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Music printing, intabulations and
basso continuo in Rome around 1600

# SIMONE VEROVIO

böhlau

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WIENER VERÖFFENTLICHUNGEN
ZUR MUSIKGESCHICHTE      13

Herausgegeben von
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und
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## PRACTICAL ASPECTS

# 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.
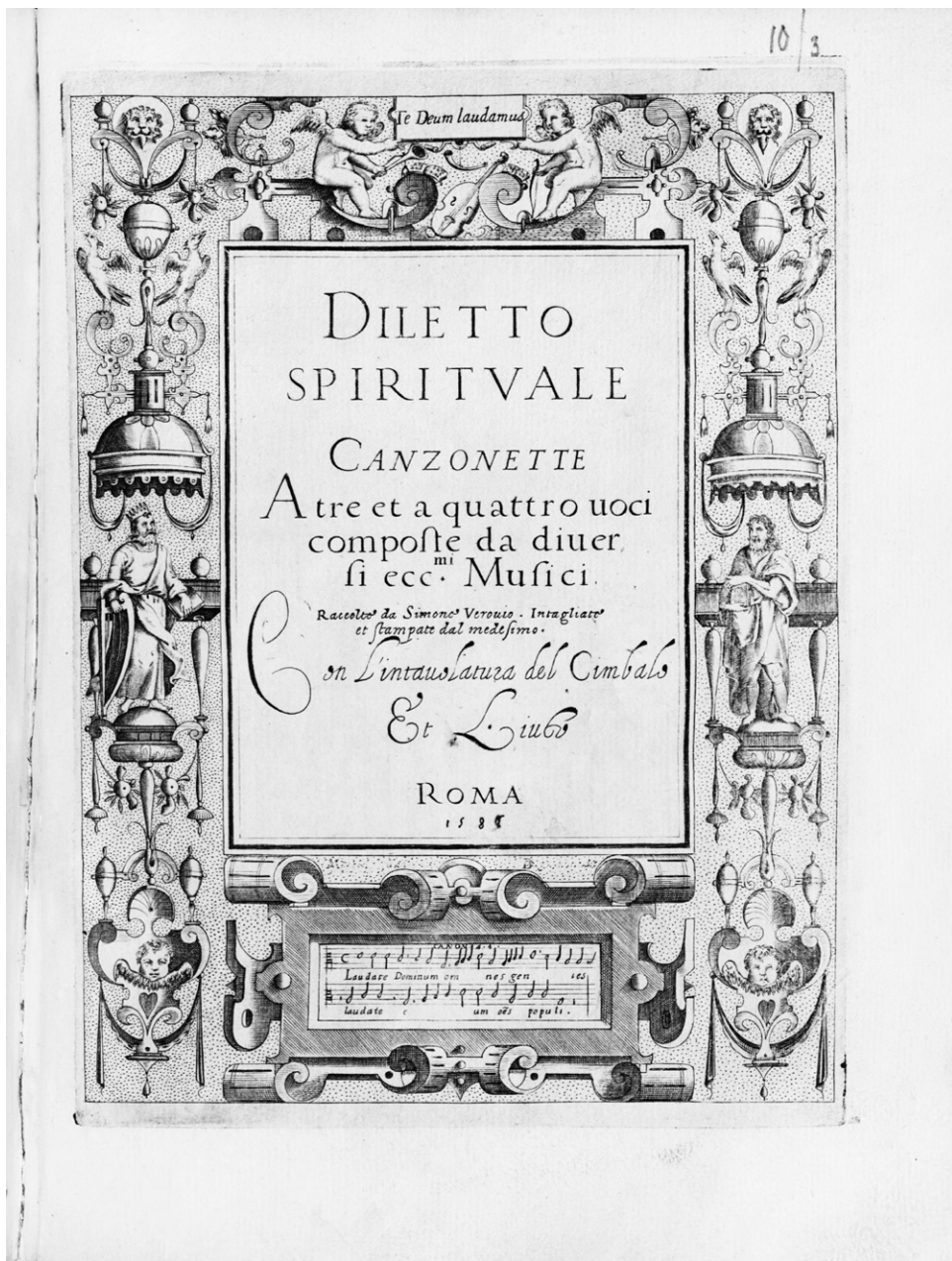
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# 1 Introduction

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 were 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

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1   Miller (2006), p. 329.

period has not received equal attention.[2] Of course this is partly because intaglio print-ing 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 no-tated 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 tech-niques. Later, sorts placed one above the other were also employed.

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2   Much research has been carried out on Italian publishers and printers, especially in Venice, by Agee, Bern-stein, 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.
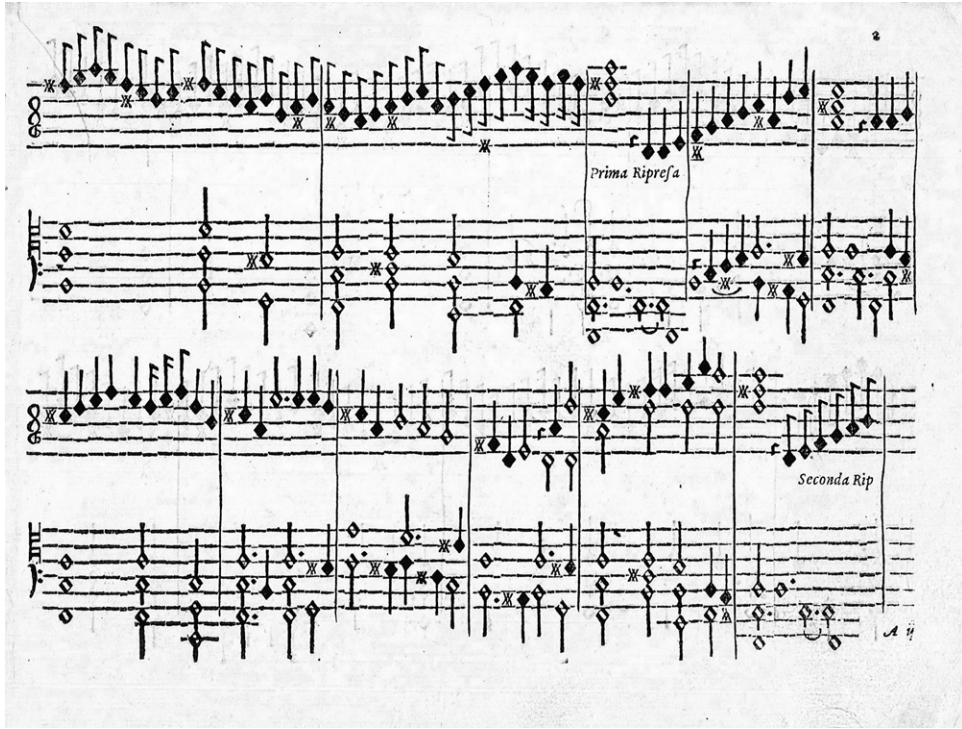
Figure 1.1 Marco Facoli, *Il secondo libro d'intavolatura di balli d'arpicordo* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1588),
'Pass'e mezzo moderno', fol. 1ᵛ (I-Rsc G.CS. 3.B.31).

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.

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6   Collarile (2008), p. 120.
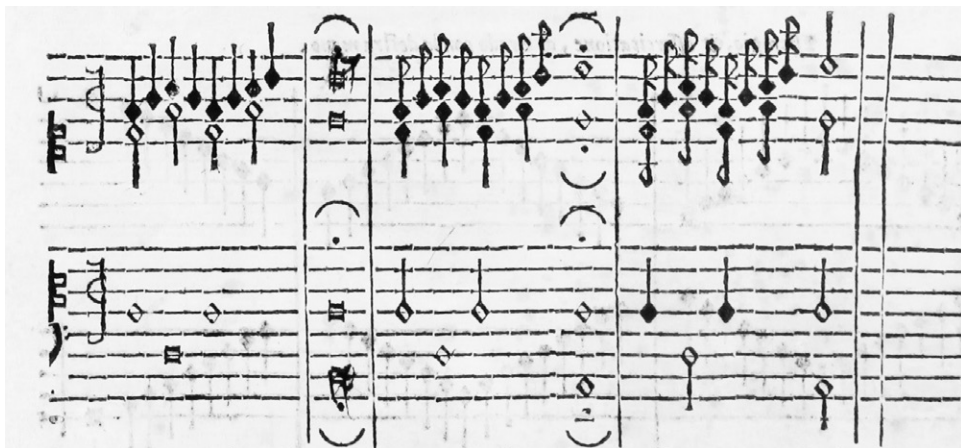
Figure 1.2 Girolamo Diruta, *Il transilvano* (Venice: Vincenti, 1597), p. 15 (I-Bc D 16).

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]

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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), 'Toccata 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 tabulature, 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 Attaingnant 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]

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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 possibile 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

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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.

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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

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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.

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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

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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

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

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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.
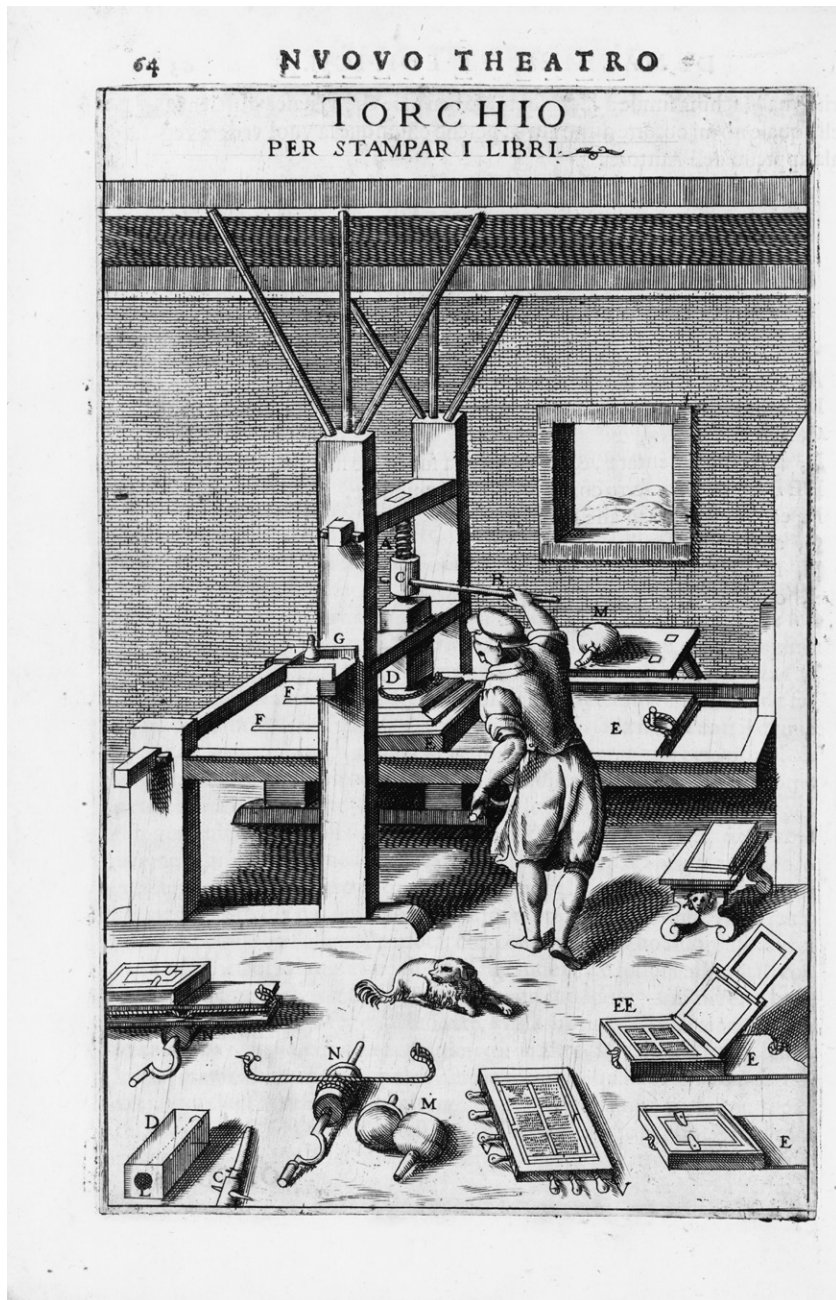
31  Griffiths (1996), p. 3.
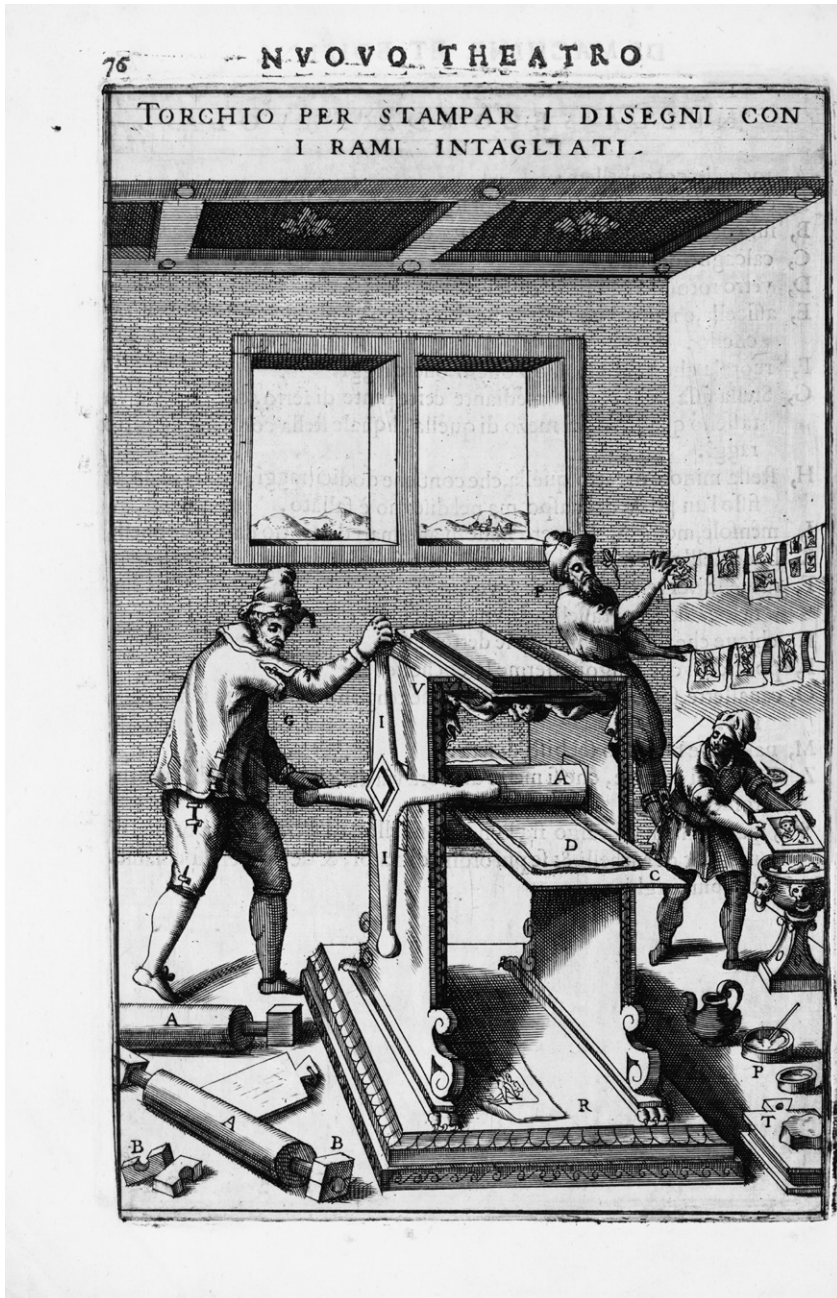
Figure 2.2 Vittorio Zonca, *Novo teatro di machine et edificii per varie et sicure operationi* (Padua: Pietro Bertelli, 1607), p. 76 (A-Wn SA.72.P.56(2)).

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]

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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

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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-

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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

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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* ($1590_{10}$).

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 Prophetae 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

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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-

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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-

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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.

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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

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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 rappiecée d'étrangiers.'
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 *designatore* 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-

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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 Blancus a series of plates, which formed the dowry.[104] Scultori was the brother of the famous

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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.
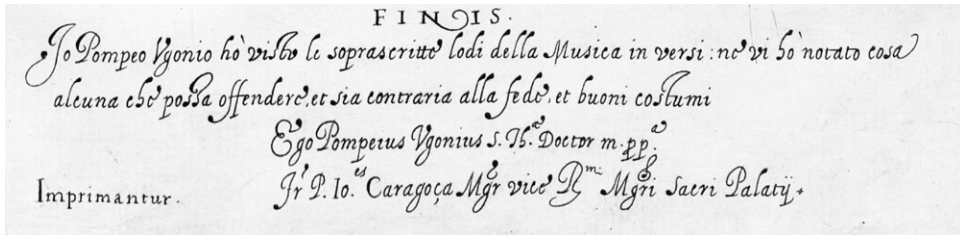
104  Bury (2001), p. 222.

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]

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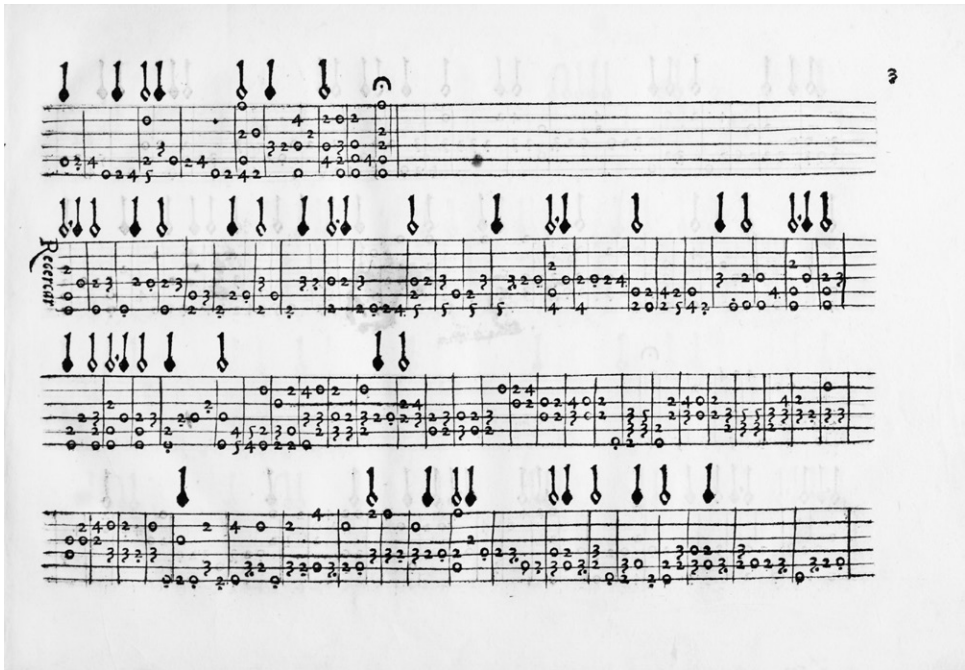
Figure 3.2 Francesco da Milano, *Intabolatura da leuto del divino Francisco da Milano* ([s. n.], [s. d.]),
fol. A III^r (A-Wn SA.76.D.54).

## 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 dedica-
tion. 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

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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: 1536^11, Brown 1536_3) 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 hith-
erto appeared only in engraving or woodcut, it is possible that the plates for this print were made before
1536.
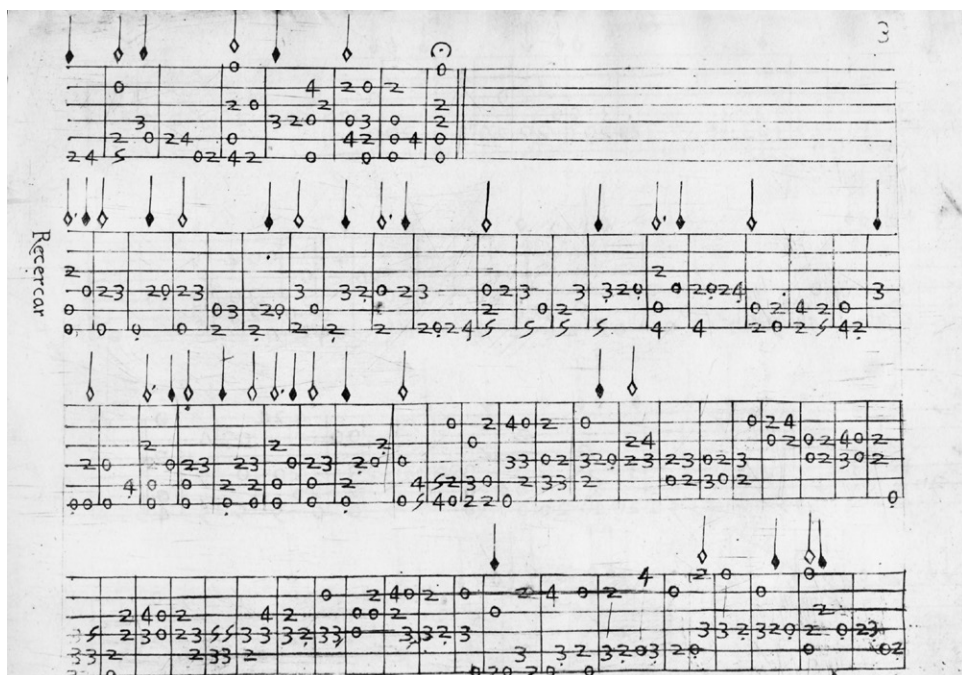
Figure 3.3 Francesco da Milano, *Intabolatura da leuto di diversi, … di M. Francesco da Milano* (Venice: Marcolini, 1536), fol. 3ʳ (A-Wn SA.78.C.28).

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

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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.
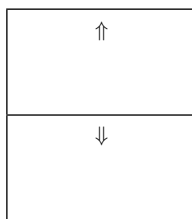


Aligning the plates in the press when printing the second side of the sheet must have been problematic, since we frequently find two distinct plate marks, something rarely found later to this extent.

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.

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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),
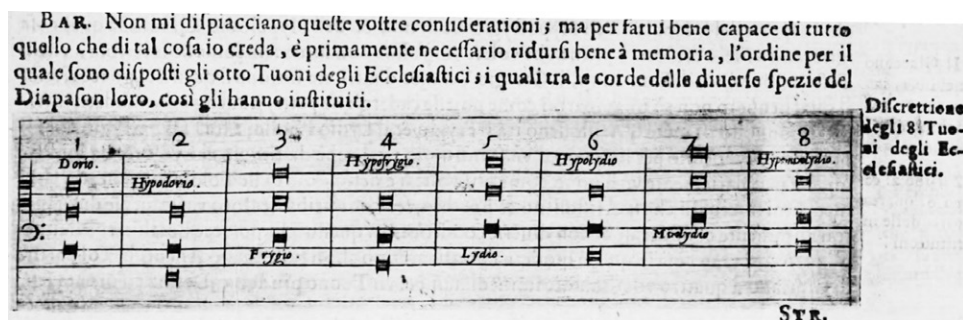© Victoria and Albert Museum.

Figure 3.5 Vincenzo Galilei, *Dialogo di Vicentio Galilei Nobilie 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 Passaggii* (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 (1ʳ–4ᵛ), all in oblong quarto format (19 × 13 cm). Although Conforto wrote singing

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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 movable 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 essempi*), 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.

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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 |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Diletto spirituale* | 1586 | (Simone Verovio)[a] (Martin van Buyten) | Simone Verovio |
| *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali* | 1589 | (Simone Verovio) | Simone Verovio |
| *Canzonette à quattro voci* | 1591 | (Simone Verovio) | Simone Verovio |
| *Canzonette spirituali* | 1591 | (Simone Verovio) | Simone Verovio |
| *Il devoto pianto della gloriosa Vergine* | 1592 | In Parione nel Collegio Nardino | Simone Verovio |
| *Lodi della musica* | 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)

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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 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Il primo libro delle melodie spirituali* | 1586 | Jacobo Peetrino | Simone Verovio Martinus van Buyten | no dedication |
| *Il primo libro del Jubilo di S. Bernardo* | 1588 | Jacobo Peetrino | | Jacomo Peetrino |
| *Toccate d'Intavolatura I* | 1598 | Claudio Merulo | Simone Verovio | Simone Verovio |
| *Dialogo pastorale* | 1600 | Giovanni Francesco Anerio | Simone Verovio | Simone Verovio |
| *Madrigali* | 1601 | Luzzasco Luzzaschi | Simone Verovio | Luzzasco Luzzaschi |
| *Toccate d'Intavolatura II* | 1604 | Claudio Merulo | Simone Verovio | Simone Verovio |
| *Arie devote* | 1608 | Ottavio Durante | Simone Verovio | Ottavio Durante |
| *Gagliarde* | [n. d.] | Giovanni Francesco Anerio | none | no dedication |

Table 3.2 Collections of works by a single composer.

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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:

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122  Luzzaschi, *Il primo libro de' madrigali* (Ferrara: de' Rossi, 1571) (RISM A/I L 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** | | | | |
| *Il primo libro delli essempi* | 1587 | Verovio | Martin van Buyten | Simone Verovio |
| *Essemplare Di lettere Cancellaresche corsive* | 1593 | Verovio | All'insegna del Martello | |
| *Scelta di carattere di lettere* | 1593 | Verovio a.o. | Ludovico Curione | |
| *Corona di varii caratteri per imparare a scrivere* | 1600 | Verovio a.o. | Martin van Buyten (Naples) | |
| *L'Alfabeto Delle Cancellaresche corsive et Maiuscole* | 1600 | Verovio a.o. | Girolamo Naventeri, All'insegna del Luppo | |
| *Idea del buon scrittore* | | Verovio a.o. | Tomaso Ruinetti | |
| **Broadsides** | | | | |
| *Essemplare di XIIII lingue principalissime* | 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 *Essemplare di XIIII 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

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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 *Essemplare di XIIII lingue principalissime.*
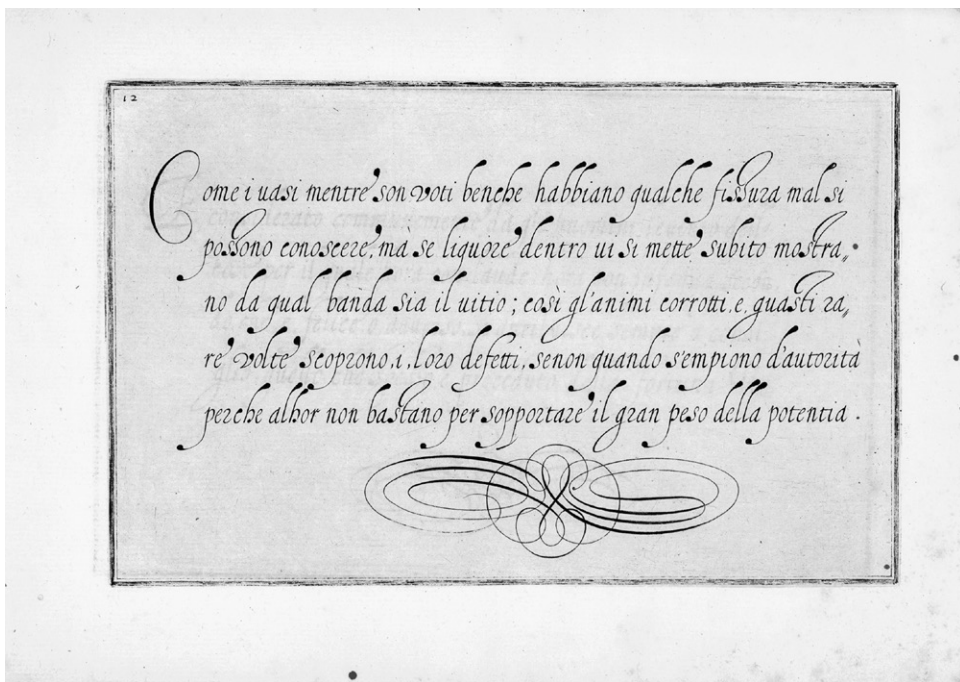
Figure 3.6 Simone Verovio, *Il primo libro delli essempi di Simone Verovio* (Rome: [s. n.], 1587), fol. 10ʳ (Württem-
bergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart D-Sl Gew.qt.1227), urn:nbn:de:bsz:24-digibib-bsz3790353244.

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 six-
teenth 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 per-
ceive 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 follow-
ing examples of *cancellaresca formata* (figure 3.6) and *cancellaresca cursiva* (figure 3.7).

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

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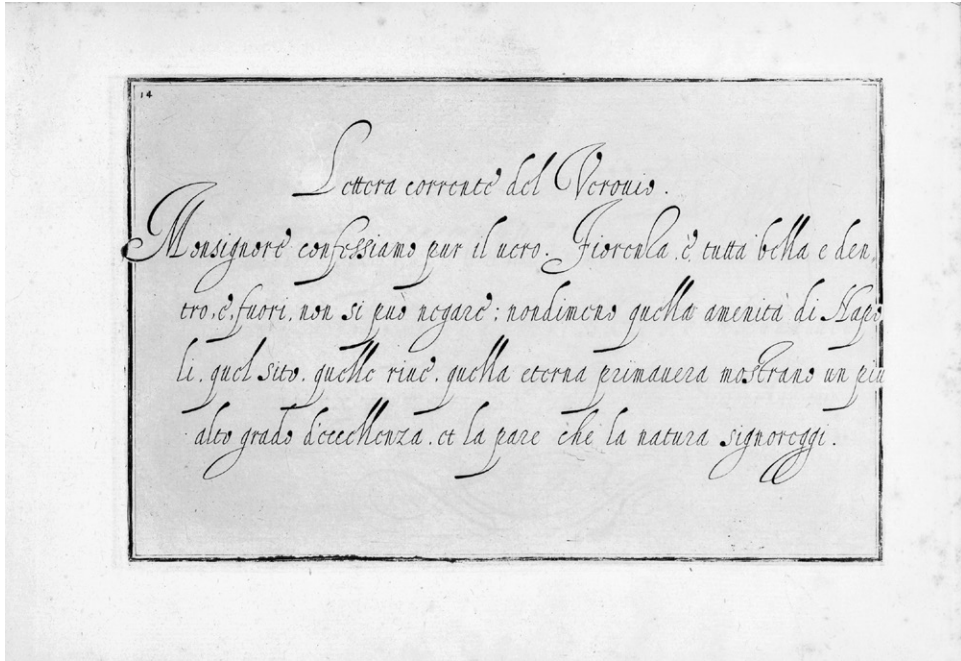
Figure 3.7 Simone Verovio, *Il primo libro delli essempi di Simone Verovio* (Rome: [s. n.], 1587), fol. 12ʳ (Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart D-Sl Gew.qt.1227), urn:nbn:de:bsz:24-digibib-bsz3790353244.

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-

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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 concenti* (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-

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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 *Toccata musicale detta la Turca,* dedicated to Marcantonio Turco in *I quattro libri,* is renamed *Toccata detta la inamorata,* 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.

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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 |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Diletto spirituale* | 1586 | 10 | 5 |
| *Melodie spirituali* | 1586 | 1 | |
| *Jubilo di S. Bernardo** | 1588 | 4 | 3 |
| *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali* | 1589 | 8 | 4 |
| *Canzonette spirituali* | 1591 | 3 partbooks | |
| *Canzonette à quattro voci* | 1591 | 6 | 3 |
| *Il devoto pianto* | 1592 | 1 partbook | |
| *Lodi della musica* | 1595 | 4 | 2 |
| *Toccate Libro I* | 1598 | 8 | ?[a] |
| *Dialogo pastorale* | 1600 | 1 | |
| *Madrigali per cantare e sonare* | 1601 | 2 | 1 |
| *Toccate libro II* | 1604 | 7 | ? |

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142  Details are found in appendix 1.
143  See chapter 6.4.

| Publication | Earliest date | Number of copies | Number of versions |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Arie devote* | 1608 | 4 | 4 |
| Anerio, *Gagliarde** | [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

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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 watermarks[147] 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

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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

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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.
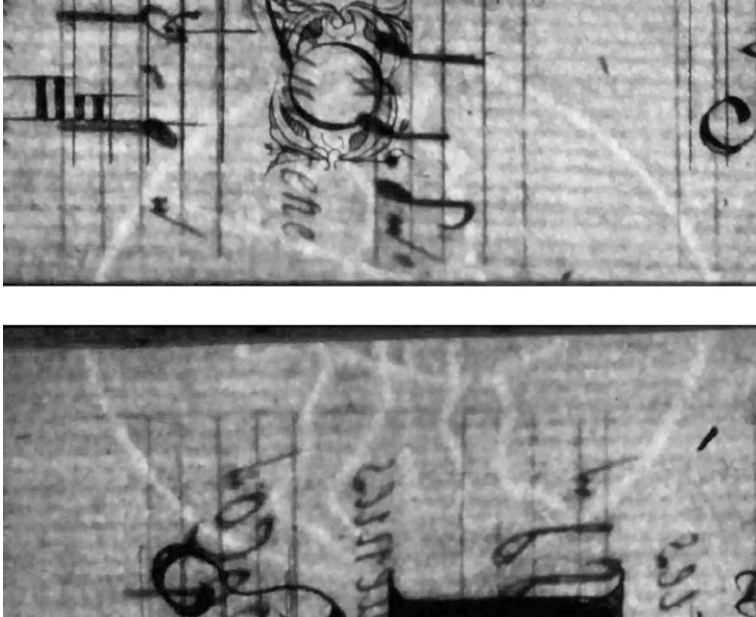
Figure 4.1 Jacobo Peetrino, *Jubilo di San Bernardo* (Rome: [s. n.], 1588), fols. 10, 11.
(I-Bc U42). Watermark with the part not visible due to the binding in white.
I would like to thank Alfredo Vitolo, who photographed the two parts and put them
together in this way.

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. Moroever, 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 *Te 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 1586[2], one copy), a 1586 version with intabulations (RISM 1586[3], seven copies, or according to Brown 1586[8,] eight copies) and a 1592 version with intabulations (RISM 1592[16]). 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;

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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
   L'intauolatura 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:

| Version | Year | RISM | Intabu-lation | Title page | Martin van Buyten | Nr. of pieces | Order of pieces | Index | Nr. of copies |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 1586 | 1586² | no | a | yes | 22 | 1 | yes | 1 |
| 2 | 1586 | 1586³ | yes | b | yes | 22 | 1 | yes | 1 |
| 3 | 1586 | 1586³ | yes | c | M.B. | 21 | 2 | yes | 4 |
| 4 | 1586 | 1586³ | yes | c | M.B. | 21 | 3 | no | 3 |
| 5 | 1592 | 1592¹⁶ | 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 cop-
ies 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, how-
ever, 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 figu-
rative prints, and copies could be exactly the same size. Examining the title and dedica-
tion 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 with-
   out 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 *Te 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.Lxxxxii (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'intauolatura 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 *xi*i 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.Lxxx*vi) (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 (Version) | Year | RISM | Intabulation | Title page | Martin 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.
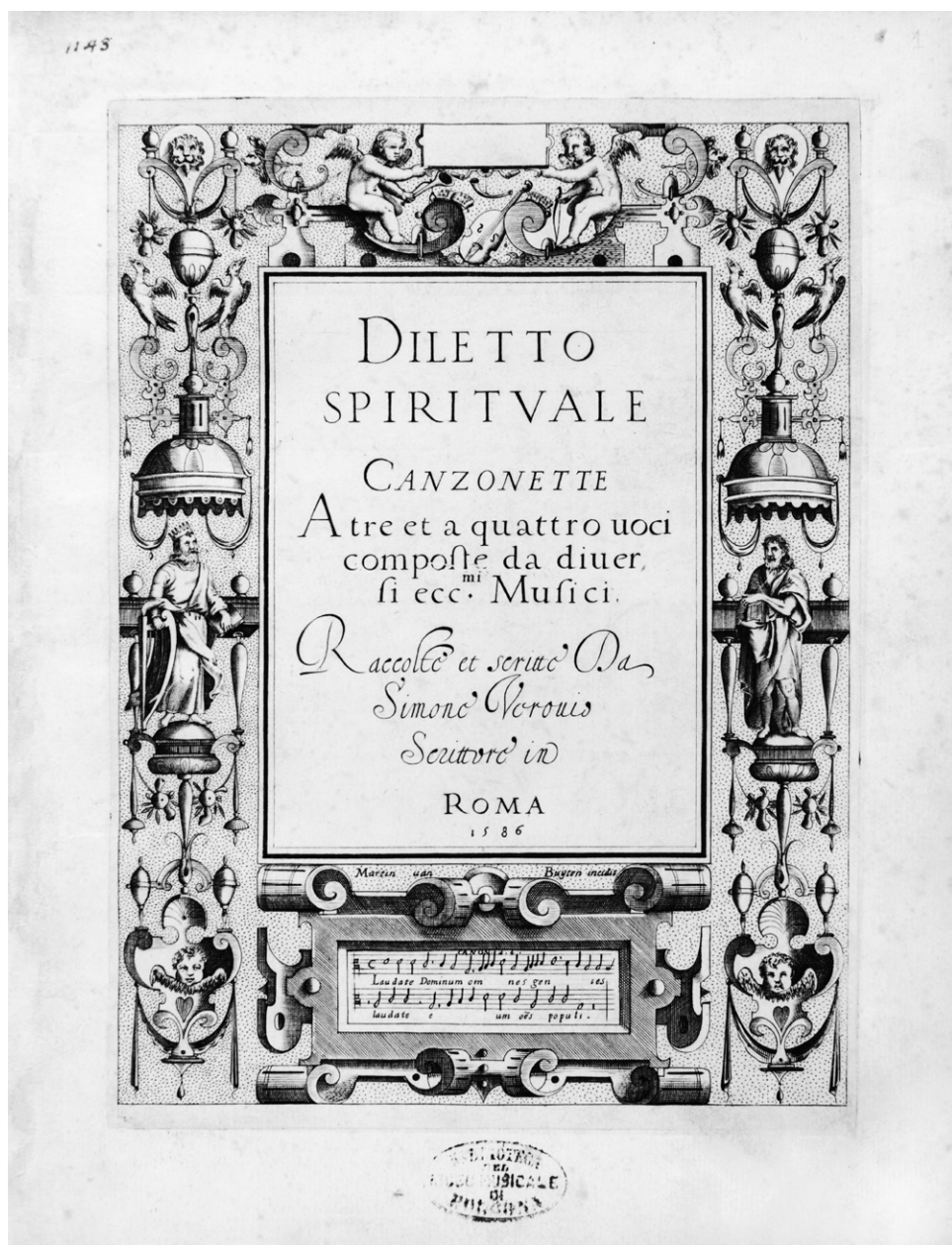
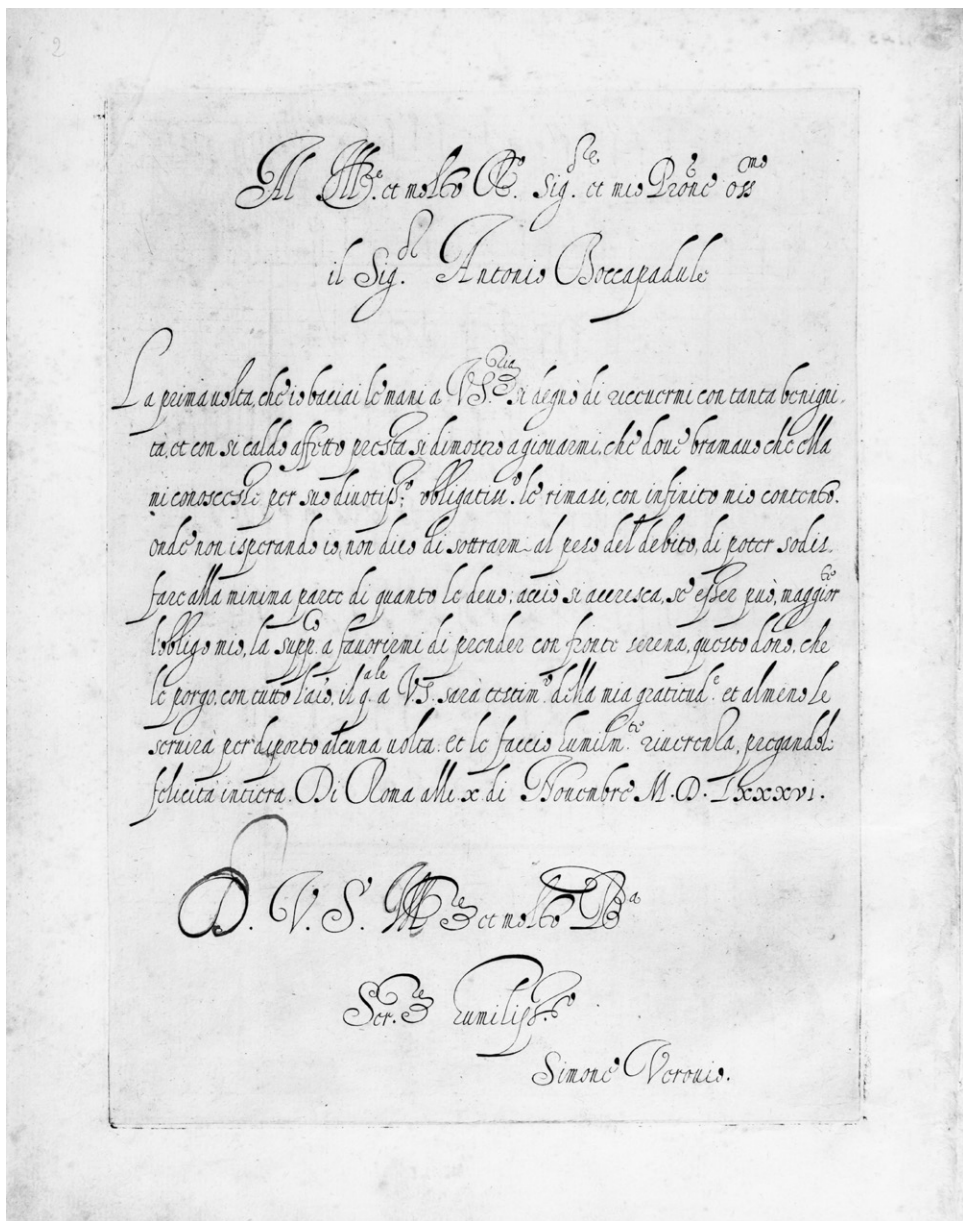Figure 4.2 *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1586), title page state 1 (I-Bc R254).

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).

Figure 4.5 *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: [Verovio,] 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).
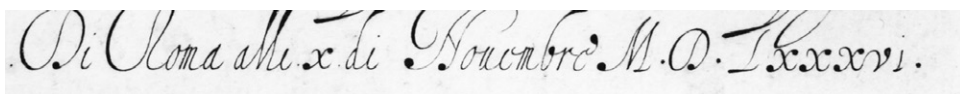
Figure 4.8 *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1586), dedication page (detail) state 1 (I-Bc R254) with miniscule Roman numerals.
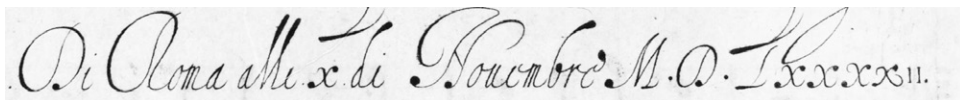


Figure 4.9 *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1592), dedication page (detail) state 3 (I-Bc R255).



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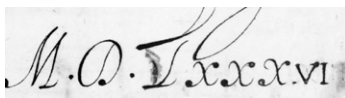


Figure 4.11 *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1586), dedication page (detail) state 5 (I-Bc R253) enlarged with visible ghost marks behind the vi.



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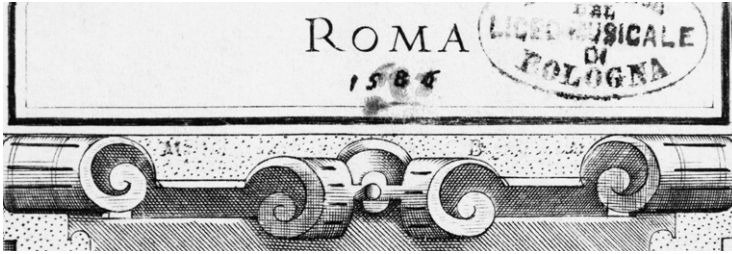
Figure 4.14 *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: Verovio, [after 1592]), title page (detail) state 5 (I-Bc R253).

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

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162  M D L 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 1o) 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.*

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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 that 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 sprituali)* and the Italian version by various composers in the *Devoto Pianto.*

| ORDER OF PIECES IN *Melodie spirituali* | NAME OF THE CANZO-NETTA | *Plate number in Melodie spirituali* | *Plate number and order in Jubilo di S. Bernardo* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 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

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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.
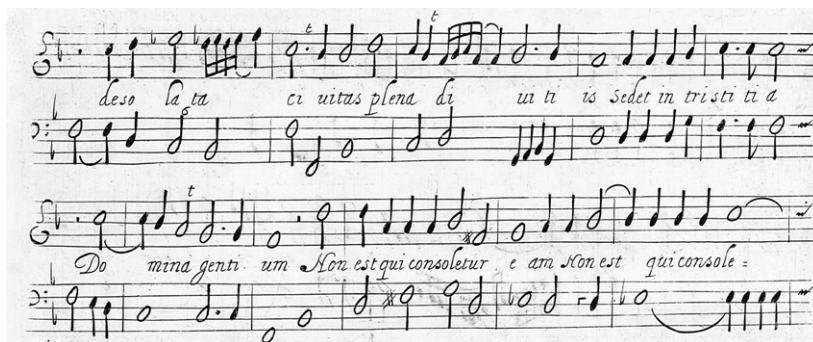


Figure 4.16 O. Durante, *Arie devote* (Rome: Verovio, 1608), 'Aspice Domine', plate 24 (detail) (I-Rsc G.CS.2.C.44).
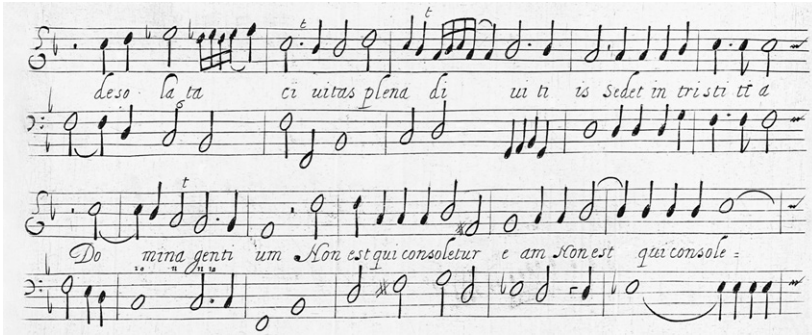
Figure 4.17 O. Durante, *Arie devote* (Rome: Verovio, 1608), 'Aspice Domine', plate 24 (detail) (I-Rsc G.CS.2.C.25.3, identical to I-Rsc G.CS.2.D.16.1). A semibreve has been changed in to a minim with rest (m. 4) and figures have been added (m. 6).

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).

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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
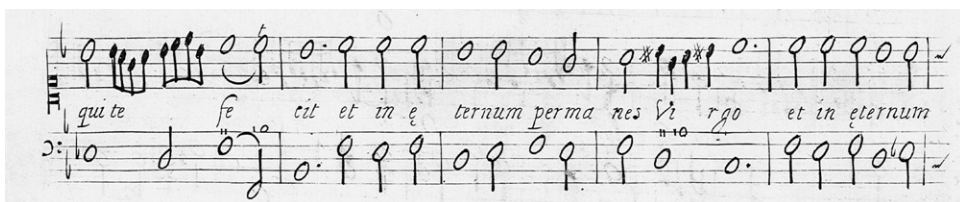an end-user. The correct version is found in all other copies (see figure 4.23)



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 1 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| G.CS. 2.C.44 | 1608 | A | 2nd | $14.3 \times 20.1$ | $14.3 \times 20.2$ | $18.3 \times 26.4$ | Many differences |
| G.CS. 2.D.16.1 | 1608 | B | At the end | $14.3 \times 20.1$ | $14.4 \times 20.2$ | $18.3 \times 26.4$ | Thinnest paper |
| G.CS. 2.C.25.3 | 1608 | B | 2nd | $14.3 \times 19.7$ | $14.4 \times 19.7$ | $18.4 \times 25.9$ | Smaller plates |
| I-Bc Z 80 | 1624 | B | None | $14.3 \times 20.2$ | $14.3 \times 20.2$ | $18.3 \times 26.4$ | 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 in 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.

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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

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]

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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 Veruoio 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 financers 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

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(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 *groote 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 Mercator[181] and probably also Hieronymus Bosch and Desiderius Erasmus.

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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 oggidì irreconoscibili 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.

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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]

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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 Verovio[198] 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.

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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 *Confoederatio 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]

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202  Osley (1972), p. 2.

The *Essemplare di XIIII 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

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203 The script used is not ancient Egyptian (I thank Dr. Regina Hölzl 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 *Essemplare di XIIII 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]

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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 loose 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.

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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 |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Diletto spirituale* | Boccapadule | Verovio | 10.11.1586 |
| *Essemplare di XIIII lingue principalissime* | Cardinale Di Verona | van Aelst | 31.05.1587 |
| *Il primo libro delli essempi* | Boccapadule | Verovio | 30.07.1587 |
| *Jubilo di San Bernardo* | Montfort | Peetrino | 1.02.1589 |
| *Ghirlanda* | Stella | Verovio | 10.08.1589 |
| *Canzonette à 4* | Cardinale Di Lorena | Verovio | xx.03.1591 20.03.1591 |
| *Canzonette à 3* | Duca di Mantova | Verovio | 15.09.1599a |
| *Devoto pianto* | Maximilian of Bavaria | Verovio | xx.06.1592 |
| Merulo, *Toccate … libro 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, *Toccate … libro II* | 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

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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 essempli 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 *Essemplare di XIIII 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  Jacomo 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]

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*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. prencipe 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

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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 *Rappresentatione 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 Damsceni 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, 'Rappresentatione 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

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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)/ (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.

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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]

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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 Jacomo 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]

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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 Niccolo 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 Ingegnieri 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 commission 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.

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conline.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 *Dizonario 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 *musico,* 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

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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 mechancial 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

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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 *musici* 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; Stabile[262] 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

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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]

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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 Altemps; 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 |

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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.

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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 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Diletto spirituale* 1 | Anerio | Marenzio | Anerio | G. M. Nanino | 1 | 1586 |
| *Diletto spirituale* 2 | Anerio | Marenzio | Anerio | G. M. Nanino | 1 | 1586/92 |
| *Diletto spirituale* 3 | Anerio | Anerio | Marenzio | G. M. Nanino | 4 | after 1592 |
| *Diletto spirituale* 4 | Anerio | Anerio | Marenzio | Marenzio | 3 | after 1592 |
| *Ghirlanda* 1 | Palestrina | Palestrina | Marenzio | Anerio | 5 | 1589 |
| *Ghirlanda* 2 | Palestrina | Palestrina | Anerio | Anerio | 3 | 1589 |
| *Canzonette spirituali* | Macque | Anerio | | del Mel | 3 | 1591/9 |
| *Canzonette à 4* 1 | Anerio | Anerio | Bellasio | anon | 2 | 1591 |
| *Canzonette à 4* 2 | Anerio | Anerio | Bellasio | Bellasio | 3 | 1591 |
| *Devoto pianto* | G. M. Nanino | G. B. Nanino | G. M. Nanino | G. M. Nanino | 1 | 1592 |
| *Lodi della musica* | 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,

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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 essempi* (1587) and the *Essemplare di XIIII 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]

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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 *Essemplare di XIIII 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 *Essemplare 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

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

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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 Romano[295] 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:

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294  http://explore.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/search.do?dscnt=0&vl(174399379UI0)=any&frbg=&
     scp.scps=scope%3A%28BLCONTENT%29&tab=local_tab&dstmp=1374769472625&srt=rank&ct=sear
     ch&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-Bl 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 Pellestrina'
     in the *Canzonette à quattro voci* and 'Gio. Palestina' (sic) in the Ghirlanda. Peetrino's first name is given ei-
     ther as 'Iacomo' (Diletto Spirituale and Ghirlanda) or 'Iacobo' (Melodie and Jubilo di S. Bernardo). Maren-
     zio's named 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 differ-
ent 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 intabu-
lations 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.
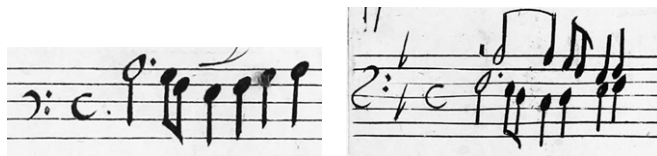


Figure 5.4 *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1592), L. Marenzio, 'Spiega mondo maligno' (I-Bc R255). Dif-
ferences in bass clefs, signs for time signature and beaming. Left: lowest voice part, right: left hand of the
harpsichord part.



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.

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299 Five compositions have an AABCC structure. This is indicated by a single bar in the voice parts.
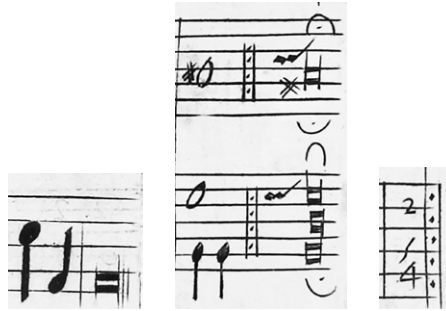
Figure 5.6 *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1592), F. Anerio, 'O Iesu mi dulcissime' (I-Bc R255). Differences in stems, longae and repeat signs. Left: lowest voice part; middle: harpsichord; right: lute part.
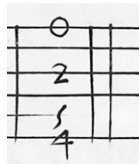


Figure 5.7 *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1592), L. Marenzio, 'Qual paura' (I-Bc R255). Final lines in the lute part.

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.

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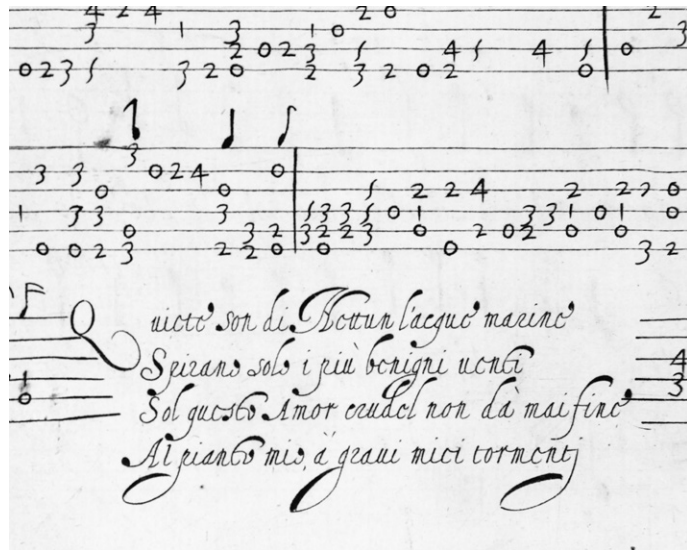
Figure 5.10 *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1586), A. Orlandino, 'Ingiustissimo amore' (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, D-Mbs 4 Mus.pr. 10#Beibd.2), urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00074060-0. 2nd verse and lute part.

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 part-book 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.

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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

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307  *Chiavette* in modern terms.

308  See chapters 8.3 and 9.

309  This resembles the system first used by Pierre Attaingnant 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-

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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

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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.

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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 onces, 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.

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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 Rome[321] or the monasteries of St. Salvator in Pollingen[322] 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]

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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

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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 title 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*

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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 essempli 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 1591[7], 1591[8], 1591[9].

337 RISM 1601[4].

338 RISM 1607[2].

339 *Newe Teutsche Canzonetten mit dreyen Stimmen von den fürtrefflichsten Italienischen Componisten auff ihre Sprach componiret/ und hiebevor in Italia zusammen getruckt* (Frankfurt: Richter, 1608), RISM 1608[22].

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 legimate 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-

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340  RISM 1608[4].

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

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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 civil 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 *Rappresentatione 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 presention 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.

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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 Döhring (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

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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.

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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 Naples ….[373]

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

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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 *Rappresentatione.*

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-

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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.

sise 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

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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 *Rappresentatione 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 vertuosa 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

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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-

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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 diletti dell'orecchie … la qual opera credo se io non m'inganno, che congionte 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.

vourites.[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

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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.

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404 See specialised databases like http://www.earlymusicsources.com/home/Iconography-database, www.brucedickey.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 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

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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 Hill[416] 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 napolitana* 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

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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

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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 blamewor-thy 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 fe-male 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 per-form 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 play-ing 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

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429  Dolce (1545), fol. 32v, quoted in Lorenzetti (2011), p. 11: 'Il saper danzare, sonare, & cantare a una Gio-vane, 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 grade-voli, 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 conceduto alle monache … quello, che pochi secolari com-portano alle loro Donne.'

436  Massaino (1607), p. 223: 'Io havea pensato di stamper seco l'Intavolatura per maggior commodità di sem-plici 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

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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 son 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]

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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 musians 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 accompaniment[447] 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-

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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. Moroever, 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?

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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 harpsi-
chord 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 ac-
cording 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 add-
ing 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]
Galilei[462] and Diruta[463] write that intabulating involved the act of adapting a (poly-
phonic) 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

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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
  liutto* (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 tablatures, 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,

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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 cimbalo* (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 *partiture* (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 *partiture.*

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

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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.oxfordmusiconline.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,

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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

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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?

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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 sodisfazzione.'

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.

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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 differerent 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,

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492  This does not exclude the possility 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 choir-book 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] Owen[500] and Smith.[501] In any case, Ortiz assumed that it was normal to play all voices of the compo-

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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 enel cimbalo, come 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 querien-dolos 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♯ and a♭, 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

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502  Ortiz (1553), fol. 37v: 'el Cymbalo tanne la obra perfettamente 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 suprano.'

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 in the *intavolatura d'organo*. A performer playing from lute tabulature must make more musical judgements than one playing from *intavolatura d'organo*. For example, voice progressions are much less clearly visible in lute tabulature, 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.

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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.'
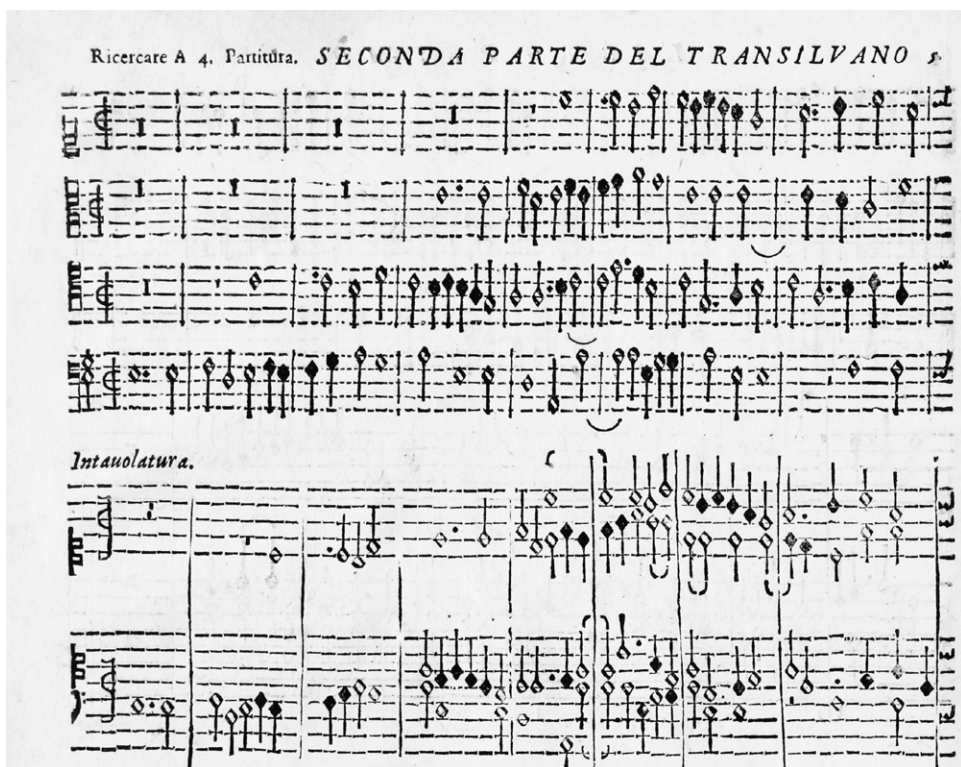
Figure 8.1 Girolamo Diruta, *Seconda parte del Transilvano* (Venice: Vincenti, 1609/1622), book I, p. 5
(I-Bc D 19).

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]



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 Ruggiero 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

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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.



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

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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′.
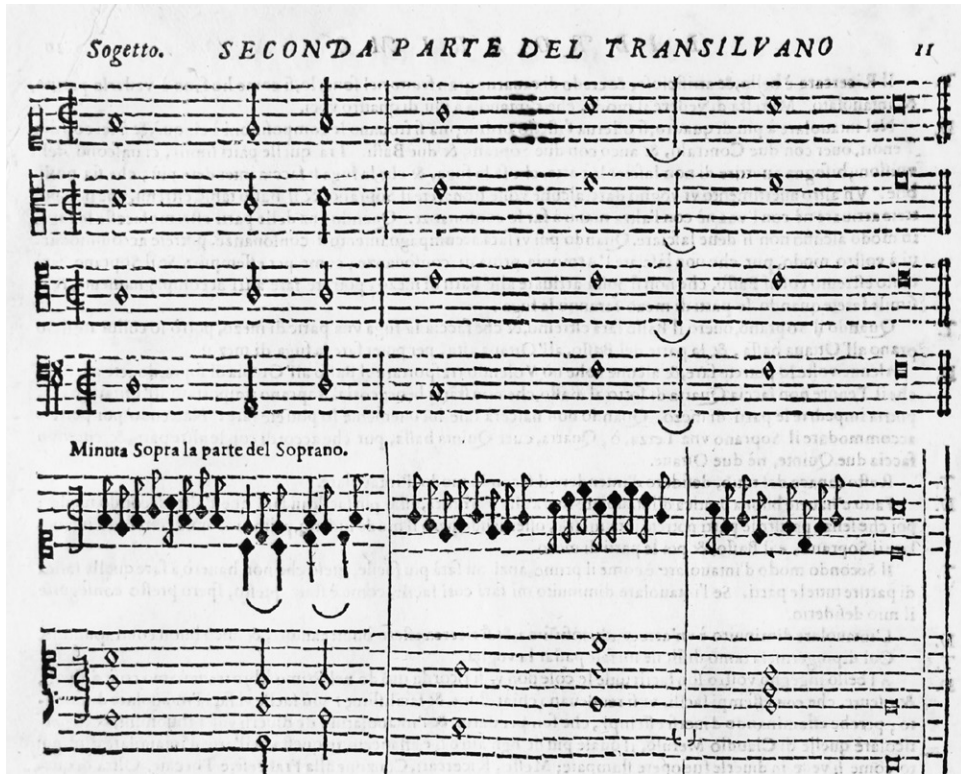
Figure 8.2 Girolamo Diruta, *Seconda parte del Transilvano* (Venice: Vincenti, 1609/1622), book I, p. 11 (I-Bc D 19).

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

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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 were 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.



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.

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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.

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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.
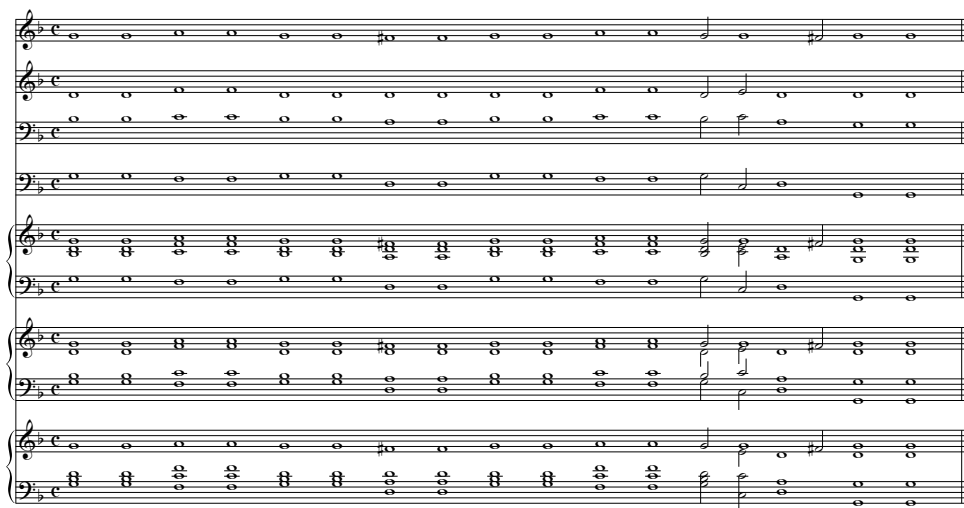
Example 8.7 Diego Ortiz, *Trattado de glosas* (Rome: Dorico, 1553), Libro secondo, fol. 47ᵛ, with intabulations using three different techniques.



Example 8.8 Marco Facoli, *Il secondo libro d'intavolatura di balli d'arpicordo,* 'Aria della signora Cinthia', fol. 25ᵛ (I-Rsc G.CS. 3.B.31), transcription of figure 8.3.
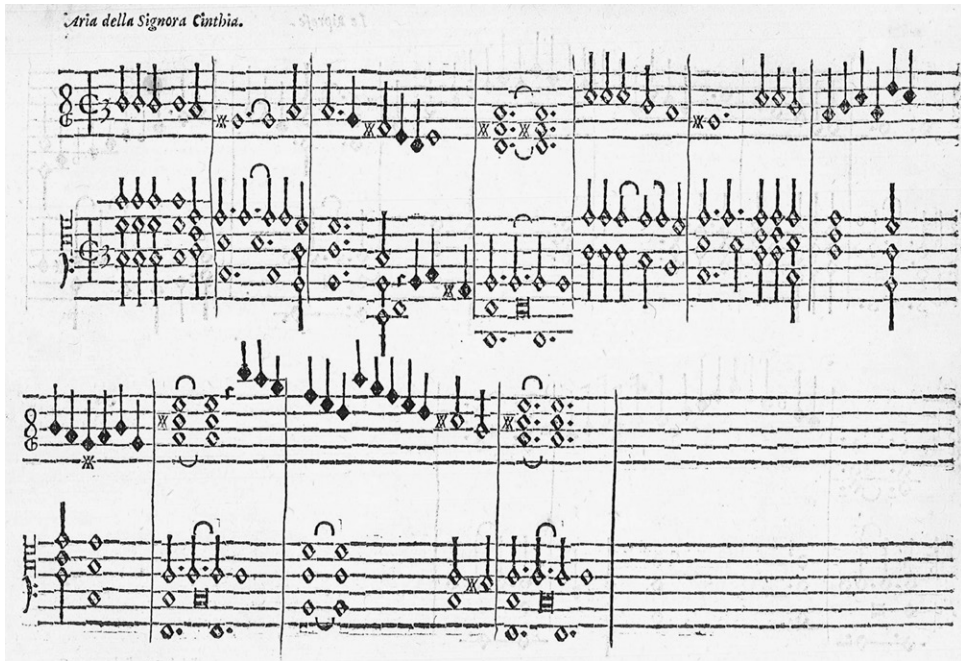
Figure 8.3 Marco Facoli, *Il secondo libro d'intavolatura di balli d'arpicordo* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1588), fol. 25ʳ, 'Aria della signora Cinthia' (I-Rsc G.CS. 3.B.31).

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]

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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 f♯, 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,

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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 tablatures 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 abovementioned rules. They are generally simple, with only a few cadential ornaments. If it

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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

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535 Mason (1997).
536 Facoli (1588).
537 Davies (2006), p. 149.
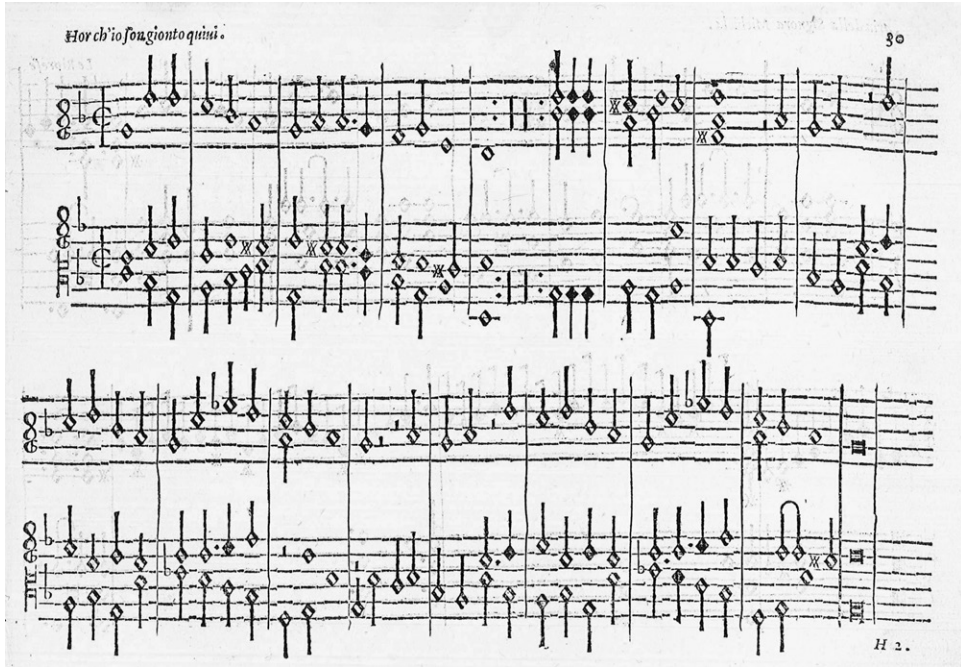
Figure 8.4 Marco Facoli, *Il secondo libro d'intavolatura di balli d'arpicordo* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1588), fol. 30ʳ, 'Hor ch'io son gionto quivi' (I-Rsc G.CS. 3.B.31).

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.

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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. 30ʳ (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. 5ᵛ and 6ʳ, 'Gesu del alma'.

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539 Fiore (2009), p. 236, 302.

Example 8.10 Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Florence, Ms Magl. XIX.138, fols. 5ᵛ and 6ʳ, '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.



Example 8.11 Ms Carlo G., fol. 8ᵛ, Giulio Romano, 'Benche sovra le stelle', transcription of figure 8.6.

Figure 8.6 Ms Carlo G., fol. 8ᵛ, Giulio Romano, 'Benche sovra le stelle'.



Figure 8.7 Ms Carlo G., fol. 7ʳ, 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 Luzzaschi 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. 2ᵛ, 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.
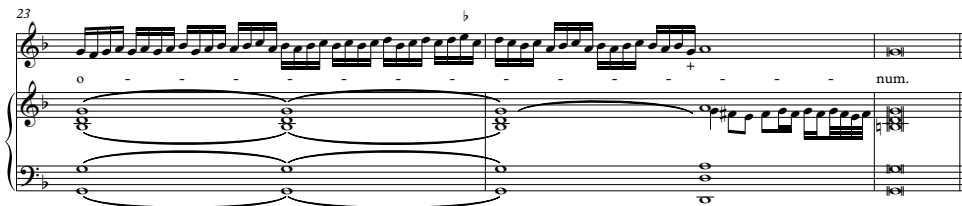


Example 8.12 Ms Carlo G., fol. 2ᵛ, Anon., 'Tota pulchra es', transcription of figure 8.8.

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.

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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 *Rappresentatione 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-

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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, usaret 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 Carter[552] and Bianconi[553] 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

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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' conserti*.[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 polychoral.[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]

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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 consertare 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 meglior 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'conserti; 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 ito 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

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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 tuttle 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' componitori, e non della Musica; ed à confermatione 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

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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 ecclesiatici* 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

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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 prattica 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 sovventuto 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

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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'improviso.'

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'improviso 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 disproportionally 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

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in una sola Chiesa di Roma; dove si fa professione di consertare, bisognerebbe all'Organista, che havesse maggior libraria, che qual si voglia Dottor di legge.'

587 Girolamo Giacobbi's organ score for the *Prima parte di salmi concertati a due e piu chori* (Venice, 1609) is in folio format and size, wheras 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 contrasegnare 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 concorrino 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-

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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

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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, overo sotto di un numero, tal consonanza sarà sostentata: & 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 ecclesiatici 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

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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

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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 obligo 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-

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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 obligo 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 trovarà 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, <u>except an octave lower</u> *(per ottava)* <u>at the</u> <u>cadences,</u> 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.



Example 9.1 *Diletto spirituale,* Ruggiero Giovanelli, 'Iesu sole serenior', m. 3.

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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 stromento.* 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 29.89.2017).

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,

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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 manaccordo.'

622 Sabbatini (1628), pp. [3–4]: 'oltre che se mi riuscerà questo modo ch'io hora communico 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.

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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.
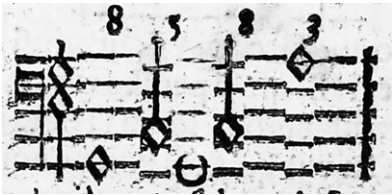


Figure 9.3 Galeazzo Sabbatini, *Regola facile e breve* (Venice: Il Salvadorio,1628), p. 14 (I-Bc E34).

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.

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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]
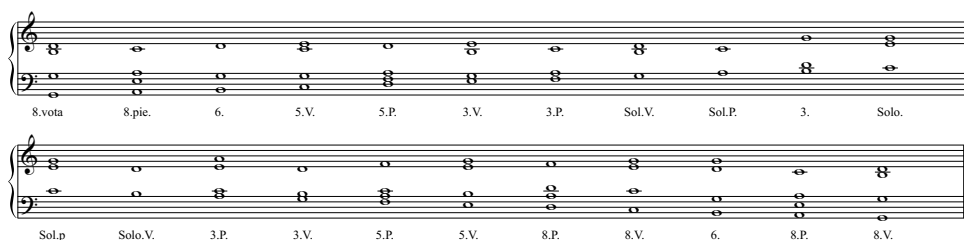


Example 9.4 Galeazzo Sabbatini, *Regola facile e breve,* possible reconstruction of figure 9.4.

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

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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 ♭ 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♯ 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]

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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 intavolato, e chi havra gusto di servirse di questa poca regola dependente pero dal detto di sopra, non potra far altro che bene, e da chi sara veduto a sonare sempre sara 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:
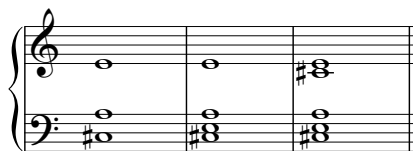


Example 9.5 Galeazzo Sabbatini, *Regola facile e breve,* p. 24.

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]

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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 sara bene.'

635 Sabbatini (1628), p. 10: 'Terzo si deve avertire 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 2º fino al B 3º 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 cimbalo,* 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

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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.

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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 (♭) 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-

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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):

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647 Bianciardi (1607): 'Molti altri avvertimenti si potrebbono addurre; ma, perché sono difficili a descrivere con brevità, li tralasceremo, havendo fin qui accennato le più necessarie regole, che ci sieno.'

648 Bianciardi (1607): 'Cosi quando ci sarà la minima, e seminima 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 *esclamationi* 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

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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'esclamationi 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.

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653 Bianciardi (1607): 'Anzi che molte volte per necessità delle parole si ricerca pienezza di voci, e nell'esclamationi 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

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654 Agazzari, *Del sonare sopra'l basso con tutti li stromenti e dell'uso loro nel Conserto* (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]

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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 passegiando, 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-

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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):
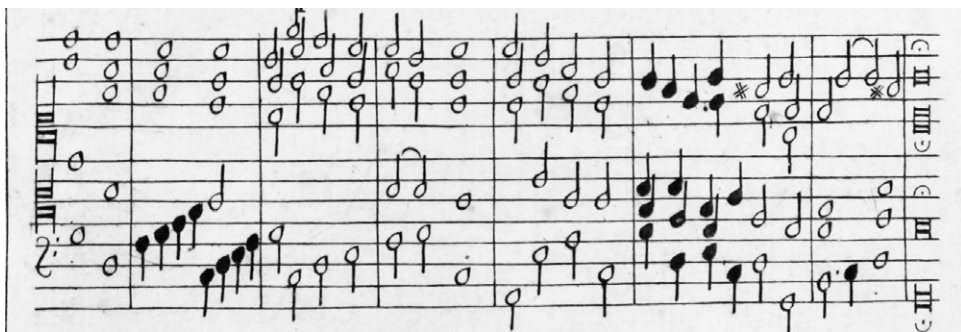


Figure 9.7 Agostino Agazzari, *Del sonare sopra il basso* (Siena: Falcini, 1607), p. 7 (I-Bc C49).



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.

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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 nobilità 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]

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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 rules[672] 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

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669 Banchieri (1609), p. 25: 'frà poco tempo vi saranno dui classe di suonatori, parte Organisti, cioè quelli, che praticheranno 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 ricerate 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.

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]
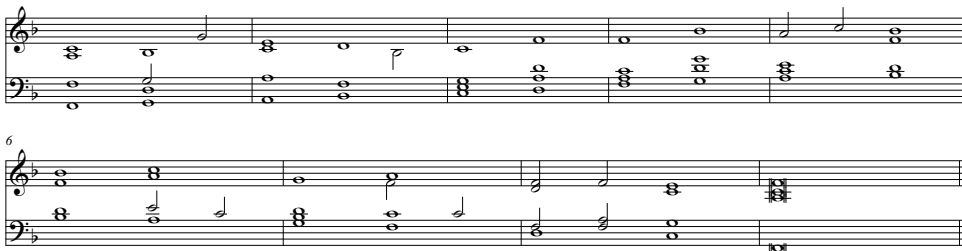


Example 9.10 Adriano Banchieri, *L'organo suonarino,* transcription and intabulation of figure 9.8.

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673 Banchieri (1605/1611) Quinto registro, p. 59: 'che sappia in pratica l'intavolatura per l'accomodamente 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 faciltà 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

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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 9.9 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/). The bass clef is misprinted in the original print. It should be F3, not F4.



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/).

middle voices.[680] In Northern Italy printed parts appeared with full and short scores, specifically created for organists or other continuo players to play from.[681]

Some of these scores were figured extensively and accidentals added for the middle parts; others contained just a few figures or none at all. The number of prints with extensive figuring is limited, but specific voice progressions are actually implied in many of these scores. Most of the notes with figures indicate where a *cantizans clausula* should be played, frequently with a suspension on a *bassizans clausula* (4–♯3) creating an authentic cadence or on a *tenorizans clausula* (7–♯6) creating a tenor cadence. Only occasionally will other notes, usually passing notes, be figured. In the early stages of figured

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680 See chapter 8.2.4.

681 These different genres with their regional differences would require a thorough description and analysis of their use of figures, but this is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

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/).

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 *Rappresentatione di Anima et di Corpo* (1600) and other stage works of the time. The *Rappresentatione* 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-

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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.

Example 9.11 Emilio de' Cavalieri, *Rappresentatione 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 ♯ always implies the 10♯.

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 concentus* (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).

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684 Horsley (1977).
685 Banchieri (1609), p. 25.
686 I-Bc X.165.
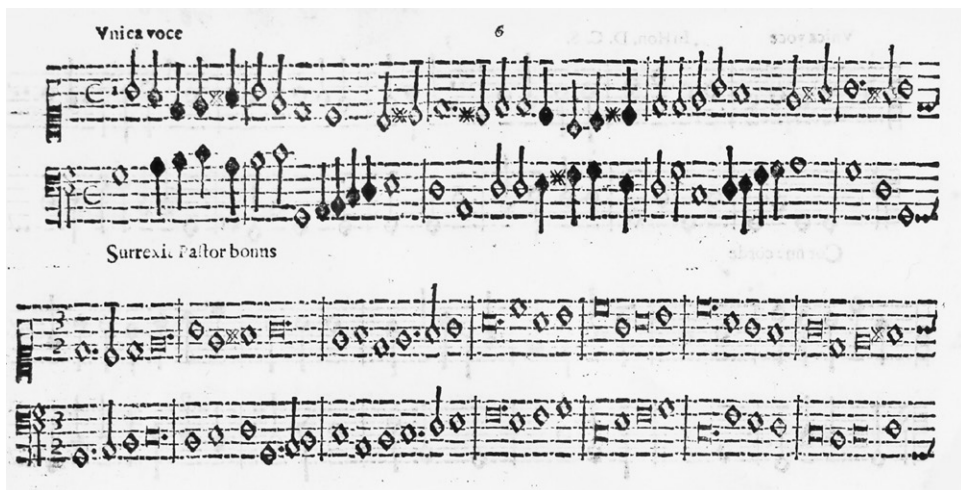
Figure 9.12 Domenico Brunetti, *Unica voce, binis, ternis, quaternis, et pluribus ad usum ecclesie varij concentus, cum gravi, & acuto ad organum* (Venice: Raverio, 1609), p. 6, 'Surrexit Pastor' for bassus solus (I-BC X165).



Example 9.12 Domenico Brunetti, *Unica voce, binis, ternis, quaternis, et pluribus ad usum ecclesie varij concentus, cum gravi, & acuto ad organum* (Venice: Raverio, 1609), transcription of figure 9.12.

Other clues are found in scores with numbers[687] 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

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687  For example in Alessandro Nuvaloni's basses for Palestrina's *Quarto libro delle Messe a quattro* (1610). See Horsley (1977), pp. 490–493.
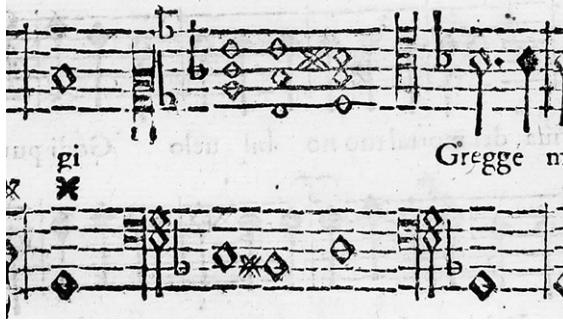
Figure 9.13 Marco da Gagliano, *La Dafne* (Florence: Marescotti, 1608), p. 5 (I-Fn RARI.B.R.125).

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]

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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.

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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, be-
   cause the accompaniments render the singing more beautiful.[697]

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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.'
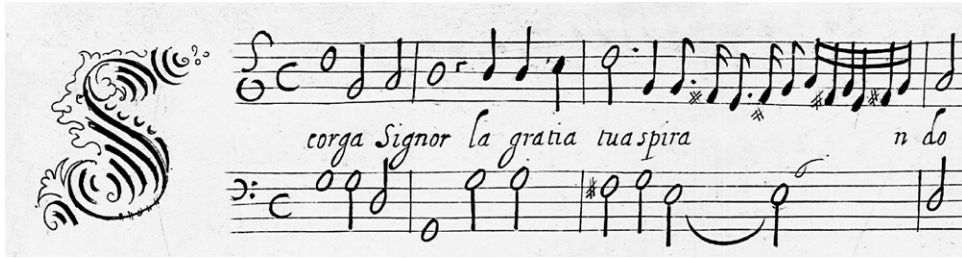
Figure 9.16 O. Durante, *Arie devote* (Rome: Verovio, 1624), 'Scorga signor', plate 1 (I-Rsc G.CS.2.C.44).
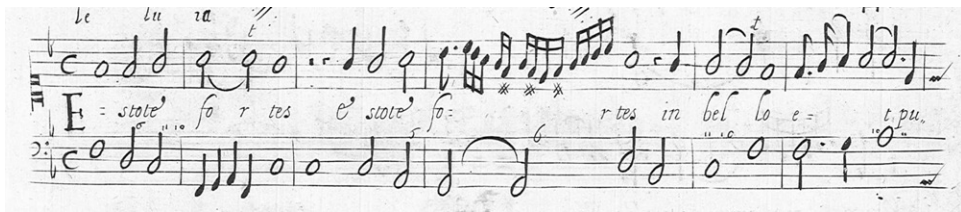


Figure 9.17 O. Durante, *Arie devote* (Rome: Verovio, 1624), 'Estote fortes', plate 3 (I-Rsc G.CS.2.C.44).

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]

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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 intabula-
tion, 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 sim-
plify 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]

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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.

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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.

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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.



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).



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;

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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 *8p,* 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.



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.

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.
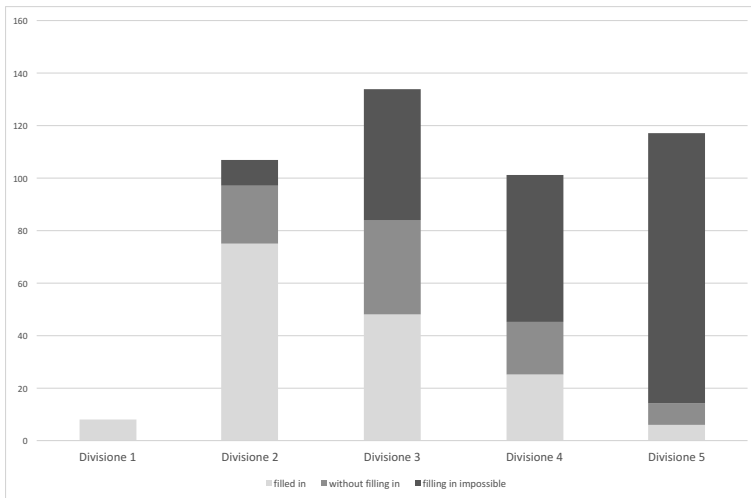


Table 10.1 Number of notes in the five divisions according to Sabbatini with added notes.

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.
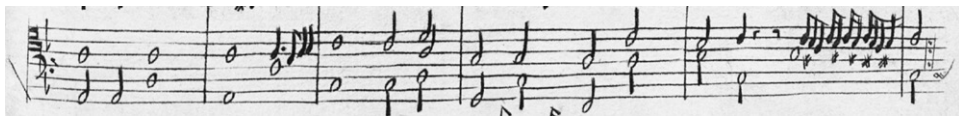
Example 10.5 *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali,* Felice Anerio, 'Fiamme che da begl'occhi', mm. 6–10 (second part).
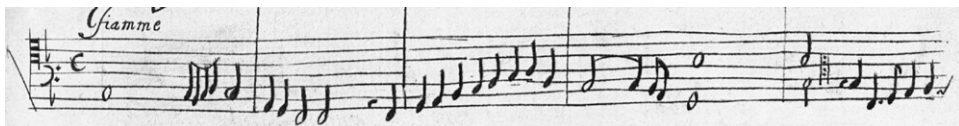


Example 10.6 *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali,* Felice Anerio, 'Fiamme che da begl'occhi' mm. 1–5 (first part).

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).

Example 10.7a Luzzasco Luzzaschi, *Madrigali,* 'I' 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,* 'I' 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).

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712  See chapter 10.12.

Example 10.7c Luzzasco Luzzaschi, *Madrigali,* 'I' 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♯ 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 betwen 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.
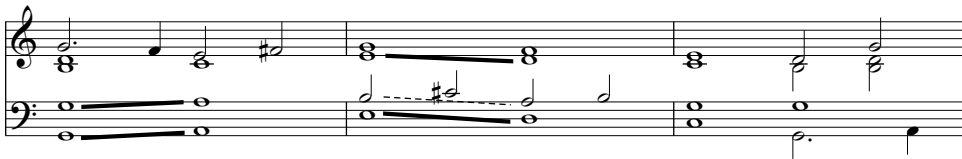


Example 10.9 Francesco Bianciardi, *Breve regola,* general example, mm. 3–5. Transcription showing real and hidden parallels.
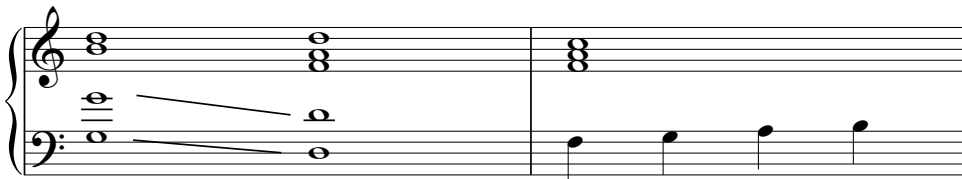


Example 10.10 Agostino Agazzari, *Del sonare sopra il basso,* p. 7, mm. 1–2. Transcription showing parallels.

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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 *Rappresentatione 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.

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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.*
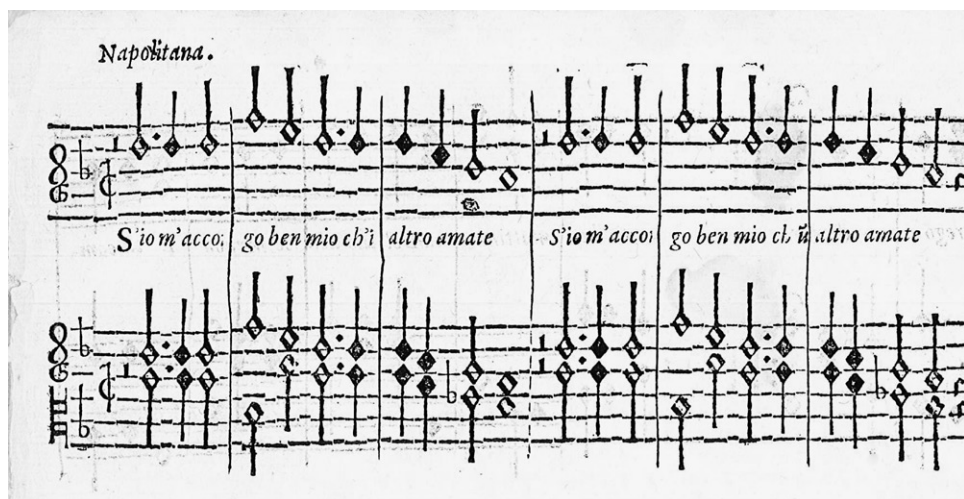
Figure 10.3 Marco Facoli, *Il secondo libro d'intavolatura di balli d'arpicordo* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1588), fol. 32ʳ, 'S'io m'accorgo bene' (I-Rsc G.CS. 3.B.31).

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.

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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 arrichirla, 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-

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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 *Diletto 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.

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720 Bianciardi (1607): 'Anzi che molte volte per necessità delle parole si ricerca pienezza di voci, e nell'exclamationi 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

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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, conseglio 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 canzo-
nettas, 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.
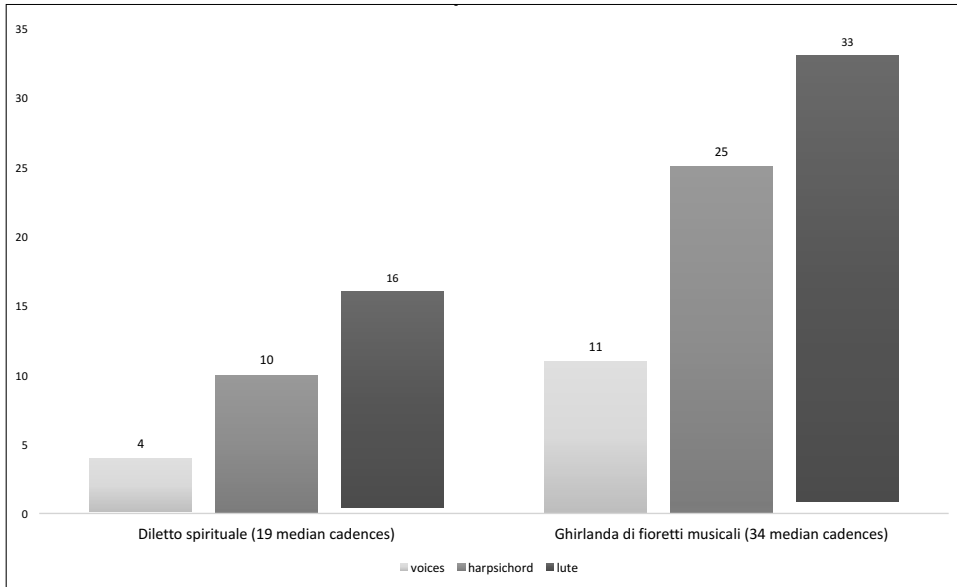


Table 10.2 Major final cadences in three-part canzonettas.

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 cas-
es.[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.

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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 obvi-
ously a mistake, as an accidental ♯ is added in the harpsichord part.
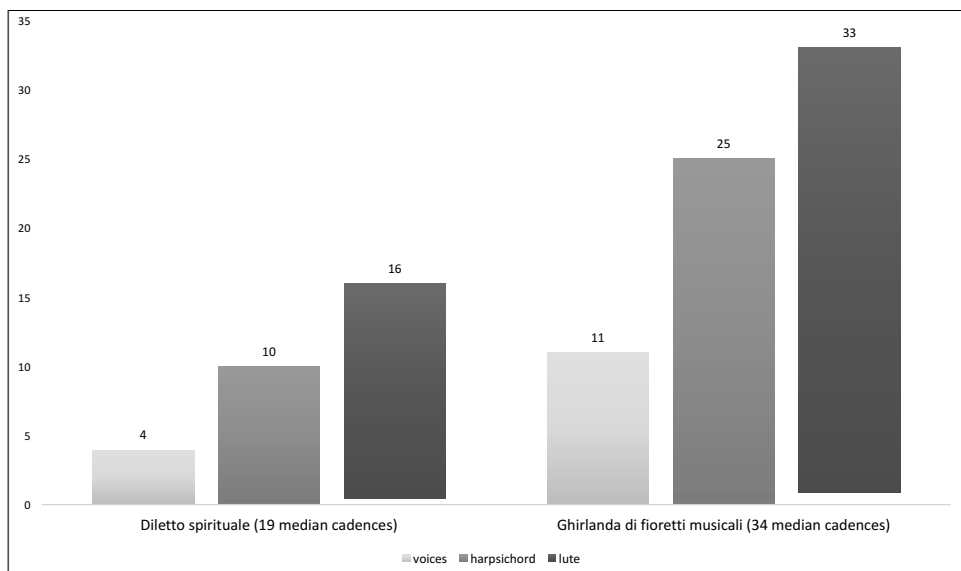
Table 10.3 Major median cadences in three-part canzonettas.

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

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[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 semibreve 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.*

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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 risolutioni delle cattive, con le buone piu vicine, come la settima dalla sesta, la quarta dalla terza.'

732  For further information see chapter 10.6.
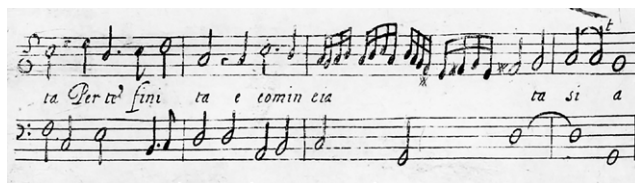
Figure 10.4 Ottavio Durante, *Arie devote* (Rome: Verovio, 1624), 'Scorga signor',
plate 1, mm. 17–18 (I-Rsc G.CS.2.C.25.3).

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.

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 division[733] 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.

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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 Diruta[736] 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]

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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 harpischord intabulation.

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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.

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 *groppo di accadentia* in m. 4, and a bridge *groppo* 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.



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 *groppo* 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.



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.

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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 *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.

## 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

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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).



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.

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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 componitore, 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 necessitate à questo dalle parole.'

Example 10.24 *Diletto spirituale,* Giovanni Pierluigi Palestrina, 'Iesu flos matris virginis', m. 10.



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 (2nd)* | 3 | 4–3 |
| Spiega il mondo maligno | 3 (2nd) | 3 | 4–3 |
| Iesu summa benignitas | 3 (2nd) | 3 | 3–4–4–3 |
| Tu mentis delectatio | 3 (2nd) | 3 | 4–3 |
| Rex virtutum | 3 (2nd) | 3 | 4–3 |
| Se questa valle | 3 (2nd) | 3 | 4–3 |
| Iesu sole serenior | 3 (2nd) | 3 | 3–4–4–3 |
| Scalda signor | 3–4–4–3 (1st) | 3–4–4–3 | 4–3–3–3 |
| Quando cor nostrum visitas | 5–4–3–3 (1st) | 5–4–3–3 | 3–4–4–3 |
| Iesu flos matris viriginis | 4–3 (2nd) | 4–3 | 3 |
| GHIRLANDA DI FIORETTI MUSICALI | | | |
| Ahi che quest'occhi miei | 3–4–4–3 (2nd) | 3–4–3–3 | 3 |
| Ameni colli | 4–3 (2nd) | 3 | 4–3 |
| Mentre l'aquila sta mirando | 4–3 (2nd) | 4–3 | 4–3–4–3 |
| Donna tue chiome d'oro | 3 (2nd) | 4–3 | 4–3 |
| Poi che mesto e dolente | 3 (2nd) | 3 | 4–3 |
| Poi che mesto e dolente | 3 (1st) | 4–3 | 4–3 |
| Ohi me partito è il mio sol | 3 (2nd) | 3 | 4–3 (2 x) |
| Ohi me crudele amore | 3 (2nd) | 4–3 | 4–3 |
| Vedo ogni selva | 4–3 (2nd) | 3 | 4–3 (2x) |
| Donna gentil voi siete | 3–4–4–3 (2nd) | 3–4–4–3 | 3 |
| Donna gentil voi siete | 4–3 (1st) | 4–3 | 3–4–4–3 |
| Donna se'l cor legasti | 4–3 (1st) | 4–3 | 3 |
| Donna se nel tuo volto | 7–6 (1st) | 7–6 | 5/3 |
| Donna se nel tuo volto | 3–4–4–3 (2nd) | 3–4–5–4 | 4–3 |
| Mentr'il mio misero cor | 3 (2nd) | 3 | 4–3 |
| Mentr'il mio misero cor | 3 (2nd) | 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 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 Barbarino[748] 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

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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 lutes[749] 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).
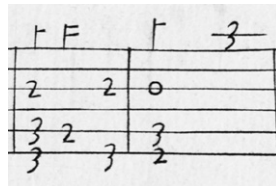


Example 10.26a *Diletto spirituale,* Felice Anerio, 'O Iesu mi dulcissime', casella 8–9, lute.

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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 Giovanelli, '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*

does not seem to change dramatically in this line, but the bottom part is written slightly lower (see example 10.28). The harpsichord faithfully reproduces the voice parts, apart from the additional major third on the final chord.



Example 10.28 *Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali,* Giovanni Pierluigi Palestrina, 'Ahi che quest'occhi miei', mm. 7–15, harpsichord and lute.

In Palestrina's 'Da così dotta man sei fatto', the lute is an octave lower in the first, homophonic, part of the piece, where the bass is uncomfortably high, and at a median cadence. When real three-voice imitations appear, with each part entering separately (rather than in pairs) the lute always doubles at pitch.

## Summary

In the *Arie devote,* many bass cadences have written out repercussions down an octave, on the second half of the penultimate note. In the canzonettas associated with Verovio we find little evidence of the use of *contrabassi* in the harpsichord parts. The lute intabulations contain many more examples at cadences and for complete passages (as in ex-

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 semibreves 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]

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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).
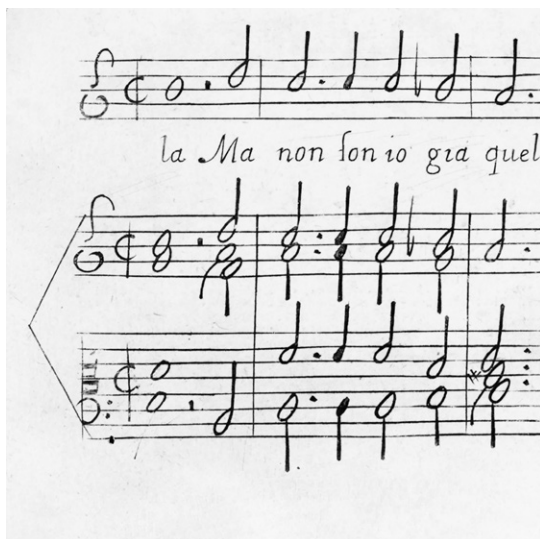
Figure 10.7 Luzzasco Luzzaschi, *Madrigali* (Rome: Verovio, 1601), 'O primavera',
plate 4 (retrieved from the Library of Congress,
USA-Wc, https://www.loc.gov/item/2008561305/).

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).
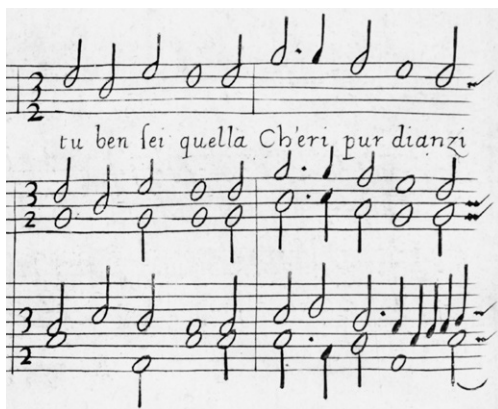


Figure 10.8 Luzzasco Luzzaschi, *Madrigali* (Rome: Verovio, 1601), 'O primavera', plate 4 (retrieved from the
Library of Congress, USA-Wc, https://www.loc.gov/item/2008561305/).
Figure 10.9 Luzzasco Luzzaschi, *Madrigali* (Rome: Verovio, 1601), 'O primavera', plate 3 (retrieved from the
Library of Congress, 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 cattiva),* we find a note on the dot in the harpsichord as well as the lute part, as added notes (see figure 10.10).
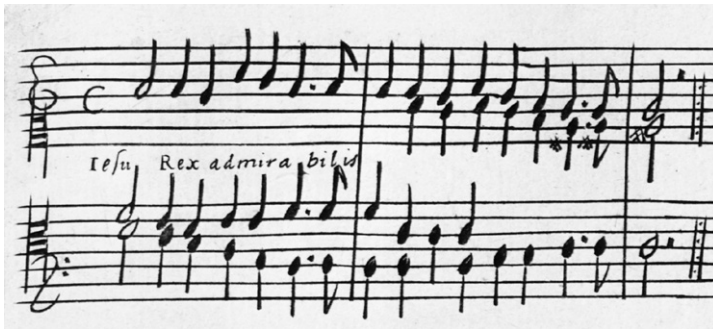


Figure 10.11 *Diletto spirituale* (Rome: [Verovio,] 1586), G. P. Palestrina, 'Iesu rex admirabilis', harpsichord part (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, D-Mbs 4 Mus.pr. 10#Beibd.3), urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00074059-1.

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♭ 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♯ in the soprano at the end of m. 10 and the c♯ in m. 11 in the alto. Occasionally less obvious *ficta* notes are marked in one part but not in others as the g(♯) in the alto in m. 10 and the c♯ in the tenor in m. 11.

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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.

Example 10.30 *Diletto spirituale*, Felice Anerio, 'O beatum incendium', mm. 10–13.

In a few cases, some less predictable accidentals are found in the lute part only. In m. 2 of Giovanelli's 'Iesu summa benignitas', the accidental is less apparent if we regard only the harpsichord intabulation or the middle voice on its own (example 10.31). But a good ear, such as was required by all writers around 1600, will help in these cases, as these instances are very striking and are easily remembered.[759]

759  If they cannot be discarded as a mistake in the lute part, which would be possible here.

Example 10.31 *Diletto spirituale,* Ruggiero Giovanelli, '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 'pleaonastic 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, monochord[764] 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]

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760  Morelli, introduction to Anerio (1983), p. XI: 'personalmente eviterei soltanto un "pleaonastico" 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.



Example 10.32 *Diletto spirituale,* Luca Marenzio 'Qual paura', mm. 1–4.

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766  Smith (2011), p. 49.

767  'Intavolate per sonare sul cimbalo 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.



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]

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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 conserto, 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 semim- inima, 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 illus- trate 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 composi- tions could be played by harpsichord and lute together.



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770  Court (1995) proposes that similarily Terzi's pieces for two lutes are examples of playing together as foun- dational and ornamental instruments. Here the ornamental lute parts exhibit more independent counter- points, 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

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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 'Iesus 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.

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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; therefor the anomaly cannot lie in the clef combination.

Example 10.35 *Diletto spirituale,* Felice Anerio, 'Iesus 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-

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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.

Example 10.36 *Diletto spirituale,* Felice Anerio, 'Iesus 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 intavola-
tura 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 'Iesus 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.

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785  A g″ occurs in the next piece, but the general ambitus there is lower.
786  Banchieri (1609), p. 52.

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 Schütz[788] to Bruckner.[789]

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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 semibreves 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-

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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. 1586[11]

| | 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 1586[8]
    Vogel (1892) Samml. 1586[11]

|  | 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]$_9$
   Vogel (1892) Samml. 1590$^{11}$
   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 1592$_{11}$
   Vogel (1892) Samml. 1592$^7$

|    | 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 1586[8]
   Vogel (1892) 1586[11]

| | 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 |
| 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 | Iesus 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 1586[8]
    Vogel (1892) Samml. 1586[11]

| | 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/I P 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/I P 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/I P 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 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 |

3.  1588, with dedication dated 1589
Copies D-Mbs 4 Mus.pr.9
http://stimmbuecher.digitale-sammlungen.de/view?id=bsb00087719 (accessed 24.09.2017)
    US-Wc M 2082 P4 J8
    RISM A/I P 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 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 |

<div align="center">GHIRLANDA DI FIORETTI MUSICALI</div>

RSM B/I 1589/11
Brown 1589[8]
Vogel (1892) Samml. 1589[6]
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 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 | | |
| 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 | Mentr'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://javanese.imslp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/5/56/IMSLP273010–PMLP443085–verovio_
grirlanda_di_fioretti_musicali2.pdf (accessed 24.09.2017)

| | TITLE PAGE | 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 |
| 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 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 |
| 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 1591[14], Vogel (1892) Samml. 1591[7]
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 1591[15], Vogel (1892) Samml. 1591[8]

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 1591$_{16}$, Vogel (1892) Samml. 1591$^9$

4. *Canzonette*. Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1601. RISM B/I 1601/4, Vogel (1892) Samml. 1601$^4$. In partbooks. Without *Vedo ogni selva, Ingiustissimo amore* and *Donna se nel tuo volta*.

Netherlands

*Canzonette alla romana de diversi eccelentissimi musici romani a tre voci*. Antwerp: Pierre Phalèse, 1607. RISM B/I 1607/14, Vogel (1892) Samml. 1607$^2$. 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. 1608$^1$.

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 soaui 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 soaui 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 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 |  |  |

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. 1599[3]

| 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 soaui 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 | 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 1591[11]
Vogel (1892) Samml. 1591[6]
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 | 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 |
| 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<br>DEDICATION | 1591<br>CARD. DI LORENA | RACCOLTE …<br>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 | 1591 | RACCOLTE … |
|---|---|---|---|
|   | DEDICATION | CARD. DI LORENA | 20.03.1991 |
| 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 |
| 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. 1597[5]
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 1595[10]
Vogel (1892) Samml. 1595[3]
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 eccelentissimi musici romani a tre voci.* Antwerp: Pierre Phalèse, 1607. RISM B/I 1607/14, Vogel (1892) Samml. 1607[2]
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 | | 1600 |
|---|---|---|---|
|   | DEDICATION | | …07.1600 |
| 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 cominciaro | 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/I L 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 … 10.1601 | |
| 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 Gloriae | 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 Gloriae | 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 Gloriae | 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/I M 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 Giovanelli 'Iesu summa benignitas' |
| Illumina oculos meos | Canon a 3 all'unisono | below the intabulations of G. P. Palestrina 'Iesu rex admirabilis' |
| In te domine speravi | Canon all'unisono a cinque | below the intabulations of Ruggiero Giovanelli 'Iesu sole serenior' |
| In Domino laetabitur anima mea | Canon a 4 di quarta in quarta | below the intabulations of G. P. Palestrina '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.<sup>re</sup> et molto R.<sup>do</sup> Sig.<sup>re</sup> et mio P.<sup>rone</sup> oss.<sup>mo</sup> il Sig.<sup>or</sup> Antonio Boccapadule.
La prima volta, che io baciai le mani a V S.<sup>ria</sup> 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.<sup>o</sup>; obbligatiss.<sup>o</sup> 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.<sup>mente</sup> l' obligo mio, la supp.<sup>co</sup> a favorirmi di prender con fronte serena, questo dono che le porgo con tutto l'aio, il q.<sup>uale</sup> a V. S. sarà testim.<sup>o</sup> della mia gratitud.<sup>e</sup> et almeno le servirà per diporto alcuna volta. et le faccio humilm.<sup>te</sup> 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.

ESSEMPLARE DI XIIII LINGUE PRINCIPALISSIME
Dedicatee: Card. Di Verona
All' Ill.<sup>mo</sup> er R.<sup>mo</sup> Mons.<sup>re</sup> il Card. Di Verona.
Sapendo io Ill.<sup>mo</sup> et R.<sup>mo</sup> Monsignore la generosità dell'animo suo d'ogni nobil virtù generaliss.<sup>mo</sup> albergo hò preso humilmente ardire questa picciola operetta dedicargli et consecrargli. Di Roma a di 31 di Maggio 1587
D. V S.<sup>ria</sup> Ill.<sup>ma</sup> e R.<sup>ma</sup>
Humiliss.<sup>o</sup> ser.<sup>re</sup> Nicolo van Aelst

IL PRIMO LIBRO DELLI ESSEMPI DI SIMONE VEROVIO
Dedicatee: Antonio Boccapadule
All' Ill.<sup>re</sup> et molto R.<sup>s.re</sup> et p.<sup>ron</sup> mio oss.<sup>mo</sup> il s.<sup>re</sup> Antonio Boccapadule Canonico di S. Petro, et secr.<sup>rio</sup> de brevi secreti di N. signore.
Crescono ogni giorno, i meriti di V S.<sup>ia</sup> 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 protettione sua, et riverentemente le bacio le mani. Di Roma à di 30 di luglio M.D.Lxxxvii.
Di V. S. Ill.<sup>re</sup> et molto R.
Ser. Humiliss.<sup>mo</sup> Simone Verovio

DI IACOPO PEETRINO IL PRIMO LIBRO DEL JUBILO DI S. BERNARDO
Dedicatee: Antonio di Montfort
All'Ill.<sup>mo</sup> sig.<sup>re</sup> il sig.<sup>r</sup> Antonio Conte di Montfort, Sig.<sup>re</sup> in Brigantio, Tetnang, Arge, e Wasserburg &c. Maiordomo delli figliuoli dell'Alt.<sup>za</sup> di Baviera s.<sup>r</sup> mio oss.<sup>mo</sup>.
Non stà rinchiuso il nome di V S.<sup>ria</sup> Ill.<sup>ma</sup> ne termini solam.<sup>ente</sup> dell'Alemagna, mà fin quà a Roma

risuona la fama delle nobiliss.ᵉ qualità sue. Et io particolarmente dell'Ill.ᵐᵒ S.ʳ Jacomo Fuccaro Camerier di S. Beat.ⁿᵉ mio sig.ʳᵉ et di lei stretto parente più volte hò sentito celebrarla, et rac-contare 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 princi-palmente. 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 elettione che mandarla fuore honorata et illustrata col chiariss.ᵒ nome di lei si come anco con non minor giuditio che amorevo-lezza mi hà eshortato à fare il sodetto Ill.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. Ill.ᵐᵃ di aggradire, et tener me nella gratia, et protettione sua come ser.ʳᵉ di part.ʳᵉ os-ser.ᶻᵃ et divoto verso di lei. Di Roma a dì p.ᵒ di Febraro 1589

D. V. Ill.ᵐᵒ

Divotiss.ᵒ Ser.ʳᵉ Jacomo Peetrino


Gʜɪʀʟᴀɴᴅᴀ ᴅɪ ꜰɪᴏʀᴇᴛᴛɪ ᴍᴜsɪᴄᴀʟɪ

Dedicatee: Capitan Vincenzo Stella

All' Ill.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 particolarm.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 Ill.ʳᵉ oblig.ᵐᵒ Serv.ʳᵉ Simone Verovio.


Cᴀɴᴢᴏɴᴇᴛᴛᴇ à ǫᴜᴀᴛᴛʀᴏ ᴠᴏᴄɪ ᴄᴏᴍᴘᴏsᴛᴇ ᴅᴀ ᴅɪᴠᴇʀsɪ ᴇᴄᴄ.ᴛɪ ᴍᴜsɪᴄɪ

Dedicatee: Cardinal di Lorena

All'Ill.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 Ill.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 Ill.ᵐᵃ con ogni humiltà faccio riverenza. Di Roma a 20 di Marzo 1591.

Di V. S. Ill.ᵐᵃ et Reu.ᵐᵃ Deuotiss.ᵒ et Humiliss.ᵒ Seru.ᵉ Simone Verovio.


Cᴀɴᴢᴏɴᴇᴛᴛᴇ sᴘɪʀɪᴛᴜᴀʟɪ ᴀ 3 ᴠᴏᴄɪ *(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'ⁿᵒ incitato me à dedicare a lei q.ᵗᵉ canzonette; con pensiero, che ascoltandole mentre ella visiterà le chiese antiche de gloriosi Mar-tiri, 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.<sup>te</sup> riverenza à V.A. Ser.<sup>ma</sup> et le desidero intiera felicità. Di Roma à 15 di 9.<sup>bre</sup> 1599

D V Alt.<sup>za</sup> ser.<sup>ma</sup>

Humiliss.<sup>o</sup> Serv.<sup>re</sup> Simone Verovio

Il devoto pianto della gloriosa vergine

Dedicatee: Duca Massimiliano di Baviera

Al Ser.<sup>mo</sup> Principe, et s.<sup>mo</sup> mio Clem.<sup>mo</sup>. il s.<sup>re</sup> Duca Massimil.<sup>no</sup> di Baviera, Conte Palatino del Rheno etcet.

A Principe in cui la virtù dell'ai<sup>o</sup> con la nobilità del sangue congiunta rende soave et armoniosa melodia non potrà non aggradrire un armonioso dono di poche canzonette da varij Musici composte, et di mia mano scritte, et intagliate, offertogli con humile sì mà affettuosis.<sup>mo</sup> core. Ricopra in osso l'A. V. ogni diffetto, 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.<sup>ma</sup>

Humiliss.<sup>imo</sup> servi.<sup>re</sup> Simone Verovio.

Toccate d'intavolatura d'organo di Claudio Merulo da Correggio …libro primo

Dedicatee: Cardinal Farnese

All Ill.<sup>mo</sup> et R.<sup>mo</sup> S et P.<sup>ron</sup> mio Col.<sup>mo</sup> il Sig. Card Farnese

Havendo io ottenuto dall'amorevolezza del sig.<sup>r</sup> Claudio Merulo da Correggio huomo per l'eccellenti virtù sue, et particolarment.<sup>te</sup> 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.<sup>ma</sup>, si perche ella colla nobilità della Ser.<sup>ma</sup> 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.<sup>ni</sup> di sentire i sonori concerti di Valenthuomini, et si etiandio percioche servendo il S.<sup>re</sup> Claudio al Ser.<sup>mo</sup> S. Duca fratello di V: S: Ill.<sup>me</sup>, par giusto, che si come egli hà dedicate tutte l'opere del suo ingegno ad esso Ser.<sup>mo</sup> s.<sup>r</sup> suo fr.<sup>ello</sup>, così io dedichi queste poche fatiche della mia mano insieme con dette opere a V. S. Ill.<sup>mo</sup> la quale humilissim.<sup>te</sup> supp.<sup>o</sup> ad aggradire il dono che io le faccio, et ad accettar me nel numero de' suoi più devoti serv.<sup>ri</sup> à cui con ogni sommissione m'inchino, et prego Dio che le conceda perpetuo augomento di felictà. Di Roma questo di 20. d'agosto 1598

D. V. S.<sup>a</sup> Ill.<sup>ma</sup> et R.<sup>ma</sup>

Devotissimo et Humiliss.<sup>o</sup> Servitore Simone Verovio

Dialogo pastorale al presepio di nostro Signore Composte da Gio. Francesco Anerio Romano

Dedicatee: Sig. Duca di Bar, Principe di Lorena

Al Sereniss.<sup>mo</sup> Sig. et P.<sup>ron</sup> Mio Colen.<sup>mo</sup> Il Sig.<sup>or</sup> Duca di Bar, Principe di Lorena etc.

Già sono nove anni che ritrovandosi in Roma l'Illustriss.<sup>o</sup> S.<sup>or</sup> Card. fratello di V. Altezza Sereniß.<sup>a</sup> 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 altretanto 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 Vra Altezza Sereniss.ª

Devotiss.º et Humiliss.º Serv.re Simone Verovio.


Madrigali di Luzzascho Luzzaschi per cantare et sonare

Dedicatee: 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.ra Duchessa Margherita moglie di lui rendevano col canto loro in un tempo ossequio et diletto a quelle Ser.me Altezze; Ma poiché 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 Prencipe 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 protettione 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

Dedicatee: 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 nobilità, 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 inclinatione a V. E.

et non per l'instanza 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; cosi 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 Gennaro 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 | *Canzonette à quattro voci* |
| (anonymous) | | L'amoroso Delfino lascia i profondi | *Lodi della musica* |
| Anerio | Felice | Iesu decus angelicum | *Diletto spirituale* |
| Anerio | Felice | Tunc amplexus | *Diletto spirituale* |
| Anerio | Felice | Rex virtutum | *Diletto spirituale* |
| Anerio | Felice | O beatum incendium | *Diletto spirituale* |
| Anerio | Felice | Al suon non posa il core | *Ghirlanda* |
| Anerio | Felice | Fiamme che da begl'occhi | *Ghirlanda* |
| Anerio | Felice | Donna se il cor legasti | *Ghirlanda* |
| Anerio | Felice | Mentr'il mio miser core | *Ghirlanda* |
| Anerio | Felice | Giesù de penitenti | *Canzonette à 3* |
| Anerio | Felice | Hor che vezzosa e bella | *Canzonette à quattro voci* |
| Anerio | Felice | Cosi soave stile | *Canzonette à quattro voci* |
| Anerio | Felice | All'hor ch'io penso a voi | *Devoto pianto* |
| Anerio | Felice | Al suon di cornamusa | *Lodi della musica* |
| Anerio | Felice | All tremolar de l'onde | *Lodi della musica* |
| Anerius | Felix | O Iesu mi dulcissime | *Diletto spirituale* |
| Barera | Rhodiano | Ohime crudele Amore | *Canzonette à quattro voci* |
| Bellasio | Paolo | Questi capelli d'oro | *Canzonette à quattro voci* |
| Bellasio | Paolo | O miser quel che spera in donna | *Canzonette à quattro voci* |
| Bellasio | Paolo | Donna nel vostro volto | *Canzonette à quattro voci* |
| Costa | Gasparo | Se fredda è la mia donna | *Ghirlanda* |
| Crivello | Archangelo | Io me n'avedo amore | *Ghirlanda* |
| del Mel | Rinaldo | Se questa valle | *Diletto spirituale* |
| del Mel | Rinaldo | Deh lasciam dunque | *Diletto spirituale* |
| del Mel | Rinaldo | Stabat mater dolorosa | *Canzonette à 3* |
| del Mel | Rinaldo | Mentre ch'io servo a voi | *Devoto pianto* |
| del Mel | Rinaldo | Quando il fido pastore | *Lodi della musica* |
| del Mel | Rinaldo | E le celesti sfere | *Lodi della musica* |
| Dragoni | Gio. Andrea | Mentr'io fuggivo | *Canzonette à quattro voci* |

| Composer[a] | | Canzonetta | Anthology |
|---|---|---|---|
| Giovanelli | Rugieri | Iesu summa benignitas | *Diletto spirituale* |
| Giovanelli | Rugieri | Iesu sole serenior | *Diletto spirituale* |
| Giovanelli | Rugieri | Tu mentis delectatio | *Diletto spirituale* |
| Giovanelli | Ruggiero | Vermiglio e vago fiore | *Ghirlanda* |
| Giovanelli | Ruggiero | Fugge da gl'occhi il sonno | *Ghirlanda* |
| Giovanelli | Ruggiero | Si vaga è la mia fiamma | *Ghirlanda* |
| Giovanelli | Rugg.o | Santi baci soaui abbracciamenti | *Canzonette à 3* |
| Giovanelli | Ruggero | Bella d'amor guerriera | *Canzonette à quattro voci* |
| Giovanelli | Rugg.o | O madre d'amor santo | *Devoto pianto* |
| Giovanelli | Rugg.o | Madre santa | *Devoto pianto* |
| Giovanelli | Ruggiero | Allhor che di bei fiori | *Lodi della musica* |
| Giovanelli | Ruggiero | E da verdi boschetti | *Lodi della musica* |
| Griffi | Horatio | Del'alma sospirosa unica speme | *Canzonette à 3* |
| Griffi | Horatio | Spesso il canto ad amare | *Canzonette à quattro voci* |
| Ingegneri | M. Antonio | L'alma più che ti gusta più ti brama | *Canzonette à 3* |
| Locatello | Gio. Battista | Donna gentil voi siete | *Ghirlanda* |
| de Macque | Gio | Fà ch'io rimanga essangue | *Devoto pianto* |
| Macque | Gio | O dolce rimembranza | *Canzonette à 3* |
| Macque | Gio | Dolcissimo amor mio | *Canzonette à 3* |
| Macque | Gio | Fà buon Giesù chiosenta nel mio core | *Canzonette à 3* |
| Macque | | Cosi di Croce armata | *Devoto pianto* |
| Macque | Gio, de | Spesso il canto | *Lodi della musica* |
| Macque | Gio, de | E sopra gl'arbuscelli | *Lodi della musica* |
| Macque | Gio | E i travagliati amanti | *Lodi della musica* |
| Macque | Gio, de | Se dunque il dolce canto | *Lodi della musica* |
| Marentio | Luca | Spiega mondo maligno | *Diletto spirituale* |
| Marentio | Luca | Qual paura | *Diletto spirituale* |
| Marentio | Luca | Donna se nel tuo volto | *Ghirlanda* |
| Marentio | Luca | Giesu più risplendente | *Canzonette à 3* |
| Marentio | Luca | Se'l raggio de vostr'occhi | *Canzonette à quattro voci* |
| Nanini | Io Mariae | Quando cor nostrum visitas | *Diletto spirituale* |
| Nanini | Io Mariae | Iesus in pace imperat | *Diletto spirituale* |
| Nanini | Ioan Mariae | Iesu spes penitentibus | *Diletto spirituale* |

| Composer[a] | | Canzonetta | Anthology |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nanino | Gio: Maria | Tutta gentile e bella | *Ghirlanda* |
| Nanino | Gio Maria | Non può lingua narrare | *Canzonette à 3* |
| Nanino | Gio: Maria | Di che cor mio | *Canzonette à quattro voci* |
| Nanino | Gio: Maria | Stava a piè della croce | *Devoto pianto* |
| Nanino | Gio: Bern | O quante afflitta | *Devoto pianto* |
| Nanino | Gio: Maria | A mi chi vuol amaro | *Devoto pianto* |
| Nanino | Gio: Maria | La bellezza superna | *Devoto pianto* |
| Nanino | Gio. Maria | Ahi dolci e vaghi accenti | *Lodi della musica* |
| Nanino | Gio. Maria | E se tal' hor affetti | *Lodi della musica* |
| Nanino | Gio. Maria | Cosi un leggiadro canto | *Lodi della musica* |
| Nanino | Gio. Maria | Onde spieghin sue lodi | *Lodi della musica* |
| Nanino | Gio. Bernardino | Mentre il canoro Cigno | *Lodi della musica* |
| Nanino | Bernardino | Ecco del canto | *Lodi della musica* |
| Nanino | Bern.no | E voi muse gradite | *Lodi della musica* |
| Orlandino | Antonio | Ingiustissimo amore | *Ghirlanda* |
| Pacelli | Asprilio | Giesù solo piacer dell'alma | *Canzonette à 3* |
| Pacelli | Asprilio | Qual cor non piangori | *Devoto pianto* |
| Pacelli | Asprilio | Por suoi figli rubelli | *Devoto pianto* |
| Pacello | Asprilio | De gli beati spiriti | *Canzonette à 3* |
| Peetrino | Jacomo | Scalda signor | *Diletto spirituale* |
| Peetrino | Jacomo | Ardenti miei sospiri | *Ghirlanda* |
| Peetrino | Jacomo | Poiche mesto e dolente | *Ghirlanda* |
| Palestina | Gio | Ahi, che questi occhi miei | *Ghirlanda* |
| Palestina | Gio | Da cosi dotta man sei fatto | *Ghirlanda* |
| Pellestrina | Gio da | Pose un gran foco | *Canzonette à quattro voci* |
| Pellestrina | Gio da | Vedrassi prima senza luce | *Canzonette à quattro voci* |
| Prenestini | Joan Petri Aloysij | Iesu rex admirabilis | *Diletto spirituale* |
| Prenestini | Joannis Petri Aloysij | Tua Iesu dilectio | *Diletto spirituale* |
| Prenestini | Joan Aloysij | Iesu flos matris virginis | *Diletto spirituale* |
| Quagliato | Paolo | Ancora che tu m'odii, anima mia | *Ghirlanda* |
| Quagliato | Paolo | Quando miro il bel volto | *Canzonette à quattro voci* |
| Quagliato | Paolo | Tal di vostri occhi foco esce | *Canzonette à quattro voci* |
| Ricordi | Jacomo | Io ardo o Filli | *Ghirlanda* |
| Santini | Prospero | Giesù Padre et autor d'ogni clemenza | *Canzonette à 3* |

| Composer[a] | | Canzonetta | Anthology |
|---|---|---|---|
| Santini | Prospero | Fà ch'io con pronta voglia | *Devoto pianto* |
| Santini | Prospero | Quando sia che'l sortisca | *Devoto pianto* |
| Soriano | Francesco | O gloriosa donna | *Diletto spirituale* |
| Soriano | Francesco | Vscio dal ciel | *Diletto spirituale* |
| Soriano | Francesco | Ameni colli, vaghi monticelli | *Ghirlanda* |
| Soriano | Francesco | Vedo ogni selva rivestir le frondi | *Ghirlanda* |
| Soriano | Francesco | Se dal tuo foco altiero | *Canzonette à quattro voci* |
| Stabile | Annibal | Donna, donna tue chiome d'oro | *Ghirlanda* |
| Stabile | Annibal | Ohime partito è'l mio bel sol | *Ghirlanda* |
| Stabile | Annibale | Io non sò come vivo | *Canzonette à quattro voci* |
| Stabile | Annibale | Fuggite amanti Amor | *Canzonette à quattro voci* |
| Stabile | Pompeo | O mio soave foco | *Canzonette à quattro voci* |
| Verovio | Simone | Giesu sommo conforto | *Diletto spirituale* |
| Zucchelli | Gio. Battista | Mentre l'aguila sta mirando il sole | *Ghirlanda* |
| Zucchelli | Gio. Battista | Ohime crudele amore | *Ghirlanda* |

[a] As found in the canzonetta prints.

# Appendix V : Examples of canzonettas

## Ameni colli, vaghi monticelli

Francesco Soriano

from
*Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali*

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

# Iesu decus angelicum

<div align="right">Felice Anerio</div>

from
*Diletto spirituale*

# Fiamme che da begl'occhi

from
*Ghirlanda di fioretti musicali*

# Giesu sommo conforto

from
*Diletto spirituale*

Simone Verovio

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