series, inhabited by mythical half-human, half-animal figures such as centaurs, satyrs, and mermaids.

Scotto also used several sets of historiated initials. These iconographic initials represent a character or scene that often has no connection with the music text. Biblical and mythological scenes appear in initials of varying sizes. Among the sets, the Large myth portrays classical scenes, the Large knight illustrates chivalric stories, and a few of the Crest-and-virtue set depict the cardinal virtues. The Trees set of historiated initials, which also pictures mythological stories, differs from the rest in that the letters imitate the branches of trees.

Quite often the characters or scenes portrayed in these historiated initials correspond to the letter they decorate, a common feature among initials dating from the middle of the sixteenth century.[81] Some depict mythological figures, such as Venus with swan for the letter V of the Trees set or Bacchus for the letter *B* for the Large myth series (see fig. 3.18). Other initials narrate a particular mythological story,

81. Lamberto Donati, "Le iniziali iconografiche del XVI secolo," in *Studi bibliografici* (Florence, 1967), 219–39. See also Franca Petrucci Nardelli, *La lettera e l'immagine: le iniziali "parlanti" nella tipografia italiana* (secc. XVI–XVII) (Florence, 1991).

Large Bible

Dark floral I

Dark floral II

Dark floral III

Small Bible

Putti

White floral I

White floral II

Ghosts

Medium Bible

Centaurs

Calligraphic Gothic

Trees

Virtues

Large knight

Large myth

Crest

FIGURE 3.18 Decorative initials found in Girolamo Scotto's music editions

such as Hercules (Ercole) fighting the lion of Nemea for the letter *E* or the drowning of Thisbe for the letter T. In some cases, the iconographical reference to the letter is not obvious. Apollo chasing Daphne for the letter *L* connotes the laurel tree (Lauro) into which Daphne is transformed.

Historiated initials also portray biblical figures and scenes. As seen in figure 3.18, the letter *I* of the Small Bible set depicts John on the island of Patmos. King David appears in the letter *D* of the Medium Bible set. The Large myth series includes the dramatic scene of David slaying Goliath for the letter *G*.[82] The letter *M* of the Crest-and-virtue initials illustrates the cardinal virtue of moderation.

Another type of decorated initial illustrates heraldic coats of arms. Most of the letters in the Crest-and-virtue set depict the oak tree atop six mounts emblem of the Cesi family, which we have already encountered in Anchor VII of the printer's marks. Besides the variety of decorated initials, Scotto also employed plain, unframed, black roman capitals as initials, using them with some consistency in his music editions from 1558 through the 1560s.

As with the printer's marks, chronology of the initial sets is complicated by the fact that initials not employed in the music editions until the late 1560s actually appeared in Scotto's non-music publications dating from the late 1530s. In most cases, the format of the edition dictated the size of initial used. Therefore, the small and medium-size sets tended to be employed in the music editions of the early and middle periods of Girolamo's career, while the large sets only appeared during the late period when the Scotto press changed the orientation of music books from oblong to upright quarto format. Very rarely did a music edition contain only one set of initials. Even as early as 1539, the necessity for so many initials forced Scotto to mix series in his music prints. As time went on, certain initials in a particular set would wear out, compelling him to supplement his stock of initials with additional sets. Aesthetic considerations, however, played a role in his use of initials. Although Scotto did own several sets of initials at the start of his directorship, he deliberately limited the initial series in his music editions to two or three, as in the publications of 1539 to 1544, which contain only the Calligraphic Gothic, Dark floral I, and Putti series.

TYPE FONTS

While Scotto experimented with several different title-page designs, printer's marks, and initials, he employed a surprisingly small number of music type fonts—four in all during the course of his long career (see table 3.3).[83] Music font I, with which Girolamo inaugurated his music printing enterprise, remained in use for twenty

82. Petrucci Nardelli, *La lettera*, 38–39 reproduces 21 letters from the Medium Bible and Trees set of Scotto initials.

83. A description of the technical process of how music type was produced appears in several music-printing studies such as D. W. Krummel, *English Music Printing 1553–1700* (London, 1975), 5–9; Heartz, *Pierre Attaingnant*, 46–48; and Lewis, *Antonio Gardano*, 1: 51–52.

TABLE 3.3 Text font measurements (mm.)

Font	Capital height	Face height	x-height	Type size (English name)
Gothic	2.6 (Roman)	3.1	2.0	Body 74. Face 62 × 2:2.6 (Small pica)
Italic I	3.6 (upright)	4.6	2.2	Body 106. Face 92 × 2.2:3.6 (Large English)
Italic II	2.4 (upright)	3.9	2.0	Body 87. Face 78 × 2:2.4 (English)
Italic III	2.5 (sloped)	4.2	1.8	Body 83. Face 84 × 1.8:2.5 (Pica)
Roman	2.6	4.0	1.8	Body 82. Face 80 × 1.8:2.6 (Pica)

Note. Type sizes are determined by the measurement of specific type forms of any given type font. Capital height refers to the vertical distance from the top to bottom of an average capital letter; face size denotes the vertical distance between the top of a lower-case ascender, such as the letter *t* and the bottom of a neighboring lower-case descender, such as the letter *y*; and x-height refers to the vertical distance from the top to bottom of a lower-case letter which is neither an ascender or descender, such as the letter *x*. Body type is taken by measuring twenty lines of the type vertically. The measurement of the apparent size of a type font is defined both by the body size and the formula: [face height × 20 lines] × [x-height]: capital height]. The English names of type body sizes is taken from Gaskell, *New Introduction to Bibliography*, 13–16, which is adapted from H. D. L. Vervliet, ed., *The Type Specimen of the Vatican Press* 1628 (Amsterdam, 1967).

years (see figs. 3.19–3.21). A number of other printers employed this elegant font at one time or another. It appeared in the limited output of music editions by the Ferrarese firm of Buglhat and Hucher. Gardano used it for several brief periods from 1538 to 1547. Even the Roman printer Antonio Blado employed it in an undated collection of madrigals by Hubert Naich entitled *Exercitium seraficum*. It has been suggested that since all of these printers utilized the same music typeface, they must have owned only the matrices, while the craftsman who created the type kept the punches.[84] Yet only Scotto consistently made use of this typeface for over twenty years. It is highly unlikely that a wealthy publisher, who owned numerous typefaces, would have continued to purchase matrices for such a long period of time. Scotto, as the most established printer of the group, must have bought the punches, possibly at the inception of his music-printing career; he then could have sold or rented the matrices, in particular to Gardano, who reverted to this font in 1542–43 and again in 1546–47. Blado might also have bought or borrowed the matrices of this font from Scotto during a possible trip to Venice or in Rome. A connection between Scotto and the Roman printer is not unlikely since, as we have seen, the Scotto press maintained close ties with printers in Rome as far back as 1516.[85]

While Scotto retained the same music font, he experimented with different text fonts during the first decade of his publishing career (see table 3.4). In 1539 he used the same Gothic formal rotunda text font with roman capitals employed by his brother Ottaviano in the music publications of the 1530s (fig. 3.19). 1540 witnessed an abrupt change to a more modern-looking italic typeface. It is not sur-

84. Lewis, *Antonio Gardano*, 1: 52.
85. See chap. 2.

TABLE 3.4 Measurements of mensural music fonts (mm.)

	Font I (1539–61)	Font II (1554–56)	Font III (1556–72)	Font IV (1561–72)
Staff/minim	10.4/10.7	13.0/12.3	11.6/11.5	10.4/9.2
G clef	9.2 × 2.4	11.4 × 4.1	11.3 × 4.3	9.2 × 3.0
C1 clef	12.6 × 2.7	17.8 × 2.6	14.6 × 2.4	12.3 × 2.7
C2 clef	13.9 × 2.4	17.8 × 2.3	16.0 × 2.4	13.5 × 2.3
C3 clef	14.3 × 2.4	17.9 × 2.5	15.1 × 2.4	14.4 × 2.3
C4 clef	13.8 × 2.2	17.8 × 2.6	15.5 × 2.5	13.3 × 2.5
F3 clef	11.3 × 5.4	15.9 × 6.3	13.9 × 6.0	11.4 × 4.9
F4 clef	11.7 × 5.1	16.0 × 6.5	15.2 × 6.0	11.5 × 5.3
¢ sign	11.0 × 3.0	13.0 × 3.5	12.9 × 3.4	10.8 × 2.9

prising that italic typefaces replaced Gothic rotunda in music publications at this time. By 1540 not only did Scotto abandon the old-fashioned typeface, but so did other music printers throughout the Continent, who presumably perceived the italic type as part of a new, more up-to-date style. Scotto's Italic font I was influenced by the decorative *cancelleresca corsiva* introduced by Ludovico degli Arrighi detto Vicentino.[86] It was larger than the Gothic rotunda typeface and therefore much easier to read. As was common of the period, upright or roman capitals were used in conjunction with the italic font (fig. 3.20). In 1548 Scotto changed to a smaller italic font for his text underlay.[87] Italic font II was inspired by the classical style of the earlier Aldine corsivo.[88] Its smaller size allowed for more accurate placement of the text under the music notes. (fig. 3.21).

In 1554 Scotto introduced a new music type font of larger proportions. With a staff/minim ratio of 13.0/12.3 mm., Music font II had bigger, wider note heads, which opened up the page and gave it more legibility than the smaller type face of Music font I (see fig. 3.22). He called his new music type font "stampato grosso" to distinguish it from the smaller typeface. For the text underlay, Scotto matched the new music font with the larger size Vicentine style Italic font I. Unfortunately, he could only accommodate five staves of music for each page with the bigger music and text font, and it soon became clear to him that the shift from six to five staves per page was uneconomical. Indeed, a year later in 1555, he experimented with a six-stave layout using the new larger music font. The large size of Music font II forced him to omit the headings at the top of the page, placing running-head information in the left-hand margin before the woodcut initial and shortened first staff. This page design also proved unsatisfactory, and within the next two years the printer replaced Music font II with Music font III. Similar in appearance to Music font II, this font had a smaller staff/minim ratio. Scotto matched Music font III with

86. For a discussion of early italic typefaces see Luigi Balsamo and Alberto Tinto, *Origini del corsivo nella tipografia italiana nel Cinquecento* (Milan, 1967) and Harry Carter, *A View of Early Typography up to about 1600* (Oxford, 1969), 117–26. A close version of Italic font I appears in Balsamo and Tinto, *Origini del corsivo*, 148, fig. 61.

87. Italic font II first appeared in the unsigned editions of 1545–47.

88. See Balsamo and Tinto, *Origini del corsivo*, 104, fig. 32.

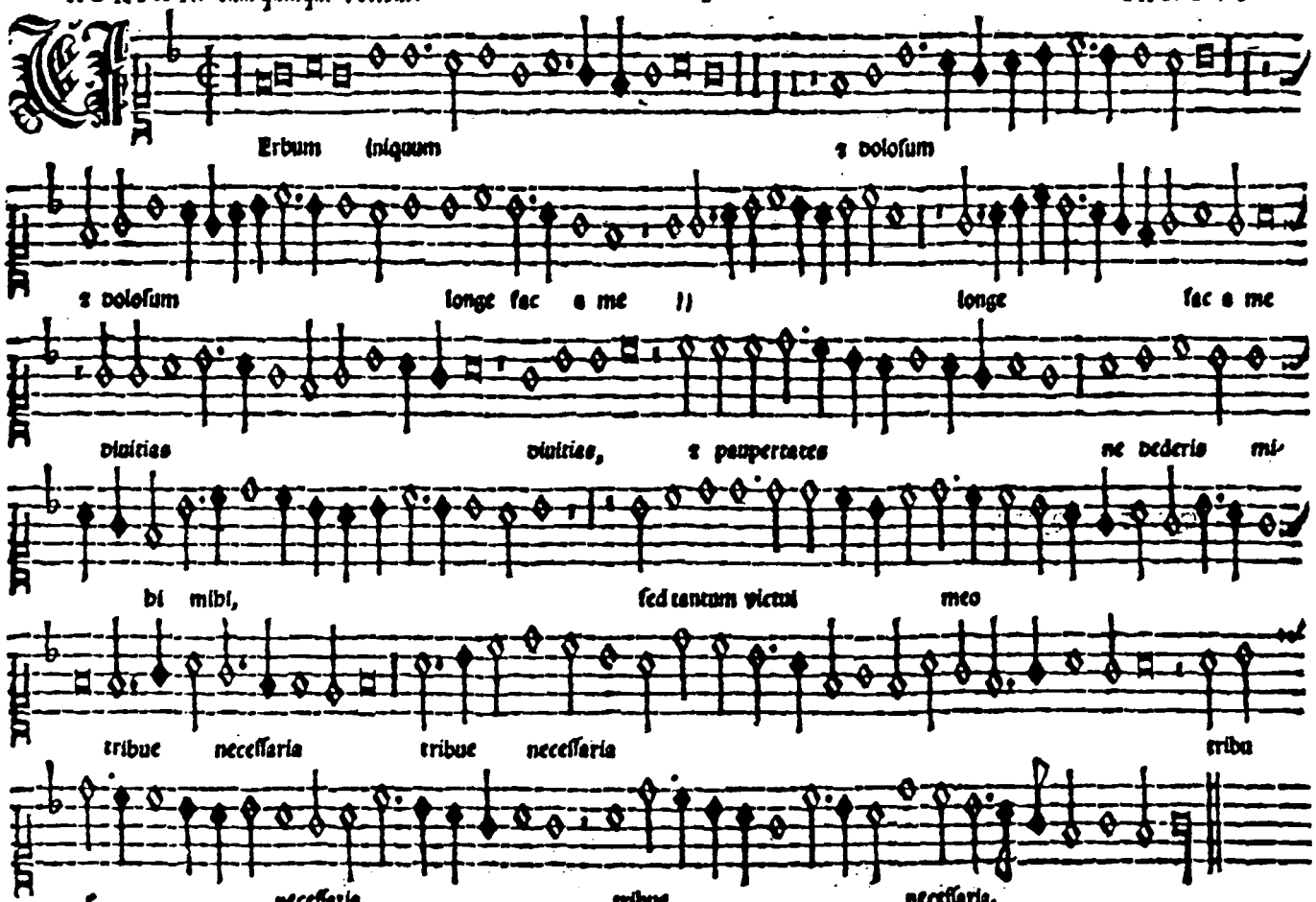


FIGURE 3.19
Willaert, *Musica quinque vocum . . . liber primus* (Venice: Scotto, 1539); cantus, p. 1. Reproduced with permission of the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Bologna.

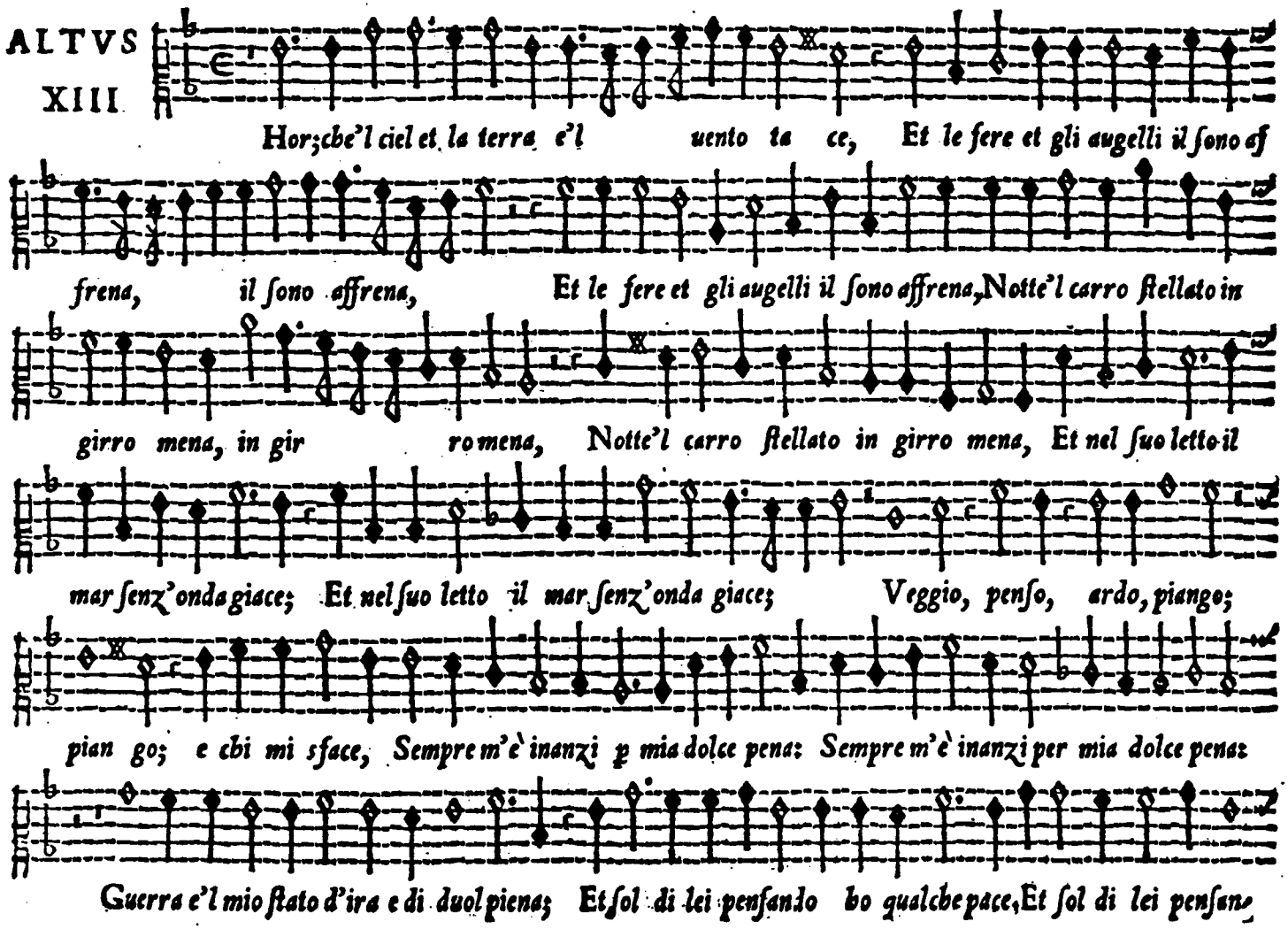


FIGURE 3.20 Rore, *I madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice: Scotto, 1544); altus, p. 13. Reproduced with permission of the Library, University of California, Berkeley.

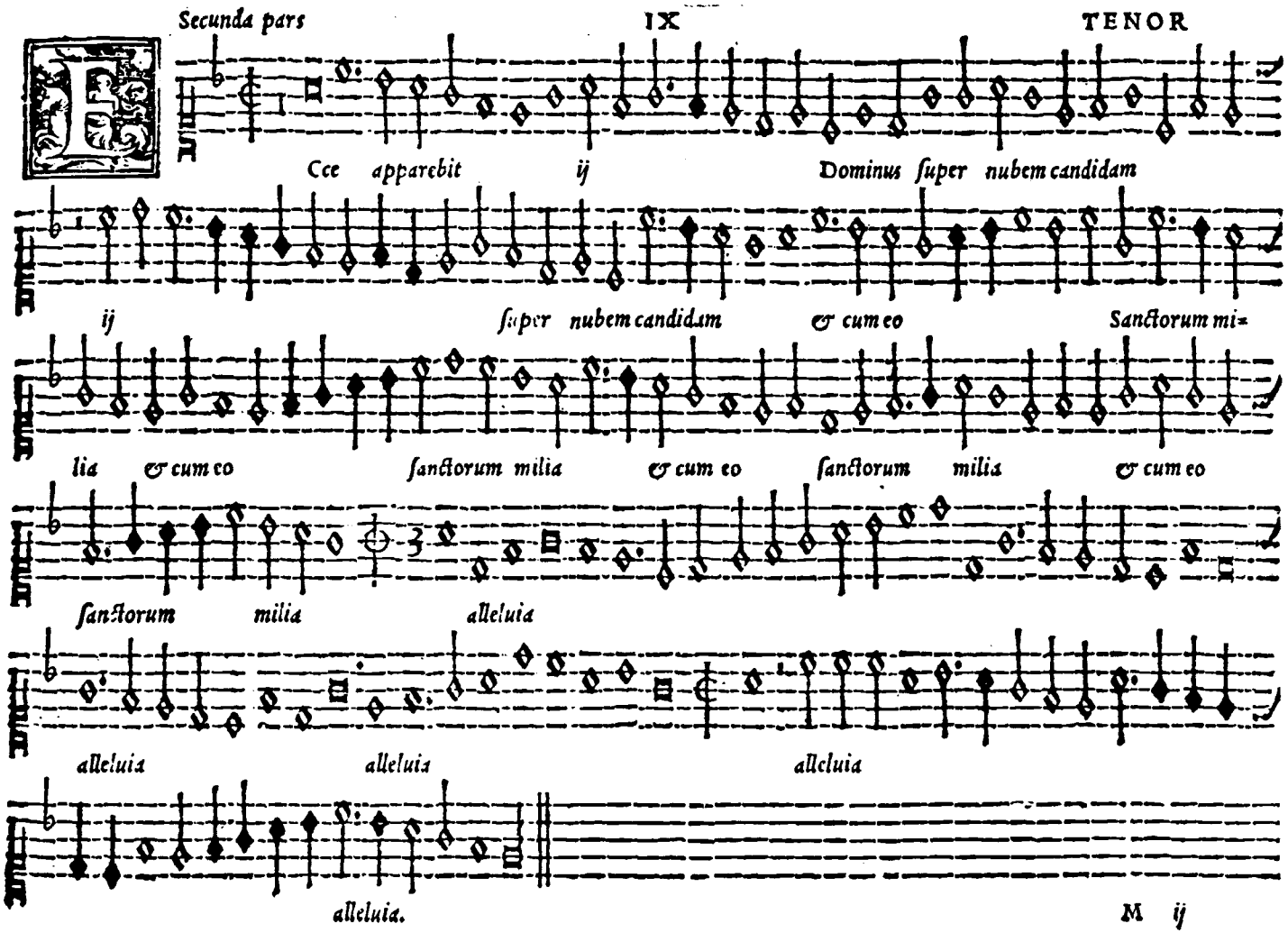


FIGURE 3.21
Tiburtino, *Musica diversa a tre voci* (Venice: Scotto, 1549); tenor, p. 9. Reproduced with permission of the Library, University of California, Berkeley.