

Augusta
Campagne



Music printing, intabulations and
basso continuo in Rome around 1600

SIMONE VEROVIO

böhlau

böhlau

WIENER VERÖFFENTLICHUNGEN
ZUR MUSIKGESCHICHTE 13

Herausgegeben von
Markus Grassl
und
Reinhard Kapp

Augusta Campagne

Simone Verovio

Music printing, intabulations and basso continuo
in Rome around 1600



2018

BÖHLAU VERLAG WIEN · KÖLN · WEIMAR

Veröffentlicht mit der Unterstützung des Austrian Science Fund (FWF):
PUB 421-G26

Open Access: Wo nicht anders festgehalten, ist diese Publikation lizenziert unter der Creative-Commons-Lizenz Namensnennung 4.0; siehe <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>

Die Publikation wurde einem anonymen, internationalen Peer-Review-Verfahren unterzogen

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek:

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über <http://dnb.d-nb.de> abrufbar.

Umschlagabbildung: Canzonette à quattro voci (Rome : Verovio, 1591), title page (detail) (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, D-Mbs 4 Mus.pr. 10), urn :nbn :de :bvb :12-bsb00074058.

© 2018 by Böhlau Verlag GmbH & Co. KG, Wien
Kölblgasse 8–10, A-1030 Wien, www.boehlau-verlag.com

Lektorat: Grantley McDonald, Wien
Satz: Michael Rauscher, Wien
Einbandgestaltung: Michael Haderer, Wien

ISBN 978-3-205-20718-4

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	9
----------------------------	---

1 Introduction	15
--------------------------	----

PRINTING AND PRINT

2 Printing techniques	27
2.1 Introduction	27
2.2 The printing process: relief versus intaglio	27
2.3 Engraved ‘editions’	34
2.4 The dating of engravings	35
2.5 The costs of publishing engravings	36
2.6 Conclusions on the differences	38

3 Music engraving	40
3.1 Engraving in Rome	40
3.2 History of music engraving	44
3.3 The prints associated with Verovio	49
3.4 Music engraving after Verovio	56

4 Anomalies in the Verovio music engravings	59
4.1 Format and binding	60
4.2 The <i>Diletto spirituale</i> , a special case?	64
4.3 The Peetrino prints: Two title pages for the same collection?	76
4.4 Durante’s <i>Arie devote</i> : four copies, four ‘editions’?	79
4.5 Collections without attributions to Verovio	84
4.6 Conclusions	85

MAKERS AND CONSUMERS

5 The people involved in the production of the prints	89
5.1 Introduction	89

5.2	Simone Verovio, the man	91
5.3	The dedicatees	98
5.4	The composers	104
	Single-composer prints	105
	Compiled anthologies	107
5.5	The compilers, engravers, printers, and writers	115
5.6	The intabulators	125
5.7	Conclusions	129
6	The consumers	131
6.1	The spread of the prints	131
6.2	Functions of the prints	134
6.3	Te deum laudamus: Music in and around the church	139
6.4	Music in domestic surroundings	143
6.5	Who could have participated in the performance?	146
6.6	Conclusions	150

CONCERTARE : INTABULATIONS AND BASSO CONTINUO

7	<i>Concertare</i> : an introduction	155
7.1	Intabulating, intabulations and <i>intavolature</i>	157
7.2	Other notational methods	159
7.3	Professionals or amateurs?	160
8	The art of intabulating	164
8.1	Types of <i>concertare</i> in intabulations	164
8.2	Girolamo Diruta's keyboard intabulation techniques	167
8.3	Left hand technique	175
8.4	Lute intabulation methods	177
8.5	Italian sources around 1600 containing keyboard intabulations	180
8.6	Summary and conclusions	185
9	The art of basso continuo	187
9.1	Introduction	187
9.2	Reasons for the new way of playing upon a bass	188
	9.2.1 The modern style	188
	9.2.2 Convenience	193
	9.2.3 The quantity of works	193

9.2.4 Printing techniques	194
9.2.5 Conclusion	195
9.3 General figured bass sources	196
9.3.1 Prefaces	196
9.3.2 Viadana	197
9.4 Galeazzo Sabbatini	201
9.5 Francesco Bianciardi	210
9.6 Agostino Agazzari	215
9.7 Adriano Banchieri	219
9.8 Figuring and progression of the voices in scores	222
9.9 Durante's <i>Arie devote</i>	228
9.10 Against basso continuo	233
9.11 Conclusions	234

PRACTICAL ASPECTS

10 Practical conclusions	237
10.1 The keyboard left hand	237
Summary	245
10.2 Parallel perfect intervals and voice leading	245
Summary	248
10.3 Variety of number of parts	249
Summary	251
10.4 Cadences	252
10.4.1 Finals	252
10.4.2 Cadential formulas	254
Summary	257
10.5 Ornamentation	258
10.5.1 <i>Groppi di accadentia</i>	258
10.5.2 <i>Minute</i>	259
10.5.3 Bridge passages	262
10.6 Doubling the top part	263
Summary	265
10.7 Superimposition of dissonances and resolutions	265
10.8 Performing forces and clashes	269
Summary	271
10.9 Contrabassi	271
Summary	273

10.10 Repercussions	274
Summary	278
10.11 <i>Musica ficta</i>	278
Summary	280
10.12 Harpsichord and lute together	281
Summary	284
10.13 <i>Chiavi trasportati</i> or <i>chiavette</i>	286
Summary	293
10.14 Conclusion	293
 Appendix I: Catalogue of the copies of music prints associated with Verovio in public libraries	 297
 Appendix II: Canons in the prints associated with Verovio	 327
 Appendix III: Dedications	 328
 Appendix IV: Canzonettas	 333
 Appendix V: Examples of canzonettas	 337
 Bibliography	 357
Primary sources	357
1. Music prints	357
2. Manuscripts	361
Secondary sources	361
 List of illustrations	 383
 List of tables	 390
 Index	 391

Acknowledgements

Working with the prints associated with Verovio has been a fascinating and enjoyable journey. The prints are aesthetically delightful, the music is interesting and beautiful, and they provide valuable insights into the possibilities of performance practice around 1600. My approach to investigating the prints has been influenced by many people. As a harpsichord and basso continuo student in Amsterdam and Basle, I was constantly encouraged to investigate original sources for myself. Above all, however, Luigi Ferdinando Tagliavini's article, 'The Art of "Not leaving the Instrument Empty": Comments on Early Harpsichord playing' in *Early Music* 11 (1983), and the private lessons I received from him, inspired me to follow the path of his own research: comparing theoretical sources and subsequently searching for parallel, clarifying passages in the music. In this way it was possible to come to completely new insights about the sometimes vague and unclear content of these sources.

This was the approach some years ago when I began to work on the Verovio prints. But while looking at individual copies of the prints carefully, I encountered some unexpected mysteries: the title pages and contents of different copies of one 'edition' sometimes differed from one another, while the dating of some collections seemed astonishing. This led me on to a study of printing techniques and the production of prints, which illuminated the differences between intaglio and relief printing – terms I had only vaguely heard of before I began working on Verovio – and the implications of these differences. It also showed me how the technical limitations of printing around 1600 determined what was produced, how it was produced, and what we can still see today. Fortunately the number of extant copies of music prints associated with Verovio is limited. Most known copies are available in the libraries in Bologna (Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica di Bologna), Rome (the Biblioteca Casanatense and the library of the Conservatorio di Musica S. Cecilia), Padua (Biblioteca Antoniana), London (British Library), Munich (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek), Berlin (Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz) and Brussels (Bibliothèque royale). I am very grateful to the staff in these libraries for their help. I would especially like to thank Alfredo Vitolo for his assistance and his beautiful photographs.

Many people have been very helpful and inspiring, including my fellow companions on the road towards PhDs about early continuo: Elam Rotem, Thérèse de Goede and Anne Marie Dragosits. Marco Giuliani generously helped me with material from his incredible database. Above all, however, I am deeply in debt to Tim Carter, who took the time to talk with me several times, read this thesis and gave me invaluable comments.

This research culminated in a dissertation which led to the conferral of a PhD (2015); the present book is a revised version of that dissertation. I would like to thank my supervisors Markus Grassl (University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna), Birgit Lodes (University of Vienna) and Michele Calella (University of Vienna), who started me off on this project, and my editor Grantley McDonald (University of Vienna) for his careful work.

I dedicate this book to two people who have had a great influence on me: Luigi Ferdinando Tagliavini, and my father Carel van Lookeren Campagne, who are no longer able to hold this book in their hands.

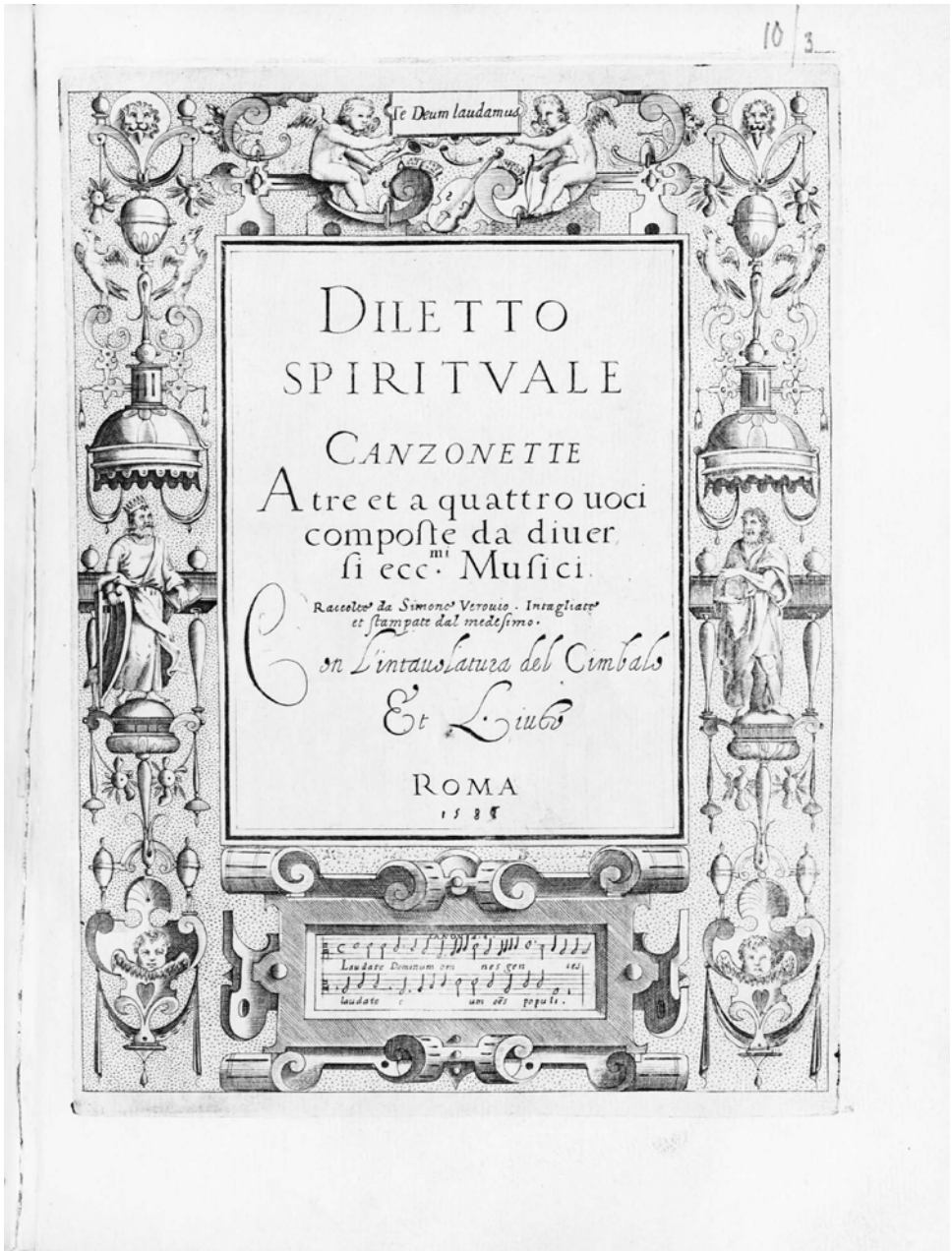


Figure 1 *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1586), with intabulations, title page (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, D-Mbs 4 Mus.pr. 10#Beibd.3), urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00074059-1.

Felice Anerio

*esu decus angelicum. In aure dulci can-
tuum. In ore mel miri ficum in cor de
nectar celicum in corde nectar celi cum*

*esu decus angeli cum. In aure dulci can
tium. In ore mel miri ficum. In cor
de nectar celi cum. In cor de nectar celicum*

*esu decus angeli cum. In aure dulci can ti
cum. In ore mel miri ficum. In corde nectar celi
cum in cor de nec tar celi cum*

*D'caderrace' millicis' Mo' lo cum quando facies
Iesu mi quando uenies? Mo' de te quando uenies?*

Figure ii *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1592), Felice Anerio, 'Iesu decus angelicum', vocal parts (I-Bc R255).

The image displays a page of handwritten musical notation. The upper section features a complex intabulation for a lute, with multiple staves showing intricate rhythmic patterns and melodic lines. The text "Iesu decus Angelicum" is written above the first staff. Below this, there are several staves of rhythmic notation, including various time signatures such as 2/6, 3/8, 4/4, and 3/4, along with numerical figures (e.g., 2, 3, 4, 2, 3, 4) indicating fret positions. The lower section of the page is titled "CANON a 4." and contains a single staff of music with the lyrics "A d Dominum cum tribularet clama ui". The notation includes a treble clef, a common time signature, and a key signature of one flat.

Figure iii *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1592), Felice Anerio, 'Iesu decus angelicum', intabulations (I-Bc R255).

1 Introduction

The engraved ‘Verovio’ prints astound by their beauty, detail, and uniqueness. Though they are prints, they resemble manuscripts because of the printing technique used. Although many manuscripts were still being copied in the second half of the sixteenth century, printing had long been the standard procedure to reproduce texts, works of art and music in greater quantities. These were mainly aimed at a small elite audience, but printing processes were also used to reach the illiterate and relatively poor. Devotional objects, broadsides, recreational tools such as games and playing cards and material for decorating furniture were all produced by print.¹ Printed material was manufactured on an enormous scale and traded across Europe and beyond. Nevertheless, printing and publishing was financially risky, as the investments required were substantial. However, with good marketing and distribution strategies, printers could make a great deal of money.

Regardless of the objects to be reproduced by print, two fundamentally different techniques were used: *relief* processes and *intaglio* processes. For the former, everything that was to be printed protruded from the surface; the impression was made on paper using a letterpress. For the latter, the image to be printed was incised into a surface, usually a metal plate, such that the part of the surface that was not to be printed would stand out. The impression was made with a rolling press. Originally *relief* prints were made from wooden blocks, from which everything excluding the representation was cut away, hence the name *woodcut* for prints made with this technique. Material needed repeatedly was in time cast as movable type, which supplemented or replaced the woodcuts. Letters, musical symbols or images could be reproduced in identical, greater quantities and utilized throughout a complete edition. Toward the end of the sixteenth century, punches were increasingly used for motifs that occurred frequently in intaglio printing. This occurred first for maps (letters, signs for trees, symbols for hills and the like) and slightly later in music (for example clefs and letters).

Almost all the music printed in the sixteenth century was produced using *relief* techniques. However, Simone Verovio seems to have employed intaglio procedures exclusively. In his active years in Rome, from 1586 to 1607, Verovio is known to have participated in the publication of at least thirteen music prints, besides no fewer than six writing manual books and several broadsides, all using intaglio printing techniques.

Although much research has been devoted to the use of relief techniques employing letterpress in sixteenth-century music printing, the use of intaglio printing during this

¹ Miller (2006), p. 329.

period has not received equal attention.² Of course this is partly because intaglio printing only really started to flourish much later and was not widely used to print music until the eighteenth century.³ As long as there was only one voice per staff, printing with moveable type was perfectly adequate and preferable, as the process was cheaper and less time-consuming than intaglio printing. Thus relief printing was the standard printing procedure used for music for one or more voices printed in partbooks or in choirbook layout. Printing notational systems for instruments on which more than one part can be played, such as keyboards and lutes, was more complicated. The parts had to be aligned with some accuracy, and were frequently notated with more than one voice per staff. Printing polyphonic music for instruments in mensural notation, such as the Italian or French keyboard tablatures, with moveable type required many different sorts (individual pieces of type). Even then, the result was not always very clear.

In Italy, keyboard music, with its many ties and notes of different lengths, was notated mainly in *intavolatura* or in open score.⁴ Printing in open score with only a single part on each staff, as was standard in Naples around 1600, was technically easier. It also had the added advantage that musicians playing other instruments could use the score as well. It could, however, not show the standard 'hand positions' and added filled-in parts so typical of Italian keyboard music from the beginning of the sixteenth century onwards.⁵

The *intavolatura*, the keyboard notation used by Verovio, could show which notes were to be played by each hand. It employed five to seven lines for the right hand and five to eight for the left (see figure 1.1).

In letterpress printing, vertical alignment of the parts was complicated, especially if there were different parts with different note values at the same point in the score in one hand (see mm. 3–5 of figure 1.1). These either had to be fit somehow into one piece of type, or placed one after the other. When printing three parts in one hand, it was difficult to print a part in the middle with a length different from the others (mm. 3 and 5); however, printing from intaglio allowed for the addition of a stem to the side of the note. Initially, each combination of notes would have required its own sort, so that many different sorts were needed to print a keyboard *intavolatura* using relief techniques. Later, sorts placed one above the other were also employed.

2 Much research has been carried out on Italian publishers and printers, especially in Venice, by Agee, Bernstein, Boorman, Carter (Florence), Edwards, and Lewis and others. Barbieri, Cusick, Morelli, Franchi and O. Sartori have concentrated on music printing in Rome. Jane Bernstein is soon to publish a book on music and print culture in Renaissance Rome.

3 Devriès-Lesure (2005), pp. 79–83.

4 Judd (1989), pp. 87–102. A smaller number of prints were also issued in short score.

5 Tagliavini (1978a), p. 72.

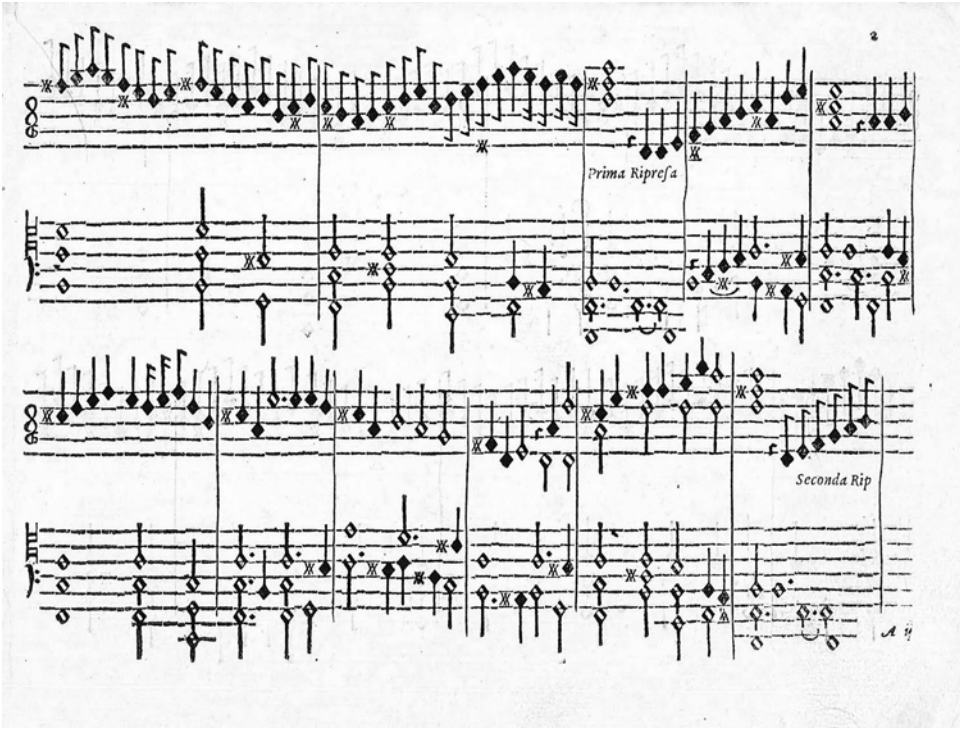


Figure 1.1 Marco Facoli, *Il secondo libro d'intavolatura di balli d'arpicordo* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1588), 'Pass'e mezzo moderno', fol. 1^v (I-Rsc G.CS. 3.B.31).

Normally, printers used sorts for all values up to sixteenth notes. Adding smaller values would exponentially increase the number of sorts needed, an excessive expense for such a niche market.⁶ Therefore no publications of *intavolatura* used thirty-second notes; faster ornaments were not notated. In Claudio Merulo's *Canzoni d'intavolatura d'organo libro primo* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1592) the smallest note value is a thirty-second note, but this was created by manually adding an extra tail with a stamp in the workshop. This extra work added to the cost of printing.

Adding shorter note values would not only increased the number of types needed; it also made the layout on the page more complicated. As can be seen in figure 1.4, the types for most note values required approximately the same amount of space. However, smaller values required a little more space due to the tails on the stems. Printing many small notes thus increased the amount of paper required, which likewise raised the cost of printing.

⁶ Collarile (2008), p. 120.

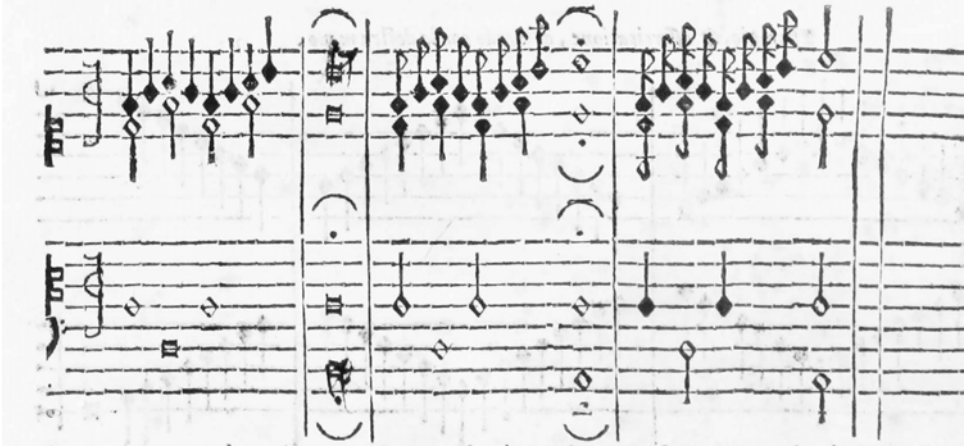


Figure 1.2 Girolamo Diruta, *Il transilvano* (Venice: Vincenti, 1597), p. 15 (I-Bc D 16).

To save on the number of sorts needed, vertical alignment was frequently sacrificed. However, this also created so many problems that Girolamo Diruta dedicated a whole paragraph to explaining which notes should be played together in such cases (figure 1.2).⁷

Another drawback of using moveable type was that beaming (grouping together smaller note values) was not possible, as each note value printed had its own sort: even the smallest note values had to be printed separately. Beaming not only improved the legibility of the score; it also conveyed musical meaning, indicating grouping, phrasing and perhaps even articulation.⁸ Printing ties from type, especially over a bar line, was just as difficult as beaming, as it frequently necessitated two sorts.

Printing a keyboard *intavolatura* was thus a complicated matter. The first keyboard tablature printed in Italy, the *Frottole intabulate* (Rome: Andrea Antico, 1517) was produced from woodcut. Only very few publications with *intavolature* were issued in the middle of the sixteenth century, all using moveable type.⁹ It was, in fact not until the 1590s, after Verovio had printed his first publications with keyboard *intavolatura*, when Giacomo Vincenti and Angelo Gardano started printing keyboard *intavolature* in Venice, thus initiating an increase in the number of printed collections of solo keyboard music.¹⁰

⁷ Diruta (1593/1597), p. 15.

⁸ In the *Toccate*, engraved and printed by Verovio, this allows Merulo to indicate more precise voice progressions, and groups of three in one part against four in another; see for example Merulo (1604), 'Toccatà Undecimo', bottom of p. 2.

⁹ Only very few printers owned a set of *intavolatura d'organo* types.

¹⁰ Earlier prints using moveable type for *intavolatura* were prints of music published in Venice with music by



Figure 1.3 Francesco da Milano, *Intabolatura di liuto* (Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1561), fol. Aij^r (A-Wn SA.76.D.53.2).

It is possible that the appearance of keyboard *intavolature* in print in Rome set off a trend.

Printing lute tablature was less complicated. In Italian lute tablature, the pitch is indicated with letters. The length of a note is not an integral part of the individual note but is indicated above the staff. Only the shortest note value in any of the individual voices played at any given time is notated. This means that the player cannot ‘see’ the individual parts and part-writing, since all notes appear in chords (figure 1.3). Early lute music was generally printed using a multiple-impression process in which the lines were printed first, and the letters indicating the exact string and position of the finger on the fingerboard were printed later. In these early editions, many more different sorts would have been needed to notate the different chords than are necessary for music with only a single part per staff, as each different combination of fingering signs and strings would require its own sort.

In Naples, Johannes Sulzbach therefore developed a system in 1536 in which each sort had one staff line, and some contained a letter set on the line. Six of these types were then lined up vertically to create the staff of the lute tablature.¹¹ This innovation was an extension of the single-impression technique that Pierre Attaignant had developed not long before to print mensural music. Although this new method required a smaller number of sorts, the printer had to possess a greater number of identical types; this process was also labour-intensive for the typesetter. It is therefore not surprising that the first known experiment with intaglio printing technique is to be found in a tablature publication: the *Intabolatura da Leuto del Divino Francisco da Milano Novamente Stanpata*. Unfortunately, the print contains neither a date nor the printer’s mark, but is usually dated to the 1540s.¹²

Marc’Antonio Cavazzoni, Girolamo Cavazzoni, Jacques Buus and two editions by Merulo (1567, 1568) as well as some dances by Facoli (1588). See Judd (1988), p. 91.

11 Bernstein (2001), p. 65.

12 A-Wn SA.76.D.54, Brown 154?4. See chapter 3.2.

The next known collection of music printed exclusively from engraved plates is the *Diletto spirituale* associated with Simone Verovio (1586), who subsequently produced at least twelve other musical editions and several writing-books. Verovio may not have been the first to publish an engraved book of music, but for the next century, nobody is known to have produced so many musical editions using intaglio processes at such a high level, at least not in Italy.

Of these thirteen musical editions, some sixty-one copies can still be found in libraries in Europe and the USA. While examining and comparing these, I noticed many incongruities. Different states of a single collection became apparent. In some copies, the pieces were in a different order. Some had different title pages. Some lacked the dedications. Some had different dates. These anomalies prompted me to examine Verovio's manner of production more intensively.

In chapter 2, I shall compare the methods and techniques used in relief and intaglio printing. These shed some light on the differences between the copies of the Verovio collections. When printing a book, broadside or decorative material on a letterpress, the outcome was predefined from the start. However, an engraved plate could be used to produce a single print, or part of a bespoke collection printed on demand, in which the pieces appeared in an order defined by the printer or the buyer, as long as one entity – a map or piece of music – fit onto one or two plates. While partbooks, just like large maps, had to be designed as a whole, music in choirbook layout, just like smaller map prints, could be sold singly. It is possible that plates used in the earlier Verovio collections, in choirbook layout with a single composition on one or two plates, were used to print pieces singly.¹³ Most of the earlier collections survive in different compilations, with one or several pieces added or excluded, or with the pieces in a different order.

In chapter 3, we shall place the prints associated with Verovio into the perspective of engraving in Rome in general. We will look at the immediate precursors (3.2) and the immediate successors (3.4) in intaglio music printing in Italy. In chapter 3.3 we shall give a comprehensive introduction to the prints associated with Simone Verovio; these include anthologies with voice parts and intabulations for harpsichord and lute in choirbook layout as well as solo harpsichord music by Claudio Merulo and a collection of *Arie devote* by Ottavio Durante including a figured bass.

In chapter 4, we shall discuss exemplary individual prints more closely and show that these prints do not follow the same patterns found in prints made with moveable type around 1600. Not only is the format different; individual copies of one print often differ significantly from each other.

Once we have looked at the prints as objects, in chapter 5 and 6 we will focus on the people who created and used them. Examining the roles of the different people

¹³ See chapter 3.3.

involved in preparing, creating and selling the prints will give us an insight into the circumstances in which they were produced (chapter 5). This will help us understand why other names (like van Buyten) appear on the title pages, and why Verovio's name is not always mentioned. Those who created these prints resembled producers of graphic art rather than regular book printers. In such circles, prints were generally created by a group of people. This trade also had a national bias: those whose names we know all came from the North. In the 1590s, Verovio assumed responsibility for the whole production in his workshop, and professionalized the printing process to match or even excel the standard of music books printed with moveable type. His reputation and the potential of his engravings attracted famous composers from outside Rome, including Merulo and Luzzaschi, who wished Verovio to print their complicated keyboard *intavolature*. Besides famous Italian composers, Verovio also favoured his compatriots Peetrino, del Mel and de Macque. With a few exceptions, the dedicatees did not belong to the usual patrons of music prints in Italy at the time.

We shall also examine other functions in the printing process, like those of the writers and intabulators. In chapter 6 we shall briefly examine the spread of the prints, their consumers and their possible uses. As many scholars have noted, most surviving copies in libraries and other collections show few signs of usage. Bernstein has shown that surviving copies tend to be those purchased in bookshops by individual buyers (royalty, nobility, merchants, professionals and composers) and institutions. According to Bernstein only a few buyers can be identified as teachers or students. As Agee notes, the copies purchased by teachers and students were 'probably used directly for performance and remained unbound and relatively fragile', and hence presumably fell apart after usage.¹⁴

We shall also discuss whether the prints associated with Verovio were practical editions or luxury editions mainly aimed at collectors. Only a limited number of impressions can be made from a single plate, but if plates were copied, as was usual in figurative arts and map printing, the output could have been much larger. It is possible that sheet music was printed from the same plates (or copies of these plates) for practical use.

The prints associated with Verovio show the development from a group of associates producing loose collections of canzonettas in the earlier prints to a highly professional workshop in which one person oversaw a single task, producing collections whose contents were determined in advance. By the end of the 1590s the market for these prints had probably become more clearly defined, and set collections printed from copper plates must have been economically viable, at least for Simone Verovio.

14 Agee (1998), p. 44.

In the third part of this study we will examine what consumers used to play around 1600, perhaps even from these intabulations or the Durante *basso continuo* part. Due to the method of printing used, it was possible to print things that had never been printed before: a combination of voice parts in choirbook format as well as intabulations for harpsichord and lute, all on a single sheet. But how were the intabulations done? How was vocal music arranged for perfect instruments such as lutes or harpsichords, on which all the voices of a polyphonic composition could be played simultaneously?

We shall present various methods of intabulating, as well as early sources on *basso continuo* from the first quarter of the seventeenth-century. We shall then compare the information about performance practice that can be derived from these sources with that found in the Verovio intabulations. It will be shown that, contrary to the popular belief that *basso continuo* was ‘a new system of accompaniment’,¹⁵ something radically new around 1600, many of these ‘new’ traits of accompaniment were already present in intabulations printed by Verovio in the 1580s. *Basso continuo* notation was simply one of several methods of notating accompaniments that appeared in the second half of the sixteenth century. For over 150 years, a period which Hugo Riemann dubbed the ‘Generalbass-Zeitalter’, it was accepted as an almost universal system of accompaniment, but around 1600 this was not yet the case.

In chapter 7 we shall discuss the precise meaning of terms like intabulating, intabulation and *intavolature*, and the other ways of notating (and printing) music used on perfect instruments when playing pieces together *in concerto*. We shall also evaluate the modern argument that these intabulations were meant for amateurs, as well as the implications of the designation ‘amateur’ in late sixteenth-century Rome. Many composers represented in the prints associated with Verovio were aristocrats who would not have appreciated being called professionals. But nonetheless they published music and were famous as musicians, besides their primary occupations, for example as diplomats or clergy. However, if we take other music printed at the time seriously, we should also take the music of such ‘amateurs’ seriously as potential sources of information.

In chapter 8, we shall examine the art of intabulating both in the intabulations associated with Verovio and in the methods behind them. In chapter 9 we shall consider the rules and techniques of *basso continuo*, and compare these with the Verovio intabulations and the *basso continuo* parts of the *Arie devote*. It will be shown that the theoretical sources on *basso continuo* and the intabulations share many characteristics.

The last part of this study draws practical conclusions from the editions associated with Verovio and other sources discussed, teasing out the implications for practice when playing music from around 1600 with others on a harpsichord and/or a lute. We shall discuss what can be done at cadences, how many voices should be played, and what

15 Nuti (2007), p. 1. See also Dragosits (2012), p. 439.

methods we can employ to avoid leaving the sound of the instruments ‘empty’, as Frescobaldi described it.¹⁶ Can ornaments be added? How can notes be repeated? We shall give examples of many different playing techniques derived from the intabulations published by Verovio. Such techniques, which seem to be standard practice in Rome at the time, can be used on these instruments, regardless of the notation used.

Players around 1600 did not have simply one way of accompanying music. The intabulations show several different manners of accompaniment, different from piece to piece, from place to place (Rome and Ferrara) and from genre to genre. I am not proposing that all music at the time should be accompanied like the Verovio intabulations. However, these do give us an insight into what was considered best practice, or at least a successful option, at the time. Throughout this study, we shall see that printing these examples of written out accompaniments together with the voice parts was only made possible by a technical breakthrough, the use of intaglio techniques.

¹⁶ Frescobaldi (1616), Avvertimento 3: ‘Non lasciare l’istrumento vuoto.’

PRINTING AND PRINT

2 Printing techniques

2.1 INTRODUCTION

When examining the prints associated with Verovio, one is immediately struck by their beauty and precision: they resemble a manuscript executed by a proficient copyist. By adapting the size of the music and the words, the engraver fills the sheets to create an even layout on opposing pages. By contrast, most publications using moveable type are printed in the same font-size through out the whole publication, apart from headings. In these engraved books, open spaces are filled either with canons or with elaborate ornaments like the ones that can be found in hand-written dedications or letters, or in printed writing-books.¹⁷ Unlike books printed from moveable type, individual copies of these engraved books display significant differences. To understand how and why they can be so different, we shall compare the two most common printing techniques at this time: relief and intaglio.

2.2 THE PRINTING PROCESS : RELIEF VERSUS INTAGLIO

The differences in printing techniques did not only affect the way the prints were prepared, but also required different printing material and types of printing press. The first step for both methods of printing was to create a layout or design. In the case of music, achieving a balanced distribution on the page required aesthetic judgment and a practical eye.

In relief printing, a design was either drawn directly on the woodblock or on a sheet of paper which was subsequently glued to the surface. The cutter would then cut away the wood from the sides of the drawn lines.¹⁸ Andrea Antico's famous *Frottole intabolate da sonare organi* (Rome, 1517) seem to have been produced in such a manner. For books or music produced with moveable type, the page was made up by placing the types on composing trays, which were then tied together into a unit called a 'forme' to create a page. Woodblock illustrations, decorative letters or ornaments could also be set amongst the type as part of the forme. Depending on the size of the pages to be printed, one or more woodcuts or formes were placed on the bed of the press and fixed. The surface was then inked using a dabber. The ink had to be sufficiently thick that it did not

¹⁷ Around 1600, writing-books contained examples of handwriting, sample letters and correct forms of address in letters (including dedications) to recipients of various ranks and stations.

¹⁸ Griffiths (1996), p. 13.

drip into the spaces in between.¹⁹ A sheet of paper was then put on top, the press was closed and pressure was exerted by turning a screw or lever. The resulting pressure was exerted uniformly and the ink was transferred from the surface of the type or woodcut onto the paper. The paper was subsequently hung up to dry. In the meantime the surface was re-inked and the next print produced. This process is illustrated in figure 2.1, a print from Vittorio Zonca's *Novo teatro di machine et edificii per varie et sicure operationi* (1607).

One of the first pages pulled from the press would then go to the proof-reader (*corrector* or *castigator*), who would check for mistakes. The author or the composer sometimes acted as proof-reader, but larger printing houses or *officinae* also employed professional proof-readers. If mistakes were found, either errata-pages were added or the print-run was halted and corrections made ('stop-press corrections'). Corrections could also be added later, either by hand or by pasting pieces of paper with corrections over the mistake.²⁰

The number of impressions that could be produced from a woodblock usually depended on the quality of the wood; soft woods were easier to cut, but were also more prone to wear.

In general, the maximum print run was defined by the number of sheets of paper that could be printed in a day. At the end of the day, the formes had to be taken apart and the types washed and cleaned.²¹ Otherwise the ink would dry on the types, which would make them unserviceable. For an average edition, Plantin's workshop in Antwerp printed about 1250 sheets on both sides per working day from a single printing press.²² This corresponded to the normal speed at which a journeyman-printer could work, with some assistance.²³ The number of pages produced in one day would depend on the size of the page of the edition. Several pages would be printed on one sheet of paper. The large sheets were folded after printing to create pages of different formats. If the sheet was folded once (that is, in folio format), two folios or four pages could be produced in one day. If the sheet was folded twice, once crosswise and once lengthwise (that is, in quarto format) a four-leaf, eight-page gathering (called *duerno* by Bernstein) was produced. In octavo format, eight pages were printed per side, allowing

19 For more information on printing inks, see Reed and Wallace (1989), pp. xlviv–xlvii.

20 Boorman (2005), pp. 203–227. An interesting example is the Viennese copy of the *Dialogo di Vincentio Galilei nobile Fiorentino della Musica antica et della moderna* (Florence: Marescotti, 1581; A-Wn SA.71.A.21), which the author gave to Sebastiano Caccie (?) from Siena in 1587 (*Autore dono dedit Sebastiano Caccie (?) an. 1587*). Several corrections can be found in brown ink; fol. 149 contains a table of errata; on fol. 120 a folded piece of paper containing an example is stuck into the book.

21 Pettegree (2010), p. 71.

22 Voet (1969–1972), vol. 2, pp. 20–21. Unfortunately, we have no such information on the situation in Italy.

23 Voet (1969–1972), vol. II, p. 169.

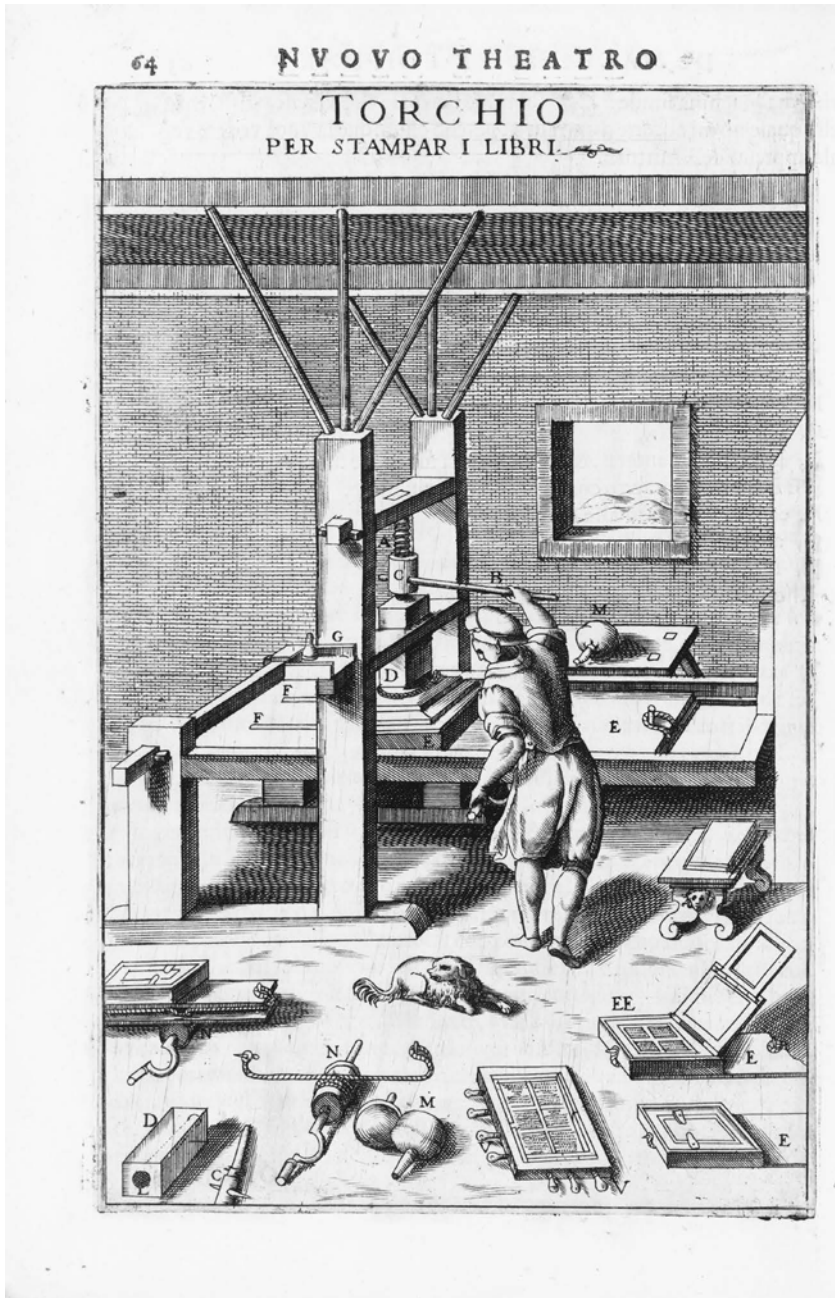


Figure 2.1 Vittorio Zonca, *Novo teatro di machine et edifici per varie et sicure operationi* (Padua: Pietro Bertelli, 1607), p. 64 (A-Wn SA.72.P.56(2)).

a sixteen-page gathering (quaderno) to be printed.²⁴ According to Bernstein, by the end of the fifteenth century, the size of the paper had been standardized.²⁵ By the middle of the sixteenth century, the *rezute* (45 × 31.5 cm) and the *mezzane* (51.5 × 34.5 cm) were the most common paper sizes used in Italian music printing, yielding pages of approximately 21 × 15 cm and 22 × 16 cm respectively in folio format. Thus, the sizes of printed books of a certain format were all roughly similar, at least until their edges were trimmed by the bookbinder.²⁶

Preparing an intaglio print was slower and more labour-intensive. The copperplate had to be prepared and the design transferred to the plate in reverse. To transmit the design, the engraver heated the plate and covered it with a layer of white wax. He then drew the design on paper with white chalk or *lapis rosso* (red chalk in a holder), placed the paper face-down on the plate, rubbed it on the back or went over the lines with a stylus. Alternatively, he could draw the design directly onto the plate with chalk. The lines on the plate were then cut into the metal,²⁷ usually with a tool called a burin or graver.²⁸ The cutting was a highly-skilled and time-consuming task that required a great deal of practice; engravers and etchers were consequently paid up to seven times more than the designers of the plates.²⁹

When preparing a design for engraving, for example music or a map, it was important to make sure that it was applied to the plate in reverse. For figural prints this was not considered very important, except images of Jesus, who could not be seen blessing with the wrong (left) hand.³⁰

Before the plate could be printed, it was heated, inked and then cleaned, leaving the ink only in the incisions (figure 2.2). The plate was warmed again and put into the bed of the press, and a damp sheet of paper was placed on top of it. The paper was then covered with a blanket. By turning the wheel of the press, the pressman forced the plate between the rollers, pressing the paper into the grooves to draw out the ink.³¹ The blanket was then removed, and the paper taken out and hung up to dry. To make another print, the process was repeated. Making further prints from the same plate or making a

24 For more precise information see Philip Gaskell (1972), pp. 78–117, or for music printing Bernstein (2001), pp. 36–37. Other ways of folding created duodecimo and sextodecimo formats with twelve- and sixteen-sheet gatherings.

25 Bernstein (2001), p. 35.

26 The final size of a book would be defined by the bookbinder.

27 Alternatively, the lines could be etched into the plate with acid. This technique, however, was not used for music, as the lines tend to be less sharply defined.

28 Verner (1975), p. 53.

29 Bury (2001), p. 45.

30 Bury (2001), p. 15.

31 Griffiths (1996), p. 3.

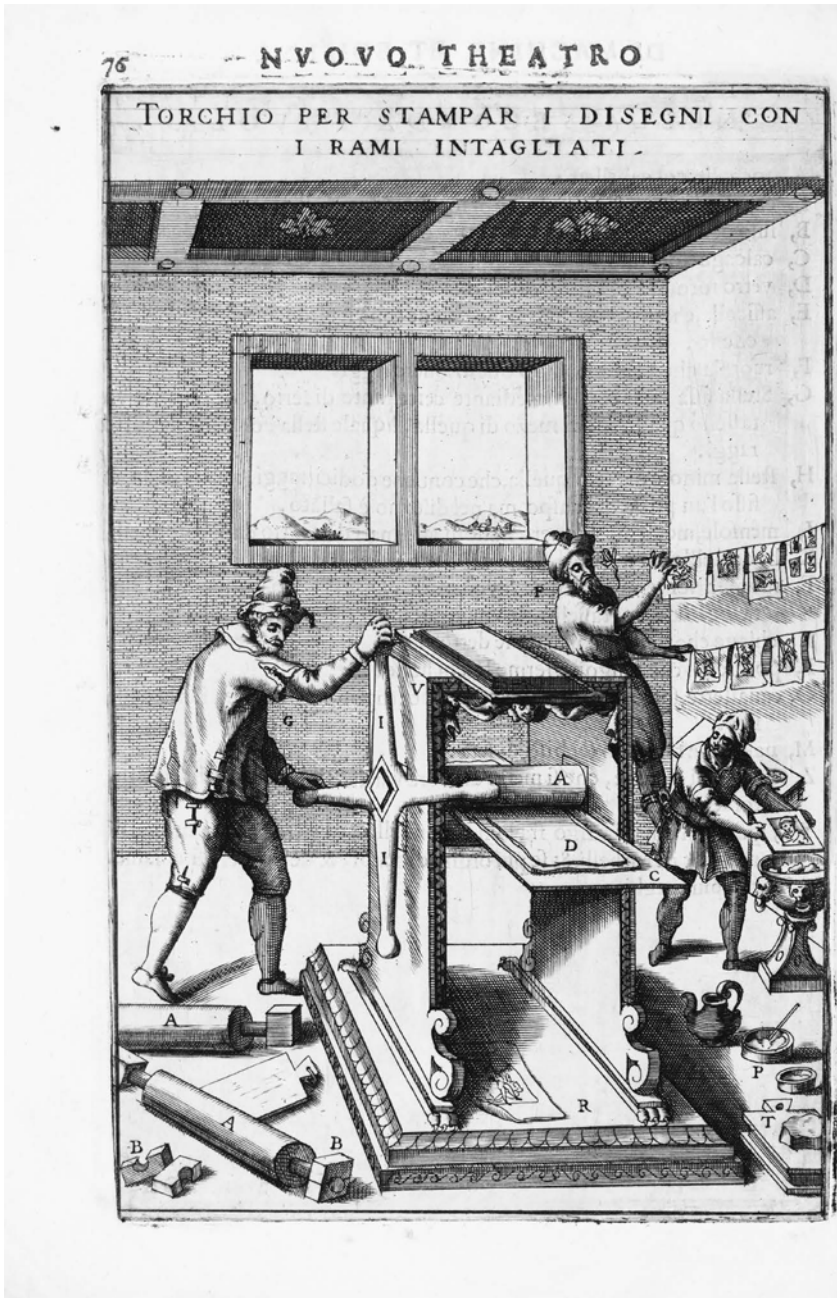


Figure 2.2 Vittorio Zonca, *Novo teatro di machine et edifici per varie et sicure operationi* (Padua: Pietro Bertelli, 1607), p. 76 (A-Wn SA.72.P.56(2)).

print from another plate took approximately the same time, as the plate had to be taken out of the press for cleaning anyway.³² The pressure put on the paper and plate by the rollers leaves an imprint on the paper showing the contours of the plate, the *plate mark*. After a certain number of impressions, the plate was flattened slightly and the lines became less deep. This could affect the quality of the prints. The high pressure exerted by a rolling press required that it be secured on a sturdy base fixed to the floor to prevent it moving during the impression process, unlike the much lighter common letterpress.

The corrector checked the impression and had corrections made to the plate if necessary. By putting a clean sheet of paper on the fresh imprint and running both through the press again, counterproofs were made. That way the print and the plate could be compared more easily as the design would not appear inverted any more.³³ To make a correction, the required section of the plate was pounded flat and re-engraved. When the plates were old and worn, these corrected parts could open up, creating so-called ghost lines.³⁴ Engraving was more expensive than letterpress printing not only because the process was more labour-intensive and slower. It also required high-quality rag paper that could be printed while damp.³⁵

The number of prints that could be drawn from one plate depended on the quality of the metal. If the image became unclear, the lines could be reworked. If the plate was really worn, copying could render further copies, as 'a print is itself the most perfect pattern for carving a copy'.³⁶ It is clear however that the number of prints produced was not dependent on the amount that could be done in a day.³⁷ It is not clear how many copies could be drawn from one plate before it was unusable; estimates range from fifty to 1500 usable impressions.³⁸ Vittorio Zonca (Padua, 1607) mentions that up to 1000 prints could be made before the plate has to be retouched. Grammay (Antwerp, 1580) states that a good-quality plate could yield up to 1200–1500 prints.³⁹ However, it was certainly not the norm to print a large run of engravings at once. In fact, since engraved plates (unlike formes of moveable type) could be stored for long periods of time, books of figurative prints or maps could be printed on demand.⁴⁰

32 Woodward (1996a), p. 50.

33 Verner (1975), p. 66, and Woodward (1996a), p. 60.

34 Verner (1975), p. 66.

35 Bury (2001), p. 47. For more information on paper see Reed and Wallace (1989), pp. xxxii–xliii; on the cost of paper see Crist (2004), pp. 136–137.

36 Lincoln (2000), p. 4.

37 Verner (1975), p. 69. By the eighteenth century, when the printing process was more rationalised, a press run was about 100 copies a day.

38 Woodward (1996a), p. 49.

39 Bury (2001), p. 47.

40 Woodward (1996a), p. 51.

The size of the paper used to print engravings was not as standardised as that used for relief printing. In Rome, larger and more expensive paper was generally used.⁴¹ Furthermore the same plate could be printed on a smaller sheet of paper cut before printing, or on a larger one with other plates. Thus, the same plate could be used to print gatherings in folio format (folded once, creating four pages) or in quarto format (folded twice, creating eight pages). In fact, in the earlier collections of prints associated with Verovio, we find examples in folio as well as in quarto format, printed from the same plates. Closer examination of these prints, especially their watermarks, shows that most, if not all, are actually in folio format, although many have been collated in eight-page gatherings on paper of a size similar to quarto format. As for prints of figurative art and maps, the paper was cut before the engravings were printed.⁴²

Once a printed book was complete, whatever technique had been used for its creation, the customer would collect the unbound material and take it to a bookbinder. Books meant for collectors were often bound together; in several libraries we find the four canzonetta publications including intabulations bound together.⁴³

As the two techniques required different materials and printing presses, they were seldom mixed. Only specialized workshops had the tools needed for engraving and a rolling-press. Letter presses and rolling presses were rarely found in the same shop. Even large printing-workshops, like the *Officina Plantiniana* in Antwerp, well-known for its engraved illustrations, outsourced the intaglio printing until 1740.⁴⁴ Illustrations in books printed from moveable type were mostly woodcuts. In expensive books, engravings were sometimes used as illustrations or title pages, printed on separate pages and inserted during binding. Likewise, typeset texts, usually instructions, would sometimes be inserted into an engraved book. Some of the copies of the *Arie devote* by Ottavio Durante (Rome, 1608), published *appresso Simone Verovio* posthumously, contain a gathering of typeset instructions. The Roman printer-publisher Antonio Lafreri even had the text of a book printed in Venice and the finished sheets then sent back to Rome, where engraved illustrations were added.⁴⁵ Venice was famous for its letterpress printing, while intaglio printing had become established at Rome much earlier.⁴⁶

There was not often much contact between printmakers, who used the rolling press, and book printers, who used the common letterpress. Woodward suspects that this was

41 Bernstein (2009), p. 669.

42 See chapter 6.1.

43 Of course, the date of the binding also plays an important role here.

44 See De Nave and Voet (1995), p. 68. Even after the workshop acquired its own rolling-press, the craftsmen tended to specialize in either relief or intaglio printing. Voet (1969–1982), vol. 2, p. 196.

45 Bury (2001), p. 40.

46 Woodward (1996a), p. 32.

due to city and guild restrictions on who could use which kind of press.⁴⁷ Engraving evolved from the technique of decorating metal objects like armour, skills originally associated with goldsmiths; indeed, these were also involved in the preparation of the plates. Calligraphers or scribes played an important role in engraving too. Very few engravings came without a text and these needed a design. The texts were left for last and were frequently carved by special letter engravers, especially in the production of maps. Letter engraving commanded high prestige and these specialists were paid at a special rate, and sometimes mentioned specifically.⁴⁸ Thus engravers had more in common with goldsmiths, scribes and artists, whereas the book printers, who worked more quickly and in much greater quantities, could be more independent, establishing working relationships with other traders like booksellers.⁴⁹

2.3 ENGRAVED 'EDITIONS'

One of the main differences between these two types of printing remains the factor of reproduceability. If there was a demand for more copies of a book printed from letterpress, the whole book needed to be reset. Books printed from letterpress were therefore more or less stable and predefined. By contrast, the owner of an engraved plate could fetch it from storage and print as many copies as required. A print made later would not have to be made from different plates from those used for an earlier impression, even if some corrections were made.⁵⁰ Books containing a collection of engravings could be stable or unstable, as plates could be omitted, added, replaced by other plates, or arranged in a different order.

As will be shown in chapter 4.2, some copies of the *Diletto spirituale* contain twenty-two canzonettas, others twenty-one; in some the pieces are arranged in a different order. Likewise, some plates used in Peetrino's *Il primo libro delle melodie spirituali* are also used in the collection called *Il primo libro del Jubilo di S. Bernardo* (see chapter 4.3).

This flexibility is a feature of all intaglio printing, not only of music printed using this technique. For example, Abraham Ortelius' famous atlas *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* appeared in thirty-one editions from 1570 to 1612. Some 900 copies still survive, printed from at least 228 different plates. The first edition employs fifty-three plates, whereas the largest edition contains 166.⁵¹ In the mid-1570s, the Roman printer-publisher Anto-

47 Woodward (1996a), p. 38.

48 Woodward (1996a), p. 25.

49 Woodward (1996a), p. 38.

50 This creates what bibliographers describe as a new 'state' of the plate. Griffiths (1996), p. 153, defines a 'state' as an impression which shows any reworking of the plate.

51 Van den Broucke (1995).

nio Lafreri produced a title page called *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* for collections of engraved prints of the monuments and antiquities of the city. Collectors and tourists could choose their own selections and have their individual compilation bound with this title page. Books compiled from engravings therefore were not necessarily predefined entities in the same way as books printed from letterpress.⁵² I therefore use the terms used by some bibliographers in graphic art and cartography, describing a copy in which changes were made to a plate or the order of pieces were altered as a variant 'state' rather than a different edition. Such a book would only be a new edition if a new set of plates or completely new combinations of plates had been used.

2.4 THE DATING OF ENGRAVINGS

The fact that plates can be changed can make it difficult to date copies of engraved publications. The date on a plate generally indicates only the year when it was engraved, not the year when a given print was drawn from a plate. Furthermore, just as it was not unusual to correct a plate by hammering and re-engraving, it was also possible to alter the date on a plate.

The surviving copies of the Verovio prints exist in different states, printed from the same plates; some have a date, some do not, and in some the date has been altered. Of the four surviving copies of *Lodi della musica*, one lacks a date, and three have the year 1595. Two different states of the title page of the version of the *Diletto spirituale* containing the intabulations still exist: one bears the date 1586, the other 1592. Brown mentions another copy (now lost) with the year 1590.⁵³ In yet another state the date has been changed back to 1586, as can be seen by ghost lines in the print (see chapter 4.2). In the dedication of the *Canzonette à quattro voci* the date of the dedication appears in one copy as *Di Roma a di Marzo 1591*,⁵⁴ but with *Di Roma a 20 di Marzo 1591* in the other copies.

The changing of dates also occurred in other engraved publications. Osley was surprised by the 'disconcerting order' of Ludovico Curione's writing-books: the fourth book bears the year 1582, the second 1588, the first 1590 and the third 1593. He suspects that Curione's misfortune and poverty, to which Curione alludes in some of his dedications, are the reason for this apparent aberration.⁵⁵ Another, perhaps more

52 See <http://speculum.lib.uchicago.edu/content/introduction.html> (accessed 22.11.2016), Bury (2001) p. 50 and Whitcombe, (2008), p. 7.

53 Brown (1965), p. 363; *Diletto spirituale* (1590₁₀).

54 I-Bc R 259.

55 Osley (1972), p. 100.

plausible, explanation may be that the dates on the respective plates were changed, as we find in the *Diletto spirituale*. Woodward mentions a map (which for various reasons can only have been printed in or after 1562) ‘with its date inexplicably changed to 1560’.⁵⁶

It is not clear why dates would have been changed back to an earlier year. As today, it is possible that older publications were worth more; alternatively, rivalries and competition could have been ‘settled’ by changing the date. More likely, however, there were problems with the license. Backdating to within the period of an earlier *licenza* may have been one way to avoid having to apply for a new one.⁵⁷

2.5 THE COSTS OF PUBLISHING ENGRAVINGS

Preparing and making any print in the second half of the sixteenth century was an expensive undertaking. It involved substantial sums of money and involved many risks.⁵⁸ In Rome the situation might have been particularly difficult, as ‘Roman printers are so poor that no one can print on his own, even one book’.⁵⁹

Selling printed material could be a commercial success, but it depended on a good distribution network.⁶⁰ The high costs of printing frequently impeded composers from having their works printed. In the dedication to his *Lamentationum Hieremiae Prophetarum liber primus* (Rome: Gardano, 1588), Palestrina wrote:

I have composed and published many works, and have far more in my possession, but I am delayed in publishing them by the [financial] constraints I spoke of. It would need no little expenditure, especially if the larger notes and letters are used, which ecclesiastical publications really require.⁶¹

As Bernstein points out, the production of 525 copies of a very exclusive and expensive print, containing 151 folio-sized sheets, using moveable type, would have cost more than Palestrina earned in a year as a singer in the papal chapel.⁶² But by selling half the

⁵⁶ Woodward (1992), p. 50.

⁵⁷ I thank Tim Carter for this remark.

⁵⁸ Bernstein (2001), p. 73.

⁵⁹ Fiore (2009), p. 221, quoting a contemporary bishop, Giovanni Carga.

⁶⁰ Bernstein (2001), p. 85.

⁶¹ Quoted in Bernstein (2007), p. 226. Original Latin: ‘Multa composui, edidique multo plura apud me sunt: a quibus edendis retardor ea, quam dixi angustia. Sumptu non mediocri opus est; praesertim si adhibeantur maiores quaedam notae, et litterae, quas Ecclesiasticae res maxime requirunt’ (p. 234).

⁶² Bernstein (2007), p. 226. This said, Palestrina’s precise yearly income is unknown.

run, the sum invested would have been doubled.⁶³ To print this collection in upright quarto, which became the standard format for music towards the end of the century,⁶⁴ would have been considerably cheaper. Publications in smaller formats, like the *villanelle* and canzonettas, usually printed in octavo, would have been even cheaper as more pages could be produced in one pull through the press.

In the preface to his edition of Francesco da Milano's *Intabolatura di liuto* (Venice, 1536) Francesco Marcolini boasts proudly, if not completely correctly, that after Petrucci's lute publications, 'numbers and notes of sound', that is, instrumental tablatures, 'up until now had only been engraved with a great investment of time and expense in copper or wood.' This suggests, as one would expect, that printing lute tablatures from type was less time consuming and much cheaper than engraving.⁶⁵

To date there is no known documentary evidence for the time and expense involved in producing a musical engraving in Verovio's time. We do however have indications about the cost and duration of the production of high quality books in the 1580s. Information is recorded on the costs incurred by Vittorio Baldini, a printer from Ferrara who was also active in music printing.⁶⁶ Baldini required two and a half years to finish printing 562 copies of Giovanni Battista Pigna's *De principibus Atestinis: Historiam Libri VIII* (Ferrara, 1585), which had 758 pages.⁶⁷ To produce 2050 volumes of Giulio Cesare Brancaccio's *Il Brancatio: della vera disciplina, et arte militare* (Ferrara, 1582) Baldini received 400 scudi. The paper costs came to 289 scudi, over two thirds of the production costs; presumably Baldini received the rest of the money for his work.⁶⁸ Both works were special editions on expensive and large paper, and therefore cannot be considered representative for the costs of more standard books.⁶⁹ However, the same can be said of the Verovio prints. For both editions, Brancaccio reserved around fifty copies as special presentation copies 'for princes, and other friends'.⁷⁰

Morelli has uncovered information about the cost and time required for the preparation of Frescobaldi's engraved *Primo libro delle toccate* of 1615–1616.⁷¹ The contract between Girolamo Frescobaldi and Nicolò Borboni da Pergola, drawn up on 31 Janu-

63 Bernstein (2007), p. 227.

64 Bernstein (2001), p. 38.

65 Da Milano (1536): 'i numeri, e le note del suono fino a quì con assai tempo, e con molta spesa sonsi intagliate in rame, et in legno'.

66 For further information on the price of paper and the amount required, see Crist (2004), pp. 135–145.

67 Crist (2004), p. 138. Baldini did not spend all his time during this period printing this book.

68 Crist (2004), p. 143.

69 Agee (1998), p. 27, estimates that a set of Gardano partbooks would have cost the equivalent of four to five days' supply of flour for an adult.

70 Crist (2004), p. 141.

71 Morelli (1988), p. 257.

ary 1614, estimated the time to complete the engraving of the sixty to eighty intended plates at two years. Borboni did not spend all his time engraving, as he was also an accomplished organist. In exchange for the engraving, Borboni was to receive board and lodgings, lessons in harmony and counterpoint from Frescobaldi, and 200 copies of the finished book. He also received money teaching students passed on to him by Frescobaldi. Frescobaldi in turn would be the owner of the plates.⁷² Even without these other activities, it must have taken Borboni some time to engrave a single plate. An average figural engraver could cut 13 × 13 cm a day.⁷³ The Frescobaldi plates, at 20 × 30 cm, thus probably took about three and a half days to engrave.

In fact, a second contract, drawn up half a year later, stipulated that Borboni was expected to finish the twenty-five to thirty remaining plates within the next four months.⁷⁴ At this rate, he would have to produce an average of nearly two plates a week. Frescobaldi was to receive the plates one by one as soon as they were finished, and would subsequently have the plate printed individually. Verovio was probably not able to work at the same speed; the second book of Merulo's *Toccate* was already in preparation six years prior to the date the dedication was signed.⁷⁵

Frescobaldi, or his patron, spent 500 scudi on the *Primo libro delle toccate*.⁷⁶ Darbellay estimates that this was approximately equal to his income for a year.⁷⁷ Hammond quotes Bartolomeo Grassi, a pupil of Frescobaldi and publisher of his *Canzone* (1628), as follows:

Signor Girolamo has made an infinite number of other volumes, & constantly goes on shaping new ones, because he is as eminent in composition as in improvisation, as Rome constantly sees, he does marvellous things; but the effort, & expense of Printing does not permit them to appear.⁷⁸

2.6 CONCLUSIONS ON THE DIFFERENCES

To conclude, we have seen that the methods of printing and the equipment needed to produce prints using intaglio techniques and those using relief techniques are com-

⁷² Morelli (1988), p. 257.

⁷³ Woodward (1996a), p. 24; Bury (2001), p. 44.

⁷⁴ Morelli (1988), p. 260.

⁷⁵ See chapter 5.3

⁷⁶ Darbellay (1988), p. 38, quoting a letter from Paolo Facconi to Ferdinando Gonzaga, the dedicatee, from whom Frescobaldi hoped to gain financial help and a position at the Mantuan court.

⁷⁷ By comparison, in 1622 a printed edition of poems cost between 20 and 40 scudi, depending on the number of pages per forme; Cole (2007), p. 758.

⁷⁸ Hammond (1983), p. 67.

pletely different, and that a combination of these techniques was unusual. The people involved in the different techniques belonged to different trades. There was also a significant difference in cost as intaglio printing took much longer to prepare and produce, and the materials required were more expensive. Books printed from movable type were produced in large print runs in standard formats and sizes. The necessity of disassembling the forme at the end of the day implied that books printed from letterpress had a predefined shape and order, which could not be reproduced without starting the whole process again. Printing from a plate, however could be done in any desired quantity, at any desired moment, on any desired size of paper, in any desired format and in any desired combination of plates, as long as the plates were still functional. Thus, the use of the word 'edition' as 'defined as including all copies of a text printed from the same setting of type' is inadequate for these early engravings.⁷⁹ An engraved copperplate could be kept, changed, reused, sold or even copied, and was a valuable item.

⁷⁹ Bernstein (2001), p. 69, fn 10.

3 Music engraving

3.1 ENGRAVING IN ROME

In the second half of the sixteenth century, prints with views of Rome (ancient and modern) as well as religious subjects and to a lesser extent maps, became immensely popular, and were produced mainly for the tourist market. Many travellers visited Rome at that time. Michel de Montaigne's (1533–1592) biographer Hazlitt tells us that in the early 1580s, 'he cared less to go there, inasmuch as everybody went there'.⁸⁰ In the jubilee year 1575, the year Verovio came to Rome, 400,000 pilgrims visited the city. In 1600, the next jubilee year, when the known population was 100,000, 536,000 pilgrims arrived.⁸¹ Montaigne informs us that foreignness and differences in nationality were unimportant in Rome, because by nature it is a town composed of foreigners.⁸² According to Cornelio Frangipani it was difficult to live as a *forestiero* (a person from outside the republic) in Venice, but Rome bestowed privileges upon newcomers.⁸³

Just as today, visitors wanted souvenirs of their time in Rome, and figurative prints were very much *en vogue*. Plates were held in stock in a bookshop or print-shop, where the *libraio* could show the customer his stock from a catalogue or from the merchandise in the shop. These catalogues of prints or books were also sent outside Rome, so customers did not even have to come to Rome to choose a print.⁸⁴ This was a hugely competitive business and engravers frequently copied popular plates for other publishers.⁸⁵ Once the desired prints had been done, the purchaser might take them to a stationer or bookbinder for binding. Although music, like other printed material, seems to have been sold mostly in predefined collections, it was still sold unbound, perhaps held together with a stab binding, a simple way of (temporarily) sewing a book.⁸⁶

In the second half of the sixteenth century, engravings were held in high esteem and were popular amongst collectors. Apart from tourists, Rome was also full of potential patrons and collectors of books and prints. As Montaigne remarks, Rome was populated with more wealthy people, chariots and horses than he had ever seen.⁸⁷ Prints

80 Montaigne (1877), vol. 1, p. xviii.

81 Bury (2001), p. 121.

82 Bury (2001), p. 121: 'C'est la plus commune ville du monde, et où l'étrangété et différence de nation se considère le moins; car de sa nature c'est une ville rattachée d'étrangers.'

83 Edwards (1988), p. 260.

84 Bury (2001), p. 121.

85 As will be shown in chapter 4, plates with music were also copied.

86 Bury (2001), p. 49.

87 Bury (2001), p. 121.

commanded high prices, and influential cardinals like Scipione Gonzaga, Francesco del Monte, Paolo Sfrondato and Andrea Peretti Montalto all gathered sizeable collections.⁸⁸

Intaglio printing came into use at approximately the same time as relief printing but was initially used primarily to replicate graphic art. The first Italian intaglio prints were made in Florence in the 1440s, according to Vasari, by the goldsmith Maso Finiguerra.⁸⁹ Artists like Albrecht Dürer and Lucas van Leyden still engraved the plates themselves, but later artists tended to act as *disegnatore*, designer of illustrations that an *intagliatore* (engraver) would then cut into a copper plate for reproduction. This would be financed by an *editore*, a publisher, who would most probably be the owner of the plates. In Rome for example, Marcantonio Raimondi collaborated as *disegnatore* with Raphael. The latter's factotum Il Baviera functioned as *editore* and published the prints.⁹⁰

Many of the finest engravers came from the Netherlands, often from (or via) Antwerp, the main centre of printmaking in Northern Europe at the time. Famous large-scale printing-firms like the Plantin-Moretus *officina* and Pierre Phalèse, who played a pivotal role in the dissemination of Roman music in the North, resided there.⁹¹ In the second half of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth, a 'flood of engravings poured from Antwerp over the rest of Europe'.⁹² One of the reasons so many artists in the Netherlands resorted to engraving was the guild regulation that a painter could not sell paintings outside the walls of his home town, nor pursue his profession in another town.⁹³ Towns like Leiden or 's-Hertogenbosch were not big enough for an artist to be able to live comfortably from commissions won solely within his town. As this restriction did not apply to prints, many artists applied themselves to this medium to supplement their income.⁹⁴ Lucas van Leyden is one of the earliest and best known examples, still combining designing with engraving. Although he lived in Leiden, he was famous all over Europe and he sold many prints abroad, frequently via the Frankfurt Book Fair.⁹⁵

By the beginning of the seventeenth century, dynasties of printers originally from Antwerp had settled in most European cities. The most acclaimed and successful of these engravers were the Sadeler (Sadelar or Sadelaer) brothers, who emigrated south from their home town, but probably never got as far south as Rome. Another famous engraver from Antwerp, Cornelis Cort (1533–1578), who had cooperated with Titian in Venice, spent his last years (1566–1571 and 1572–1578) in Rome. He strongly influenced the Ro-

88 Bury (2001), p. 11.

89 Griffiths (1996), p. 42.

90 Griffiths (1996), p. 46.

91 Pierre Phalèse the Younger moved from Leuven to Antwerp in 1581.

92 Griffiths (1996), p. 48.

93 Vogelaar (2011), p. 11.

94 Veldman (2011), p. 50.

95 Leeflang (2011), p. 121.

man style of engraving, and was much admired for his 'Schwellende Taille' technique.⁹⁶ As van der Sman points out, his engraving technique 'was superior to that of all other professional printmakers of his time'.⁹⁷ Verovio and the countrymen associated with him, like van Aelst and van Buyten, may also have been in contact with Cort. It is not unexpected Verovio should have associated mainly with artists from the Netherlands in the 1580s, as in Rome, unlike elsewhere, guilds were not very powerful. In fact, as Lincoln shows, the Roman book printers were a rather disorganized group throughout most of the sixteenth century. The situation in Rome differed from that of other cities, not only because the conflicting powers of the church and governing aristocracy prevented the formation of politically active or economically effective workers' organizations, but also because of the atypically heterogeneous nature of the population, which tended to organize itself first along geographic affiliations and then according to professional associations.⁹⁸

Printers, engravers, bookbinders, booksellers and print dealers were traditionally centred in the Parione district, around the Piazza Navona.⁹⁹ Verovio's known workshop was situated in the middle of this district, on the ground floor of the Collegio Nardini (*nel Collegio Nardini*). The same district was also home to coppersmiths, who provided the material for the engravers, goldsmiths, who cleaned the plates (*nettatura*) and afterwards smoothed them (*spianamento*), burin makers and paper suppliers.¹⁰⁰ Here the engravers, usually independent masters in smaller family-owned workshops, worked together with print dealers or published their own works.¹⁰¹

Another type of affiliation was created through family ties. Families often owned the workshops and both men and women shared the work. It was unusual for a woman to sign a print.¹⁰² However, many of those who collaborated in the creation of a print are not mentioned on it, and important events in lives of women were typically not documented in the same ways as those of men.¹⁰³ The families of engravers in Rome tended to intermarry, sometimes for commercial reasons. A widow (or her children) inherited the plates owned by her late husband, and these could then be passed on to her new husband. Cristoforo Blanco, who engraved at least the last Verovio print, married the widow of the well-known engraver, Adamo Scultori. Adamo's children gave Blancos a series of plates, which formed the dowry.¹⁰⁴ Scultori was the brother of the famous

96 Griffiths (1996), p. 48.

97 Van der Sman (2005), p. 263.

98 Lincoln (2000), pp. 150, 158, 164.

99 Bury (2001), pp. 29, 122.

100 Bury (2001), p. 11.

101 Bury (2001), p. 10.

102 Lincoln (2000), p. 111. An exception to this trend is Diana Mantovana, daughter of Giovanni Battista Scultori.

103 Lincoln (2000), p. 112.

104 Bury (2001), p. 222.

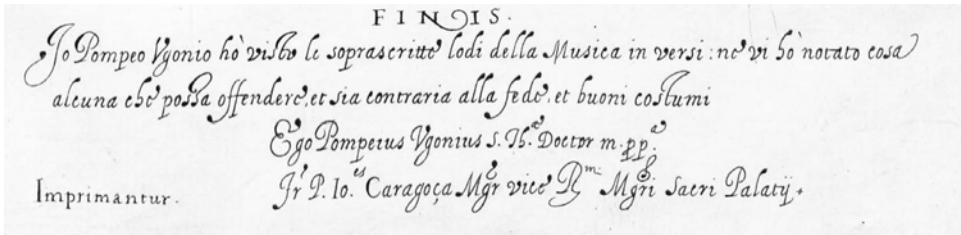


Figure 3.1 *Lodi della musica* (Rome: Verovio, 1595), last plate (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, D-Mbs 4 Mus.pr. 10#Beibd.1), urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00074059.

Diana Mantovana (one of the few women mentioned by Vasari in his lives of the artists), who married Francesco Capriano da Volterra, an architect to the curia; amongst his many Roman projects was the remodelling of the church of S. Tommaso in Parione, where Verovio was buried.

To protect a work from being copied, the owner could apply for a privilege from the appropriate authorities; in Rome this was the pope. A privilege prohibited others from reprinting or selling copies of the protected material without the consent of the privilege holder, for a certain amount of time. It seems that such measures were effective; in Rome around 1600, only one case of infringement is recorded, by Nicolaus van Aelst. Unfortunately, the outcome of the case is unknown.¹⁰⁵

As a result of the publication of the Index of Prohibited Books, all printed material sold or circulated in Rome from the later sixteenth century onwards needed a licence from the *Maestro del sacro palazzo*, the Master of the Sacred Palace. This position, that of the court theologian, was always held by a Dominican monk, and was one of the highest officials in the papal family (*Familia pontificalis*), the household and most intimate circle of the pope.¹⁰⁶ This licence guaranteed that there was no heretical or indecent material in the print. The Master's office kept a register of all printed material. Eventually these lists took over part of the role of protecting copyright and ownership of plates. In fact, none of the music collections associated with Verovio has a privilege. However, most title pages describe that they were produced with official permission (*Con licenzia de' superiori* or *Permissu superiorum*).¹⁰⁷ The last plate of the *Lodi della musica* (1595) even names the censor: Pompeo Ugonio, a well-known theologian and writer of books on theology and the history of Rome (figure 3.1).¹⁰⁸

105 Bury (2001), p. 128.

106 Bizzarini (2003), p. xiii.

107 This was normal for Roman music prints around that time; very few were protected by a privilege.

108 Similar licenses can also be found in other printed editions, for example Caccini (1601/1602), in which the Florentine *padre inquisitor* Francesco Tibaldi is named.

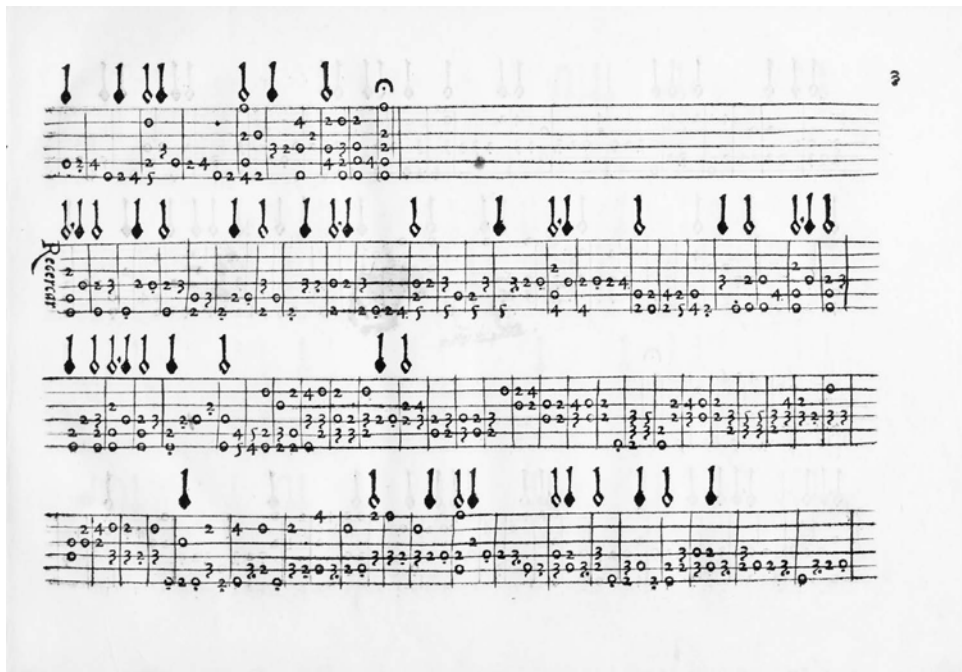


Figure 3.2 Francesco da Milano, *Intabolatura da leuto del divino Francisco da Milano* ([s. n.], [s. d.]), fol. A III^r (A-Wn SA.76.D.54).

3.2 HISTORY OF MUSIC ENGRAVING

At least one experiment with intaglio printing was attempted before Veronio, probably in the 1530s or '40s: Francesco da Milano's *Intabolatura da leuto del divino Francisco da Milano Novamente Stanpata*. The edition bears neither date, printer's mark nor dedication. However, a small sheet of paper with the name of a previous owner, 'Philippus Fuccarus' – Philipp Fugger (1546–1618), a member of the Fugger family of Augsburg – and the year 1567, glued onto the first page of the only extant copy provides a *terminus ante quem*.¹⁰⁹ The content appears to be the same as *L'Intabolatura di Liuto*, published by Marcolini (Venice, 1536), printed from moveable type in multiple impressions. In his preface, Marcolini praises 'il Fossombrone', that is, Ottaviano Petrucci, for inventing a

109 A-Wn SA.76.D.54. Collarile (2007a), p. 99, rightly points out that the Marcolini edition (A-Wn SA.78.C.28, RISM: 1536¹¹, Brown 1536₃) is incorrectly described as an engraving in various modern sources, but he fails to mention this other edition. As Marcolini explicitly writes in the preface that these works had hitherto appeared only in engraving or woodcut, it is possible that the plates for this print were made before 1536.

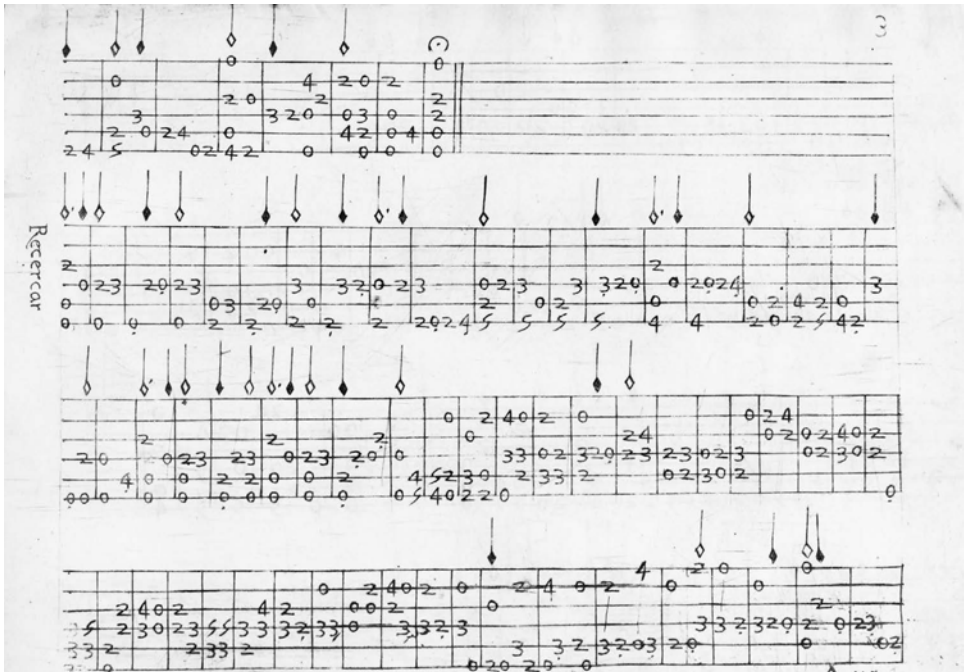


Figure 3.3 Francesco da Milano, *Intabolatura da leuto di diversi, ... di M. Francesco da Milano* (Venice: Marcolini, 1536), fol. 3^r (A-Wn SA.78.C.28).

technique to print intavolature in the same way other books are printed.¹¹⁰ But since other printers could not live up to Petrucci's standards, 'the numbers and notes to be played had hitherto been incised into copper or wood, requiring an extreme amount of time, at great expense'.¹¹¹ Amongst the editions incised into copper, Marcolini presumably includes the engraved collection containing precisely the same pieces mentioned above, as well as similar editions, now lost.

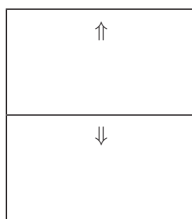
This intaglio print of da Milano's music was rather experimental. Compared to later engravings, some of the plates seem clumsy and coarsely cut. Figure 3.2 shows one of the less crude pages of the engraved edition. The same piece in the Marcolini print can be found in figure 3.3.

In the engraved version, we find two pages on one plate. The pages were cut within a plate mark on the horizontal fold. The plate marks are never to be found on the upper

110 Petrucci's music prints include four volumes of lute intabulations and two containing lute intabulation and voice.

111 See fn. 67.

side of the page. This means the engraver must have engraved one page in the opposite direction.



Aligning the plates in the press when printing the second side of the sheet must have been problematic, since we frequently find two distinct plate marks, something rarely found later to this extent.

From 1584 to around 1600, Flemish artists produced whole series of *Bildmotteten*, or *Motettenbilder*, prints with legible scores of entire pieces, some of them identifiably by known composers.¹¹² The most famous were those by Jan (Johann) Sadeler (1550–1600). Although Sadeler left Antwerp in 1580, his prints were frequently issued there. He mainly used paintings or designs by his compatriot Maerten de Vos (1532–1603), who never left his hometown. The music was also by Flemish composers who remained in Flanders, such as Daniel Raymundi (c. 1558–1634), Cornelis Verdonck (1563–1603) and Andries Pévernage (1542/3–1591). The music was specifically composed for these prints and not published elsewhere. Although the music is clearly legible, it would have been difficult, though not impossible, to sing from these prints, as the size (28.5 × 20.6 cm) is too small to be used as sheet music. They were meant as meditation aids, catering for the discerning ‘taste of well-educated, humanists, who could appreciate the multimedia aspects, addressing the eye, ear and spirit of its beholder’.¹¹³

A copy of the Sadeler print of *The Virgin and Child with Saint Anne with musician angels* (figure 3.4), including a motet by Verdonck, first printed in Antwerp in 1584, was issued in Rome by ‘Baptista Parmensis’ in 1586.¹¹⁴ Whether the prints issued by Verovio in 1586 inspired Giovanni Battista di Lazzaro Panzera da Parma (1541–c. 1598) or vice versa is difficult to determine.¹¹⁵ Preparing all the plates for the 1586 prints would have taken Verovio or his engraver, Martin van Buyten, a long time. It is clear, however, that Sadeler’s *Motettenbilder* were known in Rome in 1586 or slightly earlier.

¹¹² Vignau-Wilberg (2006), p. 53.

¹¹³ Vignau-Wilberg (2006), p. 57. ‘Die Kupferstiche waren wohl Sammelgegenstände für anspruchsvolle, humanistisch gebildete Sammler, die den Reiz der Multimedialität (Augen, Ohren, Geist) in diesem Kunstprodukt auskosten konnten.’ Further information, see chapter 6.2.

¹¹⁴ Vignau-Wilberg (2006), p. 134.

¹¹⁵ Bury (2001), p. 231.



Figure 3.4 Jan Sadeler, *The Virgin and Child with Saint Anne* (Antwerp: Sadeler, 1584) (GB-Lv E.5413-1919), © Victoria and Albert Museum.

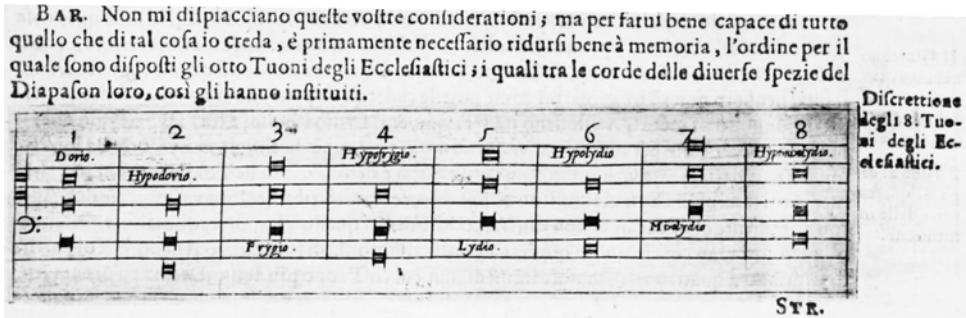


Figure 3.5 Vincenzo Galilei, *Dialogo di Vicentio Galilei Nobile Fiorentino della musica antica et della moderna* (Florence: Giorgio Marescotti, 1581), p. 71 (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, D-Mbs 4 Mus.th. 519), urn:de:bvb:12-bsb10164945.

In 1581 Giorgio Marescotti brought out Vincenzo Galilei's *Dialogo della musica antica et della moderna*. Although most of this book was printed in relief, with the music examples printed from moveable type, and the illustrations from woodcut, two pages contain one engraved example each.¹¹⁶ These pages must have gone through a press a second time. The plate marks can be seen and felt. In fact, in the two copies I have seen, the examples were placed at slightly different angles, showing that the pages, as might be expected, were printed individually. The examples combine four signs above each other and text, which would not have been so easy to produce from woodcut (figure 3.5).

One of the other rare musical prints printed from both relief and incision techniques is the *Breve et facile maniera d'essercitarsi a far Passaggi* (Rome, 1593) by Giovanni Luca Conforto (or Conforti). The title page is written in *cancellaresche corsive*, the type of writing Verovio usually used, common in official writing in Rome. The publisher is unknown, as the work is only signed 'Gio. Luca Conforto', a well-known singer and teacher. Conforto owned a music printing works, however, which he sold in 1593, and he might thus have published it himself.¹¹⁷ The musical examples, the title page and the illustration of Orpheus on the verso of the title page were all engraved on thirty-two plates. The *Dichiaratione sopra li passaggi*, explaining these examples, was printed from moveable type on a separate eight-page duerno gathering with its own foliation numbers (1^r–4^v), all in oblong quarto format (19 × 13 cm). Although Conforto wrote singing

¹¹⁶ Galilei (1581), pp. 71, 78.

¹¹⁷ Barbieri (2004a), pp. 71, 88. It is not clear in the text what exactly is meant by music printing works. However, this must have been intended for relief printing, as he sold these works to Coattino, who exclusively printed using moveable type.

exercises for solo voice, he sometimes shows more than one alternative on a single staff, leading to the superimposition of two or three notes. He also shows what belongs together by beaming the notes together. Both notational niceties were impossible with moveable type at the time, and this might have led Conforto to prefer engraving for the musical part of his book. The title page resembles the writing style and hand used by Verovio, but the music is engraved in a hand different from than found in the prints associated with Verovio. Conforto must have known Verovio, as he was a singer in the papal chapel under Boccapadule (the dedicatee of the *Diletto spirituale* and the *Il primo libro delli esempi*), and Verovio was a scribe in the papal court. It is therefore quite feasible that Verovio was responsible for the writing of the title page.

3.3 THE PRINTS ASSOCIATED WITH VEROVIO

At least twenty known prints are associated with the name Simone Verovio, all published first between 1586 and 1608, with one copy even dated 1624. In the second half of the sixteenth century, printers or publishers usually indicated their identity or the location of their workshop or retail outlet with the word *appresso* (or *apud* in Latin).¹¹⁸ In the prints associated with Verovio, such an indication does not appear until 1598 when Claudio Merulo's *Toccate* were published *in Roma appresso Simone Verovio*. Henceforth, all publications bore this phrase, which suggests that by this time Verovio owned a workshop comparable to any relief printing workshop, and had acquired a sufficient reputation to use his own name as an advertisement.

Before 1598 we find various combinations of the words *raccolte* (collected), *stampate* (printed) and *intagliate* (engraved) *da Simone Verovio* or (in 1592) *in Parione nel Collegio Nardini*, the location of his workshop. This probably indicates that before 1592 Verovio was not working by himself in his own workshop, but was part of a consortium, perhaps possessing various skills, which cooperated to publish the prints. As he personally signed many of the dedications, he was probably the publisher (*editore*) of these prints, owner of the plates and responsible for the financing of the edition, either by contributing funds himself or by extracting money from his dedicatees or other sponsors.

The prints can be divided into three categories:

1. anthologies of compositions by various composers;
2. collections of pieces by a single composer, usually in one genre of music;
3. writing-books and broadsides.

¹¹⁸ Griffiths (1996), p. 134.

Most prints survive in multiple copies, some as many as eleven exemplars, in libraries in Europe and the USA. Many are now available online in digital form.¹¹⁹ Appendix I lists all known publications for more than one musician and their variants.

The pieces in the anthologies are all canzonettas by well-known composers working in Rome toward the end of the sixteenth century. The Italians Felice Anerio, Ruggiero Giovanelli, Luca Marenzio, Giovanni Maria Nanino, Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina and the Flemings Giovanni de Macque and Rinaldo del Mel are all represented by more than five works. Three collections include secular music: *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali* (1589), *Canzonette à quattro voci* (1591) and *Lodi della musica* (1595). Three contain sacred music: *Diletto spirituale* (1586), *Canzonette spirituali* (1591) and *Il devoto pianto della gloriosa Vergine* (1592). The latter two collections are printed in separate partbooks, while the rest are in choirbook format, containing three to four voices mostly with intabulations for harpsichord and lute. These intabulations became an integral part of the plan of the prints. Only in the *Diletto spirituale* were the intabulations and voice parts (with text) printed on separate plates. Consequently, two states of this collection are found: one containing the intabulations, and one without. In all those copies that include a dedication, it is signed by Verovio, confirming his role as *editore* (publisher) of these publications.¹²⁰

NAME OF COLLECTION	EARLIEST MENTIONED DATE	NAME(S) ON THE TITLE PAGE	NAME THAT SIGNED THE DEDICATION
<i>Diletto spirituale</i>	1586	(Simone Verovio) ^a (Martin van Buyten)	Simone Verovio
<i>Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali</i>	1589	(Simone Verovio)	Simone Verovio
<i>Canzonette à quattro voci</i>	1591	(Simone Verovio)	Simone Verovio
<i>Canzonette spirituali</i>	1591	(Simone Verovio)	Simone Verovio
<i>Il devoto pianto della gloriosa Vergine</i>	1592	In Parione nel Collegio Nardino	Simone Verovio
<i>Lodi della musica</i>	1595	Simone Verovio	no dedication

Table 3.1 Anthologies of canzonettas by various composers.
 a The brackets indicate that the name is not found in every copy.

The second category consists of seven (or eight) collections of pieces by a single composer. Four are by composers active in Rome: two collections by Jacobo Peetrino (Jacob Peeters) da Malines (a Flemish composer), one by Ottavio Durante, and one (or two)

119 See appendix 1.

120 See chapter 3.1.

by Giovanni Francesco Anerio. Whereas a canzonetta by Peetrino can also be found in the anthologies mentioned above, no works by Giovanni Francesco Anerio or Durante are included. Only Giovanni Francesco Anerio's elder brother Felice is represented in this group. Although the name Verovio is not mentioned in *Il primo libro del Jubilo di S. Bernardo*, it can be deduced that he was involved at least in the writing, as many of the plates from the *Melodie spirituali* were reused in the *Jubilo di S. Bernardo*.

As Becherini noted, neither copy of Giovanni Francesco Anerio's *Gagliarde* indicates the identity of the printer, nor the place or date of printing.¹²¹ However, although there are certain similarities to the work of Verovio, there are also differences, and the question of attribution is not entirely clear. The frame used on the title page is a simplified copy of that used in the second book of *Toccate* by Claudio Merulo, as if the title page had not yet reached a finished state. This could indicate that the frame was used in an earlier state than in the Merulo book, or that the frame had been copied. The script resembles that found in other Verovio prints, and, as in all the later Verovio collections (except the Luzzaschi *Madrigali*) the normal Italian *intavolatura* notation is abandoned for two systems of five lines each. But whereas the notation in all the other prints associated with Verovio divides the notes according to the hands, this is not the case in the *Gagliarde*.

NAME OF COLLECTION	EARLIEST MENTIONED DATE	COMPOSER	OTHER NAME(S) ON THE TITLE PAGE	NAME THAT SIGNED THE DEDICATION
<i>Il primo libro delle melodie spirituali</i>	1586	Jacobo Peetrino	Simone Verovio Martinus van Buyten	no dedication
<i>Il primo libro del Jubilo di S. Bernardo</i>	1588	Jacobo Peetrino		Jacomo Peetrino
<i>Toccate d'Intavolatura I</i>	1598	Claudio Merulo	Simone Verovio	Simone Verovio
<i>Dialogo pastorale</i>	1600	Giovanni Francesco Anerio	Simone Verovio	Simone Verovio
<i>Madrigali</i>	1601	Luzzasco Luzzaschi	Simone Verovio	Luzzasco Luzzaschi
<i>Toccate d'Intavolatura II</i>	1604	Claudio Merulo	Simone Verovio	Simone Verovio
<i>Arie devote</i>	1608	Ottavio Durante	Simone Verovio	Ottavio Durante
<i>Gagliarde</i>	[n. d.]	Giovanni Francesco Anerio	none	no dedication

Table 3.2 Collections of works by a single composer.

¹²¹ Becherini (1939), p. 162.

The collections of works by Peetrino and Giovanni Francesco Anerio are in choir-book layout; the *Dialogo pastorale* also includes harpsichord and lute intabulations. The works by Luzzaschi and Durante contain voice part(s) and a harpsichord part notated in score; the harpsichord part in the Luzzaschi collection is in *intavolatura*, while the keyboard part in the Durante collection is in figured bass notation.

Probably the most famous of the Verovio collections nowadays is the *Madrigali* (1601) by Luzzasco Luzzaschi, which contains music likely sung by the *Concerto delle dame* in Ferrara in the 1580s. Pages from this collection are reproduced in many music history textbooks and in most books on *basso continuo*. The fact that Luzzaschi signed the dedication suggests that he was the *editore*, probably (co-) financing the enterprise and taking possession of the plates. He might have come to Rome to oversee the preparations. By the time the *Madrigali* were published, Luzzaschi was no newcomer to the field; he had already published several books of madrigals at Ferrara and Venice over the previous three decades.¹²²

Claudio Merulo, the other eminent composer whose work was published in a single-author collection by Verovio, oversaw part of the preparations for the publication of his *Primo libro delle toccate*, but did not live to see the publication of his second book. Merulo had published many editions of his own music previously, some in his own printing house in Venice, which was active from 1566 to 1571. However, he became so convinced of the superiority of Verovio's intaglio printing during a visit to Rome in 1594 that he handed over his *Toccate* to Verovio.

The third category of prints associated with Verovio consists of books and broadsides with examples of writing and calligraphy. As the Italian city-states and their intricate networks of diplomacy evolved, the need for written documents increased dramatically.¹²³ The Reformation and Counter-Reformation equally produced endless amounts of paper work. The need for scribal skills in the sixteenth century grew in proportion to the immense expansion of bureaucracy. This created a lucrative market for writing-books and broadsides to train professional secretaries, the equivalent of modern civil servants. These scribes enjoyed excellent education, special status and commensurate payscales. The following writing treatises or examples are associated with Verovio:

122 Luzzaschi, *Il primo libro de' madrigali* (Ferrara: de' Rossi, 1571) (RISM A/IL 3122).

123 In a single year, one Venetian ambassador to Rome sent home 472 despatches. Osley (1972), p. 1.

NAME OF COLLECTION OR BROADSIDE	EARLIEST MENTIONED DATE	WRITER	OTHER NAME(S) ON THE TITLE PAGE	NAME THAT SIGNED THE DEDICATION
COLLECTIONS				
<i>Il primo libro delli essempli</i>	1587	Verovio	Martin van Buyten	Simone Verovio
<i>Essempiare Di lettere Cancellaresche corsive</i>	1593	Verovio	All'insegna del Martello	
<i>Scelta di carattere di lettere</i>	1593	Verovio a.o.	Ludovico Curione	
<i>Corona di varii caratteri per imparare a scrivere</i>	1600	Verovio a.o.	Martin van Buyten (Naples)	
<i>L'Alfabeto Delle Cancellaresche corsive et Maiuscole</i>	1600	Verovio a.o.	Girolamo Naven- teri, All'insegna del Luppo	
<i>Idea del buon scrittore</i>		Verovio a.o.	Tomaso Ruinetti	
BROADSIDES				
<i>Essempiare di XIII lingue principalissime</i>	1587	Verovio	van Aelst van Buyten	van Aelst
[Untitled specimen sheet] ^b	1598	Verovio	GL [Giacomo Lauro]	

Table 3.3 Writing-books and broadsides.

^b http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?assetId=138047001&objectId=1427239&partId=1.

The best writers were proficient at writing in many styles, regardless of whether the writing was Italian or foreign, as can be seen in the *Essempiare di XIII lingue principalissime* (see example 5.3). These writing-books and broadsides give us insight into the art of writing used by the scribe(s) in all the Verovio music publications.¹²⁴ Most of the writing-books concentrate on the *cancellaresca corsiva* writing, a beautiful italic script used

¹²⁴ Apart from the two broadsides mentioning Verovio, the British Museum owns three similar broadsides, one of which included the name Cristoforo Blanco, which has a border very similar to that in the *Essempiare di XIII lingue principalissime*.

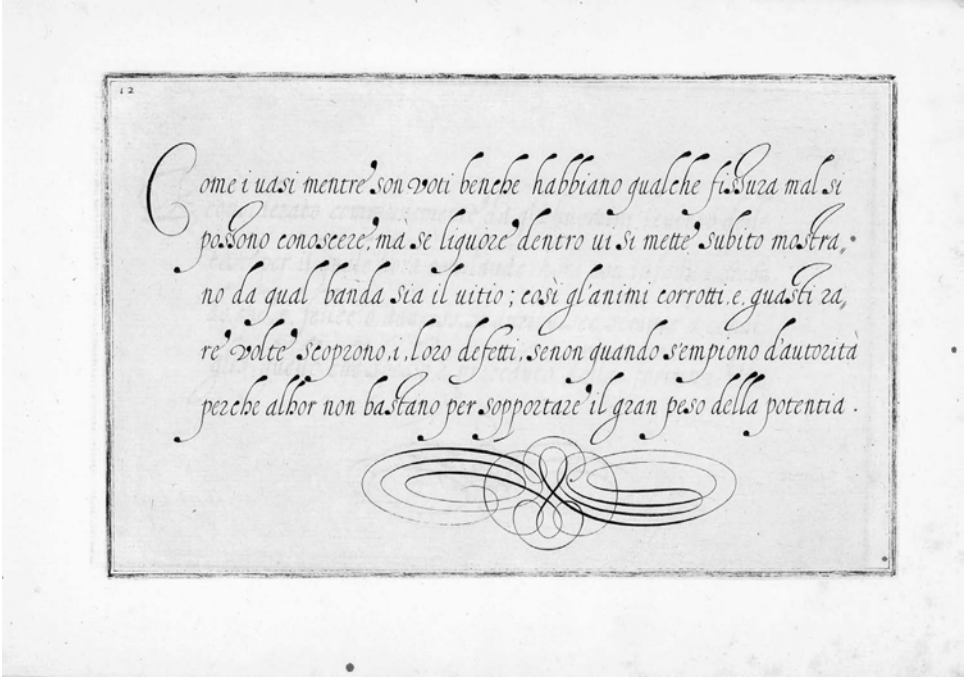


Figure 3.6 Simone Verovio, *Il primo libro delli esempli di Simone Verovio* (Rome: [s. n.], 1587), fol. 10^r (Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart D-SI Gew.qt.1227), urn:nbn:de:bsz:24-digibib-bsz3790353244.

in most official communications in Rome in the second half of the sixteenth century. Many of the texts in the Verovio music publications employ this hand. But *cancellaresca formata*, *rotonda* and *romana* letterings are also frequently found.

The *cancellaresca corsiva* script was more or less standardized by the end of the sixteenth century. For the eye of a twenty-first century reader, it is exceedingly difficult to distinguish between the handwriting of Simone Verovio and, for example, Ludovico Curione in these writing-books.¹²⁵ To the untrained eye, it can also be difficult to perceive that samples of different scripts (Latin, French, Spanish and or even different types of *cancellaresca*) in a single book were written by the same hand, as in the following examples of *cancellaresca formata* (figure 3.6) and *cancellaresca corsiva* (figure 3.7).

During the twenty years Verovio was active as a publisher, an increasing 'professionalization' of the prints can be discerned. Although the plates for the collections from the

¹²⁵ For example, Ludovico Curione, *L'anatomia delle lettere cancellaresche corsive & altre maniere di lettere* (Rome, 1588) or *Il teatro delle cancellaresche corsive per secretari et altre maniere di lettere. Libro Terzo* (Rome, 1593), both engraved by Martin van Buyten, and Verovio's *Il primo libro delli esempli*.

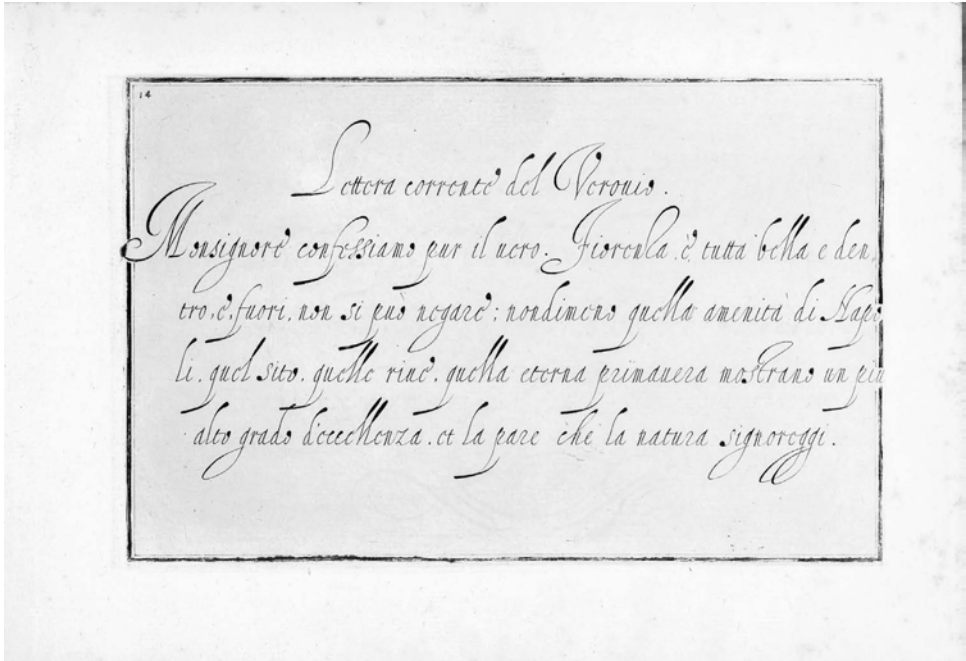


Figure 3.7 Simone Verovio, *Il primo libro delli esempi di Simone Verovio* (Rome: [s. n.], 1587), fol. 12^r (Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart D-SI Gew.qt.1227), urn:nbn:de:bsz:24-digibib-bsz3790353244.

1580s and early '90s are usually numbered, they are not necessarily printed in numerical sequence in the surviving copies. The order of the plates might be changed, plates might be left out completely, or plate numbers added or changed. The same plate might also be used in different collections. Although no individual sheets are known to exist nowadays, it seems possible that sheets used for relief prints, which were frequently cut before printing, could have been printed and sold individually too. The only known extant copy of the *Melodie spirituali* by Peetrino (now in Brussels) consists of sheets printed on one side only, two canzonettas on one sheet of paper. In many collections, the order of the compositions seems rather random, at least when judging merely from the texts. Only the Latin setting of the 'Stabat mater' by del Mel in the *Canzonette spirituali*, and the Italian version by various composers in the *Devoto pianto*, consistently appear in their original order, which implies that these collections, or at least the gatherings with the canzonettas using this text, were planned as a whole in advance. These prints, however, are atypical. They are the only two printed as partbooks (both in octavo); moreover, they were the only two for which two pieces were printed from one plate, and for which the paper was therefore cut after the printing process was fin-

ished, as can be seen by watermarks on the outer edge of some of the pages.¹²⁶ In the *Canzonette* publications (in quarto size), the texts do not reveal any coherent order to the pieces.¹²⁷ Many canzonettas use verses from the medieval poem 'Iesu dulcis memoria', either in the Latin original or in Italian translation ('O dolce rimembranza'), but the verses are set individually or in pairs.

A number of features in these earlier collections thus support the hypothesis that the sheets were printed and sold singly or in a collection: the more or less random order of the texts; the fact that they were usually printed in bifolium format, as can be extrapolated from the watermarks; the fact that the *Melodie spirituali* are printed only on one side of each sheet; and the fact that intaglio printing techniques were frequently used for collections of maps and figurative art printed 'on demand' (see chapter 2.2).

By contrast, the later publications were obviously planned as fixed entities from the start. Longer individual pieces, spread out over several plates, left no room for flexibility in the order of the plates. Just like books printed from moveable type, both books of Merulo's *Toccate* used letters as gathering-signs, to indicate the correct order of the sheets to the binder, thus ensuring that the order of the pages was always the same.¹²⁸ The *Toccate*, like the *Madrigali* and the *Arie devote*, thus could not have been printed on separate sheets.

3.4 MUSIC ENGRAVING AFTER VEROVIO

Verovio was the first to publish a greater amount of music using engraving techniques. As mentioned above, the musical exercises in Conforto's *Breve et facile maniera d'essercitarsi a far Passaggi* (1593) were printed from engraved plates. Unfortunately neither engraver, printer nor publisher is acknowledged. The only other known engraved music released during Verovio's lifetime was another collection of tablature, the *Libro primo d'Intavolatura di Chitarone* by Giovanni Girolamo Kapsperger (or Kapsberger), published at Venice in 1604. Seven or eight other engraved publications appeared between 1610 and 1626, mainly containing lute or chitarrone *intavolature*.¹²⁹ Although Ka-

126 Further, see chapter 6.1.

127 Fiore (2009), pp. 343–354.

128 As the *Toccate* lack texts and are long, requiring up to eight plates for each piece, the danger of confusing the order of plates was greater than with shorter pieces containing text.

129 *Libro I di villanelle* (1610) (RISM A/I K 183), *Libro I d'intavolatura di lauto* (1611) (RISM A/I K 184), *Libro I di Arie passeggiate* (1612) (RISM A/I K 186), *Libro I di motetti passeggiati* (1612) (RISM A/I K 185), *Libro II d'intavolatura di chitarrone* (1616, lost), *Libro III di villanelle* (1619) (RISM A/I K 190), *Libro III d'intavolatura di chitarrone* (1626) (RISM A/I K 194) and perhaps *Capricci a due stromenti* (1617?). I would like to thank to Anne Marie Dragosits for this information.

psperger (c. 1580–1651) was not officially responsible for issuing any of the collections of his music before 1623, he must have been involved in the enterprise of publishing them. All his collections show his coat of arms prominently, and most mention him as a dedicatee of the publication as a whole, or of a prefatory poem. Most of his collections exhibit the famous punch HK on every page. Some of the compilers (*raccolte da*) were his students at the Collegio Clementina, who showed varying degrees of professionalism in the engraving.¹³⁰ Dragosits, amongst others, presumes that he declined to publish his own music because of a perception that such commercial activity was below his social standing as a *nobile alemanno*.¹³¹ Kapsperger constantly emphasized his aristocratic background and his connections to other noblemen. The names of Italian or German gentry or nobility, as publishers, dedicatee or authors of dedication or prefatory poems appear prominently in all his collections.¹³²

But Kapsperger was not the only gentleman lute player of his generation to have his compositions published employing intaglio techniques. Bellerofonte Castaldi (1580–1649), an upper-class poet, artist and musician from Modena, engraved his own music, the *Capricci a due stromenti*, on plates around 1622.¹³³

Guitar music was also generally printed using intaglio techniques. Giovanni Paolo Foscarini, for example had five books of music for guitar printed. All the music is engraved, and the plates were reused in different collections.¹³⁴

The only known engraved publications from the first half of the seventeenth century that consistently show the same high quality of workmanship as the Verovio prints are those issued by Nicolò Borboni (or Borbone). Apart from the two famous books of *Toccate* by Frescobaldi, Borboni also issued an edition of his own music, the *Musicali concerti* (1616), the *Psalmi passeggiati* by Francesco Severi, a castrato of the Sistine Chapel (1615),¹³⁵ and the *Toccate e corente d'intavolatura d'organo e cimbalo* by Michelan-

130 Dragosits (2012), p. 49.

131 Dragosits (2012), p. 13. Many aristocratic composers, mainly of the lower nobility however, were openly involved in the publishing of their own music in Rome (for example Cavalieri, Quagliati, del Mel) and elsewhere in Italy. Only the higher nobility, such as G. Gonzaga or Gesualdo, concealed themselves behind others or published anonymously. Perhaps Kapsperger was trying to enhance his social standing by not publishing his music openly. Further, see Crist (2004).

132 Dragosits (2012), p. 49.

133 Dolata (2007), p. 86.

134 For example, *Li cinque libri della chitarra alla spagnola* (reprinted 1640) (RISM A/I F 1541), a collation of four previous books, encompasses almost all the pieces found in *I quattro libri della Chitarra spagnola* (RISM A/I F 1539), with some new pieces added at the end, after plate 102. However, some plates have been left out and others have been altered. For example, plate 20, the *Toccatto musicale detta la Turca*, dedicated to Marcantonio Turco in *I quattro libri*, is renamed *Toccatto detta la innamorata*, and dedicated now to Jacomo Despiotz, but the music remains identical.

135 Severi and Borboni had both studied with Ottavio Catalano. Severi (1981), p. vii.

gelo Rossi in 1633 or 1634.¹³⁶ The beauty and accuracy of these prints, equal those of Verovio, which has led several scholars to suggest that Borboni was Verovio's pupil. If Nigel Fortune and Arnaldo Morelli are correct in dating Borboni's birth to around 1591, this hypothetical apprenticeship cannot have lasted long, since the usual age to become an apprentice was sixteen years, and Verovio died in 1607.¹³⁷ Jeanneret suggests that Borboni must have studied with Verovio because of the resemblances between their *cancellaresca corsiva*.¹³⁸ However, as mentioned above, scribes and calligraphic engravers were so proficient that it is often extremely difficult to distinguish between individual writers in the writing-books.

A closer and more secure connection between Verovio and Borboni can be found in the person of Christophorus Blancus (Cristoforo Bianchi or Blanco), who identified himself as the engraver of Ottavio Durante's *Arie devote* (*Christophorus Blancus fecit*), and was also involved in the engraving and calligraphy of Frescobaldi's *Toccate*. According to Fortune and Morelli, Blancus did the engraving of the frontispieces of the Frescobaldi *Toccate*.¹³⁹ Moreover, his signature is found on the new extra page for the first book of *Toccate* added in 1616.¹⁴⁰ Blancus and Borboni could have divided the labour between themselves in many different ways. Borboni might have engraved the music and Blancus the title page and the other pages in calligraphy, such as the dedication, the preface and the instructions how to play the toccatas. On the other hand, Blancus may have engraved only the preface, the only page he signed. Until more research has been done on calligraphy and letter-engraving, it will be difficult to test these hypotheses.

In the seventeenth century, engraving was still used mainly to print material difficult to produce with relief techniques, such as intabulations for keyboard, lute and guitar. Around 1700, engravers in England, led by John Walsh the Elder, began to use pewter for music engraving. Pewter was cheaper than copper. It is also much softer and easier to engrave, and punches were used to stamp notes into the plate. This made the intaglio process much cheaper and more efficient.¹⁴¹ These factors led printers throughout Europe eventually to adopt engraving as the main method for printing of all kinds.

136 John Caldwell, 'Sources of keyboard music to 1660.' *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. 10.12.2016, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/26298>. Rossi's collection was reissued by Carlo Ricarii in 1657, and Giovanni Battista Caifabri after 1658.

137 Nigel Fortune and Arnaldo Morelli, 'Borboni, Nicolò.' *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. 19.03.2012, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/03561>.

138 Jeanneret (2009), p. 461 and 527.

139 Nigel Fortune and Arnaldo Morelli, 'Borboni, Nicolò.' *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/03561> (accessed 10.12.2016).

140 Blancus signed the plate addressed 'al lettore', added to the first book of toccatas.

141 J. M. Thomson and John Wagstaff, 'Printing and publishing of music', *The Oxford Companion to Music*. *Oxford Music Online*. (Oxford University Press), <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/opr/t114/e5360> (accessed 10.12.2016).

4 Anomalies in the Verovio music engravings

As we have already argued, it is impossible to describe early music engravings in terms of fixed editions. Printing on demand opens up the possibility of creating unique copies by changing the order or number of plates used, or by altering the text or the music from one copy to another.

Individual copies of the Verovio prints vary in their title pages, in the contents within a collection and the order of the pieces, in their dates (or even lack of dates), and in the presence of plates originally printed in different collections. The music contains very few mistakes; when they do occur, they are found mainly in the lute intabulation. These mistakes are only rarely corrected in any of the individual copies. For example, the missing clef in the harpsichord intabulation of Felice Anerio's 'O beatum incendium' in the *Diletto spirituale* has not been supplied by the users of any surviving copy. A visible correction in the harpsichord intabulation of Felice Anerio's 'Al suon non posa il core' from the *Ghirlanda*, where the alto has been corrected up a third, is found in all copies.¹⁴² Only in Durante's *Arie devote* do we find several changes in the music.¹⁴³

Table 4.1 shows the number of different versions of each print associated with Verovio, indicating variations in the order of the piece, divergent numbers of pieces, or altered states of the plates.

PUBLICATION	EARLIEST DATE	NUMBER OF COPIES	NUMBER OF VERSIONS
<i>Diletto spirituale</i>	1586	10	5
<i>Melodie spirituali</i>	1586	1	
<i>Jubilo di S. Bernard*</i>	1588	4	3
<i>Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali</i>	1589	8	4
<i>Canzonette spirituali</i>	1591	3 partbooks	
<i>Canzonette à quattro voci</i>	1591	6	3
<i>Il devoto pianto</i>	1592	1 partbook	
<i>Lodi della musica</i>	1595	4	2
<i>Toccate Libro I</i>	1598	8	? ^a
<i>Dialogo pastorale</i>	1600	1	
<i>Madrigali per cantare e sonare</i>	1601	2	1
<i>Toccate libro II</i>	1604	7	?

¹⁴² Details are found in appendix 1.

¹⁴³ See chapter 6.4.

PUBLICATION	EARLIEST DATE	NUMBER OF COPIES	NUMBER OF VERSIONS
<i>Arie devote</i>	1608	4	4
Anerio, <i>Gagliarde</i> *	[n. d.]	2	1

Table 4.1 Versions of the prints associated with Verovio. An asterisk indicates that Verovio is not mentioned in a given print.

a As my main interest is in the intabulations for playing together with singers, I do not examine the Merulo *Toccate*.

By comparing the differences between the various copies of a collection, we can establish a rough chronological order in which these copies were printed. By measuring the plate marks it is possible to determine whether plates were copied; this can also help establish an order.¹⁴⁴ It would also be possible to use scratch marks and other flaws in the condition of the plate to establish the order in which the existing copies were printed, a technique used in dating figurative art prints, but such minute analysis goes beyond the scope of this study.

In all library catalogues, most of the prints associated with Verovio are catalogued as in quarto format. However, examining the watermarks and gatherings in the individual copies shows that the prints were all printed in folio format, despite their rather small size. This shows that the paper was cut before printing, another factor in which intaglio music printing more closely resembles the printing of figurative art or maps than relief prints.

In this chapter we shall examine the size and format of these books, and will concentrate on three specific cases in more detail: the *Diletto spirituale*, the Peetrino publications and the *Arie devote* by Ottavio Durante.

4.1 FORMAT AND BINDING

Since most of the prints associated with Verovio are similar in size to relief-printed music books printed in quarto, they are usually catalogued as such. Superficially this seems fitting for most of the prints. Some have been rebound, or are bound so tightly that it is impossible to tell how the gatherings were constructed.¹⁴⁵ Other prints have been

¹⁴⁴ As the plates are not perfect rectangles, measuring with a ruler has its limitations. It has been proven that certain plates were copied (see chapter 6.4) but to determine how many would require further research. For the purposes of this study, I measured only the title pages, dedication pages and the first two music pages.

¹⁴⁵ They also lack signature marks, which would otherwise be helpful in establishing the format.

restored by reinforcing the middle of the bifolium with a strip of paper, which makes it difficult to identify the structure. Although most collections consist of the usual double-bifolium gatherings, many anomalies become obvious when we study the individual prints more carefully. Binding mistakes can easily be detected, as the order of intabulations and voices will not be congruent.

The books are between 19.4 and 21.2 cm wide, and 25.7 and 30.6 cm high, which suggests the use of *rezute* paper (45 × 31.5 cm).¹⁴⁶ Such differences in size are usual even between copies of a single edition of books printed from relief, as the book block was cut when it was bound. Within this range, the *Arie devote* are smaller, both books of Merulo *Toccate* slightly larger and the partbook publications are half the size, in octavo format.

For books in quarto format, after printing both sides, the sheet of paper was normally cut in half, doubled up and then folded once, creating a duerno gathering with two bifolia, four folios or eight pages. The watermark will be found on one bifolium; the countermark, if there is one, will be found on the other one. In all quarto-sized collections associated with Verovio the watermarks are found in the inner fold of the bifolium and there are no signs of any countermarks. Thus in quarto format, if one bifolium has a watermark, the second should be without. Some gatherings follow this expected scheme, but many more do not.

The watermarks¹⁴⁷ that appear most frequently are 'letter M under a star in a shield'¹⁴⁸ and 'pilgrim, crook over shoulder, in oval',¹⁴⁹ both of which can be found in two variants. The 'letter M under a star in a shield' is sometimes narrower, whereas the pilgrim has both feet on the ground in one variant and one foot off the ground in the other. Additional signs include an 'eagle displayed in circle under a crown',¹⁵⁰ a 'fleur-de-lis in circle under crown',¹⁵¹ 'fleur-de-lis in shield with six-pointed star (with cross keys)',¹⁵² a

146 See Bernstein (1998), p. 63.

147 The description of the watermarks is taken from Woodward (1996b). Though many similarities can be found between the watermarks in Woodward and the watermarks in the Verovio prints, I could not find any precise matches.

148 Similar to Briquet 8392 http://www.ksbm.oeaw.ac.at/_scripts/php/loadRepWmark.php?rep=briquet&refnr=8392&lang=fr accessed 09.04.2017. This paper is also in use for the prints of Lafreri's *Speculum Romanum* and for maps (see <http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/antonio-lafreri-speculum-romanae-magnificentiae-rome-antonio-306869-details.aspx>, accessed 20.08.2017).

149 Similar to Briquet 7567 or 7576. http://www.ksbm.oeaw.ac.at/_scripts/php/loadWmIcons.php?rep=briquet&IDsubtypes=754&lang=fr, accessed 09.04.2017.

150 Similar to Briquet 209 http://www.ksbm.oeaw.ac.at/_scripts/php/loadRepWmark.php?rep=briquet&refnr=209&lang=fr accessed 9.04.2017.

151 Similar to Briquet 7112 http://www.ksbm.oeaw.ac.at/_scripts/php/loadRepWmark.php?rep=briquet&refnr=7112&lang=fr accessed 9.04.2017.

152 Woodward (1996b), p. 80, no. 114.

'kneeling man holding cross in shield'¹⁵³ and the 'letter F over triple mound in shield'.¹⁵⁴ Alfredo Vitolo has put together a model of one of these pilgrim watermarks from the *Jubilo di San Bernardo* found in figure 4.1.

The watermarks in the copies I inspected (in Bologna, Brussels, London and Munich), confirm that not a single copy of any of these prints is in 'normal' quarto format. Although two bifolia are often gathered together, these gatherings frequently contain either two bifolia without any watermark, or two sheets both with a sign.¹⁵⁵ This clearly shows that the paper was cut before printing.

Some copies seem to have irregular gatherings, sometimes made up from one bifolium or even just a single sheet. Others contain gatherings with five folios, in which an extra folio was evidently bound in.¹⁵⁶ Although it is possible that one folio was lost or cut out, the order of the pieces does not seem to corroborate this in all these cases.¹⁵⁷ The copy of the *Canzonette à quattro voci* in Padua has such a loose extra page. This does not seem to have a missing other half, and has been separated from the rest of the gathering.¹⁵⁸ Two of the prints examined for watermarks were printed and gathered in regular folio format, bound per sheet: the *Diletto spirituale* without intabulations (I-Bc R255) and the Merulo *Toccate* (1604) (I-Bc T108). All the other prints were printed in folio format, but usually gathered in groups of at least two sheets. This would require the printer to plan the layout on the sheets in a different way from normal letterpress printing. Frequently paper from different mills is combined in a single volume.

There seems to be no system according to which a certain kind of paper was used for a certain collection. The paper with a 'letter M under a star in a shield' seems to have been used in several prints of the *Diletto spirituale*, the *Ghirlanda* and the *Canzonette à quattro voci*, but the paper with the pilgrim was also used in copies of all these collections, as well as in the *Jubilo di San Bernardo* and the *Lodi della musica*. None of the copies in Bologna use paper with similar watermark patterns, but of the four collections of canzonettas bound together in Munich, three exclusively use the paper with the 'letter

153 Briquet 7628 http://www.ksbm.oeaw.ac.at/_scripts/php/loadRepWmark.php?rep=briquet&refnr=7628&lang=fr accessed 9.04.2017.

154 For the purpose of this study, I describe the watermarks only superficially. Further research into the mills from which the paper was sourced still needs to be done.

155 Sometimes it was not possible to see the gathering, or the gathering seemed to be included in a larger gathering. The gatherings have then been deduced from the watermarks.

156 The copies of *Il primo libro delle melodie spirituali* in Brussels, the *Ghirlanda* in London, Munich and Brussels as well as the copy of the *Canzonette à quattro voci* in London have such an extra folio, always inserted before the last gathering.

157 The copy of the *Ghirlanda* in the Biblioteca Casanatense contains two such single folios, but when restoring the volume, an empty page was added to show that a folio was lost. This folio contains the intabulation of one piece and the voice parts of the next.

158 The binding of this copy is in very poor condition, which permits examination of the gathering structure.

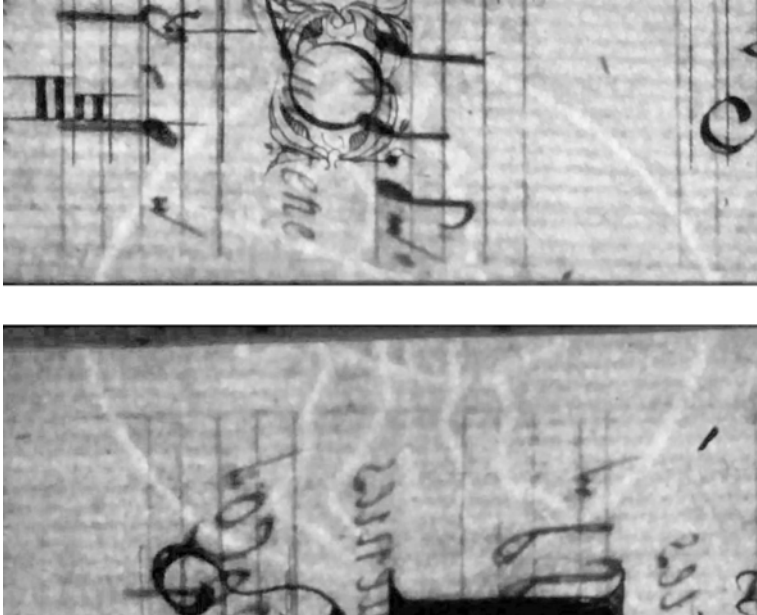


Figure 4.1 Jacobo Peetrino, *Jubilo di San Bernardo* (Rome: [s. n.], 1588), fols. 10, 11. (I-Bc U42). Watermark with the part not visible due to the binding in white.

I would like to thank Alfredo Vitolo, who photographed the two parts and put them together in this way.

M under a star in a shield'. This could indicate that a single buyer purchased them in a single order.

The four partbooks in octavo size also differ from the normal formatting pattern in relief-print editions. They are printed from one plate containing two compositions, one per page. The paper was folded in the middle after printing. Again the paper was probably cut beforehand, as the watermarks are on the outer margins of the page. In the Bologna copy of the bass part of the *Canzonette spirituali* (I-Bc R258a) we find four sections of watermarks that seem to come from four different sheets. In the Bologna copy of the canto part (I-Bc R258b) we find only one half of a watermark (the top of a pilgrim under a star). The order of the pieces in the basso part differs from the other two copies, but this is due to a binding error; instead of binding the sheets as single bifolia, the binder mistakenly bound them as double bifolia.

The fact that all prints seem to have been printed in folio format, as well as the fact that the sheets in the *Melodie spirituali* are printed only on one side, supports the hypothesis that the sheets could also have been printed singly, allowing for the sale of

individual canzonettas.¹⁵⁹ If the canzonettas were to be sold singly without intabulations, the sheet could have been cut again after printing. If the canzonettas were to be sold with intabulations the bifolium could have been kept intact. If however they were to be sold in a larger collection, the planning of the printing of the plates on the pages would have been more complex, and the sheets probably would have been printed on both sides. Even so, the planning still would have been simpler than for a book printed in quarto format from relief. Moreover, it would have been easier to change the order of the pieces in different printing sessions.

4.2 THE *Diletto spirituale*, A SPECIAL CASE ?

The *Diletto spirituale* is a beautiful collection with twenty-one pieces (or twenty-two in some copies). The frame of the title page contains images of putti and King David with his harp. The putti hold a smaller frame which in some states contains the text *Tē Deum laudamus*. In the lower part of the frame is a cartouche containing a canon with the text *Laudate Dominum omnes gentes laudate eum omnes populi*, the first verse of Psalm 117 (Vg. 116).¹⁶⁰ Inside the main frame we find the primary title *Diletto spirituale*, the secondary title *Canzonette à tre et à quattro voci composte da diversi ecc.mi musici*, the year and the place of publication (*Roma*), as well as various other short texts.

The texts of the canzonettas are partly in Italian and partly in Latin. Many use verses from the medieval hymn 'Iesu dulcis memoria', or Marian hymns. Fiore (2009) discusses the origins and religious context of the texts.¹⁶¹

The writing seems to have been executed by several scribes or engravers and the intabulations are done in various manners (see chapters 6.5 and 6.6).

RISM and Brown record three versions of the *Diletto Spirituale*: a 1586 version without intabulations (RISM 1586², one copy), a 1586 version with intabulations (RISM 1586³, seven copies, or according to Brown 1586⁸, eight copies) and a 1592 version with intabulations (RISM 1592¹⁶). Brown also mentions a 1590 version, now lost.

As has been discussed in previous chapters, the text of the title page of the copies exists in three different versions:

1. Raccolte et scritte Da Simone Verouio Scrittore in ROMA;
2. Con L'intauolatura del Cimbalo Et Liuto;

159 Bifolia printed on one side only can also be found in relief prints, for example Agazzari *Sacrarum cantionum liber II motectorum* (Venice: Amadino, 1608), Basso continuo part (I-Bc Q.89), but here it is not systematic (pp. 6–14) and may be due to a printing error. See http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/viewschedat-wbca.asp?path=/cmbm/images/ripro/gaspari/_Q/Q089/ accessed 9.04.2017.

160 Fiore (2009), p. 248.

161 Fiore (2009), Chapter 6, especially pp. 290, 343–384.

3. Raccolte da Simone Verouio. Intagliate et stampate dal medesimo. Con Lintauolatura del Cimbalo Et Liuto. (see figure i).

Some versions show the text *Martin van Buyten incidit*, whereas in others only ghost marks of this text (mainly M. B.) appear. In the various copies, the pieces are arranged in four different orders; some copies contain twenty-one pieces, others twenty-two:

VER- SION	YEAR	RISM	INTABU- LATION	TITLE PAGE	MARTIN VAN BUYTEN	NR. OF PIECES	ORDER OF PIECES	INDEX	NR. OF COPIES
1	1586	1586 ²	no	a	yes	22	1	yes	1
2	1586	1586 ³	yes	b	yes	22	1	yes	1
3	1586	1586 ³	yes	c	M.B.	21	2	yes	4
4	1586	1586 ³	yes	c	M.B.	21	3	no	3
5	1592	1592 ¹⁶	yes	b	yes	22	1	yes	1

Table 4.2 *Diletto Spirituale*: different versions according to RISM with the varying factors.

As we argued in chapter 2, discrepancies in the number of pieces are not unusual in prints employing intaglio techniques. When the books were printed on demand, the order of the pieces could easily be changed. Likewise plates could be altered and dates changed without any problems. It is noteworthy, however, that, in the three 1586 copies with the order 3 the plate containing the index has been changed removing the index. The bottom half of the plate seems to have been cut off. The 1592 copy, however, was drawn for complete plate again including the index. The titlepage of the 1592 version has *Martin van Buyten incidit* written full out, whereas seven 1586 versions show ghost marks of his name.

Two possible reasons for these incongruences can be given: either the plates used were copies, or the dating of the plates is wrong. The size of the plate marks in each case is approximately the same. This does not exclude the possibility that the plates used were copies. This was a normal procedure, done by for example van Aelst in figurative prints, and copies could be exactly the same size. Examining the title and dedication plates carefully, however, has given rise to a different alternative: that the dating is deliberately misleading.

We will now explore the order of the different versions by showing the differences, and the different states of the plates.

- Examining the title plates showed that the earliest copy is the state of the print without the intabulations (I-Bc R254). Here the frame held by the putti on the top of the title page is empty (see figure 4.1). It shows *Raccolte et scritte Da Simone Verouio*

Scrittore in Roma and *Martin van Buyten incidit*, written out in full. The collection consists of the title page, the dedication, dated M.D.Lxxxvi (figure 4.2) and twenty-two pieces, presented in the numerical order of the plates (1–22); here the fifteen three-voice canzonettas are followed by seven four-voice ones;

- The second state is the 1586 copy including intabulations (B-Br Fétis 1.693A) with the front plate showing *Con l'intavolatura del Cimbalo Et Liuto, Martin van Buyten incidit* written out in full. Here the frame held by the putti contains the words *Tē Deum laudamus* (figure 4.3). The dedication page is identical (figure 4.4), but although there are frames for six canons, the one underneath the intabulations of Felice Anerio's 'Tunc amplexus' is empty. The order and number of the pieces is the same, but the numbered plates with the voice parts are on the verso sides of the folios, whereas unnumbered plates are added for the intabulations on the recto sides;
- The third state is the 1592 copy (I-B R255). It is identical to the previous copy, but contains all six canons. The date on the frontispiece is now 1592 (figure 4.5) and the date in the dedication has been changed to M.D.Lxxxix (figure 4.6). In the altered date, the fourth *x* is different from the others;
- The fourth state contains a title page dated 1586 (see figure i) and a dedication page dated M.D.Lxxxvi. The words *Raccolte da Simone Verouio. Intagliato et stampate dal medesimo* have been added in smaller letters above the text *Con l'intavolatura del Cimbalo Et Liuto*. The words *Martin van Buyten incidit* have been corrected or erased and replaced by stippling; however, ghost marks (M. B.) can still be seen. The order of the pieces has been changed, and the pieces for three and four voices are now intermingled. Moreover, Peetrino's 'Scalda Signor' has been omitted, so that the collection now contains twenty-one canzonettas. Although the last piece remains the same, the order of the last two pages is reversed, so that the page with the intabulations is on the left side, whereas the page with the voice parts with the index is on the right side. Four copies of this state are extant: D-L II.2.55, I-Rc Mus 510 0.III.40, GB-Lbl K8d8 and D-Mbs 4 Mus.pr.10/3;
- The fifth and last state has the same title page, dedication and number of canzonettas as the fourth, but the order of the pieces is changed again. Nanino's 'Iesu in pace imperat' is no longer the last piece; this place of honour is now given to a piece by Marenzio. Furthermore, the index has been omitted. Three copies of this state survive: D-Bds V 420.4.17, I-Pa N 1189 C III/3 and I-Bc R253. In the Berlin copy, part of the C (from the word *Canzonette*) from the index is still visible, but this has been corrected in the other two copies. This indicates that the Berlin copy is the earliest of the three.

I place states 4 and 5 after the 1592 version (state 3) because their plates show traces of alteration. Although dated 1586, they are apparently backdated. Whereas the

year 1586 is written in a combination of upper- and lower-case Roman numerals (*M.D.Lxxxvi*) in the earlier copies of the dedication page, in the later two versions, ghost marks of *xii* under the *vi* are clearly visible. Moreover, the *v* and *i* are now a small size capital Roman number, and are not oblique as are the other letters (*M.D.Lxxxvi*) (see figures 4.8–4.11). The dates on the title page have also been tampered with. It is not clear if the plate was just flattened and the new numbers added in ink, or if the new numbers were engraved into the plate after flattening, creating a different state. However, as can be seen in figures 4.12–4.14, differences in the height and style of the letters in the date are visible. As we have seen in chapter 2, backdating was not an unknown phenomenon in engravings.

We can now assume that the copies backdated to 1586 (states 4 and 5) were printed after 1592. Table 4.3 now presents an order of genesis of the different states:

STATES (VER- SION)	YEAR	RISM	INTABU- LATION	TITLE PAGE	MAR- TIN VAN BUYTEN	NR. OF PIECES	ORDER OF PIECES	INDEX	NR. OF COPIES
1 (1)	1586	1586 ²	no	a	yes	22	1	yes	1
2 (2)	1586	1586 ³	yes	b	yes	22	1	yes	1
3 (5)	1592	1592 ¹⁶	yes	b	yes	22	1	yes	1
4 (3)	'1586'	1586 ³	yes	c	M.B.	21	2	yes	4
5 (4)	'1586'	1586 ³	yes	c	M.B.	21	3	no	3

Table 4.3 Proposed order of genesis for the existing copies of the *Diletto Spirituale*. In brackets the numbers of the versions from table 4.2.

The different states of the title pages appear here in order of appearance. In states 4 and 5, one piece has been omitted. In state 5, the index is omitted, and the last piece, which included the index in the other versions, is placed earlier in the book. Given that no copies of the 1590 state are extant, nothing further can be said about its arrangement, and it is excluded from this list.

1143

DILETTO
SPIRITVALE

CANZONETTE
A tre et a quattro uoci
compose da diuer.
si ecc.^{mi} Musici.

Raccolte et scritte Da
Simone Verouis
Scrittore in

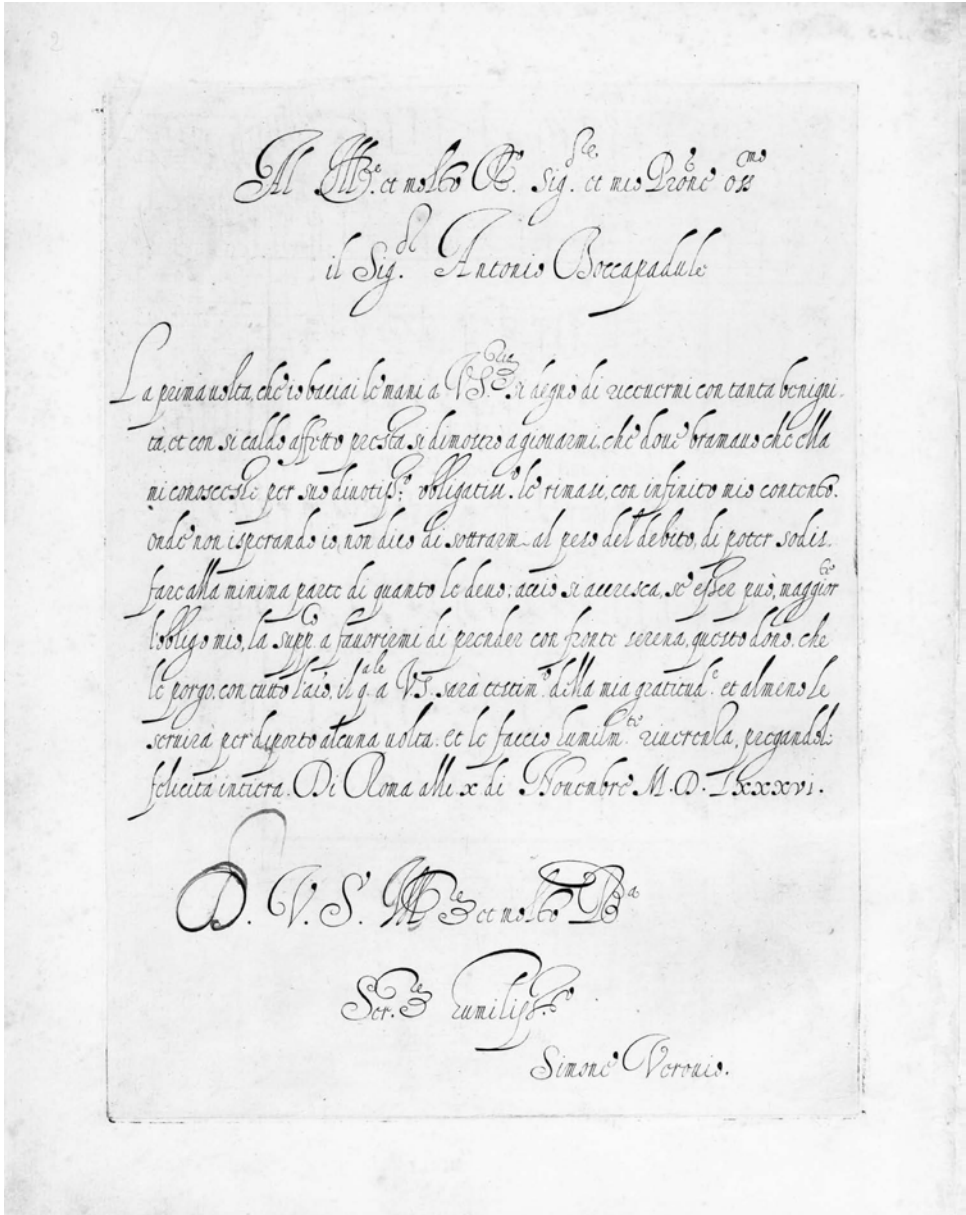
ROMA
1586

Marcus uas Baryon anas

Laudate Dominum omnes gentes etc.
Laudate eum omnes populi.

LIBRERIA
MUSICALE
di
P. P. P.

Figure 4.2 *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1586), title page state 1 (I-Bc R254).

Figure 4.3 *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1586), dedication state 1 (I-Bc R254).

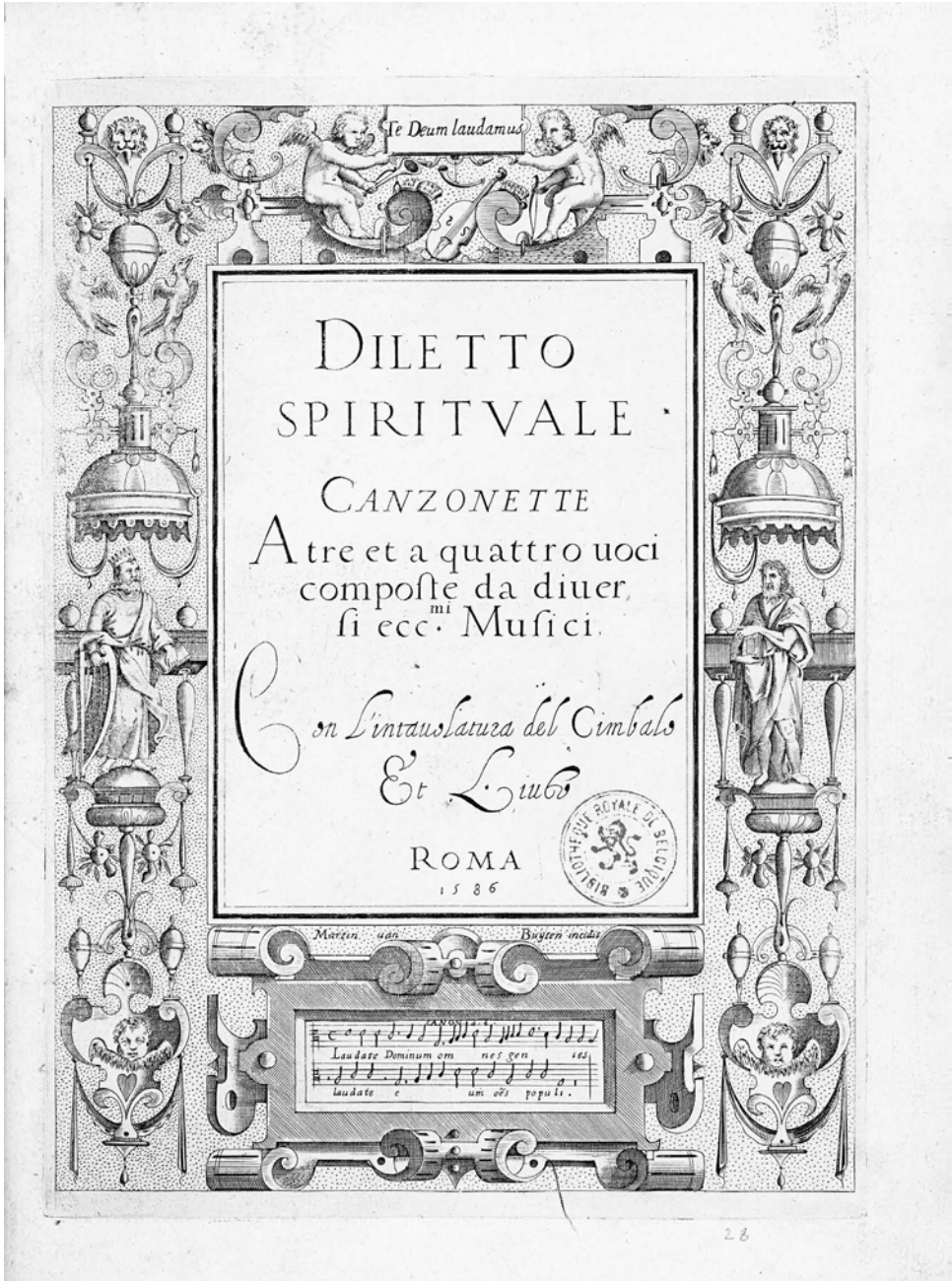



Figure 4.4 *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1586), title page state 2 (B-Br Fétis 1.693A).

M. M^{te} et m^{te} B. sig. et m^{te} Proic^{no} or
 il Sig. Antonis Boccapadula

La prima volta che io baccia le mani a V. S. si degno di ricuermi con tanta benigni-
 ta, et con si caldo affetto peccata, si dimoressi a giuarmi, che doue bramauo che ella
 mi conoscesse per suo timotio, obligatiu. lo rimasi, con infinito mio contento.
 onde non isperando io, non dies di sottraom al peso del debito, di poter sodis-
 fare alla minima parte di quanto lo deuo; accio si accresca, se esse piu, maggior
 obligo mio, la supp. a fauoriemi di peccare con fronte serena, questo dono, che
 lo porgo con tutto l'aiu, il q. a V. S. saca costim. della mia gratitud. et almeno lo
 scriva per dipoto alcuna uolta, et lo faccio humilm^{te} riacconla, pegnandoli
 felicità intiera. Di Roma alli. x. di Novembre. M. D. Lxx. xxi.

D. V. S. M^{te} et m^{te} B.

Scr. S. humiliss^o
 Simone Verouis.


Figure 4.5 *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: [Verouio,] 1586), dedication state 2 (B-Br Fétis 1.693A).

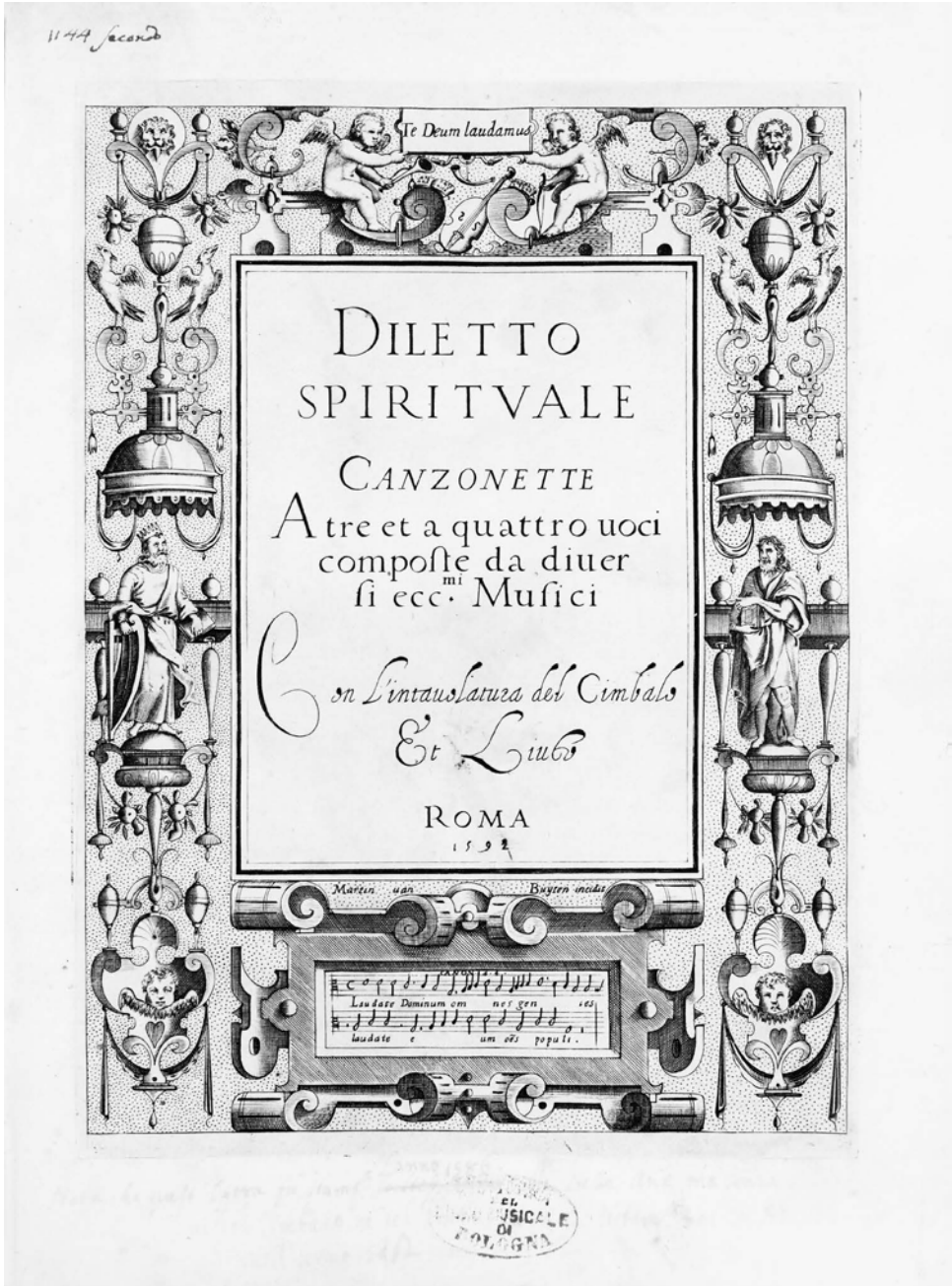
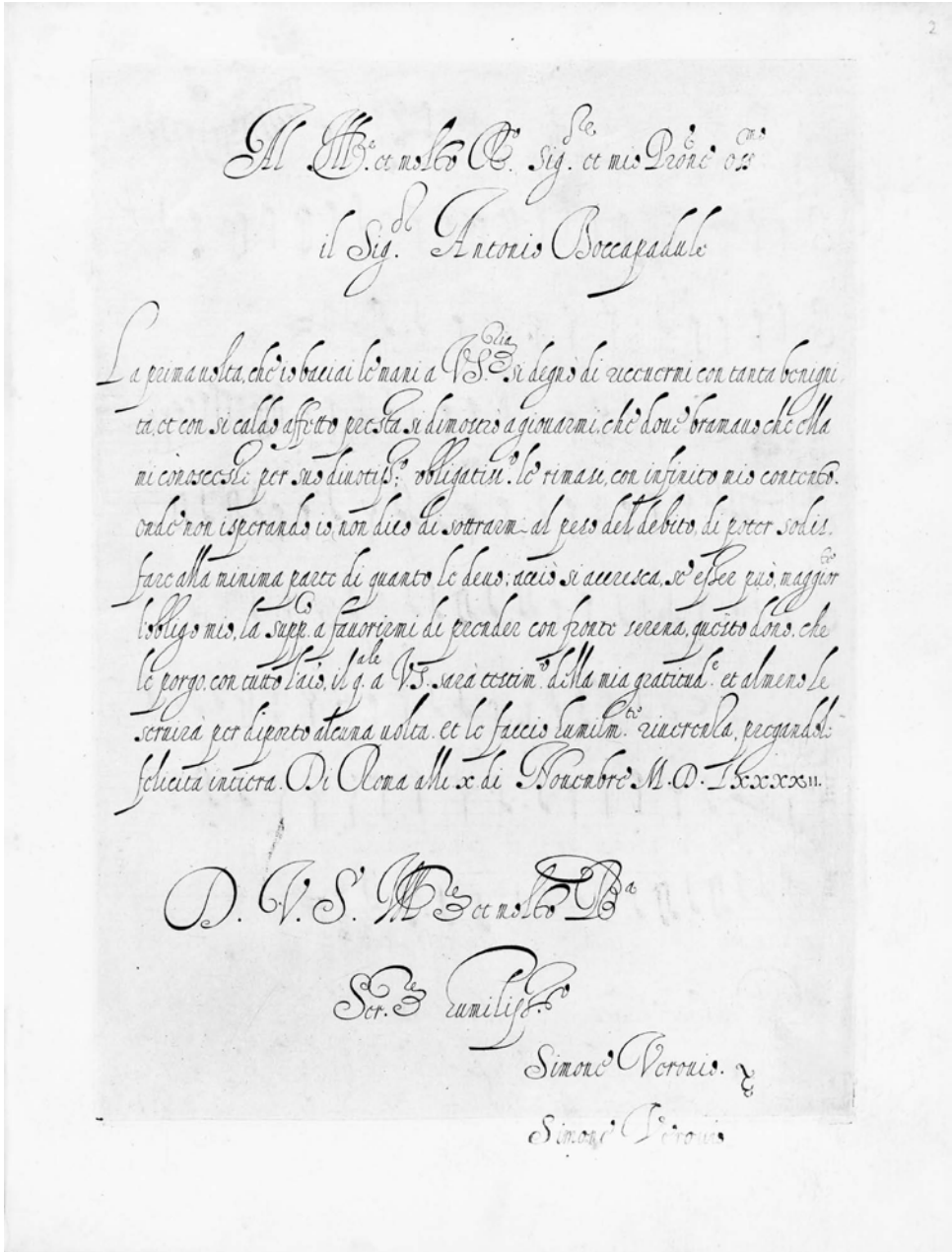


Figure 4.6 *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1592), title page state 3 (I-Bc R255).

Figure 4.7 *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1592), dedication state 3 (I-Bc R255).

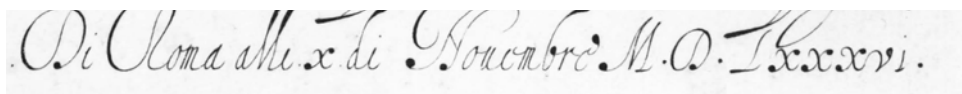


Figure 4.8 *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1586), dedication page (detail) state 1 (I-Bc R254) with miniscule Roman numerals.



Figure 4.9 *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1592), dedication page (detail) state 3 (I-Bc R255).



Figure 4.10 *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: Verovio, 1586), dedication page (detail) state 5 (I-Bc R253).

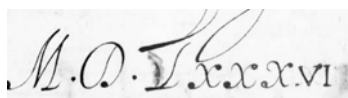


Figure 4.11 *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1586), dedication page (detail) state 5 (I-Bc R253) enlarged with visible ghost marks behind the vi.



Figure 4.12 *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1586), without intabulations, title page (detail) (I-Bc R254).



Figure 4.13 *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1586), with intabulations, title page (detail) state 4 (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, D-Mbs 4 Mus.pr. 10#Beibd.3), urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00074059-1.



Figure 4.14 *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: Verovio, [after 1592]), title page (detail) state 5 (I-Bc R253).

As we argued above, the watermarks show that the sheets were cut before printing. However, the watermarks have not yielded any firm dates for the prints. Four of the six copies of the *Diletto spirituale* examined used paper with the 'letter M under a star in a shield' watermark (two of which use other paper as well). One contains exclusively paper with a shield, and another contains only 'pilgrim, crook over shoulder, in oval' watermark. Table 4.4 shows the watermarks and gatherings in the copies examined:

STATE	LIBRARY	NR. OF GATHERINGS AND BIFOLIA	WATERMARKS	NUMBER OF GATHERINGS
1	Bc R254	6 single	M and star	4
			none	2
2	Brussels	6 double	shield	3
			none	3
3	Bc R255	6 double	M and star	4
			other?	1
			none	1
4	Munich	6 double	M and star	4 (always on outer bifolium)
			none	2
4	London	6 double	Eagle	1
			double eagle	1
			M and star	2
			none	2 ^b
5	Bc R253	6 double	pilgrim	2
			2 pilgrims	3
			none	1

Table 4.4 Copies of the *Diletto spirituale* examined for watermarks.

b The last gathering contains only three folios.

The two copies with the same order (state 4) use the same kind of paper, but the London copy also contains two other types of paper. It is difficult to say whether these two copies were printed consecutively from a pile of paper containing mixed stock, whether the differences are due to the fact that all the plates for one book were printed at the same time, or whether they were printed at different times.

In the copies of the *Diletto spirituale* the title page and dedication have been revised and adapted to changing circumstances and wishes. Seeing the number of times the title page and dedication dates were changed, it is remarkable that hardly any of the errors in the music were ever corrected. Although the voice parts are almost perfect, the intabulations contain some mistakes or omissions.

As the printing could be done on demand and the number of copies made in one impression could be very small, it cannot be taken for granted that the prints with unaltered dates were actually printed in that year. These dates can only be dates *ante quem*, as there are no signs of alterations. Any plate without altered dates, dated 1586, could have been printed any time before 1590 when the next known state of the plates (unfortunately no longer extant) appeared. This of course presumes that no copies of the plates were made.

4.3 THE PEETRINO PRINTS: TWO TITLE PAGES FOR THE SAME COLLECTION?

Two prints associated with Verovio contain compositions exclusively by Jacobo Peetrino: *Il primo libro delle Melodie spirituali* and *Il primo libro del Jubilo di San Bernardo*. Only one copy of the *Melodie spirituali* is extant in Brussels (B-Br Fétis 1.706 A) dated 1586.¹⁶² Four copies of the *Jubilo di San Bernardo* with the date 1588 on the title page have been identified: in Wolfenbüttel (D-W 10 Musica 2), Bologna (I-Bc U42),¹⁶³ Munich (D-Mbs 4 Mus.pr. 9) and Washington (US-Wc M 2082 P4 J8). The Wolfenbüttel copy has no dedication. The dedication to Montfort is not dated in the Bologna copy, but in the other two copies it is dated 1.02.1589. Otherwise the content of the four copies is identical.

Although the size of the paper of both collections resembles an upright quarto, both copies of the *Jubilo* examined, as well as the copy of the *Melodie*, are actually in bifolium format in single gatherings. The *Melodie* consists of eight bifolia and a single folio, the *Jubilo* of five bifolia and a single folio.

The *Melodie spirituali* in Brussels seems incomplete, as it is printed on one side of the paper only, with the other side left blank. Judging from the plate numbers, it seems that

¹⁶² MDL xxx vi, whereby the vi is slightly thinner and higher than the other Roman letters.

¹⁶³ In this copy the date on the title page has been changed in ink to 1589.

seven pieces are missing. The print contains sixteen compositions. Fourteen or these are included in the twenty-two pieces of the *Jubilo di San Bernardo*. Two pieces are found exclusively in the *Melodie* and six only in the *Jubilo*. This has led scholars to call the *Jubilo di San Bernardo* a re-edition of the *Melodie spirituali*.¹⁶⁴ Although the same plates seem to have been used for both collections (the size seems to be the same), the numbering of the plates is different. In the *Melodie*, the order of the pieces does not correspond to the plate numbers, but in the *Jubilo* the plates are arranged in numerical order.¹⁶⁵

Some of the plate numbers of the *Jubilo* were hammered flat and new numbers placed in a slightly different position. Others were adapted; removing the top part of an 8 creates a zero (thus plate 18 becomes plate 10) and adding a tail to the bottom of a 0 turns it into a 9 (20 becomes 19, though in this case the 1 has also been moved slightly to the left of the place where the 2 stood in the *Melodie*). Only the numbers 11–14 remain unaltered in both publications.

Pieces 11–14 comprise the verses of a narrative Christmas poem and belong together in that order.¹⁶⁶ In the *Jubilo* they follow one another in sequence, but in the *Melodie* they appear in the wrong order, and other pieces are interpolated. Thus they do not appear together as a unity. They are not printed on the same bifolia; the second verse is on the one single folio with plate 12, the only one that contains a watermark.

Table 4.5 shows the content of the *Melodie spirituali* with the numbering engraved onto the plates compared to the numbers and order of the plates in the *Jubilo di San Bernardo*.

164 Most recently Fiore (2009), p. 247.

165 In ascending order from 1 to 20.

166 Other texts do not have such a timeline, which defines the order. Texts from the medieval poem 'Iesu dulcis memoria' by Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153) are used in all sacred collections. Many versions and orders of this text circulated and the verses can be used individually so that there is not necessarily a fixed order. The Verovio collections contain texts both in Latin and in Italian 'O dolce rimembranza' and some verses are set to music more than once. See Fiore (2009), pp. 343–354. The other texts containing verses with a timeline, the 'Stabat Mater' is found in the right order both in the Latin version by del Mel (*Canzonette spirituali*) and the Italian version by various composers in the *Devoto Pianto*.

ORDER OF PIECES IN <i>Melodie spirituali</i>	NAME OF THE CANZO- NETTA	<i>Plate number in Melodie spirituali</i>	<i>Plate number and order in Jubilo di S. Bernardo</i>
1	Nei Verdi campi	19	20
2	Voi che cogliete	20	19
3	O nome sacrosanto di Iesu	3	
4	Signor io t'ho confitto	4	7
5	Iesu mi bone sentiam	17	15
6	Verginella gentile	18	10
7	Che fieri	5	
8	Iesum omnes cognoscite	8	6
9	HUMIL S'INCHIN' E PORGE*	13	13
10	Iesum quearam in lectulo	16	3
11	Iesu dulcis memoria	9	1
12	Iesu dulcedo	10	2
13	DOLCE FELICE E LIETA	11	11
14	TENOR MENTRE CH'IO CANTO	12	12
15	Amor Iesu dulcissimus	7	5
16	TRE MAGI IN COMPAG- NIA	14	14
	Mane nobiscum		4
	Ohime tu d'ogni vena		8
	S'io di te penso		9
	Desidero te millies		16
	Quocunque loco fuero		17
	Iam quod quaesivi		18

Table 4.5 Compositions in the Peetrino prints. Titles in small capitals are the four verses of the Christmas poem.

The two copies of the *Jubilo* examined for watermarks (in Bologna and Munich) were printed on completely different paper and were thus probably printed at different times. The Bologna copy contains a dedication without date; in the Munich copy the dedica-

tion is dated 01.02.1589, and the date on the title page has been changed from 1588 to 1589 in ink.¹⁶⁷

The fact that the texts in the *Melodie* are printed in a random order gives further support to the hypothesis that the pieces could have been sold individually, in which case it would not have mattered if the printer ran off the pieces in a logical order. The single folio is the only one with a watermark; it could be that it was printed separately at a different time, from a different pile of paper. The *Melodie* could thus be a collection of bifolium sheets, either prepared for sale as individual pieces, but then gathered together into a collection with a title page (perhaps at a later date), or prepared on demand. In any case, the same plates were used for different collections and different purposes. Such an assemblage of contents from a pool of plates is thus comparable to the unstable states of Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* or Lafreri's *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*.¹⁶⁸

4.4 DURANTE'S *Arie devote*: FOUR COPIES, FOUR 'EDITIONS'?

Just about the time Verovio died, the finishing touches were being made to the plates for Ottavio Durante's *Arie devote*. Four copies have survived, one of which can be found in the Biblioteca della Musica in Bologna and the others in the library of the Conservatorio di Santa Cecilia in Rome. This creates the unique opportunity to be able to compare three different copies next to each other.

The collection was written and engraved by one person, presumably Christophorus Blancus. Since some pieces are shorter or longer than a single plate, this work must have been conceived as a unified music book from the start.

The copy in Bologna (Bc Z80) is dated 1624; the '24' in the date was probably added in ink. It lacks the middle gathering and the dedication (the dedicatee Montalto had died the previous year). This copy seems to have been printed when the plates were already quite worn and scratched. The lines and note-heads are frequently quite pale, and the borders not clearly defined (see figure 4.15).¹⁶⁹ It is the only copy out of all the prints associated with Verovio to have colouring on the frontispiece. The Montalto/Peretti coat of arms has been coloured with its standard blue background and red band.

The three copies in Rome (G.CS.2.C.25.3, G.CS.2.D.16.1 and G.CS.2.C.44) are all dated 1608 and contain a two-page preface (*Ai lettori*) and an index, all printed using

167 The watermarks in the Munich copy (two chalices and a crown) are unique in the prints associated with Verovio examined.

168 See chapter 2.3.

169 For a better state, see example 9.25.



Figure 4.15 O. Durante, *Arie devote* (Rome: Verovio, 1624), 'Scorga signor', plate 1 (detail) (I-Bc Z80).

moveable type. All the copies are in folio format, though some gatherings seem to contain more sheets than others. As the preface and index are on separate bifolia gathered together, they could easily be added at different places during binding. In two copies this gathering with the preface and index is bound after the first bifolium containing the title page and the dedication; in the other print it comes last. Two of the copies (I-Rsc G.CS.2.C.25.3 and I-RSc G.CS.2.D.16.1) as well as the Bologna copy (I-Bc Z80) are identical in content, but the other print (I-Rsc G.CS.2.C.44) exhibits many differences. It seems to be an earlier copy with fewer figures in the bass part.

The divergences, up to nine per page, mainly consist of additional figures in the *basso continuo*, above all cadential figures (see figures 4.16 and 4.17, m. 6), shortened notes with added rests in a voice part presumably to allow the singers time to breathe (see figures 4.16 and 4.17, m. 4) and added ficta signs.

Figure 4.16 O. Durante, *Arie devote* (Rome: Verovio, 1608), 'Aspice Domine', plate 24 (detail) (I-Rsc G.CS.2.C.44).



Figure 4.17 O. Durante, *Arie devote* (Rome: Verovio, 1608), 'Aspice Domine', plate 24 (detail) (I-Rsc G.CS.2.C.25.3, identical to I-Rsc G.CS.2.D.16.1). A semibreve has been changed in to a minim with rest (m. 4) and figures have been added (m. 6).

In fourteen cases, the bass is altered; in three cases the upper part has been changed. Only in one case is an obvious mistake in the bass corrected, although the person correcting it did not find it necessary to correct the plate, but merely added the correct note.¹⁷⁰ As the other copies all contain this correction, it can be presumed to have been done in-house (figure 4.19).



Figure 4.18 O. Durante, *Arie devote* (Rome: Verovio, 1608), 'Aspice Domine', plate 20 (detail) with the wrong bass note (I-Rsc G.CS.2.C.44).

¹⁷⁰ Perhaps because he expected it to be played anyway, as it is part of the harmony.



Figure 4.19 O. Durante, *Arie devote* (Rome: Verovio, 1608), 'Aspice Domine', plate 20 (detail) with the added correction (I-Rsc G.CS.2.C.25.3).

In a few cases this earliest copy (I-Rsc G.CS.2.C.44) contains more figures than the other copies, for example plate 11 fifth system m. 4. In this case, the original figures 11–10 were erased in a later state of the plate to correct a mistake (see figure 4.20). I-Rsc G.CS.2.C.25.3 shows the corrected plate with some ghost lines (see figure 4.21). We can also see an attempt at correcting a mistake in the original bass in plate 1 (fifth system, m. 1, see figure 4.22), but this was done by scraping away the paper and thus probably by an end-user. The correct version is found in all other copies (see figure 4.23)



Figure 4.20 O. Durante, *Arie devote* (Rome: Verovio, 1608), 'Aspice Domine', plate 20 (detail) (I-Rsc G.CS.2.C.44).



Figure 4.21 O. Durante, *Arie devote* (Rome: Verovio, 1608), 'Aspice Domine', plate 20 (detail) with the figures corrected (I-Rsc G.CS.2.C.25.3).



Figure 4.22 O. Durante, *Arie devote* (Rome: Verovio, 1608), 'Scorga signor', plate 1 (detail) with the attempted correction (I-Rsc G.CS.2.C.44).



Figure 4.23 O. Durante, *Arie devote* (Rome: Verovio, 1608), 'Scorga signor', plate 1 (detail) with the correction (I-Rsc G.CS.2.C.25.3).

The three copies in Rome are all printed on paper of varying quality. When measuring the plate marks, small discrepancies are always likely to emerge, either due to inaccuracies in measurements or due to the depth of the imprint of the plate on the paper. Different types of paper also shrink differently when drying after printing. Differences of one millimetre encountered in all measurements can thus be discounted, all other things being equal. However, the plate marks of I-Rsc G.CS.2.C.25.3 are four to five millimetres smaller, which suggests that the plate was copied. If there were two sets of plates,

G.CS.2.C.44 was presumably the earliest state; the plates were then altered, as seen in G.CS.2.D.16.1. This state of the plates was then copied to yield G.CS.2.C.25.3 on slightly smaller plates. Subsequently the first set of plates were used to print the later Bologna copy. As the plates of I-Bc Z 80 are more worn than those of G.CS.2.D.16.1, the original plates must have been used to create other impressions which are no longer extant.

Table 4.6 shows the sizes of the plates of the four extant copies of the *Arie devote*:

COPY	YEAR	STATE	'AI LETTORI'	TITLE	DEDICATION	PLATE I	
G.CS. 2.C.44	1608	A	2nd	14.3 × 20.1	14.3 × 20.2	18.3 × 26.4	Many differences
G.CS. 2.D.16.1	1608	B	At the end	14.3 × 20.1	14.4 × 20.2	18.3 × 26.4	Thinnest paper
G.CS. 2.C.25.3	1608	B	2nd	14.3 × 19.7	14.4 × 19.7	18.4 × 25.9	Smaller plates
I-Bc Z 80	1624	B	None	14.3 × 20.2	14.3 × 20.2	18.3 × 26.4	Lacking middle gathering

Table 4.6 Ottavio Durante *Arie devote*, plate sizes.

This implies that the practice of copying plates, well known in figurative arts and maps, was employed in music engraving too. The table also shows that none of the four extant copies could have been printed in the same run. One has too many differences on many plates, the second has smaller plate marks, and was thus printed from another set of plates, the third uses an inferior quality of paper, and the fourth is dated later.

Although these prints were created at different times, they still contain the same music, merely with slight differences. They resemble different editions of a relief print on one hand because of the consistency of content, or manuscript copies on the other, because of their uniqueness.

4.5 COLLECTIONS WITHOUT ATTRIBUTIONS TO VEROVIO

Simone Verovio's participation in the production of most of the collections discussed is acknowledged in at least one of the copies. However, two publications lack a definite link to Verovio. As most of the plates for the *Melodie spirituali* appear to have been used in the *Jubilo di S. Bernardo* as well, it seems likely that Verovio was at the least the scribe or engraver of both collections. Unless further information comes to light, however, it is difficult to decide whether Simone Verovio was involved in the publication of the *Gagliarde* for harpsichord and lute by Giovanni Francesco Anerio.

The title border resembles that used in the title page of Merulo's *Toccate d'intavolatura libro secondo*, though in an 'unfinished' form. The plate or the design could well have been copied.¹⁷¹ The notational system is slightly different from the one used in the other prints. The collection contains sixteen *gagliarde* numbered from 1 to 16, which implies that it was conceived as an entity. The scribe/engraver, the same for all pieces, could well have been Blancus (see chapter 6.5). The lute part is in the second kind of notation with mensural note values above the staff, as found for the first time in a few pieces in the *Ghirlanda* and *Canzonette à quattro voci* and used exclusively in the *Lodi* and Giovanni Francesco Anerio's *Dialogo pastorale*. The keyboard part is not in the classical *intavolatura* notation, as it does not show which hand plays which note. From an instrumentalist's point of view, both the keyboard and the lute intabulations are not as well adapted to the instrument as the other intabulations found in the Verovio prints. On the other hand, Verovio evidently had a working relationship with Giovanni Francesco Anerio, and published his *Dialogo pastorale*, the only other extant printed work by Anerio containing intabulations, which employed the same combination of instruments.

4.6 CONCLUSIONS

We have now examined three collections in detail; similar observations can be made about the other prints as well. They too are found in different states, although the differences are usually minor. Dates are added or changed, names of composers completed, dedications added or omitted, and compositions added or left out, but these unstable collections remain basically the same.

Although more research needs to be done on the individual copies of the prints associated with Verovio, we have shown here that the plates were altered and copied, just as were maps or figurative art. The canzonettas in choirbook layout could be printed on demand and then sold separately or bound together in a collection. The collections in partbooks or those containing pieces longer than a double page, were conceived and produced as a unit.

These prints were beautifully engraved and prepared with care, and present music by some of the foremost composers of the time. Unique, because they are the first sets of engraved music, unique also because this process made it so much easier to print intabulations. Later in this study we shall see how the processes of production provide insights into performance practice at the time.

¹⁷¹ In Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, several plates are exhibited which contain such a similar border, with the middle cut out.

MAKERS AND CONSUMERS

5 The people involved in the production of the prints

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Those who draw up library catalogues are often at a loss how to describe Verovio and the others associated with the prints. Some catalogues classify Verovio as printer, some as editor, some as publisher and others as author or composer. In part this is because Verovio's name does not appear in a consistent way in all the publications associated with him.

Those acknowledged to have been associated with Verovio for the technical parts of the production were from the North, from across the Alps. Apart from Simone Verovio, three others are mentioned by name in different prints: Martin van Buyten and Nicolaus van Aelst from Flanders, and Christophorus Blancus from Lorraine. All three were active as engravers in Rome at the end of the sixteenth century, although van Aelst later seems to have abandoned engraving for publishing. They seem to have been involved in many of the stages of the preparation of the prints. Probably others were involved too. Although many engravers and printer-publishers from the Netherlands were active in Rome, very little research has been published on them.¹⁷²

From 1598 onwards, the indication *appresso Simone Verovio* or *stampato in Roma appresso Simone Verovio* can be found in all signed prints. This implies that by 1598, Verovio was printing, publishing and selling from his own workshop. The only other person acknowledged as involved in printing these later prints was Christophorus Blancus, who engraved at least part of Durante's *Arie devote*, Verovio's last collection.

Before 1598, however, we find a variety of roles associated with the name Verovio, from a simple *di* (by) to *scritte* (written), *raccolte* (compiled), *intagliate* (engraved) and *stampate* (printed), as well as many combinations of these roles.¹⁷³ In the earlier prints, Martin van Buyten is often acknowledged, usually in the role of engraver (as indicated by *incidit*). However, the prints do not indicate their specific roles in a consistent manner. In the three variants of the title page of *Diletto spirituale* (1586/92) (some in multiple states), for example, we find their names mentioned as:

1. Verovio as compiler and writer, and Martin van Buyten as engraver;
2. Only Martin van Buyten as engraver;
3. Only Verovio mentioned as compiler, engraver and printer.¹⁷⁴

172 Conflicting evidence is often presented as to dates of birth, death and period of activity, but some light has been shed on this in recent publications; see Van der Sman (2005) and Sevenstern (2012).

173 Further, see chapter 5.5.

174 'Raccolte et scritte Da Simone Verouio Scrittore in Roma' and 'Martin van Buyten incidit': *Diletto sprituale*

The twenty-one or twenty-two works that follow these title pages are the same and printed from the same plates, though the orders vary, and one copy contains no intabulations (see chapter 4.2).

Apart from the people involved in the technical side of the making of the prints – the writers, engravers, printers and publishers – many others surely participated. The person who signed the dedication, usually the *editore*, was clearly actively engaged, as a signature would not have been engraved without his knowledge. Those who received a dedication were presumably aware of this before publication, and probably made a financial commitment. In the ‘small world’ of Rome around 1600, where everybody in certain circles knew everybody, composers probably agreed to the publication of their music, if they did not commission it themselves. Most compositions appear uniquely in the prints associated with Verovio, or at least appear there for the first time in print. Other people involved in the production would include the compiler of the collections, and the arrangers of the intabulations. The papal censor of books and the pope’s confessor, the *Maestro del sacro palazzo*, would inspect the manuscript for any indecent or heretical material. The finished products (unless printed on demand) would have to be distributed, marketed, and perhaps bound, if the sheets were not sold loose for binding at the purchaser’s expense, often with other compilations.

The poets who wrote the texts were probably not involved in the production. The sacred texts are mainly well-known *laude* and hymns, or strophes from medieval poems contemplating the life of Jesus or Mary (mainly ‘Iesu dulcis memoria’ or ‘Stabat mater’), both in Italian translation and in the original Latin.¹⁷⁵ The authors of the texts of the secular pieces are largely unknown, though some can be traced to Petrarch and contemporary poets such as Guarini, set by Luzzaschi.

It is not clear who owned the plates. For figurative art, this was probably the publisher or author of the dedication. As Verovio signed many of the dedications, he probably financed the prints (or organised financiers or sponsors) and owned the plates. However, plates could change hands through purchase, inheritance or as a dowry, as in the case of the Adamo Scultori plates which came to Christophorus Blancus through marriage (see chapter 2.1). While plates for figurative art are still extant, such as those published by van Aelst and now kept in the *Istituto nazionale per la Grafica* in Rome, no plates by Verovio are known to survive.

Undoubtedly many people involved in the making of the Verovio prints remain anonymous. It is difficult to know the identity of Verovio’s journeymen and business partners. The names of those who inked the plates and ran them through the press

(I-B 254). ‘Martin van Buyten incidit’: *Diletto spirituale* (B-Br Fétis 1.693A and I-B 255). ‘Raccolte da Simone Verouio. Intagliate et stampate dal medesimo’: all other copies.

175 Fiore (2009), pp. 374–382.

were rarely, if ever, recorded.¹⁷⁶ Although engraving, printing and publishing were clearly defined tasks, they were sometimes carried out by the same people. As mentioned before, by the second half of the sixteenth century, it had become usual in figurative art for the roles of designer/artist and that of engraver to be carried out by different people, but in map making this was not always the case. Cartographers like Gerardus Mercator (1512–1594) engraved their own maps, but separate engravers, paid at a higher rate, were usually engaged to incise the more prestigious letter engraving.¹⁷⁷ It appears that some of the Verovio publications were written by a single scribe, but most seem to show the hand of multiple scribes. It is difficult to discern how many people were involved in engraving the plates. Verovio was an accomplished engraver, but the presence of his name as engraver does not imply that he engraved everything. Likewise, the fact that he is mentioned as writer in a publication does not necessarily imply, that he had no assistance in writing the texts or the music. However, it probably implies that he had ultimate control over that aspect of the publication.

5.2 SIMONE VEROVIO, THE MAN

From Casimiri's research,¹⁷⁸ we know that Verovio came to Rome in the jubilee year 1575. The reason why he came to Rome will probably remain unknown. Foreigners coming to Italy usually Italianized their name; as Bertolotti pointed out, it is frequently impossible to deduce the original Dutch name from the Italianized version.¹⁷⁹ In 1882 van der Straeten suggested the name Weerevick, but this has yet to be corroborated.¹⁸⁰

Verovio is described as 'Boscoducensis', that is, a native of 's-Hertogenbosch (or Den Bosch) in the Duchy of Brabant. Den Bosch housed one of the oldest Latin schools in the Netherlands, the *groot school* or *schola major*, reputed as one of the best in Northern Europe. Amongst the students of this school, run by the Brethren of the Common Life, were Gerard Mercator¹⁸¹ and probably also Hieronymus Bosch and Desiderius Erasmus.

176 Lincoln (2000), p. 4.

177 Woodward (1996a), p. 26.

178 Casimiri (1933) and (1934).

179 Bertolotti (1880), p. 15: 'basta il dire che i cognomi Mostaert erano in italiano scritti e detti Mostarda, I Breughl Broculo, I Molinaert, Molinaro, i Pip filippo, e via di questo passo da rendere oggidi irrecognoscibili artisti, tanto agli studiosi neerlandesi quanto agli italiani.'

180 Casimiri (1933), p. 190. One reason could be that Viroviacum (alternatively Veroviacum) is the Latin name for Wervik (older spellings: We(e)rwijck, Wérwick or Werwyk) in Flanders.

181 Crane (2002), p. 33.

At school, Verovio would have participated in the Latin school dramas,¹⁸² sung with the brothers in the chapter choir,¹⁸³ and enjoyed a thorough humanist education at a very high level. The pupils were only allowed to communicate in Latin, and also learnt Ancient Greek. By the 1520s, the Italian *cancellaresca* script had already spread to the North.¹⁸⁴ The Brethren specialised in copying manuscripts,¹⁸⁵ and it can be assumed that Verovio learned to be a competent *scriptor* at school. He was probably fluent in *cancellaresca* even before arriving at Rome in 1575. Following in the footsteps of Erasmus and Mercator, who had both written on the importance of handwriting, Verovio later published guides for writing *cancellaresca* and other scripts.¹⁸⁶ Verovio would thus have been familiar with a high standard of calligraphy. He would also have been exposed to printing, as the Brethren already owned their own printing press by the early sixteenth century.¹⁸⁷ There was great interest in printing in Brabant at that time, and many important technical innovations were made in the capital Antwerp.

Around the time Verovio left 's-Hertogenbosch, the town had acquired the nickname *Klein Rome* (little Rome) as it had such strong ties with Catholic Rome.¹⁸⁸ It is possible that Verovio left 's-Hertogenbosch for religious reasons, either as a pilgrim or as a refugee. From 1568–1648 the Netherlands were involved in the Eighty Years' War with Spain. In the years from 1572–1579, fighting was especially heavy and many battles were fought in Brabant near towns like 's-Hertogenbosch, where the surrounding countryside was ravaged. Famine, intolerance and persecution caused many to leave their homes. In some places the population declined by 80%. Many Protestant migrants fled to the North or England; many Roman Catholics moved South. When Philip II ran out of money to pay his troops, they mutinied. As a result of the chaos that ensued, many Catholics were forced to migrate even farther south, and for a short time Brabant came under Calvinist rule. Verovio was later associated with the Catholic rulers of the Spanish Netherlands. Amongst those to whom he dedicated a collection was Cardinal Odoardo Farnese (1573–1626), the son of Alessandro Farnese (1545–1592), who recaptured the southern Netherlands for the Spanish crown in 1579, and thus turned Brabant back to Catholicism. Odoardo's brother Ranuccio (1569–1622), Duke of Parma, was Claudio Merulo's patron.

182 Crane (2002), pp. 33–34.

183 Nauwelaerts (1974), p. 13.

184 Crane (2002), p. 69.

185 Crane (2002), p. 37.

186 Erasmus (1528); Mercator (1540). See Crane (2002), pp. 69–71, 127–132. Mercator is of course more famous for his solution to the problem of representing the spherical surface of the world on a plane, the Mercator projection, but he was also an expert instrument maker, engraver and scribe. See Crane (1972).

187 Hyma (1930), p. 134.

188 Van Gennip (2014), p. 228.

In going south, Verovio could have passed through Antwerp or Leuven, the main printing centres in northern Europe and met people like Christophe Plantin and Pierre Phalèse. Arriving in Rome in 1575, Verovio was registered at the German confraternity (*Confraternitas B. Mariae de Anima Teutonicorum de Urbe*), which supported and housed pilgrims from all parts of the Holy Roman Empire, including what is now Germany, Austria and the Netherlands (both South and North).¹⁸⁹ The *Liber Confraternitatis Beatae Mariae de Anima Teutonicorum de Urbe*, kept from the foundation of the confraternity in 1399 until 1653, includes the names of many people from the Netherlands.¹⁹⁰ Amongst those hosted there were popes, cardinals, bishops, emperors and other dignitaries, as well as poorer pilgrims from the north. Santa Maria dell'Anima is still the church of the German-speaking Catholics in Rome. The confraternity was reorganized in 1859, but a hospice for Germans priests or pilgrims to Rome still exists at the same address.

The fact that Verovio was a Catholic is corroborated by the fact that in 1591 he, 'magnificus dominus Simone Verovius boscoducensis', married Francesca Giolia, daughter of Modesta and Paolo Giolio 'secondo il rito di Santa Romana Chiesa'.¹⁹¹ They possibly had at least five children:¹⁹²

- Jacomo (or Giacomo), who is known to have sung in the Oratorio dei Filippini in the Chiesa Nuova and participated in the composing of the *Amor pudico*, an opera commissioned by Cardinal Montalto in 1614;¹⁹³
- Giovanni, who also worked as a singer;
- Michelangelo, called 'del violino' (mentioned in 1640 by Pietro della Valle in *Discorso della musica dell'età nostra* as having played together with Kapsperger)¹⁹⁴ amongst others; he was also the composer of *Sonate per violino solo* with *basso continuo*;¹⁹⁵
- Pietro Felice;¹⁹⁶
- His daughter Anna (called Anna Giustina), 'La Verovia', was a nun in the convent of Santo Spirito and, according to della Valle, amazed the world for several years as a singer.¹⁹⁷

189 Casimiri (1933), p. 189.

190 Kerschbaumer (1868), p. 64.

191 Barbieri (2004a), p. 69, fn. 2. *Magnificus dominus* (or *magnifico signore*) was a title given to holders of a high office in Rome.

192 Bridges, T. W., 'Verovio, Simone.' In *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online (accessed 23.09.2017).

193 Hill (1997), p. 50.

194 In Solerti (1903), p. 159. There were, however, other people called Michelangelo del Violino (e.g. Michelangelo Rossi) at the time, so it is not clear who is meant here.

195 Capri (1969), p. 142.

196 Casimiri (1934), p. 66. Franchi (1994) p. 786, gives 29 August 1600 as the date of his baptism; Giovanni Garzia Mellini acted as godfather.

197 In Solerti (1903), p. 166.



Figure 5.1 S. Tommaso in Parione, Via di Parione 33 (photo: Thérèse de Goede). I thank Thérèse de Goede for this and the following photograph.

Della Valle also describes a ‘famous tenor’ who sang in his *carro*, but mentions only the name Verovio¹⁹⁸ making it difficult to know which son was intended.

Simone Verovio died on 17 December 1607 and was buried two days later in the family tomb in the church of S. Tommaso in Parione; the priest described him as an ‘excellent writer’.¹⁹⁹ This church (see figure 5.1), in what is now called ‘Via di Parione’, is just two houses from the Collegio Nardini, which used to house Verovio’s workshop.²⁰⁰ It was the church of the writers and copyists of the curia, a detail which confirms that Verovio worked as a scribe for the papal court. It is also the church where Filippo Neri, the founder of the *Congregazione dell’Oratorio*, was ordained.²⁰¹ Although a small building, it was a titular church with its own cardinal.

198 In Solerti (1903), p. 162.

199 Franchi (1994), fn. p. 644. The facade of this church was reconstructed by the architect Francesco da Volterra, husband of Diana Mantovano and brother-in-law to Christophorus Blancus.

200 Franchi (1994), p. 644.

201 Although today it is one of the two national churches of Ethiopia, the attached building is still the residence of the *Confederatio Oratorii Sancti Philippi Nerii*. <http://www.oratoriosanfilippo.org/contatti.html>. (accessed 23.09.2017).

Figure 5.2 The entry to the Collegio Nardini, Via di Parione 37 (photo: Thérèse de Goede).



The Collegio Nardini (see figure 5.2), also called the *Sapienza Nardina*, was one of the first university-like colleges in Rome. Founded by Cardinal Stefano Nardini in 1475, it operated until the middle of the seventeenth century. Thus, the building that housed Verovio's workshop was one of Rome's academically most distinguished locations.

Verovio must have been a well-educated and cultured man. He possessed several specialised and unusual skills. Apart from being musically literate, he could compose music. As an 'excellent writer', he wrote in many languages. Such writing-masters, scribes who also functioned as secretaries, were amongst the best-paid and most-prestigious citizens in curial Rome. In his satire *Saggia Pazzia* (1607), Antonio Maria Spelta commented:

These gentlemen, the Writing-Masters, have a mighty opinion of themselves. They dress in the grand style, adorn their fingers with jewels, fasten their collars with gold buttons. Their clothes are of slashed velvet. They live magnificently and spend freely.²⁰²

²⁰² Osley (1972), p. 2.

The *Essempolare di XIII lingue principalissime* dated 1587, with a dedication signed by Nicolas van Aelst, shows that Verovio was capable of writing in fourteen languages (see figure 5.3). Beside the more common classical languages such as Latin, Hebrew and Greek, and the modern European languages Spanish, Italian, French, Flemish, English, German, Polish, Dalmatian (in Glagolitic script), he also wrote in old Armenian, old Egyptian,²⁰³ and Indian script. The epigrams contain various texts, from just the alphabet (Indian) to psalm verses (Hebrew),²⁰⁴ and other religious texts (Spanish, French, Polish and Dalmatian) to salutatory addresses (Italian, Flemish, German) and a famous quote from Vergil's *Aeneid* (Latin).²⁰⁵

The illustrated title pages of the Verovio publications all show subjects that would have appealed to a devout and well-educated humanistic audience. Subjects include St Cecilia playing the organ, King David with a harp, Pan playing the flute, Orpheus with a lyre and Pythagoras discovering the basics of tuning whilst listening to blacksmiths hammering. The title pages of three publications show canons; the *Diletto spirituale* contains six further canons. Canons were considered demonstrations of the most learned music, as Romano Micheli (Venice, 1615) points out:

It is true that those who compose skilled music and graceful compositions are worthy men; because this is a skill, which is acquired in a few years, they are considered worthy men but ordinary musicians. The most outstanding are instead those who, not being satisfied to compose music, also want to understand the most profound studies of music, that is canons of different kinds and other special skills, which are not so easily acquired in such a short time.²⁰⁶

Copies of these canons can also be found in other later sources.²⁰⁷

The *Diletto spirituale* contains a composition attributed to Verovio, 'Giesu sommo conforto', a text by Savonarola. This composition is similar in quality to other pieces in the *Diletto spirituale*. The fact that Filippo Neri purportedly asked Palestrina to set this text has led some musicologists, starting with Baini and Gaspari in the nineteenth

203 The script used is not ancient Egyptian (I thank Dr. Regina Hözl from the KHM in Vienna for this information), but could very possibly have been thought to be so at the end of the sixteenth century (I thank Leofranc Holford-Strevens for this information).

204 Psalm 119:72: 'The law of Thy mouth is better for me than thousands of gold and silver.' Psalm 119:127: 'Therefore I love Thy commandments above gold, yea, above fine gold.' I thank Elam Rotem for this information.

205 'Learn justice, you admonished, and be not disrespectful towards the gods' (Vergil, *Aeneid* VI.620).

206 Durante (1987), p. 200. See also Schiltz and Blackburn (2007).

207 Appendix II contains a list of the canons. Later copies can be found for example in I-Rvat, ms Barb. lat. 4418, *Due discorsi et una epistola opere musicali di Pierfrancesco Valentini Romano*.



Figure 5.3 *Essempolare di XIII lingue principalissime* (Rome: van Aelst, 1587) ©The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved, Image number 101862001.

century, to doubt the authenticity of the work and attribute it rather to Palestrina.²⁰⁸ Although Verovio is not otherwise known as a musician or composer, there is as little reason to doubt this attribution as that of any of the other attributions in his collections.

Verovio also composed twenty short Latin poetic texts, meditations on the life of Jesus and the Virgin Mary, based on the mysteries of the Rosary. Gregor Aichinger (1564–1628), a Jesuit priest from Augsburg educated in Rome, set these texts to music in his *Virginalia* (1607).²⁰⁹ He acknowledges having corresponded with the ‘famous Verovio’, whom he met in Rome during his second trip to Italy (1598–1600).²¹⁰

208 Fiore (2009), p. 254.

209 Fiore (2009), pp. 366–367.

210 According to Hettrick, Aichinger (1972), p. vii. According to Kroyer it was probably in 1587. See Aichinger (1909), p. LV. See also fn. 263.

Most documentary evidence concerning Verovio's life was discovered by Casimiri, or has appeared as a by-product of other research. Further research on his work as a scribe in the Vatican would be very welcome. Did he lose his position in one of the many changes of popes between 1590 and 1592?²¹¹ When and how did he establish his workshop in the Collegio Nardini, first mentioned in print in the *Devoto pianto* (1592) (*In Parione nel Collegio Nardino*)? Further information on Verovio and his family is bound to lie awaiting discovery in Roman archives.

5.3 THE DEDICATEES

Around 1600 it was common to dedicate publications to prominent, influential and rich patrons as a *dono* (a gift), frequently with the expectation of assistance towards the cost of publication, usually before printing, but sometimes afterwards. A dedication could also be used to court a prospective employer. If this person was of exceptionally high rank, a dedication might be presented via an intermediary, who acted as a broker.²¹² According to Annibaldi's theories of patronage, dedications can also be read as 'seals of approval' for the publication from the dedicatee, advertising the suitability of the print for members of the nobility and those aspiring to copy their behaviour.²¹³ Thus a dedication to such an intermediary could help procure patronage at the highest level. Such a dedication would display the approval of the intermediary, who might then present another project as worthy of endorsement by a patron of higher rank.

Not all the Verovio prints contain a dedication. Even where a dedication was intended for a collection, it is not included in all copies. It is not uncommon to find the dedication only in the canto part of a partbook publication, as is the case with the *Canzonette spirituali*. While all copies of a single edition printed from type usually contained the same dedication, the page containing the dedication could be added to an intaglio print at the moment it was ordered, or left out, as seemed opportune. Even in the case of prints in which no surviving copies contain a dedication page, as the *Lodi della musica*, we cannot be sure that such a page never existed, as the remaining copies frequently have a blank page where one might otherwise expect the dedication to appear. Similarly, just because all the extant copies of a certain print include a dedication, we cannot assume that that all the copies ever printed contained this page.

211 After the death of Sixtus V on 27 August 1590, the popes Urban VII, Gregory XIV and Innocent IX ruled for short times until Clement VIII was elected on the 30 of January 1592.

212 Morelli (2014), pp. 230–231.

213 Schaeffer Cypess (2008), p. 21.

The known dedicatees, listed in table 5.1, were all members of the higher clergy or aristocracy, or often both combined in one person. Only Capitano Vincenzo Stella, mentioned in the *Ghirlanda musicale*, is difficult to trace.²¹⁴

COLLECTION	DEDICATEE	SIGNATURE	YEAR SIGNED
<i>Diletto spirituale</i>	Boccapadule	Verovio	10.11.1586
<i>Essempiare di XIII lingue principalissime</i>	Cardinale Di Verona	van Aelst	31.05.1587
<i>Il primo libro delli essempi</i>	Boccapadule	Verovio	30.07.1587
<i>Jubilo di San Bernardo</i>	Montfort	Peetrino	1.02.1589
<i>Ghirlanda</i>	Stella	Verovio	10.08.1589
<i>Canzonette à 4</i>	Cardinale Di Lorena	Verovio	xx.03.1591 20.03.1591
<i>Canzonette à 3</i>	Duca di Mantova	Verovio	15.09.1599 ^a
<i>Devoto pianto</i>	Maximilian of Bavaria	Verovio	xx.06.1592
Merulo, <i>Toccate ... libro I</i>	Cardinale Farnese	Verovio	20.08.1598
Anerio	Duca di Bar, Principe di Lorena	Verovio	xx.07.1600
Luzzaschi	Cardinale Aldobrandini	Luzzaschi	xx.10.1601
Merulo, <i>Toccate ... libro II</i>	Savoia-Racconigi	Verovio	30.12.1604
Durante	Cardinale Montalto	Durante	1.1.1608

Table 5.1 Dedicatees and signers of the dedications of the prints associated with Verovio.

^a Only the canto part has a dedication. The title page is also dated 1599. The title page of the basso part is dated 1591, but the alto part is not dated at all.

The *Diletto spirituale* and *Il primo libro delli essempi*, a writing manual containing sample sentences for use in letters and other written communications, are dedicated to Antonio Boccapadule (1530–1593), canon of St Peter's, theologian, philosopher, orator, lawyer, author of many publications, and the last permanent director of the pontifical choir. In 1586, Pope Gregory XIII planned that Boccapadule should resign as choir director, but Gregory died before this could happen. Upon his election, on 1 September of that year, Pope Sixtus V decreed that henceforth one of the singing chaplains should be chosen to be the director *in tempore*. The dedication of the *Diletto spirituale* is dated 10 November 1586. The dedication may have been an attempt on Verovio's part both to use Boccapadule as an intermediary to obtain the patronage of the new pope, and at

²¹⁴ He is mentioned as one of the most famous captains of the pontifical navy in 1555. See Guglielmotti (1876), vol. 2, p. 258.

the same time to commemorate the end of Boccapadule's service in the papal chapel. Verovio thanks Boccapadule profusely for all his help in the past. Even behind the florid language usual in dedications, we can discern a sincere friendship, real gratitude and respect.²¹⁵ The dedication of *Il primo libro delli esempli di Simone Verovio* is dated 30 July 1587, and written in an equally warm style. Verovio was perhaps associated with Boccapadule as a scribe or secretary, as Verovio was buried in S. Tommaso in Parione, the church of the writers and copyists of the curia (see chapter 5.2). As far as can be traced, the *Diletto spirituale* is the only musical publication dedicated to Boccapadule.²¹⁶

Equally famous as a Vatican scholar was Agostino Valier (1531–1606), Cardinal of Verona, a Venetian nobleman with connections to the Gonzaga, who also published works about ecclesiastical rhetoric. According to Pullapilly, he 'had a quiet, consistent influence on Catholic intellectual life and reforms for over half a century'.²¹⁷ He was the *camerlengo* (chamberlain) of the Sacred College of Cardinals, and was also associated intimately with Filippo Neri and the Oratorians.²¹⁸ As apostolic visitor of Istria and Dalmatia, as well as of Venice and Padua, in charge of implementing and expanding the decrees and reforms mandated by the Council of Trent, he must have travelled frequently and come across many of the fourteen languages recorded in the *Essempiare di XIII lingue principalissime*, dedicated to him by the well-known Flemish publisher and print merchant, Nicolas van Aelst.

Two collections of canzonettas without intabulations, Peetrino's *Primo libro del jubilo di S. Bernardo* (1588) and the collection *Devoto pianto* (1592), contain dedications to individuals associated with the Munich court. William V of Bavaria was an enduring supporter of the Counterreformation, and his court had strong ties to the Jesuits. Count Antonio di Montfort (c. 1560–1595), Peetrino's dedicatee, was in charge of two of William's sons who were destined to take the cloth – Philipp (bishop before the age of three) and Ferdinand – who were in Rome in 1592 and 1593.²¹⁹ Montfort probably first came to Rome in 1583, and is recorded on 15 November that year in the *Liber Confraternitatis Beatae Mariae de Anima Teutonicorum de Urbe*.²²⁰ This dedication is more formal than those to Boccapadule. It is clear that Peetrino wished to obtain a favour from Montfort; he flatters Montfort's taste in the arts and music in particular, and mentions people he knows like Jakob Fugger,²²¹ a close relative of Montfort and one of the pope's

215 All dedications are transcribed below in appendix III.

216 I am thankful to Marco Giuliani for the use of his database to search other musical publications with the same dedicatees.

217 Pullapilly (1992), p. 307.

218 Filippi (2008), p. 79.

219 Albrecht (1998), p. 146.

220 Jaenig (1875), p. 172.

221 Giacomo or Jakob Fugger II was inscribed in the *Liber Confraternitatis Beatae Mariae de Anima Teutonicorum*

secret chamberlains.²²² The dedication obviously achieved its purpose, since the dedication of the *Liber primus motectorum* (Venice 1591), addressed to the aforementioned Jakob Fugger, mentions that Peetrino spent the last years of his life under the patronage of Montfort.²²³

It may be that Verovio used these connections to attract Duke Maximilian of Bavaria (1573–1651), son and successor of William V's, as patron for a 1592 print of the *Devoto pianto*. Alternatively, Rinaldo del Mel, a native of Flanders, who was related to the Bavarian and Lorraine families, and is represented as a composer in four of the Verovio collections, could have been helpful in gaining Maximilian's patronage.²²⁴ It is also possible that Maximilian's father, Duke William V, a well-known collector of books and music, commissioned the print as a fitting gift of religious music contemplating the sorrows of the Virgin Mary, the patroness of the Jesuits, to commemorate his son's arrival in Rome. Also in 1592, Duke William acquired the library of Georg von Werdenstein, which included two prints associated with Verovio. Although the collection was not brought from Augsburg to Munich until November of that year, it is possible that William saw the collection before buying it, or was informed about its content in detail.²²⁵

This dedication, dated June 1592, directed at a young prince some ten months before he was due to come to Rome on an official visit, is also more formal.²²⁶ Here Verovio states that he wrote and engraved the collection himself. Only two other Italian publications were dedicated to Maximilian, one by Rinaldo del Mel,²²⁷ the other by Liberale Zanchi, a musician from Treviso working at the Salzburg court and later at the imperial court in Prague.²²⁸

de Urbe on 6 March 1587; see Jaenig (1875), p. 176. He was a lifelong friend of Gregor Aichinger, who knew Verovio well, and it is known that the latter was in Rome at approximately the same time. William E. Hettrick, 'Aichinger, Gregor.' In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/00345> (accessed 12.04.2017).

222 Häberlein (2012), p. 217.

223 Iain Fenlon, 'Peetrinus, Jacobus.' In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/21197> (accessed 12.04.2017).

224 Many of del Mel's prints were dedicated to members of the Bavarian/Lorraine family: Dorothea di Lorena [RISM MM 2206a] (1590) and [RISM M 2203] (1596), Duke William [RISM M 2198] (1583) and his brother Cardinal Ernest [RISM M 2206] (1588), Duke Maximilian [RISM M 2210] (1594). He knew Maximilian's mother Renata (Renée) well and claims that he was named after her. Her sister Dorothea had granted him lands. Patricia Ann Myers, 'Mel, Rinaldo del.' In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/18298> (accessed 12.04.2017).

225 Charteris (2006), p. 7.

226 Albrecht (1998), pp. 115–118.

227 *Il Terzo Libro delli Madrigaletti a Tre Voci, di Rinaldo del Mel* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1594).

228 *Di Liberale Zanchi triviggiano maestro di capella et organista del illustriss. et reverendiss. principe di Salzburg. Il Primo Libro de Madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1595).

Maximilian's mother was Renata of Lorraine; after the death of his first wife he married his cousin, Elizabeth of Lorraine (1574–1635). Another connection, through which Verovio might have secured the patronage of Maximilian, was through Maximilian's cousin, the brother of his future wife, the influential Cardinal of Lorraine, Charles of Lorraine-Vaudémont (1567–1607). He was the dedicatee of a secular collection, the *Canzonette à quattro* (1591), the dedication of which was written in a slightly less formal manner, where Verovio praises the Cardinal's delight in listening to music. The Cardinal of Lorraine was an important figure for Catholic France and responsible for carrying through the reforms of the Council of Trent in his dioceses. No other known Italian music publications are dedicated to the Cardinal of Lorraine.

Verovio dedicated Giovanni Francesco Anerio's *Dialogo pastorale* (1600) to yet another member of the Lorraine family, Henri II, Prince of Lorraine and Duke of Bar (1563–1624). Apart from being the brother of the Cardinal of Lorraine and brother-in-law to Maximilian of Bavaria, his sister Christine married Grand Duke Ferdinando de' Medici, at whose wedding the famous *intermedi* of 1589 were performed. He was also brother-in-law to the French king. After the death of his first wife, Henri married Margherita Gonzaga, daughter of Vincenzo Gonzaga. The connection between Verovio, Anerio and Henry II of Lorraine is as yet unclear.

The Duke of Mantua himself, Vincenzo Gonzaga (1562–1612) was the dedicatee of the soprano partbook of the *Canzonette spirituali*, dated 1599. He was a well-known patron of the arts, most famous as a patron of Monteverdi and Rubens and friend of Torquato Tasso. He was politically active, admitted to the Order of The Golden Fleece by the King of Spain, and participating in expeditions against the Turks in 1595, 1597 and 1601. He went on a mission to Flanders in 1599, accompanied by Monteverdi. Vincenzo was connected by blood or marriage to many of the high aristocratic or royal families of Europe. His mother was Eleanor of Austria, and his brother-in-law was Alfonso II d'Este, Luzzaschi's patron at Ferrara. His wives came from the Farnese and de' Medici families and his children married into the houses of Lorraine, Savoy and Habsburg.

Luzzasco Luzzaschi dedicated his *Madrigali* (1601) to one of the most influential men and greatest patrons of the arts in Rome around 1600: Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini (1571–1621). A nephew of Pope Clement VIII, Aldobrandini quickly climbed the hierarchy, becoming *cardinal nipote* (secretary of state) and *camerlengo* of the Holy Roman Church (*ad vitam* from 1599) as well as *camerlengo* of the Sacred College of Cardinals.²²⁹ He served as a *legato a latere* (the highest papal legate) in many diplomatic missions. In

229 <http://www2.fiu.edu/~mirandas/bios1593.htm> (accessed 12.04.2017) and Claudio Annibaldi, 'Aldobrandini, Pietro.' In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/41011> (accessed 12.04.2017).

1598 he successfully negotiated the reversion of the Duchy of Ferrara to the Papal States, after Duke Alfonso II d'Este's death in 1597 had left the duchy without an heir. In Ferrara, Aldobrandini became patron of Luzzaschi and the Piccinini brothers, celebrated lute players, who accompanied him to Rome when he returned. In Rome Aldobrandini patronised several composers, such as Felice Anerio and Ruggiero Giovanelli. Palestrina, Philippe de Monte and Frescobaldi dedicated works to him. The printed score of the first sacred stage-work by Emilio de' Cavalieri, the *Rappresentazione di Anima et di Corpo* (1600), published by Alessandro Guidotti seven months after the performances in the Oratorio of S. Maria in Vallicella and printed by Nicolò Muti, was also dedicated to Aldobrandini.²³⁰

Ottavio Durante dedicated the *Arie devote* to another powerful patron of the arts at Rome, Cardinal Alessandro Damasceni Peretti di Montalto (1571–1623). Montalto, a Venetian patrician, who was made cardinal-deacon by his great-uncle Pope Sixtus V when he was fourteen years old, became vice-chancellor two years later, choosing S. Lorenzo in Damaso as his deaconry and residing in the palace of the Cancelleria, next to the church. The family and the Peretti di Montalto family had close ties for many years. Both Montalto and the Durante family owned villas in Bagnaia near Viterbo, where they were in close contact. Ottavio Durante is not known to have been directly in the cardinal's service,²³¹ but he praises Montalto in his dedication of the *Arie devote*:

I ... come to dedicate the following arie, knowing how much you delight in various arts [*Virtù*] and particularly in expressive music, as is clearly shown by the large number of virtuosi that you keep in your service, so that it can truly be said that this art shines today in your home as much as in any other place.²³²

Simone Verovio signed the dedications of both books of *Toccate* by Claudio Merulo, but Merulo must have been personally involved in the preparation of the prints. The first collection, published during Merulo's lifetime, is dedicated to Cardinal Odoardo Farnese, younger brother of Merulo's patron, Duke Ranuccio Farnese, to whom Merulo dedicated most of the music he had published while in the service of the Duke. In the dedication Verovio states that Merulo gave him these compositions to engrave and

230 H. Wiley Hitchcock, 'Rappresentazione di Anima, et di Corpo.' In *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, edited by Stanley Sadie. *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/O008646> (accessed 12.04.2017).

231 Hill (1997), p. 140.

232 'Vengo à dedicar à V. S.ria Ill.ma le presente Arie, sapendo quanto diletto si prende di diverse Virtù, e particolarmente della Musica affettuosa, come ne fa chiaro testimonio il copioso numero de' Virtuosi; che tiene al suo servitio; che si può dir con verità che questa Virtù risplenda hoggi in Casa sua, quanto in ogn'altro luogo.' Translation in Hill (1997), p. 56.

publish. At the time Merulo had an exclusive printing contract with Angelo Gardano in Venice, but as Verovio operated outside Venice, there was no legal impediment to prevent him from printing the *Toccate*. On 12 January 1598, Ranuccio applied for a privilege in the Republic of Venice for both books of *Toccate*, to prevent them from being copied there.²³³ As can be seen in this letter, the engravings for the second publication were already being prepared when Ranuccio applied for this privilege, and it is unclear why it took another six years for the second book to appear. This second book of *Toccate* was dedicated to Bernardino di Savoia-Racconigi (†1605), a relative of the duke of Savoy Charles Emmanuel I (1562–1630) and a prominent member of this court. Like Ranuccio Farnese, he fought in Hungary against the Turks. Bernardino must have known Merulo, as he recommended Giovanni Battista Fergusio (1582–1628), who later served as a musician to the House of Savoy, to take classes with Merulo while he was studying law in Parma.²³⁴ Verovio also mentions that Merulo notified him of Bernardino's appreciation of *virtuosi* and of *musica di maniera*.

The dedicatees of the prints associated with Verovio were mainly from the higher aristocracy and were frequently descendants of royal families, many of whom were related. In this network of patronage, the extended Lorraine family played a central role. This was an unusual choice, for few members of this family apart from Vincenzo Gonzaga received dedications of Italian music prints. Apart from Vincenzo Gonzaga, only Cardinals Pietro Aldobrandini (Luzzaschi) and Montalto (Durante) had many publications dedicated to them. Nevertheless, these dedicatees were bound by a shared commitment to post-Tridentine Catholicism and to artistic patronage.

5.4 THE COMPOSERS

The composers represented in the Verovio prints can be divided into two categories: those who had him print their own collections, and those whose pieces appear in the compilations. I shall not provide detailed biographies of each individual composer; rather, I shall highlight only the common denominators. Most of these composers were active in Rome. Around 1600, this large city numbered about 100,000 citizens. The musicians, especially the well-known ones, presumably knew each other, perhaps through

233 Collarile (2008), pp. 128–129.

234 Jerome Roche, 'Fergusio, Giovanni Battista'. In Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/09482> (accessed 12.04.2017); Daniela Tortora, 'Fergusio, Giovanni Battista', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 46 (1996) [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-battista-fergusio_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-battista-fergusio_(Dizionario-Biografico)/) (accessed 12.04.2017).

the various academies and religious institutions or confraternities, foremost the *Congregazione de' musici*.

Single-composer prints

Jacobus Peetrinus, Jacobo Peetrino or Jakobus Peeters (c. 1553–c. 1591), a member of the Dutch and Flemish community in Rome like Verovio, was also involved in the early stages of music printing with intaglio techniques. In 1572, a singer named Peeters, a member of the Capella Sistina, asked for leave of absence to go to his home country.²³⁵ Later Peetrinus was engaged as *maestro di cappella* of the Collegio Romano.²³⁶ He managed to secure Montfort's patronage, and also seems to have worked in Milan.²³⁷ Apart from those of Verovio's prints dedicated to Peetrinus' music, he is present in all collections printed in the 1580s and in the 1592 version of the *Diletto spirituale*. He seems to have died around 1591. Peetrino's works were also quite popular in the North, and his canzonettas were republished in Antwerp, Dillingen and Frankfurt.

Claudio Merulo (1533–1604) and Luzzasco Luzzaschi (c. 1545–1607) never lived in Rome, but they probably sought out Verovio there because he was able to print their works in a way that would do them more justice than relief prints.

Merulo visited Rome for over three months in 1594, when he entrusted to Verovio the printing of his *Toccate*. From 1566 to 1571, Merulo had run his own printing workshop in Venice, which had produced over thirty-five editions, noted for their accuracy.²³⁸ It is not clear why he gave up his printing business. Rebecca Edwards suggests that he may simply have become too busy, or was unable to sustain the competition in the crowded market of music printing in Venice, or became tired of the Inquisition, which radically changed the printing trade to one of 'fear, distrust and tedious bureaucracy'.²³⁹ Luigi Collarile, on the other hand, links the closing of the print shop to the economic crisis and the plague epidemic in Venice after the campaigns against the Turks.²⁴⁰ Apart from those editions that appeared with his own printing firm, many other editions of Merulo's music (secular, sacred and instrumental) appeared in Venice by the end of the century, and continued to appear after his death.

235 Van Doorslaer (1922), p. 28. See also Iain Fenlon, 'Peetrinus, Jacobus.' *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/21197> (accessed 10.05.2017).

236 Powers (1997), p. 105, fn. 170.

237 Van Doorslaer (1922), p. 7.

238 Krummel (1990), p. 83.

239 Edwards (1990), p. 208.

240 Collarile (2008), p. 126.

These prints were mostly published by Angelo Gardano, with whom Merulo had an exclusive contract.²⁴¹

Merulo's collaboration in the production of the collections of keyboard music in the 1590s (first with Vincenti and later Gardano) surely made him aware of the limitations of printing this kind of music with moveable type. With intaglio printing techniques, he could realise the notation of the *Toccate* more completely, as in a manuscript, rendering all the *tremoletti* and other passages using the smallest note values without complication, and beaming notes with ease. He handed over the pieces to Verovio, who signed the dedication with his own name as *editore*.

Luzzaschi probably visited Rome in Cardinal Aldobrandini's retinue; here he could have discussed the editing of his *Madrigali* with Verovio. Unlike Merulo, he signed the dedication himself, and thus was probably more involved in the publication process. The possibilities of engraving must have appealed to him as much as they did to Merulo.

Of the single-print composers, only Giovanni Francesco Anerio (c. 1567–1630), Felice Anerio's younger brother, was a native Roman. Giovanni Francesco was associated with the Oratorians, having been miraculously healed by Filippo Neri in 1585, and worked as a priest in various Roman churches as well as in the Collegio Romano.²⁴² He also enjoyed the patronage of Cardinal Antonio Maria Gallo, private secretary to Pope Sixtus V, and the diplomat Duke Massimiliano Caffarelli. Later Giovanni Francesco Anerio went to Verona, and was subsequently sent to Poland by the pope to serve Sigismund III.

Ottavio Durante (†1620) came from a family of notaries and lawyers in Gualdo Tadino, near Perugia. He belonged to the fourth generation of a family whose members had published books on law, medicine and botany as well as poetry, published in Rome, Bologna and Venice, and reprinted as far as Frankfurt, Cologne and Paris. As Ottavio recalled in the dedication of the *Arie devote*, his father Castore was the most famous member of the family. A doctor associated with the *Collegio Romano*, he became the personal physician of Sixtus V (Felice Peretti di Montalto). His medical publications were used well into the nineteenth century. After the death of his first wife in 1574, Castore married into the Roman nobility. Ottavio (c. 1550–1620) may have been born in Rome; in any case he had Roman citizenship, and calls himself 'Romano' on his title pages. He also published various treatises on medicine, philosophy, theology and musical poetry, and may have worked as *maestro di capella* in Viterbo.²⁴³

241 Collarile (2008), p. 131.

242 Filippi (2008), p. 86.

243 Guerrieri (1933), pp. 698–716; Matejka (1978), p. 443. Durante's life requires further research.

Compiled anthologies

Like Giovanni Francesco Anerio, many of the composers represented in the collections of canzonettas worked in the principal churches of Rome, such as S. Pietro, S. Giovanni in Laterano, S. Maria Maggiore, S. Luigi dei Francesi and SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini, where music was cultivated strongly. Several were also active in religious institutions like the Jesuit Colleges, and most were connected to the *Congregazione de' musici* and probably the *Congregazione dell'Oratorio*.

Notably absent are Spanish composers even though some, in particular Francisco Soto de Langa and Tomás Luis de Victoria, were associated with the Oratorians.²⁴⁴ Perhaps Verovio had an aversion to Spanish culture after the political and military chaos in the 1570s which so ravaged the countryside in his homeland Brabant.

As far as we know, four composers published by Verovio, all represented with only one canzonetta, were never active in Rome. Rhodiano Barera (†1623) was active in Cremona, Gasparo Costa (fl.1580–90) in Bologna and Milan, Pompeo Stabile in Naples, and Marc'Antonio Ingegneri (1535/6–1592), in Cremona. In the case of Ingegneri there is a known link to Rome: the composer's acquaintance with Pope Gregory XIV, an intimate friend of Filippo Neri.²⁴⁵ Gregory XIV was pope for just under a year (1590–1591); and the earliest dated partbook of the *Canzonette spirituali*, which contains Ingegneri's 'L'alma più che ti gusta più ti brama', is dated 1591.²⁴⁶ It was not possible to trace Antonio Orlandino and Giacomo Ricordi, both represented with one work in the *Ghirlanda*. The Fleming Giovanni de Macque (1548/50–1614) was no longer living in Rome when Verovio published his collections, but had moved to Naples to work for the Gesualdo family in 1585.²⁴⁷ Nevertheless, he probably maintained contact with his compatriot Verovio, as his works are present in all collections published in the 1590s. Paolo Bellasio (1554–1594) moved from his native Verona to Rome for a few years, then moved to Orvieto, Verona and Rome again between 1592 and 1594.²⁴⁸

244 Smithers (1977), p. 39. Robert Stevenson, 'Victoria, Tomás Luis de.' *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/29298> (accessed 12.04.2017). Robert Stevenson and Laura Macy, 'Soto de Langa, Francisco.' *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/26278> (accessed 12.04.2017).

245 Niccolò Sfondrati was bishop of Cremona from 1560 until he became cardinal-priest of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere in 1583 and Pope Gregory XIV in 1590.

246 In the basso part, this piece is anonymous. Both the alto (1591) and canto (1599) parts identify Ingegneri as composer.

247 W. Richard Shindle, 'Macque, Giovanni de.' *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/17378>, (accessed 12.04.2017).

248 Patricia Ann Myers, 'Bellasio, Paolo.' *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusi->

All the other composers published by Verovio were active in Rome during the time Verovio was engaged in printing their work. Some, like the Fleming del Mel (c. 1554–c. 1598), lived in Rome intermittently.²⁴⁹ All were affiliated with various churches and religious institutions.

Table 5.2 shows the principal churches or chapels where these composers were active (usually not simultaneously) in the period from c. 1575–c. 1615. They were active as singers, organists, *maestro di cappella* and official or occasional composers.

CHURCH	COMPOSERS
S. Pietro	A. Crivelli, R. Giovanelli, G. B. Lucatelli, A. Pacelli, G. B. Zuchelli
Cappella Sistina	F. Anerio, G. F. Anerio, A. Crivelli, R. Giovanelli, O. Griffi, G. M. Nanino, (G. P. Palestrina)
Cappella Giulia	R. Giovanelli, A. Pacelli, G. P. Palestrina
S. Giovanni in Laterano	G. F. Anerio, G. A. Dragoni, G. P. Palestrina, P. Quagliati, F. Soriano, A. Stabile
S. Maria Maggiore	G. M. Nanino, G. P. Palestrina, P. Quagliati, F. Soriano, A. Stabile
SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini	G. de Macque (?), R. Giovanelli, Marenzio, G. B. Nanino, G. M. Nanino, A. Pacelli, G. P. Palestrina, J. Ricordi
S. Luigi dei Francesi	F. Anerio, R. Giovanelli, G. de Macque, G. B. Nanino, G. M. Nanino, F. Soriano
SS. Crocifisso	F. Anerio, G. F. Anerio, A. Crivelli, R. Giovanelli, O. Griffi, G. M. Nanino, G. P. Palestrina, P. Quagliati ^a

Table 5.2 Composers represented in the Verovio prints, and the Roman churches in which they were active.

^a Riepe (2011), p. 165.

In table 5.3 we find the religious institutions and other confraternities with which some of these composers were affiliated. Unfortunately, there were no membership lists for the *Vertuosa Congregazione de' musici di Roma* in its earlier stages, so only the composers acknowledged as members in the madrigal publication *Le Gioie*, printed by Amadino in 1589, can be corroborated as members. Felice Anerio (c. 1560–1614), mentioned in the dedication as *maestro* of the *Congregazione*, compiled this collection. He was one of the most established composers in Rome at the time. He and Soriano were commissioned by Cardinal del Monte to revise the Roman Gradual in 1611. He was Palestrina's successor as composer of the papal choir, and served both Cardinal Aldobrandini and Duke Altemps.

online.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/02582 (accessed 12.04.2017).

249 Patricia Ann Myers, 'Mel, Rinaldo del.' *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/18298> (accessed 12.04.2017).

There is little secure evidence to identify musicians close to the Oratorians. Many seem to have had very close ties to this *Congregazione*, but little is known about their everyday musical activities during Verovio's lifetime.

Congregazione de' musici	F. Anerio, G. B. Nanino, G. M. Nanino, R. Giovanelli, G. de Macque, G. P. Palestrina, L. Marenzio, F. Soriano, A. Stabile, P. Bellasio, P. Quagliati, O. Griffi, A. Crivelli, G. A. Dragoni, G. B. Lucatelli
Congregazione dell' oratorio	F. Anerio, G. F. Anerio, R. Giovanelli, O. Griffi, G. M. Nanino, P. Santini
Collegio Inglese	F. Anerio, R. Giovanelli, C. Zoilo
Collegio Germanico	A. Pacelli, A. Stabile, R. Giovanelli, P. Quagliati
Collegio Romano	J. Peetrino, F. Anerio. G. F. Anerio

Table 5.3 Composers represented in the Verovio prints, and the Roman religious institutions with which they were associated. This information and the information in table 5.2 have been collated from various entries in the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (<http://www.treccani.it/biografico/index.html>) and *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press.

Only Marenzio and del Mel were not officially affiliated with a church or a religious institution in Rome for any longer period, although it has been speculated that Marenzio might have been active in the Sistine Chapel.²⁵⁰ During his time in the service of *Cardinale nipote* Cinzio Aldobrandini, he lived in the Vatican.²⁵¹

At the request of Sigismund III (1566–1632), Pope Clement VIII, who had been cardinal legate in Poland, sent musicians to the Polish court. Clement relied on Sigismund's support to keep the Turks from taking territory in Eastern Europe. Four composers represented in the Verovio prints served as *maestro di cappella* at the court in Kraków: Annibale Stabile (probably 1590–91?),²⁵² Luca Marenzio (1595–1598), Asprilio Pacelli (1603–1623) and Giovanni Francesco Anerio (1624–1628).

Some of the composers represented, such as Paolo Quagliati (c. 1555–1628), Durante and del Mel, were aristocrats. Music played an important part in the social life and education of aristocrats and patricians. Being a musician however was defined not only by skill, but also by complex issues of class and social standing. A 'mere' court musician, a *musicò*, was treated at the same level as cup-bearers and cooks in many courts.²⁵³ Although some aristocrats could play, sing and compose at a very high level, it would not

250 Bizzarini (2003), pp. 243–245.

251 Bizzarini (2003), p. 211.

252 Lightbourne (1994), p. 43; Stabile's period of service in Kraków did not start in 1595, as stated elsewhere, for example Ruth I. DeFord, 'Stabile, Annibale.' *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/26492> (accessed 23.09.2017). These dates are problematic, as Clement VIII did not become pope until 30 January 1592.

253 Bianconi (1987), p. 88; Wistreich (2007), p. 129.

have been possible to treat a gentleman musician, singer and/or composer in a similar manner as a 'mere' court musician. For a noble musician, being called a *musico*,²⁵⁴ a mere musician, a practitioner of a mechanical trade, would have been considered an insult. Their honour and identity, their *virtuosità*, depended on other factors.

The social standing of Cavalieri and Kapsperger was far superior to that of artisan musicians whose identity was based on the practice of music, and who usually came from humbler backgrounds. These noble composers belonged to what Dell'Antonio calls the leisure-class, frequently from the (lower) nobility. They were detached from daily labour, though not necessarily financially independent.²⁵⁵ They would not have considered themselves what we now consider 'professional' musicians, nor would they be seen by others as such, even though they were often paid for their musical services, and were among the top musicians and composers of their time. Crist calls this category of musicians 'professional amateurs'.²⁵⁶ Scipione Cerreto in his *Della prattica musica* (1601), and Giulio Cesare Monteverdi, in the famous *Dichiarazione* to his brother Claudio's fifth book of madrigals (1607), grouped composers from a noble background as a special category.²⁵⁷

To disguise the fact that these people were being paid as musicians, special positions suitable to the rank of the nobleman, sometimes administrative, were created at courts. It is not always clear whether these 'musicians' only hid behind sinecure positions (as implied by Crist) or actually fulfilled their roles as secretaries or administrators. Paolo Quagliati (c. 1555-1628), a priest, was named private chamberlain and apostolic protonotary (principal clerk) by Pope Gregory XV, which shows his high standing. He was, however, also paid as *maestro di capella* and organist at S. Maria Maggiore, as well as for occasional performances in the Oratorio del SS. Crocifisso, S. Apollinare and elsewhere.²⁵⁸ Della Valle mentions that Quagliati taught him harpsichord.²⁵⁹ Cavalieri, not represented in the prints associated with Verovio, served as a diplomat, securing and buying votes for papal elections, and as artistic director for the Medici family. He is also

254 Calella (2004), p. 121, shows that there is yet another class of musicians: instrumentalists were called *pulsatores* in the first half of the sixteenth century, whereas *musicisti* enjoyed a higher status and were also trained in theory.

255 Dell'Antonio (2011), p. 39. See also Wistreich (2003) p. 72, and Wistreich (2007), pp. 259, 264 on the concept of *ozio* or *otium*.

256 Crist (2004).

257 Crist (2004), pp. 8–10. Monteverdi names the following musical noblemen: de Rore, Gesualdo, Cavalieri, Fontanelli, de' Bardi, del Turco and Pecci.

258 Brian Mann, 'Quagliati, Paolo.' *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/22630> (accessed 23.09.2017). Luca Della Libera, 'Quagliati, Paolo.' In *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (2016), http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/paolo-quagliati_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/ (accessed 12.04.2017).

259 See Solerti (1903), p. 154.

recorded in the pay rolls of the Oratorio del SS. Crocifisso and S. Marcello in Rome as an organist and coordinator of music.²⁶⁰

Many non-aristocratic musicians, although being paid for jobs as such, likewise had additional professions. Felice Anerio, Orazio Griffi (c. 1566–1624), and Ruggiero Giovanelli (c. 1560–1625), for example, were priests and had pastoral duties as well as receiving payment as musicians.²⁶¹ Giovanni Francesco Anerio, Annibale Stabile (c. 1540/45–1595), F. Soriano (1548/9–1621) and Giovanni Maria Nanino (1543/4–1607) were tonsured clerics; Stabile²⁶² and Giovanni Francesco Anerio later became priests, and Anerio had studied music, theology, philosophy and other sciences.²⁶³ According to Wistreich, the skill of priest-musicians was generally not very high, at least in northern Italy. Since Zarlino and others hint that the bass line should be easier than the other parts, Wistreich assumes that ‘professional’ priests, who were not up to the level of ability of the other singers, probably usually sang this part.²⁶⁴ In Rome the situation was different: this cannot have been true for such famous composers and musicians as the Roman priest-musicians mentioned earlier.

Other musicians doubled as instrument maintainers or builders. Some, like F. Anerio and Quagliati, were also involved in the printing business, compiling music publications. Like the Oratorian composer Giovenale Ancina (1545–1604), later a priest and bishop, Ottavio Durante had studied medicine and worked as a physician and he also published books on various other subjects. As we have seen (see chapter 2.4), around 1615 Nicolò Borboni, a composer, obtained an income from engraving the plates for the *Toccate* books by Frescobaldi. At the same time, he taught pupils Frescobaldi sent to him, played as an organist, as well as repairing and tuning organs.²⁶⁵

Even the members of one of the most ‘professional’ and highly regarded groups in the sixteenth century, the papal singers of the Cappella Sistina, were not entirely dependent financially on their income paid by the Camera Apostolica, the Apostolic See. Four times a year they received an extra remuneration from the pope himself.²⁶⁶ Pope Sixtus V endowed the papal choir with three abbeys including the corresponding lands, which provided a regular and secure income for the singers from the last decade of

260 Claude V. Palisca, ‘Cavalieri, Emilio de.’ *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/05202> (accessed 23.09.2017).

261 Lightbourne (2004), p. 280. Hiring chaplains who could double as singers was common. See also O’Reagan (1995a), p. 28. Possibly singers also took orders so that they would be eligible for benefices.

262 Lightbourne (1994), p. 42.

263 Filippi (2006), p. x.

264 Wistreich (2007), p. 163.

265 See Morelli (1988), p. 257.

266 Annibaldi (2011), p. 20.

the sixteenth century onward.²⁶⁷ The transition from regarding the ‘membership of the chapel as a position half-way between priesthood and musicianship’ to that of a ‘professional’ choir where ‘the majority considered it a job that was exchangeable at any given time for a more prestigious position in a secular court or a more lucrative career on the opera circuit’²⁶⁸ had yet to occur.²⁶⁹

Agazzari and Peri, who both declared themselves to be from noble background, both lived a very comfortable life, even if Agazzari, like d’India and Caccini, acquired this status during his lifetime. This was not so much because of their successful musical careers, but due to lands they acquired and other financial dealings. Commerce and real estate were alternative sources of income for musicians.²⁷⁰ Other composers, like Stabile and Felice Anerio, received additional income from benefices from churches outside Rome.²⁷¹

It is not known how much time was involved in working as a permanent choir member. The papal chapel singers were not all on duty at the same time, and even for those that were on duty, it is not clear how much time this required. The papal chapel performed around 250 services a year.²⁷² According to Giovanni Maria Nanino’s *Diario* of 1596, written whilst he served as *puntatore* (secretary) of the papal choir, on ferial days only Vespers and mass were sung; the other offices were said. After 1599, the length of the services was reduced from late spring until mid-September.²⁷³ The singers were, however, sometimes expected to sing for the pope at dinners or after a mass. Nevertheless, Nanino had plenty of time to fulfil his duties as a priest, to compose and to make a name for himself as a teacher.²⁷⁴ Singers in other choirs had fewer duties and more free time, but a correspondingly lower income from music. The position of *maestro di cappella*, mainly an administrative appointment, was not necessarily a full-time position. Stabile’s duties in the *Collegio Germanico*, documented in the *Regola per il Mastro di Cappella*, written between 1585 and 1590, would have taken up a greater proportion of his time.²⁷⁵ In a church like the SS. Trinità or the SS. Crocifisso, several different people are registered as *maestro* within one year.²⁷⁶ Musicians were hired expressly for the few occasions every year that music other than plainchant was required.²⁷⁷

267 Schuler (1963), p. 52.

268 Annibaldi (2011), p. 17.

269 The singer Martino Lamotta worked as chaplain, singer, copyist and *maestro di cappella* in Palazzo Altompe; simultaneously he became a member of the pontifical chapel in 1610, see Riepe (2010), p. 166.

270 Koldau (2001), p. 34, Reardon (1993), pp. 23–25, and Carter, private conversation, 25 May 2012.

271 Lightbourne (1994), p. 20.

272 Annibaldi (2011), p. 18.

273 Annibaldi (2011), p. 19.

274 Schuler (1963), pp. 55–57.

275 See Lightbourne (1994), p. 53, citing Culley (1970), pp. 34–36.

276 O’Regan (1995a), p. 79.

277 Riepe (2011), p. 164.

On special festive occasions, like Holy Week and Advent, when great importance was given to music in the practical devotions, every church in Rome needed instrumentalists and extra singers called *cantori forestieri*.²⁷⁸ Men were hired expressly for these occasions and it is impossible to imagine that there was enough work all year round for all of these extra singers and musicians to be able to depend on such paid engagements, even though service-times would be staggered so that such musicians could perform in more than one church.

Making a living as a composer-musician in Rome cannot have been simple for many musicians, and most held multiple positions. As Morelli has shown, having a single patron in the city of Rome was not sufficient to become successful within the Roman court.²⁷⁹ Marenzio could live comfortably as a freelance musician after his patron Cardinal Luigi d'Este died in 1586, only because d'Este had earlier given him the freedom to expand his network by moving in different circles.²⁸⁰

As is to be expected, the most famous composers in Rome at the time are best represented in Verovio's collections. Twenty-seven composers are represented, of whom fourteen are known to have been members of the *Congregazione de' musici* (table 5.4).²⁸¹

COMPOSER	TOTAL	SACRED	SECULAR
ANERIO, FELICE	15	7	8
NANINO, GIOVANNI MARIA	13	8	5
GIOVANELLI	12	6	6
Macque	9	5	4
PALESTRINA	7	3	4
Del Mel	6	4	2
MARENZIO	5	3	2
SORIANO	5	2	3
NANINO, GIOVANNI BATTISTA	4	1	3
Pacelli	4	4	
STABILE, ANNIBALE	4		4
BELLASIO	3		3
Peetrino	3	1	2
QUAGLIATI	3		3

278 See Lightbourne (1994), pp. 85–90, for lists of extra singers and musicians hired at S. Maria Maggiore during the time Stabile was working there. See also Lightbourne (2004) pp. 279–282.

279 Morelli (2014), p. 230.

280 Bizzarini (2003), p. 119.

281 A list of all the composers and the canzonettas attributed to them can be found in appendix IV.

COMPOSER	TOTAL	SACRED	SECULAR
SANTINI	3	3	
Griffi	2	1	1
Zucchelli	2		2
Barera	1		1
Costa	1		1
CRIVELLI	1		1
DRAGONI	1		1
Ingegneri	1	1	
LUCATELLI	1		1
Orlandino	1		1
Ricordi	1		1
Stabile, Pompeo	1		1
Verovio	1	1	
Total	110	50	60

Table 5.4 The number of pieces by individual composers, divided into sacred and secular. The members of the *Congregazione de' musici* are indicated in small capitals.

The first, second, penultimate and ultimate places in a collection were considered places of honour. In six compiled prints of canzonettas, such an honourable position was bestowed upon specific composers. Felice Anerio is in foremost standing in the four collections up to 1591. The *Canzonette spirituali* also feature the Flemish composers de Macque and del Mel. In the other two the Nanino brothers, especially Giovanni Maria, take up the positions of honour. The other composers complimented in this way are the famous Palestrina and Marenzio, and the less well-known Bellasio, who was working in Verona in 1591 but returned to Rome shortly afterwards.²⁸²

As we have already argued, intaglio techniques permitted changes in the number and order of the pieces. Beside deliberate changes of order, two cases are due to binding errors and are thus ignored here.²⁸³ For the *Diletto spirituale* three different orders exist, the last two carried out after 1592.²⁸⁴ Such changes might have been made for a specific occasion, perhaps Marenzio's departure for Poland in 1595.

282 Patricia Ann Myers, 'Bellasio, Paolo.' In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/02582> (accessed 23.09.2017).

283 The alto part of the *Canzonette spirituali* (1591) and the copy of *Canzonette à quattro* (1591) in Padua contain mistakes in the order of the gatherings. The Wolfenbüttel copy of the *Jubilo* (1588) also contains a binding error.

284 See chapter 4.2.

Table 5.5 shows the assignation of ‘places of honour’ in these six collections to various composers, and the different orders within one collection. Three of the collections exist in different versions, containing either a changed order or fewer pieces.²⁸⁵

NAME	FIRST	SECOND	PENULTIMATE	LAST	COPIES	YEAR
<i>Diletto spirituale 1</i>	Anerio	Marenzio	Anerio	G. M. Nanino	1	1586
<i>Diletto spirituale 2</i>	Anerio	Marenzio	Anerio	G. M. Nanino	1	1586/92
<i>Diletto spirituale 3</i>	Anerio	Anerio	Marenzio	G. M. Nanino	4	after 1592
<i>Diletto spirituale 4</i>	Anerio	Anerio	Marenzio	Marenzio	3	after 1592
<i>Ghirlanda 1</i>	Palestrina	Palestrina	Marenzio	Anerio	5	1589
<i>Ghirlanda 2</i>	Palestrina	Palestrina	Anerio	Anerio	3	1589
<i>Canzonette spirituali</i>	Macque	Anerio		del Mel	3	1591/9
<i>Canzonette à 4 1</i>	Anerio	Anerio	Bellasio	anon	2	1591
<i>Canzonette à 4 2</i>	Anerio	Anerio	Bellasio	Bellasio	3	1591
<i>Devoto pianto</i>	G. M. Nanino	G. B. Nanino	G. M. Nanino	G. M. Nanino	1	1592
<i>Lodi della musica</i>	G. M. Nanino	G. M. Nanino	G. B. Nanino	G. B. Nanino	4	1595

Table 5.5 Position of the composers in the different collections and versions.

Felice Anerio and Giovanni Maria Nanino (whose name Verovio usually spelled ‘Nanini’) are found most frequently in prominent positions, and by total numbers of compositions. This suggests that they had a special relationship with Verovio.

5.5 THE COMPILERS, ENGRAVERS, PRINTERS, AND WRITERS

It is often difficult, if not impossible, to determine who collected, engraved, printed or wrote the material for the prints associated with Verovio. As mentioned before, information recorded in different states of the plates of the title page of a given collection is not always identical. In the only copy of the *Diletto spirituale* without intabulations,

²⁸⁵ In this table I consider only the different contents of the collections; different dates or states of the title pages are not relevant to this argument.

the words *raccolte et scritte* (compiled and written) *da Simone Verovio* appear alongside with *Martin van Buyten incidit*. Martin van Buyten (or van Buijten) (fl. 1588–1623) was a well-known engraver who specialized in engraving calligraphy, title pages and book illustrations. Many writing masters sought him out to engrave their writing-books and broadsides. Apart from *Il primo libro delli esempi* (1587) and the *Essempiare di XIII lingue principalissimi* written by Verovio (see figure 4.3), van Buyten was involved in engraving various writing-books by another famous writing master, Ludovico Curione (fl. 1582–1617).²⁸⁶ In two later copies of the *Diletto spirituale* only *Martin van Buyten incidit* is found. In the other seven copies, Martin van Buyten is no longer mentioned, and we encounter the description *raccolte da Simone Verovio. Intagliate et stampate dal medesimo* (collected by Simone Verovio, engraved and printed by the same). It seems likely that Simone Verovio compiled this collection and was responsible for writing the title page, dedication and the pages with the voice parts. It is plausible that Martin van Buyten engraved these and perhaps even designed the decorations of the frontispiece. Why then do most of the later copies state that Verovio engraved and printed them? And why is the name Martin van Buyten removed from the title plate? Van Buyten left Rome for Naples sometime in 1593, which could have given Verovio the opportunity to remove van Buyten's name from the newer states of the title page of the later copies.

Several possible scenarios could explain these discrepancies. Perhaps Verovio engraved the added plates with the intabulations, whereas van Buyten was responsible for the original plates, containing the voice parts, title page and dedication. Verovio's activity as an engraver is attested by the dedication of the *Devoto pianto*, which states that this collection was written and engraved by Verovio's own hand (*di mia mano scritte et intagliate*). The hypothesis that van Buyten exclusively engraved the frontispiece of the *Diletto spirituale* is rendered less likely by the fact that his name appears as the engraver, and Verovio solely as writer, just as on the title page of the *Melodie spirituali* by Peetrino (1586). This shows that van Buyten was probably responsible for engraving the music too. Fiore also proposes that Verovio fell out with van Buyten and virtually eliminated his name, taking the credit for the engraving himself.²⁸⁷ However, this suggestion seems improbable.

Just as in the *Diletto spirituale*, Simone Verovio claims to have compiled (*raccolte*) all the anthologies apart from the *Devoto pianto*. He is not indicated as compiler in all states of the title pages of the other collections. It is possible that other copies of the *Devoto pianto*, now lost, included Verovio's name as compiler, just like the one extant alto partbook.

Another engraver is named in Verovio's publications: Christophorus Blancus. Born at Nancy in Lorraine, probably in 1567, Blancus was active in Rome from 1591–1620.²⁸⁸

286 Witcombe (2004), p. 289.

287 Fiore (2009), p. 249.

288 Franchi (2006), p. 53.

His name is found on the title page of Ottavio Durante's *Arie devote*. Blancus was a successful engraver, specialized 'in printing and selling single-sheet prints.'²⁸⁹ He was active in figurative printing, map and writing-book chalcography as well as in music engraving. As mentioned already, he married into the Scultori-Mantovana clan, all famous engravers and artists, and presumably enjoyed an eminent position in the trade. He was buried in S. Maria in Vallicella, thus probably close to the Oratorians, where he is recorded as a 'scribe and excellent engraver of letters'.²⁹⁰ His name is also found in connection with the enlarged version of the *Toccate e partite d'intavolatura di cimbalo Libro primo* (1615) by Girolamo Frescobaldi (see chapter 3.4).

It is not always clear who published the collections associated with the name Verovio, and who owned the plates. It is likely that the person who signed the dedication owned the plates. In this case, Verovio probably owned the plates of the *Diletto spirituale*, while Peetrino probably owned and thus controlled the plates of his own music. Nicolas van Aelst, another Roman resident of Flemish origin, published the *Essempolare di XIII lingue principalissime*, with Verovio as writer and van Buyten as engraver. Van Aelst (fl. 1587–1613) was also an engraver and artist, but in Rome he worked mainly as a publisher and print-dealer. The collaboration with Verovio and van Buyten was his first attempt to enter the Roman market, laying the foundations of what would become a commercially fruitful career. He successfully applied for a papal privilege for his prints. His shop was situated next to Santa Maria della Pace, across the road from the *Confraternitas B. Mariae de Anima Teutonicorum de Urbe*, where Verovio stayed when he first arrived in Rome, and very near Verovio's workshop in the *Collegio Nardini*.²⁹¹

The writing-book *Essempolare di lettere cancellaresche corsive* was printed, published and probably sold by the stationery-shop (*cartoleria*)²⁹² 'All'insegna del Martello', an enterprise known into the second quarter of the seventeenth century for its music publications. The *Devoto pianto* (1592) was published 'In Parione nel Collegio Nardino', the address of Verovio's workshop. Apart from the *Lodi della musica*, all the later publications were published, printed and perhaps sold *appresso Simone Verovio*. This is also the case for the Luzzaschi and Durante prints, but since both men signed the respective dedications of their books, they could have made a financial contribution to the production, besides owning the plates.

Similarly, at least one extant copy of all the other music collections – except the Peetrino prints – state that Verovio was responsible for their printing. It is unclear whether Verovio just did the calligraphy for the Peetrino books, or whether we simply

289 Lincoln (2014), p. 137.

290 Cited by Morelli (1988), p. 263: 'miniator et literarum in aere formator excellens.'

291 Sevenstern (2012).

292 Franchi (2002), p. 21.

lack an extant state in which he is named as printer. It is likewise unclear whether he carried out the printing personally or employed journeymen and apprentices to do this. Verovio could have been involved physically in the printing, since these businesses were frequently run ‘in the family’, as has been described for the Scultori-Mantovana firm.²⁹³

Table 5.6 summarises the descriptions of the roles or names mentioned in the various states of the title pages of the Verovio music prints:

NAME	RACCOLTE	SCRITTE	INTAGLIATE	INCIDIT	STAMPATE	COPIES	YEAR
<i>Diletto spirituale</i> I no intabulations	raccolte	scritte	Martin van Buyten	incidit		1	1586
<i>Diletto spirituale</i> ii			Martin van Buyten	incidit		2	1586/92
<i>Diletto spirituale</i> iii	raccolte		intagliate		stampate	7	after 1592
<i>Melodie spirituali</i>		scritte	Martinus van Buijten	incidit		1	1586
<i>Jubilo di S. Bernardo</i>						4	1588
<i>Ghirlanda</i> i						6	1589
<i>Ghirlanda</i> ii	raccolte				stampate	2	1589
<i>Canzonette spirituali</i> i						2	1591/9
<i>Canzonette spirituali</i> ii	raccolte				stampate	1	
<i>Canzonette à 4</i> i						1	1591
<i>Canzonette à 4</i> ii	raccolte				stampate	4	1591
<i>Devoto pianto</i>	In Parione nel Collegio Nardini	scritte*	intagliate*			1	1592
<i>Lodi della Musica</i>	raccolto		intagliato		stampato	4	1595
Merulo Book I	appresso						1598
<i>Dialogo pastorale</i>	appresso						1600
<i>Madrigali</i>	appresso				stampati		1601
Merulo Book II	appresso						1604
<i>Arie devote</i>	appresso		Christophorus Blancus	fecit			1608

Table 5.6 Verovio’s roles in the prints as mentioned on the different states (indicated by the lower-case roman numbers) of the title page.

* mentioned only in the dedication.

²⁹³ Lincoln (2000), pp. 111–145.

It can be assumed that Verovio personally wrote both the text and the music of many of the prints associated with his name, especially when he was acknowledged as the writer. Yet in some collections this is not clear. The Luzzaschi and Merulo prints are written in one uniform hand. Verovio presumably undertook these prestigious assignments from famous composers personally. However, in other collections different writing styles can be discerned. In the British Library Catalogue, the *Canzonette à quattro voci* are described as being ‘engraved by various hands (at least 4)’, the *Diletto spirituale* as being in ‘more than one hand’, and the *Lodi della Musica* as being ‘engraved in a number of different hands’.²⁹⁴ Different people may have been involved for different tasks: text, voice parts, harpsichord intabulations and lute intabulations.

It is dangerous for a non-specialist to try to determine whether handwriting by professional scribes is the work of one person or of several. In some writing-books, it is nearly impossible to distinguish between the *cancellaresca corsiva* of Simone Verovio, Jacomo Romano²⁹⁵ or Ludovico Curione.²⁹⁶ Slight differences in script in the music books associated with Verovio could be due to later additions to the plate, as seen in the different states of the plates of the *Ghirlanda*.²⁹⁷

Scribal uniformity within each collection is not always discernable. Not all the texts in the prints are written in the same script. While most are notated using the *cancellaresca corsiva*, some use *cancellaresca sottile e piena*, or *piena e veloce*, or Latin script. Names are sometimes spelled differently, even within one print.²⁹⁸ In all the prints until about 1595, each composition is distributed over one bifolium, or, less frequently, a single page. In the shorter pieces, the scribe balances the spacing on the page by using larger letters and musical notes than in the longer pieces. Such differences would be more comprehensible if the canzonettas were engraved to be sold individually as broadsides.

On the basis of the following differences, I suggest that the intabulations and the voice parts were written by different people:

294 [http://explore.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/search.do?dscnt=0&vl\(174399379U10\)=any&frbg=&scp.scps=scope%3A%28BLCNTENT%29&tab=local_tab&dscnt=1374769472625&srt=rank&ct=search&mode=Basic&dum=true&tb=t&indx=1&vl\(freeText0\)=Verovio&vid=BLVU1&fn=search](http://explore.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/search.do?dscnt=0&vl(174399379U10)=any&frbg=&scp.scps=scope%3A%28BLCNTENT%29&tab=local_tab&dscnt=1374769472625&srt=rank&ct=search&mode=Basic&dum=true&tb=t&indx=1&vl(freeText0)=Verovio&vid=BLVU1&fn=search) (accessed 23.09.2017).

295 I-R ING Fe 33134.

296 GB-B1 1322 m 47 (1).

297 The Bologna copy lacks the names of the composers of three of the pieces. These had been added in the subsequent states found in the other seven copies.

298 F. Anerio's name is written as 'Felice Anerio' and 'Felix Anerius' in the *Diletto Spirituale*, regardless of whether the compositions are in Latin or Italian. Attributions of pieces by Palestrina are written as 'Ioan Petri Aloysij Praenestini' and 'Ioannis Petri Aloysij Praenestini' in the *Diletto Spirituale*, 'Gio. da Palestrina' in the *Canzonette à quattro voci* and 'Gio. Palestina' (sic) in the *Ghirlanda*. Peetrino's first name is given either as 'Iacomo' (*Diletto Spirituale* and *Ghirlanda*) or 'Iacobo' (*Melodie* and *Jubilo di S. Bernardo*). Marenzio's name is consistently spelled 'Marentio'.

- in the keyboard intabulations, the clefs and key signatures have been placed and formed with much less care than in the voice parts;
- The form of the *custos* signs is different;
- The stems of the notes seem to be thinner;
- The beams are different;
- The shape of the *longa* at the end of each piece is divergent;
- The lute intabulations seem to have been done by a scribe with a thinner ductus of the pen or burin, though it is difficult to compare the writing because these are different systems of notation;
- The repeat signs are done in different ways, especially if the sign used is a single line.²⁹⁹ Whereas the voice parts all employ the single barline, the keyboard intabulations always employ a double bar repeat sign. In the lute intabulations, this sign is sometimes ignored and sometimes indicated by a single barline. Sometimes the repeat sign at the end is also different.

Figures 5.4 to 5.7 show some differences in clefs, key signature, *custodes*, beams, longae and repeat signs.

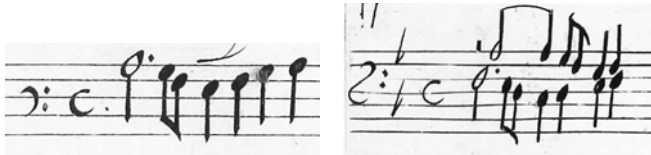


Figure 5.4 *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1592), L. Marenzio, 'Spiega mondo maligno' (I-Bc R255). Differences in bass clefs, signs for time signature and beaming. Left: lowest voice part, right: left hand of the harpsichord part.



Figure 5.5 *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1592), L. Marenzio, 'Spiega mondo maligno' (I-Bc R255). Differences in *custos* signs. Left: first two signs in the canto part; right: first signs in the harpsichord part.

²⁹⁹ Five compositions have an AABCC structure. This is indicated by a single bar in the voice parts.

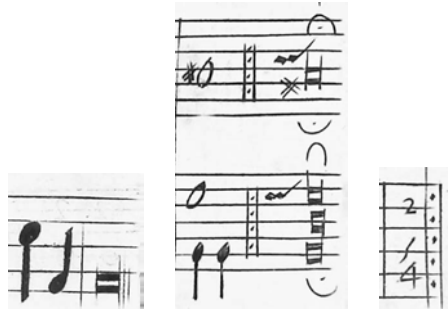


Figure 5.6 *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1592), F. Anerio, 'O Iesu mi dulcissime' (I-Bc R255). Differences in stems, longae and repeat signs. Left: lowest voice part; middle: harpsichord; right: lute part.



Figure 5.7 *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1592), L. Marenzio, 'Qual paura' (I-Bc R255). Final lines in the lute part.

It appears that all the voice parts, all the keyboard intabulations and all the lute intabulations were each written and perhaps also engraved by one person.³⁰⁰ As mentioned in chapter 2, such a division of labour was common in related fields such as map making.³⁰¹ Alternatively, the intabulations may have been done by the same person at different times. The designs of some of the intabulations are not always transferred to the plate carefully: sometimes, as in Felice Anerio's 'O Beatum incendium', they are not aligned with each other, which would indicate that they were done separately. The canons were added and engraved last, in free spaces on the plates bearing the intabulations.³⁰²

It seems likely that the same scribe was responsible for the Peetrino prints and the voice parts and texts of the *Diletto spirituale*. The phrase *scritte da* (written by) *Simone Verovio* on the title plates of the *Diletto spirituale* and the *Melodie spirituali* (see table 5.8) suggests that this scribe was Verovio himself.

300 The voice parts of Palestrina's 'Tua Iesu dilectio' and Rinaldo del Mel's 'Deh lasciam dunque' exhibit a different script, and could have been written by another person.

301 See chapter 1.

302 This can be deduced from the fact that the Brussels copy has one canon fewer (beneath the intabulations of Felice Anerio's 'Tunc amplexus') than the other copies. See chapter 4.2.

Figure 5.8 *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1586), R. Giovanelli, 'Vermiglio e vago fiore' (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, D-Mbs 4 Mus.pr. 10#Beibd.2), urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00074060-0. 2nd verse and lute part.

In the *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali*, there are fewer obvious differences between the writing of the keyboard intabulations and the voice parts. Although some of the texts seem to be written in different hands (at least three different scripts are used), it is possible that the same person wrote all the mensural music. This same person was perhaps also responsible for some of the lute intabulations. These, however, are less carefully executed, especially in the second half of the collection. In seven of the twenty-five pieces, the system of notation changes: the *caselle* system with bar-lines is abandoned, and in three of these, the rhythms are now notated in standard mensural note values, as found in vocal music (see figure 5.9). The system of notation of the *intavolatura del cimbalò* is also less consistent than in the *Diletto spirituale*: some pieces are notated in systems of two five-line staves, whereas others contain two seven-line staves, as in the *Diletto spirituale*.

The way in which the lute part sometimes covers part of the text of the verses, or is placed around this text, suggests that the lute parts were added last, almost as an afterthought (for example figures 5.8 and 5.9). On several plates the texts seem to have been written in different hands (see figures 5.8, 5.9 and 5.10). Apart from being in other scripts, these texts are not always as neat as the others. Figure 5.9 shows the hand used in all the dedications and most title pages. The last script shows some similarities to that used in the *Madrigali* by Luzzaschi and the texts in Durante's *Arie devote*. Unfortunately it was not possible to find correlations between the different notations and different scribes or manners of intabulating.

Figure 5.9 *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1586), F. Soriano, 'Vedo ogni selva' (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, D-Mbs 4 Mus.pr. 10#Beibd.2), urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00074060-0. 2nd verse and lute part.

Vedo ogni selva
Spirano solo i più benigni uccelli
Sol questo Amor crudel non dà mai fine
Al pianto mio, à gravi miei tormenti

Figure 5.10 *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1586), A. Orlandino, 'Ingiustissimo amore' (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, D-Mbs 4 Mus.pr. 10#Beibd.2), urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00074060-0. 2nd verse and lute part.

Doue se' mai veduto
Ch'una sia sul foco, e non domandi aiuto!
Sol io chin mezzo dell' incendio giaccio'

The collection *Canzonette à quattro voci* appears to have been written by two different people, one of whom wrote most of the music, and both the voice parts and the keyboard intabulation of the first half. The latter seem to have been done at the same time, with the text of the verses (in two distinct scripts) added before the lute part. Some of the texts in *cancellaresca corsiva* are very similar to the writing in the dedication, and were perhaps done by Verovio. Others are in a hand similar to the second hand in the *Ghirlanda*. This hand also writes Palestrina's name as 'Gio: da Pellestrina', whereas in the *Ghirlanda* the other writer (presumably Verovio) uses 'Gio Palestina' when attribut-

ing Palestrina's vernacular compositions.³⁰³ It seems that the second half of the collection, starting with Palestrina's 'Vedrassi prima senza luce il sole', was written entirely in the second hand (perhaps also by a different scribe), excluding the index on the last page, but this plate has only been printed in two out of five copies.³⁰⁴ Apart from the fact that the two hands use different scripts, they differ in the horizontal alignment of the name 'Verovio'.³⁰⁵

The same two hands seem to have prepared the texts of the *Canzonette spirituali* (1591), although the music was apparently prepared by one person only. The canto partbook was all written by the scribe assumed to be Verovio. The gatherings are in bifolia and two pieces are engraved together on each plate. The labour seems mainly to have been divided per plate, but this may equally represent the work of one single scribe at different times.

The only extant partbook of the *Devoto pianto* (1592) is all written in the 'Verovio' hand, as expected, since he states in the dedication that he carried out the calligraphy of the canzonettas himself.

The *Lodi della musica* (1595) seems likewise to have been executed entirely by one hand. For this collection, everything appears to have been planned and written by the same person and the process less experimental. By this stage, the engraving of canzonettas had become a standard, professionalized procedure.

All the later prints are written and seemingly engraved by one person. Here the scribe no longer sets one piece to a page, because the pieces are often too long. Simone Verovio, the *scrittore famoso* (famous writer), presumably would not have delegated the calligraphy of prestigious assignments such as the Merulo and Luzzaschi collections to another scribe. The beauty and perfection of these later collections are equalled only by the Frescobaldi publications by Borboni.

The *Arie devote* collection also exhibits a similar hand, but the engraving is done in a much finer manner, resulting in thinner lines. The handwriting of the texts in *cancellaresca corsiva*, especially in the dedication, resembles that identifiable as Verovio's. Although the dedication is dated 1 January 1608, just a fortnight after Verovio's death, he seems to have died rather unexpectedly, and it is not unlikely that he contributed to preparing the edition, for example writing the texts.³⁰⁶ The Verovio workshop often took years to prepare a print, as we know from the Merulo publications. It is possible that Blancus, mentioned on the title page, was the writer of large parts of this collection.

303 In the *Diletto spirituale*, a Latin version of his surname occurs, 'Praenestini'.

304 I-Bc R259 and GB-Lbl K.8.h.23.

305 In some writing-books, for example Curione (1588) we can also see this difference.

306 Franchi (1994), p. 664.

If so, it is likely that he had cooperated with Verovio for some time, and he might be responsible for some of the other hands in earlier collections as well.

To summarize, Verovio seems to have written personally large sections of the prints associated with his name, while others, perhaps Blancus, were probably also involved. Identifying the different writers involved in the preparation of the prints more definitely would require a thorough computerized graphological analysis, which would go beyond the scope of the present study. Nevertheless, the following tentative conclusions can be made.

In the first collection containing intabulations, the *Diletto spirituale*, the intabulations seem to have been added as an afterthought, and purchasers could order prints with or without them. The same could be true for the *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali*. Although no copies lacking intabulations are extant, they might have existed at one stage, for as in the *Diletto spirituale*, the voice parts and intabulations of each piece appear on separate pages, although the texts for the second to fourth verses appear on the same pages as the intabulations. It appears that the voice and the instrumental parts were not necessarily written by the same person, or at the same time. The intabulations, especially those for lute, contain more mistakes than the nearly perfect voice parts. In the next two collections containing intabulations, these instrumental parts were no longer an optional part of the print. Nevertheless, the voices, the additional strophes, the keyboard intabulation and the lute intabulation were probably designed and engraved separately. This sometimes led to overlapping text and music. By contrast, in the *Lodi* there are no overlapping fields, and the layout is more homogeneous. Here all the writing and layout were apparently done by a single person. In any case the prints show a level of perfection and precision that would probably have appealed to well-known composers like Merulo and Luzzaschi, who turned to Verovio in Rome for the publication of music including intabulations, even though they had already published much in Venice, the capital of music printing.

5.6 THE INTABULATORS

The next difficult question is the identity of the person (or people) responsible for making the intabulations. Was the musically literate Verovio also capable of transferring the music into keyboard and lute *intavolature*? These intabulations, idiomatic and well adapted to the target instruments, were clearly done by someone who could play these instruments. Neither the keyboard nor the lute tablatures are exceedingly difficult, but they do require a good proficiency. Some are particularly refined, whereas others just reflect the voice parts more literally. A further discussion of the intabulations will be reserved for later chapters.

As mentioned in the previous subchapter, different ways of notating the lute parts seem to indicate different writers, but these discrepancies could equally indicate other intabulators. Differences can also be observed in the notation of the keyboard parts. Whereas all keyboard intabulations in the *Diletto spirituale* are notated on systems comprising two staves of seven lines, most pieces in the *Ghirlanda* have systems of two staves of five lines, though six pieces in which the individual voices have greater ranges are notated on systems comprising two staves of seven lines each. In the *Canzonette à quattro voci* we find a mixture of both formats. In the latter two anthologies, the scribe used custom-made solutions for individual pieces. The presence or absence of *chiavi trasportati* (high clefs)³⁰⁷ does not seem to affect the notation of the keyboard parts, as the distribution of the parts over the hands depends on the distance from the bass, the overall range and the quantity of diminutions rather than on the progression of the voice.³⁰⁸ In the three-voice *Lodi della musica* and the *Dialogo pastorale*, all the intabulations use the more ‘modern’ system of two staves of five lines each.³⁰⁹ The Luzzaschi *Madrigali* and both books of Merulo *Toccate*, which were devised as homogeneous, unified collections, employ systems comprising two staves of five and eight lines respectively.

Whatever the system of notation, the scribe strictly adheres to the principle of indicating which hand should play what. The only exceptions appear in the *Gagliarde* by Giovanni Francesco Anerio. Here the harpsichord part is notated in a system of two staves of five lines, but like a modern keyboard score,³¹⁰ the notation does not always indicate the distribution of the notes to each hand. In some chords, the left hand clearly needs to play a note written on the upper staff; otherwise the chord is unplayable (figure 5.11). Thus the scribe seems to have prioritized the avoidance of ledger lines over the distribution of the notes in the hands. This is highly unusual in Italian printed keyboard music of the time.

The intabulations in Luzzaschi’s *Madrigali* were probably written by the composer, since they constitute an integral part of the composition, not just an arrangement that could be used with or without one or more of the voices or the other instrument. It would be peculiar to perform the *Madrigali* without the harpsichord part, as the pieces would then lack the bass. With very few exceptions, the keyboard intabulations in the *Canzonette à quattro voci*, the *Lodi della musica* and the *Dialogo pastorale* are literal transcriptions of the vocal parts, occasionally filling out chords at finals or adding modest

307 *Chiovette* in modern terms.

308 See chapters 8.3 and 9.

309 This resembles the system first used by Pierre Attaignant in France for his seven volumes of keyboard music (1530–1531), and is comparable to the modern manner of notating keyboard music.

310 Or a *tabula compositoria* without the middle line.

Figure 5.11 G. F. Anerio, *Gagliarde* ([Rome]: [n. p.], [n. d.] 'Gagliarda V', © bpk – Bildagentur für Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte / Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (D-B A1126).



cadential ornamentation. The lute intabulations too are done in the same manner as other lute transcriptions from the end of the sixteenth century: essentially the instrument renders the vocal lines, adding some ornaments and filling in some chords. Sometimes vocal parts are omitted or transposed down an octave to facilitate the playing and render the part more idiomatic for the instrument. The manner in which the intabulations were construed and notated is consistent and homogeneous in these later collections, except for a few exceptions in the *Canzonette à quattro voci*. They are correct but not very interesting or remarkable. It might be that one person, nobody very special, hired simply for this task, was responsible for all these intabulations; this would suggest that Verovio had developed a more secure sense of his market, which allowed for greater consistency in his products.³¹¹

The situation with the other two anthologies is more interesting. Some of the pieces have been transcribed with particular care. In the *Diletto spirituale* this is the case for some of the harpsichord intabulations. Some pieces are ornamented beyond the usual simple cadential ornamentation found in many pieces, whereas others have been set carefully, with added voices or filled-in chords. It may be that a different person did the lute intabulations, as the ornaments sometimes conflict at the cadences.³¹² Sometimes the voice part and the harpsichord have a suspension, while the lute part has the resolution at the same time, but this could also be intentional.³¹³ Mostly the diminutions are compatible and sometimes even complementary: the lute has ornaments at different moments than the harpsichord, or they appear for example in parallel thirds in both instruments simultaneously. Both instruments play the voice parts as perfectly as pos-

311 I thank Tim Carter for this suggestion.

312 See chapter 10.6.

313 Further, see chapters 10.6 and 10.11.

sible, elaborated with some ornaments, filled in chords, especially at the cadences, and occasionally an extra 'voice' for certain passages. Some pieces have only ornaments in one of the instrumental transcriptions. As mentioned above, some ornaments seem to create clashes at a cadence, but the many occasions of carefully coordinated diminutions seem to indicate that if the intabulations were done by different people, they must have worked closely together.

In the *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali* the two instruments sometimes have complementary roles. Again, this is done in such a refined manner that the same person may have done both the harpsichord and the lute intabulations. Unlike in the *Diletto spirituale*, about half of the lute intabulations in the *Ghirlanda* abandon the practice of doubling all the voice parts as much as possible. Frequently the lute parts are lower than the voices, often playing the voice parts one or even two octaves down, sometimes omitting upper parts and adding notes, cadential suspensions and even some new counterpoint.³¹⁴ Such lute intabulations no longer attempt to double the voices as much as possible. In several cases real chordal, strumming accompaniment is provided above the bass part, even ignoring the movement of the other parts. Sometimes this goes so far that the suspensions in the upper voices are ignored and accompanied by root-position chords. This could indicate a different intabulator (or different intabulators) from the ones involved in the *Diletto spirituale*, but it also indicates a more 'modern' approach to accompanying on the lute. It may also suggest that the lute part was intended to accompany a solo bass singer.³¹⁵

The harpsichord part of the *Ghirlanda*, however, like in the *Diletto spirituale*, always doubles the voices, sometimes with many more ornaments or added notes. Certain pieces have been intabulated in a particularly refined manner: in all four compositions by Felice Anerio the harpsichord intabulation is ornamented extensively. Only one other piece, Stabile's 'Donna, donna tue chiome d'oro', is ornamented so thoroughly. Apart from the Anerio compositions, all the pieces by del Mel, Peetrino and Verovio likewise contain carefully executed intabulations.

In the *Canzonette à quattro voci*, only Giovanni Maria Nanino's 'Di che cor mio' is ornamented amply in the harpsichord part and slightly less so in the lute intabulation. The two compositions by Quagliati, 'Quando miro il bel volto' and 'Tal da vostri occhi foco esce', are also intabulated with special care. All other pieces tend to display simple renderings of the voices with some few cadential ornaments added. In the harpsichord, some are also left out. In the lute, some passing notes are added.

It has not been possible to find any correlation in the earlier prints between the manner of notation (the script, the usage of 'barlines' and so on) and the manner of

314 See Mason (1997), pp. 98–99; and chapters 8.4 and 10.12 below.

315 See chapter 5.6 and 10.

intabulating, either in the harpsichord intabulations or in those for lute. This suggests the intabulator handed over a copy of his intabulation to a copyist, who subsequently prepared the *Stichvorlage* for the engraver. A similar process was used as in the graphic arts, where the *designatore* would adapt the work of an artist, which would then be transferred to the plate by an engraver. But as there are so many different hands, it may be that several roles were carried out by a single person, as in earlier graphic art and map making.³¹⁶

Although no evidence has come to light about those involved in the intabulations, it is noteworthy that the accompaniments of almost all of Felice Anerio's compositions, especially in the harpsichord part, are consistently more carefully arranged and refined than those of other composers. This suggests that he was perhaps involved in intabulating these compositions, certainly for the harpsichord, and perhaps also for the lute. In the same year as the copies of the *Ghirlanda* are dated, Felice Anerio undertook other activities in music editing, as compiler of the madrigal collection *Le Gioie*.³¹⁷

Alternatively, Jacobo Peetrino, whose compositions are only found in the collections first printed in the 1580s, may have done some of the special intabulations. Peetrino died in about 1591, and the intabulations in the collections prepared after this time are less interesting and well constructed; it may thus be tentatively suggested that he was responsible for the intabulations in the earlier collections.

Of course, if the plates for the canzonettas were created individually at different times, it could be that some composers, such as Anerio, submitted their compositions complete with intabulations, whereas Verovio or his consortium had to find somebody to do the other intabulations. The identity of those responsible for the more straightforward intabulations will probably remain an enigma.

5.7 CONCLUSIONS

The identity of the people involved in making the prints and the extent and nature of their involvement remains a complex question. Although many details about Simone Verovio have been discovered, much has come to light only as a by-product of other research. Further systematic research into the life of Verovio and his family still needs to be done in Roman archives.

The dedicatees of his collections are largely members of the extended Lorraine and Bavarian nobility. Apart from Vincenzo Gonzaga, these were not known as great musical patrons in Roman or broader Italian circles.

³¹⁶ See chapters 3.1 and 5.1

³¹⁷ See chapters 4 and 5.4.

Most of the composers represented in the Verovio prints were active in Rome for extended periods, even for their whole life. Most were either well integrated in Roman musical life or compatriots of Verovio. They worked in various churches, were frequently members of the *Congregazione de' musici*, though many pursued parallel occupations alongside music-making. Many had close ties to the Jesuits and the Oratorians.

It seems that Verovio was responsible for compiling the collections and asking the individual composers to contribute compositions. He functioned as *editore*, organizing the finances for many of the prints, and was probably the original owner of many of the plates.

For the most part, the engravers and pressmen will probably always remain anonymous, but this is quite usual for this time. We know that Verovio did some of the engraving, but other people were involved as well: Martin van Buyten in the earlier prints, and Christophorus Blancus in the later ones. Verovio was also responsible for writing some of the music and texts, but others probably participated actively. Their identities are difficult to establish. The intabulators will similarly probably remain unknown, but it is striking that the compositions by Felice Anerio contain some of the most refined intabulations, while the work of no other composer is treated in such a consistently distinct manner. From 1590/91, the intabulations of the canzonettas were probably produced by another person, since they are less refined than the earlier ones, and often merely render the upper parts with only minor adaptations conditioned by the possibilities of the instruments. This may suggest that Verovio's collaborator Peetrino, who died about this time and is not mentioned or present in any later collections, had done the intabulations for the earlier collections. In 1592, the address of Verovio's workshop (*In Parione nel Collegio Nardino*) is first mentioned in a print.

Simone Verovio evidently played a major role in producing and publishing most of the publications associated with his name. He probably began as member of a consortium including his compatriots Peetrino, van Buyten and perhaps van Aelst, that published writing-book prints and loose collections of *Canzonette* (perhaps also sold individually) using intaglio-printing techniques. Such collaborations were very common in printing figurative art and maps.³¹⁸ By the middle of the 1590s, after the death of Peetrino, he had become the main entrepreneur in this enterprise, with his own workshop, and the names of his compatriots disappear from the collections. He professionalized the manufacturing process to create predefined entities containing compositions longer than a page. In their construction, these later collections more closely resembled collections printed using relief techniques, with the added advantage of rendering certain elements impossible to print from type.

318 See also Campagne (2017)

6 The consumers

Nowadays the prints associated with Verovio are quite well known. Copies bound in book form can be found in important European and American collections.³¹⁹ Several are available in facsimile or online. Several academic articles and books, mainly on music, refer to the Verovio prints. Theses have also been published about aspects of his prints, usually concentrating on one or more collections of the canzonettas.³²⁰

6.1 THE SPREAD OF THE PRINTS

Many well-known collectors and pioneers of research into early music, such as Giuseppe Baini (1775–1844), Fortunato Santini (1778–1861), François-Josef Fétis (1784–1871), Aloys Fuchs (1799–1853), Joseph Fischhof (1804–1857), Ludwig Landsberg (1807–1858) and Gaetano Gaspari (1807/8–1881), owned copies of the Verovio prints, and recorded their names on the inside cover or flyleaf. Their copies are often found in the libraries in which these pioneers worked, in cities like Bologna, Munich, Berlin, and Brussels. Some of these copies bear the stamps of other libraries in which they were held earlier, such as the Collegio Germanico in Rome³²¹ or the monasteries of St. Salvatore in Pollingen³²² and Tegernsee.³²³ The earliest known individual owner of a copy of the *Diletto spirituale* is Giovanni Antonio Balestri, who added *Questo Libro è di me Gio. Antonio Balestri 1637* in the back of his own copy in ink.³²⁴ However, the original owners of the prints are known only in very few cases.

Unfortunately, extant catalogues from libraries and booksellers around 1600 only rarely mention Verovio prints. None of the catalogues of music printers and booksellers from 1583 to 1600 published by Barbieri (1994) – not even Gaspare Ruspa, a bookseller in S. Tommaso in Parione, next to Verovio's workshop – mentions any works associated with Verovio.³²⁵

319 I-Bc, I-Rsc, D-Mbs, D-Bds, GB-Lbl, F-Pn, B-Br and so on.

320 Anderson (1976), Kimmel (1973), Kranias (2006).

321 *Madrigali per cantare et sonare*, I-Rsc M 1490 L 96.

322 *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali*, D-Bds Mus.ant.pr. V425.

323 *Canzonette à quattro voci*, *Lodi della musica*, *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali* and *Diletto spirituale*, collected in a leather binding dated 1597 on the cover, D-Mbs Mus.ant.pr.10.

324 *Diletto Spirituale*, I-Bc R 253.

325 Barbieri (2004a).

The 1604 catalogue of the Florence bookshop of Filippo Giunti the Younger (c. 1520–c. 1600) mentions four volumes which could possibly be identified with Verovio *Canzonette*.³²⁶ Mischiati identifies one of them as the *Canzonette à quattro voci* (1591).³²⁷ This catalogue also contains other works by composers included in the Verovio prints, like Felice Anerio, del Mel, Marenzio, Giovanni Maria Nanino, Palestrina and Peetrino, largely in Venetian editions.

In 1606 an inventory was made of the possessions belonging to the famous Venetian music printer Angelo Gardano (1540–1611). Amongst his very small collection of seven books is a copy of the *Diletto spirituale*.³²⁸ It is not known whether this copy contained the intabulations. One could speculate that Gardano obtained the copy, perhaps via his brother Alessandro, who had worked in Rome, or via Merulo, and that this book inspired him to issue his series of keyboard publications in cooperation with Merulo, using Merulo's old set of types.

We are fortunate to possess catalogues of books for sale in the shops of two famous music printers at Venice, Gardano and Vincenti, from 1591 until the end of the seventeenth century. However, these do not list any prints associated with Verovio until 1649 and 1658, when the two books of *Toccate* by Merulo *in rame* (in copper) were listed at 18 Venetian *lire*, making them one of the most expensive prints on offer. Only the set of nine books of madrigals by Marenzio (27 *lire*) and the twelve books of masses by Palestrina (48 *lire*) and masses by Ganassi (28 *lire*) are listed as significantly more expensive.³²⁹

As Carter has shown, bookshops in Florence catered to a conservative taste.³³⁰ As late as 1676, the bookseller Federico Franzini still stocked works by composers included in the Verovio prints: Bellasio, Dragoni, Giovanelli, de Macque, del Mel, Merulo, Quagliati, Soriano, Annibale Stabile and Pompeo Stabile. Also listed we find the *Arie divote a voce sola* by Durante (nr. 137), the *Gagliarde* by Giovanni Francesco Anerio (nr. 23) and Merulo's *Toccate* (nr. 226).³³¹

Tracing the prints associated with Verovio to the North is equally difficult. The inventory of books sold in 1592 by Johann (Hans) Georg von Werdenstein (1542–1608), canon at Augsburg and Eichstätt, to Duke William V of Bavaria, includes two Verovio

326 *Canzonette di diversi per cantare e sonare* (nr. 42), *Spirituali da diversi à 3* (nr. 59) and *Scelta di canzone di diversi* (nr. 101); see Mischiati (1984), pp. 110–134. Of course these entries could refer to other, unknown, collections.

327 Mischiati (1984), pp. 467–468.

328 Agee (1998), p. 81.

329 Mischiati (1984), p. 182.

330 Carter (1989).

331 Mischiati (1984), pp. 251, 245, 255. In Rome around 1590, newer music seems to have been sold in bookshops, but no mention of Verovio prints can be found. See Barbieri (2004a).

prints: the *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali* and Peetrino's *Il primo libro del Jubilo di San Bernardo*.³³² These were the only two identifiable Roman music prints in this collection, and the only two engraved ones. Werdenstein mentions that the main source of his large collection was the book fair in Frankfurt am Main. Searching the catalogues for the book fairs in Frankfurt and Leipzig, however, has not yielded any results for Verovio publications.³³³ In fact, compared to Venetian music prints, very few Roman ones found their way north. For example, Werdenstein's collection contained 185 titles from Venice compared to the two prints associated with Verovio printed in Rome. Similar proportions can be found in the book fair catalogues.³³⁴ The *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali*, the only collection with confirmed re-issues in relief printing both in Germany and the Netherlands, may have found its way there in Giacomo Vincenti's 1591 Venetian reprints.³³⁵ These were also published in choirbook layout with the lute intabulations, but lacking the keyboard parts. Vincenti published the collection in three separate books with some pieces by Oratio Scaletta added.³³⁶ In 1601 Angelo Gardano reprinted the collection in partbook layout, excluding the Scaletta pieces and three others.³³⁷ Pierre Phalèse printed a 'new' edition in Antwerp in 1607, with the pieces included in the 1601 Gardano edition, adding eleven compositions from the *Lodi della musica* and eight other canzonettas by Giovanni Maria Nanino and one each by Giovanni Battista Nanino, Marenzio and Soriano.³³⁸

German texts were added to an edition of the music from the *Ghirlanda* in partbooks by Andreas Müller, printed by Wolfgang Richter and published by Nicolaus Stein in Frankfurt in 1608.³³⁹ The music, however, was copied from a Verovio print, not a Venetian reprint, as the order as well as notational elements such as clefs are identical to those in the original. Müller adds two of his own pieces at the end, but leaves out Annibale Stabile's 'Donna, donna tue chiome d'oro'. The extant copy of the *Ghirlanda*

332 Charteris (2006), pp. 117–118. Werdenstein's copy of the *Jubilo di San Bernardo* is still in D-Mbs. The Bavarian court library used to own two copies of the *Ghirlanda*, but Werdenstein's copy is no longer held at D-Mbs. Although Werdenstein studied in Italy, he is not known to have visited Rome.

333 Schwetschke (1850).

334 The only other Verovio print I have been able to trace in Germany, is *Il primo libro delli esempli di Simone Verovio*, mentioned in the 1589 catalogue of the *Biblioteca Privata of Friderici Comitis Palatini*, that is, the private collection of Frederick IV, Elector Palatine of the Rhine of the House of Wittelsbach. See Metzger and Zimmermann (2001), p. 30.

335 For a list of known reprints, see appendix I.

336 RISM 1591⁷, 1591⁸, 1591⁹.

337 RISM 1601⁴.

338 RISM 1607².

339 *Neue Teutsche Canzonetten mit dreyen Stimmen von den fürtrefflichsten Italienischen Componisten auff ihre Sprach componiret/ und hiebevorn in Italia zusammen getruckt* (Frankfurt: Richter, 1608), RISM 1608²².

now in the Bavarian State Library in Munich could not have been the original Müller employed, since that volume lacks the Marenzio composition 'Donna se nel tuo volto'.

In Naples the Jesuit Tarquinio Longo published a collection in 1608 called *Lodi e canzonette spirituali*, which included several pieces from the *Diletto spirituale*, *Ghirlanda* and *Devoto pianto*.³⁴⁰ The 'Stabat Mater' by del Mel from the *Canzonette spirituali a 3* (1591/1599) was reprinted by A. Gardano in the del Mel collection of *Madrigaletti spirituali a tre voci ... Libro quarto* in 1596.³⁴¹

Though numerous pieces from the collections can be found in manuscript sources, only a few were reproduced in other relief print collections. For example, in Augsburg, where Werdenstein had owned a copy of the *Jubilo di San Bernardo* by Peetrino, Bernhard Klingenstein included two compositions from that collection in his anthology *Triodia sacra* (1605).³⁴²

6.2 FUNCTIONS OF THE PRINTS

Books can serve many purposes and have many functions. It is legitimate to ask whether the primary function of a publication is practical or representational. In other words: were the Verovio prints, for example, intended to be used? While it is easy to sing or play from the publications printed in partbook layout, the situation for the publications in choirbook layout or score is less clear. Although the music in these prints is not as small as in the Sadeler *Motettenbilder*, it is impossible to imagine three singers, a lute player and harpsichordist – or even just a harpsichordist – all reading from the same score. Many choirbooks used in church, both extant books and those depicted in the visual arts, are about twice the size of the Verovio prints. These illustrations show that the choirbooks were put onto a stand, so that all the singers (and/or instrumentalists) could read from the book.³⁴³ This would hardly have been possible with those Verovio prints in choirbook layout or score.

During this time, meditation, popularised by the *Pratica dell'orazione mentale* (Venice, 1574) by Mattia Bellintani da Salò, became very fashionable.³⁴⁴ Like the *Motettenbilder*, some Verovio prints could have been meant for meditation and contemplation, address-

³⁴⁰ RISM 1608⁴.

³⁴¹ RISM M 2203.

³⁴² Leitmeier (2002), pp. 134, 136: 'Mane nobiscum, Domine' and 'Iam quod quaesivi'.

³⁴³ Printed on *carta reale* or the even larger *carta papale* in folio. For more information see Bernstein (2009), p. 670.

³⁴⁴ Koldau (2001), p. 12–13. See also http://www.comunicare.it/ofmcap/ftp_capp/ora-matt.htm (accessed 3.03.2013).

ing the three faculties or powers of the soul: *memoria*, *intellectus* and *voluntas/affectus*.³⁴⁵ Contemplation and meditation were considered to possess a deeply religious function, and both activities were considered superior to the audible performance of the texts, with or without music. The latter, though, was recognized as ‘pedagogically valuable, as it accompanies the heart and guards the mind of the person praying’, especially if the person meditating was easily distracted by worldly matters.³⁴⁶ Dell’Antonio argues that in some very exclusive circles around 1600, ‘active listening’ to music – besides performing, contemplating and meditating – became more and more important as a spiritual practice, providing another, even more elite path to spiritual enlightenment.³⁴⁷ He connects this to the way music, amongst other topics, should be discussed in *civile conversazione* (civil conversation).³⁴⁸ All courtiers would have been trained and skilled in this art and such a conversation implicitly excluded anyone without sufficient cultural training. A civil conversation was linked to three cardinal concepts at the time:

- *virtù* (as defining quality of the noble man: virtue or honour, a term that appears in many of the Verovio dedications);³⁴⁹
- *vaghezza* (beauty showing an understanding far superior to rational thinking necessary for day to day life);
- *affetto* (‘a passion of the soul, born out of the desire of good and the hatred of evil’ that could be moved by the arts).³⁵⁰

A fourth related concept, *meraviglia* (wonder at the marvellous) is also encountered frequently in these contexts.³⁵¹

The underlying principle, according to Dell’Antonio, was ‘an understanding that proper appreciation of beauty was a vehicle for the apprehension and promotion of the true faith.’³⁵² Works thus did not have to be sacred to serve as the focus for meditation and contemplation, or as a basis for a civil conversation.³⁵³

Besides the *Motettenbilder*, other music prints published around that time were produced without the express aim of performance. Some prints apparently had more of a

345 Filippi (2008), p. 9.

346 Filippi (2008), p. 31: ‘è pedagogicamente preziosa perchè accompagne il cuore e custodisce la mente dell’orante.’

347 Dell’Antonio (2011), p. 2. Verovio alludes to the Cardinal of Lorena’s delight in listening in the dedication of the *Canzonette à quattro voci* (1591).

348 Dell’Antonio (2011), p. 6, referring to Stefano Guazzo, *La civile conversazione* (1574).

349 See appendix III.

350 Dell’Antonio (2011), p. 17.

351 Carter (2005), pp. 12, 24.

352 Dell’Antonio (2011), p. 36.

353 But in Rome at least, the texts had to pass the censorship of the *Maestro del Sacro Palazzo*. See chapter 3.1.

thesaurus function, representing and conserving a treasure deemed worthy to be kept.³⁵⁴ The *Rappresentazione di Anima et di Corpo* by Emilio de' Cavalieri (Rome, 1600) falls into the category of such a representational print. In early 1600, two successful performances were staged in the Oratory of S. Maria in Vallicella. In the autumn of the same year, the work was published in full score with a figured bass. No records exist of any further performances in which the score could have been used.³⁵⁵ Meditating upon this extraordinary and moving performance with the help of the print could easily have led to the kind of *civile conversazione* as envisaged by Guazzo.

The print of Luzzaschi's *Madrigali* similarly falls into this category, as the *Madrigali* demonstrated and conserved a famous musical tradition, the *musica segreta*, as performed at the Ferrara court in the 1580s.³⁵⁶ Five of the first *intavolatura d'organo* prints first published by Vincenti, probably in conjunction with Merulo,³⁵⁷ and then by Angelo Gardano in the 1590s, contained music by deceased composers like Andrea Gabrieli (1532/3–1585) and Sperindio Bertoldo (c. 1530–1570), but still deemed worthy of conservation and publication. However, these relief prints were cheaper editions in octavo format, which could have served practical purposes as well.

Costly prints also served representational purposes. As gifts to royalty or prelates, such publications acted as one element in the exchange of patronage. They could also serve to attract attention.³⁵⁸ Copies of prints were frequently reserved especially for representational purposes.³⁵⁹ Intaglio printing techniques permitted the dedication and presentation of single copies or small series to a patron. If the plates were printed individually, with the intabulations on broadsides, the dissemination of these prints could have been much wider and more cost-effective.

As mentioned in chapter 2, collecting art, books, instruments and music was fashionable within the intellectual elite of Rome, including prelates such as the cardinals Gonzaga, del Monte, Sfrondato and Montalto, as well as their non-clerical relatives and further members of noble Roman families such as the Orsini and later the Barberini.

354 Bianconi (1987), p. 81.

355 This of course does not exclude the possibility that it was performed again soon after.

356 Some authors, for example Newcomb (1980) and Döhning (1997), p. 196, however, believe that this print does not reflect what was actually performed in Ferrara, as they feel the pieces were aimed for performance by purchasers in 1601, who could perform them. They believe that the pieces were modified to make them less difficult for performance by a less expert market than the women who had originally performed them. See also chapter 6.6.

357 Collarile (2007b). The use of the types from the old Merulo workshop led Collarile to conclude that Merulo was involved in the prints of the Vincenti series, not just of his own music.

358 Bernstein (2009), p. 670.

359 See chapter 2.4.

Others, like Giustiniani, whose *Discorso sopra la musica de' suoi tempi* (1628) is often cited in discussions of Roman music around 1600, also accrued large collections.³⁶⁰

Many such collections consisted of compendia of several prints bound together, so-called binder's copies.³⁶¹ Extant prints associated with Verovio are frequently bound together, which corroborates that these copies, 'luxury editions of exceptional technical refinement', were primarily intended for what Bianconi calls music 'cabinets'.³⁶² They are encountered either bound with other Verovio prints (the four collections of canzonettas with intabulations are often in a single anthology) or with other prints, also with those using relief techniques.³⁶³ Alfredo Vitolo, formerly of the Biblioteca della Musica in Bologna, maintains that many such compound books were taken apart in the nineteenth century and subsequently rebound singly.³⁶⁴ Thus even if the collections now appear to us as single publications, they could have been bound together with other books previously. This was probably the case for three collections of canzonettas in the British Library, bound individually in 1904, but each bearing manuscript foliation in pencil: the *Lodi della musica* 1 to 19, the *Ghirlanda* 42 to 61, and the *Diletto spirituale* 68 to 90. These copies have also been trimmed to the same size (20.4 × 27.0 cm). All three bear the ex libris of Marcantonio V Borghese (*Ex Libris M. A. Principis Burghesii*), a nineteenth-century collector.

Dell'Antonio argues that collecting music prints and manuscripts 'permitted the noble collector's engagement with musical meaning – with the discourse about music – without any direct agency on the part of the performer', thus combining the function as collectible object with that of a focus of contemplation and discourse.³⁶⁵ Apart from primarily spiritual reasons for possessing such works (especially, but not only, if the subjects were religious or the texts sacred), there were also more mundane reasons, such as demonstrating knowledge, illumination, wealth and influence. Accruing a collection was thus linked to the creation of a personal identity.³⁶⁶

A Verovio print, especially canzonettas in choirbook layout, could have been used in any of these ways: for meditation, as a thesaurus, a treasure, or for other representational needs (for example, to honour the person to whom it was dedicated), or as a

360 In Solerti (1903).

361 Lewis (1997/2005), vol. 2. p. 155.

362 Bianconi, (1987), pp. 79–80.

363 For example in Munich (D-Mbs), Berlin (D-Bds) and Padua (I-Pca).

364 Vitolo has found evidence that many of these compound collections were taken apart in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. This suggests that others could have been bound together originally. (Private conversation on 7.06.2013).

365 Dell'Antonio (2011), p. 10.

366 Lewis Hammond (2007), p. 155.

presentation copy. These visually striking prints were certainly suitable as collector's items.

But there is evidence that certain prints were also used for performance, which enabled an engagement with musical meaning, with performers as mediating agents. The dedication of the soprano partbook of the *Canzonette spirituali* (1599) to Vincenzo Gonzaga implies that this collection was intended both for performance and for spiritual listening: Verovio dedicated them so that that Gonzaga might listen to them while visiting the ancient churches of the holy Martyrs. This indicates that the music was to be performed in these churches when Gonzaga should visit them.³⁶⁷

However, even if some of the prints were not primarily published as performance materials, they could still be used as such. It would have been easy to learn the parts by heart. As Busse Berger argues, 'musical notation, like writing, does not replace performance from memory, but, on the contrary, may be used to aid it'.³⁶⁸ In a letter, written on 29 July 1584 to the Florentine Grand Duke, Alessandro Striggio reports from Ferrara that, although the *Concerto delle dame* performed without music, the music was recorded in a book, in which all the ornaments sung were notated exactly as performed.³⁶⁹

Learning from memory was an art widely practiced in these times. The canzonettas are short and have a clear, familiar structure. The texts would have been familiar, or at least dealt with familiar subjects. It would have been uncomplicated to copy individual parts from the choirbooks. If lutenists or keyboard players were used to writing intabulations from partbooks, it could have been equally feasible to copy the parts from the choirbook or score publications on separate leaves or a tablet, though performance from memory is perhaps more likely.

According to Fiore, these works had several functions. On one hand they had a devotional role, assisting in meditation and contemplation.³⁷⁰ On the other hand they had a recreational role, especially in performance, both re-creating the strength of performer or listener, and relaxing them from their normal duties.³⁷¹

If the music from the Verovio prints was actually performed, it is worth investigating who could have performed it, and where.

367 *Canzonette spirituali* (1599): 'ascoltandole mentre ella visiterà le chiese antiche de' gloriosi Martiri.'

368 Busse Berger (2005), p. 45. Busse Berger refers to earlier music but the principle remains the same; see also Lincoln (2014), p. 59.

369 Durante and Martellotti (1989), Document A 106 (29 July 1584), p. 165. Whether this book documented the diminutions as they were sung, or prescribed certain diminutions, is unclear. In either case, however, the diminutions were sung as written.

370 Fiore (2009), pp. 90, 110.

371 Francesco Antonio (1594) as quoted in Fiore (2009), p. 103. This idea is also propagated by Nicolò Vito di Gozzi (see chapter 4.5) and Silvio Antoniano (c. 1540–1603), an Oratorian priest and friend of San Filippo Neri, in his book *Dell'educazione Cristiana de' figliuoli* (Verona, 1583).

The sacred music from the prints could have been executed during services in churches or oratories, in religious and educational academies, or even in private homes, perhaps even just for recreation. The secular music could have been used in domestic surroundings, but also as recreation in more sacred settings.

6.3 TE DEUM LAUDAMUS: MUSIC IN AND AROUND THE CHURCH

Fiore (2009) has listed the many possible uses of the lighter religious genres for devotional, educational and recreational purposes, and has shown that *canzonette spirituali* and *laude* were printed and used for these particular occasions.

Collections containing *canzonette spirituali* were printed from moveable type for practical use, and were purchased as performance materials by monasteries, colleges and seminaries.³⁷² In the preface to *Tempio armonico* (1599), a collection of *laude* and *canzonette spirituali*, Giovenale Ancina states that his goal was

... that this work and my labor might be for the purpose of serving Monasteries, Colleges, Seminaries, Novitiates, Christian Doctrine classes, and for the honest recreation of many cloistered Religious and other Clerics, and monks of various Regular and secular orders ... And even if it [this book] should not be useful to others, it will at least serve our private evening Oratory, and on feast days during the warmest part of the summer, for the public [Oratory] at St. Onofrio and at the Rotunda on feast days in summer's hottest times: and equally for pleasurable study and pastime for our brothers at the Novitiate at Rome and Naples³⁷³

In his dedication of Francesco Antonio's *Nuove laudi spirituali* (1594), the Bishop of Monopoli lists the kinds of people who might use this music:

- young people, in place of lascivious and unbecoming songs;
- the ill, that they may ponder salvation of their soul rather than be distracted by vain songs;
- the participants in exercises of Christian doctrine;
- collegiate churches, companies and oratories.³⁷⁴

Instruments frequently accompanied the singers. Wind instruments and organs participated in the music sung in processions. *Lira*, harp, *gravicembalo* (harpsichord) as well as

³⁷² See also Schmidt (2003).

³⁷³ Fiore (2009), p. 53.

³⁷⁴ Fiore (2009), p. 52.

other stringed instruments and organs are mentioned in the performance of *laude* and canzonettas.³⁷⁵ Cornetto, trombone, violin and lute regularly performed in churches.³⁷⁶ Extant bills exist for tuning the harpsichord 'for the music of the oratory'³⁷⁷ confirming that this instrument was used in the oratories, not just in the large-scale productions like Cavalieri's *Rappresentazione*.

The sixteenth century saw many innovative educational programmes which imparted religious instruction to people of all levels of society by using the canons of Ciceronian rhetoric: *docere, delectare* and *movere* (to inform, delight and move). These programs and their stakeholders used music to enhance and form the spiritual life of the people. Music could help children or adults to memorize texts. But music had more than an educational and pastoral function. It was also capable of inviting, awakening and purifying the spirit by exciting the senses, thus bringing humans closer to God. In the dedication of the *Canzonette Spirituali* (1599) to Vincenzo Gonzaga, Verovio expressed his hope that when Gonzaga listened to the music, flames would 'augment in your soul ignited by heavenly love'.³⁷⁸ According to Ancina, music helps us to rise 'to a pure and fervent love of God'.³⁷⁹ Music consoled and allured with its sweetness (*dolcezza*), gentleness (*amabilità*) and beauty (*bellezza*). By delighting (*dilettare*) the soul, music allowed the text, the most important element, to penetrate and move the soul more easily. Delighting in music was not purely an aesthetic experience, but a devout practice, a true *diletto spirituale*.³⁸⁰ This made music a powerful tool in religious instruction.

During the sixteenth century, religious instruction became increasingly more structured and organized for broader sections of the population. Christian doctrine classes were initiated throughout Italy. Here those who did not understand Latin received religious instruction in the vernacular. Initially these classes were only for children, but later adults also participated. Before classes in doctrine, children would go out into the streets singing *laude*. Music was also used in conjunction with the study of catechism and sung on occasions such as the *disputa*³⁸¹ and the *dialoghetto*, and in *intermedi*.³⁸²

New religious orders like the *Societas Iesu* (Jesuits), confirmed in 1540, assisted with the teaching. This order, charged with an evangelising mission, was the first to empha-

375 Fiore (2009), pp. 81, 106–109.

376 O'Regan (1995a), pp. 48–49.

377 O'Regan (1999a), p. 613. In 1597 a harpsichord ('cimbalo dell'Oratorio') is mentioned as standing in the oratory of the Arciconfraternità del SS. Crocifisso; see Riepe (2011), p. 176. In the oratory of the Oratorians the first bills are found from 1602 onwards; see Morelli (1991), p. 104.

378 Verovio (1599), dedication: 'si accrescono fiamme al suo animo acceso di celeste amore.'

379 Ancina (1599), cit. Filippi (2008), p. 33: 'innalzarsi al puro e fervente amor di Dio.'

380 Filippi (2008), pp. 21–30.

381 Fiore (2009), pp. 36–37.

382 Fiore (2009), pp. 42–43.

sis preaching the whole year through, even outside the traditional preaching seasons of Lent and Advent. Education and self-discipline through the use of Spiritual Exercises, intended to assist the practitioner in following the teachings of Jesus Christ, were important features of their program. Music played an important role in these Exercises.³⁸³ The Jesuits founded the Collegio Romano, the Collegio Inglese and the Collegio Germanico, where several composers represented in the Verovio prints were *maestri*. The Jesuits also had a profound influence on the visual arts and architecture. In these colleges they also educated their pupils in music, mainly for liturgical purposes, but music was also performed during other activities.³⁸⁴ The Jesuits strongly encouraged 'active listening', and 'highly recommended that the Christian doctrine be sung in its entirety, for its better understanding, edification and usefulness'.³⁸⁵ Many dramas with music were staged in Jesuit institutions.

In the Collegio Germanico, for example, various styles of singing were practised. Apart from Gregorian chant, *cantus firmus*,³⁸⁶ *falsobordone*, *contrapunto* (improvised counterpoint) and sacred polyphony, the recreational singing of secular music, for example madrigals or canzonettas, was also encouraged. This took place in the room of the *maestro di cappella* or the vineyard.³⁸⁷

In their colleges and universities, in Rome and elsewhere, the Jesuits also educated significant numbers of foreigners. This helped spread a taste for Roman music further afield, for example at the Bavarian and the Polish courts, that were both closely affiliated with the Jesuits.

The Oratorians were also central to religious life in Rome. Their founder Filippo Neri (1515–1595) devoted his life to prayer and charitable works, but never joined a religious order. He founded the Confraternità della SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini in 1548 to support poor pilgrims coming to Rome in the Holy Year 1550. The lay members performed charitable works and prayed together. This confraternity actively promoted sacred music in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century.³⁸⁸ In 1551 Neri was ordained and became a priest in San Girolamo, where he concentrated more on confession, prayer and dialogue than on preaching.³⁸⁹ Soon laymen gathered around him for informal religious discussions, communal prayer and the singing of *laude*. Initially they met in a loft over a side aisle of the church, which had been remodelled as an oratory or a prayer

383 Smither (1977), p. 37. For detailed studies see Culley (1970) and Schmidt (2003).

384 Powers (1997), pp. 103–105, 108–111.

385 Fiore (2009), p. 34.

386 According to Culley, this meant reciting to the organ, something between singing and reading. Lightbourne (1994), p. 57, citing Culley (1970), p. 78.

387 Lightbourne (1994), p. 79.

388 O'Regan (1995a).

389 Filippi (2008), p. 11.

hall. Meetings in the oratory became known as 'holding the oratory'; the term 'oratory' thus embraced both the place and the holding of spiritual exercises.³⁹⁰ In 1575 Pope Gregory XIII recognized the *Congregazione dell'Oratorio* as a religious community and granted the Oratorians the use of S. Maria in Vallicella. Neri had the church completely rebuilt, resulting in the informal name still used today, the Chiesa Nuova. Hundreds of Romans attended the daily oratories, which consisted mainly of sermons. To begin with these were attended mainly by artisans, but by the last quarter of the century the demographic had changed to 'prelates and the most important gentlemen'.³⁹¹ This had an influence on the musical repertoire too. In 1589 Animuccia published his *Libro delle laudi spirituali*, commissioned by the Oratorians, which contained laude composed with artifice and refinement for cultivated and astute men, but also very basic *laude* for the simple and poor.³⁹² *Semplicità* (simplicity, clarity), one of the Savonarolan principles so admired by Neri, was considered the best way to move the souls of astute and simple alike.³⁹³

The Oratorians, comprising clergy and laity, initiated many spiritual exercises and meditations, in which music, including congregational singing of *laude*, played an important though not primary role. Neri used music to draw people to the services.³⁹⁴ On feast days after vespers, the *oratorio vespertino* was held, a service that included more extensive and elaborate music than usual. Many of the best musicians in Rome performed gratis during this service for many years.³⁹⁵ This is probably the liturgical occasion in which the Verovio publications can be situated.³⁹⁶

One of the best known pieces associated with the Oratorians is Cavalieri's *Rappresentazione di Anima et di Corpo*, performed in the Oratorio of S. Maria in Vallicella twice during the Carnival season of 1600.

Yet another group central to spiritual musical life in Rome was the *Congregazione de' musici di Roma*, previously *La virtuosa Compagnia de' musici di Roma*, an association of musicians and lovers of music living in Rome, including some of the most prestigious musicians in the city, which aimed to foster the teaching and the performance of sacred music. According to Schuler, the *Compagnia* even included women, unlike the Oratorians, who did not permit women to partake in services. Although singers of the papal

390 Smither (1977), p. 42.

391 Giovanni Animuccia, cit. Smither (1977), p. 50.

392 Schmidt (2003), p. 98.

393 Schmidt (2003), p. 98.

394 Smither (1977), p. 52, quoting Filippo Neri: 'Practice has shown that by inserting the pleasure of spiritual music and the simplicity and purity of boys into the serious exercises done by serious persons one draws many more people of every sort.'

395 Some records of payments to musicians, however, do exist; Smither (1977), p. 79.

396 Smither (1977), p. 74. See fn. 395.

chapel were officially prohibited from joining the *Compagnia*, a few are known to have participated.³⁹⁷

The *Compagnia* became a confraternity by papal decree in 1585 and resided in the church of S. Maria della Rotonda (the Pantheon). The *Compagnia* chose SS. Mary, Gregory and Cecilia as its patron saints; Pietro Orsini, bishop of Spoleto, functioned as its worldly patron. Its goal was to edify the people by means of

‘singing the divine praises harmoniously’, and by participating in charitable enterprises such as assisting at processions, burying members and others, providing dowries for the poor, and instructing the young in grammar, reading, writing and music, *gratis* and for the love of God.³⁹⁸

Many of the composers present in the *Canzonette* anthologies were members.

Music played an important role in the gatherings of these groups. As Pacelli states:

Wherefore I have perceived that many, those of middle nobility and rank as well as those who are to be counted as truly noble princes, can often have their devotion rekindled by means of these most pure delight of the ears It is particularly so, if I am not mistaken, when voices are joined with instrument that they produce such assistance to devotion.³⁹⁹

The main purpose was always of a religious nature. The title of the anthology *Diletto spirituale* (‘spiritual delight’) as well as the phrase on the title page (*Te deum laudamus*) illustrate this function of the sacred prints.

6.4 MUSIC IN DOMESTIC SURROUNDINGS

Domestic music making was very common toward the end of the sixteenth century, even if extensive records are lacking.⁴⁰⁰ People from a broad range of social levels, from the nobility to barbers, wool merchants and cheese-sellers, owned musical instruments. Surviving inventories of households indicate that lutes and especially keyboard instruments were most popular, but viols, *lire da braccio* and wind instruments were also fa-

397 Schuler (1963), p. 58.

398 Fiore (2009), p. 20.

399 Pacelli (1599), cit. O'Regan (2000) appendix: ‘La onde mi sono avveduto che moltissimi, tanto di quei di mezzana nobiltà, è facoltà, quanto quei, che sono veramente fra Principi nobile annoverati, spessissime volte sogliono risvegliare la devotion loro con questi purissimi dilette dell'orecchie ... la qual opera credo se io non m'inganno, che congiunte le voci all'istrumenti, sia per arrecar aiuto alla divotione.’

400 The following paragraph is based on Dennis (2006).



Figure 6.1 *Canzonette à quattro voci* (Rome: Verovio, 1591), title page (detail) (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, D-Mbs 4 Mus.pr. 10), urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00074058. As is frequently the case in engraved illustrations, the design was not made in reverse, thus the result is in mirror image. Although it was considered important to show Jesus blessing with this right hand, the direction was not considered crucial otherwise in figurative art. With maps, music and text, this was obviously not the case.

voirites.⁴⁰¹ Evidence of payments for the regular maintenance and repair of instruments are fairly common. Records of the hiring of musicians for weddings, banquets and other special occasion survive, and in recent years considerable research has been done into the patronage of music by the high aristocracy.⁴⁰²

There is iconographical evidence that partbooks, probably mainly printed, were used for domestic music-making. One of the pictures on the title page of the *Canzonette à quattro voci* shows a group of singers and instrumentalists using partbooks (figure 6.1): a female and a male lute player, a boy on the flute and a woman playing an Italian spinet are accompanying two female singers. The harpsichordist and one of the singers are reading from partbooks, in the standard oblong format. The others seem to be playing from memory or improvising.

A similar constellation can be found in several paintings, for example *Il Concerto familiare* by Leandro Dal Ponte (called Leandro Bassano (1557–1622), found today in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence.⁴⁰³ A boy, an older woman and an older man are sitting together reading from partbooks, with one woman playing a large lute and another

401 Trinchieri Camiz (1994), p. 597. The inventory of Zarlino's property, drawn up upon his death, is described in Palumbo-Fossati (1986).

402 See chapter 5.3.

403 See www.virtualuffizi.com/concert.html (accessed 11.05.2017)

woman playing a polygonal spinet. Two other men, a young boy and an elderly couple are looking on. Similar pictures of domestic music-making, with many females participating, can be found on Italian prints, paintings and frescoes from around 1600.⁴⁰⁴ If written or printed music is being used, the singers and players frequently use part-books, but some use of sheet music is also documented. In Leonello Spada's *Concerto* (Rome, c. 1610), a man hands out single sheets from a pile to a musician.⁴⁰⁵ Whether the music played in such scenes was sacred or secular cannot be deduced from the iconographical evidence, but it would not have been unusual if both were played in such settings.

As DeFord (1987), Giuliani (1999) and Fiore (2009) have shown, the sacred and secular repertory are not radically different. On the one hand the *canzonetta* developed from the *villanella*, but on the other hand there are also similarities between madrigals and *canzonettas*. Any secular piece about love, especially if idealized in a pastoral setting, could be transformed into a sacred piece by adapting the text (*travestimento spirituale*), replacing human, earthly love with spiritual, divine, mystical love. Alternatively, new texts could be made to existing music (*contrafactum*). In many other collections from c. 1600, this was quite usual. However, except for some Marenzio *canzonettas*, none of the *canzonettas* in the Verovio collections shows any sign of such an adaptation.⁴⁰⁶

That secular music was also used in sacred surroundings is indicated by a letter in which Cavalieri describes a visit to Filippo Neri in 1593, where he heard the famous singer Vittoria Archilei sing in Neri's room:

She sang a Benedictus, but they wanted to hear *spagnole* and *galanterie*. There were many people there, and in the end Messer Filippo had a Priest of the Vallicella dance. He did the *canario* and the *pedrolino*, and Vittoria said to me that he danced stupendously and must practice frequently. Messer Filippo then gave the benediction to several, notably to Vittoria, and so that she would remember him he gave her a good slap and made her promise to come back another time.⁴⁰⁷

In domestic surroundings and even in a devout environment, the recreational secular and the spiritual aspects of music were apparently also mixed.

404 See specialised databases like <http://www.earlymusicresources.com/home/Iconography-database>, www.bruceadickey.com/cornetto-iconography or <http://kimballtrombone.com/iconography/>. (accessed 11.05.2017).

405 See <http://kimballtrombone.com/early-trombone-literature-pre-1800/trombone-various-ensembles-pre-1800/> (accessed 12.05.2017).

406 Fiore (2009), p. 376.

407 Quoted in Smither (1977), p. 80.

The Council of Trent had already condemned the inappropriate use of lascivious or impure music in church. But as Agostino Agazzari (1638) and Severo Bonino report having heard ‘psalms and motets – and even the holy words of the Mass – set to the *ciacona* and the *gagliarda* and other well-known profane melodies’ and ‘some little tune similar to the *spagnoletta* or the *romanesca* as organ responses to psalms or mass versets’, people apparently needed frequent reminding that the use of secular melodies in sacred surroundings was not considered appropriate.⁴⁰⁸

Several extant manuscripts contain keyboard arrangements of both secular and sacred music, some of which could have been used as accompaniment for voices. Some are fully texted; others have just a text incipit. Fiore has identified some arrangements of *canzonette spirituali* by Quagliati intabulated in this way in I-Fn Magl. XIX.138 and I-SGc MS.Arm.12.⁴⁰⁹ Elena Malvezzi’s keyboard manuscript is one of the earliest sources containing such arrangements. It was probably used in the convent in Bologna, where Malvezzi was prioress.⁴¹⁰ Some of the manuscripts in the Chiesa Collegiata in Castell’Arquato contain texted pieces as well as pieces with text incipits.⁴¹¹ Mason has identified similar texted lute intabulations of canzonettas, including Fallamero (1584) and Terzi (1599).⁴¹² Many of these include both secular and sacred texts, and seem to be destined for private domestic use.

Thus iconographical evidence shows that a mixed groups of performers sang or played music such as canzonettas from partbooks in a domestic setting. The intabulations mentioned above show that a lutenist or keyboard player could also have played such music, either singing the text simultaneously, or accompanying one or more singers.

6.5 WHO COULD HAVE PARTICIPATED IN THE PERFORMANCE ?

In 1976 Gary Anderson calculated that the three-part canzonettas in the prints associated with Verovio can be performed in twenty-two possible combinations of voices and instruments, from solo voice or solo instrument to three voices with harpsichord and lute.⁴¹³ Anderson dismissed six of these possibilities, including both harpsichord and lute, as unfeasible, citing some clashes between the parts.⁴¹⁴ Some sixteenth-century

408 Dell’Antonio (2011), pp. 79–80.

409 Fiore (2009), p. 618.

410 Monson (1990).

411 I-CARcc. Modern edition in Slim (1975–2005).

412 Mason (1997), pp. 77–79, 81–82.

413 Anderson (1976), p. 95.

414 Mainly *musica ficta* problems and small ornamental differences, see chapter 10.7 and 10.8.

writers, most prominently Vincenzo Galilei, frowned upon the combination of the two instruments, because of the different ways the instruments were tuned. (Keyboard instruments were generally tuned in meantone, but fretted instruments in equal temperament.) As will be discussed in chapter 10, from the way some of the canzonettas are intabulated, it can be inferred that this combination was possible, and even intentional, at least for these pieces. It can thus be inferred that this combination was also possible for all the *Canzonette* prints associated with Verovio.

In the second half of the sixteenth century, it was not unusual to perform polyphonic music with a single voice to an instrument. Such 'pseudo-monodies',⁴¹⁵ as Palisca, Pirrotta, Brown and Hill⁴¹⁶ showed, such 'proto-monodies' were performed in Naples decades before the better-known Florentine practice emerged.⁴¹⁷ From Naples this manner of performance spread to Rome and farther north. Three-voice *villanelle alla napoletana* were usually performed by one singer accompanying himself on an instrument, usually the lute.⁴¹⁸ Although all collections of *villanelle* were printed in partbook layout, after 1570 many also had lute parts included in one of the vocal partbooks. At the Ferrara court, Luzzaschi accompanied the ladies of the *Concerto delle dame* on the harpsichord in 1570s, in various combinations, including solos.⁴¹⁹ But also at Florence, Vincenzo Galilei sang the bass part of well-known part-songs while accompanying himself with a lute reduction on the lute.⁴²⁰

Anderson calculated the possible combinations using only those forces for which parts were printed. However, the illustration in the *Canzonette à quattro voci* (1591), which shows two lutes and a transverse flute in addition to two female singers, indicates that other instruments could also have participated (see example 4.1). Playing *colla parte* was standard performance practice at the time, whether in domestic surroundings, churches or oratories.⁴²¹ So more people than the five mentioned by Anderson could easily have participated in a performance.

Except in nunneries, church music was executed and composed mainly by men. Many churches had about four boys in their choir; boys are visible as participants in

415 Palisca (1960), p. 345. The term pseudo monody was first used by Einstein (see for example Einstein 1924, p. 431). Palisca, basing himself on Einstein, describes pseudo-monodies as polyphonic compositions performed for solo voice with an instrument playing a reduction of the parts. Other authors describe the same phenomenon as proto-monody (see for example Fabris (2002), pp. 140, 144).

416 Pirrotta (1982), Brown (1981) and Hill (1997).

417 Fabris (2003), p. 140.

418 Wistreich (2007), p. 137; Fabris (2003), p. 138. This practice is also described by Galilei (1584), pp. 14, 17–23.

419 Durante and Martellotti (1989), p. 131: 'et dentro un gravicembolo tocco dal Luciasco, cantorno la signora Lucrezia e la signora Isabella Bendedio a solo a solo' (12 August 1571).

420 Palisca (1960), p. 345. For further information see chapter 8.4.

421 See for example Brown (1981), p. 148.

the plate above. They usually lived with the *maestro di cappella* and were educated by him. Apart from singing polyphony in the choir, they also sang solos to the organ.⁴²² They participated in the singing associated with classes in doctrine. As Fiore has shown, besides *laude*, *canzonette sprituali* were also sung in such contexts. But, as we saw in chapter 6.2, music also played a role in education, as music was considered capable of influencing the moral dimension of humans.⁴²³ In educational institutions such as the Jesuit colleges, music played an important role. The Council of Trent stressed that all Christians were called to a renewed life: not only cardinals, bishops, priests and legates, but lay men and women as well. Women were encouraged to participate in classes in doctrine, and presumably participated in some communal singing and processions associated with these classes.

Domestic account books contain records of payment for music lessons, usually for boys,⁴²⁴ but increasingly also for girls. Nicolò Vito di Gozze, referring to Aristotle's ideas on education, wrote that boys should receive music lessons from the age of seven, because music is the most delightful exercise for recreation and consolation of the human soul.⁴²⁵ Humanist ideas and education brought women out of the invisibility many had suffered during the middle ages into a more central position, and increasing numbers received an education similar to that enjoyed by men. But although women were more frequently perceived as hubs of social life, they were still expected to be mute in company; thus lessons in rhetoric for example were considered unnecessary.⁴²⁶ Musical eloquence, however, was increasingly permitted, even if some considered it potentially dangerous.⁴²⁷ Consequently, greater numbers of girls received musical education by the late sixteenth century.

Lorenzetti distinguishes between the perception of beauty and two types of love: imperfect, sensual desire and perfect (Platonic) love, which has a more spiritual aspect. Women could use their voices to address both kinds of love, either as a courtesan or a siren, thus corrupting men, or as a Madonna, by delighting the soul and thus helping to ignite a heavenly love (see chapter 6.3).⁴²⁸ Because courtesans were usually well-trained in music, and used music to delight their clients, it was sometimes considered inappropriate for girls from good families to receive a similar level of musical education. However, in the second half of the sixteenth century this situation improved. In 1560

422 Morelli (1998), Lightbourne (1994), p. 67.

423 Lorenzetti (2003), p. 61.

424 Dennis (2006), p. 235.

425 Gozze (1589) pp. 83–84: 'al mio gusto egli è più dilettevole quello della musica, laquale par ch'Iddio per la sua eternal providentia l'habbi mandata al mondo per ricreare, & consolare gli animi de gli huomini.'

426 Lorenzetti (2011), p. 11.

427 Lorenzetti (2011), p. 21.

428 Lorenzetti (2011), p. 20.

Ludovico Dolce claimed that 'knowing how to dance, play and sing is not blameworthy in a young girl; but neither is it deserving of praise in any case.'⁴²⁹ Stefano Guazzo, in his *La civile conversazione* (1574), contended that a woman's education should be consistent with the role she would take in her future life. If she were destined to serve at court, singing, playing an instrument and dancing would be valuable skills.⁴³⁰ In 1602 Tommaso Campanella argued on the other hand that 'music is entrusted exclusively to women, since they are more pleasing, rather than to young boys.'⁴³¹ To legitimize female singing, it was necessary to make a sharp distinction between the two dimensions of love. As long as a woman kept her *modestia and verocondia*,⁴³² (her modesty), singing or playing an instrument became more and more acceptable, even in the company of men, though wind and percussion instruments remained out of bounds.

These public activities gave some women the possibility to become famous and perform at a very high level. Tarquinia Molza, a well-known aristocratic poetess, sang in the company of prominent musicians at the courts of Ferrara and Mantua.⁴³³ Other women also obtained a great reputation, such as Vittoria Archilei, Francesca Caccini, Verovio's daughter Anna Giustina (*la Verovia*), and the members of the *Concerto delle dame*, some of whom were aristocrats. The growing musical literacy of women is also attested by increasing numbers of paintings and prints showing women singing or playing the harpsichord, viol or lute, often from partbooks.⁴³⁴

Although the Council of Trent attempted to reduce the amount of time that nuns spent in music-making to reduce the 'bad influence' of some types of music in female religious orders, especially madrigals with lascivious texts, music remained a common pastime for recreational and devotional purposes in convents. As Filippo Giunti asked in his preface to the *Libro primo delle laudi spirituali* (Venice, 1563), why should nuns be allowed to sing lascivious texts, 'a thing which few secular men would allow their women'.⁴³⁵ Tiburtio Massaino (1607) even explicitly associated *intavolature* with nuns.⁴³⁶

In the last quarter of the sixteenth century, some women, mostly from aristocratic backgrounds, began to exercise unprecedented political and social influence, not only

429 Dolce (1545), fol. 32v, quoted in Lorenzetti (2011), p. 11: 'Il saper danzare, sonare, & cantare a una Giovane, non è di biasmo; ne di molta loda, comunque si sia.'

430 Dennis (2006), p. 235.

431 Quoted in Lorenzetti (2011), p. 11: 'La musica è affidata esclusivamente alle donne, poiché sono più gradevoli, nonché ai fanciulli; non però l'uso delle trombe e dei tamburi.'

432 Lorenzetti (2003), p.123.

433 Bizzarini (2003), p. 53.

434 Dennis (2006), p. 237.

435 Schmidt (2003), p. 15: 'E per qual cagione vien concesso alle monache ... quello, che pochi secolari comportano alle loro Donne.'

436 Massaino (1607), p. 223: 'Io havea pensato di stamper seco l'Intavolatura per maggior commodità di semplici suonatori, & Monache.'

in convents but also as patrons.⁴³⁷ Pompilio Venturi's *Il secondo libro delle villanelle a tre voci ... fatte in lode di molte Signore, & Gentildonne* (Scotto: Venice, 1571) was dedicated to Cleria Cesarina, the daughter of cardinal Alessandro Farnese. The individual *villanelle* in this collection were dedicated to ladies and noblewomen whom Venturi claims to have known personally, or at least by reputation.⁴³⁸ The dedication of the soprano partbook of Ancina's *Tempio armonico della beatissima Vergine* (1599) is addressed to Geronima Colonna.⁴³⁹ Paolo Quagliati dedicated his publication of *Canzonette spirituali* (1585) to Giovanna Gaetana Orsini. Alessandro Gardano also published two books of secular *Canzonette à tre voci* by Quagliati, the second of which, printed in 1588, 'he composed at the behest of various Roman ladies to be played and sung with the harpsichord'.⁴⁴⁰ These musically literate ladies were evidently active consumers of *canzonette*.⁴⁴¹

6.6 CONCLUSIONS

Music was used to further the religious objectives of post-Tridentine associations such as new orders and oratories. The *laude* and *canzonette spirituali* played an important devotional role before and after the extra-liturgical activities in churches and oratories, sometimes even during the liturgy. As Ancina mentioned in his preface, this music was also used in monasteries and convents. But secular music was also considered a vehicle for the promotion of the true faith, as experiencing beauty was associated with the experience of the divine. Both sacred and secular music could also be performed in domestic surroundings and were considered 'ways of gaining perfection in love'.⁴⁴²

The title page of the collection *Lodi e canzonette spirituali* (Naples: Tarquinio Longo, 1608), which contains various pieces from the *Diletto*, *Ghirlanda* and *Arie devote*, suggests the different ways in which these prints could be used. According to the title, the

437 See for example Harness (2006) on the situation in Florence and Bizzarini (2003), pp. 47–56, on Rome.

438 Venturi (1571) dedication: 'in lode di alcune Signore, & Gentildonne Romane, che per vista o per fama non state conosciute da me.'

439 Schmidt (2003), p. 112.

440 Bizzarini (2003), p. 52: 'Altre canzonette del signor Paolo Quagliati ch'egli ha composte à richiesta di varie gentildonne Romane per sonare et cantare su'l cembalo.'

441 Similarly, outside Rome collections were dedicated to women: Gaspare Fiorino addressed his *Libro secondo Canzonelle a tre e quattro voci* (1574) to Genoese ladies ('In lode et gloria d'alcune signore et gentildonne genovesi'). Eight *Arie da cantar* from Marco Facoli's *Il secondo libro d'intavolatura di balli d'arpicordo* (1588) bear the names of females (probably courtesans): 'Aria di Livia', Cinzia and so on.

442 Dell'Antonio (2011), p. 22.

music is meant not only for reading as an honest recreation of the soul, but also to be sung either privately, or publicly in churches, oratories and doctrine classes.⁴⁴³

Music printed in Rome was to bear a licence from the *Maestro del sacro palazzo*, attesting that it lacked any trace of lasciviousness or immorality.⁴⁴⁴ Music in the vernacular frequently had an educational as well as recreational function. The music, in the prints associated with Verovio, adheres to post-Tridentine principles such as clarity, simplicity and comprehensibility, in order to move the senses of those addressed and excite their spirit to devotion.⁴⁴⁵

443 Longo (1608): 'Per poter non solo leggersi ad honesto diporto dell'anima: ma ancora cantarsi ò privatamente da ciascuno ò in publico nelle chiese, oratorij, et dottrine.'

444 'Con licenzia de' superiori' or 'Permissu superiorum'; see chapter 3.1.

445 Dell'Antonio (2011), p. 19.

CONCERTARE : INTABULATIONS
AND BASSO CONTINUO

7 *Concertare*: an introduction

In the third part of this book, we shall examine ‘standard’ playing techniques found in intabulations from around 1600, techniques that could also be used in ensemble playing. First we shall explore what intabulations are, and how they differ from what would be played on a bass. In 1586 no *basso continuo* part had yet been printed. However, did the performance practices employed by musicians when they played together really depend on the notation in front of them?

Giulia Nuti summarizes current views on *basso continuo* in her book *The Performance of Italian Basso Continuo*:

... it was still the case that basso continuo was the best way to accompany, for it specifically permitted the accompanist freely to change the number of notes per chord according to what was being sung.⁴⁴⁶

According to Nuti, ‘new’ traits of ‘a new system of accompaniment’ include changing the number of parts freely, breaking away from contrapuntal polyphony in accompaniment⁴⁴⁷ as well as accepting a certain amount of otherwise forbidden consecutive intervals.⁴⁴⁸ But were these traits really new? All can be found in many of the intabulations connected to Verovio, as we shall discuss in later chapters. Furthermore, we can find there traces of practices normally associated with later periods. The superimposition of tonic and dominant sounds in accompaniment, a suspension sounding at the same time as its resolution, for example, is usually associated with seventeenth century guitar techniques,⁴⁴⁹ or with *acciaccature* in the second half of the seventeenth and the eighteenth century.⁴⁵⁰ Aside from attesting such harmonic practices, the lute and the harpsichord intabulations show that, contrary to a common misconception, it was not unusual for lute and the harpsichord to be played together.

The writing-out of accompaniments together with all the other parts was new in the second half of the sixteenth-century. In Italy, the first editions of polyphonic vocal pieces for three voices with accompaniments in lute tablature were printed from moveable type in the 1570s, in choirbook layout as well as in score.⁴⁵¹ Texted lute intabu-

446 Nuti (2007), p. 32. See also Dragosits (2012), pp. 365–367.

447 Nuti (2007), p. 19.

448 Nuti (2007), pp. 54–55. See also Dragosits (2012), p. 361; Tagliavini (1978b).

449 Christensen (1992).

450 Grampp (2004).

451 Mason (1997).

lations first appeared 1584.⁴⁵² No polyphonic publications with a keyboard intabulation older than the *Diletto spirituale* have survived; the first known texted harpsichord intabulations were printed in 1588.⁴⁵³ As seen in chapter 1, the printing of keyboard intabulations with moveable type was an exceedingly complex matter requiring a large amount of type. Moreover, the market of people that could read and use such editions was probably relatively small.⁴⁵⁴ Until the appearance of the Verovio prints, only ten publications of keyboard intabulations had been printed in Italy, all in relief print, nine employing moveable type and one woodcut.⁴⁵⁵ All these prints contained music exclusively for keyboards, with no other vocal or instrumental parts. By contrast, the use of intaglio techniques allowed for the printing of individual voice parts, together with lute tablature and keyboard *intavolatura* notation, with all parts displayed together on a single opening.

Thus the prints associated with Verovio provide an important written record of performance practices around 1600. The canzonetta prints in choirbook layout allow us to compare the vocal parts with the intabulations for lute and keyboard. Likewise these canzonettas can be compared with other Verovio prints: an edition of madrigals in score, with harpsichord accompaniment in *intavolatura* notation (Luzzaschi, 1601), or a vocal score with *basso continuo* notation (Durante, 1608). As argued above in chapter 6.5, these intabulations could be used to play alone or in company. Whereas lute intabulations that could be used to accompany voices have been the subject of several research projects,⁴⁵⁶ keyboard intabulations are relatively neglected. Although examples of Verovio's accompaniments, notably from Luzzaschi's *Madrigali*, have been reproduced in many articles, books and dissertations, they have not been analysed nor examined within the context of the rules for playing upon a bass that appeared around 1600. Indeed, previous scholars have usually treated them as departing from these rules for *basso continuo*, dismissing them as sources intended for amateurs rather than as transmitters of the 'real' practice of accompanying around 1600.⁴⁵⁷

But before going into these comparisons, we need to clarify some points:

- What exactly is intabulating?
- What is an intabulation and what is an *intavolatura*?
- What alternative notational methods existed?

452 Mason (1997), p. 81.

453 Facoli (1588). See chapter 8.5.

454 Agazzari (1607), p. 12, considered playing from an *intavolatura* difficult and tedious ('molto difficile e noiosa').

455 Judd (1989), p. 92. Antico's *Frottole intabulate* (Venice: Antico, 1517) is not an engraved intabulation, but was probably printed from woodcuts.

456 For Italian music, notably by Mason and Fabris, see Coelho (1997).

457 From Kinkeldey (1910) to Williams (1970), Nuti (2007) and Dragosits (2012); see chapter 7.3.

- Can we take the intabulations seriously as examples for good playing on the harpsichord and lute?

7.1 INTABULATING, INTABULATIONS AND *intavolature*

Until the later sixteenth century, printed editions of polyphonic music were notated almost exclusively in parts, either in partbooks or choirbook layout. These parts usually lacked any clear indication of the intended performing forces. This left performers free to adapt the performing forces according to the circumstances. It also allowed printers to cater to the largest possible market. Consumers could adapt these printed parts according to their wishes, necessities and capabilities.

One of many performance possibilities was to play this polyphonic music on ‘perfect’ instruments capable of rendering all the voices, such as lute, harp, harpsichord or organ. This could be done either *solo*, alone, or *in concerto*, in a consort.⁴⁵⁸ For these purposes, players needed to adapt the vocal parts, because certain ranges might not be playable. Furthermore, they had to take care not ‘to leave the instrument empty,’ as Frescobaldi felicitously put it.⁴⁵⁹ This could be done by adding notes, especially in the left hand on keyboard instruments, by leaving notes out on the lute, or by restriking notes and adding ornaments, as we shall see in the following chapters.

The result of such adaptations could be notated as an intabulation.⁴⁶⁰ Intabulating is thus the act of transcribing a composition into tablature. The Italian theorists Lieto,⁴⁶¹ Galilei⁴⁶² and Diruta⁴⁶³ write that intabulating involved the act of adapting a (polyphonic) composition from parts (both instrumental and vocal) and then rendering the result in notation usual for that instrument, what was known in Italy as *intavolatura di liuto* for lute, and *intavolatura d’organo* or *del cembalo* for keyboard.⁴⁶⁴ But not only vocal compositions were intabulated. Dances and other instrumental genres like *toccate* and

458 According to Brown (1973), p. 55, the first time the concepts of *in concerto* and *solo* appear in a single print are found in Adriansen, *Pratum Musicum* (Antwerp: Phalèse, 1584) and in Italy in Terzi, *Intavolatura di liuto* (Venice: Amadino, 1593).

459 Frescobaldi (1616), Avvertimento 3: ‘per non lasciare vuoto l’Istrumento.’

460 Howard Mayer Brown defined an intabulation as ‘an arrangement for keyboard, lute or other plucked string instrument of a vocal composition ... written in tablature’, in ‘Intabulation.’ *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed 23.01.2014.

461 Lieto (1559).

462 Galilei (1584).

463 Diruta (1609/1622).

464 Different spellings as *intabolatura* or *cimbalo* can also be found.

canzone written in tablature were also considered intabulations.⁴⁶⁵ It therefore seems that an *intavolatura* (intabulation) is any piece written in a tablature.

The situation in Italy, however, is more complex than elsewhere. The *intavolatura di liuto* is a normal tablature which indicates exactly which string is to be plucked, the exact position of the left hand on the neck of the instrument. Only the rhythmic value of the fastest moving part is given above the system, thus expressing the vertical aspect of sound rather than the linear part-writing. The intabulator had to adapt the part-writing, as it is not always technically possible to play all the voices exactly as in the original. When playing from an *intavolatura di liuto*, the original voice-parts need to be deduced, but this was standard procedure for a competent lute player, as Vincenzo Galilei attests.⁴⁶⁶

In contrast to Italian lute tablature, or German and Spanish keyboard tablatres, the Italian keyboard *intavolatura* is usually a mensural notation.⁴⁶⁷ This staff notation is arranged on a system of two staves, showing the individual length of all the notes of every separate voice part.⁴⁶⁸ This makes it difficult to print using moveable type, as shown above in chapter 1. Nevertheless, as Silbiger has demonstrated, the Italian keyboard *intavolatura* also contains characteristics of a tablature: it shows hand positions rather than voices and their progressions.⁴⁶⁹ Intabulators often added notes not found in the original part-writing, especially in the left hand, giving more emphasis to the vertical aspects of sound than in the original part-writing. Tagliavini has shown that in the first half of the sixteenth century it is already common to find chordal hand positions, where chords are not just the result of the simultaneous sounding of the original parts, but are independent entities, often fuller than the original parts.⁴⁷⁰ But this notational system cannot show everything. For example, it cannot indicate the crossing of parts, so the progression of the individual voices can become obscured. Added notes are never marked specifically. Chords outside the reach of both hands and diminutions sometimes require voices to be transposed up or down an octave. Like lutenists,

465 Diruta specifically mentions the masses, *recercari*, *toccate* and *canzon alla francese* by Claudio Merulo as excellent examples of ornamented intabulations. Diruta 1609/1622, Libro I, p. 10.

466 Galilei (1584). See chapter 8.4.

467 An exception is found in Antonio Valente's *Intavolatura de cimbalò* (Naples, 1576), which uses a number tablature system, numbering the keys from the bottom to the top. This system is different from the normal Spanish keyboard tablature notation in the sixteenth century.

468 The earliest Italian keyboard *intavolatura* preserved in manuscript dates from the fifteenth century; see the Codex Faenza (I-FZac Cod. 117).

469 Silbiger (1991).

470 Tagliavini (1978a), p. 72: 'Der "Akkord" ist kein ausschließliches Ergebnis der Stimmbewegung mehr, sondern wird zu einem eigenständigen Element; Akkorde vollstimmig zu greifen und die Harmonien auszukosten gehört zur neuen Kunst der Orgel- und Klaviervirtuosen.'

keyboard players had to deduce the original part-writing, a process which Silbiger calls de-intabulating.⁴⁷¹

In the prints associated with Verovio, we find the term *intavolatura* used in two ways. It can mean an arrangement of vocal and instrumental pieces for lute and harpsichord. It can also indicate the purely instrumental genre of the *toccata*. This ambiguous usage thus illustrates the fact that in Italy an intabulation is any piece written in an *intavolatura*.

7.2 OTHER NOTATIONAL METHODS

In fact, for keyboard instruments '*intavolatura* seems ... to refer not to the genre of the composition but to the fact that the music was printed in staff notation on two staves, as opposed to *partitura* (the plural of *partitura*), in which each part is given a separate staff.⁴⁷² Similarly the *intavolatura di liuto*, music written in lute tablature, is also opposed to *partitura*.

Intabulations were not the only method of notating polyphonic music for perfect instruments. The word *partitura* or *spartito* is used not only for an open score, as Brown implies, but also for single bass lines with lines dividing the staff into metrical units. Therefore, *partitura* could well stand for any of the three following forms of notation that gradually started to appear in the second half of the sixteenth century:

- The open score, which leaves the choice of the performing forces free, and shows each voice exactly as found in the original parts, usually in an unornamented form.⁴⁷³ The score could be used by a consort of viols or violins, or for playing on a perfect instrument. The player needed to adapt the music for a specific perfect instrument, as typical instrumental features remain undefined, such as the assignment of particular notes to a particular hand on a keyboard instrument, or which string and fret are to be played on a plucked instrument.
- A short score, usually a bass/soprano score, where the execution of the inner voices (*parti di mezzo*) was left up to the performer.⁴⁷⁴ These were 'implied' by the normal rules of counterpoint and the movement of the outer parts. In accompanimental short scores the inner parts were sometimes indicated by figures or by notes to avoid

471 Silbiger (1991). Crawford (2002) uses the term 'dis-intabulations' when writing about the transcription of lute music from tablature into mensural notation.

472 Howard Mayer Brown, 'Intabulation.' *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. <http://www.oxfordmusic-online.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/13823> (accessed 23.01.2014).

473 In Italy full open scores at the time were found mainly in Neapolitan music, almost always using a mensural system similar to that still used today. See Kinkeldey (1910), Lowinsky (1960) and Judd (1989).

474 Horsley (1977).

- dissonances with other parts. Regardless whether the top part was doubled, adaptations for individual instruments would still be required.
- Bass-line notation, with or without figures, which implied the basic movement of the voices as found in the composition and as taught by the rules of counterpoint. The movement of the other voices was not necessarily identical with that of the original parts, but followed normal voice-leading and the rules of counterpoint and theory. The player still needed to adapt the music to the specific instrument.⁴⁷⁵

Corresponding to intabulation all of these other methods of notation could be used both for solo music and in ensembles, ‘to play alone or in consort.’⁴⁷⁶ Short score and bass-line notation usually indicated playing in consort. But Banchieri, for example, even used the simple bass-line notation as the foundation for a solo organ performance in church, as a precursor of *partimento* basses.⁴⁷⁷ Unfortunately none of these four ways of notating was capable of indicating both the exact movement of the voices and the exact ways in which the music had been adapted for a specific instrument.

7.3 PROFESSIONALS OR AMATEURS ?

As mentioned in chapter 1, modern scholars and performers frequently assume that the Verovio prints and the intabulations were used mainly by amateurs. Kinkeldey argued that professionals would have been able to read all separate parts at the same time, thus rendering intabulations superfluous.⁴⁷⁸ Scholars have perceived ‘lighter genres’ such as the canzonettas as easier, and the intabulations of Verovio or others as ‘suitable for performance by amateur singers and instrumentalists,’ thus providing insights into the ‘amateur musicians’ ability (and limits of that ability) to adapt printed music to their instruments.⁴⁷⁹ Giulia Nuti, describing the theorbo *intavolature* of the first quarter of the seventeenth century, believes that the fact that ‘the widespread playing of the instrument by amateurs had led to published accompaniments’ that were ‘far simpler than sophisticated professional performers would have played.’⁴⁸⁰ Likewise Dragosits believes that the theorbo intabulations in the Kapsperger prints are for beginners or amateurs,

475 Borgir (1987), pp. 12 and 14, gives a list of different terms and the first time these names appear.

476 Banchieri (1611), p. 44: ‘per suonare solo o in concerto.’

477 Banchieri (1605).

478 Kinkeldey (1910), p. 126: ‘Die Werke waren also für Dilettanten bestimmt und nicht für den vollendeten Spieler, der aus den Stimmen hätte spielen können.’

479 Kranias (2006), p. 34.

480 Nuti (2007), p. 34.

because she finds it impossible to believe that somebody with Kapsperger's technical and musical capabilities would have played such a modest accompaniment.⁴⁸¹

Even the intabulations of Luzzaschi's *Madrigali* (1601), documenting the music that was sung and played by some of the best musicians in Italy in the 1580s, are described as 'realized for keyboard instruments without any of the freedoms which were normally taken.'⁴⁸² Many modern recordings do not follow the harpsichord part provided by Luzzaschi, dismissing it as inadequate.

As Mason shows, this dismissal of intabulations as 'amateurish'⁴⁸³ is conditioned by a problematic attitude to the sources:

As modern musicians, we tend to look at the past backwards in a straight line, using whatever is closer in time, and therefore more familiar, in order to explain something further removed.⁴⁸⁴

Most modern musicians are more familiar with later seventeenth and eighteenth century *basso continuo* techniques, and dismiss these earlier intabulations as 'too easy' in comparison. Mason, however, shows that the intabulations from the Verovio prints and the Kapsperger intabulations are consistent with the tradition of sixteenth-century lute accompaniments, and seem to represent common practice around 1600.⁴⁸⁵

The inclusion of intabulations for harpsichord (or harpsichord and lute) in six of the collections associated with Verovio implies extra work and higher production costs. Some of the intabulations are mainly literal, but the care with which some of the earlier harpsichord intabulations were made (as shown in chapter 6) as well as the use of three different kinds of lute intabulations suggests that Verovio was attempting to notate actual practice. Why should we assume that such a practice is farther away from normal playing conventions than the *Toccate* of Merulo or Frescobaldi? Could it be that they do not fit into what we think the musicians should have played? This does not imply that all the intabulations were always played exactly as written. A less able player can leave out ornaments or added notes, whereas a proficient player might add more, just like a good singer could add, leave out or change ornaments.

The level of proficiency needed to play the Verovio intabulations differs. Some are quite simple, while others require a good proficiency. The same can be said for the vocal parts. Many are quite straightforward but others have more complicated vocal

481 Dragosits (2012), p. 439.

482 Williams (1970), pp. 68–69.

483 Mason (1997), pp. 72–73, describes how these intabulations are usually perceived nowadays.

484 Mason (1997), p. 73.

485 Mason (1997), p. 107.

progressions and a larger range. Most superius parts do not exceed an octave or a ninth, corresponding to the range of what Banchieri calls a *cantore perfetto*, whereas several of the bass parts have a range of up to a twelfth, corresponding to that of a *cantore perfettissimo*.⁴⁸⁶ As Banchieri affirms, ‘because prints should be able to be used universally, all the parts should be comfortably written.’⁴⁸⁷ Similar range and writing is encountered in printed sources used in institutions such as the Capella Sistina, but in such cases no-one assumes that these sources were intended for amateurs. We may therefore dismiss the argument that the Verovio editions were intended for amateurs because the pieces seem technically easy.

But what was an amateur musician around 1600? Just as we look at music backwards rather than forwards in a straight line, as Mason showed, we also tend to project the present-day division between amateur and professional musicians into the past. Today there is generally a clear division between the two groups. Amateurs have generally not received as advanced a musical education as professionals, and usually perform at a lower level of virtuosity, in their own free time, and mostly just for themselves. By contrast, professionals make a living from music, play or sing for a public audience, and are technically and musically more versatile. Thus, when we see music that is perceived as easy, we assume that it was written for amateurs.

In the sixteenth century, the situation was less clear. The concept of amateur (or its Italian counterpart *dilettante*) had no negative connotations what so ever at that time, but implied people who loved (from the Latin *amare*) something or were delighted (from *dilettare*) by it.⁴⁸⁸ The word ‘professional’ was originally only employed as an adjective and was not related to pecuniary matters until much later. Issues of class, social structure and standing complicated the issue. As we saw in chapter 5.4, many composers who could be considered what Christ calls ‘professional amateurs’ came from aristocratic backgrounds. Many others were priests, or had independent income. Many of them could sing and play several instruments. Does that imply that their compositions or their ways of playing were ‘amateurish’? They all published easier pieces as well as more complex ones. But why should we consider ‘easier’ intabulations of their compositions amateurish?

486 Banchieri (1614), p. 146.

487 Banchieri (1614), p. 28: ‘concludo che le compositioni che si mandano alla Stampa, dovendo servire universalmente, tutte le parti devono essere comode, altrimenti danno (per lo più) mala sodisfazione.’

488 Pejorative connotations (as dabbler versus professional) for the word amateur did not start to appear before the end of the eighteenth century and the use of the word professional as ‘one who does it for a living’ has first been documented in 1798. See http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?allowed_in_frame=0&search=amateur (accessed 27.07.20017).

Not all musically active and musically literate people could read intabulations, and many found it 'difficult, tedious and prone to mistakes.'⁴⁸⁹ Galilei believed that the art of intabulations required good skills in singing and counterpoint, as well as sound theoretical knowledge.⁴⁹⁰ The latter is not explicitly assumed in any of the treatises on *basso continuo*. For Agazzari, *basso continuo* notation was more convenient because it allowed beginners to make the most out of the music with little effort.⁴⁹¹ (Today, by contrast, reading music is considered simple, while *basso continuo* is often considered as a higher and more difficult skill.) Of course, Agazzari was trying to open his market to as many people as possible, but, as Mason has shown, 'looking at the past backwards in a straight line' does not always lead to valid conclusions. With our knowledge of later developments in music, with our ideas of easy and difficult, and with our notions of the difference between amateurs and professionals, it is easy to misinterpret the importance of intabulations as a model for ways in which accompaniments were played.

489 Agazzari (1607), p. 12: 'imparare à sonare, e sciolto dalla intavolatura, cosa à molti difficile e noiosa; anzi molto soggetta à gl'errori.'

490 Galilei (1985), p. 36.

491 Agazzari (1607), p. 12: 'perche con picciola fatica havete molto capitale per le occorrenze.'

8 The art of intabulating

Verovio published intabulations for solo keyboard instruments as well as multipurpose intabulations for keyboard and lute, which could be used in a variety of different ways: either *in concerto*, playing together with or without other instruments and/or voices, or alone.

In this chapter, we shall examine the types of *in concerto* intabulations, corresponding to different ways of playing together, that are found in prints associated with Verovio. Furthermore, we shall compare these types of intabulations to what treatises and other sources from the second half of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century state about how musicians were to play these different methods of intabulation, in other words, how to put music into the *intavolatura*, and what kinds of adaptations were standard and necessary.

8.1 TYPES OF *concertare* IN INTABULATIONS

No source earlier than about 1600 differentiates between the kinds of intabulations we discussed in chapter 5.6. However, the Verovio prints present two fundamentally different types of intabulations for the harpsichord. In the canzonetta intabulations, the voice parts are doubled and then adapted to the instrument by adding ornaments and extra voices. Such extra voices might be complete (or nearly complete), or simply notes added in one or two places, usually at cadences. In some intabulations the ornaments are more extensive than in others, but cadential embellishments are usual. The earlier intabulations of this type are generally more refined than the later ones, and were realised with greater care. In the *Lodi della musica* (1595) and Giovanni Francesco Anerio's *Dialogo pastorale* (1600), the keyboard intabulations render the voice parts in keyboard notation with hardly any further additions.

The other type of intabulation is found in Luzzaschi's *Madrigali*. Here the accompaniment is always in four voices.⁴⁹² The upper parts (1–3 voices) are doubled without the ornaments, above a bass. Nicola Vicentino already described this kind of singing to an instrument in 1555: 'it is a good idea to have such diminution accompanied by instruments that play the composition accurately, without diminution.'⁴⁹³ Where necessary,

492 This does not exclude the possibility of rests in a voice.

493 Vicentino (1555), fol. 94r, Ch. 42 (*Regola da concertare cantando ogni sorte di compositione*): 'sarà molto buona tal diminutione nelli stromenti i quali sonaranno la compositione giusta senza diminuire, & come sarà notata.' Translation in Vicentino (1996), p. 300.

voices are added to Luzzaschi's original to attain a four-voiced harpsichord part. In a madrigal with three upper voices, extra notes are added only when the original upper voices have rests. Madrigals for solo voice are completed by adding two middle parts. These madrigals were not Roman and represented a different, though related, genre of composition from that of the canzonettas. Some other examples of such written-out accompaniment in four voices notated in score, are found in the *Libro secondo* of Diego Ortiz (1553)⁴⁹⁴ and in the intermedi to *La pellegrina* (performed in 1589, printed in 1591), though in the latter case not for keyboard.⁴⁹⁵

Ortiz is the first writer who explicitly explains different ways in which instruments (in this case a viol) can play together with a harpsichord. After mentioning *fantasia* (free improvising) and improvisation over a *canto llano* (plainsong) played in the bass of the harpsichord, Ortiz describes the third manner of playing the viol with the harpsichord, 'on a composition with many voices':⁴⁹⁶

One must take a madrigal, motet or whatever work one wants to play, and play it on the harpsichord, as it is customary to do.⁴⁹⁷

Ortiz also shows how to play upon grounds or *tenores*, as they were called in southern Italy.⁴⁹⁸ In the pieces over a ground bass, the parts to be played on the harpsichord are notated in a four-voice score. In the madrigals, the harpsichord part is given in choirbook layout. We shall not attempt to answer here whether harpsichordists intabulated the parts, wrote them down in score or played from the various voices in choirbook layout or even from different partbooks, as suggested by Kinkeldey,⁴⁹⁹ Owen⁵⁰⁰ and Smith.⁵⁰¹ In any case, Ortiz assumed that it was normal to play all voices of the compo-

494 Ortiz (1553).

495 'Dalle piu alte sfere' (for soprano with a *leuto grosso* and two *chitarroni*), 'Io che l'onde raffreno' (for soprano with lute, *chitarrone* and *arciviolata lira*), 'Godi turba mortal' (soprano with *chitarrone*) and 'Dunque fra torbid'onde' (tenor with *chitarrone*) all notated in score, with the respective solo part doubled without the ornaments.

496 Ortiz (1553), fol. 26r: 'la terza sopra compositione di molte voci.'

497 Ortiz (1553), fol. 35r: 'Hase de tomar el Madrigal, o Motete, o otra qualquier obra que se quisiere tanner, y ponerla en el cimbalo, como ordinariamente se suele hazer.' Translation by Peter Farell in vdgsa.org/pgs/journal/vol04-1967.pdf, p. 9.

498 Ortiz (1553), fol. 47r: 'Para major cumplimiento desta obra me pareçio poner aqui estas recercada sobre estos Cantos llanos que en Italia comunmente llaman Tenores, en los quales se ha de advertir que queriendolos tañer como aqui estan apuntadas las quatro bozes.'

499 Kinkeldey (1910), pp. 20, 188–189.

500 Owens (1997), pp. 48–56.

501 Smith (2011), p. 5.

sition on the harpsichord, 'complete, with all its voices.'⁵⁰² However, if the harpsichord accompanies a viol ornamenting the top part, Ortiz states that the result has 'more charm if the harpsichordist does not play the soprano.'⁵⁰³

In chapter 5.6, we distinguished three types of intabulations for the lute in the prints associated with Verovio: the straightforward type (where the parts are doubled as much as possible), the type where the lute is low (where the voices are not necessarily doubled, or where the superius is doubled an octave lower), and the chordal type.⁵⁰⁴ The first two types can be ornamented extensively, or just at cadences. In general, the lute intabulations are treated more freely than the harpsichord intabulations. The number of notes played at one time does not necessarily correspond to the number of singing parts. In some collections, more ornaments are added. This is a general tendency for lute intabulations, since it is not always physically possible to render all the voices on a lute, or to hold a given voice as long as one can on a keyboard instrument.⁵⁰⁵

Theorists in several countries recorded rules for intabulating or arranging vocal (or instrumental) compositions for keyboard or lute. Here we shall limit ourselves to the Italian sources, since the tablature systems for keyboard and lute employed in Germany and Spain (and to a lesser extent in France) differ fundamentally from those practised in Italy. The German and the Spanish keyboard intabulation systems, common in the second half of the sixteenth century, are both non-mensural notations that notate each individual voice with letters or numbers with rhythmic indications on one individual line. All the parts are notated under each other to form a kind of score. These tablatures give all the necessary information to perform a piece, but not much information beyond this. Key signatures, or enharmonic equivalents, for example $g\sharp$ and $a\flat$, are irrelevant.⁵⁰⁶

While the Italian keyboard *intavolatura* system shows which voice should be played with which hand, the voice progressions are not always entirely clear, a problem shared by lute intabulations. Silbiger has argued convincingly that a player who knew the rules of intabulation and applied these 'in reverse' could *detabulate* a piece and thus extrapolate the underlying polyphonic texture.⁵⁰⁷ He also argues that this system of notation

502 Ortiz (1553), fol. 37v: 'el Cymbalo tanne la obra perfettamenteamente con todas sus bozes.' Translation by Peter Farell in vdgsa.org/pgs/journal/vol04-1967.pdf, p. 9.

503 Ortiz (1553), fol. 35r: 'en esta manera de tañer tiene mas gracia que el que tañe el cymbalo no taña el soprano.'

504 In this I differ from Mason (1997) who distinguishes between the straightforward type, the ornamented type and the chordal type. A fourth type of intabulation, where the lute has an ornamental function as described by Agazzari (1607) and found for example in the Terzi lute duets (Venice: Amadino, 1593; Venice: Vincenti, 1599), does not appear for any length of time.

505 Galilei (1584), p. 51: 'per non essere il Liuto di natura come l'Organo, di tener la voce à quanto chi la suona piace.'

506 Silbiger (1991), p. 93.

507 Silbiger (1991), pp. 81–82.

indicates that the vertical, harmonic element, especially in full-voiced pieces, was becoming more important than the horizontal, contrapuntal aspect, even before the rise of *basso continuo* notation.⁵⁰⁸ This is already the case in the first half of the sixteenth century, especially for the left hand of the keyboard player. As Tagliavini points out, 'a chord is not solely the result of the voice leading anymore.'⁵⁰⁹ The chordal aspect is even stronger in lute tablatures than in the *intavolatura d'organo*. A performer playing from lute tablature must make more musical judgements than one playing from *intavolatura d'organo*. For example, voice progressions are much less clearly visible in lute tablature, as the length of each individual note cannot be notated. For this reason, authors like Vincenzo Galilei stress that lutenists must understand the rules of counterpoint. Despite the relative disadvantages of lute tablature, many more examples of vocal accompaniments for lute have survived than for keyboard, both in print and in manuscript.⁵¹⁰

8.2 GIROLAMO DIRUTA'S KEYBOARD INTABULATION TECHNIQUES

The clearest instructions for transforming a polyphonic composition into a keyboard *intavolatura* are given by Girolamo Diruta (c. 1554–after 1610). In the second part of *Il transilvano* (Venice 1609/1622), Diruta describes 'the true manner of intabulating any *cantus*' (*il vero modo de intavolare ciaschedun canto*). He describes two kinds of intabulations (with or without diminutions) and two ways to intabulate (with or without the intermediate step of a score).⁵¹¹

Diruta considered that the method involving an intermediate score was easiest:

Firstly it is necessary to have a lined *cartella*⁵¹² with [the equivalent of our modern] bar lines, except for the last two staves, one of which has a staff of five lines, and the other of eight lines, as can be found in various places ...⁵¹³

Although Diruta suggests that such *cartelle* were readily available, very few extant manuscripts earlier than 1600 show such a score with intabulations.

508 Silbiger (1991), p. 98.

509 Tagliavini (1978a), p. 72: 'Akkord ist kein ausschließliches Ergebnis der Stimmführung mehr' (translation AC). See also Kunze (1996) who uses the term 'Klang' for vertical sounds.

510 Mason (1997).

511 We shall touch upon Diruta's advice on how to intabulate with diminutions in chapter 10.5.

512 A *cartella* is presumed to be some form of erasable tablet.

513 Diruta (1609/1622), Book I, p. 1: 'Prima dovete haver la Cartella rigata, e partita, eccetto le due ultime poste, delle quali una sarà di cinque righe, et l'altra di otto, come troverete in diversi luoghi.'

Ricercare A 4. Partitura. *SECONDA PARTE DEL TRANSILVANO* 5

Intauolatura.

Figure 8.1 Girolamo Diruta, *Seconda parte del Transilvano* (Venice: Vincenti, 1609/1622), book I, p. 5 (I-Bc D 19).

Subsequently, Diruta goes on to say, you take the soprano part and notate it with two *battute* (semibreves) per *casella* (measure), and then do the same with the alto, tenor and bass voices, all on separate systems. When all the parts have been written down in score, the intabulator wrote the soprano voice on the staff with five lines, with the stems pointing upwards, and the bass voice in the lower staff with eight lines, with the stems pointing down. Next the tenor part was added above the bass. If it lay more than an octave above the bass, it was written on the top staff. Finally, the alto was added in the left hand, again unless it lay more than an octave away from the bass. Diruta's examples generally follow these principles, though the beginning of the 'Ricercare à 4' (figure 8.1 transcribed in example 8.2) shows that he did not adhere to this principle slavishly. For example, he does not write the alto voice over the bass if only one or two notes fall within an octave of the bass. If the soprano has a rest, he places the highest sounding voice, whether alto or even tenor, on the top staff. In tabulature it is not necessary to indicate where a given voice has a rest, as long as there is another voice-part on the

staff. However, the entry of a theme can be highlighted by introducing a rest, such as the syncopated entry of the bass in the last measure of Figure 8.1.⁵¹⁴

Ricercare a 4. Partitura.

The image shows a musical score for a four-part ricercare. The top section, labeled 'Ricercare a 4. Partitura.', consists of four staves of mensural notation. The first staff is in treble clef, and the other three are in bass clef. The notation includes various note values and rests. The second section, labeled 'Intavolatura', consists of two staves of mensural notation, with the top staff in treble clef and the bottom staff in bass clef. This section shows a keyboard transcription of the piece, with notes and rests arranged to be played on a keyboard.

Example 8.1 Girolamo Diruta, *Seconda parte del Transilvano*, book I, p. 5, transcription of figure 8.1.

To an untrained eye reading the intabulation, it could seem that the alto begins in measure 2. However, knowing the rules mentioned above allows us to reconstruct the original voices correctly, the process Silbiger calls *detabulation*.

Rests are used in the Verovio intabulations to indicate a voice entry, in the same way as described by Diruta, as seen in Example 8.2, m. 5, in the top voice and the bass. The Verovio intabulations also give a rest after a note to show that a voice-part is crossing to the other hand, as seen in the added 'tenor' in bar 6. Rests are also used to warn the player to lift a finger of one hand if a finger of the other hand is about to play the same note, as seen in bar 7 in the added 'tenor', or is about to create a dissonance immediately afterwards.

⁵¹⁴ Diruta (1609/1622), Book I, p. 4.

Example 8.2 *Diletto spirituale*, Felice Anerio, 'Iesu decus angelicum', voices and harpsichord, mm. 4–7.

Diruta also discusses the treatment of middle voices (*parti di mezo*),⁵¹⁵ especially the technique of playing them in one hand to facilitate playing diminutions in the other. This practice is also observed in the Verovio prints, especially if the diminutions are extended, but as in Diruta, the disposition of voice parts for diminutions and cadential trills is treated differently, as seen at the beginning of the intabulation of Francesco Soriano's 'O gloriosa donna' from Verovio's *Diletto spirituale* (Example 8.3):

Example 8.3 *Diletto spirituale*, Francesco Soriano, 'O gloriosa donna', harpsichord, mm. 12–14.

Diruta also states that if the voices lie too far apart to be played with two hands, they can be changed, for example by putting the bass up an octave, or even changing the part-writing completely, as long as it is not carrying a theme (*fuga*). The same practice can be observed in the Verovio prints as well. For example, in the intabulation of Ruggerio Giovanelli's 'Iesu sole serenior' in the *Diletto spirituale*, the bass voice is placed an octave higher than in the vocal original, to facilitate the playing of all the parts on the keyboard. More extensive rewriting of voices is found more often in the lute intabulations than in the keyboard *intavolature* of the canzonettas.

Similar adaptations to the physical limits of the player and the instrument can be seen in Luzzaschi's *Madrigali*, where upper voices are transposed down an octave. In

⁵¹⁵ Diruta (1609/1622), Book I, p. 2 clearly defines the *parti di mezo* as the voices in between the soprano and bass: '& che le gambe delle notte del Soprano siano voltate in sù & quelle del Basso in giù, per poter meglio accomodare le parti di mezo.'

order to preserve a four-voice texture, the keyboard consistently plays the upper voice parts in a simplified form; some notes are added, mainly in the left hand, unless the bass is very low. In Example 8.4, Luzzaschi's 'Cor mio deh non languire' for two sopranos, the simplified parts of the right hand are placed on separate staves, to show how the voices have been broken down into individual parts in the intabulation. The simplified form of the top voice part as it could be expected is shown in the third staff. The bass with the added fourth voice is placed on the lowest staff. The simplified form of the second voice part, as shown in the original intabulation, is shown in the fourth staff. Luzzaschi however chooses to put the c'' on of the second voice in m. 13 as well as the c'' of the first voice in m. 14 an octave lower (the added notes shown in the fifth staff) and modify the part-writing in m. 13.

13

S1 ta - te e'l de - si - re

S2 te e'l de - si - re

Example 8.4 Luzzasco Luzzaschi, *Madrigali*, 'Cor mio deh non languire', mm. 13–15, with the two original voice parts and the four parts of the tablature separated.

Example 8.5 shows the transcribed intabulation of this passage as found in the 1601 print:

Example 8.5 Luzzasco Luzzaschi, *Madrigali*, 'Cor mio deh non languire', mm. 13–15, with the two original voice parts and the four parts in tablature.

Diruta also discusses the entries of themes in fugal writing. When one voice enters with a theme on the same pitch as another voice that is already sounding, both notes should be played. An example can be found in the m. 5 in example 8.2, where the uppermost voice in the intabulation plays both the entry of the canto voice as well as the middle voice. Neither Diruta nor the Verovio canzonetta intabulations indicate two voices in unison with double note heads or a note with two stems, one up and one down, as is normal in modern notation, since an *intavolatura* is not intended as a score showing the part-writing explicitly.⁵¹⁶

Diruta gives examples of intabulations of two, three and four voices (*partitura à due voci, à tre voci, à quattro voci*); if the composition is for more than four voices, he states that one should proceed in the same manner. Once one is used to intabulating with a score, one will eventually be able to intabulate without the bother of making a score first. Diruta stresses that, also without a score, players should abide by the same method of intabulating, regardless of the number of voices: first the soprano, then the bass and finally the middle parts.

The Verovio keyboard intabulations generally conform to the rules formulated by Diruta. Most of the inner parts are notated in the left hand when the distance from the bass is an octave or less. Some exceptions occur, particularly in four-voice pieces, when the bass is in a high range. In the Verovio intabulations, the left hand never plays notes higher than *a'*; in Diruta's examples, the left hand does not generally rise higher than *g'*.⁵¹⁷ There are three other types of cases where the middle part(s) are not automatically

516 In rare cases, both in Diruta and the Verovio intabulations, the same note will be written in both staves if two (upper) parts converge to a unison, as for example in Verovio's 'Giesu sommo conforto' from the *Diletto Spirituale* (nr. 10) and Locatello's 'Donna gentil voi siete' from the *Ghirlanda* (plate 44).

517 There are some ostensible exceptions. In the intabulation of Giovanni Gabrieli's canzona 'La Spiritata', in Diruta (1609/1622), book I, p. 15, a *d''* is given in the left hand, written down notated by moving the clefs down a third (F3 and C5) and using one ledger line. However, this is a piece in high clefs (*chiavette*); when transposed down, the *d''* would sound as an *a'*.

Soggetto. **SECONDA PARTE DEL TRANSILVANO** 11

Figure 8.2 Girolamo Diruta, *Seconda parte del Transilvano* (Venice: Vincenti, 1609/1622), book I, p. 11 (I-Bc D 19).

placed in the left hand: when the upper parts move in parallel thirds, when the two upper voices are inverted, the second part being above the first part, (example 8.1 shows both cases simultaneously) and when the period is very short.

Whereas dots are used in regular voice parts copied in partbooks and choir-book format to increase the value of a note by half of its value, such dotted notes are often notated in intabulations, and sometimes in *basso continuo*, with ties. Diruta and Verovio often do the same with semibreves and breves, for example expressing a breve by two tied semibreves. In the foreword to *Le nuove musiche* (1601/2), Caccini explains that he uses such notation to indicate that the bass should not be restruck, but that another voice changes, as indicated by the continuo figuring.⁵¹⁸ The setter of the Caccini prints

⁵¹⁸ Caccini (1601/1602), last page of the preface: 'resta ora il dire, che le legature nella parte del Basso in questa maniera sono state usate da me, perche doppo la consonanza si ripercuota solo la corda segnata, essenda ella la più necessaria.'

consistently uses ties in this manner. The same practice can be observed in the Verovio prints, though notes are sometimes tied even where there is a change in several other voices, or none.

Diruta concludes the chapter on intabulating by explaining how to diminish an intabulation and how to place the voices in the hands when diminishing. Only in the example of the first manner of providing diminutions to the soprano part does he add extra notes added to the middle voices (figure 8.2). The second chord has an added fifth and the last chord an added octave below the bass, even though the alto part is missing (f). In the left hand we also find consecutive octaves and fifths, similar to those that occur frequently in dance intabulations. This shows that although Diruta was thinking in voices, he also perceived the adaptation for keyboard instruments in the *intavolatura* in terms of hand positions for the left hand.

The image displays a musical score for Example 8.6. The top section, titled "Sogetta", consists of four staves. The first staff is a vocal line in treble clef with a common time signature. The second, third, and fourth staves are in bass clef, representing the middle voices. The bottom section, titled "Minuta sopra la parte del Soprano", consists of two staves in grand staff notation (treble and bass clefs). The vocal line is transcribed as a melodic line in the treble clef, while the keyboard intabulation is shown in the bass clef, featuring complex chordal textures and rhythmic patterns.

Example 8.6 Girolamo Diruta, *Seconda parte del Transilvano*, book I, p. 11, transcription of figure 8.2.

In conclusion, Diruta states that not all pieces are suitable for making diminutions. In compositions with many *note nere* (black notes or semiminims and faster) and *fughe strette* (themes with closely-set entries), like the 'Canzone di Giovanni Gabrieli Detta la Spiritata', there is very little room for making diminutions.⁵¹⁹ In the Verovio intabulations the pieces with many black notes likewise have few diminutions. The ones with most diminutions are generally those with many semibreves in the vocal original, as we shall see in chapter 10.9.

⁵¹⁹ Diruta (1609/1622), pp. 14–17.

8.3 LEFT HAND TECHNIQUE

Modern editors and players often ignore the importance of the left hand in Italian music of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, a detail with an enormous influence on the sonority of the keyboard instruments. Although Diruta clearly states that the middle voices should be put into the left hand if possible, many modern editions put all the accompaniment of the bass in the right hand, a style of playing *basso continuo* current for example in eighteenth-century Germany.⁵²⁰ Example 8.6 provides three possible ways in which a harpsichordist might distribute the notes of the *passamezzo antico*, as printed in score by Ortiz (1553), over both hands. The first follows the practice frequently found in modern editions of (early) *basso continuo* realizations. The second alternative, which Heinichen calls the older German way,⁵²¹ is often used nowadays by organists, and can also be found in some modern editions.⁵²² The third distribution follows Diruta's rules. These three versions should not sound different when played on a keyboard instrument, but the concentration of voices in the left hand in the third realisation gives the right hand completely different possibilities to make diminutions and other ornaments. The different functions of both hands explain why Diruta can use different fingering systems for the left and right hand, and why the staff for the left hand needs eight lines where that for the right hand only needs five.

Although the voices are written as separate parts, the result, if intabulated according to Diruta, will be a chordal accompaniment in the left hand with a right hand free to improvise diminutions if so desired, or to add more chords. By contrast, in the standard eighteenth-century technique, such as that described by Heinichen (1728), the right hand plays a chordal accompaniment and the left hand can be filled in if so desired.

520 Heinichen (1728), p. 131: 'als würde diese 4.stimmige Accompagnement vor die Hände ungleich eingetheilet, nemlich drey Stimmen vor die rechte Hand, und die einzige Bass-Stimme vor die lincke Hand, welche jedoch (wie oben gemeldet) den Bass an solchen Orten in lauter Octaven fortzuführen, die Freiheit bekam, wo sie nicht von der Geschwindigkeit der Noten und der Mensur verhindert wird. § 30 Dieses letztere nun ist heutiges Tages das gebräuchlichste und fundamentaleste Accompagnement.'

521 Heinichen (1728), p. 131: 'dahero wurde das 4.stimmige Accompagnement mehr mode, welches man zwar anfänglich vor beyde Hände gleich theilte, nemlich zwei Stimmen in der rechten, und zwei Stimmen in der linken Hand, um hierdurch die Künste eines wohlregulirten Quatro zu zeigen.'

522 See for example Taruskin (2005), p. 627.

Example 8.7 Diego Ortiz, *Trattado de glosas* (Rome: Dorico, 1553), Libro secondo, fol. 47^v, with intabulations using three different techniques.

Example 8.8 Marco Facoli, *Il secondo libro d'intavolatura di balli d'arpicordo*, 'Aria della signora Cinthia', fol. 25^v (I-Rsc G.CS. 3.B.31), transcription of figure 8.3.

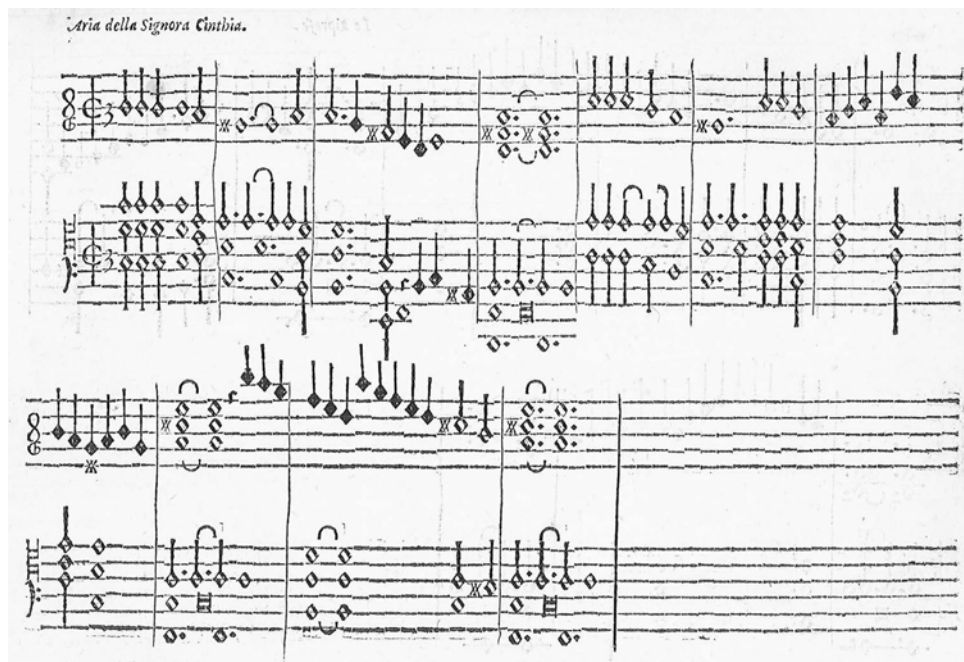


Figure 8.3 Marco Facoli, *Il secondo libro d'intavolatura di balli d'arpicordo* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1588), fol. 25^r, 'Aria della signora Cinthia' (I-Rsc G.CS. 3.B.31).

The fact that Diruta, living in Venice, tells us to intabulate in this third manner does not necessarily prove that this was the way in which it was done in Naples (where Ortiz lived) or Rome (where Ortiz' treatise was published) fifty years earlier. However, we see the same method in earlier intabulations, such as the canzonettas and madrigal intabulations in the Verovio prints of the 1580s. Marco Facoli's *Secondo libro d'intavolatura di balli d'arpicordo* (Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1588) also uses this method, not only for dances and grounds, but also for *arie*, pieces that can also be sung to the harpsichord (see figure 8.3). Likewise, the bulk of the *recerchari, motetti, canzoni [...] libro primo* (Venice, 1523) by Marc'Antonio Cavazzoni is intabulated in this manner.

8.4 LUTE INTABULATION METHODS

As Dinko Fabris has pointed out, although the lute was a very popular instrument in Italy in the sixteenth century, relatively few instruction books were produced there.⁵²³

⁵²³ Fabris (1997).

The first complete method, giving instructions on how to read and make a lute intabulation was Bartolomeo Lieto's *Dialogo quarto di musica* (Naples: Cancer, 1559).⁵²⁴ He lists all the signs needed to indicate the duration of the notes and pauses, defines the *casella* and describes how it should be filled. He then explains that the numbers show where the finger should be placed on the fingerboard to produce the required sound. He points out that it is only necessary to reproduce the sign that indicates the smallest note value. It is not necessary to repeat this sign, as it is valid until the smallest note value changes. Lieto subsequently demonstrates how to put the canto into lute tablature, then the alto, the tenor and finally the bass.⁵²⁵ He subsequently provides tables indicating where each note can be found on the fingerboard. For those who do not know how to sing, that is, to read mensural notation,⁵²⁶ Lieto (or his printer Matthio Cancer) uses an interesting notational system in which notes are defined by their distance in frets (or semitones) from the F, C and G clef.⁵²⁷ Because it is not possible to play two different notes on one string simultaneously and because certain middle parts can be played on different strings, Lieto suggests, like Diruta some fifty years later, to intabulate first the canto, then the bass, and then either the alto or the tenor, leaving out notes that are uncomfortable to play.⁵²⁸

In 1568, the Venetian printer Scotto printed Vincenzo Galilei's *Il Fronimo*, which contained 'the correct and necessary rules to intabulate music on the lute.'⁵²⁹ Scotto's heirs printed an expanded version in 1584. Like Lieto, Galilei presents tables showing the position of each note on the fingerboard, though he uses normal mensural notation for the scales. Galilei used the lute to teach the rules of counterpoint, which players had to master in order to follow the voices and decide when the rules of *music ficta* applied.⁵³⁰ He brings up the problem of *musica ficta* almost immediately since a lutenist, unlike someone playing from mensural notation or keyboard *intavolatura* notation, has to make decisions about *ficta* before beginning to intabulate a *cantilena*, a composition. For example, the note *f* in mensural notation can indicate either an *f* or an *ff*, depending on the circumstances. However, lute tablature indicates these two different notes with two different signs. Another sign, a small cross, indicates that one voice continues to sound,

524 Lieto (1559). All the examples in tablature are rather crude woodcuts, whereas the text and examples in mensural notation are all printed neatly from moveable type. This confirms yet again that printing tablaturs was a complicated matter.

525 Lieto (1559), fols. A7v–B2v.

526 Lieto (1559), fol. B2r: 'per che voi non sapete cantare' (directed at the pupil Rosso).

527 Lieto (1559), fol. B3r.

528 Lieto (1559), fol. D2r.

529 Galilei (1568), Modern translated edition Galilei (1985). For a in depth study of *Il Fronimo* see Canguilhem (2001).

530 Galilei does not use the term 'ficta'.

and that the finger must therefore be held down, so that the voice progression remains correct and dissonances properly resolved. When intabulating a piece for fewer than five voices, Galilei advises his readers that 'you have to exert yourself to make not only the outer parts heard but also the inner parts as well.'⁵³¹ Like Diruta, he advises to set the parts into score before intabulating. He also stresses the necessity of observing the rules of counterpoint when making diminutions. Accordingly, he devotes a large part of the treatise to explaining these rules and providing examples. When playing *fughe*, players should take care that all the themes should be heard. If this is impossible, 'omit now this, now that note which is not so important.'⁵³² Galilei also stresses the importance of using unisons, which add grace; this is not possible on keyboard instrument, but on the lute the same note can be played on two different strings.

Galilei treats repercussions at some length, and stresses the following guidelines:

- A breve should be restruck at the beginning of a *casella*
- A semibreve with a dot can be restruck to create greater sonority and gracefulness; if it would not fit the character of the piece, or if it creates a dissonance, such a repercussion may be omitted
- If a structurally important note has died away, it needs to be restruck. This can be done by dividing the note into equal parts or unequal ones, using a dotted figure.

Galilei presents two of his own compositions, with the voices in score, one of which is underlaid with text, and the intabulation below: 'Qual miracolo Amore,' with texted canto, and 'In exitu Israel,' with texted bass. Galilei intended that these intabulations should accompany singing. As the pupil Eumatius sings 'In exitu Israel,' accompanying himself on the lute, Galilei instructs him to sing the tenor part when the bass pauses, so that the 'words are sung in their complete sense as you see them written.'⁵³³ Most of the other intabulations are either adaptations for solo lute (or two lutes) usually with diminutions, or simply examples.

Other treatises, such as Scipione Cerreto's *Della prattica musica vocale et strumentale* (Naples, 1601) give some information on intabulating, and include explanations of new signs, but deal principally with playing technique. Cerreto also recommends that players hold down the strings with the fingers of the left hand until they are needed for the next chord, and to omit inner voices that are too difficult to play.⁵³⁴

The straightforward type of lute intabulations in the Verovio prints follow the above-mentioned rules. They are generally simple, with only a few cadential ornaments. If it

531 Galileo (1985), p. 92.

532 Galilei (1985), p. 75.

533 Galilei (1985), p. 53.

534 Fabris (1997), p. 34.

is impossible to play everything, the intabulator sometimes omits the top voice rather than a middle part, or transposes the top part down an octave. The freer but still contrapuntal type of intabulations and the chordal type, in which the doubling of the voices no longer has utmost priority, go in a different direction. Repercussions of breves or semibreves (with or without dots) can be found in the lute parts. If the repercussion is in the bass, it is frequently an octave lower or higher, as will be shown in chapter 10.7 and 8. Although Galilei stated that the use of unisons adds grace, such examples are infrequent in the Verovio lute tablatures. None of the theoretical sources on lute intabulating mention the addition of notes or extra parts, a phenomenon found in several of Verovio's lute intabulations.

8.5 ITALIAN SOURCES AROUND 1600 CONTAINING KEYBOARD INTABULATIONS

Far fewer Italian printed sources contain intabulations for keyboard accompanying a voice than for the lute in the same role.⁵³⁵ Apart from the prints associated with Verovio, only one known printed edition contains keyboard intabulations intended to accompany voices: Marco Facoli's *Il secondo libro d'intavolatura*, printed by Angelo Gardano in 1588. Alongside some dances it includes 'some delightful new airs to sing any kind of poetry' (*alcuni aeri novi dilettevoli, da cantar, ogni sorte de rima*).⁵³⁶ Two three-voice *villanelle*, with characteristic parallel fifth movement, include the upper voice, with text, in the right hand, and the two other voices, without text, on the left-hand staff. Most of the other airs bear the names of women, purportedly courtesans,⁵³⁷ for example 'Aria della signora Livia', and are untexted. There are however two exceptions. One is an 'Aria da cantar terza rima', an aria on which any poem cast in *terza rima* can be sung. The other is an intabulation of 'Hor ch'io son gionto quivi'. All the intabulated *arie* accommodate the melody in the right hand, with chords in the left hand. Chords are generally added in the right hand only at cadences, mainly on the final chord, which tend to be in six voices. In general, however, the chords are in four voices, sometimes going down to three parts (or even two) for short passages on lighter parts of the bar, and sometimes filling up to six parts (see figure 8.3).

In 'Hor ch'io son gionto quivi' the uppermost voice is in the right hand and the two lower voices in the left hand, except when the middle voice is more than an octave from the bass. On final chords, the left and right hand tend to share a note, which is written down in both hands, and one chord is added in the right hand (m. 8), so the

535 Mason (1997).

536 Facoli (1588).

537 Davies (2006), p. 149.

Figure 8.4 Marco Facoli, *Il secondo libro d'intavolatura di balli d'arpicordo* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1588), fol. 30r, 'Hor ch'io son gionto quivi' (I-Rsc G.CS. 3.B.31).

texture is essentially for three voices, varying at times from two to five voices (see figure 8.4).

Later manuscript intabulations include Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. XIX.115 and Magl. XIX.138, first described by Hill in 1983, containing what appear to be intabulations (fifteen and nine respectively) of vocal compositions, either with the text in full, just incipits, or titles such as *terza rima* or *ottava rima*.

Some pieces in Magl. XIX.115 (dated between 1593 and 1602 by Hill) are ornamented extensively and seem intended for solo harpsichord performance. Others are simple, with few ornaments, not unlike those in Verovio's canzonetta prints. Five of these pieces are found in printed editions with continuo notation; Hill has compared these with the keyboard intabulations.⁵³⁸ In general the chords in this manuscript are slightly fuller than those in the Verovio intabulations (usually from four to six voices), and contain many more consecutive octaves or octaves with fifths.

⁵³⁸ Hill (1983), pp. 200–201.

Example 8.9 Marco Facoli, *Il secondo libro d'intavolatura di balli d'arpicordo*, 'Hor ch'io son gionto quivi', fol. 30^r (I-Rsc G.CS. 3.B.31), transcription of figure 8.4.

Six pieces in Magl. XIX.138 (dated from the beginning of the seventeenth century), three secular and three sacred, contain the full text under the intabulation. Fiore has identified that the sacred pieces come from *Il terzo libro delle laudi spirituali* (Rome: Gardano, 1588), *Il quinto libro delle laudi spirituali* (Rome: Gardano, 1598) and from Quagliati's collection of *Canzonette spirituale de diversi a tre voci* (Rome: Gardano, 1585).⁵³⁹ These are done in a similar way to the Verovio intabulations, as can be seen in figure 8.5.

Figure 8.5 Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Florence, Ms Magl. XIX.138, fols. 5^v and 6^r, 'Gesù del alma'.

⁵³⁹ Fiore (2009), p. 236, 302.

Example 8.10 Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Florence, Ms Magl. XIX.138, fols. 5^v and 6^r, 'Gesu del alma', transcription of figure 8.5.

Although the Quagliati *canzonetta* is for three voices, the part-writing in the intabulation is mainly for four, though ranging from three- to five- or even six-voiced chords at cadences. Two to three voices appear in the left hand, and one to two in the right. Ornaments are added at the cadences.

Another slightly later manuscript by 'Carlo G.', dated around 1620, contains intabulations of sacred music for one or two voices.⁵⁴⁰ Unfortunately the last part of the surname is missing due to water damage but Iain Fenlon has tentatively identified the author as Carlo Gratiani.⁵⁴¹ Most of the intabulations are in *intavolatura d'organo* notation, but four pieces are for chitarrone. Apart from one piece each by Bartolomeo Barbarini, Giulio Rom. (Caccini?), Paulo Quagl. (Paolo Quagliati) and Girol. Giacobi (Girolamo Giacobbi), all pieces are by C.G. or anonymous.

Giulio Romano. Per monache

Example 8.11 Ms Carlo G., fol. 8^v, Giulio Romano, 'Benche sopra le stelle', transcription of figure 8.6.

540 This manuscript was found in Baden near Vienna in 2005 and was sold via Sothebys to a private collector in 2007. I thank Julian Grahl for giving me a digital copy of this manuscript. It has now been put online [http://imslp.org/wiki/Di_Carlo_G._MS_\(Anonymus\)#Imslp347208](http://imslp.org/wiki/Di_Carlo_G._MS_(Anonymus)#Imslp347208) (accessed 13.05.2017) by Elam Rotem, and parts recorded by the Profeti della Quinta for Glossa.

541 *Invaluable*, 4.12.2007.



Figure 8.6 Ms Carlo G., fol. 8^r, Giulio Romano, 'Benche sopra le stelle'.

Figure 8.7 Ms Carlo G., fol. 7^r, Bartolomeo Barbarino, 'Cantate domino'.

Again, Carlo G. places as much as possible in the left hand, as can be seen in figure 8.6. The top part is always doubled. Some voice parts have extensive ornamentation. These are then doubled in the intabulation in unornamented form, as shown in figure 8.7 from Bartolomeo Barbarino's 'Cantate domino', a similar approach as seen in Verovio's Luzzасchi intabulations. When the scribe forgets to copy a bar or runs out of space, as seen at the bottom of the page in Figure 8.7, he writes the solo voice on one system, followed by the bass notes in *basso* part notation, presumably to be played in a similar manner to the written-out intabulation that precedes it.



Figure 8.8 Ms Carlo G., fol. 2^v, Anon., 'Tota pulchra es'.

When there are no ornaments in the upper voice of the keyboard, ornamentation very similar to that found in the Verovio prints, is occasionally added mainly at the cadences in the intabulated parts, as can be seen in figure 8.8.

Example 8.12 Ms Carlo G., fol. 2^v, Anon., 'Tota pulchra es', transcription of figure 8.8.

The intabulations in all these manuscripts show similar traits to those printed by Verovio.

8.6 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Diruta states that a player intabulating a vocal original for keyboard should put the middle parts first into the staff for the left hand, as long as the distance from the bass is no more than an octave. The middle parts can move freely into the right hand if the distance from the bass is too great, or if the left hand is playing diminutions. The

right hand will thus be free to make diminutions or, in the case of more multi-voiced or homophonic compositions or at cadences, to add chords as the performer sees fit. There are fewer possibilities for such additions in the more polyphonic canzonettas, but even there the progression of the middle parts will be less visible and audible than they would be in separate parts or score. Although such an approach shows a tendency toward a chordal hand position and chordal thinking, the part-writing is still usually clear. The same is true for the intabulations mentioned above, as well as for those in other manuscripts, like the Castell'Arquato collections or the San Gimignano MS mentioned in chapter 4.4. In all the intabulations, the top part (or parts) is doubled, even if the top voice is sung. If there are many diminutions in the sung part, the *intavolatura* will contain a simplified version, as in the Luzzaschi *Madrigali*. If the uppermost voice has no ornaments, the intabulated parts can have some (mainly cadential) ornamentation, as in the Verovio canzonetta intabulations. Some intabulations are ornamented more than others, as we will discuss in chapter 10.5.

Lute tablatures are more varied. They usually follow the outer parts, unless the top part is quite high. Some intabulations tend to stay in a lower register. Others are purely chordal, or have chordal sections. While none of the lute sources gives as much precise information on the process of intabulation as Diruta does, there are many more examples of intabulations, including some with voice parts partly in choir-book format, which can serve as models from which general principals may be inferred.⁵⁴²

This survey of other intabulations shows that those of Verovio, both for harpsichord and lute, reflect common practice around 1600, and represent a normal tradition of accompaniment in Italy.

⁵⁴² See Mason (1997).

9 The art of basso continuo

9.1 INTRODUCTION

The following chapter examines the examples and rules from figured-bass treatises from the beginning of the seventeenth century, and compares these sources with Verovio's intabulations.

By the end of the sixteenth century, *basso per l'organo* parts were being produced in manuscript and print. At about the same time, the first scores for accompaniment were printed, either short scores with bass and top line, with two or three basses above one another, or as full scores.⁵⁴³ Full scores with figures above the bass started appearing in 1600 in printed editions of large-scale staged works. The bass in such works could be either figured or unfigured. The figuring might contain just a few accidentals (♯ and ♭) or numbers to many figures representing precise part-writing, as found in Cavalieri's *Rappresentazione di Anima et di Corpo*.⁵⁴⁴

When faced with unfigured basses, Agazzari suggests in the preface to the Bassus ad Organum part of the *Sacrarum cantionum Liber IV* (1608) that the reader write the figures above the notes in ink, to be sure to play the right notes.⁵⁴⁵ In his treatise *Del suonare sopra'l basso* (1607), he tells us how to do this in order to avoid playing mistakes.⁵⁴⁶ Giulio Caccini was playing from a bass part as early as 1584.⁵⁴⁷ In 1601, he stated that he had become used to putting figures in ink above the bass of some of his own pieces.⁵⁴⁸ An even earlier testimony of this practice comes in a letter from Prospero Visconti to Duke William of Bavaria from 1573–74. Visconti mentions hearing a certain *Jusquinius Neapolitanus* at Milan, who could play counterpoint over a bass on a twenty-three-

543 For an overview see Horsley (1977) and Lowinsky (1960).

544 Many excellent summaries of this evolution have been published, from subject entries in *Groves* and *MGG* as well as Arnold (1931/2003) and Lowinsky (1960) to more recent publications by Barbieri (1994), Nuti (2007) and Carchiolo (2007). Sources in German include Kinkeldey (1910), Schneider (1918), Campagne (1995) and Freiberg (2002, 2004). There is no need to repeat this material here.

545 I-Bc Q 92, see Kinkeldey (1910), p. 224 for the relevant part of the preface of the *Basso per l'organo* part.

546 Agazzari (1607), p. 5: 'ma volendo trovar modo facile di fuggir questi intoppi, e suonar l'opera giusta, usare questo: cioè, sopra le note del basso segnarete co i numeri, quelle consonanze, ò dissonanze, che vi sono applicate dal compositore.'

547 Letter from Striggio to the Grand Duke quoted in many sources, for example Hill (1997), p. 80.

548 Caccini (1601) last page of the preface: 'Conciosia che io habbia costumato in tutte le mie musiche, che son fuori in penna di denotare per I numeri sopra la parte del Basso le terze, e le seste maggiori ove è segnato il diesis e minori il b molle, e similmente, che le settime, ò altre dissonanti siano per accompagnamento delle parti di mezzo.'

course lute.⁵⁴⁹ Thus playing from a bass part was known during the entire period when the Verovio prints were published.

This trend for printing separate bass parts around 1600 created a market for instructions on playing from such basses. Composers such as Francesco Bianciardi, Agostino Agazzari, Adriano Banchieri and Galeazzo Sabbatini published short treatises on how to play upon the bass (*sopra il basso*). Although these composers are no longer famous, they were well-known in the first half of the seventeenth century, and all published compositions in many collections. Most of their treatises have a general example, which we will compare and contrast with Verovio's keyboard intabulations in chapter 10. Apart from these treatises, further information is to be found in general books on (keyboard) music and in prefaces to music prints of the period.

9.2 REASONS FOR THE NEW WAY OF PLAYING UPON A BASS

Agostino Agazzari lists three reasons why playing upon the bass was introduced:⁵⁵⁰

1. Because of the modern style of style of singing *recitativo* and composing;
2. Because of convenience;
3. Because of the quantity and variety of pieces which are necessary for the *conserto*.⁵⁵¹

9.2.1 The modern style

Although musicologists like Carter⁵⁵² and Bianconi⁵⁵³ have published several differentiated articles and books on the 'new music', most musicians nowadays still associate the 'new style' with the year 1600 as well as with the '*cantar recitativo*'⁵⁵⁴ (singing recitative), with monody,⁵⁵⁵ and the invention of *basso continuo*.

In the abridged version of his treatise, sent as a letter to Banchieri on 15 April 1606, Agazzari discussed the style that *questi Signori Musici Romani* (probably the members

549 Kinkeldey (1910), p. 207.

550 Agazzari (1607), pp. 10–11.

551 *Conserto* derives from the Latin *conserere*, to connect or join. Thus a *conserto* is making music together, any ensemble with two or more people.

552 See for example Carter (1984, 1992, 2000, 2005).

553 See for example Bianconi (1987), chapter 8, pp. 45–51.

554 A term never used around 1600.

555 Monody is a term nowadays used to denote accompanied Italian solo songs (see Nigel Fortune and Tim Carter. 'Monody.' Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online. 26.10.2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/18977>. The term, however, is not found in print before 1635, when it was introduced by Giambattista Doni (see Bianconi (1987), p. 15).

of the *Compagnia dei Signori Musici di Roma*)⁵⁵⁶ used when playing together with organ, voices, and other instruments.⁵⁵⁷ In his treatise from 1607 Agazzari declared that musicians had recently found the true manner to express the words, a style that functioned best with one or just a few voices, as was usual at that time in Rome *ne' concerti*.⁵⁵⁸

But the term 'new style' is also used for greater groups of voices. In 1603 Agazzari published the *Sacrae laudes* (Rome: Zanetti) for four to eight voices with a *bassus ad organum* part, written in the new style:

The new style, to which, if I am not mistaken, I have adhered whilst composing the motets, following the greatest *affetto* of singing that was within my capabilities, and to express the words in a lively manner (something fitting for the *concerto*).⁵⁵⁹

Using evidence from archival sources, Noel O'Regan has shown that well into the 1620s much of the music performed in churches in Rome, especially on feast days, was poly-choral.⁵⁶⁰

Cantare recitativo is a term frequently misunderstood in modern times, especially among practical musicians. Sternfeld showed that Agazzari, who first used the term *recitativo* in a treatise, provides some idea of what the term *recitare* could mean around 1600.⁵⁶¹ Sternfeld concluded that it was synonymous with *rappresentare*. *Recitar cantando* and *cantar recitativo* seem to mean the same thing, perhaps simply recitation. Barbarino confirms this interpretation when, dedicating his collection of solo motets to Giuliano della Rovere, he says that his compositions were

Appreciated by you when at times I 'represented' them to you with my hoarse and weak voice to the Chitarrone, whilst you were celebrating the holy mass.⁵⁶²

556 Another name used for the Congregazione de' Musici di Roma, see Bizzarini (2003), p. 77.

557 Banchieri (1609), p. 68: 'io le mandi una minuta dello stile, che usano questi Signori Musici Romani, nel concertare con Organo voci, & stromenti da tasti arco, & corda.'

558 Agazzari (1607), p. 11: 'Della prima dico, che essendosi ultimamente trovato il vero stile d'esprimere le parole, imitando lo stesso ragionare nel miglior modo possibile; il che meglio succede, con una, ò poche voci, come sono l'arie moderne d'alcuni valenthuomini, e come al presente s'usa assai in Roma ne'concerti; non è necessario far spartitura, ò intavolatura; ma basta un Basso con i suoi segni, come habbiamo detto sopra.'

559 I-Bc Q 89, see Kinkeldey (1910), p. 224: 'Il nuovo stile, ch'io se non m'inganno, ho tenuto in comporre li Motetti, seguendo il maggior affetto, che per me si è potuto, del cantare, ed esprimer vivamente le parole (cosa proprio del concerto).'

560 O'Regan (1995a).

561 Sternfeld (1983–1984), p. 41.

562 Barbarino (1610), Dedication: 'da lei aggraditi quando tal volta gli è li rappresentavo nel Chitarrone con questa mia rauca, e debil voce, celebrando ella la Santa Messa.'

For this new or modern style, Agazzari states that it was not necessary to make a score or *intavolatura*; a bass, with figures written in to show the intervals, was sufficient:

But if somebody were to tell me that a bass is not enough for old works full of fugues and counterpoints, I reply that similar *cantilene* are not in use anymore because of the confusion, and soup of words, that rise from these long and intricate fugues.⁵⁶³

Agazzari clarifies what he means by 'old' works: music with long and intricate fugues, in which each voice sings different words. He specifically mentions that Palestrina saved church music from the errors of earlier composers by publishing his *Missa Papae Marcelli* (printed in 1567 but probably composed in 1562).⁵⁶⁴ Palestrina, according to Agazzari, thus saved music from being banished from church. This mass, Agazzari implied, was not one of these 'old' compositions.⁵⁶⁵

However, as Carter and Barbieri have shown, such 'old' music was still being circulated and sold in bookshops.⁵⁶⁶ This conservative tendency is found in many Italian catalogues of music collections well into the third quarter of the seventeenth century.⁵⁶⁷ The newest music probably spread through personal networks.⁵⁶⁸

Giulio Cesare Monteverdi expresses a similar view of old music in the *Dichiaratione* at the end of the 1607 edition of his brother's *Scherzi musicali*.⁵⁶⁹ Here he names Ockeghem, Josquin, de la Rue, Mouton, Crequillon, Clemens non Papa and Gombert as the principal composers of the *prima pratica*, which was perfected by Willaert, the

563 Agazzari (1607), p. 11: 'Ma se alcuno mi dicesse, che à suonar l'opere antiche piene di fughe, e contrapunti, non è bastevole il basso; à ciò rispondo, non esser in uso più simil cantilene, per la confusione, e zuppa delle parole, che dalle fughe lunghe ed intrecciate nascono; ed anco perchè non hanno vaghezza: poiche cantandosi à tulle le voci, non si sente ne periodo, ne senso; essendo per le fughe interrotto, e sopraposto; anzi nel medesimo tempo ogni voce canta parole differenti dall'altro; il che à gl'houmini intendenti e giudiciosi dispiace ne poco mancò, che per questa cagione non fosse sbandita la Musica da S. Chiesa, da un Sommo Pontefice, se da Giovan Palestrino non fosse stato preso riparo, mostrando d'esser vitio, ed errore de' compositori, e non della Musica; ed à confirmatione di questo fece la Messa intitolata: missa papae marcelli. Onde si bene per regola di contraponto sono buone tali compositioni; nondimeno per regola di vera e buona musica.'

564 Lewis Lockwood, et al., 'Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da.' In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/20749> (accessed 24.09.2017).

565 It is not relevant to the discussion whether the *Missa Papae Marcelli* argument is a fact or a myth created by Agazzari; see Galliard (1971).

566 Carter (1989), p. 490. Barbieri (2004a), pp. 91–97, reproduces the Franzini index of 1586, which contains editions printed between 1453 and 1586.

567 Mischiati (1984); see chapter 4.1.

568 Carter (1989), p. 493.

569 Giulio Cesare Monteverdi, *Dichiaratione della Lettera stampata nel Quinto libro de suoi madrigali* in Claudio Monteverdi, *Scherzi musicali a tre voci* (Venice: Amadino, 1607).

last of these composers, who died in 1562. As composers of the *seconda pratica*, Giulio Cesare Monteverdi names Cipriano de Rore (†1565), Carlo Gesualdo (†1613), de' Cavalieri (†1602), de' Bardi (†1612), Ingegneri (†1592), Marenzio (†1599), de Wert (†1596), Luzzaschi (†1607), Peri (†1633) and Caccini (†1618). Many of these composers of the *seconda pratica* had already passed away by the time Giulio Cesare Monteverdi wrote the *Dichiaratione* and Agazzari published his treatise.

Seconda pratica was a second practice, not a new practice, which developed a new way of using dissonances, as Durante put it in his preface to the *Arie devote*, 'with some licence in the counterpoint due to the *affetti*.'⁵⁷⁰ But this was not new in 1607. According to Palisca, as early as 1555, Vicentino questioned the necessity of conforming to the rules of counterpart all the time. He allowed for exceptions to express the feelings of the text.⁵⁷¹

In his rules for playing on the bass, published in 1607, Bianciardi defines the bass as the lowest sounding voice of the composition, even if the bass (or bass and tenor) has a rest. In other words, he is not talking about a separate bass part composed explicitly for the instrumental bass instruments, but about what we now call *basso seguente*. This is hardly a distinguishing feature of what we tend to think of as the modern style around 1607. In fact, only the last of Bianciardi's published works, printed posthumously, contains a separate *basso continuo* part; even here, the continuo part tends to be the lowest sounding part of the composition.⁵⁷² Like Agazzari, he states that some works cannot be played easily upon the bass, such as old pieces in the fugal style.

Banchieri mentioned Bianciardi, alongside Agazzari and Viadana, as one of the best composers of his time.⁵⁷³ Bianciardi, like Agazzari, was a member of the Accademia degli Intronati in Siena, and became its head in 1601. He was also famous as an organist. Most of Bianciardi's music, however, is in what we would now describe as the old fugal style: careful, correct counterpoint.⁵⁷⁴ Bernhard Billeter, the recent editor of some of Bianciardi's works, once stated that he did not understand how the music by composers like Viadana and Agazzari, but above all by Bianciardi, could be so old-fashioned when they so keenly propagated modern *basso continuo*.⁵⁷⁵ Bianciardi's definition of the 'bass' is probably closer to Agazzari's definition than to ours. However, he also asserts that

570 Durante (1608), A Lettori, p. 1: 'Alle Arie si permette qualche licenza nel contrapunto per causa de gli affetti.'

571 Vicentino (1996), Foreword, p. vii. This shows, as has been noted by many recent authors, that *seconda pratica* referred to the primacy of the text over contrapuntal rules, rather than to the stylistic difference between polyphonic music and monodic music with *basso continuo* (see for example Leopold (2002) and Ossi (2003)).

572 Bianciardi (1608).

573 Banchieri (1614), p. 241.

574 See for example the Ricercari from the Turin tablature manuscripts.

575 Private conversation, March 1993.

... in some of the modern pieces it is even more difficult if the intervals are not notated above the bass and if the player is not familiar with counterpoint, and doesn't have a trained ear. Then it is easy to ruin a piece instead of helping it.⁵⁷⁶

Much of the so-called 'new music' published around 1600, was composed and performed earlier. Some of the compositions in Caccini's *Nuove musiche* were composed some fifteen years earlier, as he himself states in the foreword.⁵⁷⁷ Viadana states that he composed his *Cento concerti ecclesiastici* five or six years previously, that is, in 1595 or 1596,⁵⁷⁸ while he resided in Rome, where the true art of singing flourished.⁵⁷⁹ We know that Luzzaschi's *Madrigali* were performed at the court in Ferrara in the 1570s and 1580s.⁵⁸⁰ Giustiniani (1628) stated that the new way of singing started to appear in the jubilee year 1575, the year Verovio came to Rome, or shortly thereafter.⁵⁸¹

Thus the 'new music' around 1600, the *nouva musica*, included both sacred and secular music; the pieces could be either for one or just a few voices, but also polychoral; some were to be recited, others for example the lighter, strophic arias were more dance-like; some compositions exhibited *seconda pratica* characteristics, using 'some licence in the counterpoint,' others were homophonic and moved in simple chordal progressions without any dissonances, at times even in parallel consecutive thirds and fifths.

But this music was not necessarily the most recent. Several scholars, notably Howard Mayer Brown, Tim Carter, Dinko Fabris, John Hill and Richard Wistreich, have shown that the first editions containing 'new music' did not necessarily occur at the same time the modern style germinated.⁵⁸² Pirrotta argued that the new element was the recording of old improvisatory practices in writing, and their transformation into compositional practices.⁵⁸³ It may be that *basso continuo* practice was likewise in use long before the notational system appeared in print. *Basso continuo* is not necessarily associated only

576 Bianciardi (1607): 'E però bisogna far distintione fra le compositioni, che non tutte si posono sonar commodamente sopra il Basso; come sono le compositioni fugate antiche; ma molto meno alcune moderne, che si veggono comparire vaghe di nuove inventioni; che, se non son notati i Bassi sopra delle consonanze, che vi si devon fare; e, si il sonatore non ha l'arte del contrapunto, ò grandissima pratica dell'udito; facilmente guasterà la compositione incambio d'aiutarla.'

577 Carter (1984), p. 209.

578 Viadana (1602), preface, p. 2: 'che alcuni di questi Concerti, che io composi cinque ò sei anni sono ritrovandomi in Roma; (essendomi soventuto all'hora questo novo modo).'

579 Viadana (1602), preface to *Basso per sonar nel organo*, p. 2: 'in Roma dove fiorisce la vera professione del cantar bene.'

580 Newcomb (1980), p. 59, suggests before 1584. The first performance of a solo madrigal reported in Ferrara is from 1571; *ibid.*, p. 12.

581 Giustiniani (1628), cit. Solerti (1903), pp. 106–107.

582 Brown (1981), Carter (1984, 1992), Fabris (2003), Hill (1997), Wistreich (2007).

583 Pirrotta (1982).

with music that was new around 1607, when Agazzari and Bianciardi published their treatises, but with music considered new at that time, but which could have been written somewhat earlier.

9.2.2 Convenience

The second reason for playing upon the bass was convenience:

... since with little effort you will have many resources at your disposal for many an occasion. On top of which he who wants to learn to play is free of making an *intavolatura*, which for many is a difficult and tedious thing and prone to mistakes, as the eye and the mind are occupied looking at all those parts, when the occasion arises to play together impromptu.⁵⁸⁴

Not having to make an *intavolatura* or score was indeed timesaving. But Agazzari's comments also imply that reading an *intavolatura* was not easy. This is corroborated by Viadana, who states that the reason he did not make an *intavolatura* for the *Cento concerti ecclesiastici* was not to avoid the effort, but because not all organists were capable of reading one at first sight, whereas most organists could play from a bass part, a *partitura*.⁵⁸⁵ Moreover, many musicians would have been more at home improvising or playing by memory on a keyboard instrument.

As Agazzari mentions, reading an *intavolatura* could lead to mistakes, but on the other hand, many writers and composers also testify that playing upon the bass could likewise lead to many errors.

9.2.3 The quantity of works

According to Agazzari, the sheer quantity of works that keyboard players performed should have sufficed to warrant the use of an easier notation. Having to intabulate or put into score all the works sung in any one Roman church in a single year would require the organist to have a larger library than any Doctor of Law.⁵⁸⁶ This again shows

584 Agazzari (1607), p. 12: 'perche con picciola fatica havete molto capitale per le occorrenze, oltre che chi desidera imparare à sonare, e sciolto dalla intavolatura, cosa à molti difficile e noiosa; anzi molto soggetta à gl'errori perche l'occhio, e la mente è tutta occupata in guardar tante parti massime venendo occasione di consertar all'improvviso.'

585 Viadana (1602), preface, p. 2: 'Sesto. Che non si è fatto la intavolatura à questi concerti, per fuggir la fatica, ma per rendere piu facile il suonargli à gl' Organisti, stando che non tutti suonarebbero all'improvviso la Intavolatura, e la maggior parte suonaranno la Partitura, per essere più spedita.'

586 Agazzari (1607), p. 12: 'poiche se si havessero ad intavolare, ò spartire tutte l'opere che si cantano fra l'anno

that intabulating or putting into score was considered a normal procedure around 1600, but it also implies that a shorthand notation was quite commonly used to avoid the necessity of intabulation.

9.2.4 Printing techniques

A fourth reason, to which several composers allude only in passing and indirectly, was the difficulty of printing lute and especially keyboard parts, as outlined in chapter 2. As described already, most music was printed in part-book format using movable type. Printing a full *intavolatura* for a bass partbook was not only complicated and time-consuming. It also took up a great deal of space, which would have made the bass parts disproportionately longer than the other parts, and thus more expensive.⁵⁸⁷ This is corroborated by Tiburzio Massaino, who considered having an *intavolatura* printed for his *Partitura per sonar nell'organo della musica a una, due, & tre voci* (Venice, 1607) but subsequently discarded this idea because he did not want the volume to become too large.⁵⁸⁸

Furthermore, the printing of figures was something special, time-consuming and difficult. In his short introduction to Peri's *Musiche Varie* (1609), the Florentine printer Cristofano Marescotti described the great care he took in marking the *basso continuato* with the notes and the numbers found in the original to facilitate the accompaniment of the middle voices.⁵⁸⁹ In the preface of his *Arie devote*, Ottavio Durante asserts that he put only a few figures above the bass, not simply for the ease of the player, but also of the engraver.⁵⁹⁰

Printing figures over a bass part from moveable type was a complicated matter. In the 1605 edition of *L'organo suonarino* Banchieri suggested a system in which placing the ♯ on the lines above the bass at a certain distance differentiated between an altered sixth or third, without needing signs outside the staff. However, this system did not become

in una sola Chiesa di Roma; dove si fa professione di concertare, bisognerebbe all'Organista, che avesse maggior libreria, che qual si voglia Dottor di legge.'

587 Girolamo Giacobbi's organ score for the *Prima parte di salmi concertati a due e più chori* (Venice, 1609) is in folio format and size, whereas the other parts are in quarto. This would have been very impractical for storage in libraries, where the books were generally sorted first according to size.

588 See Kinkeldey (1910), p. 223. Massaino (1607): 'Io havea pensato di stampare seco l'Intavolatura per maggior commodità di semplici suonatori, & Monache, ma hò mutate pensiero per non accrescere tanto il volume, che però hò posti appresso al Basso una parte che sempre canti.'

589 Peri (1609), p. 2: 'Hò posto diligente cura in contrassegnare il basso continuato con le note, & con I numeri conforme alli originali per agevolare l'accompagnatura delle parti di mezzo.'

590 Durante (1608), 'A Lettori', p. 1: 'Hauendo auuto mira alla facilità come allo sminuire in parte la fatica dell'intagliatore, si sono accenate per le parti di mezzo nella parte del Basso solo alcune settime e risolute in seste, & undecime in decime, che sono come quarta in terze, tanto piu che le terze e seste maggiori e minori, & altre consonanze, pare che concorrono da se stesse, mentre si suonano, e cantano insieme.'

generally accepted, probably because it would be harder to typeset than normal bass figures.⁵⁹¹ As mentioned before, Agazzari suggested in the preface to the Bassus ad Organum part of the *Sacrarum cantionum liber IV* (1608) that the reader write the figures above the notes, so as to be sure to play the right ones:

I want to warn the player that because of printing problems I have been unable to mark the ♯ and ♭, that is the major and minor thirds, and the numbers above the notes according to their needs; please therefore keep your ear out for the singers, favour [support] the tessitura, and perhaps mark them [the figures] in pen, checking first that they are right ...⁵⁹²

Nuti points out that such figures are entered in pen in a surviving copy of the 1613 edition of the fourth book of the *Sacrae cantiones* by Agazzari, but such examples are rare.⁵⁹³

The scores of the first generation of works with figured bass contain many figures, but these were expensive representational prints, not the basses more commonly used for church music. If it had been manageable or affordable to print all these figures above the bass in more quotidian editions, the composer could have indicated exactly what he wanted, thus eliminating the possibility for mistakes; moreover, it would have saved the player time, which is one of Agazzari's principal arguments, as mentioned in chapter 9.2.2.

9.2.5 Conclusion

We have shown that the reasons for introducing the figured bass notation were partly musical and partly practical. In the old style, it was impossible to play just from the bass, since it was necessary to know the whole composition. In the modern style, which Agazzari exemplified by Palestrina's *Missae Papae Marcelli*, it was possible to play just from the bass. The movement of the inner parts had become less important. According to Agazzari, it was necessary to write figures over the bass simply to avoid 'wrong' notes, but it was not necessary to define the inner parts and their part-writing precisely. Since much of the church music was polychoral, the inner parts could not be rendered literally on a keyboard instrument anyway. In the modern style, current just before and around 1600, some non-written performance practices were now written down: ornaments, intabulations and solo versions of polyphonic pieces, a style that Hill calls madri-

591 Banchieri (1605), p. 2.

592 Translation in Nuti (2007), p. 26: 'voglio avvertire quel che suona, che per mancanza della stampa non havendo potuto segnare li ♯ e li ♭, cioè le terze maggiori, & minori, & i numeri sopra le note conforme al bisogno loro, voglio porger l'orecchio à i cantanti, & secondar la tessitura, se già non volesse segnargli con la penna rivedendoli prima.'

593 Nuti (2007), p. 26, GB Lbl C.30.K.

gals in reduced polyphony.⁵⁹⁴ Furthermore, works were being composed that could not be performed without an instrumental bass.

Agazzari's emphatic injunctions that it was no longer necessary to make an *intavolatura* or *spartitura* implies both that some musicians were actually doing this, and that others had long been trying to avoid doing so. Throughout the whole period in which figured bass was in use, we can find examples of written-out parts for accompaniment, both with and without part-doubling, from plain chordal settings to refined polyphony. When Agazzari, Bianciardi and others put forward their arguments in favour of playing upon the bass, they still had to convince some readers of the benefits of the new and less precise method of notation. Eventually, the convenience of the figured bass notation would triumph.

9.3 GENERAL FIGURED BASS SOURCES

9.3.1 Prefaces

Many of the extant sources on playing upon the bass were not conceived as separate theoretical treatises, but were included as prefaces in printed collections of compositions, usually in the bass part, and relevant for the realisation of a specific collection. Some of these prefaces consist of only a single sentence or paragraph with some interesting information, while others are longer and more general. Although Agazzari's instructions *Del suonare sopra'l basso* were published as a separate engraved edition in 1607, they were also included in the *basso continuo* part of the *Sacrarum cantionum liber II*, Opus 5 (1608),⁵⁹⁵ as well as in subsequent editions of 1609 and 1613, which were all printed using moveable type. In these editions the instructions were included as an integral part of the partbook, not as a separate *quaderno* which could be added or left out, as in the *Arie devote* by Durante.

In the preface to Cavalieri's *Rappresentazione di Anima, et di Corpo* (1600), Alessandro Guidotti explained that 'the small numbers over the notes of the *basso continuo* to be played signify the consonance or dissonance of that number, such as 3 for a third, 4 for the fourth, and so on.' He also notes that if a sharp or a flat is notated in front of or below such a figure, it also affects that number.⁵⁹⁶ Such instructions have of course become self-evident for a modern performer. Cavalieri and Guidotti also recommend

⁵⁹⁴ Hill (1997).

⁵⁹⁵ Agostino Agazzari, *Sacrarum Cantionum, que binis, Ternis, Quaternisque vocibus concinuntur. Liber II. Opus V.* (Venice: Amadino, 1608, 1609 and 1613).

⁵⁹⁶ Cavalieri (1600): 'Li numeri piccoli posti sopra le note del Basso continuato per suonare, significano la Consonanza, ò Dissonanza di tal numero: come il 3. terza: il 4. quarta: & cosi di mano in mano. Quando il diesis ♯ è posto avanti, ovvero sotto di un numero, tal consonanza sarà sostenata: & in tal modo il ♭ molle fa il suo effetto proprio.'

that players should not change any *mi* into *fa*, or vice versa, in other words, the reader or player was not to apply any of the rules of *musica ficta* to notes, other than the ones already indicated. They should only sing or play sharps if they were specifically indicated, even if there were multiple notes on the same pitch.⁵⁹⁷ By contrast, in the Verovio intabulations the rules of *musica ficta* must be applied in the voice parts as well as the harpsichord intabulation, as will be seen in chapter 10.10.

Cavalieri and Guidotti also tell the reader that some dissonances and consecutive fifths were intentional.⁵⁹⁸ Such deliberate ‘errors’ are mentioned frequently in the early treatises, and also found in the Verovio intabulations.

9.3.2 Viadana

One of the most frequently quoted and most famous prefaces relating to the performance practice of accompanying from a bass part is that by Lodovico Grossi da Viadana (c. 1560–1627), a member of the order of the Friars Minor Observant. Viadana’s *Cento concerti ecclesiastici a una, a due, a tre & quattro voci. Con il basso continuo per sonare nell’Organo* (1602) was the first printed collection that contained pieces suitable for all kinds of ecclesiastical situations, with a separate organ part. Not every church, even in Rome, had a full choir available and thus three, two or even one singer could end up performing motets for five to eight voices upon the organ. This meant that sometimes the vocal part(s) might have long pauses, or that parts of the text were not sung. According to Viadana, such practices resulted in *a manner of singing which was imperfect, or tedious, or inept* both for the listeners and for the singers.⁵⁹⁹ But by the end of the sixteenth century, abstracting parts for (available) voices had become a normal practice in Rome,⁶⁰⁰ as had solo singing *nel* (or *in*) *organo*, alongside the older practice of alternatim performance of versets of hymns or psalms.⁶⁰¹

The subtitle of the collection is *Nova inventione commoda per ogni sorte di cantori & per gli organisti* (‘New invention convenient for any kinds of singer and for organists’). Nikolaus Stein, who reprinted this collection at Frankfurt in 1613, augmented this title to ‘new invention with instructions for this new invention.’⁶⁰² Stein’s intervention

597 Cavalieri (1600): ‘e il similie anco s’intende delle note, che si sostentano col dieses ♯, che solo le segnate particolarmente si sostengano, ancor che siano più note in una istessa corda.’

598 Cavalieri (1600): ‘Alcune Dissonanze, & due quinte sono fatte à posto.’

599 Viadana (1602): ‘canto, ò imperfetta, ò noiosa, ò inetta, & poco grata à quelli, che stavano ad udire: senza che vi era anco, incomodo grandissimo di cantori in cantarle.’

600 O’Regan (2000), 2.2.

601 Morelli (1996), p. 266.

602 Haack (1974), p. 12: ‘novae Inventionis primario. Adjuncta insuper huius novae inventionis instructione & explicatione succinta.’

started the myth, persistent in Germany and later elsewhere, that Viadana invented the *basso continuo*. However Haack and others have shown that Viadana claimed simply to have invented pieces for one, two or three voices in all kinds of combinations, which were practical for use in church, and could not be played without an organ or some other keyboard instrument (Viadana mentions a *manachordo*).⁶⁰³ Even this last claim was not completely accurate, as O'Regan has pointed out.⁶⁰⁴ The preface of Asprilio Pacelli's *Chorici psalmi et mocteta* (1599) specifically mentions that these pieces could be performed as concerti with organ, even though the edition lacks an organ part.⁶⁰⁵ Although the pieces were written for four voices, some of them would sound best, he says, with two sopranos and bass, leaving out the other middle part.⁶⁰⁶ As O'Regan points out, some of Verovio's sacred canzonettas, like Felice Anerio's 'Iesu decus angelicum', are written in a similar style and predate this collection by more than ten years.⁶⁰⁷

The twelve *avvertimenti* (admonitions) of Viadana's preface, addressed partly to singers and partly to organists, give more information than most other prefaces of the time. He recommends that the organist play the part in a simple manner and that, even if he wishes to add some ornament, he should play in such a way so as not to cover or confuse the singer.⁶⁰⁸ Most of the ornaments added in the Verovio canzonettas are likewise simple, and would not confuse singers, as will be seen in chapter 10.5.

Viadana also advises organists to look at the piece before playing it, because in that way the *accompagnamenti* will be better.⁶⁰⁹ Sight-reading in church was obviously a normal practice at the time. The papal chapel held their only rehearsal of the year on the Monday of the Holy Week.⁶¹⁰ Agazzari also corroborates the practice of sight-reading

603 Viadana (1602): 'Decimo. Che chi volesse cantare questa sorte di Musica senza Organo, ò Manacordo, non farà mai buon effetto, anzi per lo più se ne sentiranno dissonanze.'

604 O'Regan (2000), 1.2.

605 O'Regan (2000), 2.1: 'Mi sono risoluto dunque per sodisfattion di molti dar alla Stampa il presente Libro di Salmi & Mottetti fatti più per concerti con Organo, quali hoggidi si usano in Roma, diletto spirituale, per potersi trattenere piamente.'

606 O'Regan (2000), 2.1.

607 O'Regan (2000), 5.5.

608 Viadana (1602), A1.2.: 'Secondo. Che l'Organista sia in obbligo di suonare semplicemente la Partitura, & in particolare con la mano di sotto, & se pure vuol fare qualche movimento della mano di sopra, come fiorire le Cadenze, ò qualche Passaggio à proposito, ha da suonare in maniera tale, che il cantore, ò cantori non vengano coperti, ò confusi dal troppo movimento.'

609 Viadana (1602), A1.2.: 'Terzo. Sarà se non bene, che l'Organista habbia prima data un occhiata à quel Concerto, che si ha da cantare, perche intendendo la natura di quella musica, farà sempre meglio gli accompagnamenti.' *Accompagnamenti* are the notes that 'accompany' the bass, also called *parte di mezzo*, the parts that fit above this bass. Around 1600 there was as yet no allusion to the more modern connotation of accompanying: following and supporting 'soloists' included in the term.

610 Lionnet (1987), p. 9.

when he speaks of the difficulties of reading an *intavolatura* or *spartitura* while making music on the spur of the moment.⁶¹¹

Next Viadana describes when the player should double the upper parts. First he affirms that cadences should be played in the same octave as the singer.⁶¹² We must assume that when he writes of *fare le cadenze a i lochi loro*, he is using the term *cadenza* as homonymous with *clausula*, the cadential movement specific to individual voices. Likewise, the *clausulae* in all the harpsichord intabulations of the Verovio canzonettas are doubled in the same octave as the singers, though this is not always the case in the lute intabulations, in which some cadences are written an octave lower than the voice, and not all suspensions in the corresponding parts are found, as will be discussed in chapter 10.6.

Doubling the *clausulae* at the same octave as the singers avoids consecutive octaves at the cadences. For Viadana, players did not need to watch out for consecutive octaves or fifths 'when playing the *partitura*, but the parts that are sung by the voices definitely should.'⁶¹³ This seems to indicate that composers should adhere to the rule of avoiding parallels, but that organists did not need to observe this rule so strictly (see chapter 10.2).

Next Viadana states that if a *concerto* begins in fugal style with one voice, the organist should also play one voice, but when the other parts enter, he can play as he likes.⁶¹⁴ Three compositions in the *Diletto spirituale*, and five in the *Ghirlanda* begin in this manner. The intabulations of these pieces, even if the lute is written in a more chordal, strumming style, all comply with Viadana's admonition.

Subsequently Viadana declares that although in his opinion it is easier to play from a *partitura*, it will sound much better if organists make an *intavolatura*.⁶¹⁵

Further remarks about playing in the same range as the voices suggest that a certain amount of doubling of the upper voices must have taken place. It is not immediately clear what Viadana means when he states that in a concerto with high voices the or-

611 Agazzari (1607), p. 12: 'venendo occasione di consertar all'improviso.' See chapter 8.2.2.

612 Viadana (1602), A1.2.: 'Quarto. Sia avvertito l'Organista di far sempre le Cadenze a i lochi loro, come sarebbe à dire, se si cantarà un concerto in voce sola di Basso far la Cadenza di Basso: se sarà di Tenore far la Cadenza di Tenore: se di Alto, ò Canto a i lochi dell'uno, e dell'altro; perche farebbe sempre cattivo effetto se facendo il Soprano la sua cadenza l'Organo la facesse nel Tenore, overo cantando uno la Cadenza nel Tenore l'Organo la suonasse nel Soprano.'

613 Viadana (1602), A1.3: 'Nono. Che non sarà mai in obbligo la Partitura guardarsi da due quinte, nè da due ottave; ma si bene le parti che si cantano con le voci.'

614 Viadana (1602), A1.2.: 'Quinto. Che quando si troverà un Concerto, che incominci à modo di fuga l'Organista, anch'egli cominci con un Tasto solo, e nell'entar che faranno le parti sij in suo arbitrio l'accompagnarle come le piacerà.'

615 Viadana (1602), A1.2.: '(Sesto) ... però potranno gl'Organisti à sua posta [la Partitura] farsi detta Intavolatura, che a dirne il vero parla molto meglio.'

ganist should never play in a low register, except an octave lower (*per ottava*) at the cadences, as this seems to contradict his fourth admontion, mentioned above.⁶¹⁶ When using the term *alle cadenze*, Viadana is talking here about the place all the *clausulae* come together, that is, the cadence in the modern sense, for example at the end of the piece or a section. What, then, is meant by 'playing an octave lower at the cadences'? The Verovio intabulations suggest two possible interpretations:

- The first note of the bass cadence is played an octave lower, either immediately or as a repercussion on the next (weaker) beat;
- The final is played an octave lower, either immediately or on the next beat.

In Example 9.1 we can see the first note of a bass cadence played an octave lower as a repercussion on the next beat in the lute part, and the final an octave lower immediately in both instrumental parts.

3

et bal - - sa - mo su a - vi - or

et bal - - sa - mo su a - - vi - or

bal - sa - mo su a - - - vi - or

bal - sa - mo su a - - - vi - or

bal - sa - mo su a - - - vi - or

0 2 0 4 3 4 5 5 4 2 2

2 2 3 2 2 3 2 4 2

Example 9.1 *Diletto spirituale*, Ruggiero Giovannelli, 'Iesu sole serenior', m. 3.

616 Viadana (1602) A1.3: 'Duodecimo. Che quando si vorrà cantare un Concerto à voce pari, non suonarà mai l'Organista nell'acuto, & all'incontro quando si vorrà cantare un Concerto all'alta, l'Organista non suonarà mai nel grave, se non alle Cadenze per ottava; perche all'hora rende vaghezza.'

As to the number of voices, Viadana states that *i ripieni* should be played with hands and feet, but without additional stops on the organ, because the works are of a 'frail and delicate' character.⁶¹⁷ Since the Verovio intabulations do not contain solo passages contrasted with full-voiced parts, they do not provide any clarification of this point, unless Viadana here means the filling-in of cadences, which tend to be full-voiced (up to five voices) even if the voice parts end in open octaves or unisons, as in example 9.1 (see chapter 10.4).

Viadana stresses the importance of *vaghezza* (beauty) and wants his compositions to be executed with discretion and grace (*con discretione e leggiadria*) because the works are delicate in nature. Compared to most church music published around 1600, which contained five to eight voices, Viadana's *Concerti ecclesiastici* are indeed delicate, and the sound of more than one open stop on an Italian organ would be too pompous (*pedantesco*) for the accompaniment.

Viadana provides some practical advice on playing from an instrumental bass part, but the *avvertimenti* alone do not give us enough detail on how to proceed when playing upon the bass, since they leave many questions open. Comparing Viadana's admonitions for playing upon the bass with the Verovio intabulations clarifies some matters which are otherwise unclear. However, as Viadana himself wrote in 1601, an intabulation will sound better in any case.

9.4 GALEAZZO SABBATINI

In 1628, Galeazzo Sabbatini (1592?–1652?) published a short treatise in Venice called *Regola facile e breve per sonare il basso continuo, nell'organo, manacordo, o altro simile strumento*. Sabbatini was *maestro di cappella di camera* for the Duke of Mirandola and canon of the Cathedral in Pesaro. Athanasius Kircher praised him for his theoretical knowledge of music, especially tuning systems.⁶¹⁸ Many collections of his compositions were printed, mainly by Vincenti in Venice.

Although this is the latest treatise we shall discuss, it describes a method of playing the left hand already in use for many years.⁶¹⁹ The rules set out by Sabbatini can still be found basically unchanged in Italian treatises such as those by Bismantova (1677) and

617 Viadana (1602), A1v.: 'Settimo. che quando si farà i ripieni dell'Organo, faransi con mani, e piedi, ma senza aggiunta d'altri registri; perche la natura di questi deboli, & delicati Concerti, non sopportano quel tanto romore dell'Organo aperto: oltre che ne i piccioli Concerti ha del pedantesco.'

618 Jerome Roche, 'Sabbatini, Galeazzo.' In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/24228> (accessed 29.09.2017).

619 Tagliavini (1978).

Gasparini (1708).⁶²⁰ This is a very basic method for beginners learning to play upon the bass from a notated part. He already assumes that his readers can play the instrument, and expects his readers to learn some pieces by heart.⁶²¹ Depending on the success of this work, he promised to publish a second part, which would not only teach how to play the numbers and other extraordinary accidentals, but also how to transpose.⁶²² As far as is known, such a work was never published, although the *Regola* was reprinted at least once (Rome: Paolo Moneta, 1669).

For Sabbatini the foundation of playing upon the bass lies in the left hand, which must proceed in a regular manner, playing the note either alone or with another consonance. The main body of the treatise consists of explanations of what to play in the left hand, with examples. With numbers above the bass he indicates the intervals to be played in the left hand.⁶²³ Sabbatini has only a little to say about the right hand. Necessary consonances not played by the left hand must be supplied by the right. Both hands should be kept as close to each other as possible; the compass of the right hand should stay between *g* and *b'*. If the bass lies high, it is not necessary to play the octave in the right hand; for a short while (half a *battuta*) one may play only the third.⁶²⁴ Again, as in the rules for intabulation, the primacy of the left hand and a chordal way of thinking and feeling for this hand are apparent.⁶²⁵ To illustrate the correct way of playing with the left hand, Sabbatini divides the bass range into five divisions (figure 9.1).

Sabbatini offers a few other basic rules, such as a distinction between conjunct and disjunct motion. In the latter, players should avoid parallel octaves or fifths. He also suggests playing sixths on notes with a sharp (*♯*), or on 'b' in keys *per b quadro* (without a flat) and 'e' in keys *per b molle* (with a flat).

Next Sabbatini shows which intervals can be played in each division, explaining this first in ascending motion and subsequently in descending motion. He follows a simple underlying principle: when the bass is low, the intervals are large; when the bass is high,

620 Morelli (1994), p. 44.

621 Sabbatini (1628), p. 10: 'Quanto si deve avertire che sara bene, che il principiante sapesse ò imparasse qualche sonata a mente su'l manacordo.'

622 Sabbatini (1628), pp. [3–4]: 'oltre che se mi riuscerà questo modo ch'io hora comunico mi servirà per nuovo stimolo à compire, e dar' alle stampe la Seconda Parte, la quale non solo insegnerà il modo di sonare i numeri, & altri accidenti stravaganti, che si sogliono accenare sopra le note, mà anco il modo di sonar trasportato per tutte le chiavi.'

623 Again technical difficulties with the printing prohibited Sabbatini from using a system with more than one note per staff simultaneously; therefore he uses a system with numbers above. This system was even used in sources in the eighteenth century, such as Gugl (1757).

624 Sabbatini (1628), p. 11.

625 Sabbatini's fingerings for various intervals (p. 11) shows that he used the left thumb, except for upper (sharp and flat) keys, but generally avoided using the right thumb.



Figure 9.1 Galeazzo Sabbatini, *Regola facile e breve* (Venice: Il Salvadorio, 1628), p. 10 (I-Bc E34).



Figure 9.2 Galeazzo Sabbatini, *Regola facile e breve* (Venice: Il Salvadorio, 1628), p. 21 (I-Bc E34).

the intervals are small.⁶²⁶ If more intervals are possible one should vary these, from larger to smaller when ascending and from smaller to larger when descending, always starting with the largest possible interval when ascending and with the smallest possible when descending. Once the smallest interval has been reached while ascending, one opens up the hand again and restarts with the largest possible interval. A descending bass functions in a similar manner, but in contrary motion, moving from smaller to larger intervals, closing the hand again after the largest possible interval has been attained and subsequently restarting with the smallest one possible. A general example of how to proceed both ascending and descending as well as by step and with disjunct motion is given in figure 9.2.

⁶²⁶ Bianciardi (1607) explains that thirds and fifths should be avoided on very low notes as they offend the ear: 'Fuggendo nelle corde molto gravi le terze, e le quinte: perche fanno troppa borda l'armonia, offendendo l'udito.'

Table 9.1 summarizes the possible intervals which the player can use in the left hand upon the notes of the five divisions, as well as the use of large intervals on low notes and smaller intervals on higher bass notes.

BASS NOTE	DIVISION	UPWARD	DOWNWARD
C–F	1	8 or tasto solo	5, 8
G–d	2	8, 5, 3 on G and A only 8	3, 5, 8
e–g	3	5, 3	(tasto solo), 3, 5
a–b	4	3, tasto solo	tasto solo, 3
c'–d'	5	tasto solo	tasto solo

Table 9.1 Divisions of the bass compass with possible added intervals.

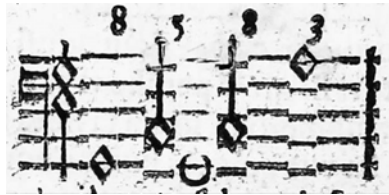


Figure 9.3 Galeazzo Sabbatini, *Regola facile e breve* (Venice: Il Salvadorio, 1628), p. 14 (I-Bc E34).

In the first division, parallel octaves are allowed even in disjunct motion. Elsewhere, one should avoid using the same interval twice in succession, unless the bass changes direction after the next note. One should also refrain from playing an interval smaller than the interval of the next leap. When this is not possible, the player may alternatively change interval within the semibreve, as can be seen in figure 9.3. Here the semibreve has been divided into two tied minims, since two disjunct octaves are not allowed.

This well-known contrapuntal trick was shown for example by Banchieri (1605/1611). It is used in the first piece of the *Diletto spirituale*, as shown in example 9.2; here the tenor is not one of the original voice parts, but is added in the intabulation.



Example 9.2 *Diletto spirituale*, Felice Anerio, 'Iesu decus angelicum', m. 2, harpsichord part.
The e at the beginning of this measure is in the original.

As Viadana discusses, some ‘prohibited’ consecutives occur. The same will be seen in examples by Bianciardi and Agazzari. The example above (figure 9.2) shows that Sabbatini allows parallel octaves and fifths in conjunct movement of the left hand, especially in the first division. To play according to the ‘normal’ rules (*il modo di sonar osservato*), he shows a way to play these intervals while still observing the normal rules of counterpoint.

Sabbatini divides the consonances into two kinds: full and empty.⁶²⁷

- A ‘full’ octave contains a fifth added above the bass, while an ‘empty’ octave lacks a fifth. Thus Sabbatini tells us exactly which notes are to be played in each hand: the empty octave consists of the octave in the left hand and the remaining two intervals in the right hand, the full octave consists of the octave with the fifth in the left hand and the remaining interval, now only a third in the right hand, as can be seen example 9.3:



Example 9.3 Galeazzo Sabbatini, *Regola facile e breve*, p. 22.

- An ‘empty’ fifth lacks a third, while a ‘full’ third contains one. To play an empty fifth one must thus play two intervals in the right hand; to play a full fifth, one plays only one interval in the right hand;
- An ‘empty’ third comprises only one other interval in the right hand (a fifth), while a ‘full’ third contains both the fifth and the octave;
- Even a *tasto solo*, sometimes called simply *tasto* or *solo*, can be empty or full. A *tasto voto* contains just the third in the right hand, whereas the ‘full’ *tasto* contains the fifth in the right hand as well.

In the case of thirds and *tasto solos*, which he calls *improperly* full and empty, the system changes, because the object described as full or empty is transferred from the left hand to the right hand.⁶²⁸ The full third contains two notes in the right hand, whereas the empty third has only one note in the right hand.

Having defined the full and empty intervals upon the bass, Sabbatini adds that when two identical intervals are used consecutively, one must be empty and the other full.

⁶²⁷ Sabbatini (1628), p. 22.

⁶²⁸ Sabbatini (1628), p. 22: ‘Il *tasto solo* si trova voto, e pieno se bene impropriamente come anco la terza.’

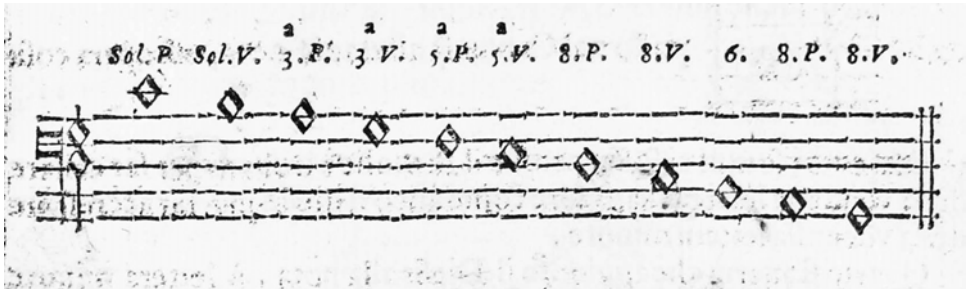
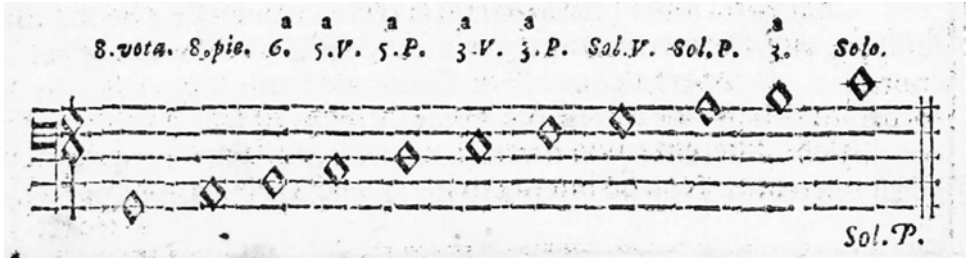


Figure 9.4 Galeazzo Sabbatini, *Regola facile e breve* (Venice: Il Salvadorio, 1628), pp. 22–23 (I-Bc E34).

When ascending, the empty interval should come first and when descending, the full one should precede the other, as shown in figure 9.4 and its possible reconstruction (example 9.4).⁶²⁹

Example 9.4 Galeazzo Sabbatini, *Regola facile e breve*, possible reconstruction of figure 9.4.

Arnold argues that measure 20 and 21 must have been a 3 instead of 8 (in the copy he consulted these numbers were blurred) as

⁶²⁹ Sabbatini does not state explicitly what to do with the 6 chords and the 3 in measure 12. Different authors suggest different solutions: see Arnold (1931/2003), Morelli (1994), Campagne (1995) and Freiberg (2002).

if the numbers were 8, real consecutive Fifths, and also Octaves, would arise between the chord on e (with the empty Fifth) and that on d (with the full Octave). Notwithstanding Viadana's permission to disregard consecutive 5ths and 8ths in the Organ part, it seems hardly likely that anything so crass was intended.⁶³⁰

But these are exactly the kind of parallels found in all the examples in other treatises around 1600. The *feeling* of the left hand is more important and the voice progression is from 5 to 8, not from 5 to 5.⁶³¹

Sabbatini then concludes his chapters on how to play upon the bass with the following:

And if what has been said is observed, one will seem almost to be playing as if the bass were intabulated, and he who relishes using this little rule, relying however on what has been said above, cannot but do well and will always be praised by whoever sees him play.⁶³²

The rest of his 'rule' contains explanations of major and minor intervals and how to recognize accidentals and their position in front of or above or below the bass. Like all other writers, Sabbatini declares that when the bass falls a fifth or rises a fourth, this indicates a *cadenza*, and the third must be major. The accidental \flat over a note can warn the player that a given passage is not a *cadenza*, and that the third thus need not be major. A sixth should usually accompany sharpened notes, while flattened notes can be accompanied by both a sixth and a fifth. Interestingly, Sabbatini writes that sharpened notes of the first division should be played an octave up, because the short octave was still prevalent on the instruments at the time; alternatively one may play the note as it is (F \sharp sounding as D) with the octave above, creating a tenth in the bass and thus a chord in root position.⁶³³ If playing *per b molle*, that is, with a flat in the key signature, the e has to be accompanied by the third, sixth and octave, unless there is a *cadenza*. Concerning *note nere*, Sabbatini he tells us the same as earlier authors: unless the movement of the bass is disjunct, only every second note need be accompanied. If however all (sung) parts move in semiminims or smaller values, they should all be accompanied, in which case it is often better to play all or part of these notes *tasto solo*, playing the *accompagnamenti* in the right hand.⁶³⁴

⁶³⁰ Arnold (1931/2003), p. 120.

⁶³¹ See chapter 10.2 for further discussion of this topic.

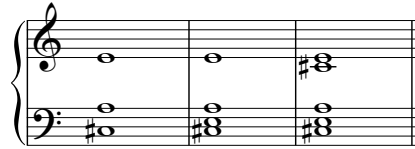
⁶³² Sabbatini (1628), p. 22: '& osservandosi quanto s'è detto si verrà a sonare quasi come fosse il Basso intabolato, e chi havrà gusto di servirse di questa poca regola dependente pero dal detto di sopra, non potrà far altro che bene, e da chi sarà veduto a sonare sempre sarà lodato.'

⁶³³ Sabbatini (1628), p. 27.

⁶³⁴ Sabbatini (1628), p. 30: 'Quando poi si sentisse che tutte le parti cantassero co'l istesso tempo di semi

Sabbatini confronts us with a rather complicated way of explaining quite basic and simple principles. Nevertheless, he clearly shows the left-hand technique already apparent at the beginning of the sixteenth century, even if he does not provide a theoretical explanation. This left-hand technique was still current in the seventeenth century, and can be found in all fully voiced realized basses into the eighteenth. Nowhere does Sabbatini state that one cannot take more notes into the right hand than the ones he indicates. Rather, he says that ‘the necessary consonances that are not played by the left hand must be supplied by the right.’ Both hands should stay as close as possible and the compass of the right hand should stay between *g* and *b'*.⁶³⁵

For thirds and *tasto solo voto*, Sabbatini mentions that two notes are to be played. But speaking of sharpened notes of the second division, Sabbatini tells his readers to play a sixth in the left hand, with a third as well if desired, while playing a replicated third in the right hand and adding the octave in *ripieni*.⁶³⁶ Example 9.5 illustrates these three possibilities, in three to five parts:



Example 9.5 Galeazzo Sabbatini, *Regola facile e breve*, p. 24.

While the usual texture comprised three or four voices, passages for *tasto solo* or five voices could occur. As Sabbatini recommended that the right hand should not exceed the compass *g* – *b'*, the right hand was generally lower.

Sabbatini set out his method for church organists. As Morelli points out, they would usually play on the main organ with a *principale* register. Playing low on the keyboard was one way to control the intensity of the sound when accompanying a small number of voices.⁶³⁷

minima, ò più diminuito all hora tutte devono esser buone, & in tal caso se da alla sinistra dette nere, ò parte d'esse si tocassero col *tasto solo*, toccando poi con la destra la maggior parte gli accompagnamenti che torneranno più commodi sarà bene.'

635 Sabbatini (1628), p. 10: 'Terzo si deve avvertire che quelle consonanze le quali deve haver a nota, e che non si saranno toccate dalla sinistra si dovranno supplire dalla destra, ma però dal G 2° fino al B 3° inclusivamente osservando di tenere le mani più vicina l'una all'altra che sia possibile.'

636 Sabbatini (1628), p. 27: 'Li Diesis della seconda divisione ordinariamente dalla sinistra si fanno con la sesta, e se piace anco con la terza con la destra poi si farà la terza replicata solamente aggiugendovi l'ottava ne i ripieni.'

637 Morelli (1994), p. 42.

Sabbatini's rules for the left hand, the foundation of playing upon the bass, differ in some respects from the keyboard intabulations in the Verovio prints, but many examples printed by Verovio fit Sabbatini's rules perfectly. In general the pieces in the Verovio editions ascend higher in the left hand, not just up to *d'* but to *a'*, but in such cases the keyboard part is called *intavolatura di cimbalò*, and was not primarily meant for church organs. Chords in the pieces published by Verovio contain mostly three to five notes, even in pieces with three voice parts. The top voice is taken in the right hand, and the middle voice(s), depending on their distance from the bass, in either the left or right hand. If the bass and the next-highest voice are widely spaced, notes are often added in the left hand, as described in the *Regola*. Occasionally notes are added in the right hand, especially at cadences, even above the top voices, but usually such additional notes are added in the left hand. The further the distance between the upper voices and the bass, the more notes are added to fill in the chord, more widely spaced in the bass, more closely packed above.

Example 9.6, taken from the second part of Felice Anerio's 'Iesu decus angelicum', shows a bass line in the first division, and in that part of the second division where only octaves are permitted. As the bass descends, the first octave should be full, and the second empty. Subsequently the bass rises, and thus we find a full octave on the higher bass note leading to a fifth on the *c*. The notes above the bass in the left hand are all added; the original upper voices, which sit more than an octave above the bass, are placed in the right hand:



Example 9.6 *Diletto spirituale*, Felice Anerio, 'Iesu decus angelicum', m. 9, harpsichord part left hand.

As mentioned in chapter 5.6, the *Lodi della musica* and Anerio's *Dialogo pastorale* render the vocal lines in *intavolatura* unchanged. In the other collections, many pieces have such extra voices added in the left hand, and sometimes even in the right. In these collections, chords in the keyboard part generally have three to five notes, sometimes even more at cadences.

Sabbatini's method may not be very sophisticated but it is a safe way for beginners to accompany and certainly does not deserve the disdain it has received in the twentieth century. Arnold for example, lamenting the consecutive fifths and octaves and clumsy skips in the top voice, states that 'nothing more crude can well be imagined.'⁶³⁸ But

638 Arnold (1931/2003), p. 121.

consecutive parallels are not unusual in keyboard music around 1600. Practical musicians nowadays tend to dismiss Sabbatini's little treatise, but he was a learned man, as Athanasius Kircher tells us, and could have discussed the proportions and harmonics, or presented a more theoretically based treatise on playing on the bass. However, I believe he deliberately chose not to do so in this little book.

This treatise is a beginner's *rule*, which will help a beginner to 'fake' or 'bluff' his way through a piece and which will also almost automatically create contrary motion between the two hands, as all the treatises recommend. The result will sound, as Sabbatini promises, 'almost as if the bass were intabulated.'⁶³⁹ The outcome is a left-hand technique resembling that described in chapter 8.3.

9.5 FRANCESCO BIANCIARDI

Francesco Bianciardi (c. 1572–1607), an ordained Servite monk, was a member of the Accademia degli Intronati in Siena, *maestro di capella* and organist of the cathedral in Siena, famous as a *grandissimo suonatore di organo*.⁶⁴⁰ Banchieri praised his skills as organist and *maestro di cappella*.⁶⁴¹ He published collections of church music and a book of madrigals. All the collections he published during his lifetime, except the three-voice *Canzonette spirituali* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1606), were scored for four to eight voices, and were printed without a *basso continuo* part. Another collection, published posthumously in 1608, was scored for two to four voices, and contained a separate *basso continuo* part-book.

On 21 September 1607, shortly after Francesco Bianciardi died of the plague, Domenico Falcini published an engraved broadside with Bianciardi's short rules for learning how to play upon the bass, on any kind of instrument.⁶⁴² He takes it for granted that the player knows how to sing—that is, can read mensural notation, and has some knowledge of solmisation and the conventions of *musica ficta*—is experienced in playing from tablatures and *spartiture*,⁶⁴³ and understands the basic rules of counterpoint.⁶⁴⁴ He also provides a short summary of perfect, imperfect and dissonant intervals.

639 Sabbatini (1628), p. 22: 'osservandosi quanto s'è detto si verra a sonare quasi come fosse il Basso intavolato.'

640 Giacomo Pittoni, cit. Josef-Horst Lederer, 'Bianciardi, Francesco.' *Grove Music Online*. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/03031> (accessed 24.09.2017).

641 Banchieri (1609), p. 6. See D'Accone (1997), pp. 371–379.

642 Bianciardi, *Breve regola per imparar' sonare sopra il basso con ogni sorte d'istrumento* (Siena: Falcini, 1607).

643 For Diruta, *spartire* is the transfer of voice-parts from part-books into a 'measure', with two *battute* between prepared 'barlines on a prepared *cartella*, resulting in a score. Diruta (1608/1622), Book I, pp. 1–2.

644 First learning how to sing, then learning to invent counterpoints and finally composition, though not all students were capable of this last. This method had already been used a century earlier, as can be seen in

To play upon a bass, defined as what we now call *basso seguente*,⁶⁴⁵ Bianciardi stresses three points:

1. The movement of the bass;
2. The implementation of the consonances;
3. Knowledge of the *toni* and modes, and how to transpose them.

The next few paragraphs describe which intervals to play upon the bass, along the lines of the following: ‘when the bass goes up (or down) a specific interval, it should be accompanied by the following intervals.’ Bianciardi seems to have been one of the first to articulate this approach, which was used throughout the seventeenth century. He pointed out that these rules were written according to the style of the music, but that composers are at liberty to use other consonances and dissonances.

Bianciardi’s rules entail that every chord has a third and a fifth, except the notes where the fifth would be diminished according to the mode, that is, b in modes without a flat (b) and e in modes with a flat. The thirds are *naturali* (diatonic) except if the bass goes up a fourth (or down a fifth), or a major third or a 4–3 *fa mi* suspension is used. Final cadences should always end with a major third.⁶⁴⁶ Sixths can be added if there is occasion; these should be major if the bass rises by a fifth or falls by a second or a fourth, and minor if the bass falls a fifth (6–5), and natural, as written, otherwise. For Bianciardi sixths are the intervals that create the best effects in music. In the example below (figure 9.5) he shows how they can be used, mainly as passing notes:

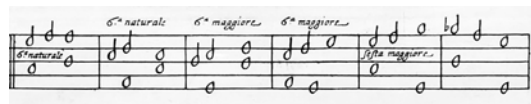


Figure 9.5 Francesco Bianciardi, *Breve regola* (Siena: Falcini, 1607) (I-Bc C96).

In the Verovio prints, the thirds that should be major according to Bianciardi’s rules are always so. Sometimes the final chords in the harpsichord parts lack a third, but this is never the case in the lute parts. This difference will be discussed further in chapter 10.4. When a sixth occurs (apart from the obligatory ones to avoid a diminished fifth) it is also major or minor according to Bianciardi’s rules, which adhere to basic contrapuntal principles, even if they do not allow one to predict where such a sixth will occur. Bian-

Coclico’s description of Josquin’s teaching methods, cited in Owens (1997), pp. 11–12.

645 Bianciardi (1607): ‘Nota che per il basso si piglia la più bassa corda della musica, perchè pausando il Basso entra in suo logo il Tenore, ò l’Alto, e sempre chi è sotto all’altre parti, si chiama il Basso.’

646 Bianciardi (1607): ‘e nelle cadenze finali, sempre si finisce con terza maggiore.’



Figure 9.6 Francesco Bianciardi, *Breve regola* (Siena: Falcini, 1607), principal example (I-Bc C96).

ciardi warns his readers that it is impossible to give all the necessary rules when writing in brief.⁶⁴⁷

Bianciardi then gives some more general recommendations: to move in contrary motion (especially between the outer parts), avoid consecutive perfect intervals of the same kind (that is, parallel fifths or octaves) and proceed in parallel thirds, especially in the higher range. If the bass consists of *note diminuite* (diminutions) or *tirate* (scales), the other parts should remain on the consonances that appeared at the beginning of the *battuta* (see example 8.3 for an example in the Verovio prints). Where there is a dotted minim or crotchet, a consonance should be played over the dot, whereas the note after the dot should be treated as a passing note (*nota gattiva*).⁶⁴⁸ When there are leaps of more than a third in the bass, all notes should be harmonised. Downward scales in the bass should be accompanied by parallel tenths in the upper part and on the first note a fifth and the second a sixth in the left hand.

These rules are all demonstrated in the principal example on the broadside (figure 9.6, transcribed in example 9.7):

647 Bianciardi (1607): 'Molti altri avvertimenti si potrebbono addurre; ma, perché sono difficili a descrivere con brevità, li tralaceremo, havendo fin qui accennato le più necessarie regole, che ci sieno.'

648 Bianciardi (1607): 'Cosi quando ci sarà la minima, e semiminima col punto, si fa la consonanza sopra il punto, e la nota, che segue, passa per gattiva.'

Example 9.7 Francesco Bianciardi, *Breve regola*, transcription of figure 9.6.

Bianciardi also discusses the number of parts to be played. Compositions in four or more voices have the same harmony as the three voices mentioned above, since all other consonances simply double one of these parts at the octave.⁶⁴⁹ However, playing a tenth or seventeenth instead of a third can vary the harmony. Bianciardi judged that playing only in three parts was *troppo povero* ('too poor'), and therefore suggested enriching the harmony and easing the movement of the parts by adding octaves to the bass and the other voices.⁶⁵⁰

Bianciardi then proceeds to explain that it might be necessary to add voices when the words demand it. For example, in *esclamazioni* it is helpful to use 'extreme' (very low?) strings.⁶⁵¹

At cadences, one should add an octave beneath the bass, but one should not play thirds and fifths on very low notes.⁶⁵² (A similar instruction is given by Sabbatini.) As we do not know the original bass of the principal example (example 9.7), we do not

649 Bianciardi (1607): 'E se bene le compositioni si fanno à 4. 5. 6. 8 e più voci, hanno la medesima armonia di queste tre sopradette, perche volendo aggiungere altre consonanze à queste, non si può aggiungere se non ottave ad una di loro.'

650 Bianciardi (1607): 'Ma, perche sarebbe troppo povero l'armonia, se solamente si ponessino le tre voci; sarà molto utile aggiunger dell'ottave al Basso, et all' altre parti per arricchirla, e dar luogo di passare da una consonanza all'altra più continuamente, con più leggiadria, e con maggior commodo della mano.'

651 Bianciardi (1607): 'nell'esclamazioni aiuto co le corde estreme.'

652 Bianciardi (1607): 'nelle cadenze toccar l'ottave sotto al Basso; fuggendo nelle corde molto gravi le terze, e le quinte; perche fanno troppa borda l'armonia, offendendo l'udito.'

know which notes were added at the cadences, but this problem will be discussed in chapter 10.

According to Bianciardi, lighter pieces should be played as high as possible; in sad pieces, one should remain in the lower register.⁶⁵³ In the Verovio prints, as in most music, the composers already take care of this detail. In lighter canzonettas, the range of the voices is usually higher than in ones with more melancholy or sad texts. The bass voice of Quagliati's 'Quando miro il bel volto' from the *Canzonette à quattro voci*, notated in *chiavi naturali*, is already quite high, so even without the intabulation, chords played above the bass are automatically in a higher register.

Bianciardi illustrates his ideas in the principal example shown above. It is not written in four parts throughout: sometimes chords contain five notes, as in the first chord and the last ones of most cadences; sometimes there are three, as in the bar with the parallel tenths described in the text. Mostly there are at least two voices in the left hand and one to three in the right hand. Sometimes the voices are divided two and two, sometimes there are three notes in the left hand and one (or two) in the right. The principal example shows that where the bass leaps downward, it might not be practical to place the alto voice in the left hand if it is an octave above the bass, as seen in m. 1 of figure 9.6.

The voice leading frequently violates our usual interpretation of contrapuntal rules. Both mm. 3 and 4 show parallel octaves, although not between the outer parts, against which Bianciardi particularly warns. Bianciardi's published works show that he was an accomplished composer capable of composing 'correctly'. If he was the author of this broadside, these parallels were evidently acceptable to him when playing upon the bass.

These kinds of parallels can be found in the Verovio prints too. In example 9.8, parallel octaves exist between the soprano and tenor, and parallel fifths between the bass and tenor. The tenor has been added to a composition originally in three voices.



Example 9.8 *Diletto spirituale*, Felice Anerio, 'Iesu decus angelicum', m. 9, harpsichord part.

653 Bianciardi (1607): 'Anzi che molte volte per necessità delle parole si ricerca pienezza di voci, e nell'esclamazioni aiuto co le corde estreme; nelle materie allegre star nell'acuto, più che si può; nelle meste star nel grave; nelle cadenze toccar l'ottava di sotto al Basso, fuggendo nelle corde molto gravi le terze, e le quinte; perche fanno troppa borda armonia, offendono l'udito.'

This broadside contains many features found in the other sources we have discussed. Many are based on simple rules of counterpoint, but some aspects had not been mentioned in print before. In chapter 10, all the principal examples will be compared and correlated with the Verovio intabulations.

9.6 AGOSTINO AGAZZARI

In the same year as Bianciardi's broadside was first published, Domenico Falcini also printed a short treatise by Agostino Agazzari (1579/81–1641/42).⁶⁵⁴ The engraved edition consists of a title page with a beautiful frame containing many musical instruments, a dedication page and ten pages of instructions. The preface is dated 15 October 1607. As many authors have pointed out, Agazzari describes a small orchestra of 'instruments of foundation and instruments of ornamentation,' which improvises an accompaniment upon a bass.⁶⁵⁵ Descriptions of such 'bands of instruments' playing with singers were not new, as can be seen for example in prints of *intermedi*;⁶⁵⁶ but now the roles of each were described more precisely.

Like Bianciardi, Agazzari demands three prerequisites for playing well:

- The player must know counterpoint, or should at least be able to sing securely, must be conversant with proportions, rhythm and clefs, know how to resolve dissonances, and be acquainted with major and minor thirds and sixths.
- The player must be proficient on the instrument, knowing how to read an *intavolatura* and *spartitura*, and able to play fluently.
- The player must have a good ear, to hear the movements of the other parts.

Like Bianciardi and Diruta, Agazzari states that it is impossible to give definite rules, because one 'has to obey the mind of the composer, which is free, and can at his discretion put a fifth or a sixth on the first half of a note, and vice versa, and that major or minor, as seems the more appropriate, or is necessitated by regard for the words.'⁶⁵⁷ The

654 Agazzari, *Del sonare sopra'l basso con tutti li stromenti e dell'uso loro nel Concerto* (Siena: Falcini, 1607).

655 Arnold (1931/2003), p. 68; Rose (1965).

656 For example, Corteccia's *Musiche fatte nelle nozze* (Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1539) or the *Intermedi* and *Concerti* to *La Pellegrina* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1591).

657 Agazzari (1607), p. 4: 'conchiudo che non si può dar determinata regola di suonar l'opere, dove non sono segni alcuni, concio sia che bisogna obedir la mente del compositore, quale è libera, e può, à suo arbitrio, sopra una nota nella prima parte di essa metter 5.^a ò 6.^a e per il contrario: e quella maggiore, ò minore, secondo gli par più à proposito, overo che sia necessitato à questo dalle parole.' Translation in Arnold (1931/2003), p. 68. Strunk/Murata translation: 'it being necessary to be guided in these by the intention of the composer, who is free and can, if he sees fit, place on the first half of the note a fifth or sixth, or vice

consonances and harmony are subject and subordinate to the words, not the other way around. For this reason, he suggests marking numbers above the bass part to indicate the consonances or dissonances the composer has used, in order to play the work correctly.⁶⁵⁸ When these are natural no extra sign is needed, but when they are altered they can be marked with a flat or a sharp. He subsequently explains that if the accidental is in front of the note, the bass is altered; if it is above the note, the third is altered.⁶⁵⁹

Agazzari then describes other matters important to performance:

An instrument that serves as foundation must be played with great judgement and due regard for the size of the chorus; if there are many voices one should play with full harmonies, increasing the registers. While if there are few, one should use few consonances, decreasing the registers and playing the work as purely and exactly as possible, using few runs and divisions, occasionally supporting the voices with some *contrabasso* notes and frequently avoiding the high ones which cover up [are occupied by] the voices, especially the sopranos or falsettos. For this reason one should take the greatest possible care to avoid touching or diminishing with a division the note which the soprano sings, in order not to double it or obscure the excellence of the note itself or of the *passaggio* that a good singer improvises on it. For the same reason one does well to play within a rather small compass and in a low register.

I say the same of the lute, harp, theorbo and harpsichord etc. when they serve as foundation with one or more voices singing above them, for in this case, to support the voice, they must maintain a solid, sonorous harmony, playing now *piano*, now *forte*, according to the quality and quantity of the voices, the place and the work, while, to avoid interfering with the singer, they must not restrike the strings [*corde*] too often, when the voice improvises a *passaggio* and some embellishment.⁶⁶⁰

versa, and that a major or a minor one, as seems more suitable to him or as may be necessitated by the words.' In Strunk/Treitler (1998), p. 623.

658 Agazzari (1607), p. 5: 'suonar l'opera giusto.'

659 Printing accidentals seems to have been a problem using moveable type, as other writers, such as Banchieri (1607) and Sabbatini (1628), also dedicated considerable space to this problem.

660 Strunk-Treitler (1998) p. 624. Agazzari (1607), p. 6: 'percioche quando si suona stromento, che serve per fondamento, si deve suonare con molto giudizio, havendo la mira al corpo delle voci; perche se sono molte, convien suonar pieno, e raddoppiar registri; ma se sono poche, scemarli, e metter poche consonanze, suonando l'opera più pura e giusta che sia possibile, non passeggiando, ò rompendo molto; ma si bene aiutandola con qualche contrabasso, e fuggendo spesso le voci acute, perche occupano le voci, massime i soprani, ò falsetti: dove è da avvertire di fuggire per quanto si puole, quel medesimo tasto che il soprano canta; ne diminuirlo con tirata, per non fare quella raddoppiezza, et offoscar la bontà di detta voce, ò il passaggio, che il buon cantante ci fa sopra: però è buono suonar assai stretto, e grave.'

The phrase *dove è da avvertire di fuggire per quanto si puote, quel medesimo tasto che il soprano canta; ne diminuirlo con tirate* has been translated in different ways by different authors.⁶⁶¹ Many performers interpret the phrase to mean that one should not double the soprano part. But, as Johann Staden stated in 1626, it is impossible to avoid the uppermost voice all the time.⁶⁶² However, Agazzari only suggests avoiding this voice as much as possible, which can be difficult, especially at cadences. Agazzari does not show the top voice, nor does he mention the range of the top part in the text or in any example. As can be seen in figure 9.7 (transcribed in example 9.9) the range of the right hand extends from b to e'' and that of the highest part of the realization from d' to e'', mainly in the hard hexachord. If Agazzari intended that the player should stay below the soprano all the time, the soprano in this example must have been unusually high.⁶⁶³

In our times, practical musicians of perfect instruments often debate whether to stay under the top part or even to double it in an unornamented form. Many of the works with a *basso continuo* part which Agazzari printed at Rome before his return to Siena in 1607 are set for large ensembles.⁶⁶⁴ Here it is difficult to hear whether the organ is doubling the other parts. For the intended readership of Agazzari's treatise, those unaccustomed to reading figured bass, it was not important to double the top part consistently, as is usual in intabulations. These restrictions were simply precautionary instructions for players unused to playing from the bass.⁶⁶⁵

To learn how to play from a figured bass, Agazzari asserts that one must know many things: how to progress from an imperfect interval to the nearest perfect one, that all cadences require major thirds, that dissonances should be resolved downward, and so on. Agazzari also explains how to *portar la mano* (carry or conduct the hand) on the organ. Many of his rules resemble those of Bianciardi. He repeats the injunction to con-

661 Lang (2003/2012), p. 10: 'Be careful to avoid as possible those notes which the soprano sings.' Strunk-Treitler (1998) p. 624: 'For this reason one should take the greatest possible care to avoid touching or diminishing with a division the note which the soprano sings.' Arnold (1931, 2003), p. 70: 'one must then be careful to avoid, as far as possible, the same note, which the Soprano is singing, and not to make diminutions on it.'

662 Staden (1626), p. 123: 'Ich meines Theils lasse mir des Augustini Agazzarii Meinung nicht zu entgegen sein, da er will, dass man den hohen Stimmen auf dem Clavier soll weichen (verstehe: die Stimm, die der Discantist singt, nicht berühren). Aber in Wahrheit es kann nicht allerdings sein.'

663 If the top parts were in written in a high-clef combination requiring transposition, the range of the right hand would indeed be low, from e to a', lower than the range prescribed by Sabbatini, g to b'.

664 Colleen Reardon, 'Agazzari, Agostino.' *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/00276>, (accessed 24.09.2017).

665 The *Sacrarum cantionum* (1608), including the reprint of the treatise, on the other hand, consists mainly of pieces for 2 voices and basso continuo, where the organ realization can be heard in more detail, thus it seems that Agazzari was not only addressing the players in large groups but also in small-scale sacred concerti.

sider the movement of the bass, and to favour contrary motion. When the bass moves with a *tirata* (scale or run) the right hand must remain still, but when the bass proceeds in disjunct motion, all notes should be harmonised, even if they are *note nere* (semiminims or crotchets). Agazzari then gives a general example (figure 9.7):

Figure 9.7 Agostino Agazzari, *Del sonare sopra il basso* (Siena: Falcini, 1607), p. 7 (I-Bc C49).

Example 9.9 Agostino Agazzari, *Del sonare sopra il basso*, p. 7, transcription of figure 9.7.

Again parallel octaves appear in the left hand (measure 1, 7 and 8), even though they are not necessarily heard. For example in m. 1, listeners probably hear the upper g of the left hand proceeding to the f in the right.

Agazzari then gives instructions how to play ‘instruments of ornamentation.’ This requires a far greater knowledge of counterpoint, as the player has to compose new parts upon the bass. This must be done with care. The instrumentalists should sit close together, since there is a danger that ‘one will hear nothing but a soup, a confusion, something very displeasing and unwelcome for those listening.’⁶⁶⁶ Agazzari then briefly describes how to do this on various instruments.

⁶⁶⁶ Strunk-Treitler (1998), p. 626. Agazzari (1607), p. 8: ‘non si sente altro che zuppa, e confusione, cosa dispiacevole, et ingrata, à chi ascolta.’

After cautioning care when transposing into complicated *toni*, which are prone to errors and disagreeable sounds, also because of the tuning used, Agazzari suggests that the most convenient transpositions are to the fourth or fifth, or perhaps to a step higher or lower.

At the end of his treatise, Agazzari stresses that it is no longer necessary to double the voices; this injunction suggests that players were still doing so at the time he was writing, or at least within recent memory. He concludes his little treatise with the words:

There is neither a need, nor is it necessary for the person playing, to let the parts be heard as they are written, because one plays to accompany the singing, and not to play the work as it is, which is a different matter from our subject.⁶⁶⁷

9.7 ADRIANO BANCHIERI

Adriano Banchieri (1568–1634), a Benedictine monk in Bologna, published many collections of music, both lighter and more serious, as well as twelve books on music and satires like *La nobiltà dell'asino*, translated into English as *The Nobleness of the Asse* (London: Thomas Creede for William Barley, 1595). Initially he did not advocate *basso continuo*, although he acknowledged its use. In the *L'organo suonarino* (Venice: Amadino, 1605), Banchieri uses the *basso seguente*, in the manner of a partimento bass, as a method for improvising alternatim performances on the organ in church services. He advocated playing from the bass in the *Ecclesiastiche sinfonie à 4* (Venice: Amadino, 1607); here he advises the organist to play just the *basso seguente* when playing together with voices and instruments, but also recommends intabulating a piece to play all four voices on a keyboard instrument. Subsequently he refers to Agazzari's forthcoming treatise as well as his own *Organo suonarino*, for advice on how to play on the bass.⁶⁶⁸

667 Strunk-Treitler (1998), p. 628. Agazzari (1607), p. 12: 'conchiudendo non esser bisogno, ne necessario à chi suona, far sentir le parti come stanno, mentre si suona per cantarvisi, e non per suonar l'opera come sta, che è diversa cosa dal nostro soggetto.'

668 Banchieri (1607), preface to the organ part-book: 'Queste Ecclesiastiche Sinfonie, overo Canzoni alla Francese volendole sonare con tutte quatro le parte sopra l'istromento da tasti si possono spartire, & intavolare, che riusciranno comode. Ma volendole concertare con voci, & stromento, avertasi l'Organista favorirle sonando il Basso seguente senza alcuna alternatione ma con gravità, & sodezza; Non tralasciando dire a questo proposito, che fra pochi giorni il signore Agostino Agazzari, Musico & Organista celebratissimo, manderà in luce un trattato opera utile per chi concerta, & necessaria a chi desidera imparare a suonare fracamente sopra il Basso seguente.' In the *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo* (1609), Banchieri adds a copy of a letter from Agazzari, dated 1606, explaining the style used by Roman musicians. This is a shorter version of the 1607 treatise.

Banchieri was dissatisfied with the results he heard around him. In the *Conclusioni nel suono dell'Organo*, he lamented that

Soon there will be two classes of players, one part the organists, who perform the *spartiture* and *fantasie* well, and the others the *bassisti*, who, overcome by a complete laziness, are happy to play just the bass, like a donkey on a lyra.⁶⁶⁹

Although he admitted that playing upon the bass was useful and easy, Banchieri required the organist to play according to the normal rules. He warned that if there was no figuring, the organist needed to have a perfect ear or even more, so as not to produce all kinds of wrong intervals.⁶⁷⁰

In the extended version of *L'Organo suonarino* (Venice: Amadino, 1611), Banchieri was less negative:

As for this new fashion of playing on a basso continuo, I do not fault it, but I do not praise it, because the new organists omit to study the *ricerare* in four parts and *fantasie* of illustrious men in this profession, seeing that nowadays many consider themselves confident organists on the strength of four scattered hands [parts] and playing on a basso continuo; but it is not true, seeing that secure organists are those who play a good counterpoint in which all four parts are heard.⁶⁷¹

In the fifth *registro* of the *L'Organo suonarino* (Venice: Amadino, 1611), Banchieri shows how to realize a figured bass in four voices. The individual voices (figure 9.8, transcribed as example 9.10) are all realised contrapuntally in a correct way, at least visually. The numbers added under the individual voices indicate the intervals above the bass. However, the result, when intabulated according to Diruta's rules⁶⁷² and played on a keyboard instrument, is quite mediocre, as the transcription shows.

Apart from the usual prerequisites for playing upon the bass, such as being able to sing well and adhering to the *battuta*, knowing how cadences work and having an attentive

669 Banchieri (1609), p. 25: 'frà poco tempo vi saranno dui classe di suonatori, parte Organisti, cioè quelli, che praticeranno le buone spartiture, & fantasie, & altri bassisti, che vinti da cotale ifingardaggine si contenteranno suonare semplicemente il Basso del restante poi, tamquam asinus ad liram.'

670 Banchieri (1609), p. 25.

671 Banchieri (1611): Quinto registro, fol. E2r: 'Questo nuovo modo di suonare sopra il Basso non lo biasmo, ma non lodo però che gli Novelli Organisti tralascino di studiare le ricercate a Quatro voci, & fantasie d'huomini Illustri nella professione, atteso, che oggidi molti con quatro sparpagliate di mano, & suonare sopra un Basso continuo, si tengono sicuri Organisti, ma vero non è atteso che sicuri Organisti sono quelli i quali suonano un ben tirato Contraponto che si sentino tutte quatro le parti.'

672 Thus not writing a double d' on the second minim of m. 2.

Accompagnamenti à tre voci per b. molle.
Fraggiuntou l'Ort uà per quarta parte & riempimento.

The image shows a musical score for organ accompaniment in three voices, with four staves. Below each staff are numerical figures representing intabulation. The figures are: 12 5 10 10 8 10 8 10 8 8 8 10 8 10 8 10 15; 10 8 12 8 5 8 5 8 5 3 5 8 5 8 5 8 12; 8 5 8 5 3 5 3 5 3 5 3 5 3 5 10 3 5 10.

Figure 9.8 Adriano Banchieri, *L'organo suonarino* (Venice: Ricciardo Amadino, 1611), Quinto registro, p. 61 (I-Bc C67).

ear, Banchieri requires the player to be conversant with the intavolatura and how to arrange it in the hands.⁶⁷³ Elsewhere in the *Organo suonarino* he recommends that

Anybody who does not have a secure knowledge of how to intabulate should use the second book of Diruta's *Transilvano*, which will appear shortly ...⁶⁷⁴

The image shows a transcription and intabulation of figure 9.8. It consists of two systems of staves. The first system has a treble and bass staff with notes and figures. The second system starts with a '6' above the treble staff, indicating a sixteenth note, and continues with notes and figures.

Example 9.10 Adriano Banchieri, *L'organo suonarino*, transcription and intabulation of figure 9.8.

673 Banchieri (1605/1611) Quinto registro, p. 59: 'che sappia in pratica l'intavolatura per l'accomodamento delle mani.'

674 Banchieri (1605), p. 58: '(a chi non ha sicura cognitione nell'intavolare) si serva di un Libro secondo volume aggiunto al Transilvano da Girolamo Diruta, che fra pochi giorni si stamperà in Venetia Apresso Iacomo Vincenti, qual volume (oltre molte utilità, che aporterà a gl' Organisti) insegna con facilità Intavolare semplice, & diminuito.'

In 1609 in the *Gemelli armonici* and in 1611, in the *Cartella Musicale*, Banchieri still thought it was important to double the voices: that the parts that were sung were actually played on the instruments in the right octave, the same octave the singers are singing in.⁶⁷⁵ He recommends using compound numbers if the interval is more than an octave, so that no consecutive octaves with the sung voices can occur.⁶⁷⁶ These compound numbers had already been in use in the earliest sources with figuring like the Caccini and Cavalieri editions. But not three years later, in the *Cartella musicale* (1614), he modifies this claim, explaining that the difference in timbre between the voice and keyboard make such octaves acceptable.⁶⁷⁷

In the Verovio intabulations the keyboard intabulations show the voice parts doubled at pitch. The lute parts however, foremost in the *Ghirlanda* of 1589, are often intabulated with the top voice an octave lower, frequently making the second voice the top part of the intabulation, showing that already 25 years earlier this practice was accepted at least for the lute.⁶⁷⁸

In fact, in 1614, Banchieri then lauds the *basso continuo* system, because nowadays with 'accidentals and numbers composers have reduced the *basso continuo* to a perfect score of all the parts.'⁶⁷⁹

9.8 FIGURING AND PROGRESSION OF THE VOICES IN SCORES

Although it was so complicated and expensive to print figures, some scores can be found with relatively precise figuring. In Central Italy two kinds of music were generally printed in score: works that had been staged, reproduced in large, expensive representational prints, and works for one or at the most two singers. Amongst other reasons, the latter needed to be printed in score, as frequently the singer would be the person playing upon the bass, accompanying him- or herself on either the lute, harp or the harpsichord, but also as Marescotti suggested, to facilitate the accompaniment of the

675 See Horsley (1977), p. 495.

676 Banchieri (1605/1611), p. 64: 'prima segnando il numero 3 e 10 si sfuggono di Ottave che scorrer possono tra la voce & il Tasto.'

677 Horsley (1977), p. 496.

678 Unless these intabulations were written solely to accompany a tenor singing the top voice an octave lower.

679 Banchieri (1614), p. 214: 'le compositioni di tanti peregrini ingegni, che scaturiscono al giorno odierno i quali con accidenti di diesis, b molle, & numeri aritmetici hanno ridotto il basso continuo ad una perfettissima spartitura di tutte le parti.'



Figure 9.11 Giulio Caccini, *Nuove Musiche* (Florence: Marescotti, 1601), p. 13, 'Sfoga con le stelle' (retrieved from the Library of Congress, USA-Wc, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2012563557/>).

bass compound figuring, as advocated by Banchieri, could be found indicating the exact interval above the bass. In this manner of notation 4–♯3 would thus be different from 11–♯10, but by 1620 this notation had all but disappeared.

This typical continuo figuring, found for example in Caccini's *Le Nuove Musiche* (Marescotti, Florence, 1601), clearly shows exact part-writing: in figure 9.9 and 9.10 we see the same ornamented 4–3 suspension once as 4–3–2 and once as 11–10–9.

In figure 9.11 the use of a seventh at the cadence is indicated (in this case an octave higher, as 14). This is typical of Caccini's figuring, and frequently occurs written out in Neapolitan keyboard music scores of that time. Such a cadential seventh does not occur in any of the Verovio prints, neither in the intabulations nor in Durante's *Arie devote*.

Clear voice figuring of this type can be found in Emilio de' Cavalieri's *Rappresentazione di Anima et di Corpo* (1600) and other stage works of the time. The *Rappresentazione* was not only the first stage work to be printed in score; it is also unusually precise in its notation. Elam Rotem has shown that the detailed and consistent figuring is at times equivalent to a written-out realization (example 9.11).⁶⁸²

In this example, the larger note heads render notes determined by the figuring, while the smaller ones are added in Rotem's realization.⁶⁸³ Some 'unnecessary' explicit figuring is found, to ensure that a dissonance is prepared in the correct octave (see the 10 in m. 2). Such preparations expressed in figures are not always printed; this example is also exceptional because it contains three numbers above one another. In the Caccini examples above, this same preparation is only implied by the normal rules of coun-

⁶⁸² Rotem (2015), p. 145.

⁶⁸³ The realization is a score, not an intabulation for harpsichord, as can be seen in the second measure. This example contains the only note with three figures in the whole print.

Cru - del cru - del pec - ca - to, etc.

3 10 6 #4 11# #3

Example 9.11 Emilio de' Cavalieri, *Rappresentazione di Anima et di Corpo*, p. XXIX, no. 69.
Realisation by Elam Rotem.

terpoint, which require that a suspension be prepared. Thus Caccini saved the printer some work. Cavalieri also used a kind of short hand; in the preface he writes that the accidental sign \sharp always implies the $10\sharp$.

Further information can be found in scores for organists. As has been documented by Horsley, these appear mainly in northern Italy and come in three categories: full scores (for five voices or fewer), bass scores (the lowest voice of every choir in a polychoral work) and bass-soprano scores.⁶⁸⁴ Banchieri preferred this last type of notation.⁶⁸⁵ The organ part *Gravis et acutus ad organum* of Domenico Brunetti's *Unica voce, binis, ternis, quaternis, & pluribus ad usum ecclesiae varij concertus* (Venice: Raverio, 1609) is of great interest.⁶⁸⁶ This organ part consists of the lowest and highest voice of each composition, although the top part is only the highest part sung when this is a soprano or alto part. When the solo is a tenor or bass, Brunetti suggested a top part, where the organ bass part is an unornamented version of the sung solo part (see figure 9.12 transcribed in example 9.12).

684 Horsley (1977).

685 Banchieri (1609), p. 25.

686 I-Bc X.165.

Figure 9.12 Domenico Brunetti, *Unica voce, binis, ternis, quaternis, et pluribus ad usum ecclesie varij concertus, cum gravi, & acuto ad organum* (Venice: Raverio, 1609), p. 6, 'Surrexit Pastor' for bassus solus (I-BC X165).

Example 9.12 Domenico Brunetti, *Unica voce, binis, ternis, quaternis, et pluribus ad usum ecclesie varij concertus, cum gravi, & acuto ad organum* (Venice: Raverio, 1609), transcription of figure 9.12.

Other clues are found in scores with numbers⁶⁸⁷ or with notes on the upper staff of a two-staff system, but such examples are rare and short. It is interesting to note how

⁶⁸⁷ For example in Alessandro Nuvaloni's basses for Palestrina's *Quarto libro delle Messe a quattro* (1610). See Horsley (1977), pp. 490–493.

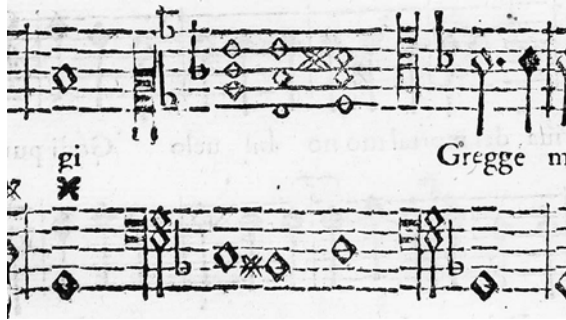


Figure 9.13 Marco da Gagliano, *La Dafne* (Florence: Marescotti, 1608), p. 5 (I-Fn RARI.B.R.125).

some printers solved such printing problems. When printing Marco da Gagliano's *La Dafne* (1608), the Florentine printer Marescotti made a small woodcut to insert into the formes. He used this three times, on three different pages of the score of Apollo's Lament 'Un guardo', where the singer has a pause.⁶⁸⁸ This shows that Marescotti did not possess a set of keyboard types to print chords. In figure 9.13, the flat sign is still set with a separate piece of type, but the three chords are printed from one woodblock, set above the separate types of the bass line.

This passage, not an *intavolatura*, shows the chords played by the viols. It corresponds to what Banchieri prescribes for a keyboard instrument, without octave doubling of the bass when a note is altered by a sharp.⁶⁸⁹ It also implies a *g'* (above the sung part) in the uppermost viol part of the next bar, as the *f* sharp needs to be resolved upwards.

Angelo Gardano possessed keyboard type from which he could print chords. He combined these with sorts for numbers, as can be seen in figure 9.14 from Francesco Rasi's *Vaghezza di musica* (1608).⁶⁹⁰

688 I thank Elam Rotem for pointing out this passage to me. The error of placing the wrong type with the *b* on the wrong line in the bass is found only this first time. The fact that this passage is a woodcut also explains the lack of barlines or caselle, which are difficult to produce using this relief technique.

689 Banchieri (1611), p. 62: 'a dette note mai si darà l'Ottava (naturalmente suonando come fanno gl' Organisti periti) ma in luogo di ottava accidentata si darà la Terza, la Sesta, & Decima.'

690 I thank Elam Rotem for pointing out this passage to me. Similar examples using both figures and notes can be found in manuscripts too, for example Peri's 'Tu dormi, e'l dolce sonno' in GB-Lbl Ms. Add. 30491.

Figure 9.14 Francesco Rasi, *Vaghezze di musica* (Venice: Gardano, 1608), p. 1, 'Che fai Alma' (I-Gu Rari L.VII.10(6)).

For shorter passages it was thus possible to indicate the progression of a voice, but not without technical difficulties. Like the earlier intabulations associated with Verovio, the complete written out top parts for the accompanying instruments by Brunetti are a unique exception, from which much can be learned.

9.9 DURANTE'S *Arie devote*

The only Verovio publication with figured bass is the *Arie devote* by Ottavio Durante. This collection contains various sacred compositions for one or two voices. Different voice ranges are represented, as can be seen from the clefs used. The lowest voice is normally in the bass clef (F4) and the uppermost voice is mostly in the G2 clef, although bass, tenor (C4) and alto (C3) clefs also occur in the top line. Some pieces are for two solo voices, with text beneath the bass and the top part. In such cases, the bass line is ornamented in a way similar to the top part. A unique passage, printed on a page where some space was apparently left over, shows that the instrumentalist playing from the bass was to double the sung bass part without the ornaments. An extra line was added for the bass and the ornamented line is now labelled solo. Figure 9.15 reproduces the last line of plate 2 and the first line of plate 3.

This example demonstrates how the solo bass part should be simplified when played on the instrumental bass. The same approach to doubling of the voices is found in Luzzaschi's 1601 intabulations. It is likely that if the upper part was doubled, it was done in a similar manner.

As mentioned in chapter 6.4, one of the four surviving copies of Durante's *Arie devote* contains more figuring than the other three. To discuss the figures I refer to this state. Durante writes that he only outlined the middle parts, resolving some sevenths to sixths and elevenths to tenths, which, he states, are like 4–3 suspensions. He did this because



Figure 9.15 O. Durante, *Arie devote* (Rome: Verovio, 1624), 'Angelus ad pastores', last system, plate 2; and first system, plate 3 (I-Rsc G.CS.2.C.44).

the major and minor thirds and sixths and other consonances become clear when these pieces are played and sung together.⁶⁹¹

In general only cadences are figured, but even then not all are figured. Authentic cadences, plagal cadences and tenor cadences can be found in the bass. The following points can be inferred:

1. Authentic bass cadences, where the bass part goes up a fourth or down a fifth:
 - On a minim there is either a two-step cadence (11–10)⁶⁹² or a one-step cadence without a suspension (a plain 10);
 - On a semibreve most of the cadences are two-step, some are four-step cadences (10–11–11–10) and a few lack figuring;
 - On a breve most cadences are four-step cadences, but some have no figures.

691 Durante (1608) preface p. 1: 'si sono accenate per le parti di mezzo nella parte del Basso solo alcune settime resolute in seste, & undecime in decime, che sono come quarte in terze, e tanto piu, che le terze, e seste maggiori e minori, & altre consonanze, pare che concorrino da se stesse, mentre si suonano, e cantano insieme.'

692 Since there is no historical terminology for the rhythmical division of *clausulae* in the bass before Bismantova (1677), I have adopted the terminology suggested by Rotem (2015), p. 119: 'one-step cadence' (cadence without any rhythmical division), 'two-step cadence' (cadence rhythmically divided into two parts), 'four-step cadence' (cadence rhythmically divided into four parts).

2. Plagal bass cadences, in which the bass goes up a fifth or down a fourth:

– A 6 as passing note is mostly indicated.

3. Tenor cadence, in which the bass goes down a step:

– A 7–6 or plain 6 is indicated.

These correspond to some of the basic rules written down by Bianciardi, as discussed above. As required by all the authors already discussed, Durante presumes a basic knowledge of counterpoint, especially regarding *musica ficta*, because accidentals are never added to the figures. The 10 in cadences must always be major, even when not indicated as such. Context determines whether the sixth, in a 7–6 progression moving to an octave, requires an accidental. Zarlino, Agazzari and others state that the sixth in such a cadence must be major.⁶⁹³ It might therefore be necessary to add an accidental if the bass moves by a step, as in figure 9.16.

The person who wrote the figures in this Durante print evidently expected the bass player to look at the highest voice as well, as cadences where a suspension is implied by the top voice are never figured. In the case of four-step cadences, the figures do not clarify whether the first three notes come with a 5, a 6 or a 7.⁶⁹⁴ This information is essential, as these notes are never left out in any of the sources, and clashes are inevitable without knowledge of the upper part.⁶⁹⁵ Similarly, if a 6 occurs as a passing note in the upper voice, it is never figured in the *basso continuo* part. Thus it is likely that the upper part (if a soprano or alto part) was doubled in its simplified form,⁶⁹⁶ as otherwise essential harmonic information would be missing. The organist should then add the middle parts accordingly, as Cima stated in 1610:

The esteemed organist will do me the favour when they play these my [pieces] (only with bass and soprano), accompanying them with middle parts with the utmost diligence, because the accompaniments render the singing more beautiful.⁶⁹⁷

693 Zarlino (1561), p. 249: 'dalla imperfetta più propinqua si pervenghi alla perfetta.' Agazzari (1607), p. 6: 'l'andar dall'imperfetta, alla perfetta, con la più vicina.'

694 See example 9.27.

695 See chapter 9.10.

696 At least at the cadences, but probably also in the rest of the part. In chapter 10 we shall discuss whether this top part should be doubled continuously.

697 Cima (1610), last page of the canto part-book: 'Mi favoriranno anco li valenti Organisti quando sonaranno questi miei (solo con Basso, & Soprano) accompagnarli con le parti di mezo con quella maggior diligenza che sia possibile, perche gli accompagnamenti fan grato il canto.'

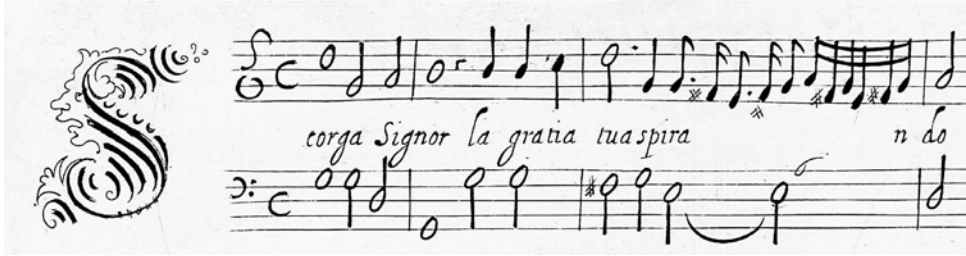


Figure 9.16 O. Durante, *Arie devoto* (Rome: Verovio, 1624), 'Scorga signor', plate 1 (I-Rsc G.CS.2.C.44).

Figure 9.17 O. Durante, *Arie devoto* (Rome: Verovio, 1624), 'Estote fortes', plate 3 (I-Rsc G.CS.2.C.44).

Durante's bass lines resemble those of the Luzzaschi intabulations and the Cima pieces, in that they are written more or less in the same note values as the top parts in an unornamented version. The bass lines, which could have been sung and are written in a contrapuntal manner, resemble what Eggebrecht called a *motettisch-solistische Generalbass*.⁶⁹⁸ It is not difficult to fill in fitting middle parts.

Unlike in some other scores with compound figuring, the numbers in the Durante prints do not necessarily imply the octave in which the interval should be played. Figure 9.17 shows three examples of a 11–10 and two of a 6.

In the first two occurrences of the figuring 11–10, it makes sense to play these notes at pitch; a 4–3 would be very low, especially in m. 5, where it would resolve into a unison. However, on the last 11–10 in m. 6, a sounding 11–10 would be unusually high, and a 4–3 seems implied instead. The 6 in m. 1 could be played at pitch, but the 6 above the *G* in m. 4, would be low. This would create an unusual gap between the parts and would violate Sabbatini's recommendation to play only 8 on the first division. Consistent with the structure of the harmonics of a chord, this is a sensible rule, especially if the other hand is much higher. Bianciardi affirms this when he advises not to play thirds and fifths on low notes, as this offends the ear.⁶⁹⁹

⁶⁹⁸ Eggebrecht (1957), pp. 69–70.

⁶⁹⁹ Bianciardi (1607): 'Fuggendo nelle corde molto gravi le terze, e le quinte; perche fanno troppa borda l'armonia, offendendo l'udito.'

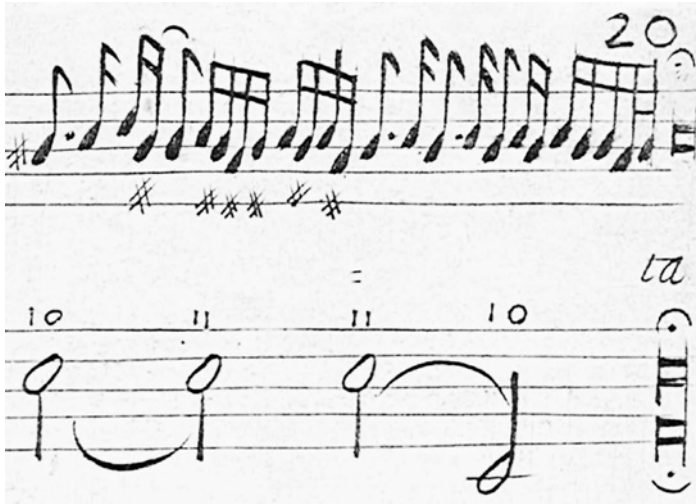


Figure 9.18 O. Durante, *Arie devote* (Rome: Verovio, 1624), 'Auditui meo' from 'Miserere mei deus', plate 20 (detail) (I-Rsc G.CS.2.C.25.3). As discussed, the added fifth on the last chord is notable. In the earlier version (SC-G.CS.2.C.44) the final on e is obviously a mistake. See figure 4.18.

Durante never figures 4–3, and figure 9.18 does not make sense if taken literally. The 11 resolves to a 10 on the second bass note, which would indicate a jump of a ninth for the resolution. It can be assumed then that the numbers do not indicate the exact pitch here, as they do in other scores of the time. This example also shows clearly that when the 4–3 occurs in the sung part, it is played along with the singer.

Durante's *Arie devote* seem to be written in a bass-soprano score, just like Luzzaschi's *Madrigali* (1601). While the *Madrigali* are notated and printed in the form of an intabulation, which indicates all the parts, the *Arie devote*, like the example from Brunetti (figure 9.12), are printed as *basso continuo*, in which important notes are indicated, others simply implied, and yet others left to the knowledge, taste and capabilities of the performer. Luzzaschi shows how to fill in the missing *parti di mezzo*, where to put *musica ficta*, and how to simplify an ornamented top part. Durante reveals how this can be done for the bass in a short passage, but otherwise assumes that the performer knows how to simplify the top part, how to fill in the *parti di mezzo*, how to prepare dissonances and how to apply the rules of *musica ficta*.

9.10 AGAINST BASSO CONTINUO

Banchieri was not the only writer unhappy about this new manner of notating the parts for instrumentalists playing from the bass. Although this new notation was more convenient both for players and printers alike, it harboured certain dangers, especially more wrong notes, as many writers and composers complained. Tiburtio Massaino mentioned that although he had heard some satisfactory performances, he had heard even more in which the playing contained avoidable mistakes, detracting from the *aria* of the composition and the intentions of the composer.⁷⁰⁰ According to Massaino, these kinds of pieces were held in some contempt.

The apprehension of authors and composers unsatisfied with the new *basso continuo* notation was expressed mostly in prefaces directed at church musicians, especially in Northern Italy. Much of the time, musicians would have played this music at sight, or with minimal rehearsal. Since singers and musicians were hired for specific feast days, Giovanni Battista Fergusio recommends inexperienced organists to learn the music required in advance.⁷⁰¹

Diruta affirms his misgivings about playing upon the *basso generale* when he states that it is impossible to give a sure rule (*regola sicura*) that will not lead to dissonances with the other parts, especially if the singers are not placed near the organist.⁷⁰² He suggests

not giving in to idleness and writing out the parts, thus playing them all and letting something beautiful be heard without any mishaps.⁷⁰³

Agazzari and Caccini advised players to put figures above the bass to avoid these mishaps, but for other writers this was not enough. Like Diruta, the Northern Italian Tarquinio Merula (1615) stated that even though the *basso continuo* part was added for the ease of the organists, he nonetheless recommended writing out a score.⁷⁰⁴

700 Tiburtio Massaino, *Partitura per sonar nell'Organo della Musica a una, due, & tre voci* (Venice: Raverio, 1607), cit. Kinkeldey (1910), p. 223.

701 Fergusio, *Motetti e Dialoghi à 1-9* (Venice: Vincenti, 1612), cit. Kinkeldey (1910), p. 225.

702 Diruta (1609/1622), Book IV, p. 16: 'Si che non vi date a questa poltronaria, spartite li Canti, e sonate tutte le parti, che farete bel sentire, è non nascerà inconveniente alcuno.'

703 Diruta (1609/1622), Book IV p. 16: 'Si che non vi date a questa poltronaria spartite li Canti, e sonate tutte le parti, che farete bel sentire, è non nascerà inconveniente alcuno.'

704 Tarquinio Merula, *I libro dell canzoni à 4 voci* (Venice: Magni, 1615): 'Benche per maggior facilità di tutti li Signori Organisti vi sia posto il Basso continuo alle presenti Canzoni, laudo nondimeno il partirle.' Cit. Kinkeldey (1910), p. 225.

Preparing for performances in church by making an intabulation or a score would have helped avoid such problems. The performance materials for the first theatrical productions with such clear bass figuring remains unknown. However, it is clear that such pieces were rehearsed longer.

The *basso generale* or *basso continuo* was soon accepted and used by most composers when publishing their works, and by editors who republished works by deceased composers.⁷⁰⁵ However, the dangers, especially of wrong notes, were frequently acknowledged in the forewords to these prints. Admonitions to put the parts into score can still be found as late as 1620 in Italy, and later still in Germany.⁷⁰⁶

9.11 CONCLUSIONS

The art of playing from a bass was practised long before the first figures appeared in print, certainly by lute players, and probably by players of other 'perfect' instruments like keyboard instruments and harps as well. It then took some time before the first instructions for playing from this notation appeared in prefaces to editions and treatises. This notation was not accepted immediately. Its main opponents were church musicians in Northern Italy, who probably sensed a threat to their hard-earned professional skills.

In prints of music for solo voices and early stage works, score notation with figured bass immediately became the norm. Early stage works were usually figured extensively and precisely, showing the voice progressions implied, and often doubling the upper voices. These parts and their voice progressions then had to be adapted to the keyboard or the lute. Agazzari and Bianciardi show how this could be done. Their examples share many features with the way the Verovio canzonettas are adapted for the keyboard.

705 See for example Palestrina, *Mottetti a cinque voci* (Venice: Raverio, 1608).

706 See Johnston (1998).

PRACTICAL ASPECTS

10 Practical conclusions

The previous two chapters described the treatises on intabulating and early *basso continuo*, and identified key properties and characteristics common to both groups. This chapter will analyse these treatises in more detail, highlighting information relevant to present-day performance practice, specifically the use of a *basso continuo* part. It will be shown that the intabulations in the prints associated with Verovio present essentially the same phenomena found in the *basso continuo* instructions in the early seventeenth century, simply notated in a different way.⁷⁰⁷

We have already seen that the examples from the treatises by Bianciardi and Agazzari, and to a lesser extent those by Banchieri and Sabbatini, give more information on performance practice than is described in their accompanying texts. Likewise, the intabulations give ample information about the realisation of the bass, as they frequently go beyond literal transcriptions. In this chapter we shall compare the examples from these treatises with the Verovio intabulations, emphasising those elements added to the intabulations to render them more idiomatic for the keyboard or the lute. First we shall show some general tendencies, and then we shall present a few representative canzonettas. We shall focus on the harpsichord intabulations, as Bianciardi, Agazzari and other authors mainly write for organists, but we will also take lute parts into consideration where relevant.

10.1 THE KEYBOARD LEFT HAND

According to Sabbatini, the whole foundation of playing upon the bass lies in the left hand.⁷⁰⁸ Bartolomeo Bismantova, in a manuscript giving his 'Rules for playing the basso continuo' (*Regole per suonare il basso continuo*, 1677), still calls the left hand the more important (*Mano sinistra et principale*).⁷⁰⁹ We will now explore how this left hand is treated in the examples from the sources discussed in chapter 8 and in the intabulations associated with Verovio.

707 As a great deal of material is covered and many examples are given, short summaries will be presented at the end of each part.

708 Sabbatini (1628), p. 10: 'Secondo si deve avertire tutto il fondamento del sonar sopra il Basso sta nella mano sinistra.'

709 Bismantova (1677/1978), p. [64].

In chapter 9.4 we examined Sabbatini's rules for playing with this hand. When intabulating Banchieri's four-voice example (see example 9.10) for the left hand according to Diruta, accepting Sabbatini's injunction that the left hand should not go above *d'*, we obtain the following result (example 10.1). This result is not significantly different from the examples given by Sabbatini.

Banchieri

Sabbatini pp. 17-21

Sabbatini p. 22

8.vota 8.pi. 6. 5.V. 5.P. 3.V. 3.P. Sol.V. Sol.P. 3. Sol.

Example 10.1 Comparison of the left hand of examples from Banchieri and Sabbatini.

Banchieri's example has a flat in the key signature, so the B flat in the second bar does not require a sixth. Furthermore Banchieri leaves out the e, which would have required one. The only real difference is the 5 *pieno* on the F: in both cases Sabbatini uses a 3 although the F, being in the third division (see chapter 9.4), can also be accompanied by a fifth.

A comparison of these specimens with the left hand of the principal examples of Bianciardi and Agazzari reveals certain similarities (see example 10.2).

Bianciardi

Agazzari

17

Example 10.2 Left hand of the principal examples from Bianciardi and Sabbatini.

The example from Bianciardi closely resembles Sabbatini's description, once we take into account a few rules mentioned by Bianciardi but not by Sabbatini:

- When the bass goes by step in smaller note values or diminutions (mm. 6, 7), the rest of the notes are taken in the right hand. The same thing can be seen in the Agazzari example in m. 2;
- When there are leaps in the bass, all notes are harmonized (see Bianciardi m. 11 and Agazzari, m. 6);
- When the bass goes down by step, one note is accompanied by a fifth, the next by a sixth, while the right hand goes in parallel tenths (see Bianciardi, m. 9), rendering an keyboard part in three voices.⁷¹⁰

In the last measure of the Bianciardi example, the left hand is fuller: Sabbatini probably would have left out the d'. However, the left hand does not exceed the ranges indicated by Sabbatini. The Agazzari example is not quite as 'correct': it exceeds the range of d', and the texture is both thinner (m. 3) and thicker (mm. 6 and 7). In both examples however it can be seen that, as Diruta describes, many notes are taken in the left hand. This is also the case in the Verovio intabulations.

I have analysed the left-hand staves of the three-part canzonettas from the *Diletto spirituale* for added notes not found in the original part-writing, supplied to adapt the voices to the instrument.

I list bass notes that would have qualified for having *accompagnamenti* according to Bianciardi and Agazzari, thus leaving out diminutions for example. I then divide these notes according to Sabbatini's *divisioni*. For this I used the keys in the intabulations; voice parts in high clef combinations were transposed down the usual fourth or fifth. Subsequently I listed all instances where notes were added in the left hand. It was impossible to add notes if the bass and the next highest voice were too close, for example if the second voice was just a third above the bass, or if the note that could be filled in would be lower than the next bass note in the case of an upwards leap, or lower than the previous bass note in the case of a downwards leap.⁷¹¹ I obtained the following results, shown in table 10.1 and elucidated in examples 10.3–5:

- In the first division (C–F, eight instances), all bass notes had added notes;
- In the second division (G–d, 108 instances), seventy-five bass notes had added notes, and twenty-two did not; in ten instances it was not possible to add notes;

⁷¹⁰ This instance does not occur in the Agazzari example.

⁷¹¹ The following example can never be observed and was labeled impossible if the next part up lay a third above the a.



See Sabbatini (1628), p. 15.

- In the third division (e–g, 134 instances), forty-eight bass notes had added notes, and thirty-six did not; in fifty instances it was not possible to add notes;
- In the fourth division (a–b, 101 instances), twenty-five bass notes had added notes, and twenty did not; in fifty-six instances it was not possible to add notes;
- In the fifth division (c'–d', 117 instances), six bass notes had added notes, and eight did not; in 103 instances it was not possible to add notes.

These instances are not divided equally over all pieces. In some pieces, such as Marenzio's 'Qual paura', in which the three voices are close to each other, notes are added only at the finals of the cadences. In others, for example Marenzio's 'Spiega mondo maligno' (example 10.3), the part-writing is far more open and the bass much lower; these two features provide more opportunities for adding notes in the left hand. In this case the bass is in the first, second and third division. Apart from the F in m. 3 (where Sabbatini would probably have recommended an δp , a full 8), mm. 2–5 comprise a perfect example of playing in *modo di sonar osservato*: notes are added to the left hand, and when two octaves follow each other, one is played *voto* (empty) and the other *pieno* (full), or vice versa.

The image shows a musical score for 'Spiega mondo maligno' by Luca Marenzio, measures 1-6. The score is in 4/4 time and features three vocal parts (Soprano, Alto, Bass) and a lute part. The lyrics are: 'Spiega mondo maligno, i tuoi te-so-ri Fal-si e pa-losa i tuoi fin-ti pia-cc-ri'. The lute part shows added notes in the left hand on bass notes in the first, second, and third divisions.

Example 10.3 *Diletto spirituale*, Luca Marenzio, 'Spiega mondo maligno', mm. 1–6. Notes are added in the left hand on bass notes in the first, second and third divisions.

Example 10.4 shows an added third on the second C in the bass of the first measure in the fifth division.

o A - mo - ris con - su - ma - - - - ti - o

o A - mo - ris con - su - ma - ti - o

o Am - mo - ris con - su - ma - - - - - - - ti - o

Example 10.4 *Diletto spirituale*, Ruggiero Giovannelli, 'Tu mentis delectatio', mm. 4–6. Notes are added in the left hand on bass notes in the fifth and second divisions.

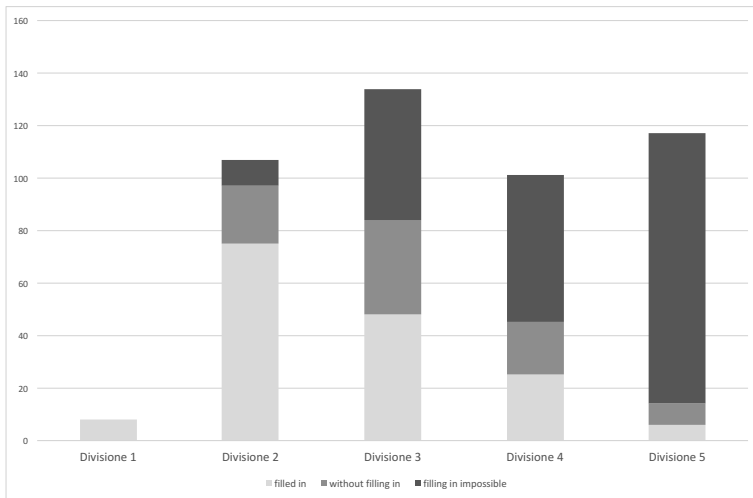
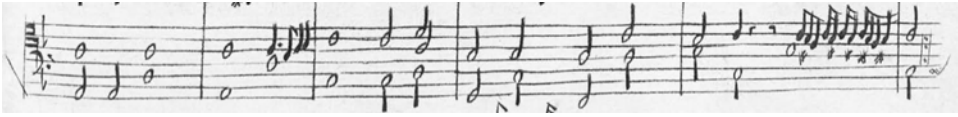
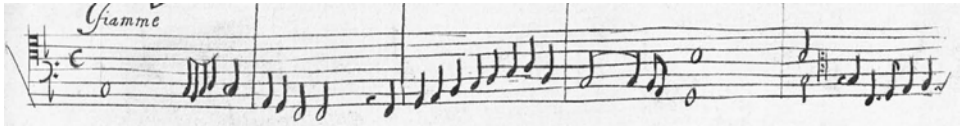


Table 10.1 Number of notes in the five divisions according to Sabbatini with added notes.

As expected, table 10.1 shows that when the bass has a higher tessitura, other notes are added less frequently, since there is no space between the bass and the next highest part. In the lower divisions, where there is more room above the bass, there are many more instances in which notes are added in the left hand than those in which they are not. In general, if there is room above the bass, many notes are added to the left hand when adapting these three-part canzonettas to the keyboard. Example 10.5 provides another good example, where only the last cadence belongs to one of the top parts in an unornamented version; all other notes have been added to the left hand above the bass.



Example 10.5 *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali*, Felice Anerio, 'Fiamme che da begl'occhi', mm. 6–10 (second part).



Example 10.6 *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali*, Felice Anerio, 'Fiamme che da begl'occhi' mm. 1–5 (first part).

From m. 6 to the middle of m. 9, Anerio's 'Fiamme che da begl'occhi' (example 10.5) could almost be considered in four voices; the two upper voices are played in the right hand, since they are more than an octave higher than the bass. When ascending, the intervals proceed from large to small, and when descending from large to smaller and then larger again. There is even a small imitation of a previous bass ornamentation. When one sees the beginning of the piece, it becomes clear that this canzonetta is originally neither explicitly nor implicitly a four-part canzonetta (example 10.6).

Opportunities to add notes in the left hand occur, but Bianciardi and Agazzari suggest that if the bass, playing from a *basso* part, goes by step in smaller note values or diminutions, the remaining notes are distributed to the right hand. In other words, the principles underlying the treatment of the left hand in this example from 1589 correspond to the techniques described later in treatises dating from 1607 and 1628.

Not all the left-hand writing in the Verovio canzonetta intabulations follows the rules so closely. Frequently they are written in such a way that there is no space to fill out the left hand in any consistent manner. In other pieces the left hand goes higher than the *d'* (with the possible third above) mentioned by Sabbatini. The added fourth part is optional in the canzonettas, coming and going when it fits well, sometimes for one or two bars, sometimes for longer, and sometimes not at all. By contrast, the four voices in the harpsichord parts of Luzzaschi's *Madrigali* remain constant. Even when one or more of the upper voices pauses, there are almost always three parts above the bass. In the solo madrigals three parts need to be added in the whole composition; these will therefore be 'composed' in a consistent manner for the entire piece. For the purposes of comparing these intabulations to the canzonetta intabulations and the rules for *basso continuo*, it is more interesting to see what Luzzaschi does in the three- and four-part *Madrigali*, that is, the pieces for two or three voices and bass. 'I mi son giovinetta' commences with five bars of solo for the first voice (example 10.7a).

I mi son gio - vi - nett - ta e ri - do e can -
 to a la sta - gion no - - vel - - - la Can -
 Can - ta - va

Example 10.7a Luzzasco Luzzaschi, *Madrigali*, 'T mi son giovinetta', mm. 1–6.

In the left hand (see example 10.7b), similarities to the examples from Agazzari and Bianciardi can be detected. The part-writing is contrapuntally more refined, but many similarities can be seen, even if the left hand rises even higher than in Agazzari's example.

Example 10.7b Luzzasco Luzzaschi, *Madrigali*, 'T mi son giovinetta', mm. 1–6, left hand.

Both sopranos in this composition have high clefs (G2), which indicates transposition.⁷¹² Following such a transposition, the left hand comes down to the normal range mentioned by Sabbatini and observed by Bianciardi (example 10.7c).

⁷¹² See chapter 10.12.



Example 10.7c Luzzasco Luzzaschi, *Madrigali*, 'T' mi son giovinetta', mm. 1–6, left hand transposed.

In the three-voice madrigals from Luzzaschi's collection there are fewer opportunities to add notes, as the four parts are already composed. Only in passages where one or two voices have rests are extra notes found. Here similar features can be observed (see example 10.8).



Example 10.8 Luzzasco Luzzaschi, *Madrigali*, 'O dolcezza amarissime d'amore', mm. 12–14, left hand.

When the music is adapted to the instrument, notes are added only seldom as a concession to voice-leading, as for example the final $f\sharp$ in the last measure of figure 10.1.

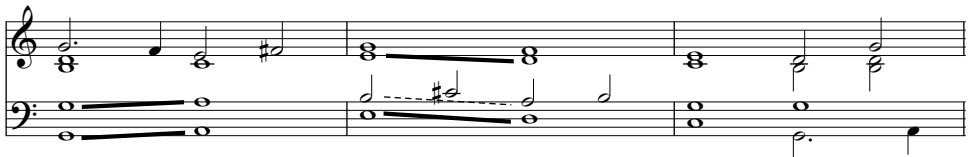
Figure 10.1 Luzzasco Luzzaschi, *Madrigali* (Rome: Verovio, 1601), 'Deh vieni hormai cor mio', plate 11 (retrieved from the Library of Congress, USA-Wc), <https://www.loc.gov/item/2008561305/>.

Summary

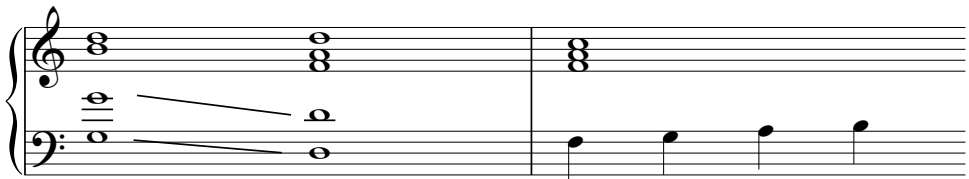
To conclude, the treatment of the left hand of the Verovio intabulations, both in the *Canzonette* and Luzzaschi's *Madrigali*, resembles Sabbatini's description of the playing of the left hand, as well as the examples found in the other treatises. This way of distributing a chord over the hands was standard around 1600.

10.2 PARALLEL PERFECT INTERVALS AND VOICE LEADING

In Book III of *Le Istitutioni Harmoniche*, Zarlino proscribes parallels that arise from voice crossings played on a (keyboard) instrument, even if the voices do not move in consecutive fifths or octaves themselves.⁷¹³ The examples by Agazzari, Banchieri and Bianciardi show that such forbidden consecutives can occur, although they are mostly 'hidden' by the *modo di sonar osservato*. The concept of parallel fifths and octaves around 1600 was different from the present understanding; if two notes proceeding either by a leap or a step are separated by another pitch, they are not considered forbidden consecutives. A non-specialized theory lesson nowadays would see hidden parallel fifths between the tenor and bass in m. 2 of example 10.9, indicated here by the dotted line. Furthermore, the examples from Bianciardi and Agazzari contain 'real' forbidden consecutives, indicated here by solid lines.



Example 10.9 Francesco Bianciardi, *Breve regola*, general example, mm. 3–5. Transcription showing real and hidden parallels.



Example 10.10 Agostino Agazzari, *Del sonare sopra il basso*, p. 7, mm. 1–2. Transcription showing parallels.

713 Zarlino (1561), Cap. 61, p. 251.

Usually such parallels arise when one chord has five voices and the next four, or vice versa, as in the first measure of both examples. The first measure of the example from Bianciardi (example 10.9) has an added note on the first chord (the g), with the b in the right hand leading to the a in the left. In the first measure of the example from Agazzari (example 10.10), the second chord has an added note (d'), with g' leading to f' in the right hand. In the second measure of Bianciardi's example (10.9), there are no consecutives in the left hand, as a sixth is interposed between the two fifths. However, there is no such intermediate note separating the parallel octaves between alto and bass in m. 4 of this example.

If we consider this example as in four voices with some added notes, like the Verovio canzonettas, by deintabulating m. 4 of Bianciardi's example into separate parts, the parallel octaves disappear (example 10.11):

Example 10.11 Francesco Bianciardi, *Breve regola*, general example mm. 3–5. Transcription split up into four parts below the intabulation.

The progression of the voices is now correct, and even includes some short imitations, although it does not comply with Zarlino's proscription of parallels arising through voice crossings. However, as we discussed earlier (chapter 9.3.2), Viadana contradicts Zarlino here. Viadana's ninth rule states that it is not necessary avoid two consecutive octaves or fifths when playing the *partitura*, even if such consecutives should be avoided between the vocal parts.

It is possible to write the whole example in four voices, with a rest in one voice in m. 9, which according to Bianciardi can only have three parts (see figure 9.6). Thus the example from Bianciardi is not so different from that by Banchieri, which is not intabu-



Figure 10.2 *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1589), G. B. Locatello, 'Donna gentil voi siete' (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, D-Mbs 4 Mus.pr. 10#Beibd.2), urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00074060-0.

lated but printed in score. Bianciardi's example can be understood as an intabulated version of a four-part accompaniment, adapted for the keyboard in an idiomatic way. Even if the feeling in the hand does not correspond to the part-writing, that is quite usual in keyboard intabulations. In lute intabulations there is an even greater discrepancy between what is composed (parts), what is felt (hand position), and what is seen or heard (chords).

Around 1600, composers sometimes wrote parallels intentionally, besides those which occurred when playing on a perfect instrument. For example, Emilio de' Cavalieri writes in the introduction of *Rappresentazione di Anima et di Corpo* that he wrote some consecutive fifths on purpose.⁷¹⁴ Certain genres, such as *napolitane*, had always been full of parallel fifths. The first part of Locatello's 'Donna gentil voi siete' from the *Ghirlanda* is partly written in this style and resembles Facoli's 'S'io m'accorgo bene' (see figure 10.2 and 10.3, transcribed in examples 10.12 and 10.13).⁷¹⁵



Example 10.12 *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali*, G. B. Locatello, 'Donna gentil voi siete', transcription of figure 10.2.

714 Cavalieri (1600): 'Alcune dissonanze, & due quinte sono fatte à posto.'

715 DeFord (1987), p. 127, has pointed out the close relationship between *villanella*, *napolitana* and *canzonetta*.

Figure 10.3 Marco Facoli, *Il secondo libro d'intavolatura di balli d'arpicordo* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1588), fol. 32^r, 'S'io m'accorgo bene' (I-Rsc G.CS. 3.B.31).

Example 10.13 Marco Facoli, *Il secondo libro d'intavolatura di balli d'arpicordo*, 'S'io m'accorgo bene', transcription of figure 10.3.

Summary

Once we deintabulate the examples from Agazzari and Bianciardi, we see that the voice progression is correct, no different from that in the canzonettas or other examples in score. With the notes added to the deintabulated parts, six notes can emerge simultaneously, but most chords have three to five. The acceptable concentration of parallels differs according to the style or genre of the composition. In intabulations of dances and lighter *arie*, such consecutives are exceedingly common, especially in the left hand, and seem to be a characteristic trait. In the Luzzaschi *Madrigali*, no consecutives are found. Except the above-mentioned type of passages in the canzonettas, parallels are only found when parts are added, and even then the *modo di sonar osservato* is usually respected.

10.3 VARIETY OF NUMBER OF PARTS

One advantage of *basso continuo* often cited is its flexibility in the number of parts played. *Basso continuo* is generally perceived as being free voiced, offering the possibility to vary the texture of the chords. This free voiced accompaniment, according to Nuti, 'allowed dynamics and expressiveness on keyboard instruments: accompanists could choose whether to play *tasto solo*, or large loud chords.'⁷¹⁶ The sources examined in this research, however, generally disagree with this conclusion.

The examples of intabulation in Diruta follow the number of upper parts precisely, with one small exception (see figure 8.2): intabulations of three-part pieces are in three parts, and so on. When a part has a rest, the intabulation also has a rest. Sometimes, if a part is difficult to fit in, it will be left out or transposed down an octave. Diruta provides instructions how to get from the individual parts to an *intavolatura*, and how to adapt the original parts to the instrument.

The Luzzaschi intabulations contain four continuous parts. For very short periods, usually not more than a semibreve, there are three parts. As in Diruta, sometimes a part will be left out, altered or transposed down an octave (examples 8.3 and 8.4). In general, however, in the *Madrigali* for three upper parts, when one or two voice parts have a longer rest, the harpsichord part will still have four voices, with one or two added voices (see chapter 10.2). The four-voice composition is complemented with short added lines when the voice parts have rests. In the *Madrigali* with two sopranos, the fourth part is written out continuously, but when one of the upper parts pauses, another part is added (example 10.7). In the *Madrigali* for one voice, the other three parts are composed out the whole time without any added parts. Thus the *Madrigali* for two or three top parts sometimes have added voices, if we consider the rests in the top part as belonging to the part-writing.

In *basso continuo* examples in score, for example those in Banchieri, we will naturally find the same number of parts continuously, usually four, due to the method of notation.

Bianciardi states that the *armonia* in only three parts is too poor, and instructs the reader to add octaves to the bass and the other parts.⁷¹⁷ As seen in chapter 10.1, the Verovio keyboard intabulations show many examples of such added notes in the left hand. Sometimes notes are also added in the right hand, for example if the middle voice is too close to the bass to allow it to be added to the left hand, or if a thicker chord texture is desired.

716 Nuti (2007), p. 1.

717 Bianciardi (1607): 'Ma perchè sarebbe troppo povero l'armonia, se solamente si ponessino le tre voci; sarà molto utile aggiunger dell' ottave al Basso, et all' altre parti per arricchirla, e dar luogo di passar da una consonanza all' altra più continuamente, con più leggiadria, e con maggior commodo della mano.'

Bianciardi and Agazzari's examples of *basso continuo* also contain instances of three- to five-part chords, although in principle they are considered to be in four parts. The example from Bianciardi could be scored in four voices, as shown for a few bars in example 10.11. The same could be done with the main example from Agazzari. Several chords in the example from Bianciardi have been expanded to five parts, whereas one bar is in three voices. Sabbatini also describes a regular texture of three to four parts, but these could be considered the minimum for beginners, and he also gives an example of a five-part chord.

When do such five-part chords occur? In the examples from Agazzari and Bianciardi, the middle and final cadences end on a five-part chord. In both examples, at the end of a diminution or a *tirata* (a run) up in the left hand, the run finishes on a five-part chord. In the Bianciardi example eleven chords have five pitches, and in the Agazzari example four. A similar situation can be found in the Verovio intabulations. The number of voices in the harpsichord varies from three to five parts, though occasionally two or six parts can be found. Many cadences in the three-part canzonettas have added notes.

In the *Ghirlanda*, a collection of three-part canzonettas, the final cadences of eighteen pieces finish with two voices in unison, while those of seven pieces stay in three parts. Of the eighteen pieces ending in cadences containing only two pitches, only one, 'Vedo ogni selva' by Soriano, has an exact intabulation of the original vocal parts in both the harpsichord and the lute, which likewise contain only two pitches in the final chord. In a further two compositions ('Ingiustissimo amore' by Zucchelli and 'Mentre l'aquila sta mirando' by Orlandino), the harpsichord has an exact intabulation of the vocal parts, but the lute has added notes. In all the other final cadences parts are added. Almost all the final chords contain four or five notes in the lute part, and three to six in the harpsichord part.

Of the final cadences in the fifteen three-voice canzonettas in the *Diletto spirituale*, one ends in a unison (see example 9.1), eleven have two voices in unison, and three have three separate pitches. All the final chords in the harpsichord part have three, four or five pitches. The same can be said of the lute intabulation, although the number of notes in a chord is not necessarily identical between the lute and harpsichord in the same composition. The final chords of only two of the seven four-part canzonettas have five pitches. The rest render the voice parts exactly in tablature.

Composers like Agazzari state that the consonances and harmony should be subordinated to the words,⁷¹⁸ and that the music should depict the affect of the text.⁷¹⁹ Bian-

718 Agazzari (1607), p. 5: 'che le consonanze, e tutta l'armonia, sono soggette, e sottoposte alle parole, e non per il contrario.'

719 Agazzari (1607), p. 5: 'ma dove sono le parole, bisogna vestirle di quell'armonia convenevole, che faccia, ò dimostri quell'affeto.'

ciardi says: 'in fact that frequently due to the need of the words, one seeks fullness of the voices and in exclamations support with the lowest notes.'⁷²⁰ Unfortunately neither composer shows us how to do this. None of the examples contain a text or mention an upper part.

The Verovio anthologies do not help clarify this aspect. I found no correlation between the number of notes in the final chords and specific words or sounds, such as closed vowels (I and U), half-open vowels (E and O) or open vowels (A),⁷²¹ or specific consonants in the Latin texts. Final chords are not necessarily fuller if the meaning of the word is more intense; both the words *amore* (love) and *ardore* (passion) can be found on a final cadence several times, but both words have three to five parts on the final chord and are not treated differently. Only once, at the end of the middle section of Orlandino's 'Ingiustissimo amore', do we find one of the few six-part chords in the harpsichord part (the only internal one) as a kind of word painting for *pena maggiore* (greater suffering), although the voice parts are reduced to two separate pitches.

The 'lowest pitches' mentioned by Bianciardi can be found in the Verovio intabulations, but in the harpsichord part they are already present in the original composition. In the lute intabulations we find more variation, especially in the lower ranges, where the bass sometimes lies an octave below the sung bass part. This, however, seems to depend more on the sound preferred and the role of the lute in a specific piece than on the individual words or text.

Summary

In the Luzzaschi *Madrigali*, there is little variety in the number of parts, similar to the other North Italian examples from Banchieri. By contrast, the intabulations of the *Di-litto spirituale* and the *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali*, contain as much variety in the number of parts as is found in the examples from the treatises by Agazzari and Bianciardi. Voices are frequently added and many of the cadences have more voices than an exact intabulation would render. All keyboard intabulations and many of the lute intabulations remain polyphonic in three or four parts, but due to the filling up of notes, both in the middle of a piece and at cadences, the number of parts varies, closely resembling both the example from Bianciardi and also the general example from Agazzari.

720 Bianciardi (1607): 'Anzi che molte volte per necessit  delle parole si ricerca pienezza di voci, e nell'exclamations aiuto con le corde estreme.'

721 As described by Zacconi (1592); see MacClintock (1979), p. 73.

10.4 CADENCES

In this chapter we shall explore two aspects of cadences: the finals and the kind of cadential formulas found before the finals. We shall focus particularly on two questions: whether finals are always major, and on what cadential formulas are used before finals. We shall compare the cadences in the harpsichord and lute intabulations with those in the voice parts to explore if the rules found in *basso continuo* treatises from the beginning of the seventeenth century were already valid in the 1580s.⁷²²

10.4.1 Finals

Agazzari, like all authors of early figured bass sources, states that cadences need a major third; he warns his readers to put a cautionary sign above the cadence, especially in the middle or median cadences.⁷²³ As the soprano cadence above the bass cadence (proceeding from an imperfect consonance to a perfect consonance) requires a major third,⁷²⁴ and the conventions of *musica ficta* are applied when an alteration is needed, it can be presumed that when Agazzari says that cadences ‘need’ a major third, he is referring to the *finalis*, which is not governed by the rules of *musica ficta*. This conclusion is supported by Bianciardi, who specifies that all final cadences end with a major third.⁷²⁵

Looking at the cadences in the canzonettas it immediately becomes apparent that the voice parts in three-voice canzonettas are treated differently from those for four voices. In the fifteen three-voice compositions of the *Diletto spirituale*, the final and most median cadences of the voice parts end on an open octave without a third, except those on A in the two compositions in the tenth mode by del Mel. In the four-part canzonettas, however, all the final and most median cadences end with a major third. Most end on four-note chords including a major third. This is also the case in the Luzzaschi *Madrigali*, where all madrigals close with a full four-part chord.

The treatment of cadences in the instrumental parts is a little different. In the three-part canzonettas, all cadences in the lute part end with a major third. In the harpsichord intabulations, most finals which end with a bare octave in the voice parts have a major

722 For our purposes only the cadences at the end of a line of a verse were examined.

723 Agazzari (1607), p. 6: ‘Tutte l’accadenze, ò mezzane, ò finali, voglion la terza maggiore, e però alcuni non le segnano: ma per maggior sicurezza, consiglio à farvi il segno, massime nelle mezzane.’

724 As mentioned by Agazzari (1607), pp. 6–7 and Bianciardi (1607), but also by others such as Zarlino (1573), p. 188: ‘che partendosi il Compositore da una consonanza Imperfetta, & volendo andare alla perfetta; debbe fare, che quella Imperfetta, che precede, le sia veramente la più vicina.’

725 Bianciardi (1607): ‘E nelle cadenze finali sempre si finisce con terza maggiore.’

third and a fifth added too.⁷²⁶ In the *Ghirlanda*, which contains only three-part canzonettas, the voice parts of twenty-two out of twenty-five compositions lack a third in the final chord. In all but six, a major third was added in the harpsichord parts; in all but one (Soriano's 'Vedo ogni selva') a third was added to the lute intabulations.

Table 10.2 shows that very few finals contain a third in the vocal parts, but many have a major third added in the harpsichord and almost all three-part canzonettas end on a major chord in the lute intabulations.

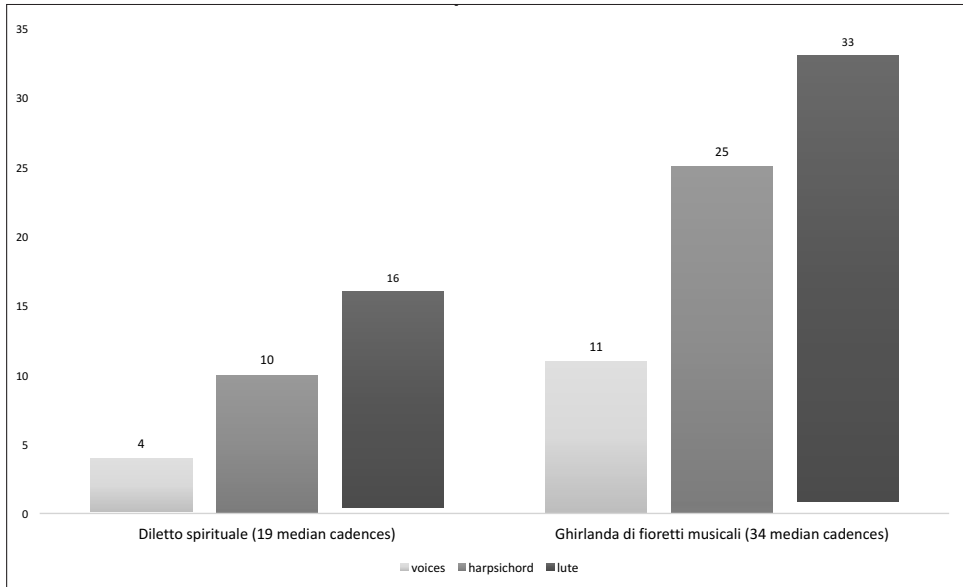


Table 10.2 Major final cadences in three-part canzonettas.

The situation of the median cadences is somewhat more varied. In the lute part of the *Diletto spirituale*, three cadences are left open; in the *Ghirlanda* this occurs in two cases.⁷²⁷ In the harpsichord parts, many more chords are intabulated without a third: of the fifty-three median cadences in both collections, seventeen lack the third.

⁷²⁶ The two exceptions are Marenzio's 'Qual paura' and Anerio's 'Rex virtutum.'

⁷²⁷ The first cadence of Anerio's 'Mentr'il mio miser core' ends with a minor third in the lute, but this is obviously a mistake, as an accidental \sharp is added in the harpsichord part.

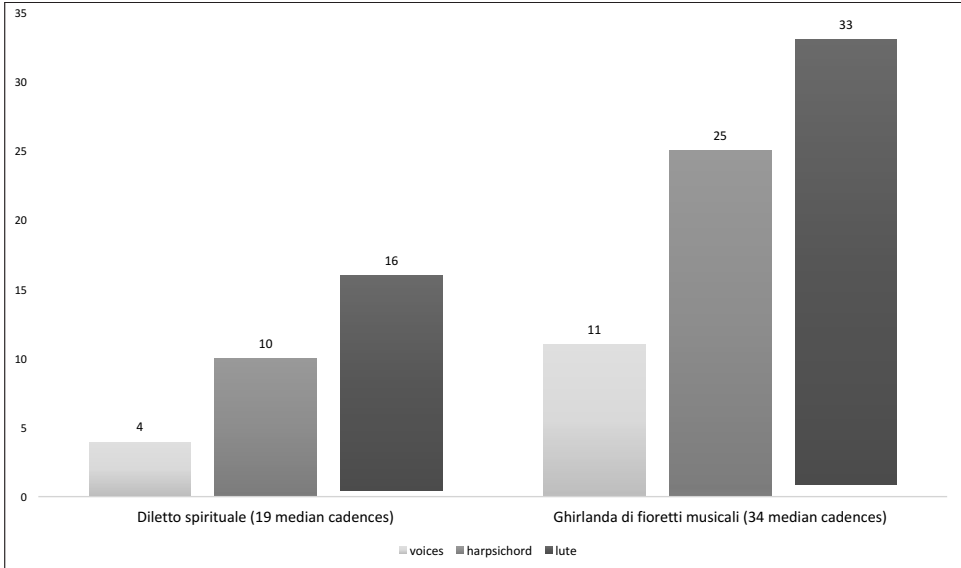


Table 10.3 Major median cadences in three-part canzonettas.

Table 10.3 shows that in the lute intabulations, median cadences lack a third more often than the *finales*. In the harpsichord intabulations, there are many more open cadences too: between a third and a half of the median cadences lack a third. The chords lacking a third are equally distributed between naturally major chords (for example C or F) and naturally minor ones (for example A or D). It cannot be inferred that naturally minor chords are left without a third.

Major thirds added to the last chord are frequently put above the voice parts, most often in the lute intabulations, but also in the harpsichord parts, or even in both. Final chords are thus frequently much thicker than a pure intabulation of the voice parts (see chapter 10.3); moreover, the intabulations also rise above the voice parts.

10.4.2 Cadential formulas

While Bianciardi and Agazzari only give examples of a perfect cadence with one or two steps (with a 4–3 suspension), the Verovio prints display many different forms of cadences. In most three-part pieces, the soprano, tenor and bass cadence together. In four-part compositions as the fourth part, there is either an alto cadence or tenor cadence at the third. In most canzonettas and the Luzzaschi *Madrigali*, a bass (or perfect) cadence occurs in the bass. Only very few cadences at the end of a line of a verse are plagal or tenor cadences.⁷²⁸ In Durante's

⁷²⁸ Some further tenor cadences occur within a line of a verse, but I have not taken these into account for this survey.

Arie devote, conversely, a tenor cadence in the bass is frequently found in internal cadences. Whereas in the *Madrigali* the top part usually has a soprano cadence, in the three-part canzonettas and the *Arie devote* the uppermost voice usually has a tenor cadence,⁷²⁹ while the soprano cadence is left to a middle voice. In the four-voice canzonettas, soprano, alto and tenor cadences occur in the top voice.

Except in the case of a one-step cadence, cadential formulas consist of dissonances that are resolved. Consistent with the counterpoint rules of the time, Agazzari tells his readers always to resolve a dissonance with the nearest consonance:⁷³⁰ the 7 should resolve into a 6 and a 4 into a 3.⁷³¹

All dissonances in the Verovio prints are resolved correctly, and all soprano cadences contain the obligatory *mi-fa*, although the alteration (if necessary) is not always indicated in the voice and/or harpsichord parts. Confirmation that *musica ficta* rules were applied can always be found in the lute parts (see chapter 10.10).

The dissonances in the voice parts are not always doubled in both intabulations. Sometimes the harpsichord intabulation contains a third on the penultimate note of the cadence, when the relevant voice part and the lute intabulation have a suspension 4–3. Other times the harpsichord shows a 4–3 suspension, whilst the voice part has a third immediately. More frequently the harpsichord intabulation will double the voices and the lute part is intabulated with an extra suspension (two-step 4–3, or four-step 3–4–4–3).⁷³² Although dissonances do not always appear in all parts, it can be concluded that when they occur, they are always resolved in the correct manner.

As can be seen in table 10.3, most perfect cadences in the canzonettas have a semi-breve or minim on the penultimate note in the bass. The semibreves are accompanied either by two or four steps in the upper parts and the minims by two steps or one.

DURATION	NUMBER OF CADENCES	FOUR STEP CADENCE	TWO STEP CADENCE	ONE STEP CADENCE
breve	3	3	-	-
semibreve	61	36	34	5
minim	39	-	19	10
semiminim	3	-	-	3

Table 10.4 Type of cadences in the *Diletto spirituale* and *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali*.

729 This type of cadence becomes standard in early monody.

730 When I was learning to play from a bass in Amsterdam in the 1980s this was not considered necessary, as the resolution of the dissonance could be found in the upper part to be accompanied (either vocal or instrumental).

731 Agazzari (1607), pp. 6–7: 'siccome per lo più è vero, che l'accadenze voglion terze maggiori; le risoluzioni delle cattive, con le buone piu vicine, come la settima dalla sesta, la quarta dalla terza.'

732 For further information see chapter 10.6.



Figure 10.4 Ottavio Durante, *Arie devote* (Rome: Verovio, 1624), 'Scorga signor', plate 1, mm. 17–18 (I-Rsc G.CS.2.C.25.3).

The two-step cadences are mostly 5/4–5/3, though a few examples of 6/4–5/3 over the bass also appear.

The four-step cadences come in four basic types:

1. Just 3–4–4–3 (with 5 in another part);
2. 5/3–6/4–5/4–5/3 or 7/3–6/4–5/4–5/3 (with a 6/4 on the second step);
3. 5/3–4/4–4/5–5/3 (without a 5 or 6 on the second step);
4. 7/5–6/4–5/4–5/3 or 6/5–6/4–6/4–5/3 (without a third on the first step of the cadence).

The first type is the standard four-step cadence that occurs most frequently, usually with the 5 in the top part, creating a tenor cadence going into the *finalis*, as in the standard top part of the *Arie devote* at final cadences.

The second type can also be found relatively frequently. Other combinations or variations of this type, like 8/3–6/4–5/4–5/3 and/or 8/3–7 to 6/4–5/4–5/3, are apparent.

The third type is encountered almost as often as the second type. This kind of voice leading can also frequently be found in the Durante *Arie devote* (see figure 10.4).

The fourth type only rarely emerges. When no third can be found on the first note of the cadential formula in the vocal parts, this third is never played by the harpsichord. The lute part contains some instances in which the third is added, and others in which it is not (see example 10.14). Although 'Ardenti miei sospiri' is a three-part canzonetta and the harpsichord intabulation is intabulated with four to five parts, the third on the first step of the cadence is not present in either.

The image shows a musical score for two instruments: harpsichord and lute. The score is divided into two systems, labeled 'C.' and 'L.'. Each system has a treble and bass staff. The music is in a minor key and ends with a cadence. Below the lute staff is a lute tablature with six lines of numbers.

Example 10.14 *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali*, Jacobo Peetrino, 'Ardenti miei sospiri', mm. 5–6, harpsichord and lute.

In the Luzzaschi *Madrigali* the situation is different. Here most cadences have a breve on the penultimate note, usually with many diminutions or *groppi* (or combinations of both) in the sung parts. Most cadences are two-step cadences although four-step and a few one-step cadences can be found on the breves. Plagal and tenor cadences are usually one-step cadences.

In the *Arie devote*, most penultimate bass notes last a semibreve or two (tied) semibreves (rarely notated as a breve) and frequently the bass has an octave downward repercussion on this note. Many of the top lines follow the voice leading of the top part in the three-part canzonettas. When playing together with a singer from other forms of notation, using the more differentiated cadences found in the Verovio intabulations will enhance the refinement of the *parti di mezzo*.

Summary

Thus we have seen that although many cadences in the three-part canzonettas lack a third in the voice parts of the final, this third is added to nearly all lute parts and most of the harpsichord parts. The final chords frequently have five to six pitches, often including an added fifth. This third and/or fifth can be found above the uppermost voice. In general the cadences are played *colla parte*, often with notes added.

The Verovio prints contain many more refined variants of final cadences than the examples from the figured bass treatises. These different cadences could be used by present-day harpsichordists or lutenists when playing the *parti di mezzo*, for example in the *Arie devote*.

10.5 ORNAMENTATION

Whereas in the Luzzaschi *Madrigali* ornaments are exclusively found in the voice parts, in the canzonettas they only appear in the intabulations. Many of these diminutions can also be found in treatises from the second half of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, as well as in other intabulations (both with and without voice parts). Such ornaments seem to have been normal playing practice and can function as models; these examples can thus be used when accompanying music of that time from other notational systems. More extensive ornaments appear in the canzonettas where the voice parts move in semibreves and minims, as here is the greatest danger that the instruments will sound empty.

Agazzari divides the instruments into two categories, according to their role in the ensemble. He also tells his readers not to bother about doubling the top (soprano) part. When he states that one should avoid doubling the note which the soprano sings as much as possible and not to diminish it with a division⁷³³ on a foundation instrument, he does not exclude ornaments categorically. In many canzonettas the extent of diminutions is limited and these ornaments comply with rules as set out by Maffei and others.⁷³⁴ They are usually few in number, and usually occur only at cadences and on the penultimate syllable.

10.5.1 *Groppi di accadentia*

These cadential ornaments, found most frequently in the Verovio intabulations, are what Diruta in 1593 calls *groppi di accadentia*.⁷³⁵ Example 10.15 presents a few such trills that can be found both in the harpsichord and in the lute part. These are standard sixteenth-century cadential ornaments found in many other sources.

⁷³³ See chapter 9.6.

⁷³⁴ Maffei (1562), cit. MacClintock (1979), pp. 52–53

⁷³⁵ Diruta (1609), Libro primo, p. 13: 'groppi sopra l'accadenze.'



Example 10.15 Sample *groppi* from canzonetta intabulations.

10.5.2 Minute

Other ornaments, called *minute* by Diruta⁷³⁶ adorn just a single note or fill in the interval to the next notes, usually a second or third, or even larger intervals. Again these are very common diminutions found in many sources around 1600. We have already discussed the example of harpsichord diminutions in the bass from Soriano's 'O gloriosa donna' in the *Diletto spirituale* (example 8.3). Example 10.16 shows a similar case with diminutions *alla bastarda*, first ornamenting the bass part and then continuing with the second voice, from the lute part of Palestrina's 'Ahi che quest'occhi miei' (*Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali*). Here the lute part is ornamented, whilst the harpsichord plays a simple intabulation, complying with Maffei's fifth rule: when singers – or in this case instrumentalists – make music together, one should yield to another.⁷³⁷

⁷³⁶ Diruta (1609), Libro primo, pp. 11–13, 18.

⁷³⁷ MacClintock (1979), p. 53.

Example 10.16 *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali*, Giovanni Pierluigi Palestrina, 'Ahi che quest'occhi miei', mm. 9–11.

When a composition has a *fuga* (a theme) that enters consecutively in the different voices, Diruta advises the player to ornament all the voices in the same manner.⁷³⁸ This principle is exemplified in Diruta's example of the theme of Mortaro's 'Canzone detta l'Albergona'.⁷³⁹ In the Verovio prints, Anerio's 'Rex virtutum' (example 10.17) from the *Diletto spirituale* illustrates this phenomenon.

Example 10.17 *Diletto spirituale*, Felice Anerio, 'Rex virtutum', mm. 1–3 voices and harpsichord intabulation.

738 Diruta (1609), Libro primo, p. 10: 'quando anche si volesse diminuire la fuga, si deve avertire, che quella diminutione la facciano tutte quelle parti, che fanno l'istessa fuga.'

739 Diruta (1609), Libro primo, pp. 18–21.

O Je - su mi dul - cis - si - me

O Je - - - su mi dul - cis - si - me

O Je - su mi dul - cis - - si - me

O Iesu mi dulcissime

O spes O spes spi - ran - - - tis a - ni - mae

O spes O spes spi - ran - - - tis a - ni - mae

O spes O spes spi - ran - - - tis a - ni - mae

Example 10.18 *Diletto spirituale*, Felice Anerio, 'O Iesu mi dulcissime', mm1-7.

10.5.3 Bridge passages

More intriguing from a performance practice point of view are other ornaments that build bridge passages or fill in a rest in the voice parts. Outside the prints associated with Verovio, very few examples demonstrate this practice (see chapter 8.5). We shall now discuss a few excerpts showing characteristic ornaments.

In example 10.18, from F. Anerio's 'O Iesu mi dulcissime', the lute closely follows the voice parts, whereas the harpsichord part is ornamented. The middle part has a repercussion in m. 2, a *minuta* in m. 3, a *gropo di accadentia* in m. 4, and a bridge *gropo* leading to the next line of the poem. In m. 5 a rest in the bottom part is filled in and then followed by a *minuta* filling in a third. The lute part shows a repercussion down an octave at the final of the tenor cadence in the bass.

Many (but not all) the pauses (where all the voice parts have rests) are filled with notes by one or both the instruments. This is done either with a *minuta* or with a repercussion in the bass, often at the lower octave, as seen above.

The image displays a musical score for Example 10.19, 'Diletto spirituale' by Ruggiero Giovanelli. It features three vocal parts (Soprano, Alto, and Tenor) and two instrumental parts (C. for Harpsichord and L. for Lute). The lyrics are: 'dis iu - cun - di - tas In - com - pre - hen - sa'. The score is in a single system with a common time signature. The vocal parts are written in treble clef, and the instrumental parts are in bass clef. The lute part includes a bridge passage with a note on the beat, and the harpsichord part is ornamented. The bottom of the page shows a lute tablature with numbers 0-6 on a six-line staff.

Example 10.19 *Diletto spirituale*, Ruggiero Giovanelli, 'Iesu summa benignitas', mm. 6–7.

In example 10.19, the harpsichord follows the voices more or less literally, while the lute plays a *gropo* followed by a bridge passage with a note on the beat, where all the other parts have a rest. A bridge passage to a rest on a main beat always leads to the

note following the rest. It anticipates this note and does not ornament the previous note. In example 10.20, the downwards *passaggio* in the harpsichord does not run the whole octave to the lower F, but turns up to the following note. This low A also occurs in the lute even though this part lacks a bridge passage.

The image shows a musical score for two instruments: Harpsichord (C) and Lute (L.). The Harpsichord part is written in a grand staff with treble and bass clefs. The Lute part is also in a grand staff with treble and bass clefs. Below the Lute staff is a tablature with six lines representing strings. The tablature includes fret numbers (0, 3, 2, 0, 2, 3, 0, 2, 3) and fingerings (3, 2, 2, 4, 2). The score is divided into three measures.

Example 10.20 *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali*, Felice Anerio, 'Donna se'l cor legasti', mm. 15–17.

On the first minim of example 10.19, both instruments have a *minuta*, partly in parallel thirds. This raises the question whether both intabulations were planned carefully together.⁷⁴⁰

10.6 DOUBLING THE TOP PART

As the intabulations associated with Verovio are adaptations of the canzonettas or madrigals for the respective instruments, they tend to follow the voices. With very few exceptions, the harpsichord parts of the Luzzaschi *Madrigali* double the upper voices without the ornaments throughout. In the canzonettas the harpsichord intabulations double the top parts with some ornaments added. Not all the lute parts double the voices exactly; some double the upper voice an octave down, and some do not double the highest voice at all.

⁷⁴⁰ This argument will be further discussed in chapter 10.11.

As we saw in chapter 10.4, the instruments are sometimes above the voice parts in the final chord. Sometimes ornamentation leads to almost independent top parts even above the voice parts, as in Giovanelli's 'Vermiglio e vago fiore', in which the lute otherwise mostly follows the voices (example 10.21). In Giovanelli's 'Si vaga è la mia fiamma', the lute accompaniment is more chordal, and rises above the upper voice part for a longer passage (example 10.22). In both cases, the harpsichord follows the voices literally.

Example 10.21 is a musical score for the piece 'Vermiglio e vago fiore' by Ruggiero Giovanelli, measures 7-8. It features three vocal parts (Soprano, Alto, and Bass) and two instrumental parts (C. for Harpsichord and L. for Lute). The vocal parts have the following lyrics: Soprano: 'die - di In Man mi die - di La si - gno - ra mi - a'; Alto: 'die - di la sig - no - ra mi - a In man mi'; Bass: 'la sig - no - ra mi - a In man mi die - di la sig - no - ra'. The instrumental parts provide harmonic support, with the lute part often mirroring the vocal lines. The score includes a guitar-style tablature at the bottom.

Example 10.21 *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali*, Ruggiero Giovanelli, 'Vermiglio e vago fiore', mm. 7-8.

Example 10.22 is a musical score for the piece 'Si vaga è la mia fiamma' by Ruggiero Giovanelli, measures 4-8. It features two instrumental parts: C. (Harpsichord) and L. (Lute). The harpsichord part plays a more active, melodic line, while the lute part provides a more chordal accompaniment. The score includes a guitar-style tablature at the bottom.

Example 10.22 *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali*, Ruggiero Giovanelli, 'Si vaga è la mia fiamma', mm. 4–11, harpsichord and lute.

Summary

The intabulations contain many examples of standard ornaments, like *groppi* and *minute*, and some interesting examples of bridge passages. The harpsichord parts generally follow the voice parts carefully, although they frequently contain added notes on the finals, even above the highest part. The lute intabulations sometimes double at the same octave as the voices, sometimes an octave lower, sometimes not at all; in such cases they can also rise higher than the voices.

10.7 SUPERIMPOSITION OF DISSONANCES AND RESOLUTIONS

This last example brings us to another phenomenon usually associated with much later music: the superimposition of dissonances and their resolutions. In example 10.21 the middle voice contains a fifth, while the lute simultaneously plays a sixth as a result of the voice leading (m. 8). In example 10.22, the bass has a passage moving down by step, over which the top part has one of the possible figurings shown by Bianciardi and Agazzari on such a passage: a sixth followed by a fifth (figure 9.5). Although the sixth and the fifth are not dissonances, the lute creates one by directly playing the fifth above the bass.⁷⁴¹ In m. 9, the uppermost voices sing a sixth and fourth, resolving into a fifth and third above the bass respectively, whereas the lute plays the resolution immediately. These instances seem more 'modern' than the examples given by Agazzari, who tells us that the continuo player 'must obey the mind of the composer, which is free, and can at

⁷⁴¹ Such part-writing does exist in vocal music of that time, but here we are looking at instrumental adaptations of the compositions.

his discretion, put a fifth or a sixth on the first half of a note, and vice versa.⁷⁴² Such dissonances must have been normal parts of instrumental accompaniment, as a solo lute performance of this piece, with its very simple chords and lack of melodic lines, would be musically less interesting.

The superimposition of real dissonances, suspensions, and their resolution – what nowadays would be called the superimposition of dominant and tonic sounds – occurs constantly. Such features were typical of guitar technique and the *acciaccature* described a century and more later.

As seen in the Luzzaschi *Madrigali*, when diminutions are introduced, it is not unusual to find a dissonance against the bass in the intabulation and a consonance in a voice part on the strong beat of the bar, but the duration of such intervals is exceedingly short (example 10.23).

25

S1 rei per dar-ti vi ta

S2 dar ti vi ta

Example 10.23 Luzzasco Luzzaschi, *Madrigali*, 'Cor mio deh non languire', mm. 25–26.

Similar cases can be found in the intabulations of the canzonettas. In example 10.24, the voice and the harpsichord have a 4–3 suspension whilst the lute plays a third.

Usually the dissonance is found in the voice and harpsichord parts and the simultaneous resolution in the lute. However, the contrary also occurs frequently, where the consonance is in the vocal parts and the harpsichord, while the lute part contains the suspension and resolution (example 10.25). Occasionally the suspensions are ornamented.

742 Arnold (1931/2003), p. 68. Strunk/Treitler (1998), p. 623 (translation adapted from Strunk/Murata). Agazzari (1607), p. 4: 'bisogna obedir la mente del compositore, quale è libera e può à suo arbitrio, sopra una nota nella prima parte di essa metter 5.^a ò 6.^a e per il contrario: e quella maggiore ò minore, secondo gli par più à proposito, ovvero che sia necessitate à questo dalle parole.'

Example 10.24 is a musical score for 'Diletto spirituale' by Giovanni Pierluigi Palestrina. It features four vocal parts (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and a lute accompaniment. The lyrics are: 'reg - num be - a - ti - tu - di - nis'. The score is in a 4/4 time signature and consists of 10 measures. The lute part includes a figured bass line at the bottom.

Example 10.24 *Diletto spirituale*, Giovanni Pierluigi Palestrina, 'Iesu flos matris virginis', m. 10.

Example 10.25 is a musical score for 'Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali' by Annibale Stabile. It features four vocal parts (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and a lute accompaniment. The lyrics are: 'Chi mi dà aiuto ohime chi mi con - so - la'. The score is in a 4/4 time signature and consists of 10 measures. The lute part includes a figured bass line at the bottom.

Example 10.25 *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali*, Annibale Stabile, 'Ohi me partito è'l mio bel sol lucente', last measure.

Table 10.5 shows that this happens with a certain regularity in the *Diletto spirituale* and the *Ghirlanda*, in twenty-six cases in forty-six canzonettas (roughly 20% of the cadences), where there are mostly only two or three cadences in a piece. In the *Diletto*

spirituale all these instances are in the lute part, but in the *Ghirlanda* such cases also appear in the harpsichord part.

COMPOSITION	VOICE PARTS	HARPSICHORD	LUTE
DILETTO SPIRITUALE			
Iesu decus angelicum	3 (2 nd)*	3	4-3
Spiega il mondo maligno	3 (2 nd)	3	4-3
Iesu summa benignitas	3 (2 nd)	3	3-4-4-3
Tu mentis delectatio	3 (2 nd)	3	4-3
Rex virtutum	3 (2 nd)	3	4-3
Se questa valle	3 (2 nd)	3	4-3
Iesu sole serenior	3 (2 nd)	3	3-4-4-3
Scalda signor	3-4-4-3 (1 st)	3-4-4-3	4-3-3-3
Quando cor nostrum visitas	5-4-3-3 (1 st)	5-4-3-3	3-4-4-3
Iesu flos matris viriginis	4-3 (2 nd)	4-3	3
GHIRLANDA DI FIORETTI MUSICALI			
Ahi che quest'occhi miei	3-4-4-3 (2 nd)	3-4-3-3	3
Ameni colli	4-3 (2 nd)	3	4-3
Mentre l'aquila sta mirando	4-3 (2 nd)	4-3	4-3-4-3
Donna tue chiome d'oro	3 (2 nd)	4-3	4-3
Poi che mesto e dolente	3 (2 nd)	3	4-3
Poi che mesto e dolente	3 (1 st)	4-3	4-3
Ohi me partito è il mio sol	3 (2 nd)	3	4-3 (2 x)
Ohi me crudele amore	3 (2 nd)	4-3	4-3
Vedo ogni selva	4-3 (2 nd)	3	4-3 (2x)
Donna gentil voi siete	3-4-4-3 (2 nd)	3-4-4-3	3
Donna gentil voi siete	4-3 (1 st)	4-3	3-4-4-3
Donna se'l cor legasti	4-3 (1 st)	4-3	3
Donna se nel tuo volto	7-6 (1 st)	7-6	5/3
Donna se nel tuo volto	3-4-4-3 (2 nd)	3-4-5-4	4-3
Mentr'il mio misero cor	3 (2 nd)	3	4-3
Mentr'il mio misero cor	3 (2 nd)	3	4-3

Table 10.5 Clashes at cadences in the *Diletto spirituale* and the *Ghirlanda*.

* The number between brackets indicates the voice carrying the suspension.

10.8 PERFORMING FORCES AND CLASHES

An execution with only one voice and an instrument would produce a performance without these harmonic clashes. Some scholars, as for example Fortune, have concluded from these clashes that the lute is an alternative to the harpsichord.⁷⁴³ Anderson contends that the harpsichord and lute should never be played together, as this would produce too many clashes.⁷⁴⁴ Yet, as shown in chapter 5, the harpsichord and lute sometimes have complementary ornaments. Furthermore, the clashes exist not only between the lute and the harpsichord (see chapter 10.11), but also with the voice parts. This leads Morelli to conclude that the lute parts (in this case in the *Dialogo pastorale*) were probably intended for a solo performance.⁷⁴⁵

Many combinations of performance forces are conceivable, and not necessarily with three singers. Clashes could conceivably be caused by the fact that the intabulators did not expect all the voices to be sung simultaneously, a recognized practice at the time (see chapter 6.5). To avoid clashes, the performers would need to study the music carefully, identifying in advance which instrument clashes with which upper voice, and then avoiding a combination of the clashing parts and voices. Although such clashes usually occur in the middle voice (see table 10.5), they also appear with the uppermost voice. Performing without a middle part was not unusual, as Pacelli mentions in the foreword to his *Chorici psalmi et motecta* (1599).⁷⁴⁶

If the bass line were sung with either lute or harpsichord, no clashes would arise. Both Brancaccio and Vincenzo Galilei are known to have sung the bass line while accompanying themselves on the lute. Certain canzonettas were written for just such a *cantore perfettissimo*, a proficient bass with a range of up to a twelfth, capable of performing solo.⁷⁴⁷

Singing the top part solo with one instrument would avoid all but five clashes. It is not known whether a tenor such as Caccini would have sung the superius an octave lower when accompanying himself on the lute (as suggested by Barbarino⁷⁴⁸ in 1607) or the second part. Certain lute intabulations in the *Ghirlanda* are set quite low, frequently with the top part transposed an octave lower, which could suggest the first manner of

743 Fortune (1953), p. 11.

744 Anderson (1976), p. 95.

745 Anerio (1983), p. XI.

746 See chapter 9.3.3, although Pacelli talks about four-voice motets in which the third voice is omitted.

747 Soriano, 'Ameni colli', Peetrino, 'Poiche mesto e dolente', Anerio, 'Al suon non posa il core', Quagliati, 'Ancora che tu m'odi', Soriano, 'Vedo ogni selva', Marenzio, 'Donna se nel tuo volto'.

748 Barbarino (1607), fol. A2: 'faccendovi avvertiti, che quei Madrigali, quali sono in chiave di soprano, si possono cantare in Tenor all'ottava di sotto, che è veramente il suo proprio da cantare nel Chitarrone, o Thiorba.'

performance. However, others switch between octaves, either in the individual sections or simply according to what is more comfortable to play. This feature could weaken the argument that the pitch of the top part was adapted to the pitch at which the singer sang. Playing low could also reflect Agazzari's injunction to avoid doubling the soprano as much as possible.

Table 10.6 shows the canzonettas from the *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali* in which the lute part does not follow the voice parts at pitch throughout. As is true for so many aspects of these intabulations, especially in the lute parts, there does not seem to be one clear-cut system behind these different approaches to intabulation.

TITLE	COMPOSER	TOP VOICE TRANS-POSED DOWN	TYPE OF INTABULATION
MENTRE L'AQUILA STÀ MIRANDO	Zucchelli	yes	Strumming on the bass
Io me n'avedo Amore	Crivello	yes	Following voices
POICHE MESTO E DO- LENTE	Peetrino	yes	Following voices
Tutta gentil e bella	G. M. Nanino	partly	Partly following voices
OHIME PARTITO È'L MIO BEL SOL	Stabile	yes	Following voices
Fugge dagl'occhi il sonno	Giovanelli	yes	Following voices
OHI ME CRUDELE AMORE	Zucchelli	Partly at pitch	low
Si vaga è la mia fiamma	Giovanelli	no	Strumming on the bass
Al suon non posa il core	F. Anerio	no	Strumming on the bass
Ingiustissimo Amore	Orlandino	Partly at pitch	Partly following voices
Ancora che tu m'odi	Quagliati	Partly at pitch	Following voices

Table 10.6 pieces from the *Ghirlanda* with low lute intabulations, with the canzonettas included in table 10.5 in small capitals.

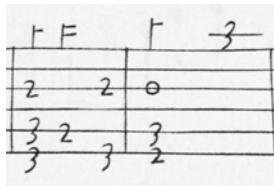
A comparison of tables 10.5 and 10.6 shows that there are only four overlapping pieces. This suggests that there is no correlation between the two and that clashes will not be avoided when the lute part is low. All these possibilities mentioned above seem feasible, but it seems strange that Verovio would have bothered printing three voice parts and two instrumental parts if only a limited number of performance combinations were deemed acceptable without causing 'unacceptable' clashes.

Summary

At cadences many clashes occur between voice parts and intabulations; suspensions and their resolutions occur at the same time. The large number of such clashes at cadences in the canzonettas (at least 20% of the cadences) suggests that these clashes are intentional. Similar clashes can also be found in later works for two lutes⁷⁴⁹ and in the guitar *battente* or *rasguedo* style chords, found in prints with guitar *alfabeto* notation, where suspensions in other parts are ignored completely.⁷⁵⁰

10.9 CONTRABASSI

Some low accompaniments not only play the upper parts low, but also place the bass an octave below the sung bass. We have also encountered notes an octave below the bass at cadences in lute intabulations, as both Viadana and Bianciardi suggest.⁷⁵¹ Agazzari recommended that the organist ‘sometimes play the pedals with grace an octave lower (in *contrabasso*).’⁷⁵² In 1607 he recommended that *all* players of foundation instruments ‘help the composition with some *contrabassi*.’⁷⁵³ As we saw in chapter 10.3, the octave below the bass at cadences can be found frequently in the Durante *Arie*. In the Verovio intabulations we find them on the first note of a bass cadence (the ‘dominant’) as well as on the last note, both directly or restruck after the main beat. In the harpsichord intabulations such restriking occurs only occasionally, whereas in the lute intabulations it happens frequently at such places as well as in internal bass cadences and the final of tenor cadences (see example 10.26).



Example 10.26a *Diletto spirituale*, Felice Anerio, ‘O Iesu mi dulcissime’, casella 8–9, lute.

749 See for example Melli (1616). I thank Peter Holman for this information.

750 See Christensen (1992), p. 23.

751 Viadana (1602), last page of the preface: ‘alle cadenze per ottave’. Bianciardi (1607): ‘nelle cadenze toccar l’ottave sotto al Basso.’

752 Agazzari (1606), in Banchieri (1609), p. 68: ‘toccando alle volte con gratia gli pedali in contrabasso.’

753 Agazzari (1607), p. 6: ‘ma si bene aiutandola [l’opera] con qualche contrabasso.’



Example 10.26b *Diletto spirituale*, Felice Anerio, 'O Iesu mi dulcissime', casella 8–9, lute. Transcription of example 10.26a.

In the *Diletto spirituale* occasionally short passages are placed an octave lower for the lute. Sometimes this is because a certain note (for example e') is too high or too difficult to play together with the other notes. On other occasions the resulting sound effect was obviously desired (example 10.27). Here the harpsichord plays the voices at pitch, with a little ornamentation in mm. 1 and 5. The lute doubles the bass, first one octave lower and then two octaves lower in m. 1. In mm. 4 and 5, the lute plays most of the bass an octave lower, mm. 2 and 3 are almost literal transcriptions of the vocal parts.

Example 10.27 *Diletto spirituale*, Ruggiero Giovannelli, 'Iesu sole serenior', mm. 1–5, harpsichord and lute.

Such examples occur in both the *Diletto spirituale* and the *Ghirlanda*, though not very frequently because the compass of the bass is often not high enough to allow playing the bass an octave down for longer than a few notes. Palestrina's 'Ah che quest'occhi miei', one of the *canzonettas* with a higher tessitura, has the following text:

Ahi che quest'occhi miei ch'erano lieti
 Son diventati fonti di dolori
 Che versan giorn'e nott'amaro humore

In the lute, the first two lines of text are almost completely *in contrabasso*, with all parts set an octave lower. The last part, however, is at pitch except at the cadence. The *affetto*

amples 10.27 and 10.28), especially when the range of all the vocal parts is high. In such cases the whole intabulation can be at 16' pitch for extended phrases.

10.10 REPERCUSSIONS

Apart from repercussions of the bass at cadences, on dotted minims and crotchets, which occur frequently in the lute part, notes are sometimes restruck to keep the sound of the instruments lively, or as Frescobaldi says, *per non lasciare l'istrumento vuoto*.⁷⁵⁴ As we saw in chapter 8.4, Galilei advocated the use of repercussions, although he warned that they could sometimes be dangerous.⁷⁵⁵ Agazzari also cautioned discretion in the use of repercussions, recommending that the performer 'must not restrike the strings [*corde*] too often, when the voice improvises a *passaggio* and some embellishment.'⁷⁵⁶

In the Verovio intabulations, the sound of the instrument is usually kept lively by adding ornaments or occasionally by repeating the same note. Many pieces with semi-breves and minims contain diminutions in the harpsichord and/or lute intabulations, as discussed in chapter 10.5.

Mostly, repeated notes in the voice parts are written in the instrumental parts as well. Occasionally however, repeated short notes in the voice are not repeated in the instrumental parts, as in m. 2 of example 10.29. As in the Luzzaschi *Madrigali*, the harpsichord plays a simplified version of the top parts.

Another form of repercussions also exists: Bianciardi tells his reader to play a consonance on the dot of a minim (or crotchet) with a dot and that the following note (the shorter one) need not be harmonised (*passa per cattiva*). This is the case in the Agazzari example; here the only dotted minim is accompanied by two minims in the top part, while the next crotchet is treated as a passing note (see figure 10.5).

In the Bianciardi example there are two such instances, of which one is treated as discussed (see figure 10.5). In the other, two notes pass unharmonised and no consonance is put on the dot (figure 10.6). The passing notes are played in two parts in parallel tenths.

For the lute Galilei describes the possibility of repeating the main note on the dot, but he only refers to dotted semibreves. Such repercussions, he said, can bring 'greater sonority and addition to more gracefulness; but other times, troublesome problems.'⁷⁵⁷

754 see fn. 17 and 472.

755 Galilei (1985), pp. 55–56.

756 Translation from Strunk-Treitler (1998) p. 624. Agazzari (1607), p. 6: 'non ribattendo troppo le corde, mentre la voce fa il passaggio, e qualche affetto, per non interromperla.'

757 Galilei (1985), p. 55.

Example 10.29 *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali*, Giovanni Costa 'Se fredda è la mia donna', mm. 1–3.

Figure 10.6 Francesco Bianciardi, *Breve regola* (Siena: Falcini, 1607), from the main example (I-Bc C96).

Figure 10.5 Agostino Agazzari, *Del sonare sopra il basso* (Siena: Falcini, 1607), p. 7 (I-Bc C49).

In the Luzzaschi intabulations, when the bass is dotted and the note after the dot can be treated as a passing note, there is usually a note on the dot. This can either occur in the sung voice(s) or in one or more of the middle parts of the intabulation. When both the top part and the bass are dotted and the pitch is repeated, that is, where there is no change in harmony and no note *passa per cattiva*, there is usually no note on the dot (figure 10.7).

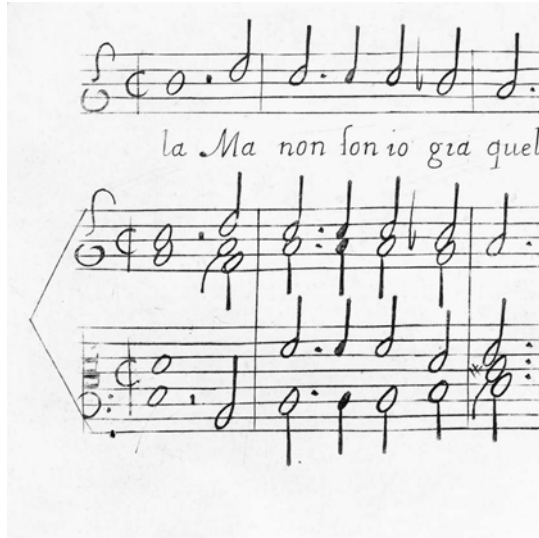


Figure 10.7 Luzzasco Luzzaschi, *Madrigali* (Rome: Verovio, 1601), 'O primavera', plate 4 (retrieved from the Library of Congress, USA-Wc, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2008561305/>).

When a harmonic change is required because the note after the dot is not a passing note, we find some examples with notes on the dot, and some without (figures 10.8 and 10.9).

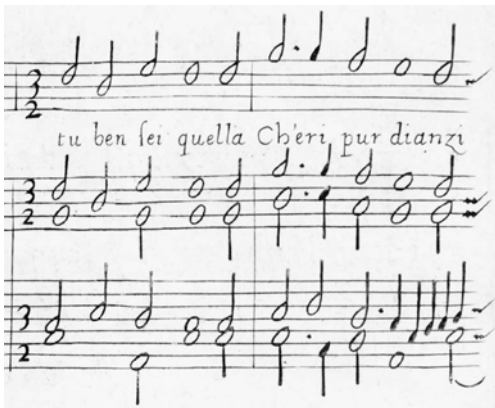


Figure 10.8 Luzzasco Luzzaschi, *Madrigali* (Rome: Verovio, 1601), 'O primavera', plate 4 (retrieved from the Library of Congress, USA-Wc, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2008561305/>).



Figure 10.9 Luzzasco Luzzaschi, *Madrigali* (Rome: Verovio, 1601), 'O primavera', plate 3 (retrieved from the Library of Congress, USA-Wc, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2008561305/>).



Figure 10.10 *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1586), F. Anerio, 'Iesu decus angelicum' (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, D-Mbs 4 Mus.pr. 10#Beibd.3), urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00074059-1.

In the canzonetta intabulations, the parts are usually composed in a way consistent with Bianciardi's rule. Thus when there is a note with a dot and the next note can be treated as a passing note, one of the other parts will have a note on the dot. Only in one such case, Anerio's 'Iesu decus angelicum' from the *Diletto spirituale*, do the voice parts (in the right hand) lack a note on the dot. Although the note after the dot in this instance cannot be considered as a passing note (*nota catriva*), we find a note on the dot in the harpsichord as well as the lute part, as added notes (see figure 10.10).

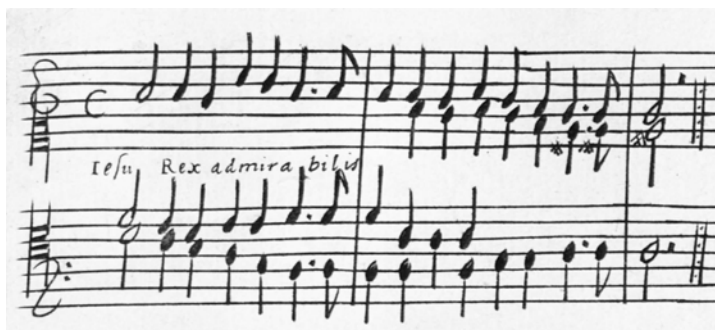


Figure 10.11 *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1586), G. P. Palestrina, 'Iesu rex admirabilis', harpsichord part (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, D-Mbs 4 Mus.pr. 10#Beibd.3), urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00074059-1.

In the cases where the note after the dot is either repeated or requires its own harmony, and where all the parts have this dotted rhythm, we usually find no added notes and thus no notes on the dot. This is especially true in pieces intabulated more literally, as Palestrina's 'Iesu rex admirabilis' (figure 10.11).

Summary

From both the intabulations of Luzzaschi and the canzonettas we can draw the following conclusions:

- Dotted notes followed by a passing note are filled in the way Bianciardi recommends;
- Repeated dotted notes in all parts are usually not filled in;
- Dotted notes that are not passing notes and require a different harmony are sometimes filled in, and sometimes not.

10.11 *Musica ficta*

The intabulations are also a good source of information for the performance of *musica ficta*. Bianciardi informs the reader when a third or a sixth above the bass should be natural, and when it needs an accidental (see chapter 9.5 and figure 9.5). Although these rules help, they do not answer all questions regarding the addition of accidentals, particularly when cadences are avoided (*cadenze fuggite*). Players must consider mode and hexachord too. Verovio expected his readers, whether singers or harpsichordists, to be familiar with the conventions of *musica ficta*. As the lute notation is more precise, indicating the actual position of the fingers on the fingerboard, the lute intabulations can be useful in verifying the application of these conventions.⁷⁵⁸

A certain lack of consistency, as observed in other traits of these prints, can also be found in the handling of accidentals in the prints. As can be seen in example 10.30, sometimes accidentals that would be obvious to contemporary musicians eyes are nevertheless indicated, for example the $b\flat$ in m. 11 in the bass (*a fa sopra la*). Other *ficta* notes which appear more obvious to present-day readers are sometimes indicated and sometimes not, for example the $g\sharp$ in the soprano at the end of m. 10 and the $c\sharp$ in m. 11 in the alto. Occasionally less obvious *ficta* notes are marked in one part but not in others as the $g(\sharp)$ in the alto in m. 10 and the $c\sharp$ in the tenor in m. 11.

⁷⁵⁸ By comparing different lute intabulations of the same piece, Brown (1973–1974) pointed out that such rules were not understood or applied in the same ways universally.

Je - su sum - ma be - ni - gni - tas

Je - - su sum - ma be - nig - - ni - tas

Je - su sum - ma be - nig - - ni - tas

Iesu sum ma beni_ gni tas

Iesu sum ma be ni gni tas

2 5 4 4 4 4 3 3 1 1 3 3 3 0 0 0 0 0 0 3

Example 10.31 *Diletto spirituale*, Ruggiero Giovannelli, 'Iesu summa benignitas', mm. 1-3.

Summary

In all the prints associated with Verovio, we can find many such examples where the lute and harpsichord parts differ. Most involve accidentals, and can be predicted if we know the conventions of *musica ficta*, and most are dictated by the desire for beauty (*causa pulchritudinis*). These conventions govern where to place an accidental to obtain a *mi fa*, mainly in cadences. Some more surprising examples can also be found. The intabulations usually adhere to the rules formulated and demonstrated by writers such as Bianciardi and Agazzari (see chapter 9), although with some exceptions. For example, when a bass goes up a fourth or down a fifth twice in succession, the first chord is not always major, as Bianciardi advises (see figure 9.6). However, this is also true in many other pieces from that time.

10.12 HARPSICHORD AND LUTE TOGETHER

As mentioned, some modern authors argue that a lute and harpsichord should not play together. Morelli argues against the 'pleonastic use of two plucked instruments.'⁷⁶⁰ Like Morelli, Anderson objects to clashes, which mainly occur at cadences (see chapter 10.6). He contends that occasionally both instruments have ornaments which don't fit perfectly. This could be due to the fact that different individuals created the transcriptions. On the other hand, they occur on fast notes and might not unsettle the listener. Other incongruences cited by Anderson (1976) are due to his assumption that the rules of *musica ficta*, to which the lute intabulations adhere, are not implicit in the other parts; it is also possible that he did not allow for some possible mistakes in the lute part.⁷⁶¹

Once we apply the conventions of *musica ficta*, many of the clashes on which Anderson relied to argue against the simultaneous playing of lute and harpsichord disappear.

But some authors writing around 1600 also complained about the incongruous tuning systems of the two instruments: equal temperament on the lute and other fretted instruments, and mean tone tuning (with equal tones but unequal semitones) on the keyboard.⁷⁶² Giovanni de' Bardi complained to Giulio Caccini about the difficulties of tuning the two instruments together:

More than once I have felt like laughing when I saw musicians struggling to put a lute or viol into proper tune with a keyboard instrument ... Until now this highly important matter has gone unnoticed or, if noticed, unremedied.⁷⁶³

Giovanni Maria Artusi divided the instruments into three orders:

1. Instruments which are tempered with an equal tone and an unequal semitone (organ, harpsichord, spinet, monochord⁷⁶⁴ and double harp);
2. Instruments which can accommodate themselves in each direction (human voice, trombones, trumpets, rebecs, cornetti, recorders and dulcians);
3. Instruments which produce the whole tone divided into two equal parts and the semitones are equal (lutes, viols, viole bastarde, citterns and lyres).⁷⁶⁵

⁷⁶⁰ Morelli, introduction to Anerio (1983), p. XI: 'personalmente eviterei soltanto un "pleonastico" uso di due strumenti a corde pizzicate – come cembalo e liuto – contemporaneamente.' Morelli argues that the lute parts were probably meant for solo performance.

⁷⁶¹ Anderson (1976), p. 99.

⁷⁶² Vicentino (1555), Bottrigari (1594).

⁷⁶³ Quoted in Lindley (1984), p. 44.

⁷⁶⁴ It is unclear which instrument is meant.

⁷⁶⁵ Quoted in Smith (2011), p. 49.

Artusi claims ‘the first and third order should never play together as this would offend the ear. The first and second or alternatively the third and second orders, however, can excellently join together.’⁷⁶⁶ That Artusi’s point of view was not universally accepted can already be deduced from de Bardi’s comments quoted above. It seems reasonable to conclude that a harpsichord and a lute playing together was normal practice: why would one struggle to ‘put a lute or viol into proper tune with a keyboard instrument’ if there was no intention of playing together afterwards?

There is considerable evidence that harpsichord and lute played together. Iconographical evidence may be found for example on the title page of the *Canzonette à quattro voci* (figure 6.1). Indications in scores and descriptions of performances provide further evidence. Furthermore, the intabulations in Giovanni Francesco Anerio’s *Gagliarde*, which may have been printed in Verovio’s workshop, seem intended to be played on the harpsichord and lute.⁷⁶⁷ This shows that the combination of harpsichord and lute alone was not avoided, even in print.

The image shows a musical score for the piece 'Qual paura' by Luca Marenzio, measures 1-4. The score is written for voice and two instruments, C (harpsichord) and L (lute). The vocal line is at the top, with lyrics: 'Qual pa - u - ra, qual dan - no, o qual tormen - - - to Mi po - trá'. Below the vocal line are two staves for the harpsichord (C) and lute (L). The harpsichord part includes a section labeled 'Paura' with a tremolo effect. The lute part is a simple accompaniment. At the bottom of the page is a tablature line with numbers 0-7 and rhythmic markings.

Example 10.32 *Diletto spirituale*, Luca Marenzio ‘Qual paura’, mm. 1–4.

⁷⁶⁶ Smith (2011), p. 49.

⁷⁶⁷ ‘Intavolate per sonare sul cimbalò et sul liuto’ (title page). These intabulations, just as some of the canzonetta publications, are printed with the harpsichord intabulation above the lute, one galliarda per page. They are less idiomatic adaptations and not as well suited to the specific instruments as the *canzonetta* intabulations.

The canzonetta prints confirm that both instruments could be used together. Alternating diminutions are not rare: example 10.32 shows mm. 1–4 from Marenzio's 'Qual paura' with partly alternating, partly overlapping ornamentation between the instruments.

The place where the all voices pause in m. 17 of F. Anerio's 'Donna se'l cor legasti' (example 10.33),⁷⁶⁸ shows even more clearly that the lute and harpsichord parts were intabulated in such a way that it is at least possible for both instruments to play together.

The image shows a musical score for two instruments: Harpsichord (C) and Lute (L). The score is for measures 11 through 17. The harpsichord part is written in a treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lute part is written in a treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). Below the lute part is a lute tablature with six lines, showing fret numbers (0-4) and rhythmic values (2, 3, 4, 8). The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and ornaments.

Example 10.33 *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali*, Felice Anerio, 'Donna se'l cor legasti', mm. 11–17, harpsichord and lute.

Some canzonettas are more highly ornamented in the harpsichord part, while the lute strums over the bass, thus illustrating the different ways instruments can be used when playing together. In some other canzonettas the harpsichord plays a simple intabulation and the lute has more ornaments. Thus the two instruments can take on different roles interchangeably, with one ornamental instrument and one foundational instrument, as described by Agazzari some fifteen years later:

If an instrument serves as ornament, it should mix with the voices to ornament, embellish and season them, and therefore needs to be handled in another manner; the player needs to be able to compose new parts above the bass and new and varied *passaggi* and counterpoints and in general make the melody beautiful.⁷⁶⁹

⁷⁶⁸ This example was also used when discussing bridge passages in chapter 10.5.3.

⁷⁶⁹ Agazzari (1607), p. 8: 'Li stromenti, che si meschiano con le voci variatamente, non per altro, credo io, che per ornar, et abbellir, anzi condire detto concerto, si meschiano: et allora convien in altra maniera adoperarli dal primo; percioche, come prima tenevano il tenore, e l'armonia ferma, hora devono con varietà di bei contraponti, secondo la qualità dello stromento fiorire, e render vaga la melodia.'

Felice Anerio provides some interesting examples, such as 'Donna se'l cor legasti' (example 10.33) and 'Al suon non posa il core' (example 10.34), both from the *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali*. In 'Al suon non posa il core' the lute follows the bass, sometimes doubling the upper parts, sometimes not. The harpsichord part has ornaments on long notes, as recommended by Diruta, but when the uppermost voices move in semiminima, the harpsichord part has no ornamentation. In 'Donna se'l cor legasti', even more ornamentation can be found. This combination of the two different roles could illustrate Agazzari's description, the lute serving as foundation instrument, the harpsichord or *spinettino*, a four-foot instrument, providing ornamentation. There are no real new counterpoints, but new and varied passages in the style Diruta describes.⁷⁷⁰

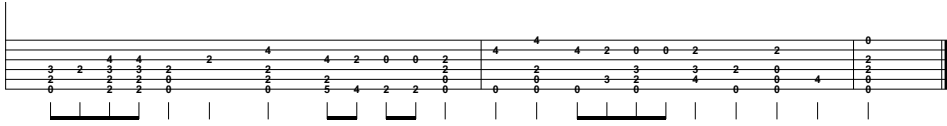
Summary

Although some canzonettas have slightly conflicting ornaments between the lute and harpsichord parts, many are carefully arranged to have complementing roles, either by alternating the ornaments, or by dividing the roles of each instrument into fundamental and ornamental roles respectively. We may thus assume that many of these compositions could be played by harpsichord and lute together.

Al suon non posa il core. Ma accresce il fiero ar-
 Al suon non posa il core. Ma accresce il fiero ar-
 Al suon non posa il core. Ma accresce il fiero ar-

0 2 2 2 2 2 2 0 4 2 0 2 2 0 4 2 0 0
 5 5 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3
 4 4 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2

⁷⁷⁰ Court (1995) proposes that similarly Terzi's pieces for two lutes are examples of playing together as foundational and ornamental instruments. Here the ornamental lute parts exhibit more independent counterpoints, using new material.



Example 10.34 *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali*, Felice Anerio, 'Al suon non posa il core'.

10.13 *Chiavi trasportati* OR *chiavette*

Over the past ninety years, musicologists and musicians have debated the so-called *chiavette* or *chiavi trasportati*, as they were called around 1600.⁷⁷¹ *Chiavi naturali*, notated in the customary C-clefs (which Banchieri called *per C sol fa ut*), were to be executed at the 'actual pitch' indicated, that is, whatever pitch was standard at a certain place at a certain time. In Rome just before 1600 this seems to have been around 440 Hz, dropping to around 415 and even a semitone lower by 1620.⁷⁷² Around 1600 a high clef combination, usually including a G2 clef for the top part or parts (which Banchieri describes as *per G sol ut re*), indicated that the voice parts and the accompanying instruments should be transposed downwards. If the composition is in a transposed mode (*per b molle*, that is, including a flat in the key signature), the piece should be transposed down a fourth. If the piece is in a natural, untransposed modes (*per b quadro*, that is, without a flat in the key signature), it should be transposed down a fifth.⁷⁷³ Banchieri explains that for a purely instrumental performance, it is not necessary to transpose in this way.

The Verovio canzonettas have been used as an example to corroborate this theory, but, as mentioned by the authors who use them as examples, not all canzonettas adhere to this customary practice.⁷⁷⁴ These exceptions have led Anderson to conclude that 'the *chiavette* convention was intended more as a matter of choice than of obligation.'⁷⁷⁵ Nineteen of the twenty-two compositions in the *Diletto spirituale* are written in *chiavette*, and only one does not conform to the rule. According to Barbieri, five of the fourteen pieces in the *Ghirlanda* that use *chiavette* do not conform to the rule; four of thirteen

771 From Ehrmann (1924) and Mendel (1948) to the discussions in *Early Music* between Parrott and Kurtzman (started in the 1980s and still going in 2007) as well as Kranias (2006) and Croci (2009). The most extensive overview is given in Barbieri (1991).

772 Barbieri (1991), p. 54. See also Haynes (2002), location 2277–2288.

773 Banchieri (1601), pp. 22–23.

774 For example Anderson (1976), pp. 72–84, and Barbieri (1991), pp. 47–51.

775 Anderson (1976), p. 84.

pieces in the *Canzonette à quattro voci* likewise fail to do so. In the nine compositions with high clefs in the *Lodi dell musica*, none fail to conform to the rule.⁷⁷⁶

In the fifth collection of compositions with intabulations, the *Dialogo pastorale*, no chiavette are used, but as Morelli has pointed out, some strophes (7 and 11–16) need either to be transposed a fifth upward or to be played on a large lute tuned in D (a *leuto grosso*). Morelli considers this unlikely, as all strophes except number 11 would then sound an octave below the voices.⁷⁷⁷ However, the other collections, especially the *Ghirlanda*, contain more canzonettas in which the lute part is very low and the voices are (partly) doubled an octave lower (see chapter 10.8). As these strophes identified by Morelli are sung by high voices, a small lute in D could also have been employed in the *Dialogo pastorale*, which would bring the accompaniment up to the same pitch as the voices. This supposes that the lute for the other strophes would be tuned in A.⁷⁷⁸ The use of instruments in different tunings within a single anthology is not unusual, and occurs in many other sources of that time. Likewise, Morelli points out that although the title page of the *Dialogo pastorale* describes the music as *a tre voci*, more than three people are necessary to perform the dialogue in its entirety. In fact, according to the ranges and the clefs of the parts, the collection could require up to nine voices: three sopranos, one mezzosoprano, two tenors and three basses, although some singers might have been able to cover two ranges.⁷⁷⁹

In the *Diletto spirituale*, all but one of the canzonettas with *chiavi trasportati* are transposed (or not) according to the rules given by Banchieri and others. All lute intabulations must be performed on a lute in G if playing together with the harpsichord. Only Giovanni Maria Nanino's 'Jesus in pace imperat' (the last piece in the first order of compositions) does not comply. The ranges of its voices are $g'-d''$ (G2 clef), $a-c''$ (C2 clef), $d'-a'$ (C3 clef) and $d-d'$ (C4 clef).⁷⁸⁰ The lute part is transposed down a fifth as to be expected, but the harpsichord part is not transposed. Example 10.35 shows all the parts in score with the pitches as found in the individual parts. In example 10.36 the vocal parts are transposed conventionally.

776 As shown below, there are more exceptions in the *Ghirlanda* and the *Canzonette à quattro*, as Barbieri seems to have only taken the harpsichord parts into consideration.

777 Anerio (1983), p. XI.

778 For lute tunings see <http://www.lutesociety.org/pages/lute-tuning> (accessed 18.10.2013).

779 Anerio (1983), p. VIII.

780 The same clef combination is found in Palestrina's *Iesu flos matris virginis*, which has regular transpositions for the intabulations; therefore the anomaly cannot lie in the clef combination.

The image shows a musical score for a piece titled 'Diletto spirituale' by Felice Anerio. The score is in common time (C) and features a vocal line with lyrics 'le - - sus in pa - ce im - - - pe - rat' and a harpsichord part. The harpsichord part is written on a grand staff with a G2 clef and is marked 'not transposed'. The score includes bar lines and a figured bass line at the bottom.

Example 10.35 *Diletto spirituale*, Felice Anerio, 'Jesus in pace imperat', mm. 1–3. Barlines as found in the harpsichord part.

Of course this aberration could be due to an error or omission on the part of the intabulator, who might have forgotten to transpose the harpsichord part. It is also possible that the writer of the top part used a G2 clef by 'mistake' as the limited range of the upper voice (g'–d'') does not really warrant transposition.⁷⁸¹ Alternatively, the piece could be sung and played at high pitch without the lute or with a lute in D.⁷⁸² A small lute tuned in D would bring the lute up to the pitch of the harpsichord, while a larger lute in D, a *leuto grosso*, would result in a 16' accompaniment, as in the *Dialogo pastorale*. Alternatively, the piece could be executed at low pitch (implied by the notation for a lute in G) without the harpsichord, or using a 12' harpsichord in F, perhaps even tuned an octave higher, thus a quint *spinettino*.⁷⁸³ Using two perfect instruments at different pitches was not unusual around 1600. In his collections of 1593 and 1599, Giovanni An-

781 It does however avoid the use of ledger lines.

782 Kranias (2006), p. 47, proposes that those pieces that are not transposed were meant for young singers or women. See also Hammond (2008), p. 117.

783 Sachs (1913/2010), p. 354, stated that a *spinettino* could be tuned either a fifth or an octave above normal pitch. He mentions that according to Kircher, this instrument was invented in Rome. See Kircher (1650), vol. 1, p. 454.

The image shows a musical score for 'Diletto spirituale' by Felice Anerio. It consists of several staves. At the top, there are four vocal staves (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) with lyrics: 'le - - sus in pa - ce im - - - pe - rat'. Below the vocal parts are two lute parts, labeled 'C.' and 'L.'. The 'C.' part is marked 'not transposed' and the 'L.' part is also marked 'not transposed'. The score includes a basso continuo line at the bottom with figured bass notation.

Example 10.36 *Diletto spirituale*, Felice Anerio, 'Jesus in pace imperat', mm. 1–3, vocal parts transposed.
Barlines as found in the lute part.

tonio Terzi specifies the combination of two lutes, of which the *liutto grande* was tuned *alla quarta* (a fourth lower).⁷⁸⁴

The following pieces in the *Ghirlanda* differ from the conventions put forward by Banchieri. In four compositions written with *chiavi trasportati*, neither instrument has been transposed:

- Palestrina, 'Ahi che quest' occhi miei';
- Palestrina, 'Da cosi dotta man';
- Zucchelli, 'Mentre l'aquila sta mirando';
- Giovanni Maria Nanino, 'Tutta gentil e bella'.

In two other cases the harpsichord has been transposed, but the tuning of the lute would have to be in D to bring both instruments to the same pitch:

- Peetrino, 'Poiche mesto e dolente';
- Marenzio, 'Donna se nel tuo volto'.

⁷⁸⁴ Giovanni Antonio Terzi, *Intavolatura di liutto* (Venice: Amadino, 1593); idem, *Il secondo libro de intavolatura de liuto* (Venice: Vincenti, 1599); see Court (1995).

In one case the lute part seems to have been transposed, but the harpsichord part has not:

– Locatello, ‘Donna gentil voi siete’.

This is a similar situation to the one mentioned above for Nanino’s ‘Jesus in pace imperat’ from the *Diletto spirituale*. Again, a quint instrument would bring the instruments and the voices to the same pitch. As the ambitus of the voices is very high (g' – g'' in the upper voice) a downward transposition seems appropriate.⁷⁸⁵

Another exception is found in Felice Anerio’s ‘Donna se’l cor legasti’, where no *chiavi trasportati* are used; nonetheless the instrumental parts seem to be transposed.

In the *Canzonette à quattro voci*, thirteen out of eighteen pieces are written using *chiavi trasportati*. Out of those, four are not transposed:

- Palestrina, ‘Vedrassi prima’;
- Giovanni Maria Nanino, ‘Di che cor mio’;
- Giovanelli, ‘Bella d’amor guerriera’;
- Quagliati, ‘Tal da vostri occhi foco esce’.

A fifth without *chiavi trasportati* (Bellasio’s ‘O miser quel che spera’) requires a lute in D to bring all voices and instruments to the same pitch.

In general, however, there seems to be no correlation between a certain clef combination or a certain range and the use of untransposed intabulations when *chiavi trasportati* are used. There are always counterexamples with the same parameters that abide by convention.

As mentioned above, for both instruments to play together with the voices, some pieces would have been performed on a lute in G and others on a lute in A; this may reflect a shift in popularity from a tuning in G to a tuning in A between 1586 and 1600. Although Banchieri only mentions a lute tuned in G, both tunings were standard at the time.⁷⁸⁶ Exceptionally a lute tuned in D, called *Leuto grosso alla quarta* by Banchieri, is required to play together with a keyboard instrument. For some pieces, both transposed or in *chiavi naturali*, a *spinettino* at four-foot pitch would also be a possibility for performance.

As we have seen, many of the canzonettas contain ornamentation in either or both intabulations, but only in a very few cases is the harpsichord more ornamented than the lute throughout. Felice Anerio’s ‘Donna se’l cor legasti’ (example 10.37 and figure 10.12) is a good example. It is also the only piece in which both instruments have been transposed, even though the voice parts are in *chiavi naturali*. The range of the bass part is from F to a, which makes the transposition of the voice parts downwards less likely.

⁷⁸⁵ A g'' occurs in the next piece, but the general ambitus there is lower.

⁷⁸⁶ Banchieri (1609), p. 52.

Don - na se'l cor le - ga - - - sti Col tuo bel crin au -
 Don - na se'l cor le - ga - - - sti Col tuo bel crin
 Don - na se'l cor le - ga - - - sti Col tuo bel crin

C.
 L.

2 4 2 2 2 2 4 0 2 4 2 2 4 0 0 3 0 2 4
 4 4 4 4 2 5 4 2 2 0 2 4 2 0 2 3

7

ra - - - to Per qual ca - gion più strin - gi
 tuo bel crin au - ra - - - to Per qual ca - gion più strin - gi
 au - ra - - - to Per qual ca - gion più strin - gi

0 0 2 4 2 2 0 2 4 2 4 2 4 0 2 3 2 0 0 3 0 2 4
 2 0 2 2 0 2 4 4 4 2 4 0 5 4 2 4 5 2 4 5 3 0 3 1 3 3 0 0 2 2

14

un ch'è le - ga - - to Ahi du - ro sta - - - -

un ch'è lega - - - to Ahi du - ro sta - - - -

un ch'è lega - - - to Ahi du - ro sta - - - -

Guitar chord diagrams for measures 14-19:

```

    | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
    0 2 0 3 2 0 2 3 0 2 3 2 2 4 0 2 4
    2 3 0 3 2 0 2 3 0 2 2 4 5 6 3 2 2 4
    
```

20

to Ahi du - ro sta - - - - - to

- to Ahi du - ro sta - - - - - to

Ahi du - ro sta - - - - - to

Guitar chord diagrams for measures 20-25:

```

    | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
    2 0 2 3 0 2 0 2 0
    4 4 4 2 4 5 5 4 2 4 2 4 5 4
    2 2 0 2 4 5 2 4 2 4 2 4 2 2
    
```

Example 10.37 *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali*, Felice Anerio, 'Donna se'l cor legasti'.



Figure 10.12 Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali (Rome: [Verovio,] 1586), F. Anerio, 'Donna se'l cor legasti', harpsichord part (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, D-Mbs 4 Mus.pr. 10#Beibd.2), urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00074060-0.

The range of the soprano from c' to g'' also excludes a transposition upwards; transposition of the highest part down and the lowest part upward would result in the soprano being partially under the bass. Were the instrumental parts not meant to be played with the sung parts? This piece, the only such case in all the canzonettas, raises more questions than it answers.

Summary

Many of the intabulations associated with Verovio confirm the conventions governing transposition in *chiavi trasportati*, as defined by Banchieri and others. However, some do not abide by these rules. Some exceptions could be caused by the fact that a different instrument was envisaged for these pieces, either for example a lute in D, a harpsichord tuned low or even a quint spinet, but not all anomalies can be explained in this way.

10.14 CONCLUSION

As early as the 1580s, the prints associated with Verovio present different manners of intabulating and of playing together, thus displaying many characteristics usually associated with (early) baroque music and *basso continuo*: a more harmonic way of think-

ing, freedom in changing the numbers of parts in chords, the dominance of the left hand in many harpsichord intabulations, the acceptance of certain otherwise forbidden parallels, and the superimposition of tonic and dominant sounds. In this chapter we have discussed different types of cadences and cadential formulas, ornaments including bridge passages, *contrabassi*, and repercussions in the intabulations. These can serve as models when playing from other forms of musical notation, for example a score or *basso continuo* part. The canzonetta prints also provide evidence for the combination of harpsichord and lute, often with careful division of roles.

The information on performance practice found in these intabulations supports Carter's statement that the beginnings of the early baroque style can be taken further back into the sixteenth century:

Characteristics of early baroque music include a more overt (although later strictly codified) emotionalism, a more intimate relationship between text and music, and, in stylistic terms, a putative shift from contrapuntal to harmonic thinking, emphasized by the development of the so-called 'basso continuo' and the rise of forms of solo voice and instrumental accompaniment.⁷⁸⁷

In some genres as the madrigal, polyphony was still paramount. In such cases the instrumental accompaniment found in the Verovio intabulations remains polyphonic, as seen in the Luzzaschi intabulations of the *Madrigali* for three sopranos, which remain in four equal parts throughout, doubling the voices without their written-out ornaments. A similar style of polyphonic compositions, in which all parts are virtually equal throughout, can be found in some of the canzonettas, for example Soriano's 'Ameni colli' (example 1 in appendix V). In such pieces the harpsichord usually follows the voice parts exactly, and the lute doubles the voices as much as possible. Added notes, even above the voice parts on the finals, and smaller ornaments at cadences can be found, but they are relatively rare. This kind of accompaniment is also found in the less-elaborated intabulations of canzonettas from 1595 onward. The main characteristic of the intabulations of Luzzaschi and these canzonettas remains the persistent doubling of the (unornamented) vocal lines. This tradition of accompaniment *colla parte* on the keyboard, especially from a figured bass, particularly in church music, extended from Schütz⁷⁸⁸ to Bruckner.⁷⁸⁹

787 Carter (1992), p. 19.

788 See Johnston (1998).

789 See Bruckner's *Requiem* (WAB 39), composed in 1848–1849, revised in 1854 and 1894, and performed at his funeral in 1896, which includes figuring for the organ, often showing the doubling of voices.

In other less polyphonic genres around 1600, for example dances and strophic arias, the accompaniment is conceived harmonically, as seen in the examples of the Facoli intabulations (see figure 1.1 and 8.3).⁷⁹⁰ Some of the lute intabulations in the Verovio canzonetta prints are executed in a similar fashion, such as Anerio's 'Al suon non posa il core' (example 10.34). Chords are frequently added to the lowest voice irrespective of suspensions in the upper parts. No attempt is made to double the top voices. By contrast, the harpsichord parts, both in the Verovio anthologies and in the Facoli collection, double the top voice(s), occasionally with added notes and ornaments.

Some compositions in the prints associated with Verovio are in a newer *concertato* style, with two or three equal upper parts above a simpler bass.⁷⁹¹ In such pieces there is space between the upper parts and the bass, which can be filled in the harpsichord parts by creating extra parts to create four voices throughout, as in Luzzaschi's 'Cor mio deh non languire' (see examples 8.3 and 8.4), or by adding voices and separate notes, as in Anerio's 'Iesu decus angelicum' (example 2 in appendix V).

Yet the more elaborate Verovio intabulations from before 1595 present hybrid types of intabulation. The approach in the instrumental parts reaches from exact doubling, to doubling but with parts added frequently, to a more chordal manner of playing (notably in the lute part or the left hand of the harpsichord), to completely harmonic chordal accompaniments that simply follow the bass. Single canzonettas, such as Felice Anerio's 'Fiamme che da begl'occhi', often combine these different approaches (see example 3 in appendix V).

Many intabulations are ornamented, but usually only at the cadences or where semi-breves occur that would otherwise leave the instrument sounding empty. Repeatedly the harpsichord and lute parts are ornamented in such a manner that they complement each other, as seen in Verovio's 'Giesu sommo conforto' (example 4 in appendix V). In some instrumental parts, however, one of the instruments, usually the harpsichord, plays a highly ornamented version of the vocal parts, as in F. Anerio's 'Donna se'l cor legasti' (example 10.34). In these intabulations, one instrument functions as what Agazzari calls an 'instrument of ornamentation,' while the other instrument, usually the lute, serves as foundation instrument.

Comparing these elements in the intabulations – variety of the number of parts, voice leading and parallels, cadences, ornamentation, and so on – with instructional sources on *basso continuo* from the beginning of the sixteenth century shows that many characteristics are similar even if the notation is different. As intabulations show more precisely how a composition could be adapted to a perfect instrument, the intabula-

790 Lawrence-King (1992), p. 359, calls this kind of playing background accompaniment, which serves 'to add harmonic texture and to define the rhythmic structure.'

791 Eggebrecht (1957), pp. 69–70, calls this a 'motettisch-solistischer Generalbass' when notated as a *basso* part.

tions associated with Verovio provide information on basic intabulation and playing techniques; these can be applied either for the making of intabulations today, or when accompanying from a figured or unfigured bass. The intabulations are full of traits 'normal' for the time in which they were written. Many of the intabulations in the *Diletto spirituale* and the *Ghirlanda* in particular, have been executed with such refinement that they seem like written-out performances. They are varied and abound with information that can help us to perform in a more varied way, according to the style of the pieces we are performing.

Because the canzonettas with intabulations and the *Madrigali* were printed with all the parts (harpsichord, lute tablature and the voice parts) together on one or two facing pages, we possess all this information. This could only have been through intaglio printing, which made it feasible to present all the information on a single sheet of paper. Thus the innovations in music printing initiated by Verovio and his companions deliver important information about historical performance practice.

Appendix I: Catalogue of the copies of music prints associated with Verovio in public libraries

DILETTO SPIRITUALE CANZONETTE A TRE ET A QUATTRO VOCI COMPOSTE DA DIVERSI ECC.MI

MUSICI

10 copies, 6 variant versions

1. 1586, no intabulations 22 canzonettas, 'Te deum laudamus' not present on title page

Copy I-Bc R254

http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/viewschedatwbca.asp?path=/cmbm/images/ripro/gaspari/_R/R255/ (accessed 24.09.2017)

RISM B/I 1586/2

Vogel (1892) Samml. 1586¹¹

	TITLE PAGE	RACCOLTE ET SCRITTE	
	DEDICATION	BOCCAPADULE	ANTONIO
1 ^a	Iesu decus angelicum	Anerio	Felice
2	Spiega mondo maligno	Marentio	Luca
3	Qual paura	Marentio	Luca
4	O Iesu mi dulcissime	Anerius	Felix
5	Iesu summa benignitas	Giovanelli	Rugieri
6	Iesu sole serenior	Giovanelli	Rugieri
7	Tu mentis delectatio	Giovanelli	Rugieri
8	Tunc amplexus	Anerio	Felice
9	Rex virtutum	Anerio	Felice
10	Giesu sommo conforto	Verovio	Simone
11	Iesu rex admirabilis	Prenestini	Joan Petri Aloysij
12	Tua Iesu dilectio	Prenestini	Joannis Petri Aloysij
13	Se questa valle	del Mel	Rinaldo
14	Deh lasciam dunque	del Mel	Rinaldo
15	Scalda signor	Peetrino	Iacomo
16	Iesu spes penitentibus	Nanini	Ioan Mariae
17	Quando cor nostrum visitas	Nanini	Io Mariae
18	O gloriosa donna	Soriano	Francesco
19	Vscio dal ciel	Soriano	Francesco
20	Iesu flos matris virginis	Prenestini	Joan Aloysij
21	O beatum incendium	Anerio	Felice

22	Iesus in pace imperat	Nanini	Io Mariae
----	-----------------------	--------	-----------

a These numbers all refer to plate numbers.

2. 1586 with intabulations, 22 canzonettas, 1 canon missing

Copy B-Br Fétis 1.693

RISM B/I 1586/2

Brown 1586₈

Vogel (1892) Samml. 1586¹¹

	TITLE PAGE	CON L'INTAVOLATURA DEL CIMBALO ET LIUTO	MARTIN VAN BUIJTEN INCIDIT
	dedication	Boccapadule	Antonio
1	Iesu decus angelicum	Anerio	Felice
2	Spiega mondo maligno	Marentio	Luca
3	Qual paura	Marentio	Luca
4	O Iesu mi dulcissime	Anerius	Felix
5	Iesu summa benignitas	Giovanelli	Rugieri
6	Iesu sole serenior	Giovanelli	Rugieri
7	Tu mentis delectatio	Giovanelli	Rugieri
8	Tunc amplexus	Anerio	Felice
9	Rex virtutum	Anerio	Felice
10	Giesu sommo conforto	Verovio	Simone
11	Iesu rex admirabilis	Prenestini	Joan Petri Aloysij
12	Tua Iesu dilectio	Prenestini	Joannis Petri Aloysij
13	Se questa valle	del Mel	Rinaldo
14	Deh lasciam dunque	del Mel	Rinaldo
15	Scalda signor	Peetrino	Iacomo
16	Iesu spes penitentibus	Nanini	Ioan Mariae
17	Quando cor nostrum visitas	Nanini	Io Mariae
18	O gloriosa donna	Soriano	Francesco
19	Vscio dal ciel	Soriano	Francesco
20	Iesu flos matris virginis	Prenestini	Joan Aloysij
21	O beatum incendium	Anerio	Felice
22	Iesus in pace imperat	Nanini	Io Mariae

3. [1590 with intabulations, 22 canzonettas]

RISM

Brown [1590]₉Vogel (1892) Samml. 1590¹¹

lost

4. 1592 with intabulations, 22 canzonettas

Copy I Bc-R255

http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/viewschedatwbca.asp?path=/cmbm/images/ripro/gaspari/_R/R255/ (accessed 24.09.2017)

RISM B/I 1592/16

Brown 1592₁₁Vogel (1892) Samml. 1592⁷

	TITLE PAGE	CON L'INTAVOLATURA DEL CIMBALO ET LIUTO	MARTIN VAN BUIJTEN INCIDIT
	dedication	Boccapadule	Antonio
1	Iesu decus angelicum	Anerio	Felice
2	Spiega mondo maligno	Marentio	Luca
3	Qual paura	Marentio	Luca
4	O Iesu mi dulcissime	Anerius	Felix
5	Iesu summa benignitas	Giovanelli	Rugieri
6	Iesu sole serenior	Giovanelli	Rugieri
7	Tu mentis delectatio	Giovanelli	Rugieri
8	Tunc amplexus	Anerio	Felice
9	Rex virtutum	Anerio	Felice
10	Giesu sommo conforto	Verovio	Simone
11	Iesu rex admirabilis	Prenestini	Joan Petri Aloysij
12	Tua Iesu dilectio	Prenestini	Joannis Petri Aloysij
13	Se questa valle	del Mel	Rinaldo
14	Deh lasciam dunque	del Mel	Rinaldo
15	Scalda signor	Peetrino	Iacomo
16	Iesu spes penitentibus	Nanini	Ioan Mariae
17	Quando cor nostrum visitas	Nanini	Io Mariae
18	O gloriosa donna	Soriano	Francesco
19	Vscio dal ciel	Soriano	Francesco
20	Iesu flos matris virginis	Prenestini	Joan Aloysij
21	O beatum incendium	Anerio	Felice
22	Iesus in pace imperat	Nanini	Io Mariae

5. After 1592 with intabulations

21 canzonettas, nr. 22 reversed order (intabulations before voices with index)

Copies D-L II.2.55

I-Rc Mus 510 0.III.40

GB-Lbl K8d8

<http://purl.org/rism/BI/1586/2> (accessed 24.09.2017)

D-Mbs 4 Mus.pr/10#Beibd.3

<http://stimmbuecher.digitale-sammlungen.de/view?id=bsb00066223> (accessed 24.09.2017)

RISM B/I 1586/2

Brown 1586₈Vogel (1892) 1586¹¹

	TITLE PAGE	CON L'INTAVOLATURA DEL CIMBALO ET LIUTO	RACCOLTE DA SIMONE VEROVIO, INTAGLIATO ET STAMPATE DAL MEDESIMO
	dedication	Boccapadule	Antonio
1	Iesu decus angelicum	Anerio	Felice
4	O Iesu mi dulcissime	Anerius	Felix
5	Iesu summa benignitas	Giovanelli	Rugieri
11	Iesu rex admirabilis	Prenestini	Joan Petri Aloysij
13	Se questa valle	del Mel	Rinaldo
14	Deh lasciam dunque	del Mel	Rinaldo
6	Iesu sole serenior	Giovanelli	Rugieri
7	Tu mentis delectatio	Giovanelli	Rugieri
12	Tua Iesu dilectio	Prenestini	Joannis Petri Aloysij
9	Rex virtutum	Anerio	Felice
10	Giesu sommo conforto	Verovio	Simone
17	Quando cor nostrum visitas	Nanini	Io Mariae
20	Iesu flos matris virginis	Prenestini	Joan Aloysij
18	O gloriosa donna	Soriano	Francesco
19	Vscio dal ciel	Soriano	Francesco
8	Tunc amplexus	Anerio	Felice
16	Iesu spes penitentibus	Nanini	Ioan Mariae
21	O beatum incendium	Anerio	Felice
3	Qual paura	Marentio	Luca
2	Spiega mondo maligno	Marentio	Luca
22	Jesus in pace imperat	Nanini	Io Mariae

6. After 1592 B with intabulations, 21 canzonettas, no index

Copies D-Bds V 420.4.17

I-Bc R253

http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/viewschedatwbca.asp?path=/cmbm/images/ripro/gaspari/_R/R253/ (accessed 24.09.2017)

I-Pca N 1189 C III/3

RISM B/I 1586/2

Brown 1586₈Vogel (1892) Samml. 1586¹¹

	TITLE PAGE	CON L'INTAVOLATURA DEL CIMBALO ET LIUTO	RACCOLTE DA SIMONE VEROVIO, INTAGLIATOET STAMPATE DAL MEDESIMO
	dedication	Boccapadule	Antonio
1	Iesu decus angelicum	Anerio	Felice
4	O Iesu mi dulcissime	Anerius	Felix
5	Iesu summa benignitas	Giovanelli	Rugieri
11	Iesu rex admirabilis	Prenestini	Joan Petri Aloysij
13	Se questa valle	del Mel	Rinaldo
14	Deh lasciam dunque	del Mel	Rinaldo
6	Iesu sole serenior	Giovanelli	Rugieri
7	Tu mentis delectatio	Giovanelli	Rugieri
12	Tua Iesu dilectio	Prenestini	Joannis Petri Aloysij
9	Rex virtutum	Anerio	Felice
10	Giesu sommo conforto	Verovio	Simone
17	Quando cor nostrum visitas	Nanini	Io Mariae
20	Iesu flos matris virginis	Prenestini	Joan Aloysij
18	O gloriosa donna	Soriano	Francesco
19	Vscio dal ciel	Soriano	Francesco
22	Iesus in pace imperat	Nanini	Io Mariae
8	Tunc amplexus	Anerio	Felice
16	Iesu spes penitentibus	Nanini	Ioan Mariae
21	O beatum incendium	Anerio	Felice
3	Qual paura	Marentio	Luca
2	Spiega mondo maligno	Marentio	Luca

IL PRIMO LIBRO DELLE MELODIE SPIRITUALI

RISM A/IP 1138

Vogel (1977) 2170

Vogel (1892) Peetrino-4 (1586)

1 copy

1586, no dedication, no intabulations

Copy B-Br Fétis 1.706A

TITLE PAGE			
19	Nei verdi campi	Peetrino	Jacobo
20	Voi che cogliete	Peetrino	Jacobo
3	O nome sacrosanto di Iesu	Peetrino	Jacobo
4	Signor io t'ho confitto	Peetrino	Jacobo
17	Iesu mi bone sentiam	Peetrino	Jacobo
18	Verginella gentile	Peetrino	Jacobo
5	Che fiori canto	Peetrino	Jacobo
8	Iesum omnes cognoscite	Peetrino	Jacobo
13	Humil s'inchin' e porge	Peetrino	Jacobo
16	Iesum quaeram in lectulo	Peetrino	Jacobo
9	Iesu dulcis memoria	Peetrino	Jacobo
10	Iesu dulcedo	Peetrino	Jacobo
11	Dolce felice e lieta	Peetrino	Jacobo
12	Tenor mentre	Peetrino	Jacobo
7	Amor Iesu dulcis	Peetrino	Jacobo
14	tre Magi	Peetrino	Jacobo

DI IACOBO PEETRINO IL PRIMO LIBRO DEL JUBILO DI S. BERNARDO

4 copies, 3 variant versions, no intabulations

1. 1588 no dedication, binding error

Copy D-W 10 Musica 2

<http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/10-musica-2f/start.htm> (accessed 24.09.2017)

RISM A/IP 1139

Vogel (1977) 2171

Vogel (1892) Peetrino-2 (1588)

TITLE PAGE	1588
1 Iesu dulcis memoria	Peetrino Jacobo
2 Iesu dulcedo	Peetrino Jacobo
5 Amor Iesu dulcissimus	Peetrino Jacobo
6 Iesum omnes cognoscite	Peetrino Jacobo
3 Iesum quaeram in lectulo	Peetrino Jacobo
4 Mane nobiscum Domine	Peetrino Jacobo
7 Signor io t'ho confitto	Peetrino Jacobo
8 Ohime tu d'ogni vena	Peetrino Jacobo
9 S'io di te penso	Peetrino Jacobo
10 Verginella gentile	Peetrino Jacobo
11 Dolce felice e lieta	Peetrino Jacobo
12 Tenor mentre ch'io canto	Peetrino Jacobo
13 Humil s'inchin' e porge	Peetrino Jacobo
14 Tre Magi in compagnia	Peetrino Jacobo
15 Iesu mi bone sentiam	Peetrino Jacobo
16 Desidero te millies	Peetrino Jacobo
17 Quocunque loco fueram	Peetrino Jacobo
18 Iam quod quaesivi video	Peetrino Jacobo
19 Voi che cogliete	Peetrino Jacobo
20 Nei verdi campi	Peetrino Jacobo

2. 1588, with undated dedication

Copy I-Bc U42

http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/viewschedatwbca.asp?path=/cmbm/images/ripro/gaspari/_U/U042/ (accessed 24.09.2017)

RISM A/IP 1139

Vogel (1977) 2171

	TITLE PAGE	1588	
	DEDICATION	MONTFORT	ANTONIO
1	Iesu dulcis memoria	Peetrino	Jacobo
2	Iesu dulcedo	Peetrino	Jacobo
3	Iesum queram in lectulo	Peetrino	Jacobo
4	Mane nobiscum Domine	Peetrino	Jacobo
5	Amor Iesu dulcissimus	Peetrino	Jacobo
6	Iesum omnes cognoscite	Peetrino	Jacobo
7	Signor io t'ho confitto	Peetrino	Jacobo
8	Ohime tu d'ogni vena	Peetrino	Jacobo
9	S'io di te penso	Peetrino	Jacobo
10	Verginella gentile	Peetrino	Jacobo
11	Dolce felice e lieta	Peetrino	Jacobo
12	Tenor mentre ch'io canto	Peetrino	Jacobo
13	Humil s'inchin' e porge	Peetrino	Jacobo
14	Tre Magi in compagnia	Peetrino	Jacobo
15	Iesu mi bone setiam	Peetrino	Jacobo
16	Desidero te millies	Peetrino	Jacobo
17	Quocunque loco fueram	Peetrino	Jacobo
18	Iam quod quaesivi video	Peetrino	Jacobo
19	Voi che cogliete	Peetrino	Jacobo
20	Nei verdi campi	Peetrino	Jacobo

3. 1588, with dedication dated 1589

Copies D-Mbs 4 Mus.pr.9

<http://stimbuecher.digitale-sammlungen.de/view?id=bsb00087719> (accessed 24.09.2017)

US-Wc M 2082 P4 J8

RISM A/IP 1140

Vogel (1892) Peetrino-3 (1588)

Vogel (1977) 2172

	TITLE PAGE	1588	
	DEDICATION	MONTFORT	ANTONIO
1	Iesu dulcis memoria	Peetrino	Jacobo
2	Iesu dulcedo	Peetrino	Jacobo
3	Iesum queram in lectulo	Peetrino	Jacobo
4	Mane nobiscum Domine	Peetrino	Jacobo
5	Amor Iesu dulcissimus	Peetrino	Jacobo
6	Iesum omnes cognoscite	Peetrino	Jacobo
7	Signor io t'ho confitto	Peetrino	Jacobo
8	Ohime tu d'ogni vena	Peetrino	Jacobo
9	S'io di te penso	Peetrino	Jacobo
10	Verginella gentile	Peetrino	Jacobo
11	Dolce felice e lieta	Peetrino	Jacobo
12	Tenor mentre ch'io canto	Peetrino	Jacobo
13	Humil s'inchin' e porge	Peetrino	Jacobo
14	Tre Magi in compagnia	Peetrino	Jacobo
15	Iesu mi bone setiam	Peetrino	Jacobo
16	Desidero te millies	Peetrino	Jacobo
17	Quocunque loco fueram	Peetrino	Jacobo
18	Iam quod quaesivi video	Peetrino	Jacobo
19	Voi che cogliete	Peetrino	Jacobo
20	Nei verdi campi	Peetrino	Jacobo

GHIRLANDA DI FIORETTI MUSICALI

RSM B/I 1589/11

Brown 1589₈Vogel (1892) Samml. 1589⁶

8 copies, 4 variant versions

1. 1589, with dedication, 25 canzonettas, three without the name of the composer

Copies I-Bc R 256

http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/viewschedatwbca.asp?path=/cmbm/images/ripro/gaspari/_R/R256/ (accessed 24.09.2017)

D-Bds Mus.ant.pr V425

	TITLE PAGE		
	DEDICATION	STELLA	VINCENTE
1	Ahi, che questi occhi miei	Palestina	Gio
3	Da così dotta man sei fatto	Palestina	Gio
5	Ameni colli, vaghi monticelli	Soriano	Francesco
7	Mentre l'aguila sta mirando il sole	Zucchelli	Gio. Battista
9	Donna, donna tue chiome d'oro	Stabile	Annibal
11	Ardenti miei sospiri	Peetrino	Jacomo
13	Vermiglio e vago fiore	Giovanelli	Ruggiero
15	Io me n'avedo amore	Crivello	Archangelo
17	Poiche mesto e dolente	Peetrino	Jacomo
19	Tutta gentile e bella		
21	Ohime partito è'l mio bel sol	Stabile	Annibal
23	Fugge da gl'occhi il sonno	Giovanelli	Ruggiero
25	Ohime crudele amore	Zucchelli	Gio. Battista
27	Si vaga è la mia fiamma	Giovanelli	Ruggiero
29	Al suon non posa il core	Anerio	Felice
31	Io ardo o Filli		
33	Ingiustissimo amore	Orlandino	Antonio
35	Ancora che tu m'odii, anima mia		
37	Fiamme che da begl'occhi	Anerio	Felice
39	Se fredda è la mia donna	Costa	Gasparo
41	Vedo ogni selva rivestir le frondi	Soriano	Francesco
43	Donna gentil voi siete	Locatello	Gio. Battista
45	Donna se il cor legasti	Anerio	Felice
47	Donna se nel tuo volto	Marentio	Luca
49	Ment' il mio miser core	Anerio	Felice

2. 1589, with dedication, 25 canzonettas, all names of composers

Copies I-Rc O.III.41 (plates 12 and 13 missing)

B-Br Fétis 2.281 A

F-Pc Rés 489

http://japanese.imslp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/5/56/IMSLP273010-PMLP443085-verovio_ghirlanda_di_fioretto_musicali2.pdf (accessed 24.09.2017)

	TITLE PAGE	1589	
	DEDICATION	STELLA	VINCENTE
1	Ahi, che questi occhi miei	Palestina	Gio
3	Da così dotta man sei fatto	Palestina	Gio
5	Ameni colli, vaghi monticelli	Soriano	Francesco
7	Mentre l'aguila sta mirando il sole	Zucchelli	Gio. Battista
9	Donna, donna tue chiome d'oro	Stabile	Annibal
11	Ardenti miei sospiri	Peetrino	Jacomo
14	Vermiglio e vago fiore	Giovanelli	Ruggiero
15	Io me n'avedo amore	Crivello	Archangelo
17	Poiche mesto e dolente	Peetrino	Jacomo
19	Tutta gentile e bella	Nanino	Gio: Maria
21	Ohime partito è'l mio bel sol	Stabile	Annibal
23	Fugge da gl'occhi il sonno	Giovanelli	Ruggiero
25	Ohime crudele amore	Zucchelli	Gio. Battista
27	Si vaga è la mia fiamma	Giovanelli	Ruggiero
29	Al suon non posa il core	Anerio	Felice
31	Io ardo o Filli	Ricordi	Jacomo
33	Ingiustissimo amore	Orlandino	Antonio
35	Ancora che tu m'odii, anima mia	Quagliato	Paolo
37	Fiamme che da begl'occhi	Anerio	Felice
39	Se fredda è la mia donna	Costa	Gasparo
41	Vedo ogni selva rivestir le frondi	Soriano	Francesco
43	Donna gentil voi siete	Locatello	Gio. Battista
45	Donna se il cor legasti	Anerio	Felice
47	Donna se nel tuo volto	Marentio	Luca
49	Mentr'il mio miser core	Anerio	Felice

3. 1589, with dedication, 24 canzonettas, all names of composers

Copy D-Mbs 4 Mus.pr 10/#Beibd.2

<http://stimmbuecher.digitale-sammlungen.de/view?idbsb00074060> (accessed 24.09.2017)

	TITLE	1589	
	DEDICATION	STELLA	VINCENTE
1	Ahi, che questi occhi miei	Palestina	Gio
3	Da cosi dotta man sei fatto	Palestina	Gio
5	Ameni colli, vaghi monticelli	Soriano	Francesco
7	Mentre l'aguila sta mirando il sole	Zucchelli	Gio. Battista
9	Donna, donna tue chiome d'oro	Stabile	Annibal
11	Ardenti miei sospiri	Peetrino	Jacomo
13	Vermiglio e vago fiore	Giovanelli	Ruggiero
15	Io me n'avedo amore	Crivello	Archangelo
17	Poiche mesto e dolente	Peetrino	Jacomo
19	Tutta gentile e bella	Nanino	Gio: Maria
21	Ohime partito è'l mio bel sol	Stabile	Annibal
23	Fugge da gl'occhi il sonno	Giovanelli	Ruggiero
25	Ohime crudele amore	Zucchelli	Gio. Battista
27	Si vaga è la mia fiamma	Giovanelli	Ruggiero
29	Al suon non posa il core	Anerio	Felice
31	Io ardo o Filli	anon/Ricordi	Jacomo
33	Ingiustissimo amore	Orlandino	Antonio
35	Ancora che tu m'odii, anima mia	Quagliato	Paolo
37	Fiamme che da begl'occhi	Anerio	Felice
39	Se fredda è la mia donna	Costa	Gasparo
41	Vedo ogni selva rivestir le frondi	Soriano	Francesco
43	Donna gentil voi siete	Locatello	Gio. Battista
45	Donna se il cor legasti	Anerio	Felice
49	Mentr'il mio miser core	Anerio	Felice

Without plates 47 and 48: Marenzio's 'Donna se nel tuo volto'.

4. 1589, with dedication, 23 canzonettas, all names of composers

Copies I-Pca N 1189-C-III/1 (one loose folio plates 38–39)

GB-Lbl K.8.d.6. (one loose folio (plates 40–41 blank)

<http://purl.org/rism/BI/1589/11> (accessed 24.09.2017)

	TITLE	1589	
	DEDICATION	STELLA	VINCENTE
1	Ahi, che questi occhi miei	Palestina	Gio
3	Da così dotta man sei fatto	Palestina	Gio
5	Ameni colli, vaghi monticelli	Soriano	Francesco
7	Mentre l'aguila sta mirando il sole	Zucchelli	Gio. Battista
9	Donna, donna tue chiome d'oro	Stabile	Annibal
11	Ardenti miei sospiri	Peetrino	Jacomo
13	Vermiglio e vago fiore	Giovanelli	Ruggiero
15	Io me n'avedo amore	Crivello	Archangelo
17	Poiche mesto e dolente	Peetrino	Jacomo
19	Tutta gentile e bella	Nanino	Gio: Maria
21	Ohime partito è'l mio bel sol	Stabile	Annibal
23	Fugge da gl'occhi il sonno	Giovanelli	Ruggiero
25	Ohime crudele amore	Zucchelli	Gio. Battista
27	Si vaga è la mia fiamma	Giovanelli	Ruggiero
29	Al suon non posa il core	Anerio	Felice
31	Io ardo o Filli	anon/Ricordi	Jacomo
35	Ancora che tu m'odii, anima mia	Quagliato	Paolo
37	Fiamme che da begl'occhi	Anerio	Felice
39	Se fredda è la mia donna	Costa	Gasparo
41	Vedo ogni selva rivestir le frondi	Soriano	Francesco
43	Donna gentil voi siete	Locatello	Gio. Battista
45	Donna se il cor legasti	Anerio	Felice
49	Mentr'il mio miser core	Anerio	Felice

Without plates 33, 34, 47, and 48: Orlandino's 'Ingiustissimo amore' and Marenzio's 'Donna se nel tuo volto'.

Reprints using relief printing techniques

Italy

1. *Canzonette per cantar er sonar di liuto a tre voci libro primo*. Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1591. Includes compositions by Oratio Scaletta. RISM B/I 1591/7, Brown 1591¹⁴, Vogel (1892) Samml. 1591⁷
2. *Canzonette per cantar er sonar di liuto a tre voci libro secondo*. Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1591. Includes compositions by Oratio Scaletta. RISM B/I 1591/8, Brown 1591¹⁵, Vogel (1892) Samml. 1591⁸

3. *Canzonette per cantar er sonar di liuto a tre voci libro terzo*. Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1591. Includes compositions by Oratio Scaletta. RISM B/I 1591/9 Brown 1591₁₆, Vogel (1892) Samml. 1591⁹
4. *Canzonette*. Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1601. RISM B/I 1601/4, Vogel (1892) Samml. 1601⁴. In partbooks. Without *Vedo ogni selva*, *Ingiustissimo amore* and *Donna se nel tuo volta*.

Netherlands

Canzonette alla romana de diversi eccellentissimi musici romani a tre voci. Antwerp: Pierre Phalèse, 1607. RISM B/I 1607/14, Vogel (1892) Samml. 1607². Includes all compositions from the Gardano (1601) edition and eleven compositions from the *Lodi della Musica*.

Germany

5. *Newe Teutsche Canzonetten mit dreyen Stimmen von den fürtrefflichsten Italienischen Componisten auff ihre Sprach componiret und hiebvor in Italia zusammen getruckt*. Frankfurt: Wolfgang Richter, 1608. Partbooks. RISM B/I 1608/22. Vogel (1892) Samml. 1608¹.

CANZONETTE SPIRITUALI A 3 VOCI COMPOSTE DA DIVERSI ECCELLENTI MUSICI
3 partbooks

1. Basso part, no date, without dedication, 12 canzonettas, five without the names of composers, and *Stabat mater*. Binding errors create wrong order

Copy I-Bc R258 (a)

http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/viewschedatwbca.asp?path=/cmbm/images/ripro/gaspari/_R/R258a/ (accessed 24.09.2017)

RISM B/I 1591/13

Vogel (1892) Samml. 1591.¹¹

TITLE			
9	Fà buon Giesù chiosenta nel mio core	Macque	Gio
10	Del'alma sospirosa unica speme	(Griffi)	(Oratio)
11	Santi baci soauì abbracciamenti	Giovanelli	Rugg.o
12	De gli beati spiriti	(Pacelli)	(Asprilio)
3	O dolce rimembranza	Macque	Gio
4	Giesù de penitenti	Anerio	Felice
13	Giesù Padre et autor d'ogni clemenza	(Santini)	(Prospero)
14	Non può lingua narrare	(Nanino)	(Gio. Maria)
5	Giesu più rilucente	Marentio	Luca
6	Giesù solo piacer dell'alma	Pacelli	Asprilio
7	L'alma più che ti gusta più ti brama	(Ingegneri)	(M Antonio)
8	Dolcissimo amor mio	Macque	Gio
15	Stabat mater dolorosa	del Mel	Rinaldo
16	O quam tristis et afflicta	del Mel	R.
17	Quis est homo qui non fleret	del Mel	R.
18	Pro peccatis suae gentis	del Mel	R.
19	Eia mater fons amoris	del Mel	R.
20	Sancta mater istud agas	del Mel	R.
21	Fac me vere tecum flere	del Mel	R.
22	Virgo Virginum praeclara	del Mel	R.
23	Fac me plagis vulnerari	del Mel	R.
24	Fac me cruce custodiri	del Mel	R.
	Amen		

2. Alto part, 1591, without dedication, 12 canzonettas, one without the name of the composer, and Stabat mater

Copy GB-Lbl K.8.b.17

<http://purl.org/rism/BI/1591/13> (accessed 25.09.2017)

RISM B/I 1591/13

Vogel (1892) Samml. 1591.¹¹

TITLE PAGE			
3	O dolce rimembranza	Macque	Gio
4	Giesù de penitenti	Anerio	Felice
5	Giesu più risplendente	Marentio	Luca
6	Giesù solo piacer dell'alma	Pacelli	Asprilio
7	L'alma più che ti gusta più ti brama	Ingegneri	Marc Ant.o
8	Dolcissimo amor mio	Macque	Gio
9	Fà buon Giesù chio senta nel mio core	Macque	Gio
10	Del'alma sospirosa unica speme	Griffi	Horatio
11	Santi baci soauì abbracciamenti	Giovanelli	Rugg.o
12	De gli beati spiriti	Pacello	Asprilio
13	Giesù Padre et autor d'ogni clemenza	Santini	Prospero
14	Non può lingua narrare	(Nanino)	(Gio. Maria)
15	Stabat mater dolorosa		
16	O quam tristis et afflicta	del Mel	R.
17	Quis est homo qui non fleret	del Mel	R.
18	Pro peccatis suae gentis	del Mel	R.
19	Eia mater fons amoris	del Mel	R.
20	sancta mater istud agas	del Mel	R.
21	Fac me vere tecum fieri	del Mel	R.
22	Virgo Virginum praeclara	del Mel	R.
23	Fac me plagis vulnerari	del Mel	R.
? 24	Fac me cruce custodiri	del Mel	R.
	Amen		

3. Canto part, 1599, with dedication to Vincenzo Gonzaga, 12 canzonettas, one without the name of the composer, and Stabat mater

Copy I-Bc R258 (b)

http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/viewschedatwbca.asp?path=/cmbm/images/ripro/gaspari/_R/R258b/ (accessed 24.09.2017)

RISM B/I 1599/7

Vogel (1892) Samml. 1599³

I	TITLE		
2	dedication	Duca di Mantova	15.11.1599
3	O dolce rimembranza	Macque	Gio
4	Giesù de penitenti	Anerio	Felice
5	Giesu più risplendente	Marentio	Luca
6	Giesù solo piacer dell'alma	Pacelli	Asprilio
7	L'alma più che ti gusta più ti brama	Ingegneri	M. Antonio
8	Dolcissimo amor mio	Macque	Gio
9	Fà buon Giesù chiosenta nel mio core	Macque	Gio
10	Del'alma sospirosa unica speme	Griffi	Horatio
11	Santi baci soavi abbracciamenti	Giovannelli	Rugg.o
12	De gli beati spiriti	Pacello	Asprilio
13	Giesù Padre et autor d'ogni clemenza	Santini	Prospero
14	Non può lingua narrare	Nanino	Gio Maria
15	Stabat mater dolorosa	del Mel	Rinaldo
16	O quam tristis et afflicta	del Mel	R.
17	Quis est homo qui non fleret	del Mel	R.
18	Pro peccatis suae gentis	del Mel	Rinaldo
19	Eia mater fons amoris	del Mel	Rinaldo
20	sancta mater istud agas	del Mel	R.
21	Fac me vere tecum fiere	del Mel	R.
22	Virgo Virginum praeclara	del Mel	R.
23	Fac me plagis vulnerari	del Mel	R.
24	Fac me cruce custodiri	del Mel	R.
	Amen		

CANZONETTE À QUATTRO VOCI COMPOSTE DA DIVERSI ECC.TI MUSICI

RISM B/I 1591/12

Brown 1591¹¹Vogel (1892) Samml. 1591⁶

6 copies, 3 versions

1. 1591, with dedication ...03.1591, 20 canzonettas, last without composer's name and intabulations

Copies I-Bc R259

http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/viewschedatwbca.asp?path=/cmbm/images/ripro/gaspari/_R/R259/ (accessed 25.09.2017)

US-R M1490.V56

	TITLE	1591	
	DEDICATION	CARD. DI LORENA	... 03.1591
4 ^b	Hor che vezzosa e bella	Anerio	Felice
5	Così soave stile	Anerio	Felice
6	Questi capelli d'oro	Bellasio	Paolo
7	Io non sò come vivo	Stabile	Annibale
8	Fuggite amanti Amor	Stabile	Annibale
9	Mentr'io fuggivo	Dragoni	Gio. Andrea
10	Spesso il canto ad amare	Griffi	Horatio
11	Pose un gran foco	Pellestrina	Gio da
12	Ohime crudele Amore	Barera	Rhodiano
13	Vedrassi prima senza luce	Pellestrina	Gio da
14	Di che cor mio	Nanino	Gio: Maria
15	Se dal tuo foco altiero	Soriano	Francesco
16	Bella d'amor guerriera	Giovanelli	Ruggero
17	Quando miro il bel volto	Quagliato	Paolo
18	Tal di vostri occhi foco esce	Quagliato	Paolo
19	O mio soave foco	Stabile	Pompeo
20	Se'l raggio de vostr'occhi	Marentio	Luca
21	O miser quel che spera in donna	Bellasio	Paolo
22	Donna nel vostro volto	Bellasio	Paolo
23	La verginella		

^b None of the copies of the *Canzonette à quattro voci* have plate numbers.

2. 1591, with dedication dated 20.03.1591, 19 canzonettas ('La verginella' omitted)

Copies D-Lem PM 1224

D-Mbs 4 Mus.Pr. 10 (contains 'La verginella' in ink)

<http://stimmbuecher.digitale-sammlungen.de/view?id=bsb00074058> (accessed 25.09.2017)

I-Pca N 1189-C-III/2

	TITLE	I591	RACCOLTE ...
	DEDICATION	CARD. DI LORENA	20.03.1591
4	Hor che vezzosa e bella	Anerio	Felice
5	Cosi soave stile	Anerio	Felice
6	Questi capelli d'oro	Bellasio	Paolo
7	Io non sò come vivo	Stabile	Annibale
8	Fuggite amanti Amor	Stabile	Annibale
9	Mentr'io fuggivo	Dragoni	Gio. Andrea
10	Spesso il canto ad amare	Griffi	Horatio
11	Pose un gran foco	Pellestrina	Gio da
12	Ohime crudele Amore	Barera	Rhodiano
13	Vedrassi prima senza luce	Pellestrina	Gio da
14	Di che cor mio	Nanino	Gio: Maria
15	Se dal tuo foco altiero	Soriano	Francesco
16	Bella d'amor guerriera	Giovanelli	Ruggero
17	Quando miro il bel volto	Quagliato	Paolo
18	Tal di vostri occhi foco esce	Quagliato	Paolo
19	O mio soave foco	Stabile	Pompeo
20	Se'l raggio de vostr'occhi	Marentio	Luca
21	O miser quel che spera in donna	Bellasio	Paolo
22	Donna nel vostro volto	Bellasio	Paolo

3. 1591, with dedication dated 20.03.1591, 20 canzonettas, last without composer's name and intabulations

Copy GB-Lbl K.8.h.23

<http://purl.org/rism/BI/1591/12> (accessed 25.11.2014)

	TITLE DEDICATION	1591 CARD. DI LORENA	RACCOLTE ... 20.03.1991
4	Hor che vezzosa e bella	Anerio	Felice
5	Così soave stile	Anerio	Felice
6	Questi capelli d'oro	Bellasio	Paolo
7	Io non sò come vivo	Stabile	Annibale
8	Fuggite amanti Amor	Stabile	Annibale
9	Mentr'io fuggivo	Dragoni	Gio. Andrea
10	Spesso il canto ad amare	Griffi	Horatio
11	Pose un gran foco	Pellestrina	Gio da
12	Ohime crudele Amore	Barera	Rhodiano
13	Vedrassi prima senza luce	Pellestrina	Gio da
14	Di che cor mio	Nanino	Gio: Maria
15	Se dal tuo foco altiero	Soriano	Francesco
16	Bella d'amor guerriera	Giovanelli	Ruggero
17	Quando miro il bel volto	Quagliato	Paolo
18	Tal di vostri occhi foco esce	Quagliato	Paolo
19	O mio soave foco	Stabile	Pompeo
20	Se'l raggio de vostr'occhi	Marentio	Luca
21	O miser quel che spera in donna	Bellasio	Paolo
22	Donna nel vostro volto	Bellasio	Paolo
23	La Verginella		

Reprints using relief printing techniques

CANZONETTE À QUATTRO VOCI COMPOSTE DA DIVERSI ECCELLENTI MUSICI, NUOVAMENTE
DATE IN LUCE. VENICE: VINCENTI, 1597. PARTBOOKS.

RISM B/I 1597/14

Vogel (1892) Samml. 1597⁵

Contains 22 pieces ('La verginella' is missing), including one by Luzzaschi and one by Orologio

IL DEVOTO PIANTO DELLA GLORIOSA VERGINE, ET ALTRE CANZONETTE SPIRITUALI A 3 VOCI,
COMPOSTE NUOVAMENTE DA DIVERSI ECCELLENTI MUSICI

RISM B/I 1592/5

1 copy

Canto part, 1592, with dedication dated June 1592, 14 canzonettas, without intabulations

Copy GB-Lbl K.8.b.18

<http://purl.org/rism/BI/1592/5> (accessed 25.09.2017)

1	TITLE		
2	DEDICATION	PRINCIPE DI BAVIERA	MASSIMILIANO
3	Stava a piè della croce	Nanino	Gio: Maria
4	O quante afflitta	Nanino	Gio: Bern
5	Qual cor non piangori	Pacelli	Asprilio
6	Por suoi figli rubelli	Pacelli	Asprilio
7	O madre d'amor santo	Giovanelli	Rugg.o
8	Madre santa	Giovanelli	Rugg.o
9	Fà ch'io con pronta voglia	Santini	Prospero
10	Quando sia che'l sortisca	Santini	Prospero
11	Fà ch'io rimanga essangue	de Macque	Gio
12	Cosi di Croce armata	Macque	
13	All'hor ch'io penso a voi	Anerio	Felice
14	Mentre ch'io servo a voi	del Mel	Rinaldo
15	A mi chi vuol amaro	Nanino	Gio: Maria
16	La bellezza superna	Nanino	Gio: Maria

LODI DELLA MUSICA A 3 VOCI COMPOSTI DA DIVERSI ECC.TI MUSICI

RISM B/I 1595/6

Brown 1595₁₀Vogel (1892) Samml. 1595³

4 copies, 2 versions

1. no date, without dedication, 18 canzonettas, one without intabulations

Copy I-Bc R257

TITLE PAGE			
1 ^c	Ahi dolci e vaghi accenti	Nanino	Gio. Maria
2	E se tal' hor affetti	Nanino	Gio. Maria
3	Cosi un leggiadro canto	Nanino	Gio. Maria
4	Onde spieghin sue lodi	Nanino	Gio. Maria
5	Spesso i l canto	Macque	Gio, de
6	E sopra gl'arbuscelli	Macque	Gio, de
7	E i travagliati amanti	Macque	Gio
8	Se dunque il dolce canto	Macque	Gio, de
9	Allhor che di bei fiori	Giovanelli	Ruggiero
10	E da verdi boschetti	Giovanelli	Ruggiero
11	Al suon di cornamusa	Anerio	Felice
12	Quando il fido pastore	del Mel	Rinaldo
13	All tremolar de l'onde	Anerio	Felice
14	L'amoroso Delfino lascia i profondi		
15	E le celesti sfere	del Mel	Rinaldo
16	Mentre il canoro Cigno	Nanino	Gio. Bernardino
17	Ecco del canto	Nanino	Bernardino
18	E voi muse gradite	Nanino	Bern.no

^c None of the copies of the *Lodi della Musica* have plate numbers.

2. 1595, without dedication, 18 canzonettas, one without intabulations

Copies GB-Lbl K.8.d.7

<http://purl.org/rism/BI/1595/6> (accessed 25.09.2017)

D-Mbs 4 Mus.pr 10#Beibd.1

<http://stimmbuecher.digitale-sammlungen.de/view?id=bsb00074059> (accessed 25.09.2017)

I-Pca N 1189 C III

	TITLE PAGE		1595
1	Ahi dolci e vaghi accenti	Nanino	Gio. Maria
2	E se tal' hor affetti	Nanino	Gio. Maria
3	Cosi un leggiadro canto	Nanino	Gio. Maria
4	Onde spieghin sue lodi	Nanino	Gio. Maria
5	Spesso il canto	Macque	Gio, de
6	E sopra gl'arbuscelli	Macque	Gio, de
7	E i travagliati amanti	Macque	Gio
8	Se dunque il dolce canto	Macque	Gio, de
9	Allhor che di bei fiori	Giovanelli	Ruggiero
10	E da verdi boschetti	Giovanelli	Ruggiero
11	Al suon di cornamusa	Anerio	Felice
12	Quando il fido pastore	del Mel	Rinaldo
13	All tremolar de l'onde	Anerio	Felice
14	L'amoroso Delfino lascia i profondi		
15	E le celesti sfere	del Mel	Rinaldo
16	Mentre il canoro Cigno	Nanino	Gio. Bernardino
17	Ecco del canto	Nanino	Bernardino
18	E voi muse gradite	Nanino	Bern.no

REPRINTS USING RELIEF PRINTING TECHNIQUES

Canzonette alla romana de diversi eccellissimi musici romani a tre voci. Antwerp: Pierre Phalèse, 1607. RISM B/I 1607/14, Vogel (1892) Samml. 1607²
Includes eleven compositions from the *Lodi della Musica* and the compositions from *Canzonette à quattro voci* (Venice: Gardano, 1601).

TOCCATE D'INTAVOLATURA D'ORGANO DI CLAUDIO MERULO DA CORREGGIO ... LIBRO PRIMO
 (Verovio, Rome, 1598)
 individual copies not examined

DIALOGO PASTORALE AL PRESEPIO DI NOSTRO SIGNORE COMPOSTE DA GIO. FRANCESCO
 ANERIO ROMANO

RISM A/I A 1095

Vogel (1977) 68

1 copy, 1600 with dedication, 16 canzonettas with intabulations

Copy I-REm Mus.Prof.300

	TITLE PAGE		r600
	DEDICATION		...07.r600
1	Nell'apparir	Anerio	Gio. Francesco
2	Gloria cantato	Anerio	Gio. Francesco
3	Onde la verso	Anerio	Gio. Francesco
4	Quivi trovaro	Anerio	Gio. Francesco
5	Giunti i Pastori	Anerio	Gio. Francesco
6	Poi cominciare	Anerio	Gio. Francesco
7	Io dicea l'uno	Anerio	Gio. Francesco
8	Io dicea l'altro	Anerio	Gio. Francesco
9	Io mi vo por	Anerio	Gio. Francesco
10	Et io vo' pianger	Anerio	Gio. Francesco
11	Io vo' tor meco	Anerio	Gio. Francesco
12	Et io del latte	Anerio	Gio. Francesco
13	Io vo' pregarlo	Anerio	Gio. Francesco
14	Et io vo dirli	Anerio	Gio. Francesco
15	Io non vo' chieder	Anerio	Gio. Francesco
16	Et io vo' gir	Anerio	Gio. Francesco

MADRIGALI DI LUZZASCHO LUZZASCHI PER CANTARE ET SONARE. A UNO, E DOI,
E TRE SOPRANI

RISM A/IL 3129

Vogel (1892) Luzzaschi, L. 7

Vogel (1977) 1524

2 copies, 1 version

1. 1601, with dedication, 12 madrigals with intabulations for harpsichord only

Copies I-Rsc G.CS.1.C.16

US-Wc M1490 L 96

<https://loc.gov/item/ihas.200154752> (accessed 25.09.2017)

TITLE PAGE	1601	
DEDICATION	DI ... IO.1601	
Aura soave	Luzzaschi	Luzzascho
O primavera	Luzzaschi	Luzzascho
Ch'io non t'ami	Luzzaschi	Luzzascho
Stral pungente	Luzzaschi	Luzzascho
Deh deh vieni	Luzzaschi	Luzzascho
Cor mio deh non	Luzzaschi	Luzzascho
I' mi son giovinetta	Luzzaschi	Luzzascho
O dolcezz' amarissime	Luzzaschi	Luzzascho
Troppo ben puo	Luzzaschi	Luzzascho
T'amo mia vita	Luzzaschi	Luzzascho
Non sà che sia	Luzzaschi	Luzzascho
Occhi del pianto	Luzzaschi	Luzzascho

TOCCATE D'INTAVOLATURA D'ORGANO DI CLAUDIO MERULO DA CORREGGIO ...

LIBRO SECONDO

(Verovio, Rome, 1604)

individual copies not examined.

Ottavio Durante ARIE DEVOTE

RISM A/I D 3975

Vogel (1977) 887

Kurtzman-Schnoebelen 2013, Durante 1608 D3975

4 copies

1. 1608, with dedication dated 01.01.1608

Copy I-Rsc G.SC.2.C.44 (many differences in the plates)

	TITLE		1608
	DEDICATION	CARDINAL MONTALTO	10.10.1608
	A Lettori 1		
	A Lettori 2		
	Tavola (=index)		
1	Scorga Signor	Durante	Ottavio
2	Angelus ad pastores	Durante	Ottavio
3	Estote fortes	Durante	Ottavio
4	Magnificat tertij Toni	Durante	Ottavio
6	Magnificat octavi Toni	Durante	Ottavio
10	Verbum caro	Durante	Ottavio
11	Beata es	Durante	Ottavio
12	Iam quod quaesivi	Durante	Ottavio
13	Si bona suscepimus	Durante	Ottavio
14	Hei mihi	Durante	Ottavio
15	O sacrum convivium	Durante	Ottavio
16	O Domine Iesu	Durante	Ottavio
17	Miserere mei Deus	Durante	Ottavio
24	Aspice Domine	Durante	Ottavio
25	Filiae Hierusalem	Durante	Ottavio
26	Gaudent in caelis	Durante	Ottavio
27	O Rex Glorïae	Durante	Ottavio
28	Regina Caeli	Durante	Ottavio

29	Voce mea	Durante	Ottavio
30	Signor' che del peccato	Durante	Ottavio

2. 1608, with dedication dated 01.01.1608
Copy I-Rsc G.SC.2.D.16.1

	TITLE PAGE		1608
	DEDICATION	CARDINAL MONTALTO	01.01.1608
1	Scorga Signor	Durante	Ottavio
2	Angelus ad pastores	Durante	Ottavio
3	Estote fortes	Durante	Ottavio
4	Magnificat tertij Toni	Durante	Ottavio
6	Magnificat octavi Toni	Durante	Ottavio
10	Verbum caro	Durante	Ottavio
11	Beata es	Durante	Ottavio
12	Iam quod quaesivi	Durante	Ottavio
13	Si bona suscepimus	Durante	Ottavio
14	Hei mihi	Durante	Ottavio
15	O sacrum convivium	Durante	Ottavio
16	O Domine Iesu	Durante	Ottavio
17	Miserere mei Deus	Durante	Ottavio
24	Aspice Domine	Durante	Ottavio
25	Filiae Hierusalem	Durante	Ottavio
26	Gaudent in caelis	Durante	Ottavio
27	O Rex Glorïae	Durante	Ottavio
28	Regina Caeli	Durante	Ottavio
29	Voce mea	Durante	Ottavio
30	Signor' che del peccato	Durante	Ottavio
	A Lettori 1		
	A Lettori 2		
	Tavola (=index)		

3. 1608, with dedication dated 01.01.1608

Copy I-Rsc G.CS. 2.C.25.3

TITLE PAGE		1608
DEDICATION	CARDINAL MONTALTO	01.01.1608
A Lettori 1		
A Lettori 2		
Tavola (=index)		
1 Scorga Signor	Durante	Ottavio
2 Angelus ad pastores	Durante	Ottavio
3 Estote fortes	Durante	Ottavio
4 Magnificat tertij Toni	Durante	Ottavio
6 Magnificat octavi Toni	Durante	Ottavio
10 Verbum caro	Durante	Ottavio
11 Beata es	Durante	Ottavio
12 Iam quod quaesivi	Durante	Ottavio
13 Si bona suscepimus	Durante	Ottavio
14 Hei mihi	Durante	Ottavio
15 O sacrum convivium	Durante	Ottavio
16 O Domine Iesu	Durante	Ottavio
17 Miserere mei Deus	Durante	Ottavio
24 Aspice Domine	Durante	Ottavio
25 Filiae Hierusalem	Durante	Ottavio
26 Gaudent in caelis	Durante	Ottavio
27 O Rex Glorïae	Durante	Ottavio
28 Regina Caeli	Durante	Ottavio
29 Voce mea	Durante	Ottavio
30 Signor' che del peccato	Durante	Ottavio

4. 1624 (in ink?), with dedication dated 01.01.1608

Copy I-Bc Z80, middle gathering missing

http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/viewschedatwbca.asp?path=/cmbm/images/ripro/gaspari/_Z/Z080/ (accessed 25.09.2017)

	TITLE		1624
	DEDICATION	CARDINAL MONTALTO	01.01.1608
1	Scorga Signor	Durante	Ottavio
2	Angelus ad pastores	Durante	Ottavio
3	Estote fortes	Durante	Ottavio
4	Magnificat tertij Toni	Durante	Ottavio
6	Magnificat octavi Toni	Durante	Ottavio
10	Verbum caro	Durante	Ottavio
11	Beata es	Durante	Ottavio
16	O Domine Iesu	Durante	Ottavio
17	Miserere mei Deus	Durante	Ottavio
24	Aspice Domine	Durante	Ottavio
25	Filiae Hierusalem	Durante	Ottavio
26	Gaudent in caelis	Durante	Ottavio
27	O Rex Gloriae	Durante	Ottavio
28	Regina Caeli	Durante	Ottavio
29	Voce mea	Durante	Ottavio
30	Signor' che del peccato	Durante	Ottavio

MISCELLANEOUS REPRINTS

Lodi e canzonette spirituali. Raccolte da diversi autori: & ordinate secondo le varie maniere de' versi. Aggiuntavi à ciascuna maniera le loro arie nuove di musica à tre voci assai dilettevoli. Per poter non solo leggersi ad honesto diporto dell'anima: ma ancora cantarsi ò in publico nelle chiese, oratorij, et dottrine.

Naples: Longo, 1608.

Contains various compositions from the *Diletto spirituale*, *Ghirlanda* and the *Devoto pianto*.

RISM B/I 1608/4.

Rinaldo del Mel *Madrigaletti spirituale a tre voci, libro quarto*. Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1596.

Includes the 'Stabat Mater' from the *Canzonette spirituali a 3* (1591/1599)

RISM A/IM 2203

Triodia Sacra, sive modi musici ternis vocibus tam ad tironum, quam peritiorum usum facti, et partim ex lectis auctoribus delecti, partim recens conditi. Liber I. Dillingen: Metzler, 1605 (Bernhard Klingenstein)

Includes some Peetrino compositions from the prints associated with Verovio

RISM B/I 1605/1

Appendix II: Canons in the prints associated with Verovio

DILETTO SPIRITUALE

Laudate dominum	Canon à 4	Title page
Ad Dominum cum tribularer clamavi	Canon à 4	below the intabulations of Felice Anerio 'Iesu decus angelicum'
Auxilium meum	Canon ad Unisonum a 4	below the intabulations of Ruggiero Gio- vanelli 'Iesu summa benignitas'
Illumina oculos meos	Canon a 3 all'unisono	below the intabulations of G. P. Pal- estrina 'Iesu rex admirabilis'
In te domine speravi	Canon all'unisono a cinque	below the intabulations of Ruggiero Gio- vanelli 'Iesu sole serenior'
In Domino laetabitur anima mea	Canon a 4 di quarta in quarta	below the intabulations of G. P. Pal- estrina 'Tua Iesu dilectio'
De profundis clamavi ad te Domine	Canon ad unisonum A 4	below the intabulations of Felice Anerio 'Tunc amplexus'

JUBILO DI S. BERNARDO

In nomine Iesu	Canon A 4	title page
----------------	-----------	------------

DIALOGO PASTORALE

Gloria in excelsis deo	Canon A 4	title page
Et in terra pax hominibus	Canon A 4	title page
Et in terra pax hominibus	Canon A 3	title page
Verbum caro	Canon A 4	title page

Appendix III: Dedications

DILETTO SPIRITUALE

Dedicatee: Antonio Boccapadule

All' Ill.^{re} et molto R.^{do} Sig.^{re} et mio P.^{rone} oss.^{mo} il Sig.^{or} Antonio Boccapadule.

La prima volta, che io baciai le mani a V S.^{ria} si degnò di ricevermi con tanta benignità, et con sì caldo affetto presta si dimostrò a giovarmi, che dove bramavo che ella mi conoscesse per suo diuotiss.^o; obbligatiss.^o le rimasi, con infinito mio contento. onde non isperando io, non dico di sottrarmi al peso del debito, di poter sodisfare alla minima parte di quanto le devo; acciò si accresca, se esser può, maggior.^{mente} l' obbligo mio, la supp.^{co} a favorirmi di prender con fronte serena, questo dono che le porgo con tutto l'aio, il q.^{uale} a V. S. sarà testim.^o della mia gratitud.^e et almeno le servirà per diporto alcuna volta. et le faccio humilm.^{te} riverenza, pregandoli felicità intiera. Di Roma alli x di Novembre M. D. Lxxxvi.

D. V. S. Ill.^{re} et molto R.^{da}

Ser.^{re} humilissimo Simone Verovio.

ESSEMPARE DI XIII LINGUE PRINCIPALISSIME

Dedicatee: Card. Di Verona

All' Ill.^{mo} er R.^{mo} Mons.^{re} il Card. Di Verona.

Sapendo io Ill.^{mo} et R.^{mo} Monsignore la generosità dell'animo suo d'ogni nobil virtù generaliss.^{mo} albergo hò preso humilmente ardire questa picciola operetta dedicargli et consecrargli. Di Roma a di 31 di Maggio 1587

D. V S.^{ria} Ill.^{ma} e R.^{ma}

Humiliss.^o ser.^{re} Nicolo van Aelst

IL PRIMO LIBRO DELLI ESSEMPI DI SIMONE VEROVIO

Dedicatee: Antonio Boccapadule

All' Ill.^{re} et molto R.^{s.re} et p.^{ron} mio oss.^{mo} il s.^{re} Antonio Boccapadule Canonico di S. Pietro, et secr.^{rio} de brevi secreti di N. signore.

Crescono ogni giorno, i meriti di V S.^{ia} et. i. suoi favori verso di me, et credami che cresce parimenti anzi ch'è giunto al colmo il desiderio, che hò io di servirla: del quale se non apparisce alcun effetto, è, per mancamento di potere, et non danimo. Mà hora per dargliene un segno benche piccolo, hò preso ardire di publicare questi mie fatiche con l'honorato nome di lei. Però la prego à degnarsi di aggradirle, et di conservar me nella gratia, et protectione sua, et riverentemente le bacio le mani. Di Roma à di 30 di luglio M.D.Lxxxvii.

Di V. S. Ill.^{re} et molto R.

Ser. Humiliss.^{mo} Simone Verovio

DI IACOPO PEETRINO IL PRIMO LIBRO DEL JUBILO DI S. BERNARDO

Dedicatee: Antonio di Montfort

All' Ill.^{mo} sig.^{re} il sig.^f Antonio Conte di Montfort, Sig.^{re} in Brigantio, Tetnang, Arge, e Wasserburg &c. Maiordomo delli figliuoli dell'Alt.^{za} di Baviera s.^f mio oss.^{mo}.

Non stà rinchiuso il nome di V S.^{ria} Ill.^{ma} ne termini solam.^{ente} dell'Alemagna, mà fin quà a Roma

risuona la fama delle nobiliss.^e qualità sue. Et io particolarmente dell'III.^{mo} S.^r Jacomo Fuccaro Camerier di S. Beat.^{ne} mio sig.^{re} et di lei stretto parente più volte hò sentito celebrarla, et raccontare come con l'altezza del grado, et della dignità sua ha congiunta una singolar cortesia, et grandezza d'animo, et come ella hà intelligenza, et gusto delle buone arti, et della Musica principalmente. Onde io desiderando di dedicare questa mia operetta a personaggio che fusse ad essa, et all'autore di presidio, et d'ornamento, non poteva fare migliore elettectione che mandarla fuore honorata et illustrata col chiariss.^o nome di lei si come anco con non minor giuditio che amorevolezza mi hà eshortato à fare il sodetto III.^{mo} Sig.^r Jacomo. Picciolo è ueram.^{ente} il dono, et per se stesso, et per la grandezza del s.^{re} a cui è donato, mà grande l'affetto del donatore Questo almeno si degni V. S. III.^{ma} di aggradire, et tener me nella gratia, et protezione sua come ser.^{re} di part.^{re} osser.^{za} et divoto verso di lei. Di Roma a dì p.^o di Febraro 1589

D. V. III.^{mo}

Divotiss.^o Ser.^{re} Jacomo Peetrino

GHIRLANDA DI FIORETTI MUSICALI

Dedicatee: Capitan Vincenzo Stella

All' III.^{re} S.^{re} e p.^{ron} mio oss.^{mo} il S.^r Capitan Vincenzo Stella.

La molta amorevolezza che V. Sig.^{ria} mi hà mostrata, et il piacere ch'ella suol sentire delle virtù, et particolarment.^{ente} della musica, m'hanno indotto à dedicarle la presente mia fatica. Supp.^{co} V S.^{ria} a degnarsi di aggradirla in segno della molta osservanza mia verso di lei, et del desiderio che tengo di hauer qualche occasione di servirla. Et con ogni affetto le bacio le mani. Di Roma a dì 10 d'Agosto 1589.

Di V. S.^{ria} III.^{re} oblig.^{mo} Serv.^{re} Simone Verovio.

CANZONETTE À QUATTRO VOCI COMPOSTE DA DIVERSI ECC.TI MUSICI

Dedicatee: Cardinal di Lorena

All'III.^{mo} et R.^{mo} Sig.^{re} ei P.^{ron} mio Col.^{mo} Il sig.^r Card. di Lorena.

Il gran piacere che V. Sig.^{ria} III.^{ma} sente nell'ascoltar la musica, dimostra al mondo la perfettione dell'animo suo. Ond'io, che mi persuado, che ella come perfetto Principe si compiaccia de piccioli doni dati con puro affetto da pouero donatore; le dedico queste canzonette Romane, accioche le porga occasione di Ricrearsi alcuna volta et insieme le accenni, che son tanto avido della sua gratia, quanto desideroso della intiera sua felicità, la quale dal S.^{re} Dio le prego di tutto cuore et quì a V. Sig.^{ria} III.^{ma} con ogni humiltà faccio riverenza. Di Roma a 20 di Marzo 1591.

Di V. S. III.^{ma} et Reu.^{ma} Deuotiss.^o et Humiliss.^o Seru.^e Simone Verovio.

CANZONETTE SPIRITUALI A 3 VOCI (*canto 1599*)

Dedicatee: Duca di Mantova

Al Sereniss.^{mo} Sig.^{re} et P.^{ron} mio Col.^{mo} Il s. Duca di Mantova etc.

La pietà di V. A. ser.^{ma} et la santità del luogo nel qual si trova han^{po} incitato me à dedicare a lei q.^{te} canzonette; con pensiero, che ascoltandole mentre ella visiterà le chiese antiche de gloriosi Martiri, si accrescano fiam^{me} al suo ai.^o acceso di celeste amore. Gradisca dunq. la mia buona mente, et riceva con lieta fronte il dono, che le offerisco, il q.^{al} per essere spirituale, è grande, et è degno

di Christiano Principe. Faccio humiliss.^{te} riverenza à V.A. Ser.^{ma} et le desidero intiera felicità. Di Roma à 15 di 9.^{bre} 1599

D V Alt.^{za} ser.^{ma}

Humiliss.^o Serv.^{re} Simone Verovio

IL DEVOTO PIANTO DELLA GLORIOSA VERGINE

Dedicatee: Duca Massimiliano di Baviera

Al Ser.^{mo} Principe, et s.^{mo} mio Clem.^{mo}. il s.^{re} Duca Massimil.^{no} di Baviera, Conte Palatino del Rheno et cet.

A Principe in cui la virtù dell'ai^o con la nobilità del sangue congiunta rende soave et armoniosa melodia non potrà non aggradire un armonioso dono di poche canzonette da varij Musici composte, et di mia mano scritte, et intagliate, offertogli con humile sì mà affettuos.^{mo} core. Ricopra in osso l'A. V. ogni difetto, et in guidardone, non del poco, che gli offerisco, ma del molto che offerirgli bramo, si degni pormi nel numero di quelli che di tutto core la servono.

Di Roma à di ... di Giugno 1592

D. V. A. Ser.^{ma}

Humiliss.^{imo} servi.^{re} Simone Verovio.

TOCCATE D'INTAVOLATURA D'ORGANO DI CLAUDIO MERULO DA CORREGGIO ...LIBRO PRIMO

Dedicatee: Cardinal Farnese

All Ill.^{mo} et R.^{mo} S et P.^{ron} mio Col.^{mo} il Sig. Card Farnese

Havendo io ottenuto dall'amorevolezza del sig.^r Claudio Merulo da Correggio huomo per l'eccellenti virtù sue, et particolarment.^{te} per quella della Musica, et in ispetie del suono d'organo molto ben conosciuto dal mondo, le presenti Compositioni per intagliarle in rame, si come ho fatto, et per publicarle, per utile, et diletto de' virtuosi, che le stanno di continuo bramando; mi è parso conveniente di dedicarle a V. S. Ill.^{ma}, si perche ella colla nobilità della Ser.^{ma} sua casa porta congiunte tutte le più rare virtù, che à Principe par suo si convengono, et non isdegna talhora per ricrearsi dalle sue gravi occup.ⁿⁱ di sentire i sonori concerti di Valenthuomini, et si etiandio percioche servendo il S.^{re} Claudio al Ser.^{mo} S. Duca fratello di V: S: Ill.^{mec}, par giusto, che si come egli hà dedicate tutte l'opere del suo ingegno ad esso Ser.^{mo} s.^r suo fr.^{ello}, così io dedichi queste poche fatiche della mia mano insieme con dette opere a V. S. Ill.^{mo} la quale humilissim.^{te} supp.^o ad aggradire il dono che io le faccio, et ad accettar me nel numero de' suoi più devoti serv.^{ri} à cui con ogni sommissione m'inchino, et prego Dio che le conceda perpetuo augumento di felicità. Di Roma questo di 20. d'agosto 1598

D. V. S.^a Ill.^{ma} et R.^{ma}

Devotissimo et Humiliss.^o Servitore Simone Verovio

DIALOGO PASTORALE AL PRESEPIO DI NOSTRO Signore COMPOSTE DA GIO. FRANCESCO AN-
ERIO ROMANO

Dedicatee: Sig. Duca di Bar, Principe di Lorena

Al Sereniss.^{mo} Sig. et P.^{ron} Mio Colen.^{mo} Il Sig.^{or} Duca di Bar, Principe di Lorena etc.

Già sono nove anni che ritrovandosi in Roma l'Illustriss.^o S.^{or} Card. fratello di V. Altezza Sereniß.^a splendore del Sacro Collegio et di questa Corte, io dedicai al suo glorioso nome un Opera di

Canzonette da me intagliate, et stampate, la qual fù da S. S. Illustrill.^a ricevuta benignamente. Hora che l'A. V. è quì condotta questo anno del santissimo Iubileo, in segno di esser altrettanto pia, quanto grande, mi è parso convenevole di dedicarli il presente Dialogo Pastorale, pur da me intagliato. Sperando che ella sia non meno per aggredirlo, di quello, che già aggradisse l'altra opera l'Ill.^{mo} S.^{or} suo fratello. poiche è ugualmente con esso amatore delle virtù, et in spetie della Musica Dio n.^{ro} Signore guardi l'A. V. Serenissima, et accresca grandezza et felicità. Di Roma a ... di Luglio 1600

Di V^{ra} Altezza Sereniss^a

Devotiss.^o et Humiliss.^o Serv.^{re} Simone Verovio.

MADRIGALI DI LUZZASCHO LUZZASCHI PER CANTARE ET SONARE

Dedicattee: Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini

All'Illustriss. et Reverendiss. signore et p^{rone} mio Col.^{mo} Il Sig.^{re} Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandino Sopra intendente dello stato Ecclesiastico per tutta Italia et Legato a latere, et Vicario Generale in temporale et spirituale nella città et Ducato di Ferrara etc.

Trà le più rare meraviglie c'hebbe nella sua Corte la gran memoria del S.^{or} Duca Alfonso mio sig.^{re}, rara et singulare per giuditio di tutti fu la musica di Dame principalissime: le quali servendo alla sig.^{ria} Duchessa Margherita moglie di lui rendevano col canto loro in un tempo ossequio et diletto a quelle Ser.^{me} Altezze; Ma poichè restò colla morte del sig.^{or} Duca quella Musica spenta, io che v'hebbi gran parte hò desiderato per quanto a me si concede di ravvivarla, portando nella luce del mondo Madrigali, che composti da me furon cantati da quelle Ill.^{me} Signore et come questi miei parti nacquero in virtù del gratioso comandamento di quel Principe mio benefattore, così col favor di V S. Ill.^{ma} et R.^{ma} mio benignissimo signore et Padrone, sperano di vivere al mondo honorati dell'altissima protezione del nome suo, al quale non hò dubitato di dedicargli, et di sperar etiandio che debbano esser da lei graditi con quella humanità che è propria virtù delli animi più grandi. Con ogni humiltà sup.^o dunq. V. Sig.^{ria}. Ill.^{ma} et R.^a a non rifiutar questi componimenti, et insieme con essi la sincerità del mio devotissimo affetto. Io intanto con ogni riverenza inchinandomeli prego Dio ch'adempia nella Ill.^{ma} sua persona il desiderio di tutti i buoni concedendole il sommo d'ogni grandezza et d'ogni prosperità. Di Ferrara a di ... d'Ottobre 1601

D. V. Sig.^{ria} Ill.^{ma} et R.^{ma}

Humiliss. et Devotiss.^o serv.^{re} Luzzasco Luzzashi

TOCCATE D'INTAVOLATURA D'ORGANO DI CLAUDIO MERULO DA CORREGGIO ... LIBRO SECONDO

Dedicattee: Bernardino di Savoia

All Ill.^{mo} et Ecc.^{mo} S.^{or} et P.^{ron} mio Colendiss.^o Il sig.^{or} Bernardino di Savoia Mons.^{or} Di Racconiggi etc.

Il sig.^{re} Claudio Merulo da Correggio, che sia in cielo, si come con altro tanto amore corrispondeva all'osservanza che li portavo; che non era punto inferiore a i suoi meriti, così trovandosi egli la state passata appresso di V Ecc.^{za} li piacque di notificarmi le sue rare qualità, il suo valore et il conto ch'ella tiene de virtuosi et sopra tutto della Musica di maniera, che ciascuna di q.^{este} parti dinotando maggiorm^{te} quella nobiltà, che è in lei mi messi in animo di affaticarmi, per dar fine ad un'opera di esso, già cominciato da me, per dedicarla per propria mia inclinazione a V. E.

et non per l'istanza fattamene da lui; il che non hò dubbio ch'ella crederà agevolmente, poiche havendola finita hora, et non prima, la dedico alla sua cortesia con ogni affetto, reputando io che V. E. sia per gradirla tanto più, quanto che servirà per un segno del desiderio, che hò ardentiss.^{mo} di servirla, et dell'affettione, et gratia sua, della quale havendo ella fatto meritevole il s.^{or} Claudio, per le singolari virtù ch'erano in lui, spero anco, che ne farà degno me, per la professione che farò sempre di sui serv.^{re} et come tale bagiando à V. Ece.^{za} le mani prego Dio che le concede ogni maggior felicità etc. Di Roma a di 30 d'ottobre 1604.

D V S Ill.^{ma} et Ecc.^{ma}

Humilissimo et Devotissimo serv.^{re} Simone Verovio

Ottavio Durante, ARIE DEVOTE

Dedicatee: Cardinal Montalto

All' Ill.^{mo} et R.^{mo} Sig. et P.^{ron} mio Colen.^{mo} Il Signor Cardinal Montalto

Si come Castore Durante mio Padre, mentre visse, era molto Servitore di casa Peretti, e si dimostrò tale, con dedicar alla felice memoria di Sisto V, il Thesoro della sanità; così volend'io imitar i vestigij paterni, vengo à dedicar à V. S.^{ria} Ill.^{ma} le presenti Arie, sapendo quanto diletto si prende di diverse Virtù, e particolarmente della Musica affettuosa, come ne fa chiaro testimonio il copioso numero de' Virtuosi, che tiene al suo servitio; che si può dir con verità che questa Virtù risplende hoggi di in Casa sua, quanto in ogn'altro luogo. Gradisca dunq. V. S. Ill.^{ma} questo mio affetto, e non risguardi alla debolezza dell'effetto, ch'io trà tanto facendole humilissima riverenza, pregarò il s.^{or} Iddio che conservi la Persona sua per molti e molti anⁿⁱ. Di Casa in Roma A di p.^o di Gennaio 1608

di V. S. Ill.^{ma} er R.^{ma}

Devotissimo Serv.^{re} Ottavio Durante

No extant copies of the *Lodi della musica* or the *Melodie spirituali* contain dedications.

Appendix IV : Canzonettas

in alphabetical order according to the composers

COMPOSER ^a		CANZONETTA	ANTHOLOGY
(anonymous)		La Verginella	<i>Canzonette à quattro voci</i>
(anonymous)		L'amoroso Delfino lascia i profondi	<i>Lodi della musica</i>
Anerio	Felice	Iesu decus angelicum	<i>Diletto spirituale</i>
Anerio	Felice	Tunc amplexus	<i>Diletto spirituale</i>
Anerio	Felice	Rex virtutum	<i>Diletto spirituale</i>
Anerio	Felice	O beatum incendium	<i>Diletto spirituale</i>
Anerio	Felice	Al suon non posa il core	<i>Ghirlanda</i>
Anerio	Felice	Fiamme che da begl'occhi	<i>Ghirlanda</i>
Anerio	Felice	Donna se il cor legasti	<i>Ghirlanda</i>
Anerio	Felice	Mentr' il mio miser core	<i>Ghirlanda</i>
Anerio	Felice	Giesù de penitenti	<i>Canzonette à 3</i>
Anerio	Felice	Hor che vezzosa e bella	<i>Canzonette à quattro voci</i>
Anerio	Felice	Cosi soave stile	<i>Canzonette à quattro voci</i>
Anerio	Felice	All'hor ch'io penso a voi	<i>Devoto pianto</i>
Anerio	Felice	Al suon di cornamusa	<i>Lodi della musica</i>
Anerio	Felice	All tremolar de l'onde	<i>Lodi della musica</i>
Anerius	Felix	O Iesu mi dulcissime	<i>Diletto spirituale</i>
Barera	Rhodiano	Ohime crudele Amore	<i>Canzonette à quattro voci</i>
Bellasio	Paolo	Questi capelli d'oro	<i>Canzonette à quattro voci</i>
Bellasio	Paolo	O miser quel che spera in donna	<i>Canzonette à quattro voci</i>
Bellasio	Paolo	Donna nel vostro volto	<i>Canzonette à quattro voci</i>
Costa	Gasparo	Se fredda è la mia donna	<i>Ghirlanda</i>
Crivello	Archangelo	Io me n'avedo amore	<i>Ghirlanda</i>
del Mel	Rinaldo	Se questa valle	<i>Diletto spirituale</i>
del Mel	Rinaldo	Deh lasciam dunque	<i>Diletto spirituale</i>
del Mel	Rinaldo	Stabat mater dolorosa	<i>Canzonette à 3</i>
del Mel	Rinaldo	Mentre ch'io servo a voi	<i>Devoto pianto</i>
del Mel	Rinaldo	Quando il fido pastore	<i>Lodi della musica</i>
del Mel	Rinaldo	E le celesti sfere	<i>Lodi della musica</i>
Dragoni	Gio. Andrea	Mentr'io fuggivo	<i>Canzonette à quattro voci</i>

COMPOSER ^a		CANZONETTA	ANTHOLOGY
Giovanelli	Rugieri	Iesu summa benignitas	<i>Diletto spirituale</i>
Giovanelli	Rugieri	Iesu sole serenior	<i>Diletto spirituale</i>
Giovanelli	Rugieri	Tu mentis delectatio	<i>Diletto spirituale</i>
Giovanelli	Ruggiero	Vermiglio e vago fiore	<i>Ghirlanda</i>
Giovanelli	Ruggiero	Fugge da gl'occhi il sonno	<i>Ghirlanda</i>
Giovanelli	Ruggiero	Si vaga è la mia fiamma	<i>Ghirlanda</i>
Giovanelli	Rugg.o	Santi baci soavi abbracciamenti	<i>Canzonette à 3</i>
Giovanelli	Ruggero	Bella d'amor guerriera	<i>Canzonette à quattro voci</i>
Giovanelli	Rugg.o	O madre d'amor santo	<i>Devoto pianto</i>
Giovanelli	Rugg.o	Madre santa	<i>Devoto pianto</i>
Giovanelli	Ruggiero	Allhor che di bei fiori	<i>Lodi della musica</i>
Giovanelli	Ruggiero	E da verdi boschetti	<i>Lodi della musica</i>
Griffi	Horatio	Del'alma sospirosa unica speme	<i>Canzonette à 3</i>
Griffi	Horatio	Spesso il canto ad amare	<i>Canzonette à quattro voci</i>
Ingegneri	M. Antonio	L'alma più che ti gusta più ti brama	<i>Canzonette à 3</i>
Locatello	Gio. Battista	Donna gentil voi siete	<i>Ghirlanda</i>
de Macque	Gio	Fà ch'io rimanga essangue	<i>Devoto pianto</i>
Macque	Gio	O dolce rimembranza	<i>Canzonette à 3</i>
Macque	Gio	Dolcissimo amor mio	<i>Canzonette à 3</i>
Macque	Gio	Fà buon Giesù chiosenta nel mio core	<i>Canzonette à 3</i>
Macque		Cosi di Croce armata	<i>Devoto pianto</i>
Macque	Gio, de	Spesso il canto	<i>Lodi della musica</i>
Macque	Gio, de	E sopra gl'arbuscelli	<i>Lodi della musica</i>
Macque	Gio	E i travagliati amanti	<i>Lodi della musica</i>
Macque	Gio, de	Se dunque il dolce canto	<i>Lodi della musica</i>
Marentio	Luca	Spiega mondo maligno	<i>Diletto spirituale</i>
Marentio	Luca	Qual paura	<i>Diletto spirituale</i>
Marentio	Luca	Donna se nel tuo volto	<i>Ghirlanda</i>
Marentio	Luca	Giesu più risplendente	<i>Canzonette à 3</i>
Marentio	Luca	Se'l raggio de vostr'occhi	<i>Canzonette à quattro voci</i>
Nanini	Io Mariae	Quando cor nostrum visitas	<i>Diletto spirituale</i>
Nanini	Io Mariae	Iesus in pace imperat	<i>Diletto spirituale</i>
Nanini	Ioan Mariae	Iesu spes penitentibus	<i>Diletto spirituale</i>

COMPOSER ^a		CANZONETTA	ANTHOLOGY
Nanino	Gio: Maria	Tutta gentile e bella	<i>Ghirlanda</i>
Nanino	Gio Maria	Non può lingua narrare	<i>Canzonette à 3</i>
Nanino	Gio: Maria	Di che cor mio	<i>Canzonette à quattro voci</i>
Nanino	Gio: Maria	Stava a piè della croce	<i>Devoto pianto</i>
Nanino	Gio: Bern	O quante afflitta	<i>Devoto pianto</i>
Nanino	Gio: Maria	A mi chi vuol amaro	<i>Devoto pianto</i>
Nanino	Gio: Maria	La bellezza superna	<i>Devoto pianto</i>
Nanino	Gio. Maria	Ahi dolci e vaghi accenti	<i>Lodi della musica</i>
Nanino	Gio. Maria	E se tal' hor affetti	<i>Lodi della musica</i>
Nanino	Gio. Maria	Così un leggiadro canto	<i>Lodi della musica</i>
Nanino	Gio. Maria	Onde spieghin sue lodi	<i>Lodi della musica</i>
Nanino	Gio. Bernardino	Mentre il canoro Cigno	<i>Lodi della musica</i>
Nanino	Bernardino	Ecco del canto	<i>Lodi della musica</i>
Nanino	Bern.no	E voi muse gradite	<i>Lodi della musica</i>
Orlandino	Antonio	Ingiustissimo amore	<i>Ghirlanda</i>
Pacelli	Asprilio	Giesù solo piacer dell'alma	<i>Canzonette à 3</i>
Pacelli	Asprilio	Qual cor non piangori	<i>Devoto pianto</i>
Pacelli	Asprilio	Por suoi figli rubelli	<i>Devoto pianto</i>
Pacello	Asprilio	De gli beati spiriti	<i>Canzonette à 3</i>
Peetrino	Jacomo	Scalda signor	<i>Diletto spirituale</i>
Peetrino	Jacomo	Ardenti miei sospiri	<i>Ghirlanda</i>
Peetrino	Jacomo	Poiche mesto e dolente	<i>Ghirlanda</i>
Palestina	Gio	Ahi, che questi occhi miei	<i>Ghirlanda</i>
Palestina	Gio	Da così dotta man sei fatto	<i>Ghirlanda</i>
Pellestrina	Gio da	Pose un gran foco	<i>Canzonette à quattro voci</i>
Pellestrina	Gio da	Vedrassi prima senza luce	<i>Canzonette à quattro voci</i>
Prenestini	Joan Petri Aloysij	Iesu rex admirabilis	<i>Diletto spirituale</i>
Prenestini	Joannis Petri Aloysij	Tua Iesu dilectio	<i>Diletto spirituale</i>
Prenestini	Joan Aloysij	Iesu flos matris virginis	<i>Diletto spirituale</i>
Quagliato	Paolo	Ancora che tu m'odii, anima mia	<i>Ghirlanda</i>
Quagliato	Paolo	Quando miro il bel volto	<i>Canzonette à quattro voci</i>
Quagliato	Paolo	Tal di vostri occhi foco esce	<i>Canzonette à quattro voci</i>
Ricordi	Jacomo	Io ardo o Filli	<i>Ghirlanda</i>
Santini	Prospero	Giesù Padre et autor d'ogni clemenza	<i>Canzonette à 3</i>

COMPOSER ^a		CANZONETTA	ANTHOLOGY
Santini	Prospero	Fà ch'io con pronta voglia	<i>Devoto pianto</i>
Santini	Prospero	Quando sia che'l sortisca	<i>Devoto pianto</i>
Soriano	Francesco	O gloriosa donna	<i>Diletto spirituale</i>
Soriano	Francesco	Vscio dal ciel	<i>Diletto spirituale</i>
Soriano	Francesco	Ameni colli, vaghi monticelli	<i>Ghirlanda</i>
Soriano	Francesco	Vedo ogni selva rivestir le frondi	<i>Ghirlanda</i>
Soriano	Francesco	Se dal tuo foco altiero	<i>Canzonette à quattro voci</i>
Stabile	Annibal	Donna, donna tue chiome d'oro	<i>Ghirlanda</i>
Stabile	Annibal	Ohime partito è'l mio bel sol	<i>Ghirlanda</i>
Stabile	Annibale	Io non sò come vivo	<i>Canzonette à quattro voci</i>
Stabile	Annibale	Fuggite amanti Amor	<i>Canzonette à quattro voci</i>
Stabile	Pompeo	O mio soave foco	<i>Canzonette à quattro voci</i>
Verovio	Simone	Giesu sommo conforto	<i>Diletto spirituale</i>
Zucchelli	Gio. Battista	Mentre l'aguila sta mirando il sole	<i>Ghirlanda</i>
Zucchelli	Gio. Battista	Ohime crudele amore	<i>Ghirlanda</i>

^a As found in the canzonetta prints.

Appendix V: Examples of canzonettas

- | | |
|----------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Francesco Soriano | Ameni colli, vaghi monticelli |
| 2. Felice Anerio | Iesu decus Angelicum |
| 3. Felice Anerio | Fiamme che da begl'occhi |
| 4. Simone Verovio | Giesu sommo conforto |

Ameni colli, vaghi monticelli

Francesco Soriano

from

Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali

The musical score is presented in a multi-staff format. It includes:

- Vocal Lines:** Two staves for the voice, with lyrics: "A - me-ni col - li, va-ghi mon-ti - cel - li A - me-ni" and "A - me-ni col - li va-ghi mon-ti".
- C. (Cello):** A grand staff with treble and bass clefs.
- L. (Lute):** A grand staff with treble and bass clefs.
- Basso Continuo:** A single staff with figured bass notation: 0 0 3 2 2 3 0 2 3 3 3 1 0 0 2 2 5 3.

6

col - li, va - ghi mon - ti - cel - li Fre - sche fon - ta - ne e

cel - - - li Fre - sche fon - ta - ne e di -

va - ghi mon - ti - cel - li Fre - sche fon - ta - ne e di -

0	2	0	1	3	2	0	0	0	2	4	4	2	3	0	5	3	3	2	3	2	3	5	5	3	5	3	
3	3	3	3	2	0	0	0	2	4	4	4	2	2	2	3	2	3	2	3	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	3
2	2	2	2	0	0	0	0	2	4	4	4	2	2	2	3	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	3

12

di - let - to - se ri - ve Di fiori a - dor - ni ver -
 - let - to - se ri - ve Di fiori a - dor -
 - let - to - se ri - ve Di fiori a - dor - ni ver -

The score consists of three systems. The first system includes a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment (grand staff). The second system continues the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The third system includes a guitar chord diagram above a set of six strings with fret numbers.

5	4	5	3	0	0	5	3
5	3	5	2	3	0	5	5
3	3	0	0	2	2	3	1
						0	0

22

san - do il cor s'appa - ga e vi - - ve

san - do il cor s'appa - ga e vi - - ve

san - do il cor s'appa - ga e vi - - ve

3 0 | 0 0 0 0 | 5 4 5 5 | 0 2 0 |

1 3 | 0 0 0 | 5 3 5 5 | 3 3 3 3 | 3 0 3 2 | 3 |

0 2 | 3 5 5 3 2 0 | 3 3 3 3 | 2 0 0 0 | 0 |

Iesu decus angelicum

Felice Anerio

from

Diletto spirituale

Ie - su de - cus an - ge - li-cum In
 Ie - su de - cus an - ge - li-cum In au - re
 Ie - su de - cus an - ge - li-cum In au - re

C. (C. = Chitarra) and L. (L. = Lute) parts are shown with their respective staves. The lute part includes a tablature at the bottom of the page.

Tablature: 0 0 0 | 2 0 3 3 0 0 0 4

Fingering: 0 0 3 | 2 0 2 2 0 5 5 3

3

The musical score consists of five systems. The first system includes a vocal line with lyrics: "au - re dul - ce can - - - - - ti -". The second system continues the vocal line: "dul - ce can - - - - - ti -". The third system continues: "dul - - - - ce can - - - - # - - ti -". The fourth system shows the piano accompaniment with a treble and bass clef. The fifth system shows guitar tablature for the piano accompaniment.

0	2	3	0	2	3	5	3	5	7	5	3	5	7	5	3	2	5	3	2									
2	3	0	2	3	5	3	2	3	5	3	2	0	2	4	2	4	1	3	0	2	3	5	2	4	0	2	5	4

7

de nec - tar coe li - cum in cor -
 de nec - tar coe - li - cum In cor - de
 de - nec - tar coe - li cum in cor - -

0 4 0 4 2 2 0 2 0 3 2 3 2 0
 3 5 3 2 3 3 3 2 3 2 0 3 2 0 2 0 3 0
 2 0 3 0 2 3 2 0 3 0 3 2 0 2 0 0

9

de nec - tar coe - li cum

nec - tar coe - li - cum

- de nec - tar coe - li cum

2 3 0 3 2 3 0 0 | 0 . . .

3 0 2 3 3 3 3 2 0 | 3 . . .

3 0 2 3 3 3 3 0 2 0 | 2 . . .

0

3

cite ad in-fiam-mar m'il pet - - - - to
 gra-dite us - cite ad in-fiam - mar m'il pet - - - - to
 dite us - cite ad in-fiam-mar m'il pet - - - - to

0 2 3 0 2 4 0 4 2 0 0 3 2 0 0
 3 0 2 1 0 3 2 0 3 0 2 3 0 2 3 0 0 5 0 4 2
 3 5 3 0 3 0 2 0 3 2 0 3 0 2 3 0 2 4 5 4 5

6 7

E m'a-brug-giate il co-re Ohi-me Ohi-

E m'a-brug-giate il co-re Ohi-me Ohi-

E m'ab-brug-giate il co-re Ohi-me Ohi-

3 0 2 3 2 2 2 2 0 4 0 0 3 4 0 0 0 3 2 3

0 0 2 0 2 2 3 0 3 2 2

8

- me non tant' ar - do - re non tant' ar - do - re non

me non tant' ar - do - re non

0 0 2 0 0 3 3 0 0 1 0 3 2 0 2 0 3 2 0 3 2 3 2

3 2 3 2 4 4 0 3 2 0 2 0 2 0 3 2 3 2

0 0

Giesu sommo conforto

from
Diletto spirituale

Simone Verovio

The musical score is arranged in five systems. The first three systems are for vocal parts: Soprano (top), Alto (middle), and Bass (bottom). The lyrics 'Giesu sommo conforto' are written below each vocal line. The fourth system is for piano accompaniment, with Cello (C.) and Double Bass (L.) parts. The fifth system is a figured bass line for the basso continuo, showing fingerings and ornaments for the left hand.

Figured bass line (left hand):

C	5	4	5	2	4	1	3	3	0
3	2	4	5	4	2	0	0	2	3
2	2	2	4	2	2	0	0	2	0

6

to - re O gran bon - tà dol -

to - re O gran bon - tà dol -

re - den - to - re O gran bon - ta dol -

2 4 2 | 2 0 0 3 2 | 4 0 | 2 0 2 5 | 4 3 2 3 0 2 3 2 3

0 0 0 3 2 | 4 0 | 2 0 2 5 | 4 3 2 3 0 2 3 2 3

0 2 0 3

9

- ce pie - tà fe - li - ce quel fe - li - ce

ce pie - tà fe - li - ce quel fe - li - ce - quel

ce pie - tà fe - li - ce quel fe - li - ce

0 2 4 4 5 3 0 0 2 5
 2 3 4 4 3 2 3 2 2 4 5 0 3
 0 0 2 2 0 2 2 4 5 0

11

Musical score for a canzonetta, featuring vocal lines and piano accompaniment. The score is in 3/4 time and consists of five systems. The first system includes a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano line (treble and bass clefs). The second system includes a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano line (treble and bass clefs). The third system includes a vocal line (bass clef) and a piano line (treble and bass clefs). The fourth system includes a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano line (treble and bass clefs). The fifth system includes a guitar fingering line (treble clef) and a piano line (treble and bass clefs).

The lyrics are:

quel che teco _____ u - ni - to stà
 che teco _____ u. - ni - to stà
 quel che teco _____ u - ni - to stà

The guitar fingering line shows the following fingerings:

3	0	3	3	2	4	2
2	3	2	0	2	3	2
0	2	0	0	2	3	0
0	2	0	0	2	3	0

Bibliography

PRIMARY SOURCES

1. Music prints

- Agazzari, Agostino. *Del sonare sopra'l basso con tutti li stromenti e dell'uso loro nel concerto*. Siena: Domenico Falcini, 1607. Facs. Bologna: Forni, 1985.
- Agazzari, Agostino. *Sacrarum cantionum liber II opus V motectorum*. Venice: Ricciardo Amadino, 1608.
- Anerio, Giovanni Francesco. *Dialogo pastorale al Presepio di Nostro Signore*. Rome: Simone Verovio, 1600.
- Anerio, Giovanni Francesco. *Gagliarde a quattro voci intavolate per sonare sul cimbalo et sul liuto, libro primo*. [Rome]: [n. p.], [n.d.].
- Antico, Andrea. *Frottole intabulate da sonare organi, libro primo*. Rome: Antico, 1517. Facs. Bologna: Forni, 1984.
- Banchieri, Adriano. *L'Organo suonarino*. Bologna: Ricciardo Amadino, 1605/1611. Facs. Ed. Bologna: Forni, 1978.
- Banchieri, Adriano. *Ecclesiastiche sinfonie, dette canzoni in aria francese, a quattro voci, per sonare, & cantare, & sopra vn Basso seguente concertare entro l'Organo: opera sedicesima*. Venice: Ricciardo Amadino, 1607.
- Banchieri, Adriano. *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo*. Bologna: Heredi di Giovanni Rossi, 1609. Facs. Bologna: Forni, 1981.
- Banchieri, Adriano. *Gemelli armonici che avicendevolmente concertano ... parto ventesimo primo*. Venice: Ricciardo Amadino, 1609.
- Banchieri, Adriano. *Cartella Musicale*. Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1614.
- Barbarino, Bartolomeo. *Il Secondo Libro de Madrigali de diversi Avttori posti in musica da Bartolomeo Barbarino da Fabriano, detto il Pesarino. Per cantare sopra, il Chitarrone ò Tiorba, Clauicimbalo, ò altri stromenti da vna voce sola, con un Dialogo di Anima e Caronte*. Venice: Ricciardo Amadino, 1607.
- Barbarino, Bartolomeo. *Il Primo Libro de Mottetti di Bartolomeo Barbarino da Fabriano detto il Pesarino. Da cantarsi da vna voce sola, o in Soprano, o in Tenore come più il Cantante si compiacerà. Dedicati all'Illustrissimo et Reverendissimo Monsignor Giuliano della Rouere. Nuouamente posto in luce*. Venice: Ricciardo Amadino, 1610.
- Bermudo, Juan. *Declaracion de instrumentos musicales*. Osuna: Juan de Leon, 1555.
- Bianciardi, Francesco. *Breve Regola per imparar' a sonare sopra il Basso con ogni sorte d'Istrumento*. Siena: Falcini, 1607.
- Bianciardi, Francesco. *Sacrarum modulationum, quae vulgo motecta: liber IV*. Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1608.
- Blanco [Bianchi or Blancus], C. *Scelta d'esempi*. Rome: I. B. Rossi, 1635.
- Bonini, Severo. *Il primo libro de mottetti a tre voci*. Venice: Alessandro Raverio, 1609.

- Böddecker, Philipp Jakob. *Manuductio nova methodico-practica ad Bassum generalem*. Stuttgart: Treu, 1701. Facs. Stuttgart: Cornetto Verlag, 1997.
- Bottrigari, Ercole. *Il desiderio overo de' concerti di varij strumenti musicali*. Venice: Ricciardo Amadino, 1594.
- Brunetti, Domenico. *Unica voce, binis, ternis, quaternis, et pluribus ad usum ecclesie varij concertus, cum gravi, & acuto ad organum*. Venice: Alessandro Raverio, 1609.
- Caccini, Giulio. *Le nuove musiche*. Florence: Heirs of Giorgio Marescotti, 1601/1602.
- Castiglione, Sabba. *Ricordi overo Ammaestramenti di Monsignor Sabba Castiglione Cavalier Gerosolomitano. Ne quali con prudenti, e Christiani discorsi si ragiona di tutte le materie honorate, che si ricercano à un vero gentil'huomo*. Milan: Giovann' Antonio de gli Antonii, 1559.
- Cavalieri, Emilio de'. *Rappresentazione di Anima, et di Corpo*. Rome: Nicolo Mutii, 1600.
- Cima, Gian Paolo. *Concerti ecclesiastici a una, due, tre, quattro voci, con doi a cinque, et uno a otto, messa, e doi Magnificat*. Milan: eredi di Simon Tini e Filippo Lomazzo, 1610.
- Conforto, Giovanni Luca. (1593). *Breve et facile maniera di essercitarsi*. Rome: [n. p.], 1593. Facs. with German translation by Johannes Wolf. Berlin: Breslauer, 1922.
- Coppini, Aquilino. *Musica tolta da i madrigali di Claudio Monteverde, e d'altri autori*. Milan: Tradate, 1607.
- Corteccia, Francesco. *Musiche fatte nelle nozze*. Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1539.
- Curione, Ludovico. (1588). *Lanotomia delle Cancellaresche corsive & altre maniere di Lettere ... Libro secondo*. Rome: All'insegna del Martello.
- Curione, Ludovico. *Il Teatro Delle Cancellaresche corsive per Secretari et altre maniere di Lettere: Libro terzo*. Rome: All'insegna del Martello, 1593.
- Curione, Ludovico. *Scelta di caratteri di lettere*. Rome: [n. p.], 1593.
- da Gagliano, Marco. *La Dafne*. Florence: Marescotti, 1608.
- da Milano, Francesco. *Intabolatura da leuto del drvino Francesco da Milano*. [n. p.]: [n. p.], [c. 1536].
- da Milano, Francesco. *Intabolatura di liuto de diversi*. Venice: Francesco Marcolini da Forlì, 1536.
- da Milano, Francesco. *Intabolatura di liuto*. Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1561.
- Dolce, Lodovico. *Dialogo di M. Lodovico Dolce della institutione delle donne. Secondo li tre stati, che cadono nella vita humana*. Venice: Gabriele Giolito de' Ferrari, 1545.
- Diruta, Girolamo. *Il Transilvano: Dialogo sopra il vero modo di sonar organi et istromenti da penna*. Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1593. Facs. Bologna: Forni, 1983.
- Diruta, Girolamo. *Seconda Parte del Transilvano*. Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1609/1622. Facs. Bologna: Forni, 1983.
- Durante, Ottavio. *Arie devote*. Rome: Simone Verovio, 1608.
- Erasmus, Desiderius. *De recta Latini Graecique sermonis pronuntiatione*. Paris: Simon Colin, 1528.
- Facoli, Marco. *Secondo libro d'intavolatura di balli d'arpicordo, pass'e mezzi, saltarelli, padoane, & alcuni aeri novi dilettevoli, da cantar ogni sorte de rima*. Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1588.
- Fallamero, Gabriele. *Il primo libro de intavolatura da liuto ...* Venice: Scotto, 1584.
- Fiorino, Gaspare. *La nobiltà di Roma: versi in lode di cento gentildonne romane et le vilanelle a tre voci*. Venice: Scotto, 1571.
- Foscarini, Giovanni Paolo. *I quattro libri della chitarra spagnola*. [n. p.]: [n. p.], [n. d.].
- Foscarini, Giovanni Paolo. *Li cinque libri della chitarra spagnola*. Rome: [n. p.], 1640.
- Frescobaldi, Girolamo. *Toccate e partite d'intavolatura di cembalo ... novamente da lui date in luce, &*

- con ogni diligenza corrette. Libro primo. Partite e toccate libro primo.* Rome: Borboni, 1616 /1637. Facs. Florence: SPES, 1978.
- Frescobaldi, Girolamo. *Il secondo libro di toccate.* Rome: Borboni, 1627/1637. Facs. Florence: SPES, 1978.
- Galilei, Vincenzo. *Fronimo dialogo di Vincentio Galilei fiorentino, nel qual si contengono le vere, Et necessarie regole del Intavolare la Musica nel Liuto. Posto nuouamente in luce, & da ogni errore emendato.* Venice: Scotto, 1568 (colophon: 1569).
- Galilei, Vincenzo. *Dialogo di Vincentio Galilei nobile Fiorentino della musica antica, et della moderna.* Florence: Giorgio Marescotti, 1581.
- Galilei, Vincenzo. *Fronimo dialogo di Vincentio Galilei nobile fiorentino, sopra l'arte del bene intavolare, et rettamente sonare la musica negli strumenti artificiali si di corde comedi fiato, & in particolare nel liuto. Nuovamente ristampato.* Venice: L'Herede di Girolamo Scotto, 1584.
- Giacobbi, Gieronimo. *Prima parte de i salmi concertati a due e piu chori.* Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1609.
- Gozze, Nicolò Vito di. *Governo della famiglia.* Venice: Aldo, 1589.
- Heinichen, Johann David. *Der Generalbass in der Composition.* Dresden: Heinichen, 1728.
- Kapsberger, Giovanni Girolamo. *Libro Primo D'Intavolatura di Chitarone ... Raccolto dal sig. Giacomo Antonio Pfender.* Venice: [n. p.], 1604.
- Kapsberger, Giovanni Girolamo. *Libro primo D'Intavolatura di Lauto ... Raccolto dal sig. Filippo Nicolini.* Rome: [n. p.], 1611
- Kapsberger, Giovanni Girolamo. *Libro Primo di Arie Passeggiate à una voce ... Raccolto dal sig. cav. fra Iacomo Christoforo Ab Andlaw.* Rome: [n. p.], 1612
- Kapsberger, Giovanni Girolamo. *Libro Primo di Mottetti passeggiati à una voce ... Raccolte dal sig. Francesco de Nobili.* Rome: [n. p.], 1612.
- Lieto, Bartolomeo. *Dialogo quarto de musica.* Naples: Matthio Cancer, 1559.
- Luzzaschi, Luzzasco. *Il primo libro de' madrigali.* Ferrara: de' Rossi, 1571.
- Luzzaschi, Luzzasco. *Madrigali ... per cantare, et sonare a uno, e doi, e tre soprani.* Rome: Verovio, 1601.
- Malvezzi, Cristofano, Giovanni de' Bardi, Emilio de' Cavalieri, Luca Marenzio, Jacopo Peri. *Intermedii et concerti, Fatti per la Commedia rappresentata in Firenze Nelle Nozze del Serenissimo Don Fernando Medici e Madama Christina di Lorena, Gran Duchi in Toscana.* Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1591.
- Massaino, Tiburzio. *Partitura nel sonar nell'organo della musica a una, due, & tre voci.* Venice: Alessandro Raverio, 1607.
- Melli, Pietro Paolo. *Intavolatura di liuto attiorbato libro secondo.* Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1616.
- Mercator, Gerardus. *Litterarum latinarum, quas Italicas, curiosasque vocant scribendarum Ratio.* Leuven: Rutgerus Rescius, 1540.
- Merula, Tarquinio. *Il primo libro delle canzoni a quattro voci per sonare con ogni sorte de strumenti musicali con il basso generale.* Venice: Stampa del Gardano appresso Bartolomeo Magni, 1615.
- Merulo, Claudio. *Toccate d'intavolatura d'organo ... libro primo.* Rome: Simone Verovio, 1598.
- Merulo, Claudio. *Toccate d'intavolatura d'organo ... libro secondo.* Rome: Simone Verovio, 1604.
- Monteverdi, Claudio. *Scherzi musicali a tre voci.* Venice: Ricciardo Amadino, 1607.

- Müller, Andreas. *Neuwe teutsche Canzonetten*. Frankfurt am Main: Nicolas Stein, 1608. Facs. Stuttgart: Cornetto Verlag, 1997.
- Naventieri, G. *L'Alphabeto Delle Cancellaresche corsive et Maiuscole*. Rome: All'insegna del Luppo, 1600.
- Ortiz, D. *El primo libro de Diego Ortiz Tolletano Nel qual si tratta delle Glosse sopra le Cadenze & altre sorte de punti in la Musica del Violone nouamente posti in luce*. [De Diego Ortiz Toledano libro secondo.] Rome: Dorico, 1553. Facs. Florence: SPES, 1984.
- Peetrino, Jacobo. *Il primo libro del Jubilo di S. Bernardo con alcune canzonette Spirituali scritte & intagliate a tre et quattro voci*. Rome: Simone Verovio, 1586.
- Peetrino, Jacobo. *Il primo libro delle melodie spirituali*. Rome: [Simone Verovio], 1586.
- Peri, Jacopo. *Le varie musiche*. Florence: Marescotti, 1609.
- Praetorius, Michael. *Syntagma Musicum*. Wolfenbüttel: Holwein, 1614–1620. Facs. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1988.
- Quagliati, Paolo. *Canzonette spirituali de diversi*. Rome: Alessandro Gardano, 1585.
- Quagliati, Paolo. *Canzonette ... a tre voci per sonare et cantare ... libro primo*. Rome: Alessandro Gardano, 1588.
- Quagliati, Paolo. *Canzonette ... a tre voci per sonare et cantare ... libro secondo*. Rome: Alessandro Gardano, 1588.
- Rasi, Francesco. *Vaghezza di musica per una voce sola*. Venice: Angelo Gardano e fratelli, 1608.
- Rossi, Michelangelo. *Toccate e corrente d'intavolatura d'organo e cimbalo*. Rome: Borboni, 1633/1634.
- Ruinetti, Tomaso. *Idea del buon scrittore*. Rome: [n. p.], 1619.
- Sabbatini, Galeazzo. *Regola facile, e breve per sonare sopra il basso continuo, nell'organo, Manacordo, o altro Simile Stromento*. Venice: Salvadori, 1628.
- Terzi, Giovanni Antonio. *Intavolatura di liutto*. Venice: Ricciardo Amadino, 1593.
- Terzi, Giovanni Antonio. *Il secondo libro de intavolatura de liuto*. Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1599. Facs. Florence: SPES, 1981.
- Van Buyten, Martin. *Corona di varii caratteri per imparare a scrivere*. Naples: [n. p.], 1600.
- Venturi, Pompilio. *Il secondo libro delle vilanelle a tre voci*. Venice: Scotto, 1571.
- Verovio, Simone.
- *Diletto spirituale*. Rome: [Verovio], 1586.
 - *Essempiare di XIII lingue pricipalissime*. Rome: [Verovio], 1587.
 - *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali*. Rome: [Verovio], 1589.
 - *Canzonette à quattro voci*. Rome: [Verovio], 1591.
 - *Canzonette spirituali à 3 voci*. Rome: [Verovio], 1591.
 - *Il devoto pianto della gloriosa Vergine*. Rome: [Verovio], 1592.
 - *Essempiare di lettere cancellaresche corsive*. Rome: All'insegna del Martello, 1593.
 - *a 3 voci Lodi della musica*. Rome: [Verovio], 1595.
 - [Specimen sheet]. Rome: Giacomo Lauro, 1598.
- Viadana, Lodovico. *Cento Concerti Ecclesiastici a Una, a Due, a Tre, & a Quattro voci*. Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1602.
- Vicentino, Nicola. *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica*. Rome: Antonio Barre, 1555.
- Zarlino, Gioseffo. *Le istituzioni harmoniche*. Venice: Francesco Senese, 1561. Facs. Bologna: Forni, 1999.

- Zarlino, Gioseffo. *Le istituzioni harmoniche*. Venice: Francesco de I Francesci Senese, 1572.
- Zonca, Vittorio. *Novo teatro di machine et edificii per varie et sicure operationi*. Padua: Pietro Bertelli, 1607.

2. Manuscripts

- I-Fn Magl. XIX.115.
- I-Fn Magl. XIX.138.
- I-SGc MS.Arm.12.
- di Carlo G. Ms.
- Bismantova, Bartolomeo. (1677). *Compendio musicale*. I.Rem MSS.REGG. E 41 Facs. SPES Florence 1978. Ferrara.

SECONDARY SOURCES

- Adler, Guido (ed.). *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte Erster Teil*. Berlin: Hesse, 1924.
- Agee, Richard J. 'The Venetian Privilege and Music-Printing in the Sixteenth Century.' *Early Music History* 3 (1983): 1–42.
- Agee, Richard J. 'Constanzo Festa's *Gradus ad Parnassum*.' *Early Music History* 15 (1996): 1–58.
- Agee, Richard J. *The Gardano music printing firms, 1569–1611*. Eastman studies in music 11. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 1998.
- Aichinger, Gregor. *Ausgewählte Werke*. Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern X/1. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1909.
- Aichinger, Gregor. *Cantiones Ecclesiasticae*, ed. William E. Hetttrick. Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era 13. Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 1972.
- Ajmar-Wollheim, Marta, Flora Dennis, and Elizabeth Miller (eds.). *At Home in Renaissance Italy*. London: V&A, 2006.
- Albrecht, Dieter. *Maximilian I. von Bayern 1573–1651*. Munich: Oldenbourg, 1998.
- Allaire, Gaston G. 'Debunking the Myth of Musica Ficta.' *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 45 (1995): 110–125.
- Anderson, Gary Lee. 'The Canzonetta Publications of Simone Verovio: 1586–1595.' D.M.A. Diss., University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, 1976.
- Anerio, Giovanni Francesco. *Dialogo pastorale al presepio, di nostro signore: a tre voci con l'intavolatura del cembalo e del liuto*, ed. Arnaldo Morelli. Studi musicali romani, 2. Rome: Pro Musica Studium, 1983.
- Anerio, Giovanni Francesco. *Selva armonica (Rome, 1617)*, ed. Daniele Filippi. Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era 141. Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2006.
- Annibaldi, Claudio. 'Aldobrandini, Pietro.' In *Grove Music Online* [www.oxfordmusiconline.com].
- Annibaldi, Claudio. 'La didattica del Solcio Tracciato: Il Codice Chigiano Q.IV.29: Da Klavierbüchlein d'ignoti a prima fonte frescobaldiana autografa.' *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 20 (1985): 44–97.
- Annibaldi, Claudio. 'Ancora sulle messe attribuite a Frescobaldi: proposta di un profittevole

- scambio.' In *Girolamo Frescobaldi nel IV centenario della nascita*, edited by Sergio and Dinko Fabris, 125–152. Florence: Olschki, 1986.
- Annibaldi, Claudio. 'Il mecenate "politico": Ancora sul patronato musicale del cardinale Pietro Aldobrandini (ca. 1570–1621).' *Studi musicali* 16 (1987): 33–93.
- Annibaldi, Claudio. 'Il mecenate "politico": Ancora sul patronato musicale del cardinale Pietro Aldobrandini (ca. 1570–1621).' *Studi musicali* 17 (1988): 99–176.
- Annibaldi, Claudio. 'Palestrina and Frescobaldi: Discovering a Missing Link.' *Music and Letters* 79 (1998): 329–345.
- Annibaldi, Claudio. Review of *Roman Monody, Cantata, and Opera from the Circles around Cardinal Montalto*, by John Walter Hill. *Early Music History* 18 (1999): 365–398.
- Annibaldi, Claudio. "'The singers of the said chapel are chaplains of the pope": some remarks on the papal chapel in early modern times.' *Early Music* 39 (2011): 15–24.
- Annibaldi, Claudio, and Laura Callegari Hill. 'Musical Autographs of Frescobaldi and His Entourage in Roman Sources.' *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 43 (1990): 393–425.
- Antolini, Bianca Maria, Arnaldo Morelli and Vera Vita Spagnuolo (eds.). *La Musica a Roma attraverso le fonti d'archivio: Atti del Convegno internazionale Roma 4–7 giugno 1992*. Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana Editrice, 1994.
- Arnold, Franck Thomas. *The art of accompaniment from a thorough-bass: As practised in the XVIIIth & XVIIIth centuries*. 1931. Repr. Mineola, N.Y.: Dover, 2003.
- Ashworth, Jack, and Paul O'Dette. 'Proto-continuo.' In *A Performer's Guide to Renaissance Music*, edited by Jeffery T. Kite-Powell. Publications of the Early Music Institute, 2nd ed., 225–237. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2007.
- Assenza, Concetta. *La canzonetta dal 1570 al 1615: Premio internazionale Latina di studi musicali, 1992. Quaderni di Musica/Realtà* 34. Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1997.
- Barberi, Francesco. 'Libri e stampatori nella Roma dei papi.' *Studi Romani* 12 (1965): 433–456.
- Barberi, Francesco. 'Librai a Roma nel cinquecento.' *Accademie e Biblioteche d'Italia* 54 (1986): 15–19.
- Barbieri, Patrizio. 'Organi in forma di tavolino del Seicento Romano.' *Amici Dell'Organo* 2 (1982): 8–11.
- Barbieri, Patrizio. "'Chiavette" and modal transposition in Italian practice (c. 1500–1837).' *Recercare* 3 (1991): 5–79.
- Barbieri, Patrizio. 'On a continuo organ part attributed to Palestrina.' *Early Music* 22 (1994): 587–605.
- Barbieri, Patrizio. 'Musica, tipografi e librai a Roma: tecnologie di stampa e integrazione biografiche (1583–1833).' *Recercare* 7 (1995): 47–85.
- Barbieri, Patrizio. 'Corista, chiavette e intonazione nella prassi romana e veneto-bolognese del tardo rinascimento.' In *Ruggiero Giovanelli. musico eccellentissimo e forse il primo del suo tempo. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi*, edited by Carmela Bongiovanni and Giancarlo Rosticci, 433–457. Palestrina: Fondazione Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, 1998.
- Barbieri, Patrizio. 'Music printers and booksellers in Rome (1583–1600): With new documents on Coattino, Diani, Donangeli, Tornieri, and Franzini.' *Recercare* 16 (2004a): 69–112.
- Barbieri, Patrizio. 'Su alcuni stampatori e librai-editori musicali del tardo rinascimento ro-

- mano: nuovi documenti.' In *Roma donne libri tra Medioevo e Rinascimento. In ricordo di Pino Lombardi*, edited by Giuseppe Lombardi, 467–488. Rome: Roma nel Rinascimento, 2004b.
- Bartlett, Clifford, and Holman, Peter. 'Giovanni Gabrieli: A Guide to the Performance of his Instrumental Music.' *Early Music* 3 (1975): 25–32.
- Becherini, Bianca. 'Giovanni Francesco Anerio ed alcune sue Gagliarde per cembalo.' *La Bibliofilia* 41 (1939): 159–164.
- Bernstein, Jane A. 'Financial Arrangements and the Role of the Printer and Composer in Sixteenth-Century Italian Music Printing.' *Acta Musicologica* 93 (1991): 39–56.
- Bernstein, Jane A. *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice: the Scotto Press, 1539–1572*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Bernstein, Jane A. *Print Culture and Music in Sixteenth-Century Venice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Bernstein, Jane A. 'Publish or perish? Palestrina and print culture in 16th-century Italy.' *Early Music* 35 (2007): 225–235.
- Bernstein, Jane A. 'Made to Order: Choirbook Publications in Cinquecento Rome.' In *Uno gentile et subtile ingenio. Studies in Renaissance music in honour of Bonnie J. Blackburn*, edited by M. Jennifer Bloxam, Gioia Filocamo, and Leofranc Holford-Strevens, 669–676. Turnhout: Brepols, 2009.
- Bertolotti, Antonino. *Artisti belgi ed olandesi a Roma nei secoli XVI e XVII: notizie e documenti raccolti negli archivi romani*. Florence: Tipografia editrice della Gazzetta d'Italia, 1880.
- Besutti, Paola. 'The "Sala degli Specchi" uncovered: Monteverdi, the Gonzagas and the Palazzo Ducale, Mantua.' *Early Music* 27 (1999): 451–456, 159–461, 463–465.
- Bevilacqua, Nerina, and Cassani, Silvia (eds.). *Cinque secoli di stampa musicale in Europa: catalogo della mostra, Roma palazzo Venezia, giugno–luglio 1985*. Naples: Electa, 1985.
- Bianconi, Lorenzo. *Music in the seventeenth century*. Translated by David Bryant. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Billeter, Bernhard. 'Die Orgelwerke von Francesco Bianciardi.' In idem, *Musiktheorie und musikalische Praxis*, edited by Dominik Sackmann. Zürcher Musikstudien 4, 205–207. Bern: Peter Lang, 2004.
- Bizzarini, Marco. *Luca Marenzio: The career of a musician between the Renaissance and the Counter-Reformation*. Translated by James Chater. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003.
- Blackburn, Bonnie J., Edward E. Lowinsky, and Clement A. Miller. *A Correspondence of Renaissance Musicians*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991.
- Blair, Anne, and Anja-Sylvia Goeing (eds.). *For the Sake of Learning* (2 vols). Leiden: Brill, 2016.
- Bloxam, M. Jennifer, Gioia Filocamo, and Leofranc Holford-Strevens (eds.) *Uno gentile et subtile ingenio: Studies in Renaissance music in honour of Bonnie J. Blackburn*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2009.
- Boncella, Paul Anthony Luke. *The classical Venetian organ toccata: An ecclesiastical genre shaped by printing technologies and editorial policies*. New Brunswick: UMI, 1991.
- Bongiovanni, Carmela, and Giancarlo Rostirolla (eds.). *Ruggiero Giovanelli. musico eccellentissimo e forse il primo del suo tempo. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi*. Palestrina: Fondazione Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, 1998.
- Bonta, Stephen. 'The use of instruments in sacred music in Italy 1560–1700.' *Early Music* 18 (1990): 519–535.

- Bonta, Stephen. 'The use of instruments in the ensemble canzona and the sonata in Italy, 1580–1650.' *Recercare* 4 (1992): 23–43.
- Boorman, Stanley. 'A case of work and turn half-sheet imposition in the early sixteenth century.' *The Library*, Series 6, 8 (2005): 301–321.
- Boorman, Stanley. 'Petrucci's type-setters and the problem of stemmatics.' In *Formen und Probleme der Überlieferung mehrstimmiger Musik im Zeitalter Josquins Desprez*, edited by Ludwig Finscher, 245–280. Munich: Kraus International Publications, 1981.
- Boorman, Stanley. *Studies in the printing, publishing and performance of music in the 16th century*. Variorum Collected Studies 815. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005.
- Boorman, Stanley, et al. 'Printing and publishing of music.' In *Grove Music Online* [www.oxfordmusiconline.com].
- Borgir, Tharald. *The performance of the basso continuo in Italian baroque music*. Studies in Musicology 90. Ann Arbor, MI: UMI, 1987.
- Borsa, Gedeon. 'Computer-assisted examination of printing types of early printings.' *Különlenyomat a magyar könyvszemle* 2 (1971): 165–170.
- Borsa, Gedeon. *Clavis typographorum librariorumque Italiae: 1465–1600*. Baden-Baden: Valentin Koerner, 1980.
- Bötticher, Jörg-Andreas, and Jesper B. Christensen. 'Generalbass.' In *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, zweite neubearbeitete Ausgabe, ed. Ludwig Finscher, 3:1194–1255. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1995.
- Bradshaw, Murray C. 'Cavalieri and Early Monody.' *The Journal of Musicology* 9 (1991): 238–253.
- Brauner, Mitchell P. 'Music from the Capella Sistina at the Capella Giulia.' *The Journal of Musicology* 3 (1984): 287–311.
- Brauner, Mitchell P. 'The Catalogue of Raffaele Panuzzi and the Repertory of the Papal Chapel in the 15th and 16th Centuries.' *The Journal of Musicology* 8 (1991): 427–443.
- Bridges, Thomas W. 'Verovio, Simone.' In *Grove Music Online* [www.oxfordmusiconline.com].
- Briquet, C. M. Les Filgraines. *Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier*. Paris: Alphonse Picard et fils, 1907. [http://www.ksbm.oeaw.ac.at/_scripts/php/BR.php?IDtypes=96&lang=fr].
- Brown, Howard Mayer. 'Intabulation.' In *Grove Music Online* [www.oxfordmusiconline.com].
- Brown, Howard Mayer. 'Embellishment in early Sixteenth-Century Italian Intabulations.' *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 100 (1973–1974): 49–83.
- Brown, Howard Mayer. *Music in the Renaissance*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1976.
- Brown, Howard Mayer. *Instrumental music printed before 1600: A bibliography*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1979.
- Brown, Howard Mayer. 'The geography of Florentine monody: Caccini at home and abroad.' *Early Music* 9 (1981): 147–168.
- Brown, Howard Mayer. 'Petarch in Naples: Notes on the Formation of Giaches de Wert's Style.' In *Altro polo: Essays in Italian music in the Cinquecento*, edited by Richard Charteris, 16–50. Sydney: Frederick May Foundation for Italian Studies, 1990.
- Brown, Howard Mayer. 'Songs after Supper: How the Aristocracy Entertained themselves in the Fifteenth Century.' In *Musica privata. Die Rolle der Musik im privaten Leben. Festschrift zum 65. Geburtstag von Walter Salmen*, edited by Monika Fink, 37–52. Innsbruck/Neu Rum: Helbling, 1991.

- Bryant, David. 'The "Cori spezzati" of St Mark's: Myth and Reality.' *Early Music History* 1 (1981): 165–186.
- Bukofzer, Manfred F. *Music in the Baroque Era*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1947.
- Bury, Michael. *The Print in Italy: 1550–1620*. London: The British Museum Press, 2001.
- Busse Berger, Anna Maria. 'The Myth of *diminutio per tertiam partem*.' *The Journal of Musicology* 8 (1990): 398–426.
- Busse Berger, Anna Maria. Review of *A Correspondence of Renaissance Musicians* by Bonnie J. Blackburn, Edward E. Lowinsky, and Clement A. Miller. *Early Music History* 12 (1993): 191–203.
- Busse Berger, Anna Maria. *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.
- Calcagno, Mauro (ed.). *Perspectives on Luca Marenzio's secular music*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2015.
- Caldwell, John. 'Sources of early keyboard music to 1600.' In *Grove Music Online* [www.oxford-musiconline.com].
- Caella, Michele. 'Komposition und Intavolierung: musikalische Autoritäten in Galileis *Fronimo*.' In *Autorität und Autoritäten in musikalischer Theorie, Komposition und Aufführung*, edited by Laurenz Lütteken and Nicole Schwindt. Trossinger Jahrbuch für Renaissancemusik 3, 119–134. Kassel, New York: Bärenreiter, 2004.
- Campagne, Augusta. 'Die Anfänge des Generalbasses oder: Die Praxis des Begleitens im italienischen Frühbarock.' *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis* 19 (1995): 9–31.
- Campagne, Augusta. 'Simone Verovio: Intaglio Techniques Reveal Different Makers and Audiences.' In *Sources of Identity: Makers, Owners and Users of Music Sources before 1500* Tim Shephard and Lisa Coulton (eds.) Turnhout: Brepols, 2017.
- Canguilhem, Philippe. *Fronimo de Vincenzo Galilei* Turnhout: Brepols, 2001.
- Canguilhem, Philippe. 'Lorenzo Corsini's "Libri di Canzone" and the Madrigal in Mid-Sixteenth-Century Florence.' *Early Music History* 25 (2006): 1–57.
- Capri, Antonio. *Storia della musica dalle antiche civiltà orientali all musica elettronica*. Milano: Valardi, 1969.
- Carchiolo, Salvatore. *Una perfezione d'armonia meravigliosa: prassi cembalo-organistica del basso continuo italiano dalle origini all'inizio del XVIII secolo*. Lucca: Libreria musicale italiana, 2007.
- Carter, Tim. 'Jacopo Peri (1561–1633): Aspects of his Life and Works.' *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 105 (1978–1979): 50–62.
- Carter, Tim. 'Jacopo Peri.' *Music and Letters* 61 (1980): 121–135.
- Carter, Tim. 'On the composition and performance of Caccini's *Le nuove musiche* (1602).' *Early Music* 12 (1984): 208–217.
- Carter, Tim. 'Caccini's *Amarilli, mia bella*: Some questions (And a few Answers).' *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 113 (1988): 250–273.
- Carter, Tim. 'Music-Selling in Late Sixteenth-Century Florence: The Bookshop of Piero di Giuliano Morosi.' *Music and Letters* 70 (1989): 483–504.
- Carter, Tim. *Music in Late Renaissance and Early Baroque Italy*. Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1992.
- Carter, Tim. "'An Air New and Grateful to the Ear": The Concept of *Aria* in Late Renaissance and Early Baroque Italy.' *Music Analysis* 12 (1993): 127–145.

- Carter, Tim. 'Possente spirito: On taming the Power of Music.' *Early Music* 21 (1993): 517–520, 522–523.
- Carter, Tim. 'Intriguing Laments: Sigismondo d'India, Claudio Monteverdi, and Dido *alla parmigiana* (1628).' *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 49 (1996): 32–69.
- Carter, Tim. 'Re-reading *Poppea*: Some Thoughts on Music and Meaning in Monteverdi's Last Opera.' *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 122 (1997): 173–204.
- Carter, Tim. 'Lamenting Ariadne.' *Early Music* 27 (1999): 395–405.
- Carter, Tim. 'Singing *Orfeo*: on the performers of Monteverdi's first opera.' *Recercare* 11 (1999): 75–118.
- Carter, Tim. 'Printing the "New Music".' In *Music and the Cultures of Print*, edited by Kate van Orden, 3–37. New York: Garland, 2000.
- Carter, Tim. 'Two Monteverdi Problems and why they Matter.' *The Journal of Musicology* 19 (2002): 417–433.
- Carter, Tim. 'Renaissance, Mannerism, Baroque.' In *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, edited by Tim Carter and John Butt, 1–26. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Casimiri, Raffaele. 'Simone Verovio Da Hertogenbosch.' *Note d'archivio per la storia musicale* 10 (1933): 189–199.
- Casimiri, Raffaele. 'Simone Verovio: Aggiunte.' *Note d'archivio per la storia musicale* 11 (1934): 66–67.
- Cavallini, Ivano. 'Non solum princeps sed principis memoria. Vent'anni di studi su Giovanni Pierluigi Palestrina.' *Acta Musicologica* 67 (1995): 1–19.
- Charteris, Richard (ed.). *Altro polo. Essays in Italian music in the Cinquecento*. Sydney: Frederick May Foundation for Italian Studies, 1990.
- Charteris, Richard. 'A new keyboard work by Giovanni Gabrieli and the relevance of its compositional technique.' *Music and Letters* 85 (2004): 1–21.
- Charteris, Richard. *Johann Georg von Werdenstein (1542–1608): A major collector of early music prints*. Sterling Heights, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 2006.
- Chorpenning, Joseph F. *Christophorus Blancus' engravings for Jerónimo Gracián's Summary of the Excellencies of St. Joseph (1597)*. Philadelphia, PA: Saint Joseph's University Press, 1996.
- Christensen, Thomas. 'The Spanish Baroque Guitar and Seventeenth-Century Triadic Theory.' *Journal of Music Theory* 36 (1992): 1–42.
- Coelho, Victor Anand. 'Lute and Chitarrone Toccatas of "Il Tedesco della Tiorba".' In *Frescobaldi Studies*, edited by Alexander Silbiger. Duke studies in music, 137–156. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1987.
- Coelho, Victor Anand (ed.). *Performance on Lute, Guitar, and Vihuela: Historical Practice and Modern Interpretation*. Cambridge Studies in Performance Practice 6. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Cole, Janine. 'Cultural Clientelism and Brokerage Networks in Early Modern Florence and Rome. New Correspondence between the Barberini and Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger.' *Renaissance Quarterly* 60 (2007): 729–788.
- Collarile, Luigi. 'Claudio Merulo nell'intavolatura tedesca di Torino: il problema delle fonti. In *In*

- organo pleno. Festschrift für Jean-Claude Zehnder zum 65. Geburtstag*, edited by Luigi Collarile and Alexandra Nigito, 89–112. Bern, New York: Peter Lang, 2007a.
- Collarile, Luigi. 'Considerazioni sull'attività editoriale di Claudio Merulo (1566–1570).' *Fonti Musicali Italiane* 12 (2007b): 7–38.
- Collarile, Luigi. 'Nuove prospettive sul contesto editoriale delle *Canzoni d'intavolatura d'organo – Libro primo* (1592) di Claudio Merulo.' *Recercare* 20 (2008): 117–141.
- Collarile, Luigi, and Alexandra Nigito (eds.). *In organo pleno: Festschrift für Jean-Claude Zehnder zum 65. Geburtstag*. Bern, New York: Peter Lang, 2007.
- Couchman, Jonathan Paul. 'Felice Anerio's music for the church and for the Altemps Cappella.' PhD Diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1989.
- Court, Suzanne. 'The Role of the Lute in Sixteenth-Century Consorts: Evidence from Terzi's Intabulations.' *Performance Practice Review*, 8 (1995): 147–170.
- Crane, Nicholas. *Mercator: The Man who mapped the Planet*. London: Phoenix, 2002.
- Crawford, Tim. 'Dis-intabulations: Music reviews.' *Early Music* 30 (2002): 133–138.
- Crist, B. Harris. 'The "Professional Amateur": Noble Composers, Court Life, and Musical Innovation in late Sixteenth-Century Italy.' PhD Diss., Yale University, 2004.
- Croci, Marco. 'Il libro secondo di madrigali a quattro e cinque voci di Annibale Zoilo: Aspetti legati alla notazione in chiavette (1).' *La Cartellina* 33, Nr. 183 (2009): 23–33.
- Croci, Marco. 'Il libro secondo di madrigali a quattro e cinque voci di Annibale Zoilo: Aspetti legati alla notazione in chiavette (2).' *La Cartellina* 33, Nr. 186 (2009): 35–43.
- Culley, Thomas D. *Jesuits and Music: A Study of the Musicians connected with the German College in Rome during the 17th century and of their Activities in Northern Europe*. Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1970.
- Cummings, Anthony M. 'Toward an Interpretation of the Sixteenth-Century Motet.' *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 34 (1981): 43–59.
- Cusick, Suzanne G. *Valerio Dorico: Music Printer in Sixteenth-Century Rome*. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981.
- Cusick, Suzanne G. *Francesca Caccini at the Medici court: Music and the Circulation of Power*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2009.
- D'Accone, Frank A. *The Civic Muse: Music and Musicians in Siena during the Middle Ages and Renaissance*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1997.
- Darbellay, Etienne. *Le toccate e i capricci di Girolamo Frescobaldi: Genesi delle edizioni e apparato critico*. Monumenti musicali italiani, Suppl. ai voll. 4, 5, e 6. Milan: Suvini Zerboni, 1988.
- Davies, Drew E. 'On Music Fit for a Courtesan.' In *the Courtesan's Arts: Cross-Cultural Perspectives*, edited by Martha Feldman and Bonnie Gordon, 144–158. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- DeFord, Ruth I. 'Stabile, Annibale.' In *Grove Music Online* [www.oxfordmusiconline.com].
- DeFord, Ruth I. 'The Influence of the Madrigal on Canzonetta Texts of the Late Sixteenth Century.' *Acta Musicologica* 59 (1987): 127–151.
- DeFord, Ruth I. 'Marenzio and the villanella alla romana.' *Early Music* 27 (1999): 535–548, 550–552.
- Dell'Antonio, Andrew. *Listening as Spiritual Practice in Early Modern Italy*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011.

- De Nave, Francine, and Leon Voet. *Museum Plantin-Moretus Antwerpen*. Musea Nostra, Antwerp: Ludion 1995.
- Dennis, Flora. 'Music.' In *At Home in Renaissance Italy*, edited by Marta Ajmar-Wollheim, Flora Dennis, and Elizabeth Miller, 228–243. London: V&A, 2006.
- Devriès-Lesure, Anik. 'Technological Aspect.' In *Musical life in Europe 1600–1900: 1. Music publishing in Europe 1600–1900. Concepts and issues, bibliography*, edited by Rudolf Rasch, 64–88. Berlin: BWV Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2005.
- Di Pasquale, Marco. 'The instrumental contribution to Church Music in Northern Italy in the 15th and 16th Centuries: An Overview.' *Slovenska hubda* 22 (1996): 338–344.
- Dixon, Graham. 'The Origins of the Roman "Colossal Baroque".' *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 106 (1979–1980): 115–128.
- Dixon, Graham. 'G. F. Anerio (1567–1630) and the Roman school.' *The Musical Times* 121 (1980): 366–368.
- Dixon, Graham. 'Progressive Tendencies in the Roman Motet during the Early Seventeenth Century.' *Acta Musicologica* 53 (1981): 105–119.
- Dixon, Graham. 'Roman Church Music: The Place of Instruments after 1600.' *The Galpin Society Journal* 34 (1981): 51–61.
- Dixon, Graham. 'The Cappella of S. Maria in Trastevere (1605–45): An Archival Study.' *Music and Letters* 62 (1981): 30–40.
- Dixon, Graham. 'Lenten devotions. Some memoriae of Baroque Rome.' *The Musical Times* 124 (1983): 157–161.
- Dixon, Graham. 'The Performance of Palestrina: Some Questions, but Fewer Answers.' *Early Music* 22 (1994): 666–675.
- Dixon, Graham. "Behold Our Affliction": Celebration and Supplication in the Gonzaga Household.' *Early Music* 24 (1996): 250–261.
- Döhring, Sieghart. "Concerto delle dame". Die Madrigale Luzzaschis am Hof von Ferrara.' In *Traditionen-Neuansätze. Für Anna Amalie Abert (1906–1996)*, edited by Klaus Hortschansky, 193–202. Tutzing: Schneider, 1997.
- Dolata, David. 'Bellerofonte Castaldi (1580–1649) of Modena: Musician, Poet, and Adventurer.' *Acta Musicologica* 79 (2007): 85–111.
- Dragosits, Anne Marie. 'Giovanni Girolamo Kapsperger (ca. 1581–1651): Betrachtungen zu seinem Leben und Umfeld, seiner Vokalmusik und seinem praktischen Material zum Basso continuo-Spiel.' PhD Diss., Leiden University, 2012.
- Durante, Sergio. 'On *Artificioso* Compositions in the Time of Frescobaldi.' In *Frescobaldi Studies*, edited by Alexander Silbiger. Duke studies in music, 195–217. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1987.
- Durante, Sergio, and Dinko Fabris (eds.) *Girolamo Frescobaldi nel IV centenario della nascita*. Florence: Olschki, 1986.
- Durante, Sergio, and Anna Martellotti. *Cronistoria del concerto delle dame principalissime di Margherita Gonzaga d'Este*. Archivium Musicum Collana di studi A. Florence: SPES, 1989.
- Edwards, Rebecca A. 'Claudio Merulo: Servant of the State and Musical Entrepreneur in later Sixteenth-Century Venice.' PhD Diss., Princeton University, 1988.

- Eggebrecht, Hans Heinrich. 'Arten des Generalbasses im frühen und mittleren 17. Jahrhundert.' *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 2 (1957): 5–82.
- Ehrmann-Herfort, Sabine, Ludwig Finscher and Giselher Schubert (ed.). *Europäische Musikgeschichte*. Kassel: Metzler, 2002.
- Einstein, Alfred. *The Italian Madrigal*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949.
- Einstein, Alfred. 'Der stile nuovo auf dem Gebiet der profanen Kammermusik.' In *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte Erster Teil*, edited by Guido Adler, 370–385. Berlin: Hesse, 1924.
- Eisenstein, Elizabeth L. *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Engelhardt, Markus (ed.). *Musikstadt Rom: Geschichte – Forschung – Perspektiven*. Analecta musicologica 45. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2010.
- Esposito, Anna, and Carla Frova. *Collegi studenteschi a Roma nel Quattrocento: Gli statuti della Sapienza Nardina*. Rome: Viella, 2008.
- Fabris, Dinko. 'Lute tablature instructions in Italy: a survey of the *regole* from 1507 to 1759.' In *Performance on Lute, Guitar, and Vihuela: Historical Practice and Modern Interpretation*, edited by Victor Anand Coelho. Cambridge Studies in Performance Practice 6, 16–46. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Fabris, Dinko. Review of *Roman Monody, Cantata and Opera from the Circles around Cardinal Montalto*, by John Walter Hill. *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 125 (2000): 287–299.
- Fabris, Dinko. 'The Role of Solo singing to the Lute in the Origins of the *Villanella all'Napolitana*, c. 1530–1570.' In *Gesang zur Laute*, edited by Nicole Schwindt. *Trossinger Jahrbuch für Renaissance-musik* 2, 133–145. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2003.
- Feldman, Martha, and Bonnie Gordon (eds.). *The Courtesan's Arts: Cross-Cultural Perspectives*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Fellerer, Karl Gustav. *Palestrina-Studien*. Baden-Baden: Valentin Koerner, 1982.
- Fellerer, Karl Gustav. 'Affectus and effectus in der italienischen Monodie.' *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 14 (1983): 119–146.
- Fenlon, Iain. 'Peetrinus, Jacobus.' In *Grove Music Online* [www.oxfordmusiconline.com].
- Fenlon, Iain. Review of , by Frederick Hammond. *Early Music* 24 (1996): 497–498.
- Filippi, Daniele V. *Selva armonica: La musica spirituale a Roma tra Cinque e Seicento*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2008.
- Fink, Monika (ed.). *Musica privata: Die Rolle der Musik im privaten Leben. Festschrift zum 65. Geburtstag von Walter Salmen*. Innsbruck/Neu Rum: Helbling, 1991.
- Finscher, Ludwig (ed.). *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1995.
- Fiore, John Joseph. 'The *Canzonetta spirituale* in the Late Sixteenth-Century in Italy.' PhD Diss., The University of Chicago, 2009.
- Fisher, Alexander J. 'Song, Confession, and Criminality: Trial Records as Sources for Popular Musical Culture in Early Modern Europe.' *The Journal of Musicology* 18 (2001): 616–657.
- Fortune, Nigel. 'Continuo Instruments in Italian Monodies.' *The Galpin Society Journal* 6 (1953): 10–13.
- Fortune, Nigel, and Morelli, Arnaldo. 'Borboni, Nicolò.' In *Grove Music Online* [www.oxfordmusiconline.com].
- Franchi, Saverio, with Sartori, Orietta. *Le impressioni sceniche: Dizionario bio-bibliografico degli edi-*

- tori e stampatori romani e laziali di testi drammatici e libretti per musica dal 1579 al 1800*. Rome: IBIMUS, 1994.
- Franchi, Saverio. 'Stampatori ed editori musicali a Roma dal 1550 al 1608: vicende e osservazioni.' *Recercare* 9 (1999): 5–50.
- Franchi, Saverio and Orietta Sartori. *Le impressioni sceniche, II. Dizionario bio-bibliografico degli editori e stampatori romani e laziali, vol. II, Aggiunte, aggiornamenti, tavole e indici*. Rome: IBIMUS, 2002.
- Franchi, Saverio, and Sartori, Orietta. *Annali della stampa musicale romana: Edizioni di musica pratica dal 1601 al 1650*. Rome: IBIMUS, 2006.
- Freedman, Richard. 'Marenzio's *Madrigali a quattro, cinque et sei voci* of 1588: A Newly-Revealed Madrigal Cycle and its Intellectual Context.' *The Journal of Musicology* 13 (1995): 318–354.
- Freiberg, Irmtraut. 'Zur Frage des Mitspielens der Oberstimme(n) im Basso continuo bei Instrumentalwerken des italienischen Frühbarocks.' In *Annales. 1996–1997*, edited by Walter Pass, 57–105. Tutzing: Schneider, 2001.
- Freiberg, Irmtraut. *Die Entwicklung des Generalbasses in den gedruckten italienischen Instrumentalwerken der Jahre 1595 bis 1655*. Europäische Hochschulschriften Reihe 36, Musikwissenschaft: Bd. 225. Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2002.
- Freiberg, Irmtraut. *Der Frühe italienische Generalbass dargestellt anhand der Quellen von 1595 bis 1655: Traktate und Vorworte*. 2 vols. Studien und Materialien zur Musikwissenschaft 34. Hildesheim: Olms, 2004.
- Galilei, Vincenzo. *Dialogue on Ancient and Modern Music*. Trans. Claude V. Palisca. Music Theory Translation Series. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003.
- Galilei, Vincenzo. *Fronimo: 1584*. Trans. Carol MacClintock. Musicological Studies and Documents 39. Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology; Hänssler-Verlag, 1985.
- Galliard, Pierre. 'Histoire de la légende palestrinienne.' *Revue de musicologie* 57 (1971): 11–22.
- Gallo, F. Alberto, Frieder Zaminer, and Thomas Ertelt (eds.) *Geschichte der Musiktheorie. Bd. 7. Italienische Musiktheorie im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert: Antikenrezeption und Satzlehre*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1989.
- Gascoigne, Bamber. *How to identify prints: A complete guide to manual and mechanical processes from woodcut to inkjet*. 2nd ed. London: Thames and Hudson, 2004.
- Gaskell, Philip. *A New Introduction to Bibliography*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972.
- Gasparini, Francesco. *L'armonico pratico al cembalo*. Venice: Bortoli, 1708. Facs. New York: Broude Brothers 1967.
- Geyer, Helen J., Maciej Jabłoński, and Jan Stęszewski (eds.). *Music in the World of Ideas*. Poznan : Ars Nova, 2001.
- Gianuario, Annibale. *Vincenzo Galilei, la dissonanza e la seconda pratica. Discorso di Vicentio Galilei intorno all'uso delle dissonanze (MS. di Firenze)*. 2nd ed. Sezze Romano: Fondazione Centro Studi Rinascimento Musicale, 2002.
- Goede-Klinkhamer, Thérèse de. 'Del suonare sopra il basso: Concerning the Realization of Early Seventeenth-Century Italian Unfigured Basses.' *Performance Practice Review* 10 (1997): 80–115.
- Goede-Klinkhamer, Thérèse de. 'From dissonance to note-cluster: the application of musical-rhetorical figures and dissonances to thoroughbass accompaniment of early 17th-century Italian vocal solo music.' *Early Music* 33 (2005): 233–250.

- Göhler, Albert. *Verzeichnis der in den Frankfurter und Leipziger Meßkatologen der Jahre 1564 bis 1759 angezeigten Musikalien*. Leipzig: Kahnt, 1902. Facs. Hilversum: Frits A. M. Knuf, 1965.
- Grampp, Florian. 'Acciaccaturen. Über ein ästhetisches Kuriosum.' *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 61 (2004): 117–136.
- Griffiths, Antony. *Prints and Printmaking: An introduction to the history and techniques*. 2nd ed. London: British Museum Press, 1996.
- Griffiths, John. 'The Lute and the Polyphonist.' *Studi musicali* 31 (2002): 71–90.
- Griffiths, John. 'Juan Bermudo, Self-instruction, and the Amateur.' In *Music Education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, edited by Russell E. Murray, Jr., Susan Forscher Weiss, and Cynthia J. Cyrus. Publications of the Early Music Institute, 126–137. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010.
- Guerrieri, Ruggero. *Storia civile ed ecclesiastica del Comune di Gualdo Tadino*. Gubbio: Scuola tipografica Oderisi, 1933.
- Gugl, Mattheo. *Fundamenta Partiturae*. Augsburg, Innsbruck: J. Wolff, 1757.
- Guglielmotti, Alberto. *La guerra dei pirati e la marina pontificia dal 1500 al 1560*. Florence: Successori Le Monnier, 1876.
- Guidobaldi, Nicoletta. 'Music Publishing in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Umbria.' *Early Music History* 8 (1988): 1–36.
- Haack, Helmut. *Anfänge des Generalbaß-Satzes: Die 'Cento concerti ecclesiastici' (1602) von Lodovico Viadana*. Münchner Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte 22. Tutzing: Schneider, 1974.
- Haar, James. Review of *Music and Culture in Italy from the Middle Ages to the Baroque*, by Nino Pirrotta. *Early Music History* 5 (1985): 269–274.
- Haar, James. 'Cosimo Bartoli on Music.' *Early Music History* 8 (1988): 37–39.
- Häberlein, Mark. *The Fuggers of Augsburg: Pursuing Wealth and Honor in Renaissance Germany*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012.
- Hammond, Frederick. *Girolamo Frescobaldi*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983.
- Hammond, Frederick. 'Some Notes on Giovanni Battista da Cortona, Girolamo Zenti and Others.' *The Galpin Society Journal* 40 (1987): 37–47.
- Hammond, Frederick. Review of *Annali della stampa musicale romana dei secoli XVI–XVIII, vol. i, part 1: Edizioni di musica pratica dal 1601 al 1650*, by Saverio Franchi. *Early Music* 36 (2008): 116–117.
- Hammond, Frederick. Review of *L'œuvre en filigrane: une étude philologique des manuscrits de musique pour clavier à Rome au XVIIe siècle*, by Christine Jeanneret. *Early Music* 38 (2010): 589–590.
- Harness, Kelley A. *Echoes of women's voices: Music, art, and female patronage in early modern Florence*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2006.
- Härtling, Ursula Alice. (ed.). *Himmelschöre & Höllenkrach: Musizierende Engel und Dämonen [anlässlich der Ausstellung 'Himmelschöre und Höllenkrach – Musizierende Engel und Dämonen, Hamm: Gustav-Lübcke-Museum, 03. Dezember 2006 bis 25. Februar 2007]*. Bönen: Kettler, 2006.
- Haynes, Bruce. *A history of performing pitch: The story of 'A'*. Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2002.
- Hermelink, Siegfried. 'Die Tabula compositoria.' In *Festschrift Heinrich Bessler zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*, edited by Eberhardt Klemm, 221–230. Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1961.
- Hettrick, William E. 'Aichinger, Gregor.' In *Grove Music Online* [www.oxfordmusiconline.com].

- Hill, John Walter. 'Oratory Music in Florence, I: Recitar Cantando, 1583–1655.' *Acta Musicologica* 51 (1979a): 108–136.
- Hill, John Walter. 'Oratory Music in Florence, II: At San Firenze in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.' *Acta Musicologica* 51 (1979b): 246–267.
- Hill, John Walter. 'Realized continuo accompaniments from Florence c. 1600.' *Early Music* 11 (1983): 194–208.
- Hill, John Walter. *Roman Monody, Cantata, and Opera from the Circles around Cardinal Montalto*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.
- Hitchcock, H. Wiley. 'Rappresentazione di Anima, et di Corpo.' In *Grove Music Online* [www.oxfordmusiconline.com].
- Hollstein, Francis Wilhelm Heinrich. *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, c. 1450–1700*. Amsterdam: M. Hertzberger, 1949–2010.
- Holman, Peter. *Dowland: Lachrimae (1604)*. Cambridge Music Handbooks. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Horsley, Imogene. 'Full and Short Scores in the Accompaniment of Italian Church Music in the Early Baroque.' *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 30 (1977): 466–499.
- Hortschansky, Klaus (ed.). *Traditionen – Neuansätze: Für Anna Amalie Abert (1906–1996)*. Tutzing: Schneider, 1997.
- Hubbard, Jason C. 'The Map of Japan Engraved by Christophorus Blancus, 1617.' In *Japan, a Cartographic Vision: European Printed Maps from the early 16th to the 19th Century*, edited by Lutz Walter, 51–60. Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1994.
- Hyma, Albert A. *The Youth of Erasmus*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1930.
- Jaenig, Carl. *Liber Confraternitatis B. Mariae de Anima Teutonicorum de Urbe*. Rome: Typographia Polyglotta, 1875.
- Jeanneret, Christine. *L'œuvre en filigrane. Historiae musicae cultores 116*. Florence, Geneva: Olschki, 2009.
- Johnson, Alfred F. 'A Catalogue of Italian Writing-Books of the Sixteenth Century.' *Signature* 10 (1950): 22–48.
- Johnson, Alfred F. *Selected essays on books and printing*, edited by Percy H. Muir. Amsterdam: van Gendt, 1970.
- Johnston, Gregory S. 'Polyphonic Keyboard Accompaniment in the early Baroque: an alternative to basso continuo.' *Early Music* 26 (1998): 51–60, 63–64.
- Judd, Robert. Review of *Vocal Compositions in German Organ Tablatures 1550–1650: A Catalogue and Commentary* by Cleveland Johnson. *Music and Letters* 74 (1993): 136–137.
- Judd, Robert Floyd. 'The Use of Notational Formats at the Keyboard: A Study of Printed Sources of Keyboard Music in Spain and Italy c. 1500–1700.' D.Phil. diss. Oxford, 1989.
- Kačič, Ladislav (ed.). *Plaude turba paupercola. Franziskanischer Geist in Musik, Literatur und Kunst; Konferenzbericht Bratislava, 4.–6. Oktober 2004*. Bratislava: Slavistick ústav Jána Stanislava SAV, 2005.
- Kerschbaumer, Anton. *Die Geschichte des deutschen Nationalhospizes Anima in Rom*. Vienna: Braumüller, 1868.
- Kimmel, Lessy. 'Simone Verovio, 16th century composer and engraver: Diletto spirituale.' Master of Musical Arts Diss., McGill University, 1973.

- Kinkeldey, Otto. *Orgel und Klavier in der Musik des 16. Jahrhunderts: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Instrumentalmusik*. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1910.
- Kircher, Athanasius. *Musurgia universalis sive ars magna consoni et dissoni*. 2 vols. Rome: Heirs of Francesco Corbellotti, 1650.
- Kite-Powell, Jeffery T. (ed.). *Publications of the Early Music Institute. A Performer's Guide to Renaissance Music*. 2nd ed. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2007.
- Klemm, Eberhardt (ed.). *Festschrift Heinrich Bessler zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*. Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1961.
- Knighton, Tess, and David Fallows (eds.). *Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Koldau, Linda Maria. *Die venezianische Kirchenmusik von Claudio Monteverdi*. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2001.
- Konold, Wulf (ed.). *Deutsch-italienische Musikbeziehungen: Deutsche und italienische Instrumentalmusik 1600–1750. Referate des wissenschaftlichen Symposions im Rahmen der Internationalen Orgelwoche Nürnberg 1984*. Munich: Katzbichler, 1996.
- Kranias, Alison. 'Verovio's Keyboard Intabulations and Domestic Music Making in the Late Renaissance.' MA Diss., McGill University, 2006.
- Krummel, Donald W., and Stanley Sadie (eds.) *Music Printing and Publishing*. The New Grove Handbooks in Music. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990.
- Kunze, S. (1996). 'Klang und Figuration: Zur Emanzipation der Instrumentalmusik im 16. Jahrhundert.' In *Deutsch-italienische Musikbeziehungen: Deutsche und italienische Instrumentalmusik 1600–1750. Referate des wissenschaftlichen Symposions im Rahmen der Internationalen Orgelwoche Nürnberg 1984*, edited by Wulf Konold, 69–82. Munich: Katzbichler, 1996.
- Lang, Bernhard. *Agazzari Del sonare sopra'l basso con tutti li stromenti* (2003/2012), from <http://www.bassus-generalis.org/agazzari/agazzari.html>.
- Lang, Bernhard. *Zum stilistischen Hintergrund des Vorwortes im Orgel-Stimmbuch der Cento Concerti Ecclesiastici von Lodovico Grossi da Viadana* (2004). Retrieved November 29, 2014, from <http://www.bassus-generalis.org/>.
- Lawrence-King, Andrew. "'Perfect' instruments.' In *Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music*, edited by Tess Knighton and David Fallows, 354–364. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Lederer, Josef-Horst. 'Bianciardi [Blanchardus, Bianchiardus], Francesco.' In *Grove Music Online* [www.oxfordmusiconline.com].
- Leefflang, Huigen. 'De prentmaker Lucas van Leyden. Zijn werkwijzen, voorbeelden en genre.' In *Lucas van Leyden en de renaissance*, edited by Christiaan Vogelaar et. al., 121–149. Antwerp: Ludion, 2011.
- Leitmeir, Christian T. 'Catholic Music in the Diocese of Augsburg c. 1600: A Reconstructed Tricinium Anthology and its Confessional Implications.' *Early Music History* 21 (2002): 117–173.
- Lenneberg, Hans (ed.). *The Dissemination of Music: Studies in the History of Music Publishing*. Musicology 14. Lausanne: Gordon and Breach, 1994.
- Lenneberg, Hans. *On the Publishing and Dissemination of Music, 1500–1850*. Hillsdale NY: Pendragon Press, 2003.
- Leopold, Silke. 'Kontrapunkt und Textausdruck.' In *Europäische Musikgeschichte* Band 1, edited by

- Sabine Ehrmann-Herfort, Ludwig Finscher und Giselher Schubert, 287–317. Kassel: Metzler, 2002.
- Lewis, Mary S. 'The Printed Music Book in Context: Observations on some Sixteenth-Century Editions.' *Notes* 46 (1990): 899–918.
- Lewis, Mary S. *Antonio Gardano: Venetian Music Printer, 1538–1569: a Descriptive Bibliography and Historical Study*. Garland Reference Library of the Humanities 719. New York: Garland, 1997.
- Lewis Hammond, Susan. *Editing Music in Early Modern Germany*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007.
- Lewis Hammond, Susan. *The Madrigal: A Research and Information Guide*. New York: Routledge, 2011.
- Lightbourne, Ruth. 'Annibale Stabile: a Man of no Little Repute among the Masters of Music.' PhD Diss., University of Otago, 1994.
- Lightbourne, Ruth. 'Annibale Stabile and performance practice at two Roman institutions.' *Early Music* 32 (2004): 271–285.
- Lincoln, Evelyn. *The Invention of the Italian Renaissance Printmaker*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000.
- Lincoln, Evelyn. *Brilliant Discourse: Pictures and Readers in Early Modern Rome*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014.
- Lindley, Mark. *Lutes, viols, and temperaments*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Lionnet, Jean. 'Performance practice at the Papal Chapel during the 17th Century.' *Early Music* 15 (1987): 3–15.
- Lockwood, Lewis, et al. 'Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da.' In *Grove Music Online* [www.oxfordmusiconline.com].
- Lombardi, Giuseppe (ed.). *Roma donne libri tra Medioevo e Rinascimento: In ricordo di Pino Lombardi*. Rome: Roma nel Rinascimento, 2004.
- Lorenzetti, Stefano. *Musica e identità nobiliare nell'Italia del Rinascimento*. Florence: Olschki, 2003.
- Lorenzetti, Stefano. 'Public behaviour, music and the construction of feminine identity in the Italian Renaissance.' *Recercare* 23 (2011): 7–34.
- Lowinsky, Edward E. 'On the use of scores by Sixteenth-Century Musicians.' *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 1 (1948): 17–23.
- Lowinsky, Edward E. 'Early Scores in Manuscript.' *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 13 (1960): 126–173.
- Lütteken, Laurenz, and Nicole Schwindt (eds.). *Autorität und Autoritäten in musikalischer Theorie, Komposition und Aufführung*. Trossinger Jahrbuch für Renaissancemusik 3. Kassel, New York: Bärenreiter, 2004.
- Luzzaschi, Luzzasco. *Madrigali ... per cantare, et sonare a uno, e doi, e tre soprani*, edited by Adriano Cavicchi. Brescia: L'Organo; Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1965.
- MacClintock, Carol. *Readings in the history of music in performance*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979.
- Macy, Laura Williams. 'The late madrigals of Luca Marenzio: Studies in the interactions of music, literature, and patronage at the end of the sixteenth century.' PhD, UNC Chapel Hill, 1991.
- Maniates, Maria Rika. 'Vicentino's "Incerta et occulta scientia" Reexamined.' *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 28 (1975): 335–351.
- Mann, Brian. 'Quagliati, Paolo.' In *Grove Music Online* [www.oxfordmusiconline.com].

- Mann, Brian. 'From Berlin to Cracow: Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Prints of Italian Secular Vocal Music in the Jagiellonian Library.' *Notes* 49 (1992): 11–27.
- Mason, Kevin. 'Per cantare e sonare: Accompanying Italian Lute song of the late sixteenth century.' In *Performance on Lute, Guitar, and Vihuela: Historical Practice and Modern Interpretation*, edited by Victor Anand Coelho. Cambridge Studies in Performance Practice 6, 72–107. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Matejka, Wilhelm. 'Ottavio und seine "Arie Devote" (1608). Eine Korrektur.' *Die Musikforschung* 31 (1978): 443–446.
- McIver, Katherine A. (ed.). *Art and music in the early modern period: Essays in honor of Franca Trinchieri Camiz*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003.
- Mertin, Josef. 'Vom Colla-Parte-Spiel zum Continuo.' In *Die süddeutsch-österreichische Orgelmusik im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, edited by Walter Salmen, 98–113. Innsbruck: Helbling, 1980.
- Metzger, Heinz-Klaus and Rainer Riehn (eds.). *Claudio Monteverdi: Vom Madrigal zur Monodie*. Musik-Konzepte 83/84. Munich: Ed. Text + Kritik, 1994.
- Metzger, Wolfgang, and Karin Zimmermann (2001). 'Eine Fürstenbibliothek des 16. Jahrhunderts: Die "Bibliotheca privata" Friedrichs IV. von der Pfalz im Heidelberger Schloß. Edition der Codices Palatini latini 1917 und 1918,' from urn:nbn:de:bsz:16-heidok-15918.
- Meyers, Patricia Ann. 'Bellasio, Paolo.' In *Grove Music Online* [www.oxfordmusiconline.com].
- Meyers, Patricia Ann. 'Mel, Rinaldo del.' In *Grove Music Online* [www.oxfordmusiconline.com].
- Miller, Elizabeth. 'Prints.' In *At Home in Renaissance Italy*, edited by Marta Ajmar-Wollheim, Flora Dennis, and Elizabeth Miller, 322–331. London: V&A, 2006.
- Miranda, Salvador. *The Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church*. Retrieved June 12, 2012, from Florida University Libraries: www2.flu.edu/mirandas/bios1593.htm.
- Mischiati, Oscar. *Indici, cataloghi e avvisi degli editori e librai musicali italiani dal 1591 al 1798. Studi e testi per la storia della musica: Vol. 2*. Florence: Olschki, 1984.
- Monson, Craig. 'Elena Malvezzi's Keyboard Manuscript: A New Sixteenth-Century Source.' *Early Music History* 9 (1990): 73–128.
- Monson Craig A. and Marvin Roberta Montemorra (eds.). *Music in Print and Beyond: Hildegard Von Bingen to The Beatles*. Eastman studies in music. Rochester, NY: Boydell and Brewer, University of Rochester Press, 2013.
- Montaigne, Michel de. *The Essays of Montaigne, C.* trans. Charles Cotton. London: Reeves and Turner, 1877.
- Morelli, Arnaldo. 'Nuovi documenti Frescobaldiani: i contratti per l'edizione del primo libro di Toccate.' *Studi musicali* 17 (1988): 255–265.
- Morelli, Arnaldo. *Il tempio armonico: Musica nell'oratorio dei Filippini in Roma (1575–1705)*. Analecta Musicologica 27. Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1991.
- Morelli, Arnaldo. 'Basso Continuo on the organ in seventeenth-century Italian music.' *Basler Jahrbuch für Historische Musikpraxis* 18 (1994): 31–45.
- Morelli, Arnaldo. 'The Role of the Organ in Performance Practices of the Italian Sacred polyphony during the Cinquecento.' *Musica Disciplina* 50 (1996): 239–270.
- Morelli, Arnaldo. "'Cantare sull' organo": an unrecognised practice.' *Recercare* 10 (1998): 183–208.
- Morelli, Arnaldo. 'Marenzio, the courtier. Some thoughts on patronage in the court of Rome.'

- In *Perspectives on Luca Marenzio's secular music*, edited by Mauro Calcagno, 227–234. Turnhout: Brepols, 2015.
- Morison, Stanley. *Early Italian writing-books: Renaissance to Baroque*, edited by Nicholas Barker. Boston: David R. Godine, 1990.
- Murray, Russell E. Jr., Susan Forscher Weiss, and Cynthia J. Cyrus (eds.). *Music Education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*. Publications of the Early Music Institute. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010.
- Nauwelaerts, M. A. *Latijnse school en onderwijs te 's-Hertogenbosch tot 1629*. Tilburg: Stichting Zuidelijk Historisch Contact, 1974.
- Nelles, Paul. 'The Vatican Library Alphabets, Luca Orfei, and Graphic Media in Sistine Rome'. In *For the Sake of Learning Essays in Honor of Anthony Grafton*, edited by Ann Blair and Anja-Silvia Goeing, 441–468. Leiden: Brill, 2016.
- Newcomb, Anthony. *The madrigal at Ferrara: 1579–1597*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980.
- Nuti, Giulia. *The performance of Italian basso continuo: Style in keyboard accompaniment in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007.
- Ongaro, Giulio M. 'Venetian Printed Anthologies of Music in the 1560s and the Role of the Editor.' In *The Dissemination of Music: Studies in the History of Music Publishing*, edited by Hans Lenneberg, 43–69. Lausanne: Gordon and Breach, 1994.
- Ongaro, Giulio M. *Music of the Renaissance*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2003.
- O'Regan, Noel. 'The Early Polychoral Music of Orlando di Lasso: New Light from Roman Sources.' *Acta Musicologica* 56 (1984): 234–251.
- O'Regan, Noel. 'Processions and their music in post-Tridentine Rome.' *Recercare* 4 (1992): 45–80.
- O'Regan, Noel. 'Palestrina, a Musician and Composer in the Market-Place.' *Early Music* 22 (1994): 551–572.
- O'Regan, Noel. *Institutional Patronage in post-Tridentine Rome: Music at Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini, 1550–1650*. Royal Musical Association monographs 7. London: Royal Musical Association, 1995a.
- O'Regan, Noel. Review of *Agostino Agazzari and Music at Siena Cathedral, 1597–1641*, by Colleen Reardon. *Music and Letters* 76 (1995b): 93–95.
- O'Regan, Noel. 'The Performance of Palestrina: Some further Observations.' *Early Music* 24 (1996), 144–154.
- O'Regan, Noel. 'Marenzio's Sacred Music: The Roman Context.' *Early Music* 27 (1999a): 608–620.
- O'Regan, Noel. 'Music in the Liturgy of San Pietro in Vaticano during the reign of Paul V (1605–1621): a preliminary survey of the liturgical diary (part I) of Andrea Amici.' *Recercare* 11 (1999b): 119–151.
- O'Regan, Noel. 'Asprilio Pacelli, Ludovico Viadana and the Origins of the Roman Concerto Ecclesiastico.' *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 6 (2000): 1–18.
- O'Regan, Noel. 'What can the organ partitura to Tomás Luis de Victoria's Missae, Magnificat, motecta, psalmi et alia quam plurima of 1600 tell us about performance practice?' *Performance Practice Review* 14 (2009): 1–14.

- Osley, A. S. *Luminario: An introduction to the Italian writing-books of the 16th and 17th centuries*. Nieuwkoop: Miland, 1972.
- Ossi, Massimo. *Divining the Oracle. Monteverdi's Seconda Prattica*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003.
- Owens, Jessie Ann. *Composers at work: The craft of musical composition 1450–1600*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Parrott, Andrew. 'High clefs and down to earth transposition: a brief defence of Monteverdi.' *Early Music* 40 (2012): 81–86.
- Palisca, Claude V. 'Vincenzo Galilei and some links between "Pseudo-Monody" and Monody.' *The Musical Quarterly* 46.3 (1960): 334–360.
- Palisca, Claude V. *The Florentine Camerata: Documentary Studies and Translations*. Music theory translation series. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.
- Palisca, Claude V. 'Cavaliere, Emilio de.' In *Grove Music Online* [www.oxfordmusiconline.com].
- Palisca, Claude V. *Studies in the History of Italian Music and Music Theory*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.
- Palumbo-Fossati, Isabella. 'La casa veneziana di Gioseffo Zarlino nel testamento e nell'inventario dei beni del grande teorico musicale.' *Nuova Rivista musicale italiana* 20 (1986): 633–649.
- Papp, Ágnes. 'Reduktion und Vereinfachung in der Orgeltabulatur: stellen die Sacri Conventus des Franziskaners P. Joannes Kajoni einen Sonderfall dar?' In *Plaude turba paupercula. Franziskanischer Geist in Musik, Literatur und Kunst; Konferenzbericht Bratislava, 4.–6. Oktober 2004*, edited by Kačič, Ladislav, 177–195. Bratislava: Slavistický ústav Jána Stanislava SAV, 2005.
- Pettegree, Andrew. *The Book in the Renaissance*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010.
- Pintor, Fortunato, Arsenio Frugoni, Alberto Maria Ghisalberti, Massimiliano Pavan, Fiorella Bartocchini, Mario Caravale, Mario Caravale, and Raffaele Romanelli (eds). *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*. Rome: Treccani, 1960–.
- Pirrotta, Nino. 'Dolci affetti: i musici di Roma e il madrigale.' *Studi musicali* 14 (1985): 59–104.
- Pirrotta, Nino, and Elena Povoledo. *Music and theatre from Poliziano to Monteverdi*, trans. Karen Eales. Cambridge studies in music. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
- Powers, Katherine Susan. 'The Spiritual Madrigal in Counter-Reformation Italy: Definition, Use, and Style.' PhD Diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 1997.
- Pass, Walter (ed.). *Annales: 1996–1997*. Tutzing: Schneider, 2001.
- Pullapilly, Cyriac K. 'Agostino Valier and the Conceptual Basis of the Catholic Reformation.' *The Harvard Theological Review* 85 (1992): 307–333.
- Rasch, Rudolf (ed.). *Musical life in Europe 1600–1900: 1. 2. Music publishing in Europe 1600–1900: Concepts and issues, bibliography*. Berlin: BWV Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2005. Reardon, Colleen. 'Agazzari, Agostino.' In *Grove Music Online* [www.oxfordmusiconline.com].
- Reardon, Colleen. *Agostino Agazzari and Music at Siena Cathedral, 1597–1641*. Oxford monographs on music. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.
- Reed, Sue Welsh, Richard Wallace, and David Acton. *Italian etchers of the Renaissance & Baroque*. Boston, MA: Museum of Fine Arts, 1989.
- Reese, Gustave. *Music in the Renaissance*. London: Dent, 1954.
- Reidemeister, Peter (ed.). *Was der General-Baß sey?* Basler Jahrbuch für Historische Musikpraxis: Beiträge zu Theorie und Praxis 18. Winterthur: Amadeus, 1994.

- Riedel, Friedrich W. (ed.). *Aufführungs- und Bearbeitungspraxis der Werke Palestrinas vom 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*. Kirchenmusikalische Studien 3. Sinzig: Studio Verlag, 1997.
- Riepe, Juliane. 'Die Arciconfraternità del SS. Crocifisso und ihre Oratorienaufführungen in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts.' In *Musikstadt Rom. Geschichte – Forschung – Perspektiven*, edited by Markus Engelhardt, 159–203. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2010.
- Roche, Jerome. 'Fergusio, Giovanni Battista.' In *Grove Music Online* [www.oxfordmusiconline.com].
- Roche, Jerome. 'Sabbatini, Galeazzo.' In *Grove Music Online* [www.oxfordmusiconline.com].
- Roig-Francolí, Miguel A. 'Playing in consonances: a Spanish Renaissance technique of chordal improvisation.' *Early Music* 23 (1995): 461–471.
- Rose, Gloria. 'Agazzari and the Improvising Orchestra.' *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 18 (1965): 382–393.
- Rostirolla, Giancarlo. 'La professione di strumentista a Roma nel Sei e Settecento.' In *Deutsch-italienische Musikbeziehungen. Deutsche und italienische Instrumentalmusik 1600–1750. Referate des wissenschaftlichen Symposions im Rahmen der Internationalen Orgelwoche Nürnberg 1984*, edited by Wulf Konold, 156–233. Munich: Katzbichler, 1996.
- Rotem, Elam. 'Early Basso Continuo Practice: Implicit Evidence in the Music of Emilio de' Cavalieri.' PhD Diss., Universität Würzburg, Würzburg, 2015. Retrieved from <https://opus.bibliothek.uni-wuerzburg.de/frontdoor/index/index/docId/14507>.
- Sachs, Curt. *Das Lexikon der Musikinstrumente*. Bremen: Europäischer Hochschulverlag, 2010.
- Salmen, Walter (ed.). *Orgel und Orgelspiel im 16. Jahrhundert: Tagungsbericht Innsbruck 9.–12.6.1977*. Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 2. Innsbruck: Helbling, 1978.
- Salmen, Walter (ed.). *Die süddeutsch-österreichische Orgelmusik im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*. Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 6. Innsbruck: Helbling, 1980.
- Sartori, Claudio. *Dizionario degli editori musicali italiani (tipografi, incisori, librai-editori)*. Biblioteca di bibliografia italiana 32. Florence: Olschki, 1958.
- Sartori, Claudio. *Bibliografia della musica strumentale italiana stampata in Italia fino a 1700*. Florence: Olschki, 1968.
- Schaeffer Cypess, Rebecca. 'Biagio Marini and the Meanings of Violin Music in the Early Seventeenth Century.' PhD Diss., Yale University, New Haven, 2008.
- Schiltz, Kateljine, and Bonnie J. Blackburn (eds.). *Canons and canonic techniques, 14th–16th centuries: Theory, practice, and reception history. Proceedings of the International Conference, Leuven, 4–6 October 2005*. Analysis in Context: Leuven Studies in Musicology 1. Leuven: Peeters, 2007.
- Schmidt, Lothar. *Die römische Lauda und die Verchristlichung von Musik im 16. Jahrhundert*. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2003.
- Schmidt, Suzanne Karr, and Nichols, Kimberley. *Altered and adorned: Using Renaissance prints in daily life*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011.
- Schmitz, Heinz-Walter (ed.). *Georg Muffat: Ein reichsfürstlicher Kapellmeister zwischen den Zeiten*. 2nd ed. Passau: Stutz, 2008.
- Schneider, Max. *Die Anfänge des Basso Continuo und seine Bezifferung*. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1918.
- Schuler, Manfred. 'Werke Palestrinas in Orgeltabaturen des 16. Jahrhunderts.' In *Aufführungs-*

- und Bearbeitungspraxis der Werke Palestrinas. vom 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, edited by Friedrich W. Riedel, 13–23. Sinzig: Studio Verlag, 1997.
- Schuler, Richard. 'Giovanni Maria Nanino.' *Caecilia*, 90 (1963): 46–68.
- Schwetschke, Gustav. *Codex Nundinarius Germaniae Literatae Bisecularis. Meß-Jahrbücher des Deutschenbuchhandels*. Halle: Schwetsche, 1850.
- Schwindt, Nicole (ed.). *Musikalischer Alltag im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*. Trossinger Jahrbuch für Renaissancemusik 1. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2001.
- Schwindt, Nicole. (ed.). *Gesang zur Laute*. Trossinger Jahrbuch für Renaissancemusik 2. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2003.
- Schwindt, Nicole. (ed.). *Frauen und Musik im Europa des 16. Jahrhunderts: Infrastrukturen – Aktivitäten – Motivationen*. Trossinger Jahrbuch für Renaissancemusik 4. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2004.
- Sevenstern, Suzanne. *Nicolas van Aelst Bruxellensis formis Romae: de inventarisatie van het fonds van een Vlaamse prentuitgever in Rome*. Amsterdam: [n. p.], 2012.
- Severi, Francesco (1981). *Salmi passaggiati (1615)*, edited by Murray C. Bradshaw. Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 1981.
- Shephard, Tim, Lisa Coulton (eds.). *Makers, Owners and Users of Music Sources before 1600*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2017.
- Sherr, Richard. 'Mecenatismo musicale a Mantova: le nozze di Vincenzo Gonzaga e Margherita Farnese.' *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 18 (1984): 3–20.
- Sherr, Richard. 'Performance Practice in the Papal chapel during the 16th Century.' *Early Music* 15 (1987): 452–462.
- Sherr, Richard. 'Competence and incompetence in the Papal Choir in the age of Palestrina.' *Early Music* 22 (1994): 606–629.
- Silbiger, Alexander (ed.). *Frescobaldi studies*. Duke studies in music. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1987.
- Silbiger, Alexander. 'Is the Italian "intavolatura" a tablature?' *Recercare* 3 (1991): 81–103.
- Slim, H. Colin. (1962). 'Keyboard Music at Castell'Arquato by an Early Madrigalist.' *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 15 (1962): 35–47.
- Slim, H. Colin. (ed.). *Keyboard Music at Castell'Arquato*. Corpus of Early Keyboard Music 37. 3 vols. Neuhausen-Stuttgart: The American Institute of Musicology, 1975–2005.
- Slim, H. Colin. 'Keyboard music in Wedig's painting at Cologne.' In *Musica privata. Die Rolle der Musik im privaten Leben. Festschrift zum 65. Geburtstag von Walter Salmen*, edited by Monika Fink, 79–92. Innsbruck/Neu Rum: Helbling, 1991.
- Sman, Gert J. van der. 'Dutch and Flemish Printmakers in Rome, c. 1565–1600.' *Print Quarterly* 22 (2005): 251–264.
- Smith, Anne. *The performance of 16th-century music: Learning from the theorists*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Smither, Howard E. *A History of the Oratorio, vol. 1: The Oratorio in the Baroque Era: Italy, Vienna, Paris*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977.
- Solerti, Angelo. *Le origini del melodramma*. Torino: Bocca, 1903. Facs. Bologna: Forni, 1983.
- Solerti, Angelo. *Gli albori del melodramma*. 3 vols. Milan: Sandron, 1904. Facs. Bologna: Forni, 1969.

- Staden, Johann. 'Kurzer und einfältiger Bericht für diejenigen, so im Basso ad Organum unerfahren.' *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 12 (1877): 99–103, 119–123.
- Staden, Johann. *Ausgewählte Werke*, edited by Eugen Schmitz. Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1906.
- Stembridge, Christopher. Review of *The performance of Italian basso continuo: Style in keyboard accompaniment in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*, by Giulia Nuti. *Early Music* 35 (2007): 630–635.
- Sternfeld, F. W. 'A Note on *Stile Recitativo*.' *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 110 (1983–1984): 41–44.
- Steuere, Wolfram. 'Fragen des Generalbaßspiels im 17. Jahrhundert.' In *Generalbaßspiel im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert. Editionsfragen aus der Sicht vorliegender Ausgaben*. Studien zur Aufführungspraxis und Interpretation der Musik des 18. Jahrhunderts 32, edited by Eitelfriedrich Thom, 7–15. Michaelstein: Kultur und Forschungsstätte Michaelstein, 1987.
- Stras, Laurie. 'Musical Portraits of Female Musicians at Northern Italian Courts in the 1570s.' In *Art and music in the early modern period. Essays in honor of Franca Trinchieri Camiz*, edited by Franca Trinchieri Camiz and Katherine A. McIver, 145–172. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003.
- Stroh, Reinhard. 'Die private Kunst und das öffentliche Schicksal von Hermann Poll, dem Erfinder des Cembali.' In *Musica privata. Die Rolle der Musik im privaten Leben. Festschrift zum 65. Geburtstag von Walter Salmen*, edited by Monika Fink, 53–66. Innsbruck/Neu Rum: Helbling, 1991.
- Strunk, W. Oliver, Leo Treitler, Thomas J. Mathiesen, James W. McKinnon, Gary Tomlinson, Margaret Murata, Wye J. Allanbrook, Ruth A. Solie, and Robert P. Morgan (eds.). *Source Readings in Music History*. Rev. ed. New York: Norton, 1998.
- Stubbs, Stephen. 'The theory and practice of Basso Continuo in the 17th Century and today.' In *Neue Beiträge zur Aufführungspraxis 1: Alte Musik – Lehren, Forschen, Hören. Perspektiven der Aufführungspraxis. Symposium, Graz 19.–21. November 1992*, edited by Johann Trummer, 99–109. Regensburg: Con Brio, 1994.
- Szweykowski, Zygmunt M. 'Ottavio Durante's Preface to *Arie Devote* (Rome 1608).' In *Music in the World of Ideas*, edited by Helen J. Geyer, Maciej Jabłoński, and Jan Sześzewski, 55–62. Poznań: Ars Nova, 2001.
- Tagliavini, Luigi Ferdinando. 'Die italienische Orgelmusik vom Codex Faenza bis Giovanni Gabrieli.' In *Orgel und Orgelspiel im 16. Jahrhundert: Tagungsbericht Innsbruck 9.–12.6.1977*, edited by Walter Salmen, 70–76. Innsbruck: Helbling, 1978a.
- Tagliavini, Luigi Ferdinando. Review of *Anfänge des Generalbasssatzes. Die 'Cento Concerti Ecclesiastici' (1602) von Ludovico Viadana*, by Helmut Haack. *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 13 (1978b): 174–185.
- Tagliavini, Luigi Ferdinando. 'The Art of "Not Leaving the Instrument Empty": Comments on Early Italian Harpsichord Playing.' *Early Music* 11 (1983): 299–308.
- Taruskin, Richard. *The Oxford History of Western Music 1: Music from the Earliest Notations to the Sixteenth Century*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Thom, Eitelfriedrich (ed.). *Generalbaßspiel im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert: Editionsfragen aus der Sicht vorliegender Ausgaben*. Studien zur Aufführungspraxis und Interpretation der Musik des 18. Jahrhunderts 32. Michaelstein: Kultur und Forschungsstätte Michaelstein, 1987.

- Tortora, Daniela. 'Fergusio, Giovanni Battista.' In *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, edited by Fortunato Pintor et al., Rome: Treccani, 1960–.
- Trinchieri Camiz, Franca. 'Gli strumenti musicali nei palazzi, nelle ville e nelle dimore della Roma del Seicento.' In *La Musica a Roma attraverso le fonti d'archivio. Atti del Convegno internazionale Roma 4–7 giugno 1992*, edited by Bianca Maria Antolini, Arnaldo Morelli, and Vera Vita Spagnuolo, 595–608. Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana Editrice, 1994.
- Trummer, Johann (ed.). *Neue Beiträge zur Aufführungspraxis 1: Alte Musik – Lehren, Forschen, Hören. Perspektiven der Aufführungspraxis. Symposium, Graz 19.–21. November 1992*. Regensburg: Con Brio, 1994.
- Van den Broucke, M. P. R. 'Unstable editions of Ortelius' atlas.' *Map Collector* (1995): 2–8. <http://www.orteliusmaps.com/essays/mapcollector1995.htm> (accessed 22.11.2016).
- Van Doorslaer, Georges. 'Jacobus Peetrinus: Compositeur Malinois (ca. 1553–ca. 1591).' *Bulletin du Cercle Archéologique, Littéraire & Artistique de Malines* 27 (1922): 23–38.
- Van Gennip, Joep. *Controversen in context: Een comparatief onderzoek naar de Nederlandstalige controversie publicaties van de jezuiten in de zeventiende-eeuwse Republiek*. Hilversum: Verloren, 2014.
- Van Orden, Kate. *Music and the Cultures of Print*. New York: Garland Publishing, 2000.
- Van Orden, Kate. 'Padre Martini, Gaetano Gasparo and the "Pagliarini Collection": A Renaissance Library rediscovered.' *Early Music History* 29 (2010): 241–324.
- Van Orden, Kate. 'Robert Granjon and Music during the Golden Age of Typography.' In *Music in Print and Beyond: Hildegard Von Bingen to The Beatles*, edited by Monson Craig A. and Marvin Roberta Montemorra, 11–35. Eastman studies in music. Rochester, NY: Boydell and Brewer, University of Rochester Press, 2013.
- Veldman, Ilja M. 'Beeldtraditie en vernieuwing. Onderwerpskeuze in de Leidsche kunst van 1480–1550.' In *Lucas van Leyden en de renaissance*. edited by Christiaan Vogelaar et. al., 43–77. Antwerp: Ludion, 2011.
- Verner, Coolie. 'Copperplate printing.' In *Five Centuries of Map Printing*, edited by David Woodward, 51–75. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975.
- Vicentino, Nicola. *Ancient Music adapted to Modern Practice*. Trans. Maria Rika Maniates, edited by Claude V. Palisca. Music theory translation series. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996.
- Vignau-Wilberg, Thea. 'Bildmotetten und Motettenbilder.' In *Himmelschöre & Höllenkrach. Musizierende Engel und Dämonen*, edited by Ursula Alice Härting, 53–57. Bönen: Kettler, 2006.
- Vignau-Wilberg, Thea. *Niederländische Bildmotetten und Motettenbilder: Multimediale Kunst um 1600*. Altenburg: Kamprad, 2013.
- Vignau-Wilberg, Thea, and Michael Robertson (eds.). *O Musica du edle Kunst: Musik und Tanz im 16. Jahrhundert / Music for a while: music and dance in 16th-century prints*. Munich: Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, 1999.
- Voet, Leon. *The Golden Compasses: The History of the House of Plantin-Moretus*. Amsterdam, London, New York, 1969–1972.
- Vogel, Emil. *Bibliothek der gedruckten weltlichen Vokalmusik Italiens, aus den Jahren 1500–1700, enthaltend die Litteratur der Frottole, Madrigale, Canzonette, Arien, Opern etc.* Berlin: Haack, 1892.
- Vogel, Emil, Alfred Einstein, François Lesure, and Claudio Sartori. *Bibliografia della musica italiana vocale profana pubblicata dal 1500 al 1700. Il nuovo Vogel*. Pomezia: Staderini, 1977.
- Vogelaar, Christiaan et al. (eds.). *Lucas van Leyden en de renaissance*. Antwerp: Ludion, 2011.

- Vogelaar, Christiaan. 'Lucas en Leyden. Schilders, stad en samenleving tussen de middeleeuwen en renaissance.' In *Lucas van Leyden en de renaissance* edited by Christiaan Vogelaar et. al., 11–41. Antwerp: Ludion, 2011.
- Wagner, K. F. 'Die Regulae Concentuum Partiturae von Georg Muffat im Kontext der Generalbass-Traktate des 17. Jahrhunderts.' In Heinz-Walter Schmitz (ed.), *Georg Muffat. Ein reichsfürstlicher Kapellmeister zwischen den Zeiten*, 81–170. 2nd ed. Passau: Stutz, 2008.
- Waldner, Franz. 'Zwei Inventarien aus dem XVI. und XVII. Jahrhundert über hinterlassene Musikinstrumente und Musikalien am Innsbrucker Hofe.' *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 4 (1916): 128–147.
- Waller, François Gérard, and Willem Rudolf Juynboll (eds.) (1974). *Biographisch woordenboek van noord Nederlandsche graveurs*. 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1938. Facs. Amsterdam: Israël, 1974.
- Walter, Lutz (ed.). *Japan, a Cartographic Vision: European Printed Maps from the early 16th to the 19th Century*. Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1994.
- Ward Jones, Peter. Review of *Johann Georg Werdenstein (1542–1608): A Major Collector of Early Music Prints*, by Richard Charteris. *Music and Letters* 89 (2008): 603–604.
- Weiss, Piero, and Richard Taruskin. *Music in the Western World: A History in Documents*. New York, London: Schirmer Books; Collier Macmillan, 1984.
- Williams, Peter F. *Figured bass accompaniment*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1970.
- Williams, Peter F., and David Ledbetter. 'Continuo.' In *Grove Music Online* [www.oxfordmusiconline.com].
- Wistreich, Richard. "Real Basses, Real Men." *Virtù and Virtuosity in the Construction of Noble Male Identity in Late Sixteenth-Century Italy*. In *Gesang zur Laute*, edited by Nicole Schwindt, 59–77. Trossinger Jahrbuch für Renaissancemusik 2. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2003.
- Wistreich, Richard. *Warrior, Courtier, Singer: Giulio Cesare Brancaccio and the Performance of Identity in the Late Renaissance*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007.
- Witcombe, Christopher L. C. E. *Copyright in the Renaissance: Prints and the Privilegio in Sixteenth-Century Venice and Rome*. Studies in Medieval and Reformation thought 100. Leiden: Brill, 2004.
- Witcombe, Christopher L. C. E. *Print Publishing in Sixteenth-Century Rome: Growth and Expansion, Rivalry and Murder*. London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2008.
- Woodward, David (ed.). *Five centuries of map printing*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975.
- Woodward, David. 'Paolo Forlani: Compiler, Engraver, Printer, or Publisher?' *Imago Mundi* 44 (1992): 45–64.
- Woodward, David. *Maps as Prints in the Italian Renaissance: Makers, Distributors & Consumers*. London: British Library, 1996a.
- Woodward, David. *Catalogue of Watermarks in Italian Printed Maps ca. 1540–1600*. Florence: Olschki Editore, 1996b.
- Wotquenne-Plateel, Alfred (ed.). *Chansons italiennes de la fin du XVIe siècle*. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1897.
- Invaluable: lot 34* (2007). Retrieved November 29, 2014, from www.invaluable.com/auction-lot/early-seventeenth-century-italian-motetes.-,impo-34-c-4tk25mhul9.

List of illustrations

- Cover: *Canzonette a quattro voci* (Rome: Verovio, 1591), title page (detail) (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, D-Mbs 4 Mus.pr. 10), urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00074058.
- Figure i: *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1586), with intabulations, title page (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, D-Mbs 4 Mus.pr. 10#Beibd.3), urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00074059-1.
- Figure ii: *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1592), F. Anerio, 'Iesu decus angelicum', vocal parts (I-Bc R255).
- Figure iii: *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1592), F. Anerio, 'Iesu decus angelicum', intabulations (I-Bc R255).
- Figure 1.1: Marco Facoli, *Il secondo libro d'intavolatura di balli d'arpicordo* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1588), 'Pass'e mezzo moderno', fol. 1^v (I-Rsc G.CS. 3.B.31).
- Figure 1.2: Girolamo Diruta, *Il transilvano* (Venice: Vincenti, 1597), p. 15 (I-Bc D 16).
- Figure 1.3: Francesco da Milano, *Intabolatura di liuto* (Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1561), fol. Aij^r (A-Wn SA.76.D.53.2).
- Figure 2.1: Vittorio Zonca, *Novo teatro di machine et edifici per varie et sicure operationi* (Padua: Pietro Bertelli, 1607), p. 64 (A-Wn SA.72.P.56(2)).
- Figure 2.2: Vittorio Zonca, *Novo teatro di machine et edifici per varie et sicure operationi* (Padua: Pietro Bertelli, 1607), p. 76 (A-Wn SA.72.P.56(2)).
- Figure 3.1: *Lodi della Musica* (Rome: Verovio, 1595), last plate (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, D-Mbs 4 Mus.pr. 10#Beibd.1), urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00074059.
- Figure 3.2: Francesco da Milano, *Intabolatura da leuto del divino Francisco da Milano* ([s. n.], [s. d.]), fol. A III^r (A-Wn SA.76.D.54).
- Figure 3.3: Francesco da Milano, *Intabolatura da leuto di diversi, ... di M. Francesco da Milano* (Venice: Marcolini, 1536), fol. 3^r (A-Wn SA.78.C.28).
- Figure 3.4: Jan Sadeler, *The Virgin and Child with Saint Anne* (Antwerp: Sadeler, 1584) (GB-Lv E.5413-1919), © Victoria and Albert Museum.
- Figure 3.5: Vincenzo Galilei, *Dialogo di Vicentio Galilei Nobile Fiorentino della musica antica et della moderna* (Florence: Giorgio Marescotti, 1581), p. 71 (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, D-Mbs 4 Mus.th. 519), urn:de:bvb:12-bsb10164945.
- Figure 3.6: Simone Verovio, *Il primo libro delli essempli di Simone Verovio* (Rome: [s. n.], 1587), fol. 10^r (Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart D-Sl Gew.qt.1227), urn:nbn:de:bsz:24-digibib-bsz3790353244.
- Figure 3.7: Simone Verovio, *Il primo libro delli essempli di Simone Verovio* (Rome: [s. n.], 1587), fol. 12^r (Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart D-Sl Gew.qt.1227), urn:nbn:de:bsz:24-digibib-bsz3790353244.
- Figure 4.1: Jacobo Peetrino, *Jubilo di San Bernardo* (Rome: [s. n.], 1588), fols. 10, 11 (I-Bc U42). Watermark with the part not visible due to the binding in white.
- Figure 4.2: *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1586) without intabulations, title page (I-Bc R254).
- Figure 4.3: *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1586) without intabulations, dedication (I-Bc R254).

- Figure 4.4: *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1586) with intabulations, title page (B-Br Fétis 1.693A).
- Figure 4.5: *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1586), with intabulations, dedication (B-Br Fétis 1.693A).
- Figure 4.6: *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1592), with intabulations, title page (I-Bc R255).
- Figure 4.7: *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1592), with intabulations, dedication (I-Bc R255).
- Figure 4.8: Dedication of *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1586), without intabulations (I-Bc R254) with miniscule Roman numerals.
- Figure 4.9: *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1592), with intabulations, dedication page (detail (I-Bc R255) and different x and majuscule Roman numerals II.
- Figure 4.10: *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: Verovio, 1586), with intabulations, dedication page (detail (I-Bc R253).
- Figure 4.11: *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1586), with intabulations, dedication page (detail (I-Bc R253) enlarged with visible ghost marks behind the VI.
- Figure 4.12: *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1586), without intabulations, title page (detail (I-Bc R254).
- Figure 4.13: *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1586), with intabulations, title page (detail (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, D-Mbs 4 Mus.pr. 10#Beibd.3), urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00074059-1.
- Figure 4.14: *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: Verovio, [after 1592]), with intabulations, title page (detail (I-Bc R253).
- Figure 4.15: O. Durante, *Arie devote* (Rome: Verovio, 1624), ‘Scorga signor’, plate 1 (detail (I-Bc Z80).
- Figure 4.16: O. Durante, *Arie devote* (Rome: Verovio, 1608), ‘Aspice Domine’, plate 24 (detail (I-Rsc G.CS.2.C.44).
- Figure 4.17: O. Durante, *Arie devote* (Rome: Verovio, 1608), ‘Aspice Domine’, plate 24 (detail (I-Rsc G.CS.2.C.25.3, identical to I-Sc G.CS.2.D.16.1). A semibreve has been changed in to a minim with rest (m. 4) and figures have been added (m. 6).
- Figure 4.18: O. Durante, *Arie devote* (Rome: Verovio, 1608), ‘Aspice Domine’, plate 20 (detail) with the wrong bass note (I-Rsc G.CS.2.C.44).
- Figure 4.19: O. Durante, *Arie devote* (Rome: Verovio, 1608), ‘Aspice Domine’, plate 20 (detail) with the added correction (I-Rsc G.CS.2.C.25.3).
- Figure 5.1: S. Tommaso in Parione, Via di Parione 33 (photo: Thérèse de Goede).
- Figure 5.2: The entry to the Collegio Nardini, Via di Parione 37 (photo: Thérèse de Goede).
- Figure 5.3: *Essempiare di XIII lingue principalissime* (Rome: van Aelst, 1587) © The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved, Image number 101862001.
- Figure 5.4: *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1592), L. Marenzio, ‘Spiega mondo maligno’ (I-Bc R255). Differences in bass clefs, signs for time signature and beaming. Left: lowest voice part, right: left hand of the harpsichord part.
- Figure 5.5: *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1592), L. Marenzio, ‘Spiega mondo maligno’ (I-Bc R255). Differences in custos signs. Left : first two signs in the canto part, right: first signs in the harpsichord part.
- Figure 5.6: *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1592), F. Anerio, ‘O Iesu mi dulcissime’ (I-Bc R255).

- Differences in stems, longae and repeat signs. Left: lowest voice part, middle: harpsichord, right: lute part.
- Figure 5.7: *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1592), L. Marenzio, 'Qual paura' (I-Bc R255). Final lines in the lute part.
- Figure 5.8: *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1586), R. Giovanelli, 'Vermiglio e vago fiore' (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, D-Mbs 4 Mus.pr. 10#Beibd.2), urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00074060-0. 2nd verse and lute part.
- Figure 5.9: *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1586), F. Soriano, 'Vedo ogni selva' (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, D-Mbs 4 Mus.pr. 10#Beibd.2), urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00074060-0. 2nd verse and lute part.
- Figure 5.10: *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1586), A. Orlandino, 'Ingustissimo amore' (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, D-Mbs 4 Mus.pr. 10#Beibd.2), urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00074060-0. 2nd verse and lute part.
- Figure 5.11: G. F. Anerio, *Gagliarde* ([Rome]: [n. p.], [c. 1607]) 'Gagliarda V', © bpk – Bildagentur für Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte / Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (D-B A1126).
- Figure 6.1: *Canzonette a quattro voci* (Rome: Verovio, 1591), title page (detail) (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, D-Mbs 4 Mus.pr. 10), urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00074058.
- Figure 8.1: Girolamo Diruta, *Seconda parte del Transilvano* (Venice: Vincenti, 1609/1622), book I, p. 5 (I-Bc D 19).
- Figure 8.2: Girolamo Diruta, *Seconda parte del Transilvano* (Venice: Vincenti, 1609/1622), book I, p. 11 (I-Bc D 19).
- Figure 8.3: Marco Facoli, *Il secondo libro d'intavolatura di balli d'arpicordo* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1588), fol. 25^r, 'Aria della signora Cinthia' (I-Rsc G.CS. 3.B.31).
- Figure 8.4: Marco Facoli, *Il secondo libro d'intavolatura di balli d'arpicordo* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1588), fol. 30^r, 'Hor ch'io son gionto quivi' (I-Rsc G.CS. 3.B.31).
- Figure 8.5: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Florence, Ms Magl. XIX.138, fols. 5^v and 6^r, 'Gesù del alma'.
- Figure 8.6: Ms Carlo G., fol. 8^v, Giulio Romano, 'Benche sovra le stelle'.
- Figure 8.7: Ms Carlo G., fol. 7^r, Bartolomeo Barbarino, 'Cantate domino'.
- Figure 8.8: Ms Carlo G., fol. 2^v, Anon., 'Tota pulchra es'.
- Figure 9.1: Galeazzo Sabbatini, *Regola facile e breve* (Venice: Il Salvadorio, 1628), p. 10 (I-Bc E34).
- Figure 9.2: Galeazzo Sabbatini, *Regola facile e breve* (Venice: Il Salvadorio, 1628), p. 21 (I-Bc E34).
- Figure 9.3: Galeazzo Sabbatini, *Regola facile e breve* (Venice: Il Salvadorio, 1628), p. 14 (I-Bc E34).
- Figure 9.4: Galeazzo Sabbatini, *Regola facile e breve* (Venice: Il Salvadorio, 1628), pp. 22–23 (I-Bc E34).
- Figure 9.5: Francesco Bianciardi, *Breve regola* (Siena: Falcini, 1607) (I-Bc C96).
- Figure 9.6: Francesco Bianciardi, *Breve regola* (Siena: Falcini, 1607), main example (I-Bc C96).
- Figure 9.7: Agostino Agazzari, *Del sonare sopra il basso* (Siena: Falcini, 1607), p. 7 (I-Bc C49).
- Figure 9.8: Adriano Banchieri, *L'organo suonarino* (Venice: Ricciardo Amadino, 1611), Quinto registro, p. 61 (I-Bc C67).
- Figure 9.9: Giulio Caccini, *Nuove Musiche* (Florence: Marescotti, 1601), p. 13, 'Sfogava con le stelle' (retrieved from the Library of Congress, USA-Wc, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2012563557/>).

- Figure 9.10: Giulio Caccini, *Nuove Musiche* (Florence: Marescotti, 1601), p. 2, 'Movetevi a pietà' (retrieved from the Library of Congress, USA-Wc, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2012563557/>).
- Figure 9.11: Giulio Caccini, *Nuove Musiche* (Florence: Marescotti, 1601), p. 13, 'Sfogava con le stelle' (retrieved from the Library of Congress, USA-Wc, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2012563557/>).
- Figure 9.12: Domenico Brunetti, *Unica voce, binis, ternis, quaternis, et pluribus ad usum ecclesie varij concentus, cum gravi, & acuto ad organum* (Venice: Raverii, 1609), p. 6, 'Surrexit Pastor' for Bassus solus (I-BC X165).
- Figure 9.13: Marco da Gagliano, *La Dafne* (Florence: Marescotti, 1608), p. 5 (I-Fn RARI.B.R.125).
- Figure 9.14: Francesco Rasi, *Vaghezze di musica* (Venice: Gardano, 1608), p. 1, 'Che fai Alma' (I-Gu Rari L.VII.10(6)).
- Figure 9.15: O. Durante, *Arie devote* (Rome: Verovio, 1624), 'Angelus ad pastores', last system, plate 2; and first system, plate 3 (I-Rsc G.CS.2.C.44).
- Figure 9.16: O. Durante, *Arie devote* (Rome: Verovio, 1624), 'Scorga signor', plate 1 (I-Rsc G.CS.2.C.44).
- Figure 9.17: O. Durante, *Arie devote* (Rome: Verovio, 1624), 'Estote fortes', plate 3 (I-Rsc G.CS.2.C.44).
- Figure 9.18: O. Durante, *Arie devote* (Rome: Verovio, 1624), 'Auditui meo' from 'Miserere mei deus', plate 20 (detail) (I-Rsc G.CS.2.C.25.3).
- Figure 10.1: Luzzasco Luzzaschi, *Madrigali* (Rome: Verovio, 1601), 'Deh vieni hormai cor mio', plate 11 (retrieved from the Library of Congress, USA-Wc), <https://www.loc.gov/item/2008561305/>.
- Figure 10.2: *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1589), G. B. Locatello, 'Donna gentil voi siete' (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, D-Mbs 4 Mus.pr. 10#Beibd.2), urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00074060-0.
- Figure 10.3: Marco Facoli, *Il secondo libro d'intavolatura di balli d'arpicordo* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1588), fol. 32r, 'S'io m'accorgo bene' (I-Rsc G.CS. 3.B.31).
- Figure 10.4: Ottavio Durante, *Arie devote* (Rome: Verovio, 1624), 'Scorga signor', plate 1, mm. 17–18 (I-Rsc G.CS.2.C.25.3).
- Figure 10.5: Agostino Agazzari, *Del sonare sopra il basso* (Siena: Falcini, 1607), p. 7 (I-Bc C49).
- Figure 10.6: Francesco Bianciardi, *Breve regola* (Siena: Falcini, 1607), from the main example (I-Bc C96).
- Figure 10.7: Luzzasco Luzzaschi, *Madrigali* (Rome: Verovio, 1601), 'O primavera', plate 4 (retrieved from the Library of Congress, USA-Wc, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2008561305/>).
- Figure 10.8: Luzzasco Luzzaschi, *Madrigali* (Rome: Verovio, 1601), 'O primavera', plate 4 (retrieved from the Library of Congress, USA-Wc, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2008561305/>).
- Figure 10.9: Luzzasco Luzzaschi, *Madrigali* (Rome: Verovio, 1601), 'O primavera', plate 3 (retrieved from the Library of Congress, USA-Wc, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2008561305/>).
- Figure 10.10: *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1586), F. Anerio, 'Iesu decus angelicum' (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, D-Mbs 4 Mus.pr. 10#Beibd.3), urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00074059-1.
- Figure 10.11: *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1586), G. P. Palestrina, 'Iesu rex admirabi-

- lis', harpsichord part (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, D-Mbs 4 Mus.pr. 10#Beibd.3), urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00074059-1.
- Figure 10.12: *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1586), F. Anerio, 'Donna se'l cor legasti', harpsichord part (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, D-Mbs 4 Mus.pr. 10#Beibd.2), urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00074060-0.
- Example 8.1: Girolamo Diruta, *Seconda parte del Transilvano*, book I, p. 5, transcription of figure 8.1.
- Example 8.2: *Diletto spirituale*, Felice Anerio, 'Iesu decus angelicum', voices and harpsichord, mm. 4–7.
- Example 8.3: *Diletto spirituale*, Francesco Soriano, 'O gloriosa donna', harpsichord, mm. 12–14.
- Example 8.4: Luzzasco Luzzaschi, *Madrigali*, 'Cor mio deh non languire', mm. 13–15, with the two original voice parts and the four parts of the tablature separated.
- Example 8.5: Luzzasco Luzzaschi, *Madrigali*, 'Cor mio deh non languire', mm. 13–15, with the two original voice parts and the four parts in tablature.
- Example 8.6: Girolamo Diruta, *Seconda parte del Transilvano*, book I, p. 11, transcription of figure 8.2.
- Example 8.7: Diego Ortiz, *Trattado de glosas* (Rome: Dorico, 1553), Libro secondo, fol. 47^v, with intabulations using three different techniques.
- Example 8.8: Marco Facoli, *Il secondo libro d'intavolatura di balli d'arpicordo*, 'Aria della signora Cinthia', fol. 25^v (I-Rsc G.CS. 3.B.31), transcription of figure 8.3.
- Example 8.9: Marco Facoli, *Il secondo libro d'intavolatura di balli d'arpicordo*, 'Hor ch'io son gionto quivi', fol. 30^r (I-Rsc G.CS. 3.B.31), transcription of figure 8.4.
- Example 8.10: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Florence, Ms Magl. XIX.138, fols. 5^v and 6^r, 'Gesù del alma', transcription of figure 8.5.
- Example 8.11: Ms Carlo G., fol. 8^v, Giulio Romano, 'Benche sovra le stelle', transcription of figure 8.6.
- Example 8.12: Ms Carlo G., fol. 2^v, Anon., 'Tota pulchra es', transcription of figure 8.8.
- Example 9.1: *Diletto spirituale*, Ruggiero Giovannelli, 'Iesu sole serenior', m. 3.
- Example 9.2: *Diletto spirituale*, Felice Anerio, 'Iesu decus angelicum', m. 2, harpsichord part.
- Example 9.3: Galeazzo Sabbatini, *Regola facile e breve*, p. 22.
- Example 9.4: Galeazzo Sabbatini, *Regola facile e breve*, possible reconstruction of figure 9.4.
- Example 9.5: Galeazzo Sabbatini, *Regola facile e breve*, p. 24.
- Example 9.6: *Diletto spirituale*, Felice Anerio, 'Iesu decus angelicum', m. 9, harpsichord part left hand.
- Example 9.7: Francesco Bianciardi, *Breve regola*, transcription of figure 9.6.
- Example 9.8: *Diletto spirituale*, Felice Anerio, 'Iesu decus angelicum', m. 9, harpsichord part.
- Example 9.9: Agostino Agazzari, *Del sonare sopra il basso*, p. 7, transcription of figure 9.7.
- Example 9.10: Adriano Banchieri, *L'organo suonarino*, transcription and intabulation of figure 9.8.
- Example 9.11: Emilio de' Cavalieri, *Rappresentatione di anima et di corpo*, p. XXIX, no. 69. Realisation by Elam Rotem.
- Example 9.12: Domenico Brunetti, *Unica voce, binis, ternis, quaternis, et pluribus ad usum ecclesie varij concertus, cum gravi, & acuto ad organum* (Venice: Raverii, 1609), transcription of figure 9.12.
- Example 10.1: Comparison of the left hand of examples from Banchieri and Sabbatini.

- Example 10.2: Left hand of the general examples from Bianciardi and Sabbatini.
- Example 10.3: *Diletto spirituale*, Luca Marenzio, 'Spiega mondo maligno, mm. 1–6. Notes are added in the left hand on bass notes in the first, second and third divisions.
- Example 10.4: *Diletto spirituale*, Ruggiero Giovanelli, 'Tu mentis delectatio', mm. 4–6. Notes are added in the left hand on bass notes in the fifth and second divisions.
- Example 10.5: *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali*, Felice Anerio, 'Fiamme che da begl'occhi', mm. 6–10 (second part).
- Example 10.6: *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali*, Felice Anerio, 'Fiamme che da begl'occhi' mm. 1–15 (first part).
- Example 10.7a: Luzzasco Luzzaschi, *Madrigali*, 'T mi son giovinetta', mm. 1–6.
- Example 10.7b: Luzzasco Luzzaschi, *Madrigali*, 'T mi son giovinetta', mm. 1–6, left hand.
- Example 10.7c: Luzzasco Luzzaschi, *Madrigali*, 'T mi son giovinetta', mm. 1–6, left hand transposed.
- Example 10.8: Luzzasco Luzzaschi, *Madrigali*, 'O dolcezza amarissime d'amore', mm. 12–14, left hand.
- Example 10.9: Francesco Bianciardi, *Breve regola*, general example, mm. 3–5. Transcription showing real and hidden parallels.
- Example 10.10: Agostino Agazzari, *Del sonare sopra il basso*, p. 7, mm. 1–2. Transcription showing parallels.
- Example 10.11: Francesco Bianciardi, *Breve regola*, general example mm. 3–5. Transcription split up into four parts below the intabulation.
- Example 10.12: *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali*, G. B. Locatello, 'Donna gentil voi siete', transcription of figure 10.2.
- Example 10.13: Marco Facoli *Il secondo libro d'intavolatura di balli d'arpcordo*, 'S'io m'accorgo bene', transcription of figure 10.3.
- Example 10.14: *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali*, Jacobo Peetrino, 'Ardenti miei sospiri', mm. 5–6, harpsichord and lute.
- Example 10.15: Sample *groppi* from canzonetta intabulations.
- Example 10.16: *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali*, Giovanni Pierluigi Palestrina, 'Ahi che quest'occhi miei', mm. 9–11.
- Example 10.17: *Diletto spirituale*, Felice Anerio, 'Rex virtutum', mm.1–3 voices and harpsichord intabulation.
- Example 10.18: *Diletto spirituale*, Felice Anerio, 'O Iesu mi dulcissime', mm1–7.
- Example 10.19: *Diletto spirituale*, Ruggiero Giovanelli, 'Iesu summa benignitas', mm. 6–7.
- Example 10.20: *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali*, Felice Anerio, 'Donna se'l cor legasti', mm. 15–17.
- Example 10.21: *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali*, Ruggiero Giovanelli, 'Vermiglio e vago fiore', mm. 7–8.
- Example 10.22: *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali*, Ruggiero Giovanelli, 'Si vaga è la mia fiamma', mm. 4–11, harpsichord and lute.
- Example 10.23: Luzzasco Luzzaschi, *Madrigali*, 'Cor mio deh non languire', mm. 25–26.
- Example 10.24: *Diletto spirituale*, Giovanni Pierluigi Palestrina, 'Iesu flos matris virginis', m. 10.
- Example 10.25: *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali*, Anibale Stabile, 'Ohi me partito è'l mio bel sol lucente', last measure.

- Example 10.26a: *Diletto spirituale*, Felice Anerio, 'O Iesu mi dulcissime', casella 8–9, lute.
- Example 10.26b: *Diletto spirituale*, Felice Anerio, 'O Iesu mi dulcissime', casella 8–9, lute. Transcription of example 10.26a.
- Example 10.27: *Diletto spirituale*, Ruggiero Giovanelli, 'Iesu sole serenior', mm. 1–5, harpsichord and lute.
- Example 10.28: *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali*, Giovanni Pierluigi Palestrina, 'Ahi che quest'occhi miei', mm. 7–15, harpsichord and lute.
- Example 10.29: *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali*, Giovanni Costa 'Se fredda è la mia donna', mm. 1–3.
- Example 10.30: *Diletto spirituale*, Felice Anerio, 'O beatum incendium', mm. 10–13.
- Example 10.31: *Diletto spirituale*, Ruggiero Giovanelli, 'Iesu summa benignitas', mm. 1–3.
- Example 10.32: *Diletto spirituale*, Luca Marenzio 'Qual paura', mm. 1–4.
- Example 10.33: *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali*, Felice Anerio, 'Donna se'l cor legasti', mm. 11–17, harpsichord and lute.
- Example 10.34: *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali*, Felice Anerio, 'Al suon non posa il core', harpsichord and lute.
- Example 10.35: *Diletto spirituale*, Felice Anerio, 'Iesus in pace imperat', mm. 1–3.
- Example 10.36: *Diletto spirituale*, Felice Anerio, 'Iesus in pace imperat', mm. 1–3, vocal parts transposed.
- Example 10.37: *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali*, Felice Anerio, 'Donna se'l cor legasti'.

List of tables

Table 3.1: Anthologies of canzonette by various composers.

Table 3.2: Collections of works by a single composer.

Table 3.3: Writing-books and broadsides.

Table 4.1: Versions of the prints associated with Verovio. An asterisk indicates that Verovio is not mentioned in a given print.

Table 4.2: Diletto Spirituale: different versions according to RISM with the varying factors.

Table 4.3: Proposed order of genesis for the existing copies of the Diletto Spirituale. In brackets the numbers of the versions from table 4.2.

Table 4.4: Copies of the Diletto spirituale examined for watermarks.

Table 4.5: Compositions in the Peetrino prints. Titles in bold are the four verses of the Christmas poem.

Table 4.6: Ottavio Durante Arie devote, plate sizes.

Table 5.1: Dedictees and signers of the dedications of the prints associated with Verovio.

Table 5.2: Composers represented in the Verovio prints, and the Roman churches in which they were active.

Table 5.3: Composers represented in the Verovio prints, and the Roman religious institutions with which they were associated.

Table 5.4: The number of pieces by individual composers, divided into sacred and secular. The members of the *Congregazione de' musici* are indicated in bold.

Table 5.5: Position of the composers in the different collections and versions.

Table 5.6: Verovio's roles in the prints as mentioned on the different states (indicated by the lower-case roman numbers) of the title page.

Table 9.1: Divisions of the bass compass with possible added intervals.

Table 10.1: Number of notes in the five divisions according to Sabbatini with added notes.

Table 10.2: Major final cadences in three-part canzonettas.

Table 10.3: Major median cadences in three-part canzonettas.

Table 10.4: Type of cadences in the *Diletto spirituale* and *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali*.

Table 10.5: Clashes at cadences in the *Diletto spirituale* and *the Ghirlanda*.

Table 10.6: Pieces from the *Ghirlanda* with low lute intabulations, with the canzonettas included in table 10.5 in small capitals.

Index

A

Agazzari, Agostino 112, 146, 163, 187–191, 193, 195, 196, 198, 205, 215–219, 230, 233, 234, 237–239, 242, 243, 245, 246, 248, 250–252, 254, 255, 258, 265, 270, 271, 274, 280, 283, 284, 295

Agee, Richard 21

Aichinger, Gregor 97

Aldobrandini, Pietro 102–104, 106, 108

All'insegna del Martello 117

Altemps 108

Amadino, Ricciardo 108, 219, 220

Ancina, Giovenale 111, 139, 140, 150

Anderson, Gary Lee 146, 147, 269, 281, 286

Anerio, Felice 50, 59, 66, 103, 108, 111, 112, 114, 115, 121, 128–130, 132, 198, 209, 242, 260, 262, 277, 283, 284, 290, 295

Anerio, Giovanni Francesco 51, 52, 84, 85, 102, 106, 107, 109, 126, 132, 164, 282

Animuccia, Giovanni 142

Annibaldi, Claudio 98

Antico, Andrea 18, 27

Antwerp 92

Archilei, Vittoria 145, 149

B

backdating 66, 67

Baldini, Vittorio 37

Balestri, Giovanni Antonio 131

Banchieri, Adriano 160, 162, 188, 191, 194, 204, 210, 219–222, 224, 225, 227, 233, 237, 238, 245, 246, 249, 251, 286, 287, 289, 290, 293

Barbarino, Bartolomeo 184

Barbieri, Patrizio 131, 190, 286

Barera, Rhodiano 107

Bassano, Leandro 144

basso continuo 9, 22, 80, 93, 155, 156, 161, 163, 167, 173, 175, 181, 188, 191, 192, 196–198, 201, 210, 217, 219, 220, 222–224, 230, 232–234, 237, 242, 249, 250, 252, 265, 293–295

Becherini, Bianca 51

Bellasio, Paolo 107, 114, 132, 290

Bellintani da Salò, Mattia 134

Bernstein, Jane 21, 30, 36

Bertoldo, Sperindio 136

Bertolotti, Antonino 91

Bianchi (Blancus), Cristoforo 42, 58, 79, 85, 89, 90, 116, 117, 124, 125, 130

Bianciardi, Francesco 188, 191, 193, 196, 205, 210–215, 217, 230, 231, 234, 237–239, 242, 243, 245–252, 254, 265, 271, 274, 277, 278, 280

Bianconi, Lorenzo 137, 188

Bizzarini, Marco 149, 150, 189

Boccapadule, Antonio 49, 99, 100

Bologna 63

Borboni, Nicolò 37, 38, 57, 58, 111, 124

Brancaccio, Giulio Cesare 37, 269

Brown, Howard Mayer 35, 64, 147, 159, 192

Brunetti, Domenico 225, 228, 232

Bury, Michael 30, 32, 33, 35, 38, 40–43, 46

Busse Berger, Anna Maria 138

C

Caccini, Francesca 149

Caccini, Giulio 112, 173, 183, 191, 192, 222, 224, 233, 269, 281

Carella, Michele 10

cancellaresca 92

canzonettas 21, 34, 37, 50, 55, 62, 64, 66, 85, 100, 105, 107, 114, 119, 124, 129–131, 133, 137, 138, 140, 141, 145, 146, 148, 156, 160, 165, 170, 172, 177, 181, 186, 198, 199, 214, 234, 237, 239, 241, 242, 246, 248, 250, 252–255, 257, 258, 263, 266, 267, 269–273, 278, 283, 284, 286, 287, 290, 294–296

Canzonette à quattro voci 50, 62, 85, 119, 123, 126–128, 132, 144, 147, 214, 287, 290

Canzonette à tre 64, 150

Canzonette spirituali 138, 150

Capella Sistina 105, 162

Card. di Lorena 99, 102, 313, 314

Card. di Verona 99, 100

Card. Montalto (Peretti) 103, 106

Carlo G. 183, 184

Carter, Tim 9, 132, 188, 190, 192, 294

Casimiri, Raffaele 91, 98

- Castaldi, Bellerofonte 57
 Castell'Arquato 146, 186
 Cavalieri, Emilio de' 140, 142, 187, 196, 224, 225, 247
 Cavazzoni, Marc'Antonio 177
 Cerreto, Scipione 179
 chiavette 126, 286, 287, 289, 290, 293
 chiavi naturali 214, 286, 290
 choirbook 16, 20, 22, 50, 52, 85, 133, 134, 137, 138, 155–157, 165, 173, 186
 Cima, Giovanni Paolo 230, 231
 Classes in Christian doctrine 139–141, 148, 151
 Clement VIII. 102, 109
 colla parte 294
 Collarile, Luigi 105
 Collegio Germanico 131, 141
 Collegio Nardini 42, 49, 94, 98, 117, 130
 Collegio Nardini" 95
 Collegio Romano 105, 106, 141
 concerto delle dame 52, 138, 147, 149
 Conforto, Giovanni Luca 48, 49, 56
 Congregazione dell'Oratorio 94, 107, 142
 Congregazione de' Musici 105, 107, 108, 113, 130, 142, 143, 189
 Cort, Cornelis 41
 Costa, Gasparo 107
 Crist, B. Harris 110
 Crivelli, Arcangelo 108, 109, 114, 270
 Curione, Ludovico 35, 54, 116, 119
- D
- da Milano, Francesco 19, 37, 44, 45
 Darbellay, Etienne 38
 de' Bardi, Giovanni 191, 281, 282
 DeFord, Ruth I. 145
 de Goede, Thérèse 9
 Dell'Antonio, Andrew 110, 135, 137
 del Mel, Rinaldo 21, 50, 55, 101, 108, 109, 114, 128, 132, 134, 252
 de Macque, Giovanni 21, 50, 107, 114, 132
 de' Medici, Ferdinando 102
 Dennis, Flora 149
 d'Este, Alfonso II 102, 103
 d'Este, Luigi 113
 Devoto pianto 55, 98, 100, 101, 116, 117, 124, 134
 Dialogo pastorale 52, 102, 288
- Diletto spirituale 20, 34–36, 49, 50, 59, 60, 62, 64, 75, 76, 89, 96, 99, 100, 105, 114–117, 119, 121, 122, 125–128, 131, 132, 134, 137, 143, 150, 156, 170, 199, 204, 239, 250–253, 259, 260, 267, 272, 277, 286, 287, 290, 296
 d'India, Sigismondo 112
 Diruta, Girolamo 18, 157, 167–170, 172–175, 177–179, 185, 186, 215, 220, 221, 233, 238, 239, 249, 258–260, 284
 di Savoia-Racconigi, Bernardino 104
 Dragoni, Giovanni Andrea 132
 Dragosits, Anne Marie 9, 57, 160
 Durante, Castore 106
 Durante, Ottavio 20, 22, 33, 50–52, 58–60, 79, 89, 103, 104, 106, 109, 111, 117, 122, 132, 156, 191, 194, 196, 224, 228, 230–232, 254, 256, 271
- E
- editore 106
 Edwards, Rebecca A. 105
 engravers 41
 engraving 20, 21, 30, 32–35, 37–42, 45, 49, 56–59, 67, 84, 89, 91, 104, 106, 111, 116, 117, 124, 130
 Esemplare di XIII lingue principalissime 53, 96, 100, 117
 exercises in Christian doctrine 139–141, 148, 151
- F
- Fabris, Dinko 177, 192
 Facoli, Marco 177, 180, 247, 295
 Farnese 92, 102–104, 150
 Fenlon, Iain 183
 Fergusio, Giovanni Battista 104, 233
 Ferrara 23, 37, 52, 102, 103, 136, 138, 147, 192
 Fétis, François-Joseph 66, 76, 131
 Filippi, Daniele V. 135, 140
 Fiore, John Joseph 64, 116, 138, 139, 145, 146, 148, 182
 Fischhof, Joseph 131
 Florence 41, 132, 144, 181, 224
 Fortune, Nigel 58, 269
 Foscari, Giovanni Paolo 57
 Franchi, Saverio 16, 93, 94
 Frangipani, Cornelio 40
 Frankfurt 41, 105, 106, 133, 197
 Frescobaldi, Girolamo 23, 37, 38, 57, 58, 103, 111, 117, 124, 157, 161, 274

Fugger, Jakob 44, 100

G

Gabrieli, Andrea 136, 174
 Gagliano, Marco da 227
 Galilei, Vincenzo 48, 147, 157, 158, 163, 167,
 178–180, 269, 274
 Gardano, Alessandro 150
 Gardano, Angelo 17, 18, 36, 104, 106, 132–134, 136,
 177, 180, 182, 210, 227
 Gaspari, Gaetano 96, 131
 gatherings 33, 55, 60–62, 75, 76, 80, 124, 143
 Gesualdo, Carlo 107, 191
 Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali 50, 59, 62, 85, 99, 107,
 119, 122, 123, 125, 126, 128, 129, 133, 134, 137, 150,
 199, 222, 247, 250, 251, 253, 259, 267, 269, 270,
 272, 284, 286, 287, 289, 296
 Giovanelli, Ruggiero 50, 103, 111, 132, 170, 264, 279,
 290
 Giuliani, Marco 9, 145
 Giunti, Filippo 132, 149
 Gonzaga family 100
 Gonzaga, Margherita 102
 Gonzaga, Scipione 41
 Gonzaga, Vincenzo 102, 104, 129, 136, 138
 Gregory XIII, Pope 99, 142
 Gregory XV, Pope 110
 Griffi, Horatio 111
 Griffiths, Antony 34
 Guazzo, Stefano 136
 Guidotti, Alessandro 103, 196, 197

H

Hammond, Frederick 38
 Henri II, Prince of Lorraine and Duke of Bar 102
 Hill, John Walter 147, 181, 192, 195

I

Ingegneri, Marc'Antonio 107, 191
 intabulators 158, 168, 180
 intagliatore. *see* engravers
 intaglio printing 9, 15, 16, 19–21, 23, 27, 30, 32–42,
 44, 45, 49, 52, 56–60, 65, 67, 84, 89, 91, 98,
 104–106, 111, 114, 116, 124, 130, 156, 296
 intavolatura 57, 85

J

Jeanneret, Christine 58
 Jubilo di S. Bernardo 34, 51, 76, 77, 84

K

Kapsperger, Giovanni Girolamo 56, 57, 93, 110,
 160, 161
 Klingenstein, Bernhard 134

L

Lafreri, Antonio 33, 35, 79
 Landsberg, Ludwig 131
 Leiden 41
 letterpress 15, 16, 20, 32–35, 39, 62
 Lieto, Bartolomeo 157, 178
 Lincoln, Evelyn 42
 Locatello, Giovanni Battista 247, 290
 Lodi della musica 43, 50, 117
 London 9, 62, 76, 219
 Longo, Tarquinio 134, 150
 Lorraine family 89, 101, 102, 104, 116, 129
 Luzzaschi, Luzzasco 21, 51, 52, 90, 102, 104–106,
 117, 119, 122, 124–126, 136, 147, 156, 161, 164, 170,
 184, 186, 191, 192, 228, 231, 232, 242, 244, 245, 248,
 249, 251, 252, 254, 257, 258, 263, 266, 274, 275,
 278, 294, 295

M

Maestro del sacro palazzo 43, 90, 151
 Malvezzi, Elena 146
 Mantovana 43
 Mantua 102, 149
 maps 15, 20, 21, 30, 32–34, 36, 40, 56, 60, 84, 85, 91,
 117, 121, 129, 130
 Marcolini, Francesco 37, 44, 45
 Marenzio, Luca 50, 66, 109, 113, 114, 132–134, 145,
 191, 240, 283, 289
 Marescotti, Giorgio 48, 194, 222, 224, 227
 Mason, Kevin 146, 161–163
 Massaino, Tiburtio 149
 melodie spirituali 34
 Mercator, Gerardus 91, 92
 Merulo, Claudio 17, 20, 21, 38, 49, 51, 52, 56, 61, 62,
 85, 92, 103, 105, 106, 119, 124–126, 132, 136, 161
 Mischiati, Oscar 132
 Modena 57
 Molza, Tarquinia 149

- Montaigne, Michel de 40
 Monteverdi, Claudio 102
 Monteverdi, Giulio Cesare 110, 190
 Montfort, Antonio 76, 100, 105
 Morelli, Arnaldo 37, 58, 208, 269, 281, 287
 Müller, Andreas 133
 Munich 9, 62, 76, 78, 100, 101, 131, 134
 Muti, Nicolò 103
- N
- Nanini, Giovanni Battista 115
 Nanino, Giovanni Maria 50, 66, 111, 112, 114, 115,
 128, 132, 133, 287, 289, 290
 Naples 16, 19, 107, 116, 134, 139, 147, 150, 177–179
 Naventeri, Girolamo 53
 Neri, Filippo 94, 96, 100, 106, 107, 141, 142, 145
 Nuti, Giulia 155, 160, 195, 249
- O
- Oratorian 111
 Oratorio 93, 103, 110, 142
 Oratory 136, 139
 O'Regan, Noel 189, 198
 Orlandino, Antonio 107, 250, 251
 Orsini, Pietro 136, 143, 150
 Ortiz, Diego 165, 166, 175, 177
 Orvieto 107
 Osley, A. S. 35
- P
- Pacelli, Asprilio 109, 143, 198, 269
 Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da 36, 50, 96, 103, 108,
 114, 123, 132, 190, 195, 259, 272, 273, 278, 289, 290
 Palisca, Claude V. 191
 Parione 94, 131
 parti di mezzo 159, 232, 257, 258
 Peetrino, Jacobo 21, 34, 50, 52, 55, 60, 66, 76, 100,
 105, 116, 117, 121, 128–130, 132–134, 289
 Peri, Jacopo 112, 191, 194
 Petrucci, Ottaviano 37, 44
 Pettegree, Andrew 28
 Pévernage, Andries 46
 Phalèse, Pierre 41, 93, 133
 Pigna, Giovanni Battista 37
 Pirrotta, Nino 147, 192
 Plantin, Christophe 28, 33, 41, 93
 plate marks 32, 45, 46, 48, 60, 65, 83, 84
- Prague 101
 Pullapilly, Cyriac K. 100
- Q
- Quagliati, Paolo 109–111, 128, 132, 146, 150, 182,
 183, 214, 290
- R
- Rappresentazione di Anima et di Corpo 103, 136,
 142, 187, 224, 247
 Rasi, Francesco 227
 Raymundi, Daniel 46
 relief printing 15, 16, 20, 32–37, 39, 44, 48, 49,
 56, 62, 80, 98, 106, 130, 132, 139, 155, 156, 158,
 194–196, 227
 Richter, Wolfgang 133
 Ricordi, Giacomo 107
 rolling press 32
 Romano, Giacomo 119
 Rome 23, 40, 79, 83, 89–93, 95, 97, 100–109,
 111–113, 116, 117, 125, 130–133, 136, 139, 141,
 142, 145, 147, 151, 177, 182, 189, 192, 197, 202, 217,
 286
 Rore, Cipriano de 191
 Rossi, Michelangelo 58
 Rotem, Elam 9, 224
- S
- Sabbatini, Galeazzo 188, 201, 202, 205, 207–210,
 213, 231, 237–240, 242, 243, 245, 250
 Sadeler, Jan (Johann) 46, 134
 Santini, Fortunato 131
 Schuler, Richard 142
 Scultori, Adamo 42, 90
 Severi, Francesco 57
 's-Hertogenbosch 41, 91, 92
 Sigismund III. 106, 109
 Silbiger, Alexander 158, 159, 166, 169
 Sixtus V. 99, 103, 106, 111
 S. Lorenzo in Damaso 103
 S. Marcello 111
 S. Maria dell'Anima 93
 S. Maria della Pace 117
 S. Maria della Rotonda 143
 S. Maria in Vallicella 103, 117, 136, 142
 S. Maria Maggiore 107, 110

- Soriano, Francesco 108, 111, 132, 133, 170, 250, 253, 259, 294
 SS. Crocifisso 110
 SS. Trinità 141
 Stabile, Annibale 109, 111, 112, 128, 132, 133
 Stabile, Pompeo 107
 Stein, Nicolaus 133, 197
 Stella, Vincente 99
 S. Tommaso in Parione 43, 94, 100, 131
 Striggio, Alessandro 138
 Sulzbach, Johannes 19
- T
- tablature 18, 167, 250
 Tagliavini, Luigi Ferdinando 9, 10, 158, 167
 Terzi, Giovanni Antonio 146, 289
 travestimento spirituale 145
 type 80, 98, 106, 130, 139, 155, 158, 194, 196, 227
- U
- Ugonio, Pompeo 43
- V
- Valier, Agostino 100
 van Aelst, Nikolaus 42, 43, 65, 89, 90, 96, 100, 117, 130
 van Buyten, Martin 21, 42, 46, 65, 66, 89, 116, 117, 130
 van der Sman, Gert J. 42
 van Leyden, Lukas 41
 Venice 132
- Venturi, Pompilio 150
 Verdonck, Cornelis 46
 Verovia, Anna Giustina 93, 149
 Viadana, Lodovico da 191–193, 197–201, 205, 207, 246, 271
 Vicentino, Nicola 164, 191
 Vignau-Wilberg, Thea 46
 Vincenti, Giacomo 18, 106, 132, 133, 136, 201
 Viterbo 103, 106
 Vito di Gozze, Nicolò 148
 Vitolo, Alfredo 9, 62, 137
 Voet, Leon 28, 33
 Volterra, Francesco Capriano da 43
- W
- Washington 76
 watermark 33, 56, 60–63, 75, 77–79
 Werdenstein, Johann von 101, 132, 134
 Wistreich, Richard 111, 192
 Wittelsbach, Maximilian I, of Bavaria 101, 102
 Wittelsbach, William V, of Bavaria 100, 101, 132
 Wolfenbüttel 76
 woodcuts 15, 27, 33
 Woodward, David 33, 36
 writing-books 49, 54, 119
- Z
- Zanchi, Liberale 101
 Zarlino, Gioseffo 111, 230, 245, 246
 Zonca, Vittorio 28, 32
 Zucchelli, Giovanni Battista 250, 289

WIENER VERÖFFENTLICHUNGEN ZUR MUSIKGESCHICHTE

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON REINHARD KAPP UND
MARKUS GRASSL

EINE AUSWAHL

BD. 13 | AUGUSTA CAMPAGNE

SIMONE VEROVIO

MUSIC PRINTING, INTABULATIONS AND
BASSO CONTINUO IN ROME AROUND
1600

2018. 381 S. 189 S/W-ABB. UND NOTEN-
BEISP.

€ 45,00 | 978-3-205-20506-7

BD. 12 | EIKE RATHGEBER, CHRISTIAN
HEITLER, MANUELA SCHWARTZ
CONRAD ANSORGE 1862–1930

EIN PIANIST DES FIN DE SIÈCLE IN BERLIN
UND WIEN

2017. 759 S. 21 S/W- UND 12 FARB. ABB.,
13 NOTENBSP.

€ 75,00 | 978-3-205-20307-0

BD. 11 | CHRISTOPHER HAILEY

FRANZ SCHREKER (1878–1934)

EINE BIOGRAPHIE

2018. XXIV, 520 S. 40 S/W-ABB. UND 37
NOTENBSP.

€ 60,00 | ISBN 978-3-205-77786-1

BD. 10 | MARIE-AGNES DITTRICH,
MARTIN EYBL, REINHARD KAPP (HG.)

ZYKLUS UND PROZESS

JOSEPH HAYDN UND DIE ZEIT

2012. 338 S. 109 S/W-ABB. U. NOTENBSP.

€ 39,00 | ISBN 978-3-205-78514-9

BD. 9 | FEDERICO CELESTINI, GREGOR
KOKORZ, JULIAN JOHNSON (HG.)

MUSIK IN DER MODERNE

2011. 382 S. 37 S/W-ABB. UND NOTENBSP.

€ 45,00 | ISBN 978-3-205-77438-9

BD. 8 | DOMINIK SCHWEIGER,
NIKOLAUS URBANEK (HG.)

WEBERN_21

2009. 392 S. 43 S/W-ABB.

€ 49,00 | ISBN 978-3-205-77165-4

BD. 7 | MARKUS GRASSL,
REINHARD KAPP, EIKE RATHGEBER (HG.)

ÖSTERREICHS NEUE MUSIK

NACH 1945: KARL SCHISKE

2008. 609 S. 50 NOTENBSP.

€ 65,00 | ISBN 978-3-205-99491-6

BD. 5 | BEATRIX BORCHARD (HG.)

STIMME UND GEIGE

AMALIE UND JOSEPH JOACHIM –

BIOGRAPHIE UND INTERPRETATIONS-
GESCHICHTE

2. AUFL. 2007. 670 S. 73 S/W-ABB.

1 CD-ROM

€ 59,00 | ISBN 978-3-205-77629-1

BD. 4 | MARTIN EYBL (HG.)

DIE BEFREIUNG DES AUGENBLICKS:

SCHÖNBERGS SKANDALKONZERTE

1907 UND 1908

EINE DOKUMENTATION

2004. 307 S. 20 S/W-ABB.

€ 35,00 | ISBN 978-3-205-77103-6

