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## **Orazio Michi und die Harfe um 1600**



# Orazio Michi between public and private

## Spiritual music, devotional practices, and their contexts

Arnaldo Morelli

In his *Discorsi e regole sopra la musica*, written around the middle of the seventeenth century, the Florentine musician Severo Bonini refers to Orazio Michi as the greatest harp player of his time as well as a composer of arias:

Among the harp players Orazio, nicknamed “of the harp”, unique of this art and for composing arias, had the greatest fame.<sup>1</sup>

Concerning Michi’s skill in harp playing, his contemporary Pietro Della Valle recalled, as he did for Frescobaldi in connection with the harpsichord and Kapsberger in connection with the theorbo, Michi’s modern performing style, which was characterized by “mille gratie di trilli, di strascichi, di sinco-pi, di tremoli, di finte, di piano e forte, e di simili altre galanterie”.<sup>2</sup> However, no trace of Michi’s harp music is left, neither in print nor in manuscript: all we have is a reference to some “sonate da arpa doppia” – now untraceable – in a letter written in 1640 by the amateur musician and patron of music Antonio Goretti.<sup>3</sup>

On the other hand, we have plentiful evidence of Michi’s art of “composing arias” in his extensive vocal production, which includes around a hundred compositions (canzonettas, arias, madrigals, cantatas – *recitativi*

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1 “[Tra i] sonatori d’arpe il grido maggiore è stato del signor Horatio, per soprannome dall’arpe, singolare in quest’arte et in comporre arie”. Cf. Severo Bonini, *Discorsi e regole sopra la musica*, ca. 1650, ed. Leila Galleni Luisi, Cremona: Fondazione Claudio Monteverdi 1975, 112.

2 Pietro Della Valle, *Della musica dell’età nostra che non è punto inferiore, anzi è migliore di quella dell’età passata*, ca. 1640, in: Angelo Solerti, *Le origini del melodramma*, Torino: Bocca 1903, 148–179: 159.

3 Cited in Dinko Fabris, *Mecenati e musicisti: Documenti sul patrimonio artistico dei Bentivoglio di Ferrara nell’epoca di Monteverdi (1585–1645)*, Lucca: LIM 1999, 472.

*per musica*), both secular and spiritual, mostly for voice and continuo. Indeed, Michi made an important contribution to the new genres of monody, together with a group of musicians who, in the early seventeenth century, gravitated towards the court of Cardinal Montalto, among them Ippolito Macchiavelli, Giuseppino Cenci, Giovanni Domenico Puliaschi, and Giulio Cesare Marotta.<sup>4</sup>

It should be emphasized that at least a third of Michi's compositions (by a very rough evaluation) are of a spiritual or moral genre. This is not surprising: Roman manuscripts that contain arias, madrigals, and cantatas, are usually organized according to a mix of poetic themes, sometimes in striking contrast to one another. Amorous themes are doubtless the most important in these collections, but encomiastic, religious, moral, or spiritual themes can also be found. It can be demonstrated that these same categories were used for grouping poems in a printed collection. The mixture of various topics that at first seems to be random is thus revealed to compile a variety that is easily adaptable to contrasting situations. Vocal music of the seventeenth century, alongside the poetry from which it was generated, was indeed constantly adjusting to the various styles and tones of the occasions for which it was requested and performed.

### The “corte di Roma”

On which occasions and where was Michi's spiritual music performed? Who commissioned these works? In answering these simple questions, would be worthwhile to illustrate the Roman *milieu* in which Michi was living and working.<sup>5</sup>

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4 On Montalto's music patronage see James Chater, “Music and patronage in Rome: the case of Cardinal Montalto”, in: *Studi musicali* 16 (1987), 179–227; John Walter Hill, *Roman monody, cantata and opera from the circles around Cardinal Montalto*, Oxford: Clarendon 1997.

5 On Michi's life and work see Alberto Cametti, “Orazio Michi ‘dell’Arpa’, virtuoso e compositore di musica della prima metà del Seicento”, in: *Rivista musicale italiana* 21 (1914), 203–277; Arnaldo Morelli, “Michi, Orazio”, in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italia-*

As a member of Cardinal Alessandro Peretti Montalto's household, Michi is often described as a court musician. Nevertheless, he was not only a court musician in the service of Montalto: the court of a cardinal or Roman prince formed a part of a broader structured system, the so-called "corte di Roma".<sup>6</sup> Early modern Rome was not only the city of the pope and seat of the Catholic Church, but also the largest and most politically representative of the Italian courts. As the head of a supranational political and religious power, the Rome of Michi's time was perceived by his contemporaries as a *patria communis* (common country) of Catholic nations, the source of legitimacy for Italian and European monarchies and states, the place of regulation of opposing political interests. Due to its authority in conferring titles of nobility in the Church State and lucrative positions within state administration, as well as redistributing the revenues of the ecclesiastical benefices, the court of Rome commanded an extraordinary power of attraction throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Enticed by these possibilities, many people moved from their birthplaces to Rome, their fortunes increasing as they entered into service or in the circle of a cardinal or a noble family. Michi presumably arrived in Rome in 1613 at the latest; in February of that year his name appears in the payrolls of Cardinal Montalto.<sup>7</sup> The brother of the cardinal, Michele Peretti Montalto, was Prince of Venafro, a town not far from Alife, Michi's birthplace. This fact could explain Michi's arrival at the court of Cardinal Montalto.

Who is a courtier in early modern Rome? In his *Discorso sopra la corte di Roma* – one of the many handbooks that endeavoured to explain the complex mechanisms that regulated the functions of the city – Giovanni

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*ni*, Vol. 74, Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana 2011, also on the web page [www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/orazio-michi\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/orazio-michi_(Dizionario-Biografico)/) (15 July 2018).

<sup>6</sup> On the Roman court see Gianvittorio Signorotto and Maria Antonietta Visceglia (eds.), *Court and politics in papal Rome, 1492–1700*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2002; Maria Antonietta Visceglia (ed.), *La nobiltà romana in età moderna: Profili istituzionali e pratiche sociali*, Rome: Carocci 2001. For some reflections on the musician as a courtier see Arnaldo Morelli, "Marenzio, the Courtier. Some Thoughts on Patronage in the Court of Rome", in: Mauro Calcagno (ed.), *Perspectives on Luca Marenzio's secular music*, Turnhout: Brepols 2015, 227–234.

<sup>7</sup> Chater, *Music and patronage in Rome* (see n. 4), 204.

Francesco Commendone, a sixteenth-century Italian bishop and cardinal, states that courtiers are not only those “who follow the prince’s person, or have some role or service with him”, but also those who “serve one or more lords with the intention of achieving a brilliant career” (“accrescere”, or to raise their status).<sup>8</sup> The court of Cardinal Montalto constituted for Michi a protective aura and solid point of reference, useful for more than the mere obtaining of lucrative and long lasting benefices. After Cardinal Montalto’s death in 1623, Michi became a part of the entourage of Cardinal Maurizio di Savoia, a patron of arts and music, who lived in Rome from 1623 to 1627, and from 1635 to 1638.<sup>9</sup> In the meantime, the musician maintained close relationships with Prince Michele Peretti,<sup>10</sup> and cardinals Antonio Barberini *senior*, Bernardino Spada, and Giovanni Battista Pallotta.<sup>11</sup> Before being a musician, therefore, Michi was first a courtier; one of many of the Roman court. As his biography clearly shows, it was not by sheer chance that he resided for a lifetime in the papal city.

Historians have taught us that the court space is not only the physical palace.<sup>12</sup> The court is rather a virtual, incorporeal space, an intangible space which extends beyond palace walls. A cardinal or a prince marks out the boundaries of their court, displaying their authority and presence, by means of patronage. As the historian Mario Biagioli states, “patronage was an institution without walls, an elaborate and comprehensive system; its reality [was] made of rituals rather than of ‘things’”.<sup>13</sup> In this sense, explains Biagioli, “recent historiography of early modern Europe presents patronage as a

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8 Giovanni Francesco Commendone, *Discorso sopra la corte di Roma*, ca. 1555, ed. Cesare Mozzarelli, Rome: Bulzoni 1996, 46.

9 Giuseppe Rua, *Poeti alla corte di Carlo Emanuele I di Savoia: Ludovico d’Agliè, Giambattista Marino, Alessandro Tassoni, Fulvio Testi*, Torino: Loescher 1899, 104–105.

10 Claudio Annibaldi, “‘Uno spettacolo veramente da principi’: Committenza e ricezione dell’opera aulica nel primo Seicento”, in: Piero Gargiulo (ed.), *Lo stupor dell’invenzione: Firenze e la nascita dell’opera*, Florence: Olschki 2001, 31–60: 54–55.

11 Cametti, “Orazio Michi” (see n. 5), 248–250, 254.

12 For a critical overview of the concept of court see Marcello Fantoni (ed.), *La corte e lo spazio: Trent’anni dopo*, Rome: Bulzoni 2012.

13 Mario Biagioli, *Galileo, courtier: the practice of science in the culture of absolutism*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1993, 4, 13–14.

fundamental form of social binding and hierarchical organization".<sup>14</sup> Patronage cannot be simply defined as "a socio-cultural phenomenon; it is rather *the* functioning mechanism of the *ancient regime*".<sup>15</sup>

A cardinal could, for example, display his authority by supporting the construction of a church or by patronizing a confraternity, but also by making his own salaried artists and musicians available to a church or an oratory. Cardinal Montalto supported the construction of the imposing church of Sant'Andrea della Valle, the general seat for the religious order of the Theatines. Boundaries between public and private spheres therefore seem far less clear-cut than they might first appear. Ottavio Durante, another court musician who belonged to the entourage of Cardinal Montalto, recommends in a treatise of religious education (*Breve istruttione per le preghiere sante che potrebbe fare ogni anima christiana*), that the young nobleman to whom the work is dedicated is to "thank God", after receiving communion during the Mass, "by giving some sign of joy through singing or letting some motet be sung".<sup>16</sup> A cardinal or prince could therefore let something be sung in their name as a sign of devotion, but also in order to exert their authority, though they might not be physically present.<sup>17</sup> Ottavio Durante's collection of *Arie devote* (Rome: S. Verovio 1608), which was dedicated to Cardinal Montalto and which combines compositions on liturgical Latin texts with those on Italian texts, seems to have been conceived for such devotional practices, which could take place either within or without the court. This latter instance is also confirmed by Simone Verovio's dedication of his *Canzonette spirituali*, to the Duke of Mantua, Vincenzo Gonzaga. Verovio hopes that the Duke, who was in Rome for the Jubilee of the year 1600, might increase his faith

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 15.

<sup>15</sup> Laurie Nussdorfer, *Civic politics in the Rome of Urban VIII*, Princeton: Princeton University Press 1992, 116.

<sup>16</sup> "Potrassi ringratiare Iddio con darne qualche segno di alerezza cantando o facendo cantare qualche motetto". Cf. Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Ms. P. 89 (13), fol. 185v.

<sup>17</sup> Claudio Annibaldi has recently demonstrated how during the seventeenth century the pope attended only about twenty per cent of the liturgical services of his own chapel. Cf. Claudio Annibaldi, *La cappella musicale pontificia nel Seicento: Da Urbano VII a Urbano VIII (1590-1644)*, Palestrina: Fondazione Palestrina 2011 (Storia della cappella musicale pontificia, 4/I), 17.

while listening to the “canzonette devote” during the visit to the “ancient churches of the glorious martyrs”, the ritual visit of the Seven Churches.<sup>18</sup> This unusual testimony shows how ‘public’ and ‘private’ were not seen as two opposing categories in that *milieu*.<sup>19</sup> For these reasons Michi was actively involved in the musical activities of some confraternities and religious congregations, though he was never member of a musical chapel. It is likely that many of his spiritual arias for voices and basso continuo were intended for the activities of confraternities and congregations.

### Confraternities and oratories

Long before theaters became established as institutions open to the public, churches and oratories provided Rome with opportunities for listening to good music. Indeed, in the early seventeenth century, musical performances were held regularly every Sunday and on the feast days that fell between All Saints’ and Easter, either at the oratory of Santa Maria in Vallicella, the so-called Chiesa Nuova, or in the church of San Girolamo della Carità. The tradition of these meetings, called simply *oratori* (in Italian) after the place where they were held, had been established by Filippo Neri and his first followers in the latter half of the sixteenth century. Focused on the reading of passages from the Old and New Testaments, on the lives of the saints, on church history, and on half-hour sermons (fairly brief for this era), these meetings had been accompanied since their inception by musical performances.<sup>20</sup>

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18 “[...] ascoltandole mentre ella visiterà le chiese antiche de’ gloriosi martiri, si accrescano fiamme al suo animo acceso di cotesto amore”. Cf. *Canzonette spirituali a 3 voci composte da diversi eccellenti musici*, Rome: S. Verovio 1599.

19 As the historian Renata Ago states, public and private are for the Baroque Age “poles of a continuum, and it doesn’t make sense to counterpose them”. Cf. Renata Ago, *Carriere e clientele in Roma barocca*, Rome / Bari: Laterza 1990, 5.

20 For an overview of oratory music in early modern Rome see Arnaldo Morelli, “The oratorio in Rome in the Seicento: its sites and its public”, in: Dinko Fabris and Margaret Murata (eds.), *Passaggio in Italia: music on the grand tour in the seventeenth century*, Turnhout: Brepols 2015, 197–203.

Beyond these two institutions, important musical performances took place in the oratory of the Santissimo Crocifisso di San Marcello (Holy Cross near the church of San Marcello). These were held regularly but limited to a brief part of the year: on the five Fridays of Lent. Performances also took place in the church of Santa Maria dell’Orazione e Morte “in the octave of All Souls’s Day and sometimes during Lent”.<sup>21</sup>

Yet not all spiritual music was meant for oratory meetings such as those of S. Maria in Vallicella, S. Girolamo della carità or Crocifisso di S. Marcello. Other, peculiar forms of devotion were very common in Rome, such as the so-called *Salve* with the litanies, the exhibition of the Holy Sacrament or the magnificent devotion of *Quarantore*, for which the Eucharist was exposed for forty hours. This ceremony normally included the preaching of special sermons, processions, prayers and the singing of hymns and litanies. Such devotions, which were usually accompanied by musical performances, were either held regularly or were concentrated in specific periods of the year in several churches, including churches which were devoid of a permanent music chapel. The *Salve* was most popular among such forms of devotion. The *Salve* was officiated in many churches every Saturday and on the feasts of the Virgin after Compline, and it usually included the singing of the *Salve regina* or another Marian antiphon, and of the litanies of the Virgin Mary, the so-called litanies of Loreto (approved in 1587 for public use by Pope Sixtus V, the uncle to Cardinal Montalto).<sup>22</sup> Already at the beginning of the seventeenth century we find a reference to this popular Roman devotional practice in the title of a printed work by Ludovico Viadana, *Litanie che si cantano nella Santa Casa di Loreto et nelle chiese di Roma ogni sabbato et feste della*

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21 [Federico Franzini], *Roma antica e moderna nella quale si contengono chiese, monasterij, hospedali, compagnie, collegij, e seminarij; tempij, teatri, anfiteatri [...]*, Rome: G. Fei 1660, 224. Also Pietro Della Valle refers to the “buone musiche” performed in the octave of All Souls’s Day in the oratory of Santa Maria dell’Orazione e Morte at the time of Michi. Cf. Della Valle, *Della musica dell’età nostra* (see n. 2), 176.

22 Arnaldo Morelli, “Con musica eccellentissima di cose pie”. *Salve, litanie ed altre devozioni: pratiche religiose e patronage a Roma in età moderna*, in: Antonio Addamiano and Francesco Luisi (eds.), *Atti del congresso internazionale di musica sacra in occasione del centenario di fondazione del PIMS* (Roma, 26 maggio – 1 giugno 2011), Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana 2013, 723–731.

*Madonna* (1607). The most famous of the Roman *Salve* was that which was established by pope Paul V Borghese in his family chapel in the basilica of S. Maria Maggiore, which, after his death, was patronized and administered by the Borghese family.<sup>23</sup>

Even the confraternity of Roman musicians established devotional practices, following the model of the great patrons. The fellows of the Compagnia dei musici di Roma, the confraternity of Roman musicians which was established in 1585, used to sing in turn, every Wednesday, the “litanie della Madonna santissima et sua antifona corrente” in the church where the confraternity had its chapel.<sup>24</sup> However, in addition to the litanies and the antiphons, Latin motets or spiritual compositions on Italian texts (such as *laudi*, madrigals, arias, cantatas, dialogues) were also performed in these forms of devotion.

It is in the context of these devotions that we find the first trace of Michi’s participation in the music of a confraternity. Thanks to the archival research of the late eighteenth century historian Giuseppe Bitozzi, we know that during the 1620s Michi took part in the Marian devotions in the church of San Lorenzo in Damaso, where he accompanied with his instrument the litanies and the *laudi* which were performed every Saturday evening in the chapel of the confraternity of Santissima Concezione. For this purpose, the musicians had asked the canons of San Lorenzo for permission to build, in the archway of the chapel, a “temporary platform on which a positive organ was placed, and there, after pulling a cloth in front, musicians sang the above-mentioned *laudi* [that is spiritual songs] to the sound of the organ and the harp”.<sup>25</sup> We must not forget that the church of San Lorenzo in Dam-

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23 Jean Lionnet, “La ‘Salve’ de Sainte-Marie Majeure: la musique de la chapelle Borghese au 17ème siècle”, in: *Studi musicali* 12 (1983), 97–119.

24 Morelli, “*Con musica eccellentissima di cose pie*” (see n. 22), 728–729.

25 “Un palco posticcio sul quale fu collocato un organo portatile e, tirata all’innanzi una tela, dai musici si cantavano le dette laudi al suono dell’organetto e dell’arpa”. Cf. Giuseppe Bitozzi, *Notizie storiche della basilica collegiata insigne di S. Lorenzo in Damaso*, ca. 1797, cited in Patrizio Barbieri, “Ancora sugli organi di S. Lorenzo in Damaso, Roma. Con un elenco di organisti e maestri di cappella dal sec. XV al XIX”, in: *Amici dell’organo di Roma*, serie II, 2 (1985), 91–99: 95, available online: [www.patriziobarbieri.it/organo/rome/no\\_4\\_1985\\_pp\\_71\\_102.pdf](http://www.patriziobarbieri.it/organo/rome/no_4_1985_pp_71_102.pdf) (18 November 2018).

also is incorporated into the Palazzo della Cancelleria, where Cardinal Montalto resided, in his role of vice-chancellor of the Holy Church. It was perhaps not by chance that in 1627, a few years after the cardinal's death, when the confraternity decided to enlarge the platform and the organ, that the chapter of San Lorenzo, which until then had allowed the confraternity to carry out its devotions and its music, "let everything be demolished and removed, and this later caused an argument between the parties".<sup>26</sup>

The most important of Michi's connections was the one with the Congregazione dell'Oratorio (Oratorians), which had its seat in Santa Maria in Vallicella, the so-called Chiesa Nuova (the New Church): the importance of this link is proven by Michi's bequeathment of his goods to this congregation. As we know, in 1575 Filippo Neri and some of his closest collaborators founded the congregation of the Oratory, which was approved that same year by Pope Gregory XIII, who assigned to the Oratorians the church of Santa Maria in Vallicella. Music, as we know, was the most characteristic means by which the Oratorians pursued their work of catechism. Although music was constantly present in the oratory meetings from the early times in Filippo Neri's rooms at San Girolamo della Carità, its form and function was changed between the late sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century. The way in which it was changed cannot be completely explained by the evolution of musical taste, rather by recognizing the pragmatic choices made by the Oratorian community in response to relevant problems, such as rivalry among aristocrats in the audience. While in the sixteenth century the early repertoire of simple three voice *laudi* had the function of animate the people attending the meeting congregation after the sermons, from the early seventeenth century onwards oratory music was aimed at attracting people, especially a socially distinguished public.

Already in the first decades of the seventeenth century, music for the oratory meetings on Sundays and feast days became an attractive spectacle, bringing a large audience to the Vallicella. This oratory was the most

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<sup>26</sup> "Fece demolire e togliere il tutto, il che poi die' motivo ad una lite delle parti". Cf. Bitozzi, *Notizie storiche*, cited in Barbieri, "Ancora sugli organi" (see n. 25), 95. Some informations on the music activity of the confraternity of Santissima Concezione are given in Morelli, "Con musica eccellentissima di cose pie" (see n. 22), 726–728.

renowned in the city; the admission was formally open to all, but the policy sometimes caused confusion and disorder. In January 1625, some Oratorian fathers of the Chiesa Nuova complained that “in past years, when we had vocal and instrumental music, there was disturbance and swords were drawn”: this was caused by the presence of many cardinals and other members of the Curia with their entourages.<sup>27</sup> Some fathers proposed to build a “choir loft in the oratory for the convenience of some musicians, who could not easily play their instruments, such as harps and theorbos, together with other musicians”, but the proposal was rejected in order to avoid subverting the original custom of the Congregation.<sup>28</sup> Again in 1630, the Oratorians had to note that “since for the three consecutive feast days the music in the oratory was followed by extraordinarily tumultuous disorder and scandals to the point of impeding the prayers, all due to the compositions commissioned by persons of high rank, which were composed and performed by external musicians, and which introduced competition between both among patrons and among performers”, it was necessary to put a stop to this troubled situation. The Oratorian fathers decided, therefore, to have only compositions performed which were “made by their own members for the devotion and the profit of the audience” and to have all texts and music to be performed submitted for approval, admitting only compositions commissioned by the Oratorian Congregation itself. Moreover, all instruments were banned except for harpsichord and organ, which were necessary to play the continuo.<sup>29</sup> The compositions “written or commissioned by external persons” and the resulting competition that the Oratorian fathers complained about, give us some

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27 Arnaldo Morelli, *Il tempio armonico: musica nell'oratorio dei Filippini in Roma (1575–1705)*, Laaber: Laaber Verlag 1991 (Analecta Musicologica 27), 29.

28 Ibid., 120: “Fare un choro nell'oratorio per commodità d'alcuni musici, quali non possono comodamente sonare con gli altri con l'istrumenti d'arpe e tiorbe, e per commodità de' signori cardinali, prelati e principi”.

29 Ibid., 29–30: “essendo passata la musica dell'oratorio piccolo per tre feste seguite in disordini straordinarii di tumulti, impertinenze e scandali fino ad impedire la parola di Dio, e tutto per le compositioni et inviti de' grandi, fatte dagli esterni da' quali erano introdotte concorrenze e gare”. An inventory of 1623 records some instruments owned by the congregation: “un gravicinbano grande”, “una tiorba”, and “un violone”, besides “un organo grande”, and “un organetto in modo di tavolino”; *ibid.*, 103–105.

idea of the price they might have paid for the success of musical performances. In order to present the best composers as well as the best singers and instrumentalists, the congregations needed the support of persons of high rank, such as cardinals and princes, who were their patrons. It was not by accident that for the new oratory of the Chiesa Nuova, designed by Francesco Borromini and inaugurated in 1640, a comfortable *loggia* was built high above the entrance, meant to be used by the cardinals and princes who attended the meetings on feast days, occupying the side of the choir loft opposite the musicians. This exclusive, separated placement for the aristocracy broke the traditional policy which went back to the time of Filippo Neri, founder of the congregation, which did not allow segregated places for anyone who came to the oratory.

The diary of John Evelyn, an English traveller who heard performances in the oratory of the Chiesa Nuova in 1644 – only three years after Michi's death – offers an account of an evening performance that is overflowing with praise for the compositions and the voices of the singers:

This evening [8 Nov. 1644] I was invited to heare rare musique at the Chiesa Nova. [...] We went into the *Sacristia* [that is the oratory], where the tapers were being lighted. One of the Order preached; after him stepped up a child, of about 8 or 9 years old, who pronounced an oration with so much grace, as I never was better pleased in my life than to heare Italian so well spoken, and so intelligently. [...] This being finished, began their mottettos, which (in a lofty cupola richly painted) were sung by eunuchs, and other rare voices, accompanied by theorbas, harpsicords, and viols; so as we were even ravished with the entertainment of that evening.<sup>30</sup>

The history of the oratory of Santa Maria in Vallicella sparkles with performances by renowned singers or composers. Among the most famous performances was the celebrated *Lamento della Maddalena*, sung by the renowned *castrato* Loreto Vittori (probably one of the spiritual *contrafactum* of Monteverdi's *Lamento di Arianna*);<sup>31</sup> as well as the *Coro di profeti per la solennità*

<sup>30</sup> John Evelyn, *The diary*, ed. Esmond Samuel de Beer, Oxford: Oxford University Press 1955, vol. 2, 233. De Beer notes that “Sacristia” is a mistake on Evelyn's part “for the Oratory built 1637–40”.

<sup>31</sup> Claudio Gallico, “La ‘quaerimonia’ di Maddalena di Domenico Mazzocchi e l'interpretazione di Loreto Vittori”, in: *Collectanea Historiae Musicae*, Vol. 4, Florence: Olschki

dell'Annuntiatione, with poetry by Giovanni Ciampoli and music by Domenico Mazzocchi.<sup>32</sup>

Michi probably contributed to the music performed at the Vallicella oratory, not only as a harp-player, as a composer as well. The text of Michi's recitativo per musica *Si dilegua e si distrugge a Filippo il cor nel seno* clearly refers to Saint Filippo Neri, and can therefore be connected with the Oratorian context at the Vallicella.<sup>33</sup>

Michi's autograph manuscript preserved in Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Mss. Mus. 56 very probably arrived in this library together with many other manuscripts from the archive of the Chiesa Nuova.<sup>34</sup> Further, besides "a silver crucifix", Michi bequeathed "all the books of music, both secular and spiritual" to Girolamo Rosini,<sup>35</sup> a celebrate castrato, papal singer, as well as an Oratorian father and *prefetto della musica* (music director and chapel master) of the Chiesa Nuova. Rosini died three years later than Michi, and the music collection in his possession was probably inherited from the Oratorian Congregation of the Chiesa Nuova.

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1966, 133–147; Bianca Maria Antolini, "La carriera di cantante e compositore di Loreto Vittori", in: *Studi musicali* 7 (1978), 141–188: 153; Wolfgang Witzemann, *Domenico Mazzocchi. Dokumente und Interpretationen*, Köln: Böhlau 1970 (Analecta Musicologica 8), 23.

<sup>32</sup> Morelli, *Il tempio armonico* (see n. 27), 32.

<sup>33</sup> Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Mss. mus. 56, fols. 10v–11v (autograph manuscript). An anonymous setting for five voices of the same text of an aria set to music by Michi, *Collinetta che di fiori sugl'albori ghirlandar solevi il crine*, is preserved in the Archivio della Congregazione dell'Oratorio in Rome. Cf. Morelli, *Il tempio armonico* (see n. 27), 76–77.

<sup>34</sup> Arnaldo Morelli, "Note storiche sui manoscritti musicali della Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma", in: *Catalogo del fondo musicale della Biblioteca nazionale centrale "Vittorio Emanuele II" di Roma*, Rome: Ministero Beni culturali e ambientali – Consorzio Iris 1989, 13–28; Antonio Addamiano and Arnaldo Morelli, "L'archivio della cappella musicale di Santa Maria in Vallicella (Chiesa Nuova) a Roma nella prima metà del Seicento: Una ricostruzione", in: *Le fonti musicali italiane* 2 (1997), 37–67.

<sup>35</sup> "Item lascio al padre Girolamo Rosini della Chiesa Nuova un mio crocifisso d'argento con suo taffetà rosso, che sta nella camera sopra il studiolo, con tutti i miei libri di musica profani e spirituali". Cf. Cametti, "Orazio Michi" (see n. 5), 26.

Among minor beneficiaries of Michi's conspicuous inheritance were also some religious institutions: among these is included the church of the Holy House of Virgin Mary in Loreto of the confraternity of Marchigiani (natives of the Marche but residing in Rome), to which Michi bequeathed his organ, while asking Cardinal Giovan Battista Pallotta to "let it be positioned in an appropriate place".<sup>36</sup> Cardinal Pallotta, one of the three cardinals who are mentioned in Michi's will, had in 1637 established the church of the Holy House of Virgin Mary in Loreto, near via di Ripetta and piazza del Popolo, and was the protector of the Roman "confraternita dei Marchigiani".<sup>37</sup> In this church "every Saturday the most important singers sing the litanies" and "every first Saturday of each month, in addition to the music, one of the most celebrated preachers delivers a sermon in praise of the Holy House, with the participation of the same Cardinal Pallotta and of many very distinguished prelates, princes and gentlemen".<sup>38</sup> Archival documents of the late 1640s confirm the participation of many well-known musicians in this church's music, among them chapel masters of the rank of Stefano Fabbri, Orazio Benevoli, Francesco Foggia, and Carlo Cecchelli, several papal singers and well-known instrumentalists.<sup>39</sup> It is very likely, therefore, that Michi also took part in the music for the litanies which were sung in the church of the Holy House of Virgin Mary every week, before a selected audience of cardinals, prelates, princes and noblemen.

Michi probably also contributed to the music of other religious institutions. We gather this from the existence of a second version of his "recitativo

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<sup>36</sup> Cametti, "Orazio Michi" (see n. 5), 254.

<sup>37</sup> Gaetano Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico ecclesiastica*, Vol. 51, Venice: Tipografia Emiliana 1851, 65–66. Some sermons delivered by famous preachers of the time on the occasion of the *Litanie* at the church of the Holy House of Loreto are published in *Dodici sermoni sopra la S. Casa di Loreto*, Rome: Ignazio de' Lazzari 1669, and in: *Predica in lode della Santa Casa di Loreto, fatta dall'illustriss. e reverendiss. monsignor Giuseppe Maria [Suarez] vescovo de Vaison, [...] con intervento delli eminentissimi signori cardinali Franciotti, Firenzola, Pallotta, Cafarelli, Odescalchi, Vidman, e Carlo Barberino, nella nuova chiesa della Madonna di Loreto*, Ancona: Stamperia camerale, 1670.

<sup>38</sup> [Franzini], *Roma antica e moderna* (see n. 21), 90–91.

<sup>39</sup> Maria Giovanna Fiorentino, "Giovanni Antonio Leoni: nuove acquisizioni biografiche", in: *Recercare* 6 (1994), 193–202: 200–201.

per musica” *Si dilegua e si distrugge*.<sup>40</sup> The text of this second version is slightly different, altered in order to insert a reference to Teresa d’Avila in place of Filippo Neri (the two saints were canonized together in 1622). It is possible that the composition *Si dilegua e si distrugge a Teresa il cor nel seno* had been performed in some church or oratory of the Discalced Carmelites, the order which had been established by Teresa d’Avila. In this case, we can identify the church in question with Santa Maria della Scala, in the Roman district of Trastevere: in fact we know that Michi bequeathed a painting to this church.<sup>41</sup> Documentary evidence shows, in addition, that at least in the second half of the seventeenth century the so-called *Salve* devotion was regularly performed in this church.<sup>42</sup>

In conclusion, it should be thought that music that was performed for devotional functions, forms such as oratorios, dialogues, antiphones, litanies, motets, spiritual madrigals, and arias, was not of secondary importance compared to opera and large scale sacred music. At a time in which public theaters and concert halls did not yet exist, churches and oratories were ideal places for composers to experiment with the new *stile recitativo*, and for singers and instrumentalists to exhibit their virtuosity. Therefore, as a virtuoso harp player as well as a composer, Michi stands out as one of the leading musicians of such performances in Baroque Rome.

(English translation by Silvia Gaddini)

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<sup>40</sup> Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, Ms. 2490, 47–48.

<sup>41</sup> Cametti, “Orazio Michi” (see n. 5), 254: “Alli padri della Madonna della Scala [lascio] un *Ecce homo* con la Madonna che sta nel camerino dove sta la Madalena”.

<sup>42</sup> Carlo Bartolomeo Piazza, *Eusevologio romano overo delle opere pie di Roma accresciuto e ampliato*, Rome: Giovanni Andreoli 1699, Trattato VII, Parte II, 16.

# Orazio Michi: contemporary testimonials, documents, and work

Alexandra Ziane

*Per lo Sign.[ore] Orazio dell'Arpa,  
sonator d'arpa famoso*

Arpa non già, ma scala,  
onde in su 'l Ciel s'ascende,  
è questa che d'Orazio al collo pende.  
Le corde, ond'esce il suono,  
i gradi or meno or più sublimi sono;  
l'orecchio ascolta, e sale  
l'alma a la Reggia lucida immortale.  
Quando poi l'aurea chiave  
numero più soave  
ricerca, e n'apre un più gentil concerto,  
"Or ecco", grido, "il Paradiso aperto."

*For Mister Orazio dell'Arpa,  
the Famous Harpist*

Not just a harp, but a ladder  
On which to ascend to Heaven,  
Such is what hangs from Orazio's neck.  
The strings giving forth the sound  
Are the steps, now less, now more sublime;  
The ear is listening, and the soul  
Ascends to the bright palace of Heaven,  
And when the golden key  
Goes in search of the sweetest number  
And opens a most noble concert.  
"Behold", I exclaim, "open is Paradise."<sup>1</sup>

The harp against Orazio Michi's shoulder as a ladder leading to heaven, its strings the steps taking the soul up towards the radiant heavenly palace, and the sounds of a celestial concert – such are the images the poet Francesco Maia Materdona employs in his *Rime*, published in 1629, as he pays homage to the most famous harpist of his time. Though a search of contemporary sources yields references everywhere to this outstanding and much-appreciated virtuoso, today Michi is accorded just a few lines in reference books such as *New Grove dictionary of music and musicians* and *Musik in*

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Special thanks are due to Gertraud Trivedi who translated this article into English. Proceedings are planned, but have not yet been published. I also would like to thank Mara Galassi for all her help and for her continuous efforts in connection with Orazio Michi.

<sup>1</sup> Gianfrancesco Maia Materdona, *Rime*, Venice 1629, CCXCVII, in: Gianfrancesco Maia Materdona. *Opere*, ed. Gino Rizzo, Lecce: Milella 1989 (Biblioteca salentina di cultura 1), 212.

*Geschichte und Gegenwart*.<sup>2</sup> In the following paper I will present the known sources of Michi's time, give a short survey of what we know of his life before, and characterise his work on the basis of some concrete examples.

## I. Contemporary sources on Michi as musician and composer

The celebrated tenor Francesco Rasi, who almost certainly performed the title role in Monteverdi's *Orfeo* in 1607, writes in a letter of 9 April 1621 about an exquisite musical experience during his journey to Rome, where he heard the excellent playing of Orazio dell'Arpa.<sup>3</sup> Soon after, the aristocrat banker, intellectual, and art collector Vincenzo Giustiniani, who is known today mostly as a patron of Caravaggio, describes the musical scene of Rome in the first decades of the 17th century in his 1628 *Discorso sopra la musica*. After naming Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici as a great Florentine patron of music, Giustiniani mentions Cardinal Montalto, who not only played the harpsichord but surrounded himself with remarkable musicians, amongst them "Orazio, an outstanding player of the double harp".<sup>4</sup>

In the same year of 1628, reference is made to Orazio Michi in another source that has not caught the eye of musicologists to date: in a letter of the scientist Benedetto Castelli to Galileo Galilei. Castelli, a close confidant of Galilei, had been called to Rome by the pope. Castelli was looking after the

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2 The article "Michi, Orazio", in: *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Second Edition, *Personenteil* 12 (2004), cols. 170–171 was written by the editors and based largely on the article by Luigi Ferdinando Tagliavini in the first Edition of MGG (Vol. 9, c. 274). A little more comprehensive is the article by John Walter Hill, "Michi, Orazio", in: *The New Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, Second Edition, 16 (2001), 598.

3 Cf. Warren Kirkendale, "Zur Biographie des ersten Orfeo, Francesco Rasi", in: *Claudio Monteverdi. Festschrift Reinhold Hammerstein zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Ludwig Finsscher, Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1986, 297–335: 320.

4 "Orazio sonatore raro d'Arpa doppia". Vincenzo Giustiniani: "Discorso sopra la musica de' suoi tempi", in: *Le origini del melodramma. Testimonianze dei contemporanei raccolte*, ed. Angelo Solerti, Torino 1903, Reprint Hildesheim and New York: G. Olms 1969, 98–128: 110 and 124.

education of Taddeo Barberini,<sup>5</sup> the young nephew of the pontiff, and subsequently the education of Galileo Galilei's nephew Vincenzo Galilei, who had come to Rome in order to deepen his musical knowledge. In a letter dated 8 January 1628 and addressed to Galileo Galilei in Florence, Benedetto Castelli says:

Thursday evening your nephew, Mr Vincenzo, arrived here safely [...]. With regard to his studies, Signor Orazio dell'Arpe (with whom I have as yet been unable to confer), together with Monsignore [Ciampoli], will recommend him to a person who will allow him to profit much in musical terms.<sup>6</sup>

The fact that Castelli does not formally introduce or discuss "Signor Orazio dell'Arpe" would suggest that Galilei already knew about him, or might even have proposed Orazio as his nephew's musical mentor himself.

The French writer Gédéon Tallement des Réaux (1619–1692), who visited Rome in 1638, reports that viola da gamba player André Maugars did not have the courage to perform in the presence of "seigneur Horatio", then musician at the court of Cardinal Maurizio of Savoy.<sup>7</sup> Maugars was also evidently well informed about Michi's impressive income, as he mentions that Cardinal Montalto, who was very pleased by the musical skill of the harpist, was paying him 5,000 or 6,000 *scudi* per month. Also Pietro Della Valle, an intellectual, poet, and amateur musician, speaks with enthusiasm not only of

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5 Cf. Augusto De Ferrari "Castelli, Benedetto (al secolo, Antonio)", in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 21, 1978, [www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/benedetto-castelli\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/benedetto-castelli_(Dizionario-Biografico)/) (15.11.2016).

6 "Giovedì a sera giunse il Sig. Vincenzio nipote di V.[ostra] S.[ignoria] sano e salvo [...]. Quanto allo studio, il Signor Orazio dell'Arpe (col quale non ho ancora potuto parlare) insieme con Monsignore [Ciampoli] lo raccomanderanno a persona che lo potrà far guadagnare assai nella musica.", in: *Opere complete di Galileo Galilei. Supplemento*, ed. Eugenio Albèri, Florence: Società Editrice Fiorentina 1856, 201–202.

7 Gédéon Tallement des Réaux, *Les historiettes*, ed. Monmerqué, de Chateaugiron and Taschereau, Paris: Alphonse Levavasseur, Libraire 1834, Vol. 2, 119–120. Cf. also André Maugars, "Risposta data a un curioso sul sentimento della musica in Italia", translated and commented by Jean Lionnet, in: *Nuova rivista musicale italiana* 19 (1985), 681–707: 681.

Orazio's virtuosity but also of his skill as a composer of "musica moderna".<sup>8</sup> Della Valle cites two compositions by Orazio: *Or che la notte del silenzio amica*, which is attributed to Luigi Rossi though it is most probably by Michi, and *Per torbido mare* by Michi whom he merely calls "Orazio".<sup>9</sup> Strangely, Giovanni Battista Doni, who generally reveals a conservative taste in music, also names Michi, alongside Frescobaldi and Michelangelo Rossi, as a master of his instrument in *De praestantia musicae veteris*.<sup>10</sup> In his *Musica scenica*, Doni praises Michi's harp-playing alone as most excellent in its accompaniment of the solo voice.<sup>11</sup>

Michi's fame spread beyond the limits of Rome. In his treatise on composition, *Discorsi e regole sopra la musica e il contrappunto* (dated around 1650), Severo Bonini, the Florentine composer and admirer of Caccini, also

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<sup>8</sup> Pietro Della Valle, "Della musica dell'età nostra che non è punto inferiore, anzi è migliore di quella dell'età passata", in: *Le origini del melodramma. Testimonianze dei contemporanei raccolte*, ed. Angelo Solerti, Turin 1903, Reprint Hildesheim and New York: G. Olms, 1969, 148–179: 158, 159, 167–168.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Robert Holzer, "'Sono d'altro garbo ... le canzonette chi si cantano oggi': Pietro Della Valle on music and modernity in the seventeenth century", in: *Studi musicali* 21 (1992), 253–306. *Per torbido mare* is contained in two sources: 1. I-Rsc, A. Ms. 247, a manuscript from the circle around cardinal Montalto (cf. John Walter Hill: *Roman monody, cantata, and opera from the circles around Cardinal Montalto*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1997, 164 and 175). 2. I-CVbav, Barb. lat. 4151, fols. 46v–48r. For further research on *Per torbido mare* cf. Margaret Murata, "Roman cantata scores as traces of musical culture and signs of its place in society", in: *Atti del XIV Congresso della Società internazionale di musicologia. Trasmissione e recezione delle forme di cultura musicale*, ed. Angelo Pompilio, Torino: EDT 1990, Vol. 1, 272–284: 282; Holzer, *ibid.*, 269–270; Gloria Rose "Pasqualini as Copyist", in: *Studien zur italienisch-deutschen Musikgeschichte*, ed. Friedrich Lippmann, Köln: Volk 1974 [Analecta Musicologica 14], 170–175); Maugars / Lionnet, "Risposta" (see n. 7, note 12), 691.

<sup>10</sup> Giovanni Battista Doni, "De praestantia musicae veteris" (1647), in: *Lyra Barberina amphichordos*, ed. Anton Francesco Gori and Giovanni Battista Passeri, Firenze 1763, Facsimile Bologna: Forni, 1974 (Bibliotheca musica Bononiensis 2, 151), Vol. 1, 117.

<sup>11</sup> Giovanni Battista Doni, "Trattato della Musica Scenica parte I" (first version, before 1634), in: *Lyra Barberina amphichordos*, ed. Anton Francesco Gori and Giovanni Battista Passeri, Firenze 1763, Facsimile Bologna: Forni 1974 (Bibliotheca musica Bononiensis 2, 151), Vol. 2, 22.

mentions him not only as an unparalleled harpist but also as a composer of arias.<sup>12</sup> Further, Marin Mersenne does not fail to include a reference to this celebrated virtuoso in his 1636/1637 *Harmonie universelle*.<sup>13</sup>

The poet Gianfrancesco Maia Materdona mentioned earlier, a successor to Giambattista Marino, and who, like Orazio Michi, belonged to the circle around Cardinal Maurizio of Savoy, pays homage to “Orazio dell’Arpa, the renowned harpist” with his poem in his *Rime* of 1629. Many poets of the period wrote in praise of famous female singers, as is the case with Maia Materdona, who in his collection extols the beauty and the wonderful singing of Adriana Basile and Francesca Caccini. The only instrumentalist, and indeed the only man, that Maia Materdona includes in his collection is Orazio Michi, who paves the way to paradise with his harp.<sup>14</sup>

Antonio Bruni, another epigone of Marino, in his 1630 collection *Le tre gratie*, after eulogies to the pope, various dukes (in particular the Duke of Savoy), cardinals and Christopher Columbus, also dedicates a sonnet to Orazio Michi. Michi is the only artist Marino honours in this way, describing Orazio as an earthly angel who brings his ethereal harp to life, sending his audience into ecstasy:<sup>15</sup>

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12 I-Fn, Cod. Ricc. 2218, fol. 89v. Quoted from Alberto Cametti, “Orazio Michi ‘dell’Arpa’, virtuoso e compositore di musica della prima metà del Seicento”, in: *Rivista musicale italiana* 21 (1914), 203–271: 207.

13 Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, Reprint, ed. François Lesure, Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique 1975, Vol. 3, 216.

14 See n. 1. Originally the poem was dedicated to Adriana Basile. Cf. Rizzo, *Materdona* (see n. 1), 434–435. Cf. also Elio Durante, Anna Martellotti: *L’arpa di Laura: Indagine organologica, artistica e archivistica sull’arpa estense*, Florence: Studio per Edizioni Scelte, 1982, 201. Following Dinko Fabris, the original poem is like this: “Arpa non è, ma scala / Onde su’l ciel s’ascende / Questa che d’Adriana al collo pende / Ecco la bella donna ‘n un momento / Sorridendo si volge; e lieta prende / (che stava accanto a lei) vago strumento / Che di finissimo ‘or superbo splende, / Alla cui cima, a guisa d’arco, e un legno; / E ferri onde le corde hanno sostegno.” (Dinko Fabris, “The harp in Naples 1500–1700”, in: *Historische Harfen: Beiträge zur Theorie und Praxis historischer Harfen*, ed. Heidrun Rosenzweig, Dornach: s. n. 1988, 43–59: 48–49). Thus more parts have been changed than just the name.

15 Antonio Bruni, *Le tre gratie*, Rome: Ottavio Ingrassiani 1630, 303.

*Al Sig.[nore] Horatio Michi,  
Musico celeberrimo.*

Se talhor scorri tù le fila d'oro  
De l'Arpa eburna, hor rapido, et hor lento,  
Odo sì dolce il peregrin concento,  
Ch'io non sono Idolatra, e pur l'adoro.

Sembra l'arpa una Sfera, e tù canoro  
Angel terreno ad animarla intento;  
Quinci l'alma languir, rapir mi sento  
A quelle melodie del sommo choro.

Par, ch'à lei si rimembri il canto eterno  
D'ogni mente là sù più chiara, e bella,  
Ch'udì beata già nel Ciel superno.

E mentre vò ne l'armonia novella  
Contemplando l'antica, apena io scerno,  
Se la musica Idea sia questa, ò quella.

*To Mister Horatio Michi,  
the Celebrated Musician*

Sometimes, when you glide over the golden strings  
Of your ivory harp, now fast, now slow,  
I hear such sweet and strange harmony, that  
Though no I am no idolator, I adore it.

The harp is like a sphere, and you its canorous,  
Earthly angel that brings it to life;  
And I feel my soul's longing, enraptured  
By those melodies of the heavenly choir.

Thus, when the eternal song is remembered,  
Every mind will find more precious, sublime  
The blessed music it heard in the heavens.

And while I enter into the new harmony,  
As I ponder the old one I hardly know  
If the ideal of music is this one, or that.

As stated above, today Orazio Michi is generally mentioned only in passing, even in the major encyclopaedias. The only monographic work on Michi to date is an essay by Alberto Cametti dated 1914.<sup>16</sup> Recently however, John Walter Hill turned his attention on Orazio Michi in his study of the musical patronage of Cardinal Montalto in Rome, and Hill also started a provisional list of Michi's works, though this list is largely incomplete.<sup>17</sup> (See my updated list of Michi's works following this article.)

## **II. Outline of the life of Michi, a privileged musician at the courts of Rome**

Despite Michi's fame during his lifetime, not much is currently known about the harpist's life. Important information is found in his testament, published by Alberto Cametti, and in an inventory compiled after his death.<sup>18</sup> Both indicate that he was a prosperous and highly regarded man who enjoyed

<sup>16</sup> Cametti, "Orazio Michi" (see n. 12).

<sup>17</sup> Hill, *Roman monody, cantata, and opera* (see n. 9), 176–179.

<sup>18</sup> I-Ras, protocollo 1396, carte 323–339. Cf. Cametti, "Orazio Michi" (see n. 12), 268.

numerous privileges. At the time of his death, Michi owned a luxuriously furnished house in the centre of Rome with numerous paintings by contemporary artists.<sup>19</sup> In addition to a large library, a ruby, 1,000 *scudi* in cash (a singer at the papal chapel earned around 23 *scudi* per month and would probably have been unable to lay aside such a sum of money in savings), as well as several musical instruments, Michi owned a horse carriage, which was a special privilege in Rome at that time. In his testament, he decreed that none other than the Papal Chapel Choir should sing mass on the day of his death.

As we know from his testament, Michi was born in Alife, a small town in the province of Caserta near Naples. The register of deaths, recorded 27 October 1641, states that Michi was 46 years old, so it follows that he was born around 1595. No information about Michi's apprenticeship survives, but since he had been a player of the *arpa doppia* we can assume that he was trained in the nearby city of Naples, which was at that time the centre for the *arpa doppia*.<sup>20</sup> The Roman harpist Bartolomeo Jovernardi, who left Italy in 1632 for Spain, remembered Bernardino Nanino in his treatise *Nueva ciencia* [...], printed 1653 in Madrid, as a teacher he had shared with the harpist Horacio Napolitano.<sup>21</sup> Nanino was employed as maestro di cappella at San Lorenzo in Damaso, the church attached to the Palazzo della Cancelleria, the residence of Cardinal Montalto.

The first piece of archival evidence on Orazio Michi is a household payment dated 1613, which he received from the same Cardinal Montalto in Rome, and in whose service Michi eventually rose to become the highest-paid musician. Cardinal Montalto provided Michi with an income of 300 *scudi* per annum from two of his abbeys, and even added an annual pension of

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<sup>19</sup> There are other Roman musicians of the 17th century that were in possession of collections of paintings. Elisabetta Frullini is writing a PhD dissertation about these musicians at present.

<sup>20</sup> Cametti, "Orazio Michi" (see n. 12), 210–212.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Luca Mancini, "Jovernardi, Bartolomeo", in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 62, 2004, [www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/bartolomeo-jovernardi\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/bartolomeo-jovernardi_(Dizionario-Biografico)/) (22.11.2018). I would like to thank Chiara Granata for pointing out this information.

2,000 *scudi* in his testament.<sup>22</sup> In the Palazzo della Cancelleria in 1614, a performance in celebration of the marriage of Prince Michele Peretti and Anna Maria Cesi featured the musical spectacle *Amor pudico* by Jacopo Cicognini. As we know from a detailed description of the staging by Romolo Paradiso, Orazio Michi played the harp from inside a boat, representing Apollo in the midst of the nine Muses.<sup>23</sup> In 1615/1616 a musician named “Orazietto” played in the Cappella Giulia of the Basilica of San Pietro – it can be assumed that this “Orazietto” is Orazio Michi.<sup>24</sup>

The great importance of Montalto for the history of music in Rome became evident through John Walter Hill’s study, published in 1997. Hill shows that the new practice of solo singing which began at the start of the 17th century not only had roots in Florence, but that the improvised solo singing in Naples and Rome at the end of the 16th century in particular played an important role in the development of the Roman chamber cantata. Hill bases his argument on the presence of musicians around Cardinal Montalto and manuscripts of their compositions that survive. As mentioned earlier, although Orazio Michi was part of this group of musicians, owned two portraits of Cardinal Montalto,<sup>25</sup> and appears to have enjoyed a special position within the group (considering his most generous remuneration), none of the sources containing music by Michi are directly linked to Montalto’s

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22 Cf. Hill, *Roman monody, cantata, and opera* (see n. 9), 35. For the musical patronage of Montalto cf. James Chater, “Musical patronage in Rome at the turn of the seventeenth century: the case of Cardinal Montalto”, in: *Studi musicali* 16/1 (1987), 179–227.

23 Cf. Romolo Paradiso, *Copia d’una lettera del Sig. Romolo Paradiso con quale dà avviso dell’apparato, e grandezza, con che si è rappresentato il festino dell’Eccellentiss. Sig. Principe Peretti*, Rome 1614, 67. This refers to the “Hora quinta” of the musical drama, in a scene staging the sea. Then enters the ship with Apollo (which would be Michi) with the nine Muses. Cf. Jacopo Cicognini, *Amor pudico, festino e balli danzati in Roma*, Viterbo: Girolamo Discepolo 1614, 36–38. Cf. also Hill, *Roman monody, cantata, and opera* (see n. 9), 279–297, especially 291.

24 Cf. Giancarlo Rostirolla, “Il professionismo musicale a Roma al tempo di Francesco Buti (1640–1660), con particolare riguardo ai cantanti e ai suonatori”, in: *Francesco Buti tra Roma e Parigi. Diplomazia, poesia, teatro. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi* (Parma 12–15 dicembre 2007), ed. Francesco Luisi, Rome: Torre d’Orfeo 2009 (*Miscellanea Musicologica* 8), 313–347: 336.

25 Cf. Cametti, “Orazio Michi” (see n. 12), 224.

library. This would suggest that they were composed, or at least copied, at a later stage.<sup>26</sup>

We also know that Michi accompanied the litanies and *laudi* sung on Saturday evenings on the organ or harp in Montalto's titular church San Lorenzo in Damaso from about 1620 until the death of the cardinal.<sup>27</sup> A list of payments to the special musicians (*suonatori straordinari*) engaged for the dedication feast of Saint Peter in 1615 specifies a certain "Orazietto" as harpist, which also suggests Michi's presence in this important church.<sup>28</sup>

After Montalto's death in 1623, Orazio entered the service of Cardinal Maurizio of Savoy who was residing in Rome at the time. Maurizio, the son of Carlo Emanuele I, gathered a number of musicians at his court in addition to Michi: Michelangelo Rossi, Filippo Albin, Stefano Landi and his pupil, the castrato Angelo Ferrotti, Sigismondo d'India and Adriana Basile, Francesco Maria Fucci and Ottaviano Cambiano, furthermore the painters Niccolò Torrioli, Agostino Tassi, Giovanni Giacomo Sementi and Guido Reni, as well as a number of literati such as Ludovico d'Agliè.<sup>29</sup> The first docu-

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<sup>26</sup> According to Hill, most of the surviving works by Michi were composed after Montalto's death. None of the sources containing pieces by Michi have concordances in the repertoire of Montalto. Cf. Hill, *Roman monody, cantata, and opera* (see n. 9), 141 and 227.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Giovanni Bitozzi, *Notizie storiche della Basilica Collegiata Insigne di S. Lorenzo in Damaso*, Rome 1797, Vol. 1, 94–95, quoted from Patrizio Barbieri, "Ancora sugli organi di S. Lorenzo in Damaso, Roma", in: *Amici dell'organo di Roma*, Serie II, 4 (1985), 91–100: 95–96.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Giancarlo Rostirolla, "Musiche e apparati nella Basilica Vaticana per le feste dei Santi Pietro e Paolo e della dedizione della fine del XVI al primo quarto del XVII secolo, in: *Musik in Rom im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert: Kirche und Fest*, ed. Markus Engelhardt, Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2004 (Analecta musicologica 33), 417–474, 469 and idem, "Il professionismo musicale a Roma" (see n. 24), 336 and 339.

<sup>29</sup> Maurizio of Savoy came to Rome for the first time in February of 1621. From 1623 to 1627 and from 1635 to 1638 he resided permanently there. For Cardinal Maurizio, especially as patron, cf. Stanislao Cordero di Pamparato, "I musici alla corte di Carlo Emanuele I di Savoia", in: *Biblioteca della Società storica subalpina* 121 (1930), 31–142, about Michi 120–122; Michela Di Macco, "'L'ornamento del Principe.' Cultura figurativa di Maurizio di Savoia (1619–1627)", in: *Le collezioni di Carlo Emanuele I di Savoia*, ed. Giovanni Romano, Torino: Fondazione CRT 1995, 349–374; Cristina Santarelli: "Un

mented payment to Orazio Michi is made during the months of July to September 1623. In his new position Michi was immediately paid an income of 400 *scudi* per annum, as well as accommodation.<sup>30</sup> A comparison with the painters in Maurizio's service provides a measure of the value of this payment, as he spent a total of 755 *scudi* on them for the whole of 1623. Unfortunately, there have been no studies so far on the musicians at Maurizio's court; while Matthias Oberli's research on the cardinal's patronage includes builders, stone masons, gilders and carpenters, there is no mention at all of musicians.<sup>31</sup> Many of the educated elite also participated in events at Cardinal Maurizio's "Accademia dei Desiosi", which he had founded in Rome in 1626, and where music was performed every Friday.<sup>32</sup> From an exchange of letters it is evident that Orazio Michi refused to accompany the cardinal to his home town Turin where Maurizio of Savoy was obliged to travel in the spring of 1627.<sup>33</sup> Michi even declined an extremely well paid journey to Germany with the Duke of Provence, ostensibly because he did not wish to leave the Oratorian Fathers of Filippo Neri.<sup>34</sup>

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musicista alla corte di Carlo Emanuele I: Filippo Albin da Moncalieri", in: *Politica e cultura nell'età di Carlo Emanuele I: Torino, Parigi, Madrid*, proceedings, ed. Mariarosa Masoero et al., Florence: Olschki 1999, 573–587. Detailed information and indication for archival sources concerning Michi cf. Jorge Morales, *Sigismondo D'India à la cour de Turin. Musique, mécénat et identité nobiliaire*, PhD dissertation, Université de Paris-Sorbonne/Università di Roma "La Sapienza" 2014 ([www.theses.fr/2014PA040139](http://www.theses.fr/2014PA040139)), 540, 548, 549, 564. Morales indicates also a *Dies irae* in Ms. 2663 of the Biblioteca Casanatense in Rome, which in fact seems to be only an anonymously written cantus firmus.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Cordero di Pamparato, "Carlo Emanuele I di Savoia" (see n. 29), 120.

<sup>31</sup> For example, he mentions Stefano Landi as an agent but remains silent on the fact that Landi was a composer. Sigismondo D'India, Filippo Albin and Orazio Michi are not mentioned at all. Cf. Matthias Oberli, "*Magnificentia Principis*": *Das Mäzenatentum des Prinzen und Kardinals Maurizio von Savoyen (1593–1657)*, Weimar: VDG, Verlag und Datenbank für Geisteswissenschaft 1999, 288.

<sup>32</sup> "un concerto di diversi strumenti" was given on Fridays. Cf. Di Macco, "Maurizio di Savoia" (see n. 29), 357. There is no further information about the music in the academies in Riccardo Merolla: *L'accademia dei desiosi*, Rome: Carocci 2008 (La ricerca letteraria 10). About the music on Fridays see *ibid.*, 57.

<sup>33</sup> Cordero di Pamparato, "Carlo Emanuele I di Savoia" (see n. 29), 120.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 121.

Before the virtuoso harpist was dismissed from the service of Cardinal Maurizio of Savoy in 1630 because of his capricious behaviour,<sup>35</sup> Michi had already given a concert for Cardinal Francesco Barberini in 1628,<sup>36</sup> and as early as 1629 he appeared in Cardinal Antonio Barberini's pay lists.<sup>37</sup> Michi had also set "Veggio nel tuo costato aspra ferita" to music, a sonnet by Maffeo Barberini (since 1623 Pope Urban VIII), a further indication of his close relationship with the Barberini.<sup>38</sup> In addition to serving these great cardinals, Michi was actively involved in the music for divine service at Filippo Neri's Oratory where, as Arnaldo Morelli indicates,<sup>39</sup> he performed as a soprano. Towards the end of the 16th century, the Oratorians were already a major influence in the musical life of Rome, where they not only initiated the "esercizi spirituali", known as "oratori", but accompanied these religious exercises with devotional songs, "laudi spirituali", in Italian. Not only did Michi decline to go on a journey because of the Oratorians, but in 1633 he also had a burial place reserved for himself in the Chiesa Nuova; there he was duly laid to rest in 1641. Further, Michi bequeathed the major part of his sub-

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35 Ibid., 122.

36 Cf. Frederick Hammond, *Music & spectacle in baroque Rome: Barberini patronage under Urban VIII*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press 1994, 82. A letter from Antonio Vincenzo Averoldi from Rome to Enzo Bentivoglio in 1620 may give another indication of Michi's connection with Francesco Barberini – or Francesco Borghese. See n. 60.

37 It is a matter from a payment of 20 scudi by Antonio Barberini to Michi for the purchase of harp strings on 27.4.1629 and the copying of arias of Michi by Marc'Antonio Pasqualini for singing them. Cf. Maugars / Lionnet, "Risposta" (see n. 7), note 12, 691. In the same note Lionnet, however, seems to be wrongly indicating that Michi would have been organist at Santa Maria Maggiore from 1629 onwards. Unfortunately, he does not give any further details about this information. Frederick Hammond (Hammond, *Music & spectacle* (see n. 36) 85 and 301, note 41) adopts this information from Lionnet. John Burke (*Musicians of S. Maria Maggiore in Rome, 1600–1700. A social and economic study, Supplement of: Note d'archivio per la storia musicale*, n.s., 2, 1984, Venice: Edizione Fondazione Levi 1984, 21), in his study about the cappella Liberiana from 1629 to 1635, mentions an organist called "Horatio", but with the surname "Verino".

38 "Veggio nel tuo costato aspra ferita", I-Rc, 2490, fols. 56v–58r. Sonetto XXIV, in: Maffeo Barberini, *Poesie toscane*, Rome: Nella Stamperia dell Rev. C. Apostolica 1635, 24.

39 Cf. Arnaldo Morelli: *Il Tempio Armonico: Musica nell'Oratorio dei Filippini in Roma (1575–1705)*, Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1991 (Analecta Musicologica 27), 24, 26, 72–73.

stantial assets to the Oratorians.<sup>40</sup> This concludes all the available evidence regarding Michi's close relationship with the Oratorians. Arnaldo Morelli's studies of the Oratorian Archive show that very few documents have come down to us from the first decades of the 17th century.<sup>41</sup>

During the last years of his life, Orazio Michi lived in the via di Panico on the *insula* of the Oratorio di San Celso, thus between the Chiesa Nuova and Castel Sant'Angelo. He died at his house on 26 October 1641 in the presence of some of his friends, among them the singers of the papal chapel, the celebrated Loreto Vittori, and Francesco Lancioni.<sup>42</sup>

### III. The *œuvre*: spiritual emotional outpourings

The works of Michi that have come down to us, as well as his biography, suggest a close association between Michi and the Oratorians. A peculiar feature of his vocal compositions is that they are mainly concerned with spiritual subjects despite being written in Italian, meaning that this music was accessible to everyone and therefore corresponded exactly to the music that was favoured by Filippo Neri and his successors.

All of Orazio Michi's extant works are vocal: we know of about 25 manuscripts containing a total of about 100 pieces for one or two voices and basso continuo – almost every one of them a collection of vocal chamber music by a number of different composers who worked in Rome during the 1630s. Among these surviving works, there are forms of the *canzonetta* or a Spanish variant, the *villancico*, which are simple strophic compositions, sometimes with strophic variations, there are also purely declamatory pieces, as well as compositions with alternating parts in a variety of styles. Furthermore, from a letter of Antonio Goretti from Ferrara to Cornelio Bentivo-

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<sup>40</sup> Cametti, "Orazio Michi" (see n. 12), 228–229.

<sup>41</sup> The accounts for payments to musicians and copyists are missing, as are inventories of works that would have been in their possessions. For the period between 1600 and 1630 very few musical manuscripts survive; for the period between 1630 and 1650, presumably the most prolific for Orazio Michi, they are missing altogether. Cf. Arnaldo Morelli, "Il Tempio Armonico" (see n. 39), 67, 73.

<sup>42</sup> Cametti, "Orazio Michi" (see n. 12), 227–228.

glio dated 9th of May 1640, we know that Michi must have written sonatas for the *arpa doppia*, but unfortunately, they have left no other trace.<sup>43</sup>

In addition to individual works scattered over various manuscripts, most of Michi's pieces are found in three Roman manuscripts. These are: two manuscripts in the Biblioteca Casanatense, 2472 and 2490, and one manuscript in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Mss. mus. 56. The works from outside Rome are generally concordances of the pieces in the Roman manuscripts. These manuscript collections, created in connection with the establishments of the most influential cardinals in Rome at that time, represent an exclusive repertoire whose prestige is owed precisely to their rarity: they were not available in print and therefore not generally accessible. Margaret Murata has shown that Roman patrons of the early 17th century normally payed for musical performances rather than for musical scores, or they employed musicians in their household and did not necessarily pay for individual performances or services. Later, individual musicians would be paid for performances, sometimes specially travelling to Rome from outside. Murata explains the frequent disappearance of sources for the period of 1635 to 1655 as owing to the fact that these sources initially remained in the possession of the composers and often were lost upon their deaths. The passion for collecting which lead to professional copying for commercial purposes only started in the late 17th century when patrons no longer employed musicians in their household.<sup>44</sup>

Only five printed arias by Michi have come down to us, and all of them appeared in the collection of spiritual arias *Raccolta d'arie spirituali*, which was compiled by Vincenzo Bianchi and published in 1640. The other composers in this anthology are Loreto Vittori, who was probably a friend of Orazio, Domenico and Virgilio Mazzocchi, Marco Marazzoli, and Luigi Rossi. These pieces do not differ in style from the Roman vocal music of the

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43 Cf. Dinko Fabris, *Mecenati e musicisti: Documenti sul patronato artistico dei Bentivoglio di Ferrara nell'epoca di Monteverdi (1585–1645)*, Lucca: LIM 1999, doc. 1014, 472: “È molto tempo ch'io desidero d'avere due o tre sonate da arpa doppia del S.r Oratio [Michi] dall'arpa, ed havendo fatto molte istanze per diverse bande per haverle, mai è stato possibile ad otenerle.”

44 Cf. Margaret Murata, “La cantata romana fra mecenatismo e collezionismo”, in: *La musica e il mondo: Mecenatismo e committenza musicale in Italia tra '400 e '700*, ed. Claudio Annibaldi, Bologna: Società Editrice il Mulino 1993, 253–266: 257–259.

time, however they all have religious themes and deal with subjects like repentance, penance, the perils of earthly love and the merits of heavenly love. This may be one reason for Michi's underrepresentation in research, since spiritual music in the vernacular has often been excluded from musicological studies. The tendency to classify liturgical genres separately from secular music allows spiritual pieces in the vernacular to slip through the net.

The poetic texts of these pieces are often anonymous or by contemporary poets like Francesco Balducci or Domenico Benigni. In contrast to many of his contemporaries, Orazio Michi did not use any texts from the *laudi spirituali* in the repertoire of the oratory that appeared in print towards the end of the 16th century – with a single exception in Mss. mus. 56 of the Biblioteca Nazionale in Rome. The often stressed affinity of his lyrics to the repertoire of the Oratory consists primarily in their spiritual contents and their Italian language.<sup>45</sup> Below, some of his works will be introduced in more detail, demonstrating some of Michi's stylistic tools and exemplifying the various spiritual topics addressed by Italian-language religious music of the period.

### III.1. Lament for the loss of the beloved: *Sola frà suoi più cari*

One of the most interesting compositions is *Sola frà suoi più cari* which is included in four different sources: in the manuscript at the Biblioteca Nazionale in Rome (I-Rn, Mss. mus. 56, fols. 37v–42r), in the Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Bologna (I-Bc, Q.43, fols. 92r–96r), in the Biblioteca Casanense in Rome (I-Rc, 2490, fols. 60v–63r) as well as in the source discovered by Alessio Ruffatti in Hamburg (D-Hkm, RAR Bb-17/Italien, fols. 1r–6r). Michi's Lament of Mary is based on a Canzone by Giambattista Marino

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<sup>45</sup> Cf. Cametti, "Orazio Michi" (see n. 12), 232 and Arnaldo Morelli, "Il Tempio Armonico" (see n. 40), 73. In the archive of the Oratorians in Rome is located the anonymous "Collinetta che di fiori" for five voices with Basso continuo (I-Rf, F.I.38). Its lyrics are corresponding to the first four strophes of a piece of the manuscript I-Rn, Mss. mus. 56 (fols. 26v–27r), ascribed to Orazio Michi. Cf. Arnaldo Morelli, "Il Tempio Armonico" (see n. 39), 6–77, especially 77, note 226 and Arnaldo Morelli, *Catalogo del fondo musicale delle Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II di Roma*, Roma: Consorzio IRIS per la Valorizzazione dei Beni Librari 1989, cat. no. 31, 64–67.

(*Lira*, XVII) that he set to music in the form of an expressive, declamatory lament, which in the manuscript of the Biblioteca Casanatense (I-Rc, 2490) is entitled *Lamento della Santissima Vergine*.<sup>46</sup> Several other composers before Michi had drawn on this text, or parts of it, for their compositions:

**Table 1: Music to *Sola frà suoi più cari* by Giovanni Battista Marino**

Composer	Year	Collection	NV <sup>47</sup>	Voices	Verses	Musical Style	Place
Francesco Bianciardi	1606	<i>Canzonette spirituali, libro primo</i>	360	3vv	1–2, 8–11, 14, 23–24	through-composed	Siena
Severo Bonini	1607 1608	<i>Madrigali, e canzonette spirituali</i>	391 392	1v+bc	1–5	strophic	Firenze / Vallombrosa
Pietro Pace	1619	[ <i>Il settimo libro de</i> ] motetti [...] <i>et ciascheduno motetto ha una aria spirituale volgare se piace</i>	–	2vv +bc	1–4	through-composed	Loreto
Pietro Paolo Sabbatini	1640	<i>Canzoni spirituali, libro secondo</i>	2512	1v+bc	1, 19, 20, 22	strophic	Rome
Orazio Michi		I-Rn, Mss. mus. 56 I-Rc, 2490 I-Bc, Q.43	–	1v+bc	1–3, 8–9, 19, 23, 24, 25	through-composed	Rome
Luigi Rossi		I-Fn, Magliabechi XIX – lost <sup>48</sup>	–	?	?	?	Rome

<sup>46</sup> The ascriptions and titles differ in the various manuscripts. I-Rn, Mss. mus. 56 contains no composer's name, but is considered by Arnaldo Morelli and John Walter Hill to be an autograph of Michi. I-Rc, 2490 names Michi, I-Bc, Q.43 labels the composition, which bears the title "Pianto di Maria Vergine alla Croce", as anonymous.

<sup>47</sup> *Nuovo Vogel. Bibliografia della musica italiana vocale profana pubblicata dal 1500 al 1700*, eds. Emil Vogel, Alfred Einstein, Francois Lesure and Claudio Sartori, Pomezia: Staderini-Minkoff 1977.

<sup>48</sup> The Florentine manuscript I-Fn, Magliabechi XIX. 22 has been missing since 1883. Besides one piece by Michi, it must have contained a vocal composition on the same text

Orazio Michi's composition is the only extant example in the style of a declamatory lament. In most of the laments, the heroines are women either lamenting the infidelity or the loss of their beloved in dramatic fashion, as is the case in Claudio Monteverdi's famous *Lamento d'Arianna*. Here, like in the Latin contrafact of Monteverdi's lament, is Mary mourning the death of her beloved son.<sup>49</sup> Mary's direct speech is framed by a narrative (Example 1). The opening of Mary's speech is particularly emotional as she "is weeping and sighing" ("Al fin gemendo e pianse e disse", mm. 50–51) and starting to speak, but all she can utter is "O mio" (m. 53), reminiscent of Ariadne's "O Teseo" by Monteverdi. Then the narrative breaks through once more, explaining that her speech had been interrupted by weeping: "Ma l'inter-rupte il pianto / E non finio" (mm. 54–56). Only then does Mary begin to really speak herself.

There are other elements besides intense dramatic expression stressing the relationship with the type of the lament and the closeness to the classical forsaken heroine represented by Mary's mental state. Mary is not accusing Jesus, as does Ariadne with Theseus, but she is calling for him: "O mio" and "O mio – poscia riprese – figlio" (m. 54 and mm. 57–58). Rather than accus-

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by Luigi Rossi, perhaps also a *lamento*, as Rossi left several of them, some of them spiritual, especially about St. Mary Magdalen. Cf. Bianca Becherini, *Catalogo dei mss. musicali della Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze*, Kassel etc.: Bärenreiter 1959, no. 6, 6. See also Peter Laki, *The madrigals of Giambattista Marino and their settings for solo voice (1602–1640)*, PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania 1989, UMI 9015122, Ann Arbor 1991, 268. Pasquale Ricciardelli considers in his *Repertorio bibliografico-storico delle composizioni del musicista Luigi Rossi* (Cerignola: Banca Popolare Dauna, 1990) the composition in I-Bc, Q.43, which corresponds to the others by Michi, as a concordance to the lost lament of Luigi Rossi, ignoring the concordances with I-Rn, mss. mus. 56 and I-Rc, 2490. For exact details see Eleonora Caluori (*The cantatas of Luigi Rossi. Analysis and thematic index*, PhD dissertation, Brandeis University [MA], 1971, UMI 48106, Ann Arbor 1981, Vol. 2, 91) who describes the lament as a certain work of Rossi.

<sup>49</sup> The presumably first spiritual lament is also based on a text by Giovanni Battista Marino: Claudio Saracini's "Lamento della Madonna" *Sospirava, e spargea*, published in his *Musiche, secondo libro* in "stile recitativo". Later appearing are Magdalen's laments by Luigi Rossi: the contrafact *Un alato messaggero* (original *Un ferito cavaliere*, I-Rc, 2479), *Pender prima non vide* (GB-Oxford Christ Church, Mus. Ms. 998, fol. 79) and *O grotta, o speco, o sasso* (V-CVbac, Chigi Q.IV.18, fol. 69r).

50  
al-fin ge-men-do e pian - - se e dis - se Ò \_\_\_\_\_ mio,

54  
ma l'in-ter-rup-pe il pian-to, e \_\_\_\_\_ non fi-ni - o. Ò mi - o po-scia ri - pre-se fi-glio  
#

59  
de la pa - ter - na bel - lez - za i - ma - go e - ter - na,

62  
chi co - stà ti so - spe - se chi \_\_\_\_\_ t'hà si con - cio  
#

EX. 1: Orazio Michi: *Sola fra suoi più cari*, mm. 50–64. Source: I-Rn, Mss. mus. 56, fols. 38v–40r. Edition by Alexandra Ziane.

ing him, she asks him who has so tormented him: “Who has hanged you there” (“Chi costà ti sospese?”, mm. 62–63), “Who has beaten you so?” (“Chi t’hà si concio?”, mm. 63–64), “What was your grave and mortal sin?” (“O quale tua nò si grave fù colpa mortale?”, mm. 65–67). Finally, Mary also wishes to die (“che teco io mora”, mm. 73–76) – a central theme of all laments – because she cannot live without him. The customary enumerative call on different elements of nature to suffer with the abandoned woman is here replaced by a call on the agonies and instruments of the Passion. “Quei ferri acuti, e rei / quell’aspre piaghe e quei dolor son mei. / La croce, dunque I chiodi / cedi à questa infelice.” (m. 91 ff.). Here, the anguish Mary is suffering is also caused by Jesus, who is leaving her, as she wishes to take upon herself his agony, to

feel in his stead the cross and the nails. There are undertones of self-pity and self-contempt when Mary calls herself an unworthy mother (“indegna genitrice”). In the end, the Mother of God appeals to her son once more and asks him whether he is not hearing her. Whilst in other laments, the protagonist herself is bereft of her vital force, here it is Jesus who is dying, and in a figurative sense, Mary is dying with him, having once more expressed the wish that heaven shut its eyes before the cruel spectacle, and reproach an ungrateful earth (“ingratissima terra”) on which lies prostrate the extinguished body of Christ. At this point, just before the end of direct speech, the harmony, having moved through a range of emotional and harmonic modes (a, C, a, F, E, C, E, a, E, A, d), returns to d, the initial key, and with the roar of the earth, Mary falls silent (“e la terra si scosse et ella tacque”).

### **Sola fra suoi più cari<sup>50</sup>**

*Sola fra suoi più cari  
à piè del figlio afflitto  
tormentato e trafitto  
da mille stratij amari  
sconsolata Maria  
Qual tortorella vedova languia.*

*Alone among her dearest ones,  
at the feet of her son, afflicted,  
tormented, and cut  
by a thousand bitter wounds,  
the inconsolable Maria,  
that widowed turtledove, languished.*

*Stava l'addolorata,  
al duro tronco appresso  
à par del tronco istesso  
immobile insensata  
in piè reggeala amore,  
e sosteneala in vita il suo dolore.*

*She stood grief-stricken  
near the hard trunk,  
herself like the same trunk,  
immobile, insensate,  
kept upright by Love  
and kept alive by her very pain.*

*Tutta struggeasi in pianto,  
mirando Ahi scempio crudo  
insanguinato ignudo  
Ignudo se non quanto*

*She dissolved in tears  
seeing, oh cruel image,  
the naked bleeding one  
naked, except for the*

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<sup>50</sup> To distinguish direct from indirect speech, the indirect speech is put in italics. The translation of the poem is borrowed from Margret Murata, “Cantar ottave, cantar storie”, in: *Word, image and song*, Vol. 1: *Essays on early modern Italy*, ed. Rebecca Cypess, Beth L. Glixon and Nathan Link, New York: University of Rochester Press 2013, 287–317: 311–313.

*d'un nero velo ombroso  
cinto l'havea d'intorno il ciel pietoso.*

*dark black veil with which  
Heaven mercifully surrounded him.*

*Lungo spatio tacendo  
al suo dolor si dolse,  
pur lo spirito sciolse  
in voce alfin gemendo  
e pianse e disse Ò mio,  
ma l'interruppe il pianto, e non finio.*

*For a long time she grieved,  
silent about her pain.  
Then her spirit loosened at last,  
in trembling voice  
she wept and said, O my,  
but her tears interrupted and she did not finish.*

*Ò mio poscia riprese  
figlio de la paterna  
bellezza imago eterna,  
chi costà ti sospese  
chi t'hà si concio ò quale  
tua nò si grave fù colpa mortale,*

*O my, she then began again,  
my son, eternal image  
of fatherly beauty,  
who has hung you there?  
who has reduced you to this? O what  
no, not yours was such a mortal sin?*

*Figlio induggia il morire,  
ritien lo spirto ancora  
tanto che teco io mora  
che 'n si grave martire  
di cor', d'anima priva  
com'esser può, che senza vita io viva*

*Son, delay death,  
keep your spirit alive  
until I may die with you,  
because such is the terrible torment  
of the heart of a soul bereaved,  
how could it be that without life I live?*

*À te ch'errar non puoi  
pena già non conviensi  
questi tormenti immensi  
Misera non son tuoi  
quei ferri acuti, e rei  
quell'aspre piaghe e quei dolor son miei,*

*You, who could never hurt  
anyone, how can you bear  
these immense torments?  
Miserable me, they are not yours  
these sharp cruel irons;  
those harsh wounds and those pains are mine.*

*La croce, dunque è i chiodi  
cedi à questa infelice  
indegna genitrice  
figlio figlio non m'odi  
lassa già chini il volto  
già morte i sensi il ragionar t'ha tolto*

*Yield then your Cross and the nails  
to this unhappy woman,  
this unworthy mother.  
Son, son, do you not hear me?  
Alas, he already bends his head;  
Death has already taken his senses and reason.*

*Per non mirarlo serra  
il ciel gl'occhi sereni,  
Mà tù come sostieni  
ingrattissima terra?  
*Qui Christo estinto giaque,  
e la terra si scosse, et ella tacque.**

*In order not to see him, Heaven  
shuts its blue eyes.  
But you, how can you hold him up,  
ungrateful Earth?  
*Now Christ lay lifeless,  
and the earth moved, and she fell silent.**

In spite of the strophic form of the text, with rhyme scheme *abbacC* for the stanzas, Michi's *Lamento* is purely declamatory and through-composed and not strophic (as in the style that would prevail in the history of music later on) or with reiterative elements.<sup>51</sup> Emphatic pauses interrupt the song, giving the impression that the grief-stricken protagonist is struggling for breath. Expressions around weeping, sighing and cries of despair ("ahi") are underlined by chromatic alterations (e.g. from *c''* to *c#''* for "sconsolata", mm. 9–10) and by melismata, and dotted notes and dissonances bring out the dramatic character of the situation. The term "languia" (m. 14), for example, is emphasised by a melisma as well as the punctuated moving back and forth of the melody between *g#'* and *a'*, clearly in dissonance with the bass chords on the longer notes (*g#'* above D minor and *a'* above E major).

Michi was engaged from 1623 to 1630 in the household of Cardinal Maurizio of Savoy at the same time as Sigismondo d'India, and it may well be that he studied the numerous published laments of his colleague, who set to them music in recitative form using texts of his own.<sup>52</sup> Interestingly, in 1623, Giovanni Battista Marino, the poet who wrote the lyrics of *Sola frà suoi più cari*, was himself with his old patron from the house of Savoy in Rome.<sup>53</sup> In the same year, Monteverdi's *Lamento d'Arianna* finally appeared in print in solo form. One of the manuscripts containing Michi's Lament of Mary also includes a contrafact of Monteverdi's *Lamento d'Arianna* in Italian, changed to a *Lamento della Maddalena*.<sup>54</sup>

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51 Margaret Murata points out to some elements that structure the through-composed form nevertheless, for example the similar beginning of the first and second stanza. She also analyses how Michi differentiates harmonically between the narrator and Mary's direct speech. Murata, "Cantar ottave, cantar storie" (see n. 50), 303–310.

52 The laments of Apollo, Orpheus, Jason, Dido and Olympia in Sigismondo d'India's *Musiche libro quarto* of 1621 and *Musiche libro quinto* of 1623.

53 James V. Mirollo, *The poet of the marvelous: Giambattista Marino*, New York: Columbia University Press 1963, 86.

54 Cf. Linda Maria Koldau, "Non sit quid volo sed fiat quod tibi placet': I 'contrafacta' sacri del *Lamento d'Arianna* di Claudio Monteverdi", in: *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 36 (2001/2002), 281–307.

### III.2. The penitent singer : *Tempo fù che sovente*

In addition to the lament *Sola fra suoi più cari*, in Michi's oeuvre there are also strophic canzonettas that are song-like throughout and are set to new verse forms such as *ottonari* and *quaternari*. However, what particularly characterises most of Michi's compositions is that they consist of different, declamatory and aria-like parts, similarly to the cantata, which develops during that period. Sometimes the rhyme scheme of the text may create the right conditions, so *settenari* and *endecasillabi* are set in declamatory style, while *ottonari* and *quaternari* are set in an aria-like style.

The poem *Tempo fù che sovente*, set to music by Michi for soprano and basso continuo (I-Rc, 2472 and D-Hkm, RAR Bb-17/Italien), consists of three stanzas, with an occasional *ottonari* couplet being inserted between the *settenari* and *endecasillabi*, and an *endecasillabo* for a refrain at the end.<sup>55</sup> The music (see Appendix, p. 270) echoes this, as the piece begins in declamatory style, whilst the music for the *ottonari* (m. 19) switches to a song-like triple time. The *endecasillabi* that follow in the last two verses are set to simple time again, though the refrain ("Alma che segue Amor degna è di pianto", m. 42) changes to a more song-like style with a lyrical and ornate melody and walking bass.<sup>56</sup>

#### *Tempo fù che sovente*. Text, rhyme scheme, and music time

First stanza of the text	Rhyme scheme	Music time
Tempo fù che sovente	a	C
cantai sù cetra d'or fiamme d'Amore	B	C
e spogliai di rigore	b	C
al suon de sospir miei gelida mente.	A	C
Hor pentita à più bel segno	c8	3
offro 'l cor sacro l'ingegno	c8	3
e là rivolgo ossequiosa il canto	D	C
Alma che segue Amor degna è di pianto.	D – Refrain	C

<sup>55</sup> See also Alexandra Ziane, *Amor divino – Amor profano. Liebe in geistlicher Musik und bildender Kunst in Rom um 1600*, Paderborn et. al.: Schöningh 2011, 172–174.

<sup>56</sup> At the same time Michi partly obscures even the basic time, building three pairs of two *minime* each.

The subject of the piece is essentially the singing itself. The lyrical self regrets having sung love songs to the accompaniment of the “cetra d’or”, a golden lyre or cittern, in the past. Yet, in spite of its regret of the past, it won’t stop singing, instead turning to celestial beauty (last verse: “beltà celeste”), as opposed to the earthly beauty that brings perdition. The refrain represents the song that the lyrical self sings after its conversion: the soul pursuing earthly love is to be pitied (“Alma che segue amor degna è di pianto”). Thus, the change from simple time to the “perfect” triple time not only fits in with the lyrics, but also with contrasts, with its subject matter, the worldly life of the past (duple time) and the conversion (triple time).<sup>57</sup>

Giovenale Ancina describes a similar case of a singer devoting her voice to God alone, in his *Tempio armonico*, a collection of Oratorian *laudi* published in 1600. Immediately after explaining how he planned to eradicate lascivious music in Italy through his contrafacts and alternative compositions, Ancina mentions the case of a “Sirena Napolitana”, who only three years earlier had been notorious for singing self-accompanied secular *canzoni*, yet had dedicated her voice and her *clavicembalo* to God shortly afterwards.<sup>58</sup>

Eventually the beautiful singer whose love songs had once evoked lasciviousness, but who had then turned to God, dedicating her music and her love to Him alone, also appears in contemporary poetry. For example, in 1637 Pietro Francesco Paoli, who was working in Rome, includes this kind of sonnet in his *Rime varie* of 1637 – one of them titled: “Bella Cantatrice si fà

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<sup>57</sup> With the announcement of the new song, “e là rivolgo ossequiosa il canto”, the music begins to display declamatory characteristics which also differ from the following refrain, though in duple time as well, that enunciates the proverbial singing of the lyrical self. These changes, corresponding to the content, work equally well with the content of the lyrics of the following two stanzas. Margret Murata observes similar changes of time in interpreting the before and after of the penitent lyrical self for a composition of Domenico Mazzocchi. Cf. Margaret Murata, “‘Singing’, ‘acting’, and ‘dancing’ in vocal chamber music of the early Seicento”, in: *Journal of seventeenth century music* 9/1, 2003, paragraph 9.1., [www.sscm-jscm.org/jscm/v9/no1/murata.html](http://www.sscm-jscm.org/jscm/v9/no1/murata.html) (20.11.2018).

<sup>58</sup> *Tempio armonico della Beatissima Vergine N. S.*, compiled by Giovenale Ancina, Rome: Nicolo Mutij 1599 (RISM 1599<sup>6</sup>), preface/dedication to the Cardinal of Como.

Monaca”. The nun, who is the subject of the poem, now plays her stringed instrument, described as “legni sonori”, behind convent walls.<sup>59</sup>

Women who made music in public were frowned upon in Rome. Performances in public were prohibited altogether, taking place only in the private sphere. Nevertheless, some female singers became famous in Rome, in particular Adriana Basile Baroni, with whom Orazio Michi performed together,<sup>60</sup> as well as Adriana’s daughters Caterina and Leonora. Caterina Baroni, singer, harpist, and poetess, to whom Domenico Benigni, among others, dedicated a poem of homage, entered the Roman convent of Santa Lucia in Selci in 1640, henceforth calling herself Suora Costanza. According to Pietro Della Valle<sup>61</sup> and others, the convent was widely known for the beautiful singing of its nuns. Therefore, we can assume that Caterina Baroni continued to make music in the convent. Another fact strengthens this assumption: Michi bequeathed two of his harps to Caterina upon his death in 1641, when she had already taken the veil.<sup>62</sup> His composition *Tempo fù che sovente*, then, could be directly linked to Caterina Baroni. There is a similar story about the composer Paolo Quagliati, who bequeathed his spinet to the sisters of Santa Lucia in Selci<sup>63</sup>; Quagliati may have been teaching music at the convent of Santa Lucia in Selci. Moreover, Quagliati’s *Affetti amorosi spirituali* of 1617 – also a purely spiritual collection in Italian – is dedicated to a nun of the same convent.

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<sup>59</sup> Pietro Paoli, *Rime varie*, Rome: Per il Corbelletti 1637, 281.

<sup>60</sup> Antonio Vincenzo Averoldi from Rome to Enzo Bentivoglio in Ferrara, 8 May 1620: “Oggi [il Cardinal d’] Este è stato col Sig.<sup>r</sup> Cardinal Padrone [Ludovico Ludovisi] alla vigna con Adriana [Basile] e [Orazio Michi dell’] arpa del S.<sup>r</sup> Francesco [Borghese]. Di promozione s’aspettano più luoghi [...]” Cf. Fabris, *Mecenati e Musicisti* (see n. 43), Doc. 735, 377. Either it should be “del S.<sup>r</sup> Francesco [Barberini]”, or this would be an indication that Michi was also in the service of Francesco Borghese!

<sup>61</sup> Della Valle, “Della musica dell’età nostra” (see n. 8), 164–166.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Cametti, “Orazio Michi” (see n. 12), 257–258.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Kimberlyn Winona Montford, *Music in the convents of Counter-Reformation Rome*, PhD dissertation, Rutgers University (New Brunswick/NJ) 1999, 87–88 und Ann Margaret Rorke, *The spiritual madrigals of Paolo Quagliati and Antonio Cifra*, PhD dissertation, University of Michigan 1980, 46.

### III.3. The mystical experience of Filippo Neri and Teresa of Avila: *Si dilegua e si distrugge*

Michi dedicated at least two pieces of music to Saint Teresa of Avila. He composed the pieces in the period between the canonisation of Teresa in 1622. The first, *Che legge è questa o Dio* from Ms. 2472 in the Biblioteca Casanatense (fols. 31v–32v), describes the doubts assailing Teresa as to whether her visions were genuine, since she was afraid they might have arisen from her great longing.

*Si dilegua e si distrugge* is about another mystical experience of Saint Teresa: levitation, spiritual elevation. Teresa, in the raptures of heavenly love, feels herself lifted up from the ground and rising heavenward – as she herself describes it, like evaporated water being drawn upwards by the sun into a cloud. It is interesting to note that *Si dilegua e si distrugge* appears in two different manuscripts, in I-Rc, 2490 and I-Rn, Mss. mus. 56, leading us back to Orazio's connection with the Philippine Oratory: in the manuscript of the Biblioteca Nazionale, music and text are nearly unchanged, but the word "Teresa" was replaced by "Filippo" – a plausible option, since there were descriptions of levitations in front of eyewitnesses also for Neri, and since Neri's canonisation took place in the same year as that of Teresa, in 1622.

#### ***Si dilegua e si distrugge*. Text, rhyme scheme, music time, and translation**

Si dilegua e si distrugge	a8	C	Pining away, consumed
à Teresa il cor nel seno	b8	C	Is the heart in Teresa's breast
se ne vola se ne fugge	a8	3	She takes flight and escapes
alle stelle al ciel sereno	b8	3	To the stars in the limpid sky
spiega l'ali del desio	c8	3	She spreads the wings of desire
fugge al cielo e vola a Dio.	c8	3	And flees to the heavens, flying to God.

*Si dilegua e si distrugge* consists of a single strophe of *ottonari*. The text would therefore not demand a division into different sections – or if, that would be suggested only between verse 1–4 and the last two verses consisting of a rhyming couplet. However, Michi is guided by the meaning of the text: having set the first two verses to simple time in an expressive declamatory style (at least at the start) he changes to triple time at the words "se ne vola"

which describe flying, the ascent of the saint (Ex. 2). The flowing, rising movement of the melody brings out the words more clearly until, after several repetitions of the verse, with the last “vola à Dio”, the time goes back to duple again. At this point Teresa really seems to float away: while the bass rises chromatically from *B* via *c* and *c*♯ to *d*, the soprano glides from *c*' to *a*'' in an unbroken line. The accelerating tempo in the rhythm of the upper part heightens the vanishing effect.

As with the piece about the reformed singer, a performance in a convent as well as in the Philippine Oratory would logically follow for a composition about Saint Teresa. Indeed, many of the *laudi* in the collections of the Oratory from the end of the 16th century contain texts evoking Saint Teresa's image. Philippine spirituality was very close to that of St. Teresa. In this respect, the key figure must be Francisco Soto de Langa (1564–1619): He not only published five collections of *laudi*, but also translated texts by Spanish mystics into Italian, amongst them the *Camino di perfettione* and the *Castillo interior* by Teresa of Avila. Further, de Langa founded the first monastery of the Barefoot Carmelites in Rome (San Giuseppe in Via Capo le Case).<sup>64</sup>

## Conclusion

Orazio Michi enjoyed a high esteem amongst his contemporaries, being doubtlessly one of the greatest virtuosi of his time, and a pioneer of the cantata. But today the knowledge about his life and œuvre is painfully scant.

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<sup>64</sup> Cf. Andrea Adami, *Osservazioni per ben regolare il coro de i cantori della Cappella Pontificia*, Rome: per Antonio de' Rossi alla Piazza di Ceri 1711, 176–177. One of the Spanish *laudi* of the third book of *laudi* by Francisco Soto, *No ves mi Dios*, attributed to Juan Navarro, a contrafact of the profane *No ves amor*, deals with a celestial arrow much like what appears in Michi's *Si dilegua*. The original *villancico* is contained, anonymously, in Rome, Biblioteca Medinaceli, Ms. 13230, fols. 136v–147v. Concerning the connection of the Philippine Oratorio with Spain, which could have been partly responsible for the propagation of the mystical experiences of Teresa in Rome, see: Alexandra Ziane, “Spanische Komponisten am Oratorium des Filippo Neri in Rom”, Bericht zur Tagung *Im Schatten Palestrinas? Tomas Luis de Victoria – Werk und Rezeption*, Bremen 2009, in preparation.



Further research is needed into whether Michi's extant and largely spiritual compositions indeed represent the core of his *œuvre*, or whether it is purely by chance that these compositions are the only ones that have survived. It is not clear whether Michi has produced only small vocal compositions, or whether he has also written larger works for other instruments and voices, or for use in the liturgy, that now survive anonymously. This means that questions formulated by Alberto Cametti at the end of his essay in 1914 need to be asked once again today.

## Appendix

Orazio Michi: *Tempo fu che sovente*. Source: I-Rc, 2472, p. 87–88.  
Edition by Alexandra Ziane

Tem-po fù che so-ven-te can - tai sù ce-tra d'or fiam - - -

5 - me d'A - mo - re e spo-gliai di ri - go - re Al suon de so-spir miei

10 ge - li-da men - te e spo-gliai di ri-go - re Al

15 suon de so-spir miei ge - li-da men - te Hor pen - ti - ta à **3**

21 più bel se - gno Hor pen - ti - ta à più bel se - gno of-fr'il

29 cor sa - cro l'in - ge - gno of-fr'il cor of-fr'il cor sa -

37

- cro - l'in - ge - gno e là ri-vol-go os-se-qui-o - sa il can - to Al-

43

- ma che se - g'à - mor \_\_\_\_\_ de - gn'è di pian - to Al-

48

- ma che se - g'à - mor \_\_\_\_\_ de - gna è \_\_\_\_\_ di pian - to.



## List of works by Orazio Michi (c. 1595–1641)

Alexandra Ziane

Incipit	Voices	Poet	Sources <sup>1</sup>
[?]			I-Fn, Magl. XIX.22 (lost) <sup>2</sup>
[?] da te lusingando il sol	1v+bc		V-CVbav, Barb. lat. 4151 <sup>3</sup>
A pena il giorno spuntando stà	1v+bc		I-Rc, 2472
Afflitto mio core	3vv		I-Rc, 2490 <sup>4</sup>
Ahi tu mi nieghi; io credea crudi i mari	1v+bc	Ongaro, Antonio	V-CVbav, Barb. lat. 4151 <sup>5</sup>
Al mio penoso ardire	3vv+bc		V-CVbav, Chigi Q.IV.8
All'hor che ridente	1v+bc		I-Rc, 2490
Alma che ti sollievi a un dolce lume	1v+bc		I-Rn, Mss. mus. 56
Alma che ti sollievi a un dolce lume	1v+bc		V-CVbav, Barb. lat. 4151 <sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For information and descriptions of the manuscript sources containing Orazio Michi's Music see Alessio Ruffatti, "Roman musical manuscripts of the seventeenth century: creation and reception" in this volume.

<sup>2</sup> I-Fn, Magl. XIX.22 is missing since 1883, but the old catalogue (entry no.VI.61) shows that it contained an aria of Orazio Michi dell'Arpa. Cf. Bianca Becherini: *Catalogo dei manoscritti musicali della Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze*, Kassel: Bärenreiter 1959, no. 6, 6.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Lowell Lindgren and Margaret Murata (eds.), *The Barberini manuscripts of music*, Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana 2018 (Studi e testi 527), 156. See this catalogue for all works cited from this manuscript. The author of the arias is not named in the manuscript; the works are attributed to Orazio Michi by Margaret Murata.

<sup>4</sup> Spiritual version of "Ho perso il mio amore" in I-Bc, Q.44.

<sup>5</sup> Third part (the fourth part "Prodigo a te del pianto a lei del core" is following) of the sonnet "Fiume, ch'allonde tue ninfe e pastori", therefore presumably a fragment.

<sup>6</sup> For this aria cf. also Margaret Murata: "More observations on Italian florid song in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries", in: Sabine Ehrmann-Herfort and Markus Engelhardt (eds.), *Vanitatis fuga, aeternitatis amor. Wolfgang Witzmann zum 65. Geburts-*

Incipit	Voices	Poet	Sources
Ben ratta fuggesi	1v+bc		I-Rc, 2490
Cari lumi che pietosi	1v+bc	Balducci, Francesco	I-Rn, Mss. mus. 56
Cari lumi che pietosi	1v+bc	Balducci, Francesco	I-Rn, Mss. mus. 56
Che legge è questa ò dio	1v+bc		I-Rc, Mss. 2472
Chi fa le stelle al sole	1v+bc		D-Hkm, RAR Bb-17/Italien <sup>7</sup>
Chi fe le stelle e 'l sole	1v+bc		I-Rc, 2472
Chi non dimanda aita	3v+bc		V-CVbav, Chigi Q.IV.8 <sup>8</sup>
Chi può mirar le stelle			I-GR, Crypt. it. 5 <sup>9</sup>
Chi può mirar le stelle	1v+bc		I-Rc, 2472
[Chi può mirar le stelle]			I-URBC, VI.2.17 [11]-12r, fragment, beginning not extant
Chi può mirarti e non amarti	1v+bc	Grillo, Angelo	I-Rn, Mss. mus. 56
Cieco mondo io t'abbandono	1v+bc		I-Rc, 2490
Cint'al crin di ricche bende	1v+bc		I-Rn, Mss. mus. 56
Collinetta che di fiori	1v+bc	Balducci, Francesco	I-Rn, Mss. mus. 56 <sup>10</sup>
Colmo il sen d'ardente zelo	1v+bc		I-Rc, 2490
Colmo il sen d'ardente zelo	1v+bc		I-Rn, Mss. mus. 56
Cor mio se questa fera	1v+bc		I-Rn, Mss. mus. 56
Correte s'arde'l mio petto	1v+bc		I-Rn, Mss. mus. 56
Così m'ha fatto Amor d'aspri martiri	1v+bc	Guarini, Battista	V-CVbav, Barb. lat. 4151
Crudel tu vuoi partire, non me 'l negar che 'l so	1+bc	Valentini, Pier Francesco?	V-CVbav, Barb. lat. 4151

tag (Analecta Musicologica 36), Laaber: Laaber 2005, 329–354: 339. Cf. Lindgren/Murata, *Barberini manuscripts* (see n. 3), 158.

7 I would like to thank Alessio Ruffatti for providing me with information about this manuscript, including all the incipits.

8 The index of the manuscript indicates arie of Orazio Michi and Luigi Rossi, but only the first aria is directly credited to Michi. Presumably others of this manuscript can be ascribed to him.

9 Cf. for this source Teresa M. Gialdroni, “Nuove fonti per la cantata romana del Seicento: tracce di una inedita committenza”, in: Bertold Over (ed.), *La fortuna di Roma. Italienische Kantaten und römische Aristokratie um 1700*, Berlin: Merseburger 2016 (MARS – Musik und Adel im Rom des Sei- und Settecento / Musica e aristocrazia a Roma nel Sei- e Settecento 3), 93–120.

10 Cf. “Serenata spirituale. Si sveglia il peccator dal sonno del peccato” for 1–5 voices and basso continuo in most parts on the same text in I-Rf, L.II.12.

Incipit	Voices	Poet	Sources
Dal più profondo de' tuoi tormenti	1v+bc		I-Rc, 2490
Dalle squallide tombe al cielo uscita	1v+bc		I-Rc, 2490
Della sorte mi lamento			CZ-ROU, II La 2 Lobkowicz <sup>11</sup>
Della sorte mi lamento			I-Bc, Q.49
Desio mortale	1v+bc		I-Rc, 2472
Desio mortale ch'ardendo sta	1v-bc		D-Hkm, RAR Bb-17/Italien
Deh mira, egli cantò, spuntar la rosa	1v+bc	Tasso, Torquato	V-CVbav, Barb. lat. 4151
Di fiamme e d'oro adorno	1v+bc		I-Rn, Mss. mus. 56
Dicano i monti	1v+bc		I-Rc, 2490
Disdegnoso il ciel fremea	1v-bc		D-Hkm, RAR Bb-17/Italien
Disdegnoso il Ciel fremea	1v+bc		I-Rc, 2472
Disperato partirò	1v+bc		I-Rn, Mss. mus. 56
Disse il folle entro sé	2vv+bc		I-Rc, 2490
Dogliosa Madre à piè del tronco immobile	1v+bc		V-CVbav, Barb. lat. 4151
Dolce frutto amor compose	1v+bc		I-Rn, Mss. mus. 56
Dolci sospiri dolci martiri	1v+bc	Rinuccini, Ottavio	I-Rn, Mss. mus. 56
Dolci sospiri dolci martiri		Rinuccini, Ottavio	I-URBC, VI.2.18 <sup>12</sup>
Ecco di Rose infiora e di vivaci brine	1v+bc		I-Rn, Mss. mus. 56
Empio cor, core in grato	1v+bc		I-Rc, 2472
Falso è l'affetto onde sospiran questi	1v+bc		V-CVbav, Barb. lat. 4151
Fermate homai fermate	1v+bc	Balducci, Francesco	I-Rn, Mss. mus. 56

<sup>11</sup> The manuscript I-Bc, Q.49 in Bologna derives from the same copyist and is in most parts identical to the one in the Lobkowicz collection near Prague (this manuscript was held in Prague for some time, with the signature CZ-Pnm, II La 2, and in 1998 it was returned to the former owners in Lobkowicz). About the manuscript cf. Helena Tašnerová: Rukopisny' sborník italské monodie z Lobkowiczské knihovny. A manuscript of Italian monody from the Lobkowicz library, Prague 2009 (<https://is.cuni.cz/webapps/zzp/detail/64193/?lang=en>), 57–59. Cf. for this manuscript also Paul Nettl, “Über ein handschriftliches Sammelwerk von Gesängen italienischer Frühmonodie”, in: *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 2 (1919/1920), 83–93 and Nigel Fortune, “A Florentine manuscript and its place in Italian song”, in: *Acta musicologica* 23/4 (1951), 124–136.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Teresa M. Gialdroni, “Arie e cantate nella Biblioteca Comunale di Urbania”, in: *Fonti musicali italiane* 15 (2010), 27–59: 28.

Incipit	Voices	Poet	Sources
Fierissimo dolore	1v+bc		CZ-ROU, II La 2 Lobkowicz <sup>13</sup>
Fierissimo dolore	1v+bc		I-Bc, Q.49
Folle, folle chi crede	1v+bc		I-Rc, 2490
Fugga la notte homai	1v+bc		I-Rn, Mss. mus. 56
Fuggite fuggite amanti quella bellezza	2vv+bc		I-Rc, 2490
Giovanetti dhe non alletti	1v+bc		I-Rc, 2490
Gite, gite sospiri	2vv+bc		B-Bc, 17061
Gite, gite sospiri			I-Bc, Q.49
Gite, gite sospiri	2vv+bc		I-Rc, 2490
Guarda, guarda mio core	1v+bc		B-Bc, 17059
Guarda, guarda mio core	1v+bc		CZ-ROU, II La 2 Lobkowicz
Guarda, guarda mio core	1v+bc		I-Bc, Q.49
Guarda, guarda mio core			I-URBC, VI.2.18
Ho perso il mio amore	2vv+bc		I-Bc, Q.44 <sup>14</sup>
Hor che dal Tebro smaltano	1v+bc	Balducci, Francesco	I-Rn, Mss. mus. 56
Hor che la notte del silentio amica	1v+bc	Balducci, Francesco	I-Rn, Mss. mus. 56
Hor che la notte del silentio amica	1v+bc	Balducci, Francesco	I-Rn, Mss. mus. 56
Hor che scherza l'auretta	3vv		I-Rc, 2490
Hor che si asconde	1v+bc		I-Rn, Mss. mus. 56
I di sen volano tacit'ali	1v+bc		I-Rc, 2472
I dilette del mondo	1v+bc		Bianchi, <i>Raccolta d'arie</i> , 1640 <sup>15</sup>
I dilette del mondo			I-Isola Bella, Archivio Borromeo, Ms. misc. 06
Il bel nome soave del mio Giesù	1v+bc		I-Rc, 2490
Il tempo fugge i giorni volano	1v+bc	Balducci, Francesco	I-Rn, Mss. mus. 56
Infelice mia vita che spero	3vv		CZ-ROU, II La 2 Lobkowicz

13 Following Christine Jeanneret, “Armoniose penne. Per uno studio filologico sulle opere di copisti di cantate romane (1640–1680)”, in: Hendrik Schulze (ed.), *Musical text as ritual object*, Turnhout: Brepols 2015, 85) also in I-Rc, 2468, but in fact not contained in this manuscript.

14 A modern transcription with the title “Ho perso il mio core”, donated by Nino Rota in 1962, in the library of the Conservatorio di Musica Niccolò Piccinni of Bari (I-BAcp), shelfmark V-IV-19.2. A different aria with the same text in B-Bc, 17059.

15 Vincenzo Bianchi (ed.), *Raccolta d'arie spirituali a una, due, e tre voci di diversi eccellentissimi autori raccolte e date in luce da Vincenzo Bianchi*, Roma, Vincenzo Bianchi, 1640.

Incipit	Voices	Poet	Sources
Infelice mia vita che spero	3vv		I-Bc, Q.49
Io che del mondo amante	1v+bc		I-Rc, 2472
Io chel del mondo amante	1v+bc		D-Hkm, RAR Bb-17/Italien
Io son'amante si	1v+bc		I-Rn, Mss. mus. 56
Ite voi del mio cor desiri ardenti	1v+bc		I-Rc, 2472
L'ardor che poco fa	1v+bc		I-Rn, Mss. mus. 56
La mia pallida faccia	1v+bc	Balducci, Francesco	I-Rn, Mss. mus. 56
La vita mortale	1v+bc		I-Rc, 2490
Mentr'io v'adoro e voi m'havete a schivo	1v+bc	Guarini, Battista	V-CVbav, Barb. lat. 4151
Mio cor se cor tu sei	1v+bc		Bianchi, <i>Raccolta d'arie</i> , 1640
Mio cor se cor tu sei	1v+bc		I-Rc, 2472
Mira o stolto core	1v+bc		I-Rn, Mss. mus. 56
Ne la bella stagion ch'ai raggi tepidi	1v+bc	Balducci, Francesco	I-Rn, Mss. mus. 56 <sup>16</sup>
Nella bella stagion ch'ai raggi tepidi		Balducci, Francesco	CZ-ROU, II La 2 Lobkowitz
Nella bella stagion ch'ai raggi tepidi		Balducci, Francesco	I-Bc, Q.49
Nò ch'io non vò seguir	2vv+bc		I-Rc, 2490
Non chinate egri mortali	1v-bc		D-Hkm, RAR Bb-17/Italien
Non chinate egri mortali	1v+bc		I-Rc, 2490
Non diffidar cor mio	1v+bc		I-Rc, 2472
Non festeggi al mio dolore	1v+bc		I-Rn, Mss. mus. 56
Notturmo velo	1v+bc		I-Rc, 2472
O che rigidi strali	2vv+bc		I-Rc, 2490
O luci che fate	1v-bc		D-Hkm, RAR Bb-17/Italien
O luci che fate	1v+bc		I-Rc, 2472
O mas que Venus hermosa	1v+bc		I-Rn, Mss. mus. 56
O mio cor che paventi	2vv+bc		I-Rc, 2490
Occhi leggiadri e belli	1v+bc		I-Rn, Mss. mus. 56
Peccai signor peccai	1v+bc		I-Rc, 2472
Pensier ch'al ciel sen' va	1v+bc		I-Rc, 2490
Per torbido mare			I-GR, Crypt. it. 5
Per torbido mare			I-Rama, A.Ms.247
Per torbido mare	1v+bc		V-CVbav, Barb. lat. 4151
Per tue gioie ò mondo misero	1+bc	Testi, Fulvio	I-Rc, 2490
Perché ahi lassa torno a me	1v+bc		I-Rc, 2472

16 In I-GR, Crypt. it. 2, fol. 45, there is an aria on the same text by Francesco Balducci, but with different music.

Incipit	Voices	Poet	Sources
Perché fiero al mio fallire	1v+bc	Benigni, Domenico	I-Rc, 2490
Perché perché cor mio	1v+bc		I-Rc, 2490
Perdan quest'occhi il sole		Balducci, Francesco	CZ-ROU, II La 2 Lobkowicz
Perdan quest'occhi il sole		Balducci, Francesco	I-Bc, Q.49
Perdan quest'occhi il sole		Balducci, Francesco	I-GR, Crypt. it. 6
Piangete afflitti lumi			I-GR, Crypt. it. 3 <sup>17</sup>
Piangete afflitti lumi	2vv+bc		I-Rc, 2490
Più non armi la mia lingua	1v+bc	Balducci, Francesco	I-Rn, Mss. mus. 56
Quando Filli parti l'ondei piangevano	1v+bc		I-Rn, Mss. mus. 56
Quando l'alba in Oriente	1v+bc	Chiabrera, Gabriele	I-Rn, Mss. mus. 56
Quante volte guirai fermo e costante	1v+bc		V-CVbav, Barb. lat. 4151
Quanti, quanti sospiri	1v+bc		I-Rc, 2490
Quel Signor che fè l'aurora	1v+bc		Bianchi, <i>Raccolta d'arie</i> , 1640
Quel Signor che fè l'aurora	1v+bc		I-Rc, 2472
Questa tener'angioletta	1v+bc		I-Fn, Magl.XIX.23
Questa tenera angioletta	1v+bc		I-Moe, Mus.E.318
Se giocondo il cor si stà senza sospiri	1v+bc		I-Rc, 2490
Si dilegua e si distrugge à Filippo il cor nel seno	1v+bc		I-Rn, Mss. mus. 56
Si dilegua e si distrugge à Teresa il cor nel seno	1v+bc		I-Rc, 2490
Sino a qual segno o Dori			CZ-ROU, II La 2 Lobkowicz
Sino a qual segno o Dori			I-Bc, Q.49
Sino a quel segno o Dori	1v+bc		I-Rn, Mss. mus. 56
Sola fra suoi più cari	1v+bc	Marino, Giovanni Battista	D-Hkm, RAR Bb-17/Italien
Sola frà suoi piu cari	1v+bc	Marino, Giovanni Battista	I-Bc, Q.43 <sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Gialdroni, “Nuove fonti per la cantata romana del Seicento” (see n. 9), 109. Cf. also Teresa M. Gialdroni, “Carissimi a Grottaferrata”, in: Daniele Torelli (ed.), *L'opera musicale di Giacomo Carissimi. Fonti, catalogazione, attribuzione. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi* (Roma, Accademia Nazionale di S. Cecilia, 18–19 novembre 2005), Rome: Accademia Nazionale di S. Cecilia 2014, 159–171: 162, 163, 167.

<sup>18</sup> For the destination of this manuscript cf. Robert Kendrick, *Singing Jeremiah: music and meaning in Holy Week*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press 2014, 131–135.

Incipit	Voices	Poet	Sources
Sola frà suoi piu cari	1v+bc	Marino, Giovanni Battista	I-Rc, 2490
Sola frà suoi piu cari	1v+bc	Marino, Giovanni Battista	I-Rn, Mss. mus. 56
Son mie Signor son mie	1v+bc		I-Rc, 2472
Sospiri ch'uscite dall'arco mio sen	1v+bc		I-Rn, Mss. mus. 56
Spera mi disse amore	1v+bc	Benigni, Domenico	F-Pn, Rés. mus. Vm7, 59/101
Spera mi disse amore	1v+bc	Benigni, Domenico	US-CAh, Mus. Ms. 106
Splendete, ardete	2vv+bc		I-Rc, 2490
Stral'amor tal m'avventò	1v+bc	Balducci, Francesco	I-Rn, Mss. mus. 56
Su duro tronco esangue	1v+bc	Benigni, Domenico	Bianchi, <i>Raccolta d'arie</i> , 1640
Su duro tronco esangue	1v+bc	Benigni, Domenico	I-Rc, 2472
Su fuggite mortali	1v+bc		D-Hkm, RAR Bb-17/Italien
Su fuggite mortali	1v+bc		I-Rc, 2490
Su l'oriente l'alba ridea	1v+bc		D-Hkm, RAR Bb-17/Italien
Su l'oriente l'alba ridea	1v+bc		I-Rc, 2490
T'offesi e me ne pento	1v+bc		Bianchi, <i>Raccolta d'arie</i> , 1640
T'offesi e me ne pento	1v+bc		I-Rc, 2472
Tempo fu che sovente	1v+bc		D-Hkm, RAR Bb-17/Italien
Tempo fù che sovente	1v+bc		I-Rc, 2472
Veggio nel tuo costato aspra ferita	1v+bc	Urban VIII (Maffeo Barberini)	D-Hkm, RAR Bb-17/Italien
Veggio nel tuo costato aspra ferita	1v+bc	Urban VIII (Maffeo Barberini)	I-Rc, 2490
Vermiglia l'aurora	1v+bc		D-Hkm, RAR Bb-17/Italien
Vermiglia l'Aurora	1v+bc		I-Rc, 2472
Vermiglia l'Aurora	1v+bc		I-Bc, Q.43
Vita de la mia vita	1v+bc		I-Rn, Mss. mus. 56
Voi pur mi promettete, occhi sereni	1v+bc		V-CVbav, Barb. lat. 4151
Zefiretti che spirate	1v+bc	Balducci, Francesco	I-Rn, Mss. mus. 56



# Roman musical manuscripts of the seventeenth century

## Creation and reception

*Alessio Ruffatti*

Roman vocal music of the first half of the Seventeenth century was created to entertain patrons in court and private circles, who employed the finest musicians of the age.<sup>1</sup> This music, generally in manuscript, circulated widely across Europe throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The surviving sources of Roman vocal music can seldom be directly linked to the original compositions, because the composers' autographs often have been lost. Most of the volumes preserved today in libraries and private collections stem from the broad reception of this repertory in the second part of the seventeenth century and the first part of the eighteenth century, with some other interesting examples from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.<sup>2</sup>

Roman musical sources of the seventeenth century are the result of processes of production and transmission of musical works away from the point of original composition. To understand this, one can imagine a tree born from a seed, rising to the sky, and producing many different branches. Margaret Murata described the journey that a seventeenth-century Roman

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<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank Steffen Voss for turning my attention to the unknown source in Hamburg (D-Hkm), and to Angela Graf, Thomas Gilbhard, and Angelika Moths for their invaluable help with the paleographic description. I would like also to thank Don Fader, Margaret Murata, and Barbara Sachs, who have read and corrected my English translation, with useful observations that improved my thoughts.

<sup>2</sup> On the difference between preservation of the musical and literary sources, see Lorenzo Bianconi, Thomas Walker, "Production, consumption, and political functions of seventeenth-century opera", in: *Early Music History* 4 (1984), 211–213.

cantata could have taken from its composition to the ears of the nobles of all Europe:

Semi-hypothetical scenario: a friend gives some verses to the Roman castrato Marcantonio Pasqualini, who writes a cantata on loose music sheets. Afterwards he copies the composition for himself and for the harpsichord player to perform it for Cardinal Antonio Barberini, his patron. Some months later another friend of Pasqualini brings with him to Paris different pieces of music, including the cantata in question. Twenty years later the drafts of the singer that have always been in his possession are gathered together in a volume and at his death they pass to the Barberini library, where an English voyager can copy this cantata and some others. At the same time in Paris a local amateur, who obtained some music papers in bad state from Italian musicians in transit containing some cantatas, copies the same piece and some other *airs italiens*.<sup>3</sup>

The Roman musical world of the early seventeenth century was marked by strong ties between musicians and patrons, which limited the circulation of musical scores. Reception, however, involved a multiplication of the sources and their circulation outside of the restricted aristocratic Roman milieu. The dissemination and reception of musical scores was stimulated by the post-humous mythologizing of composers like Luigi Rossi and Giacomo Carissimi.

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<sup>3</sup> Margaret Murata, “La cantata romana tra mecenatismo e collezionismo”, in: Claudio Annibaldi (ed.), *La musica e il mondo: mecenatismo e committenza musicale in Italia tra Quattro e Settecento*, Bologna: Il Mulino 1993, 255. “Scenario semi ipotetico: Un amico regala dei versi al soprannista romano Marc’Antonio Pasqualini, che se ne vale per abbozzare una cantata su dei fogli sciolti di carta da musica. Successivamente egli copia la composizione per sè e per il suo cembalista onde eseguirla per il cardinale Antonio Barberini, di cui è al servizio. Qualche mese più tardi, un altro amico di Pasqualini porta con sè a Parigi vari pezzi di musica, fra cui una copia della cantata in questione. Passano vent’anni, gli abbozzi musicali del cantante, che sono sempre rimasti in suo possesso vengono raccolti in un volume e alla sua morte passano alla biblioteca barberiniana, dove un viaggiatore inglese ha modo di copiare, oltre alla predetta varie cantate. Contemporaneamente a Parigi un amatore locale, che si è procurato da musicisti italiani di passaggio alcuni fascicoli di cantate pittosto maldridotte, copia di suo pugno la stessa cantata ed altri *airs italiens*. Così a circa quarant’anni dalla sua stesura e dalla sua casuale prima esecuzione, troviamo la cantata di Pasqualini inclusa.”

mi, which likewise established the Roman cantata into the early modern European collective imagination.<sup>4</sup>

The diffusion of Roman music through Europe came along with the transformation of the patronage system. Relationships between nobles and musicians changed because of the diffusion of Venetian public opera in Italy and Europe. This trend was accompanied by a flourishing interest in collecting music, which was made possible by a small group of Roman professional copyists who spread manuscript scores throughout the rest of Italy and across Europe. These copyists connected the narrow aristocratic circles that had promoted the creation of Roman vocal chamber music of the early Seicento to the wider public. First, the Roman manuscripts were transmitted north of the Alps, then they were copied by French and English scribes, and circulated in German speaking lands and Northern Europe.<sup>5</sup>

The first part of this article describes sources – containing music by Orazio Michi and other composers – that help to explain the phenomenon of transmission. The second part investigates two sources of this group in detail. The first source was copied probably in the first part of the Seicento, and is representative of the courtly connections that marked Orazio Michi's professional life. The second source is an example of the circulation of

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4 Massip Catherine, *La vie des musiciens de Paris au temps de Mazarin, 1643–1661: essai d'étude sociale*, Paris: Picard 1976 ; Andrew Jones, "Carissimi's Arion Romanus: a source study", in: *Music and Letters* 69/2 (1988), 151–210; Robert Shay, "Naturalizing Palestrina and Carissimi in late seventeenth-century Oxford: Henry Aldrich and his recompositions", in: *Music and Letters* 77 (1996), 386–400; Lionnet Jean, "Les événements musicaux de la légation du cardinal Flavio Chigi en France, été 1664", in: *Studi musicali* 25 (1996), 127–153 ; Alessio Ruffatti, "La réception des cantates de Luigi Rossi dans la France du Grand Siècle", in: *Revue de musicologie* 92/2 (2006), 287–307. Claudio Bacciagaluppi, "Carissimi 'farcito': esempi di diffusione e recezione nel Nord e nell'Est europeo", in: Daniele Torelli (ed.), *L'opera musicale di Giacomo Carissimi: fonti, catalogazione, attribuzione*, Rome: Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia 2014, 33–53; Alessio Ruffatti, "La cantata *Dite o cieli se crudeli*: un esempio di conflitto di attribuzione tra Rossi e Carissimi e la diffusione delle cantate italiane fuori d'Italia", in: *ibid.*, 81–106.

5 A clear example is the reception of Luigi Rossi's cantatas in Europe see my dissertation: *Le cantate di Luigi Rossi (1597–1653) in Francia: diffusione et ricezione nel contesto europeo*, PhD dissertation, University Paris IV (Sorbonne) – University of Padua 2006.

Roman music throughout Italy, outside of the restricted circles in which this repertoire was created, in the latter half of the seventeenth century.

## 1. Sources close to the production/creative process

Various manuscripts containing music by Orazio Michi were copied in Rome between 1620 and 1640, and are probably close to his compositional environment, while others belong to a sphere outside of the exclusive circle of the Roman patronage. The first two collections that will be described here were copied and/or written, at least in part, by Michi himself.<sup>6</sup>

**I-Rn, Mss. musicali 56** Manuscript, 9,5×26,5 cm; 72 folios; Roman watermark: kneeling saint. Bound in white parchment without decorations. 39 vocal compositions in Italian and one in Spanish, all on mainly devotional texts by Francesco Balducci, all compositions attributed to Michi in the catalogue of the library. Volume compiled in a cursive style used routinely for composition and drafts. The hand has been attributed to Michi by Arnaldo Morelli and John Walter Hill.<sup>7</sup>

**V-CVbav, Barb. lat. 4151** Manuscript, 10×27 cm; 132 folios; watermark: kneeling saint. 24 compositions in Italian and 1 Latin motet, with other sketches and compositional drafts. Volume compiled between 1627 and 1638, owned by Marcantonio Pasqualini. The first ten pieces are written in a neat hand – accompanied by decorated initials – attributed to Orazio Michi. Then we find a copy of *Alma che ti sollevi*, a composition attributed to Michi, copied by Pasqualini. The volume from this

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<sup>6</sup> Michi's music books are expressly mentioned in his testament, a detail that proves their importance to the musician, his friends, and for Roman nobles linked with him. The volumes were left to Girolamo Rosini, a soprano in the papal chapel, *prefetto* of the music at the Chiesa della Vallicella, and a friend of Michi's; further music scores were left in another codicil to Francesca Orsini. Cf. Arnaldo Morelli, "Orazio Michi", in: *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, [www.treccani.it](http://www.treccani.it) (11 March 2019).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Arnaldo Morelli, "Introduzione storica", in: *Catalogo del fondo musicale della Biblioteca nazionale centrale Vittorio Emanuele II di Roma*, Rome: Consorzio Iris 1989, 26, 64; John Walter Hill, *Roman monody, cantata and opera from the circles around Cardinal Montalto*, Oxford: Clarendon press 1997, 174. The manuscript I-Rn, Mss. musicali 56 and Morelli's "Introduzione" are available online: [www.internetculturale.it](http://www.internetculturale.it) (11 March 2019).

point onwards has been used as a draft book by Marcantonio Pasqualini, Marco Marazzoli, Giovanni Girolamo Kapsberger and other unknown hands.<sup>8</sup>

The hands of Michi, Pasqualini, and Marazzoli in the second volume might suggest a collaboration or pedagogical link between these musicians. Both Pasqualini and Marazzoli were in the service of Cardinal Antonio Barberini (Sr.). Michi probably established a connection with Cardinal Antonio Barberini Sr. after the death of his patron Cardinal Alessandro Peretti Montalto in 1623.<sup>9</sup>

During the first half of the seventeenth century in Italy, a selective music circulation process which reserved sources to a limited circle of connoisseurs was common. In the first half of the seventeenth century, new music was seen as an exclusive gift shared amongst an elite group of aristocratic acquaintances. Arnaldo Morelli revealed that during this period patrons desired cantatas that “non vanno per le mani di molti” (do not handed to many persons).<sup>10</sup>

This closed and selective milieu is confirmed by an analysis of music sources composed by Montalto musicians in the first twenty years of seventeenth century. The manuscript volume I-Vc, Torre Franca 250, *Grilanda musicale di arie di diversi eccel.mi autori scritta da Francesco Maria Fucci Romano* contains music by Ippolito Macchiavelli, Pellegrino Muzi, and

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<sup>8</sup> See Hill, *Roman monody* (see n. 7), 178; Murata Margaret, “Pasqualini riconosciuto”, in: Bianca M. Antolini (ed.), *Et facciamo dolci canti studi in onore di Agostino Ziino in occasione del suo 65° compleanno*, Lucca LIM 2004, 655–686; eadem, “More observations on italian florid song”, in: *Analecta Musicologica* 36 (2005), 343–372; eadem, “Thematic Catalogue of Chamber Cantatas by Marc’Antonio Pasqualini”, in: *Journal of seventeenth-century music: Instrumenta* 3 (2016), Appendix 3, 147; eadem, *The Barberini manuscripts of music*, Rome: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana 2018, 156–163. The manuscript V-CVbav, Barb. lat. 4151 is available online: [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Barb.lat.4151](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Barb.lat.4151) (11 March 2019).

<sup>9</sup> The connection to Antonio Barberini is proven by Michi’s legacies left to him in his will, cf. Morelli, *Orazio Michi* (see n. 6).

<sup>10</sup> Morelli, “Perché non vanno per mani di molti ...’. La cantata romana del pieno Seicento: questione di trasmissioni e di funzione”, in: Paolo Russo (ed.), *Musica e drammaturgia a Roma al tempo di Carissimi*, Venice / Parma: Marsilio / Casa della Musica 2006, 21–39.

Cesare Marotta, three composers in the household of cardinal Montalto. On the first page of the volume is written: “non s’impresta”, “not to lend”. The same copyist transcribed I-Bc, CC.255, *Selva musicale di arie e villanelle di diversi eccellentissimi autori con il suo basso per sonare sopra a ogni sorte d’istrumento scritto da Francesco Maria Fucci Romano*. On the opening page we find the same motto: “non s’impresta”.<sup>11</sup>

Following our analysis of the sources containing Michi’s music, we will investigate two volumes penned in Rome by the same scribe, probably in the first half of the century, close to the time of composition of the musical works it contains. The presence of watermarks such as the kneeling saint, common in Roman sources of period from 1600 to 1660, confirm this chronology and provenience.<sup>12</sup> The attributions in the sources even reveal composers active in Naples, such as Francesco Lambardi, a musician who later completely disappears from scores containing Roman vocal music written in the second half of the century.<sup>13</sup>

I-Rc, 2472 Manuscript, 9,5×26,5 cm; 126 pages; watermarks: IHS above a cross, in a circle. Bound in white rigid parchment without decorations. The spine of the volume is red. A single unidentified copyist with a tiny handwriting; same copyist of I-Rc, 2490. 53 compositions with Italian vocal music by G. Marciali, L. Vittori, D. Mazzocchi, M. Savioni, O. Michi, F. Lambardi, L. Rossi, R. Rontani, O. Ceccarelli. On the first pages of this volume and of I-Rc, 2490 we find the monogram AR with a cross, which according to John Walter Hill could refer to Luigi Rossi even though the handwriting of the music is not Rossi’s. The volume has been in the G. Baini collection.<sup>14</sup>

11 Hill, *Roman monody* (see n. 7), 143–153.

12 On Roman watermarks and links with chronology Alessio Ruffatti “Curiosi e bramosi l’oltramontani cercano con grande diligenza in tutti i luoghi, la cantata romana del Seicento in Europa”, in: *Journal of seventeenth-century music* 13/1 (2007).

13 On the classification of sources containing Roman vocal music composed in the years 1640–1680 see Morelli, “Perché non vanno” (see n. 10). On Lambardi see Agostino Ziino, “Nota su Francesco Lambardi e l’introduzione della monodia a Napoli”, in: Gaetana Cantone (ed.), *Barocco napoletano*, Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato 1992, vol. 2, 499–513.

14 [www.rism.info/home.html](http://www.rism.info/home.html), n° 850010588 (1 April 2019). See Hill, *Roman monody* (see n. 7), 172–173; his list of attributions is quite different from RISM. For the identifi-

I-Rc, 2490 Manuscript 9,8×27 cm; 106 folios; Roman watermark: kneeling saint. Bound in white rigid parchment without decorations. Copyist and monogram: see previous description. 61 vocal composition in Italian and Latin by O. Michi, G. P. Costa, G. Carissimi, P. Tarditi, G. Zamponi, L. Rossi, V. Mazzocchi. The volume has been in the G. Bains collection.<sup>15</sup>

The large presence of devotional music in these sources, and in Michi's output in general, demonstrates the importance of this repertoire in the development of the Roman monodic style of the first part of the seventeenth century. This is furthermore confirmed by Vincenzo Giustiniani in his *Dialogo sopra la musica*, written ca.1628:

Giulio Romano e Giuseppino [Cenci] furono quelli, come ho di sopra accennato, che quasi furono gl'inventori [dello stile recitativo e degli ornamenti], o almeno che li diedero la buona forma, e poi di mano in mano s'è andato perfezionando a segno, che poco più oltre pare che per l'avvenire possa aggiungere, essendosi anche introdotto a cantare versi latini in inni et ode anche piene di santità e devozione, con soavità e gran decoro, e con far sentir bene e spiccati li concetti e le parole.<sup>16</sup>

Giulio Romano and Giuseppino Cenci, as I reported, were the creators [of recitative style and of fioriture], or at least they composed [these genres] in a good manner. And then [this style] has been slowly improved to a degree that could not be easily surpassed in the future. They introduced spiritual, devotional style in Latin music like *inni*, *odi* full of holiness and devotion, with great sweetness and *decorum*. This music was well conceived for a clear articulation of the text and an easy exposition of the subject.

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cation of Rossi autographs: Alessio Ruffatti, "Luigi Rossi", in: *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, [www.treccani.it](http://www.treccani.it) (1 April 2019); Lowell Lindgren, Margaret Murata, *The Barberini manuscripts of music*, Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana 2018, 292.

<sup>15</sup> Descriptions of the manuscripts are available in Hill, *Roman monody* (see n. 7), 172–173; [www.cantataitaliana.it](http://www.cantataitaliana.it), n° 8543 by Ivano Bettin; [www.rism.info/home.html](http://www.rism.info/home.html), n° 850011228 (1 April 2019).

<sup>16</sup> Vincenzo Giustiniani, "Discorso sopra la musica", in: Angelo Solerti (ed.), *Le origini del melodramma*, Torino Bocca 1903, 122. See Margaret Murata, "More observations on Italian florid song", in: *Analecta Musicologica* 36 (2005), 343.

Michi's music is also found in a Roman source containing Tenebrae lessons for Holy Week, laments, and oratorios. The volume has been described by Robert Kendrick as a *quaderno di quaresima*, meaning a book containing music suitable for Lent.<sup>17</sup> One of the Roman churches where Michi's spiritual music could have been performed is S. Maria in Vallicella, where Loreto Vittori perhaps sang a *travestimento spirituale* of the Lamento di Arianna contained in this volume, the *Lamento della Madalena*.<sup>18</sup> The connection of the manuscript volume with S. Maria in Vallicella is confirmed by the presence of three pieces attributed to Marcorelli, a musician working for this church in 1646–1647. Moreover, Michi was close to the same church, since he bequeathed most of his belongings to it.<sup>19</sup>

I-Bc, Q.43 Manuscript, 27,5×21 cm; 184 folios; Roman watermarks: kneeling saint, anchor in a circle, IHS in a circle. Bound in smooth white parchment without decorations. Roman copyist who also transcribed V-CVbav, Chigi Q.V.51 [score of *Il palazzo incantato* by Rossi and Rospigliosi], I-Rv, 2565, and other Roman musical sources.<sup>20</sup> containing spiritual music by O. Michi, C. Monteverdi, G. Carissimi, G. Frescobaldi, C. Caproli, C. Rainaldi, G. F. Marcorelli and oratorios by M. Marazzoli, F. Foggia and B. Graziani. An element useful for the chronology is a Tenebrae lesson attributed to Frescobaldi (fols. 7r–10r) probably composed for a performance that took place in 1633.<sup>21</sup>

17 “Q.43 seems a personal collection of Lessons for someone who had responsibility for accompanying them”. Robert Kendrick, *Singing Jeremiah: music and meaning in Holy Week*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press 2014, 134.

18 Arnaldo Morelli, *Il nobilissimo oratorio della Chiesa Nuova. Musiche per l'oratorio di Santa Maria in Vallicella di Marco Marazzoli e Bernardo Pasquini*, idem and Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia (eds.), Milan: Skira 2001, 9, 10, 14 notes 31, 32, with bibliography. The piece is found in I–Bc, Q.43, fol. 80r.

19 Morelli, “Orazio Michi” (see n. 7).

20 On I–Rv, 2565 see Giancarlo Rostirolla, “Uno sconosciuto codice seicentesco di cantate romane”, in: *Et facciamo dolci canti* (see n. 8), 687–734. The handwriting is characterised by the big and ornamented *custodes*, the symbols at the end of the staves indicating the notes that begin the following system.

21 Kendrick, *Singing Jeremiah* (see n. 17), 126, 131–135. I–Bc, Q.43 is reproduced in [www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/viewschedatwba.asp?path=/cmbm/images/ripro/gaspari/\\_Q/Q043/](http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/viewschedatwba.asp?path=/cmbm/images/ripro/gaspari/_Q/Q043/) (11 March 2019); V–CVbav, Chigi Q.V.51 is reproduced in [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Chig.Q.V.51](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Chig.Q.V.51) (11 March 2019).

Following this examination sources produced in Rome, where this music was heard for the first time, we turn to the reception of this repertoire in contemporary Florence, since its court had strong ties to the Roman cultural milieu.

I-Bc, Q.49 Manuscript, 28×42,5 cm; 53 folios; watermarks: horse in a shield with a crown, a pilgrim with a stick in his hand, sun in a circle with a star, kneeling priest in a shield.<sup>22</sup> Bound in white rigid parchment without ornaments. One professional copyist, with elaborate capital letters, and very fine drawings of animals and flowers.<sup>23</sup> 50 vocal pieces in Italian by composers linked to Rome and Florence: F. Nigetti, D. Mazzocchi, J. Peri, L. Rossi (aria on text by A. Salvadori for the opera *La Flora* [1628]), O. Michi, A. Conti, S. Caccini, A. Ghivizzani, G. B. dell’Auca, G. Bettini, F. Niccolino, and others. On the first page “All’illmo: Sig mio Pron<sup>mo</sup> Collmo: Il sig: Filippo del Nero”. Manuscript of Florentine provenance written between 1628 and 1636. The dates could be deduced from the presence of opera arias performed for the first time in 1628 and by the note Di Borghese referring to Luigi Rossi.<sup>24</sup> The source was owned by Maria Maddalena Musi la Mignatta (1669–1751) and then donated to the Liceo musicale of Bologna in 1815.

CZ-ROU, II La 2 Roudnici/Lobkovicz Manuscript written in the same hand as I-Bc, Q.49. The repertoire is mostly the same, as are the chronology and the provenance.<sup>25</sup>

These two volumes capture the musical exchange between Rome and Florence in the first half of the seventeenth century. Though relationships between Michi and the Florentine court have not been definitively established, it is well known that Luigi Rossi and his wife Costanza da Ponte

<sup>22</sup> Photos of the watermarks are available in my dissertation (see n. 5), 43–44.

<sup>23</sup> See Paul Nettel, “Über ein handschriftliches Sammelwerk von Gesängen italienischer Frühmonodie”, in: *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 2 (1919), 83–93; Nigel Fortune, “A Florentine manuscript and its place in Italian song”, in: *Acta Musicologica* 23 (1951), 124–136.

<sup>24</sup> See I-Bc, Q.49, c. 33 r. Rossi worked for the Borghese family until September 1636, see Ruffatti, *Luigi Rossi* (see n. 14).

<sup>25</sup> Helena Tašnerová, *Rukopisný sborník italské monodie z Lobkoviczké. Knihovny / A manuscript of Italian monody from the Lobkovicz library*, PhD dissertation, University of Prague 2009. Available online: <https://dspace.cuni.cz/handle/20.500.11956/20881?locale-attribute=en> (27 February 2019).

stayed there from May to November 1635, and that Rossi maintained contacts with Florentine patrons till his death.<sup>26</sup>

I-URBc, VI.2.18 Manuscript, 8,7×23 cm; 30 folios; watermark: saint carrying a cross; and I-URBc VI.2.17 Manuscript, 8×22 cm; 72 folios; watermark: kneeling saint.<sup>27</sup> The handwriting resembles that of one of the copyists found in I-Rc, 2226 and I-Rc, 2482. The sources contain 14 and 22 vocal chamber compositions by O. Michi, L. Rossi, S. Landi, P. P. Sabadini and B. Castaldi. Texts for music were written by F. Petrarca, G. B. Marino, O. Castelli, A. Salvadori (La Flora, 1628), and O. Rinuccini. The repertoire has many connections to the Florentine manuscript I-Bc, Q.49 and its twin CZ-ROU, II La 2. Many indications of ownership appear in the sources, however they are, in Teresa Gialdroni's opinion, not useful for understanding the manuscripts' histories. An aria by Landi, *Su su bei sguardi*, was published in a collection printed in 1638. A piece by Sabadini, *Altro che sospirar*, is contained in another volume published in 1628. The sources in Urbania could therefore have been written between the 1630s and 1640s in Rome, and could date quite close to the creation of the contained repertoire. The authors of the texts confirm this early chronology: poetry by Petrarca and Marino is rarely found in sources containing Roman cantatas copied from the 1660s onwards, for instance in the copies attributed to Antonio Chiusi or Bernardino Terenzi.<sup>28</sup> These two manuscripts from the Urbania municipal library were part of the Ubaldini collection, an ancient family of the Marches who ruled Apecchio from the middle of the fifteenth century until 1752.

The sources, preserved today in Urbania, were probably compiled in the first half of the seventeenth century, when Michi was alive, and belonged to the Ubaldini, an aristocratic family from the Marches. Therefore these volumes

<sup>26</sup> Ruffatti, *Luigi Rossi* (see n. 14).

<sup>27</sup> For a description of both volumes see Teresa M. Gialdroni, entries n. 721 and n. 1091, in <http://cantataitaliana.it> (11 March 2019); eadem, "Arie e cantate nella biblioteca comunale di Urbania", in: *Fonti musicali italiane* 15 (2010), 27–59; eadem, "Dalla Biblioteca Comunale di Urbania: due raccolte musicali per un interprete", in: *Aprosiana* 16 (2008), 112–132.

<sup>28</sup> See Murata, *La cantata romana* (see n. 3), 253–254; Morelli, "Perché non vanno" (see n. 10), 26; Ruffatti, *Curiosi e bramosi* (see n. 12); idem, "La collection de cantates italiennes d'Henry Prunières", in: Caroline Massip and Françoise Gétéreau (eds.) *Henry Prunières. Un musicologue engagé dans la vie musicale de l'entre-deux-guerres*, Paris: Société Française de musicologie 2015, 195–196.

demonstrate that some music could come out of the closed Roman patronage system.

## 2. Sources and reception

Musicians began to have more freedom from their patrons in the second half of the seventeenth century. This freedom was made possible through a new market for music that was flourishing after the diffusion of public opera in Italy and Europe.<sup>29</sup> This new trend fostered the development of the Italian musical collections of the period, and it is the reason why Michi's music is preserved in one volume of the library of the Chigi family in Rome, which gathered one of the most important Roman music collections of the seventeenth century, even if Michi had never worked for the family.

The manuscript Chigi Q.IV.8 may be dated from after 1649, thanks to the text of the last composition mentioning the death of Charles I of England. This chronology is confirmed by the ubiquitous kneeling saint watermark, which is found in almost all Roman music sources compiled from ca. 1640 to ca. 1660. Chigi Q.IV.8 shows that music by Michi and other contemporary Roman musicians was beginning to spread outside of the households in which it was created, to be collected by the most important Roman noble families.

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<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, scholars have shown that some seventeenth-century Roman families reduced their household expenditures because of lack of resources. See Richard Ferraro, *The nobility of Rome, 1560–1700: a study of its composition, wealth, and investment*, PhD dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison 1994. This book and an accurate synthesis of the economic status of the Barberini family is discussed in Margaret Murata, “The score on the shelf: valuing the anonymous and the unheard” in: Hendrik Schulze (ed.), *Musical text as ritual object*, Turnhout: Brepols 2015, 199–212. On collective patronage Valeria De Lucca, “*Dalle Sponde Del Tebro Alle Rive Del’Adria*”: *Maria Mancini and Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna’s patronage of music and theater between Rome and Venice (1659–1675)*, PhD dissertation, Princeton University 2009; Idem, “L’Alcasta and the emergence of collective patronage in mid-seventeenth-century Rome”, in: *Journal of musicology* 28/2 (2011), 195–230. On Bernardo Pasquini and relationships with his various patrons, see Arnaldo Morelli, *La virtù in corte Bernardo Pasquini (1637–1710)*, Lucca: Lim 2016, 16.

V-CVbav, Chigi Q.IV.8 Manuscript, 10×28 cm, 103 folios. Watermark IHS with a cross and kneeling saint of A type.<sup>30</sup> Bound in white parchment without decorations. 39 compositions in Italian attributed to O. Michi, L. Rossi and other anonymous composers. Cursive hand that copied V-CVbav, Chigi Q.IV.5 also.

We will now demonstrate the evolution of the Roman patronage in the seventeenth century from this point of view. Copyists were responsible for the circulation of music in the seventeenth century, as they took part in both production and performance. Composers needed their help while they were composing operas, cantatas, or devotional music, because these professionals could produce clear copies. Copyists were also useful because they transcribed parts for musicians who were asked to perform every day.<sup>31</sup>

As we have seen, patrons in the early 1600s were jealous of the privileges that they enjoyed, but even if they tried to limit the diffusion of music, they could not avoid hiring copyists.<sup>32</sup> Copyists transcribed many unpublished treasures, which were of great interest to other aristocrats, and so they could serve as intermediaries between composers and performers. These professionals could earn considerable sums from their work, and therefore had reasons for collecting the music that they transcribed, specifically in order to recopy and sell it later to other music lovers.

Connections between “house copyists” and patrons are well documented even in the second half of the seventeenth century. For instance, Giovanni Antelli copied the compositions of Bernardo Pasquini, as both were working for the Borghese family. The Lanciani family were *scrittori di musica* working

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<sup>30</sup> See the description in [www.internetculturale.it](http://www.internetculturale.it) and the reproduction in [www.mss.vatlib.it](http://www.mss.vatlib.it) (1 April 2019). For the typologies of kneeling saint watermarks see Ruffatti, *Curiosi e bramosi* (see n. 12), § 3.

<sup>31</sup> For instance, the papal chapel had two copyists. See Jean Lionnet, “Una svolta nella storia del collegio dei cantori pontifici” in: *Nuova rivista musicale italiana* 17/1 (1983), 72. Jennifer Williams Brown has explained the role of copyists in the production of Venetian opera of the seventeenth century. See Jennifer Williams Brown, “Out of the dark ages: editing Cavalli’s operas in the postmodern world”, in: Dinko Fabris (ed.) *Francesco Cavalli: la circolazione dell’opera veneziana nel Seicento*, Naples: Turchini 2005, 19–37.

<sup>32</sup> For a differing opinion, see Arnaldo Morelli, “Giovanni Antelli scrittore di musica nella Roma del Seicento” in: *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae* 24 (2018), 427–448.

for Antonio Caldara and Francesco Gasparini at the service of the Ruspoli family.<sup>33</sup> Nevertheless, a letter dated 1661 might help to otherwise explain the diffusion of Roman music. Sometimes a very important singer, such as Atto Melani, who was connected to several musicians and patrons, could not find good and satisfying music in his immediate circle. As he searched for Roman spiritual and secular music to send to his patron Mattias de Medici, the solution was to find a copyist who “le ha tutte” (“has all of them”):

Invio a vostra altezza tre motetti, che ho scelti fra molti, e con tutto ciò non mi soddisfano intieramente, e parrà cosa strana a vostra altezza, che io le dica che avendo udito molte di queste virtuose, non ho ancora sentito un paro di ariette da galantuomo, si che qua la musica va molto male. Sono restato di andare a casa di un copista che le ha tutte, e quivi ne farò una scelta delle più nuove e più belle per servirne vostra altezza. Intanto se il signor Fregosi vuol altri mottetti, io scrivo quest'istesso giorno a Jacinto mio fratello che a sua prima richiesta dia a chi il signor Fregosi vorrà, un mio libro di motetti, che sono belli e bizzarri, e certamente saranno di maggior gusto di vostra altezza che questi di Roma, che mi paiono senza invenzione, et assai ordinari.

I send to your highness three motets that I selected among many others, and after all I am not fully satisfied. It might appear strange to your highness if I say that having listened to many of these virtuosi I was not able to hear a pair of nice arias worthy of a gentleman. I must admit that the music is really bad here! I have been waiting to pay a visit to a copyist who has them all. There I will choose between the best and newest to serve your highness. In the meantime, if signor Fregosi wants other motets, I will write today to Jacinto, my brother, who at your command will give to anyone whom signor Fregosi indicates a book of my motets, which are nice and bizarre [bizzarro = complex, for connoisseurs], and they will be surely appre-

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33 See Lowell Lindgren, “Lanciani, Flavio Carlo”, in: *The New Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, Second Edition, 14 (2001), 206–207 ; Ursula Kirkendale, *Antonio Caldara. Life and Venetian-Roman oratorios*, Florence: Olschki 2007, 138–139; Teresa M. Giadroni, Fabio Carboni, and Agostino Ziino, “Cantate ed arie romane del tardo Seicento nel fondo Caetani della Biblioteca Corsiniana: repertorio, forme, strutture”, in: *Studi musicali* 28 (1989), 49–192; Jean Lionnet, “Francesco Lanciani, Flavio Carlo Lanciani, Tarquinio Lanciani” in the database *Les musiciens à Rome de 1570–1750*, [www.philidor.cmbv.com](http://www.philidor.cmbv.com) (11 March 2019). See also Ruffatti, *La collection de cantates* (see n. 28), 193.

ciated by your highness more than these Roman ones that are all without invention and rather ordinary.<sup>34</sup>

After having exploited his acquaintances, the solution for Melani was to resort to a copyist, perhaps because composers and musicians connected to other patrons were not interested in sharing music without pay.

After a particularly important performance, nobles eagerly sought out professional scribes in order to obtain a copy of the work to be used for other performances, or simply for souvenir of their musical experiences. In the latter case, sources functioned as *sémiophores*, or objects having symbolic values that speak for a meaningful imaginary world.<sup>35</sup> As we know, music sources were considered both tools, useful for musicians, and luxury objects, and there were many different degrees between these two extremes.<sup>36</sup>

Reception of the Roman repertoire – in particular that of Michi – by Roman copyists is shown by the following source, which was penned by a Roman hand and probably acquired by a seventeenth-century Bolognese aristocratic family.

I-Bc, Q.44 Manuscript, 34,5×23,5 cm, 204 folios not trimmed; watermark: Kneeling saint watermark type B.<sup>37</sup> Bound in white parchment, binding made by the Roman Andreoli workshop. One Roman hand found also in I-Bc, Q.46 and I-Bc, Q.48. 51 vocal compositions in Italian for two or three voices attributed to C. Caproli, M. Savioni, G. Marciani, P. P. Vannini, G. Carissimi, L. Rossi, O. Michi. The volume

<sup>34</sup> Letter from Atto Melani to Mattias de Medici, dated Rome, 3 September 1661; quoted in Roger Freitas, *Vita di un castrato: Atto Melani tra politica, mecenatismo e musica*, Pisa: Ets 2014, 167.

<sup>35</sup> On *sémiophore* and the symbolic value attributed to a collection object see Krzysztof Pomian, *Collectionneurs, amateurs et curieux: Paris, Venise XVIe–XVIIIe siècle*, Paris: Gallimard 1987.

<sup>36</sup> The difference between *Reinschrift* and *Konzeptschrift* is described in Wolfgang Witzmann, “Autographe Marco Marazzolis in der Biblioteca Vaticana (I)”, in: *Analecta musicologica* 7 (1969), 46. See also Christine Jeanneret, *L'oeuvre en filigrane: une étude philologique des manuscrits de musique pour clavier à Rome au XVIIe siècle*, Florence: Olschki 2009. Arnaldo Morelli, Review of Alexandra Nigito Bernardo Pasquini, *Le cantate*, Turnhout: Brepols 2012, in: *Journal of the Royal musical association* 141/1 (2016), 233–243.

<sup>37</sup> Ruffatti, *Curiosi e bramosi* (see n. 12), §3.

must have been written after 1642 since there is an aria from *Il palazzo incantato* by Rossi and Rospigliosi. This music book was probably in the Bolognese collection of the Albergati family, since it has great similarities with two other volumes which bear the Albergati coat of arms on their binding and are preserved in the same library: I-Bc, Q.50 and I-Bc, BB.255.<sup>38</sup> All three volumes have the same format, were copied by the same hands, and contain the same repertoire.<sup>39</sup>

Another book of music that also attests to the reception of Michi's music in broader Italy after his death came to be owned by the Este family, as demonstrated by their coat of arms, which was probably impressed on the binding in Rome.

US-CAh, MS Mus 106 Manuscript, 21×28 cm, 140 folios; watermark unknown. Binding probably made in Rome by the Andreoli atelier in red leather with gilded decorations and the Este coat of arms. On the front cover "S a Pesino". One Roman hand. 44 compositions attributed to M. Savioni, L. Rossi, O. Tarditi, C. Caproli, O. Michi.<sup>40</sup>

The circulation of the Roman repertoire beyond the Alps is demonstrated by two Roman music books containing compositions by Michi and other Roman musicians. Ottaviano Castelli sent some cantatas to Giulio Mazzarino in Paris, a gift for the French prime minister Cardinal Richelieu, accompanied by a letter dated 11 August 1641:

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<sup>38</sup> See the manuscripts I-Bc, BB.255 and Q.50. See description of I-Bc, BB.255 in Margaret Murata, *Operas for the papal court, 1631–1668*, PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, UMI 1981, 451. For the identification of the coat of arms see Marcantonio Ginanni, *L'arte del blasone dichiarata per alfabeto*, Venice: Guglielmo Zerletti 1756, 203 and Table VII; for the Andreoli workshop see p. 300 below.

<sup>39</sup> The connection between the sources preserved in Bologna is discussed in Ruffatti, *Curiosi e bramosi* (see n. 12), § 6.

<sup>40</sup> Barbara Mahrenholz Wolff, *Music manuscripts at Harvard: a catalogue of music manuscripts from the 14th to the 20th centuries in the Houghton Library and the Eda Kuhn Loeb Music Library*, Cambridge: Harvard University Library 1992, 211–212; Ruffatti, *Le cantate di Luigi Rossi* (see n. 5), 423–424; Giulia Giovani, entry no. 4713, in: [www.cantataitaliana.it](http://www.cantataitaliana.it) (1 April 2019).

Con l'ordinario passato inviai a vostra signoria illustrissima un libro dorato pieno d'ariette scelte per donarlo, se così parerà alla sua prudenza, al signor cardinale Riscegliù e per il medesimo una canzona fatta sopra la morte del re di Svezia, la quale essendo stata stimata molto sopra la mia credenza presi ardire di mandarla.<sup>41</sup>

I sent your most illustrious lordship a gilded book full of arias as a gift – if you consider it appropriate – for Cardinal Richelieu. And for the same [Cardinal] a canzona written about the death of the Swedish king that has been highly appreciated, and for this reason I decided to ship it to you.

Henri Prunières proposed an identification for the book mentioned by Castelli in two volumes preserved at the Bibliothèque nationale de France with the shelfmark F-Pn, Rés Vm<sup>7</sup> 59–101 and F-Pn, Rés Vm<sup>7</sup> 102–150.<sup>42</sup> The volumes are very similar in many respects; in particular, they are copied by two hands that share many characteristics. They have the same watermarks, the same repertoire, and similar bindings probably made by the same workshop. Thus, the two volumes seem to have been made at the same time and likely came to France together.

F-Pn, Rés Vm<sup>7</sup> 59–101 and F-Pn, Rés Vm<sup>7</sup> 102–150 Manuscripts, both 20,4×27,5 cm; both 202 folios. The two manuscripts share some identical watermarks, such as a crown with a star found in Vm<sup>7</sup> 59–101, fol. 67, and Vm<sup>7</sup> 102–150, fol. 93. Other watermarks represent a letter F on three hills in a polygonal shield.<sup>43</sup> Binding in red leather with gilded geometric, floral, and anthropomorphic decorations, but without a coat of arms. About 100 pieces mainly for solo voice and basso continuo, and some others for two and three voices by L. Rossi, G. Carissimi, M. Savioni, V. Mazzocchi, O. Michi, Carlo del Violino and other contemporary composers. Texts are attributed to G. Rospigiosi, D. Benigni, F. della Corgna, S. Bal-

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<sup>41</sup> Paris, Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Rome 74 fol. 443. Document transcribed in Prunières, *L'opéra italien en France avant Lully*, Paris: Champion, 1913, 46, n. 2.

<sup>42</sup> See Prunières, *ibid.*; Isabelle Colulmeau, *Un recueil manuscrit de cantates et airs italiens du dix-septième siècle conservé à la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris*, PhD dissertation, University of Tours 1999.

<sup>43</sup> Edward Heawood, *Watermarks, mainly of the 17th and 18th centuries*, Hilversum: Paper Publications Society 1950, nos. 2614, 2615, 2616, pl. 336. This repertory indicates a chronology between 1625 and 1638.

dini, A. Abati and many others.<sup>44</sup> The index written by one of the copyists contains attributions to musicians and poets. The volume contains fine drawings with women, monsters and animals, along with bees, the symbol of the Barberini family. The chronology is confirmed by a letter sent on 12 April 1642 by Domenico Benigni from Rome to Cornelio Bentivoglio, in which the poet cites the cantata *A qual dardo il cor si deve*, a text set to music by Luigi Rossi, indicating that the composition, which is contained in this volume, was a recent one. The piece could have been sent to Paris in August 1641, some months before Castelli's letter.<sup>45</sup>

These volumes prove the circulation of Roman vocal music at the French court prior to both the representation of Italian opera beyond the Alps and the presence of Italian musicians, who arrived in France thanks to Mazzarino.

Roman copyists spread vocal music far beyond the chambers of the patrons that paid Michi and other Roman composers of his period. For instance, the Neapolitan aristocratic milieu greatly appreciated Roman chamber music from the first half of the seventeenth century, a trend demonstrated by the copying and transmission of Roman vocal repertoire in Neapolitan hands until at least the beginning of the eighteenth century. For instance, a music manuscript preserved in the library of the Royal Conservatory in Brussels refers to Naples; even though its dating cannot be confirmed, the handwriting of the manuscript is well known, as it is found in many Neapolitan sources from the end of the Seicento:

B-Bc, 17059, Manuscript 21,5×16 cm. 124 folios containing 132 vocal compositions in Italian. The copyist of the aria by Michi is Neapolitan, Amato B, the same hand

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<sup>44</sup> See Ruffatti, *Le cantate di Luigi Rossi* (see n. 5), 188–192. For a complete list of the compositions see <https://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb433638299> and <https://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb43363830h> (11 March 2019).

<sup>45</sup> See letter by Domenico Benigni sent to Rome to [Cornelio Bentivoglio, Ferrara?] 12 April 1642, Ferrara, Archivio Bentivoglio, 258, fol. 71, in Dinko Fabris, *Mecenati e musicisti: documenti sul patronato artistico dei Bentivoglio di Ferrara nell'epoca di Monteverdi (1585–1645)*, Lucca: Lim 1999, 490.

that transcribed operas represented for the first time between 1655 and 1695.<sup>46</sup> The provenance may be confirmed by the label of the librarian glued on the back of the cover: “Libri antichi / ed autographi / Francesco Casella Fu G.ro / Napoli / Piazza Municipio 81”. Watermark not recorded in RISM. Italian vocal music by C. Pedata, V. Masilio, G. Carissimi, F. Lambardi, A. Cimmino, F. Casella.<sup>47</sup>

I report another source in the Brussels conservatory described in RISM, that displays the same repertory as B-Bc, 17059, and it has the same format and dimensions, with a curious ownership note. Unfortunately for this source, other information is lacking.

**B-Bc, 17061** Manuscript 22,5×17 cm. Ownership note “Fiat M.o Carlo ?Scarlati? [o ?Stradela?]/ maestro di capella della / Regina di Suetia / Roma”. The music is attributed to F. Lambardi, O. Michi, A. Sabino, P. A. Giramo, C. Pedata, A. De Oliveira.<sup>48</sup>

Further, we can observe the reception of Michi’s music by studying two sources found in the Biblioteca Statale del Monumento Nazionale di Grottaferrata. The manuscripts are part of a group of volumes owned by the canon Agostino Dante, of the San Barnaba church in Marino, a musician living in the second part of the seventeenth century who signed some pieces contained in these collections:<sup>49</sup>

**I-GR, Crypt. it. 2** Manuscript, 24,9×34,5 cm, 213 folios; watermark not detected. 48 compositions.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Mauro Amato, *Le antologie di arie e di arie e cantate tardo-seicentesche alla Biblioteca del Conservatorio “S. Pietro a Majella” di Napoli*, PhD dissertation, Cremona University 1991, Vol. 1, 44; Ruffatti, *La collection de cantates*, 195–196.

<sup>47</sup> For a description see Teresa M. Gialdroni, entry no. 7025, in: <http://cantataitaliana.it> (11 March 2019); for Michi’s piece, in this collection see [www.rism.info/home.html](http://www.rism.info/home.html), n. 704002981 (11 March 2019). Many thanks to Mauro Amato for his help. On this librarian and antiquarian, see Flavia Cristiano, *L’antiquariato librario in Italia. Vicende, protagonisti, cataloghi*, Rome: Gela 1986, 86–87, 162.

<sup>48</sup> See [www.rism.info/home.html](http://www.rism.info/home.html), no.: 704003077 (11 March 2019).

<sup>49</sup> Teresa M. Gialdroni “Carissimi a Grottaferrata”, in: *L’opera musicale di Giacomo Carissimi*, 159–171.

<sup>50</sup> For a description of Crypt. it. 2 see Teresa M. Gialdroni, entry no. 4289, in: <http://cantataitaliana.it> (1 April 2019).

I-GR, Crypt. it. 3 Manuscript, (no measures recorded), 400 pages. 55 compositions, dated 1657.<sup>51</sup>

The volumes are written in many different hands, and the capital letters often differ greatly from one another. In the six volumes of this collection we find music by O. Michi, L. Rossi, A. Melani, G. Carissimi, M. Savioni, A. Liberati, M. Marazzoli, and F. Tenaglia, the mostly celebrated authors of the time, who were considerably well received across Europe up to the end of the seventeenth century. An aria by Alessandro Scarlatti (1660–1725) and some dates found in the volumes: 1656 in Crypt. it. 1, 1657 in Crypt. it. 3, and 1674 Crypt. it. 4; therefore all these sources come from the second half of the century.

This overview of selected sources that contain compositions by Orazio Michi demonstrates that his music, along with that of other Roman contemporaries, circulated widely in Italy, even outside the aristocratic circles and many years after its creation.

The following two sources are representative of the two cases set out at the beginning of this article: the first probably dates from the mid-seventeenth century, while the second was copied some decades later, to be sent to Lombardy. The first was probably assembled close to the repertoire's place of creation, or at least in its Roman noble milieu. The second shows us the reception of Michi's music in the rest of Italy in the second part of the Seicento many decades after his death.

### 3. A newly discovered source in Hamburg

One previously unknown source containing many compositions attributable to Orazio Michi is preserved in the Book Art Collection of the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe in Hamburg, shelfmark D-Hkm, RAR Bb-17/Italien. This volume (10,5×27 cm; 160 folios) is a Roman source likely copied between 1640 and 1650, after Michi's death. None of the pieces in this volume bear attribution, but I propose an identification for some as being composed by Michi, Luigi Rossi, and Carissimi. All the texts are spiritual (*poesia spirituale*) and in Italian. For a list of the pieces – with incipit, instrumentation and concordances – see Table 1 in the Appendix of this article.

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<sup>51</sup> Gialdroni, *Carissimi a Grottaferrata* (see n. 49), 163.

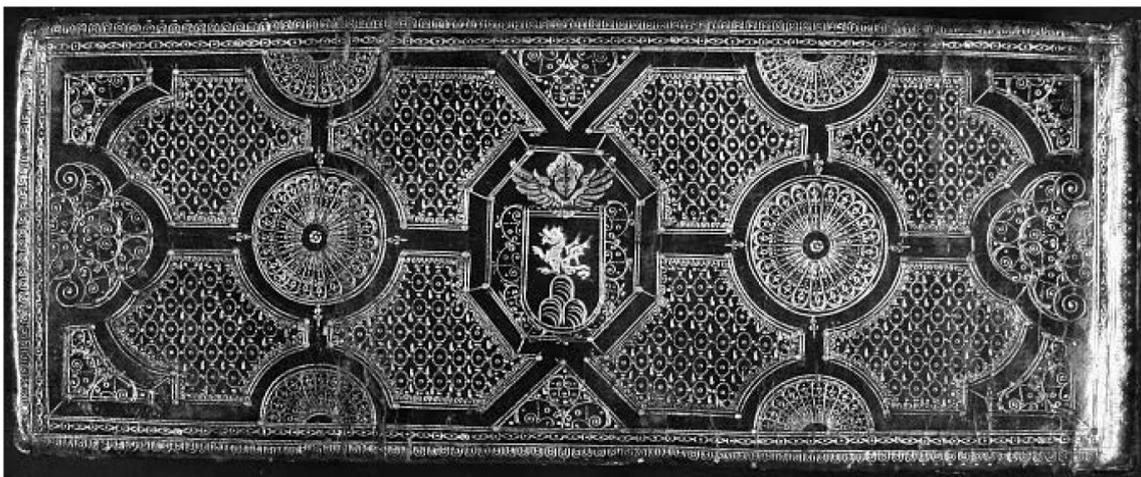


Image 1: D-Hkm, RAR Bb-17/Italien; binding of the manuscript made by the Andreoli atelier in Rome. Photograph: Alessio Ruffatti.

The binding of the volume (Image 1) is typically Roman, likely by the Andreoli atelier that was active there from 1630 until the end of the century.<sup>52</sup> Between 1644 and 1676 these artisans adopted a style referred to as their “Rospigliosi period”,<sup>53</sup> recognizable by the marks left by the metal tools (*ferri a dorare*) used to stamp the decorations onto the leather of the binding.<sup>54</sup> At the center of the cover of I-Bc, BB 255 is an angel with wings made with the same *ferro a dorare* used for the binding of RAR Bb-17.<sup>55</sup> Another ornamental detail of the binding is made with the same *ferro a dorare* used

52 Piccarda Quilici, *Legature antiche e di pregio: sec. XIV–XVIII: catalogo*, Rome: Istituto poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1995; Piccarda Quilici, José Ruysschaert, and Guido Vianini Tolomei, *Legatura romana barocca, 1565–1700*, Rome: Carte segrete 1991.

53 Piccarda Quilici, *La legatoria romana dal Rinascimento al Barocco*, in: eadem, José Ruysschaert, and Guido Vianini Tolomei, *Legatura romana barocca, 1565–1700*, Rome: Carte segrete 1991, 25.

54 For an explanation of the techniques used to realise the ornamentation with metal tools see Guido Vianini Tolomei, *I ferri e le botteghe di legatori*, Piccarda Quilici, José Ruysschaert, and idem, *Legatura romana barocca, 1565–1700*, Rome: Carte segrete 1999, 31–33. These pages are followed by ten tables showing the images obtained by these metal tools, which constitute the basis of the decorations found on the bindings.

55 These decorations are reproduced in Ruffatti, *Curiosi e bramosi* (see n. 12), Image 15, and Vianini Tolomei, *I ferri e le botteghe* (see n. 52), 31–33.

for other bindings from the Andreoli atelier.<sup>56</sup> The watermarks of this volume are typical of Roman music books written between 1630 and 1650. Two similar watermarks are found in F-Pn, Rés Vm<sup>7</sup> 59–101 and Rés Vm<sup>7</sup> 102–150, volumes described above and datable to ca. 1641. The first watermark represents an F on three hills in a polygonal shield; the second a crown with a star, which is very close to the model found in a Roman music printed book, the *Raccolta d'arie spirituali a una, due, e tre voci di diversi eccellentissimi autori raccolte e date in luce da Vincenzo Bianchi*, Rome: Vincenzo Bianchi 1640.<sup>57</sup> In an exemplary of the *Raccolta d'arie* preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris, one of the blank pages before the print bears a note autographed by Michi:<sup>58</sup>

Dono questo libro di arie al padre Fra Lorenzo Mari pregandolo per quanto amore porta alla santa madre Teresa volersi ricordare di me povero peccatore alle sue sante orazioni questo 15 di ottobre 1640. Io Orazio Michi mano propria. Io Fra Alessio di santa Teresa.

I donate this book of arias to Fra Lorenzo Mari, begging him to remember me, poor sinner, in his holy prayers, for the love that he has for the Holy Mother Teresa. 15 October 1640. Written by me, Orazio Michi, I, Friar Alessio of Santa Teresa.

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> Ruffatti, *Curiosi e bramosi* (see n. 12), Image 6: Crown with a star from I-Bc, Q.47, c. 62; Image 15: Letter F on three hills, reproduced in David Woodward, *Catalogue of watermarks in Italian printed maps, ca 1540–1600*, Florence: Olschki 1996, no. 333, 191, 204, 1580 ca.

<sup>58</sup> Bianchi, *Raccolta d'arie*, F-Pn, Rés Vma–260, collection Gèneviève Thibaut de Chambure. This source is reproduced in <http://gallica.bnf.fr> (1 April 2019). In this source we find the watermark with the crown which is also found in the “Fucci manuscripts”, sources containing music by composers active in Cardinal Montalto’s household except for Michi: I-Vc, Torre Franca 250 *Grilanda musicale di arie di diversi eccel.mi hautoi scritta da Francesco Maria Fucci Romano*; I-Bc, CC.255 *Selva musicale di arie e villanelle di diversi eccellentissimi autori con il suo basso per sonare sopra a hogni sorte d'instrumento scritto da Francesco Maria Fucci Romano*. The volumes are described by Hill, *Roman Monody* (see n. 7), chapter 5, 143–153. This chapter is dedicated to sources of music surrounding Cardinal Montalto.

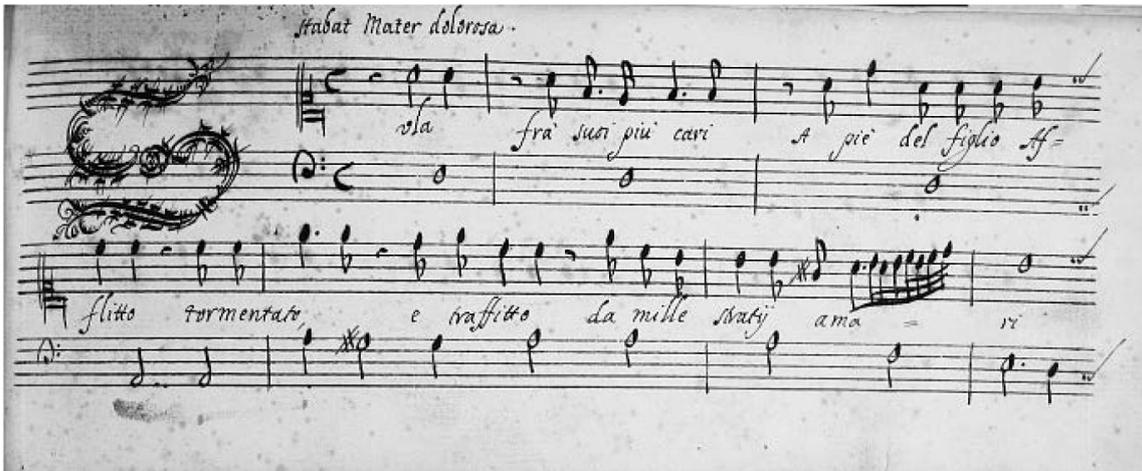


Image 2: [Orazio Michi], *Sola fra suoi più cari*, D-Hkm, RAR Bb-17/Italien, fol. 1r. Photograph: Alessio Ruffatti.

The watermarks in RAR Bb-17/Italien are somewhat different from those usually found in sources that were copied later, between ca. 1650 and 1670. For instance, RAR Bb-17/Italien does not bear watermarks of a praying cleric holding a cross in a shield (type A), common in volumes attributed to the hands of the Roman copyists Antonio Chiusi or Bernardino Terenzi, nor a horse/deer in a circle, or a lily in a circle which are often found in Roman and Neapolitan sources ca 1675–1720.<sup>59</sup>

RAR Bb-17/Italien displays one main unidentified professional copyist who transcribed fols. 1r–67v and 102r–143r (see Image 2), along with other unidentified hands.

This analysis suggests that D-Hkm, RAR Bb-17/Italien was copied in the middle of the seventeenth century, and that it should be considered a document close to the composition and first performance of the contained repertoire.

<sup>59</sup> For a discussion about these sources see Ruffatti, *Curiosi e bramosi* (see n. 12), § 3 with a reproduction of these watermarks.

#### 4. The manuscript of the Borromeo collection

Another Roman manuscript, acquired by the Borromeo family in the second half of the seventeenth century, demonstrates how far Michi's music traveled after composition and first performances. The Borromeos were one of the most famous noble families of Lombardy in the 1600s, and many members were music and opera lovers.<sup>60</sup> Vitaliano VI (1620–1690) and Giberto III (1615–1672) Borromeo developed their passion in Rome where they went to study in 1637, a time when the chamber cantata was a highly favoured musical genre. After his studies, Giberto followed the priesthood and worked for the Roman curia, finally becoming a Cardinal in 1652. His brother Vitaliano had a brilliant military career that ended with the Peace of the Pyrenees in 1659. After this date Vitaliano became a diplomat and one of the most important political representatives of the Spanish crown in Milan. He then devoted considerable time to building the family palazzo on the Isola Bella in Lake Maggiore, a project initiated some decades before by his father Carlo. Vitaliano was interested in the visual arts, literature, theatre, and music. On the Isola Bella the family staged many operas and other musical entertainments in which many Roman cantatas were likely sung.

Many cantata manuscripts still remain in the music library on Isola Bella. Some of these sources came from Rome and others were copied on local Milanese paper. Some documents prove that part of the musical repertoire came from Rome where it was selected by Cardinal Giberto and his secretary, and then sent to Vitaliano in Milan.

In 1664, Giberto Borromeo sent some musical manuscripts (entire operas, but also *canzoni*, *canzonette*, *mottetti*, or other *musiche*) to his brother in Milan, as the latter had requested, since he was looking for music to stage at his villa.<sup>61</sup> The correspondence between Rome and Milan explains

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<sup>60</sup> Gaspare De Caro, "Vitaliano Borromeo", in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, [www.treccani.it](http://www.treccani.it); Georg Lutz, "Giberto Borromeo", in: idem (1 April 2019).

<sup>61</sup> Archivio Borromeo, Isola Bella, Famiglia Borromeo, Vitaliano VI, Corrispondenza 1664/1091, 1664/1092, 1664/1093 *passim*. Ibid., Stabili, Isola Bella – O-Z/2823, Giulio Cesare Beagna probably to Vitaliano Borromeo, Rome, 1664 September 6. See Roberta Carpani, *Drammaturgia del comico: i libretti per musica di Carlo Maria Maggi nei teatri di Lombardia*, Milan: Vita e pensiero 1998, 68, n. 94.

how the music was sent, and identifies the person who provided the music for these musical exchanges: a canon named Francesco Rossi who was in the service of Cardinal Giberto.<sup>62</sup> A letter from Giberto's secretary, Giulio Cesare Beagna, describes this:

The canon Rossi (a priest) has given me the attached list of music, asking me to say to your illustrious Lordship that he has no memory of which [cantata] he has already sent, and that your illustrious Lordship should feel free to choose whichever ones of them he wants to be sent.

... Rome 15 March 1664 ... Giulio Cesare Beagna.

Il signor canonico Rossi mi ha consegnato la qui congiunta nota di musiche, con ordine di dire a vostra signoria illustrissima, che non ha memoria se di quale ne abbia mandata alcuna e che vostra signoria illustrissima resti servita di comandare quali di esse vuole che si mandino. [...]. Roma 15 marzo 1664. [...] Giulio Cesare Beagna.

A voce sola:

La Rosa dogliosa, [Pietro Cesti]

Io mi sento dentro al core,

In amor ciascun si rende, [Giovan Carlo Rossi]

Questo piccolo rio, [Luigi Rossi]

Pur mi richiami al pianto,

Mentre sorge dal mar la bella aurora, [Luigi Rossi]

Io piangea presso d'un rio, [Luigi Rossi]

Compatite un cor di foco; [Luigi Rossi]

A due voci

Libertà libertà [ragion mi sgrida?], [Luigi Rossi]

Fermatevi alli pensieri<sup>63</sup>

These musical exchanges ended with the death of Cardinal Giberto, followed the day after by the death of the canon Rossi in 1672.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> See n. 64.

<sup>63</sup> Archivio Borromeo, Isola Bella, Famiglia Borromeo, Vitaliano VI, Corrispondenza 1664, letter 15 March 1664.

<sup>64</sup> Archivio Borromeo, Isola Bella, Famiglia Borromeo, Giulio Cesare Beagna to Renato Borromeo, 16 January 1672: "Il già signor canonico de Rossi cappellano, e musico del

MS musicale no. 6 measures 10×26,5 cm. On the binding in white cardboard there is written “Signor Conte Vitaliano Borromeo Mio Signore Pron. Col.mo” (Count Vitaliano Borromeo my most illustrious lord). The volume is divided in two parts. The first part is written on Roman paper (watermark representing a lily in a circle) by a professional copyist, probably Bernardino Terenzi or Antonio Chiusi, with fine capital letters. The second part of the volume, from c. 39 until the end, is written on paper typical of Lombardy, the watermark showing a hand with a heart, which could date from 1667. The music in this second part was copied by a cursive and unidentified hand.<sup>65</sup>

This analysis suggests that a Roman source was probably sent to Isola Bella where the vocal music was performed by local musicians. The second section of MS Misc. 06, written on local paper, could be a performing copy, whereas the original Roman music book has been lost.

**Table 2: I-IBborromeo, Ms. Misc. 06 of the Borromeo private library**

	Title	Copyist	Poet and/or Composer	Folio	Concordance
1	Sognava mio core chiamando gioiva	1	[Savioni-Benigni]	3r	I-Bc, V 289
2	Pensieri fuggite da un'alma infelice	1	[Savioni-Pannesio]	5v	I-Bc, V 289
3	Su strali di foco all'armi all'assalto	1	[Savioni]	9r	I-Rc, 2480
4	Volate nel mio cor strali d'amore che sol per	1	[Savioni]	13r	I-Rc, 2480
5	Armatevi pensieri tempo non è di pace	1	[Savioni-Pannesio]	19r	I-Bc, V 289
6	Su non tardate pupille a piagarmi	1	[Savioni]	23r	B-Br, II 3947

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signor cardinale morì la notte susseguente alla morte del signor cardinale”. “The canonico de Rossi, chaplain and musician of the Cardinal was dead the day after the death of the Cardinal”.

<sup>65</sup> For a discussion of the watermark see Claudio Bacciagaluppi and Luigi Collarile, *Carlo Donato Cossoni (1623–1700): catalogo tematico*, Bern: Lang 2009, 359. Paper with the same watermark was used by Donato Cossoni in the 1660s.

	<b>Title</b>	<b>Copyist</b>	<b>Poet and/or Com-poser</b>	<b>Folio</b>	<b>Concordance</b>
7	Amorose mie catene quando mai vi scioglierete	1	[Savioni]	25r	I-Rc, 2478
8	Su su cangisi loco sospiri volanti	1	[Savioni-Pannesio]	27r	I-Bc, V 289
9	Amanti venite udite il mio bene ma tosto fuggite	1	[Savioni-Benigni]	30r	I-Bc ,V 289
10	Speranza mio core	1	[Boccarini]	33r	B-Br, II 3947
11	Si scacci lo sdegno dell'animo audace	1		36r	I-Rc ,2505
12	Così volete così sarà	2	Del Carissimi	39r	
13	La reggia d'Amore	2		45r	
14	Chi sa le mie pene non pianga se può	2		46r	V-CVbav, Barb. lat. 4201
15	Hor che il core arde al foco	2		47r	
16	Siam traditi o core	2		48v	
17	Amor s'io mi querelo	2	[Luigi Rossi]	51r	I-Rc, 2467
18	Bella curiosità	2		52r	
19	Penoso è quel contento	2		53v	
20	I dilette del mondo son lampi che fuggono	2	Del Sr. Orazio Michi	55r	
21	Si sciolghin le vele	2		57r	
22	Parlo a Filli	2		59v	
23	Tra le ceneri del core	2		64v	
24	Trafiggetemi il core	2		66v	

Michi's music arrived on Isola Bella thanks to the Borromeo brothers' love for this repertory, which they had occasions to hear in Rome during their formative years, when Michi, Rossi, and other important musicians of that time were active. Many years afterward, and in a totally different setting, the sources allowed a recreation of this Roman soundscape. The musical sources were copied by a Roman copyist on Roman paper. More local paper made in

the 1660s was then added to the original fascicles, which arrived on Isola Bella, likely unbound. On this Milanese paper, local musicians who were involved in this revival copied the music that they then performed for their patrons. This source was used for regular performances of repertoire from the first half of the century.

## 5. Conclusion

The chronology of Roman vocal music sources of the Seicento might seem like an impenetrably thick forest many with shrubs and weeds, interrupted by arid and barren glades. This article demonstrates, on the contrary, that this vegetation consists of grandiose and soaring (philological) trees that continued to grow throughout the seventeenth century and even later.

The musical manuscripts containing vocal music by Orazio Michi present quite a varied landscape. Most, if not all, were copied in Rome over a long period, likely from the 1620s until the 1660s and perhaps later, many years after the death of the composer. Some of Michi's autographs have been discovered, which means that these sources were produced extremely close to the creation of this repertoire. Other volumes were made much later.

The artefacts that we study demonstrate the dissemination and the long reception of Roman chamber music of the seventeenth century throughout Europe.<sup>66</sup> Orazio Michi's music followed a long itinerary, moving from Cardinal Montalto's private apartments to the ears of a broader public of Italian and European nobles. Its widespread circulation included Rome, Naples, Bologna, Marino (a little village in the Marches), the Isola Bella, and touched even the French court of Louis XIII.

This study presents the material characteristics of manuscripts containing music by Orazio Michi, together with documents revealing their destina-

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<sup>66</sup> See Alessio Ruffatti, "La cantata *Dite o cieli se crudeli un esempio di conflitto di attribuzione tra Rossi e Carissimi* e la diffusione delle cantate italiane fuori d'Italia", in: *L'opera musicale di Giacomo Carissimi* (see. n. 5) 81–106; Alessio Ruffatti, "L'assimilazione dello stile vocale romano da camera in Francia nella seconda metà del Seicento: il caso di 'Due labra di Rose'", in: Francesco Luisi (ed.), *Francesco Buti tra Roma e Parigi: diplomazia, teatro*, Rome: Torre d'Orfeo 2009, 779–801.

tions and how they were used outside of the restricted circle in which they were created. If Michi's music had not left the Roman palaces where it first resounded, it would have been only partially preserved today. This musical heritage survived thanks to a group of Roman professional copyists. It therein demonstrates how some seventeenth-century musical sources bear witness to a wider reception than their contents might suggest, as they are disconnected from their authors, composers, patrons, or the places they were destined to be used.

## Appendix

**Table 1: List of compositions in the manuscript D-Hkm, RAR Bb-17/Italien**

	Incipit	Composer	Fol.	Instrumentation	Concordance
1	Sola fra suoi più cari a piè del figlio afflitto	[Orazio Michi]	1r	S, b. c.	I-Bc, Q.43
2	Nella sacra spelonca ch'alteramente onora la città		7v	S, b. c.	I-Rc, 2483
	(Trimmed page; lack of the incipit)		13r	S, b. c.	
3	Su l'Oriente l'alba ridea forse perché vedea fulminata	[Orazio Michi]	17r	S, b. c.	I-Rc, 2490
4	Desio mortale ch'ardendo sta s'al ciel non va	[Orazio Michi]	24v	S, b. c.	I-Rc, 2472
5	Alle pene e agli affanni su su ahi che spero mio cor		26v	S, b. c.	
6	Peccai signor sparso di tanto errore non sostien di mirar	[Orazio Michi]	29v	S, b. c.	I-Rc, 2472
7	Veggio nel tuo costato aspra ferita le mani e i piè trafitti	[Orazio Michi]	32v	S, b. c.	I-Rc, 2490
8	Tempo fu che sovente cantai su cetra d'or	[Orazio Michi]	36v	S, b. c.	I-Rc, 2472
9	Chi fa le stelle al sole nasce a soffrire e per Amor si duole	[Orazio Michi]	38v	S, b. c.	I-Rc, 2472
10	Amante d'impietà perché volg' il desio a caduca beltà		41r	S, b. c.	
11	Disdegnoso il ciel fremea e piovea tra tempeste e tra saette	[Orazio Michi]	44r	S, b. c.	I-Rc, 2472
12	Vermiglia l'aurora si scuote dal crine dall'onda	[Orazio Michi]	46v	S, b. c.	I-Rc, 2472
13	Io che del mondo amante i giorni e gli anni spesi	[Orazio Michi]	48r	S, b. c.	I-Rc, 2472
14	O luci che fate a cento et a mille piovete versate di pianto	[Orazio Michi]	51r	S, b. c.	I-Rc, 2472
15	Non chinate egri mortali per timore il guardo in giù	[Orazio Michi]	53v	S, b. c.	I-Rc, 2490

	<b>Incipit</b>	<b>Composer</b>	<b>Fol.</b>	<b>Instrumentation</b>	<b>Concordance</b>
16	Questo mar del cieco mondo ha per onde amari pianti		56v	S, b. c.	
17	Su fuggite mortali il mondo tiranno che solo ne' mali	[Orazio Michi]	60v	S, b. c.	I-Rc, 2490
18	Venite pastorelli ad ammirare il re del ciel fatt'uomo	[Giacomo Carissimi]	62v	S, b. c.	I- Moe, Campori 105
19	Lungi da me per caduco splendor pianti e lamenti		65v	S, b. c.	
20	Parla parla o mio core che non si può tacendo		68r	S, b. c.	
21	Arme a la mano lo spirto infernale col mondo n'assale		70v	S, b. c.	
22	Io rimiro l'aurora con sue gemme e margarite		74v	S, b. c.	
23	Signor bella tua morte acerba e dura ben vegg'io rimembrar		76r	S, b. c.	
24	Vien omai non tardar più a salvarne a bearne o dolcissimo		79v	S, b. c.	
25	Chi del mondo avvien seguace forma		81r	S, b. c.	
26	Che paventi cor mio chiedi pietà del tuo fallire		85r	S, b. c.	
27	Gesù o Gesù tutto potere [?]		87r	S, b. c.	
28	Suonerà l'ultima tromba	[Giacomo Carissimi]	88v	S, b. c.	
29	Io Gesù mio redentore a voi grazie infinite rendo		99v	S, b. c.	
30	Invan mi tendete il viscio e la rete mondani diletti	[Luigi Rossi]	102r	S, S, b. c.	I-Fc, D 2357
31	Rilucenti e vaghe stelle che scherzando		105v	S, S, b. c.	
32	Innocenti pargoletti senza voce e senza età		109v	S, S, b. c.	I-Rc, 2482

	<b>Incipit</b>	<b>Composer</b>	<b>Fol.</b>	<b>Instrumentation</b>	<b>Concordance</b>
33	Quanto presto sen va ogni diletto al mondo		115r	S, S, b. c.	
34	Ai sospiri al dolore ai tormenti al penare	[Luigi Rossi]	120v	S, S, b. c.	I-Bc, Q.46
35	Ruscelletto superbetto dove vai fuor dalle sponde		125r	S, S, b. c.	
36	Non bisogna bramare piacer che gl'occhi inganna		130r	S, S, b. c.	
37	Stolto stolto mio core e quando verrà quel giorno		133v	S, S, b. c.	
38	Ombre chieche [sic] e notte oscura luce pura e chiaro		140r	S, S, b. c.	
39	Spine pungenti ch'al mio gran vigor		143v	S, S, b. c.	
40	È pur ver ch'io veggio sovra quel aura		147v	S, S, b. c.	



# “Tanto che non si potrebbe sentire cosa più bella”

## The harp as *basso continuo* instrument in Rome at the time of Orazio Michi

Mara Galassi and Chiara Granata

Sono andato alcune volte pensando, che un Poema simile all’Oronta del Sig. Giulio Preti, modulato con melodia convenevole, e recitato da un buon Recitante, e perito Musico, il quale sopra tutto avesse una soave, e sonora voce, come quella del Sig. Francesco Bianchi, farebbe mirabile sentire, massime accompagnata dal suono dolcissimo dell’Arpa del Sig. Orazio, e tanto, che non si potrebbe sentire cosa più bella.

Giovanni Battista Doni, *Trattato della musica scenica*<sup>1</sup>

I have sometimes thought that a Poem similar to the Oronta of Sig. Giulio Preti, set to an appropriate melody and recited by a good Actor and expert Musician, who had above all a sweet and sonorous voice like that of Sig. Francesco Bianchi, would make for formidable listening; at best, when accompanied by the melodious sound of Sig. Orazio’s harp; such, that you could not hear anything more beautiful.

### Introduction

This article would like to draw the reader’s attention to a certain number of Roman sources from the beginning of the seventeenth century that contain references to the *arpa doppia* and its use as a *basso continuo* instrument.<sup>2</sup> At

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1 Giovan Battista Doni, *Trattato della musica scenica*, in: idem, *De’ trattati di musica*, Vol. 2, ed. Anton Francesco Gori Florence: Stamperia Imperiale 1763, 1–144: 22. All translations of sources are by Giovanna Baviera unless stated otherwise.

2 This paper was jointly conceived by the authors, who developed the following chapters respectively: Chiara Granata 1, 2, and 5 Mara Galassi 3, 4, and 6. The authors wish to thank Paul Beier and Emma Huijsser for their valuable contribution and Giovanna Baviera for the English translation.

that time, polyphonic instruments were commonly grouped together in practice, and were thus rarely referred to individually in written musical sources. However, treatises, chronicles, and epistolary exchanges between scholars show that characteristic roles were also attributed to each instrument specifically, so that each maintained its own peculiarity.

In reviving the idiom of the Italian seventeenth-century harp, we can be guided and inspired by an exploration of the effect that the instrument had in its time and of the *affetti* it was able to stir in the listener, as well as by an assessment of its role in ensemble performance. It is necessary to remind ourselves that what is written in sources does not represent a universal norm, but rather indicates the writers' personal points of view: these opinions often relate specifically to a certain repertoire and are subject to the individual writer's tastes and preferences. In any case these sources present precious points of view, laying the groundwork for us in rethinking the musical styles and gestures that have been generated in recent times as part of a historically informed practice. We will begin by examining the aesthetic categories of "majesty" and visual "fullness" as they relate to the harp, the harp's absence, or, contrarily, its desired and admired presence on a theatre stage – a presence inextricably linked with the harp's implied reference to Antiquity. We will then go on to analyse various questions relative to tunings and temperaments. We will underline the instrument's potential dynamic power compared to that of its plucked counterparts, ending with a brief excursus consisting of musical examples in which the harp is specifically mentioned within the ensemble of instruments. We will conclude with a few comments on selected pieces for voice and an intabulated theorbo part, which, though lower in *ambitus*, is a useful example because it is written for a plucked instrument with a wide dynamic scope.

### 1. The harp's majesty: the instrument's "aural image"

In a passage from *Annotazioni sopra il compendio del trattato de' generi*, in which the violin's possibilities are praised, Giovanni Battista Doni enumerates the particular characteristics of different musical instruments, which the skilled violinist should be able to evoke:

In somma egli rappresenta, quando è in mano d'un perito sonatore, la dolcezza del Liuto, la soauità della Viola, la maestà dell'Arpa, la veemenza della Tromba, la viuacità del piffero, il querulo del Flauto, il patetico del Cornetto; & quasi ogni varietà, che nella gran macchina dell'Organo, con mirabil'artificio si sente.<sup>3</sup>

In short, when in the hands of an able player, it [the violin] expresses the sweetness of the lute, the melodiousness of the viol, the majesty of the harp, the vehemence of the trumpet, the liveliness of the *piffero*, the plaintiveness of the flute, the poignancy of the cornetto, and virtually any colour that the organ, with great artifice, can produce.

The aesthetic category chosen to describe the harp is “majesty” or “magnificence”: in other words it is described as a solemn and stable aural presence that finds its fundament in the bass frequencies that are produced by the instrument. On the basis of this description, it would seem that Doni perceives the *arpa doppia* not as delicate and ethereal, but rather as deep and sonorous, with an overall timbre determined by the part of the instrument that had recently undergone the most substantial structural development: the lower bass-strings. We will not discuss the already well known facts on the development of the instrument's construction: suffice it to say that the *arpa doppia* was a large instrument (also known as *grande arpa* or *arpone*), often finely carved and sculpted, particularly on the column, evoking a grandiose visual impact which was often as significant, if not more, than the effect of the harp's sound. We will limit this discussion to the surviving instrument that embodies the characteristics of many harps described in the sources: the so-called “Barberini harp”, the most important surviving Roman instrument from the early seventeenth century.<sup>4</sup>

If the harp's peculiarity was its magnificence, it would follow that the expectation of the instrument was also subject to this aesthetic and aural ideal. Giovan Battista Doni's comment on the relationship between “majesty”, Dorian mode, and the harp points clearly to this connection of visual and aural ideals:

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<sup>3</sup> Giovan Battista Doni, *Annotazioni sopra il Compendio del trattato de' generi e de' modi della musica*, Rome: Andrea Fei 1640, 338.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Chiara Granata, “Un'arpa grande tutta intagliata e dorata. New documents on the Barberini harp”, in: *Recercare* 27 (2015) 139–164.

Gli ordinarj, o principali registri (che si faranno di stagno) benchè devono rendere il suono comune degli Organi; tuttavia è convenevole variarli in modo, che il Dorio renda quanto si può il suono magnifico, e maestoso, quale si richiede massimamente nelle Musiche sacre. [...] E perché la Citara, e Lira antica, che hanno grande analogia con l'Arpa, si reputavano molto proporzionate all'Armonia Doria (e perciò credo che Pindaro desse alla Citara l'aggiunto di Doria) ci sforzeremo in somma, che il registro Dorio si accosti quanto più si può al suono dell'Arpa [...]<sup>5</sup>

The registers known as *ordinarij*, or *principali* (composed of tin-pipes), though they must produce a recognisable organ sound, should however be altered so as to render the Dorian mode as magnificent and majestic as possible, which is particularly required in sacred music. [...] And since the *cythara* and ancient lyre, which have strong analogies with the harp, were considered very fitting to the Dorian mode (it is for this reason that I think Pindar gave it the appellation “of Doria”), we will, in short, make an effort to make the Dorian registration as close as possible to the sound of the harp [...]

## 2. Comparisons, classifications, preferences: which instrument was best suited to playing *basso continuo*? Doni's and Mersenne's correspondence in 1638

Making a classification of instruments by comparing their qualities was common practice both in printed sources and in private correspondence between scholars. On the basis of a theoretical dispute, positive and negative aspects of a thesis and of its contrary were listed in order to reach an Aristotelian mean position. Even objects, and among these musical instruments, were subject to this system of comparison, as each theoretician's thesis became the subject of discussion for whomever wished to challenge it. With this kind of argumentation Marin Mersenne evaluates strengths and weaknesses of different string instruments with a bass function: the harpsichord, the lute and the harp. In a passage from *Harmonie universelle*, Mersenne compares the spinet and the lute, showing how the two harmonic instruments compete for

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<sup>5</sup> Doni, *Musica scenica* (see n. 1), 49–50. See also in the *Discorso mandato da Gio: de' Bardi a Giulio Caccini detto Romano, Sopra la musica antica, e 'l cantar bene*, in: Doni, *ibid.*, 238.

perfection. The spinet allows one to play polyphonically with more voices, whereas the lute has the advantage of comfort, grace and sweetness.<sup>6</sup> Comparing the harp to the spinet, however, Mersenne notes that the former is inferior insofar as it is endowed with what others would consider a strength – a greater resonance – which constitutes a hindrance for the harmony and forces the performer to damp the strings.

Quant à la Harpe, elle semble surpasser l’Epinette, en ce qu’elle retient les sons de resonnement plus long temps, car ses sons s’amortissent par le drap qui est pres de la plume, quoy que l’on puisse dire que ce resonnement de la Harpe nuit plustost qu’il ne sert à l’harmonie, si le ioüeur ne l’estoint avec ses doigts, aus quels supplent les petits morceaux de drap de l’Epinette.<sup>7</sup>

As to the Harp, it seems to surpass the spinet, in that it retains the tones in resonance a longer time, for [the spinet’s] tones are damped by a cloth which is close to the quill, although it can be said that this resounding of the harp more often harms than helps the harmony, if the player does not damp it with his fingers, which the small bits of cloth of the spinet replace.<sup>8</sup>

After reading the *Harmonie universelle*, Giovan Battista Doni wrote a letter to Mersenne containing certain passages that are of great interest for us today, both in what concerns musical life in Italy at the time and our knowl-

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<sup>6</sup> Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, 2. Part: “Traité des instruments à cordes”, Book 3, Paris: Pierre Ballard 1637, 101; English translation: Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle. The books on instruments*, trans. Roger E. Chapman, The Hague: Springer Science + Business Media 1957, 154. The *Harmonie universelle* constitutes a fundamental reference point for our knowledge of instruments in use at this time. Regarding the harp we would like to draw the reader’s attention to certain passages on the triple-strung harp and some annotations on new instruments contained in Proposition XI; Mersenne describes having received via Monsieur Bouchard a letter containing a description of a harp made by Stefano Landi after he had written the section on harps in the *Harmonie universelle*. Through Jean Jacques Bouchard, Cardinal Barberini’s secretary of Latin letters, Mersenne gathered that this harp had been invented thirty or forty years earlier by Luca Antonio Eustachio, a Neapolitan gentleman in Pope Paul V’s service, and that Orazio Michi had perfected the instrument, playing it with excellency.

<sup>7</sup> Mersenne, *Harmonie* (see n. 6), 107.

<sup>8</sup> Mersenne/Chapman, *Harmonie* (see n. 6), 159.

edge of the harp. Dated 7th August 1638, the letter is one of Doni's most extensive.<sup>9</sup> It opens with a reference to musical theory of Antiquity, a recurrent theme in epistolary exchanges between the two scholars; Doni then goes on to critically evaluate certain passages of the *Harmonie universelle*. He considers the qualities of the instruments, and after having summarised and critiqued Mersenne's position, he dwells a moment on the harp, writing the following interesting statement:

En la comparaison que vous faictes au *Livre premier des Istrumens*, où vous préférez l'espinnette à la harpe, pource qu'elle maintient plus son accord, je vous dirai que noz musiciens ne sont pas de mesme advis, veu qu'ils estiment plus la harpe, pource qu'elle a *il piano e le forte*, c'est à dire qu'on peut jouer plus fort et plusellement avec plusieurs differences. Ce que l'on pratique quand on accompagne des melodies pathetiques et variées. Et sans doute que ceste qualité est bien plus considerable que celle de l'espinnette.<sup>10</sup>

In the comparison that you make in the *First Book of Instruments*, where you prefer the spinet to the harp, because [the harp] maintains the sound longer, I would tell you that our musicians do not have the same opinion, since they consider the harp worthier because it has *piano* and *forte*, meaning that one can play louder and more beautifully with more nuances. Which is what one puts into practice when one accompanies moving and variegated melodies. And there is no doubt that this quality is far more considerable [in the harp] than in the spinet.

The harp is preferred over the keyboard instrument for its great potential for dynamic variation, a quality particularly useful in the accompaniment of melodies described as "*pathetiques et variées*", in other words, in vocal pieces where musical setting follows the dramatic dynamic contained in the text, as occurs in monodies of the *moderna pratica*. The qualities that make the harp particularly praiseworthy relate to its use as an accompanying instrument: its greater sound duration in comparison with the spinet, the amount of sound it can produce in comparison with the lute, and also its dynamic scope, which is greater than that of either instrument, and gives the harp the con-

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<sup>9</sup> Marin Mersenne, *Correspondance*, Paris: C. de Waard and Pintard 1932, Vol. 8, 7–25.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 20.

crete ability to follow the *affetti* and to illustrate even the smallest nuance of the text.

Doni's letter concludes by drawing attention to an Italian anomaly, where an instrument with three rows of strings is called *arpa doppia*. Thus, what can be inferred from musical literature for harp of this time is confirmed: the harp had indeed been modified to include a third row of strings, despite the fact that it was still described as a "double harp" in sources. The term *arpa doppia* thus could mean an instrument with either two or three rows of strings.<sup>11</sup>

### 3. The stage: some considerations on the placement of instruments

The central question examined in various Roman theoretical texts from the beginning of the seventeenth century is that of the disposition of instruments onstage and, accordingly, of their proximity or distance from the singers. One can observe how this issue was of great significance already in the foreword to the print of Emilio de' Cavalieri's *Rappresentazione di anima e di corpo*. A fixed disposition of instruments had not yet been developed: their positions were instead the result of experimentation, and would depend on how a specific performance space – sometimes of large dimensions – was used.<sup>12</sup> Cavalieri suggests that the instruments be kept hidden from the audience, but not too far away from the singers:

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11 Ibid., 20: "Au reste il y auroit moyen de rendre beaucoup plus parfaite nostre harpe grande (qu'on appelle *double* quoyqu'elle soit triple), soit en la qualité du son y adjoustant un autre corps, soit en l'harmonie (que je prens au vray sens) y disposant, en 3 ou 4 rangs de chordes, deux ou plusieurs tons à la facon des Anciens et des espinettes qu'on a commencé à fabriquer icy." // "For the rest, there would be ways to perfect our big harp (that we call *double* though it is triple), both in sound quality, by adding another body, and in harmony (in its true sense) by providing it with 3 or 4 rows of strings, and with two or more *tons* in the manner of the Ancients and of the spinets that we have started building here."

12 Alessandro Guidotti, *A' lettori*, in: Emilio de' Cavalieri, *Rappresentazione di anima e di corpo nuovamente posta in luce dal Signor Emilio del Cavaliere per recitar cantando, data in luce da Alessandro Guidotti Bolognese*, Rome: Nicolò Mutij, 1600, [3].

E gli stromenti, perché non siano veduti, si debbano suonare dietro le tele della scena e da persone che vadino secondando chi canta, e senza diminuzioni e pieno.<sup>13</sup>

And so that they may not be seen, the instruments should be played behind the stage curtains by musicians who follow the singer, playing without diminutions and with a full sound.

The author concludes that the instruments' use should vary according to the *affetti* expressed by the performer on stage:

E per dare qualche lume di quelli che in luogo simile hanno servito, una lira doppia, un clavicembalo, un chitarrone, o tiorba che si dica, insieme fanno bonissimo effetto; come ancora un organo suave con un chitarrone. Ed il signor Emilio laudarebbe mutare li stromenti conforme all'affetto del recitante.<sup>14</sup>

And to give an idea of the kind [of instrument] that was used in similar places, a *lira doppia*, a harpsichord, a *chitarrone*, or theorbo if you prefer, together create a very good effect; as does a sweet-sounding organ with a *chitarrone*. And *signor Emilio* would also praise changing the instruments in conformity with the *affetti* of he who recites.

The aim of the flexible disposition described in Cavalieri's *Rappresentazione* is that of amplifying the texts' expressive effect and of aligning the intentions of instrumentalists and singers; the most valuable recommendation on the *continuo* realisation seems to be that of avoiding diminutions to favour a fuller sound, clarity, and expressive versatility. The instruments' visual component, however, is reduced to a minimum.

Giovanni Battista Doni's well known accounts of the presence of instruments on stage, written nearly forty years after the *Rappresentazione* seem to take the discussion into a new and modern direction: instruments are now considered as powerfully evocative tools to stimulate the audience's imagination. Indeed, Doni allows some instruments to come into the visual field, as can be seen in numerous passages of the *Trattato della musica scenica*.

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13 Ibid.

14 Ibid.

Facendosi dunque apparire gl'Istrumenti alla vista del popolo, è convenevole aver riguardo, che abbiano bella, e graziosa apparenza, e perciò potendosene avere degli altri, loderei che i Clavicembali si lasciassero da banda. E perché un Arpa indorata fa bellissima vista, e il suo suono pure si sente, e meglio si unisce con la voce umana; e in somma ha più del grande, e del nobile, che gl'Istrumenti da tasti.<sup>15</sup>

By making the instruments visible to the people, it is appropriate to take care that their appearance be beautiful and graceful, and being able to procure other instruments, I would recommend that the Harpsichords be left to the side. And since a golden harp is a wonderful sight, and since its sound is audible, it is best coupled with the human voice: in short, it has more greatness and nobility than keyboard instruments.

Among the Florentine theorist's numerous references to the harp onstage, it is worth mentioning the following particularly detailed and relevant claim:

Fra gli strumenti, il più atto ad accompagnar simil musica crederai, che fusse l'Arpa: la qual vorrebbe esser sonata, da qualche esperto, e discreto Sonatore: in luogo poco remoto dal Recitante, e dove comodamente potesse esser veduta; sì veramente volendosi usar la battuta, il medesimo sonatore la potesse far col piede.<sup>16</sup>

Among the instruments most suitable to accompany such music I would think is the Harp: which should be played by an expert and skilled player in a place not far from the performer, where it can be comfortably seen, so that if one wanted to show the beat, the player could show it with his foot.

The harp's visual and acoustic presence is fully approved: the instrument should be placed in a position that ensures an effective visual and aural contact between singer and harpist, so that even the harpist's foot movement might help the singer in keeping time ("usar la battuta").

The difficulties of space management can be inferred by the reports contained in *Il Corago*, an anonymous text, probably from the 1630s, that was

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15 Doni, *Musica scenica*, (see n. 1) 108.

16 Giovanni Battista Doni, *Compendio del trattato de' generi e de' modi della musica*, Rome: Andrea Fei 1635, 119.

written with the aim of providing recommendations on staging.<sup>17</sup> The problem is argued thus:

L'incomodità delli strumenti di corde è grande perché non si trova luogo proporzionato di metterli sì che accompagnino la voce del cantante con soddisfazione di chi sente perché se si pongono dentro la scena non si sentono da chi recita, mai non [dagli] auditori se non quelli che stanno molto vicino al palco [...]. Se per il contrario l'instromenti si cavano fuori più vicini alli uditori che non è il cantante, l'orecchi delli ascoltanti, massime di quelli che stanno al primo luogo, che sogliono essere i principi e le persone di più riguardo, sono offesi notabilmente dal dibattimento di quelle corde supera[n]te la voce del cantante [...].<sup>18</sup>

The impracticality of stringed instruments is significant because one cannot find a proportional space to put them in so that they may accompany the singer to the listener's satisfaction, because if you put them behind the stage they will not be heard by he who recites and definitely not by the audience, with the exception of those very close to the stage [...]. If, on the other hand, the instruments are put out in front of the audience and closer to them than to the singer, their ears are greatly offended by that striking of strings, which is louder than the voice of the singer; this is especially true for those sitting in the first rows, who are often princes and people of importance.

The author continues by comparing the qualities of the wind instrument – the organ – with those of stringed instruments. Amongst the arguments in favour of string instruments, there is one that directly focuses on the harp and on its quality of rhythmic clarity:

Essendo la musica rappresentata in scena più vivace et attuosa assai di quella cantata in chiesa o in altra occasione, molto più viva [= vivo] e quasi arieggiante [?] è

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17 Paolo Fabbri, Angelo Pompilio (eds.), *Il Corago, o vero alcune osservazioni per mettere bene in scena le composizioni drammatiche*, Firenze: Leo S. Olschki 1983. The term *Corago*, which derives from Aristotle's *Poetics*, is commonly found in treatises of this time. It indicates the one who implements the setting of the stage, whose starting point is the written poetic work and end result is the staging, and whose tools are the arts involved in the show. Cf. Roger Savage, Matteo Sansone, "Il Corago and the staging of early opera: four chapters from an anonymous treatise circa 1630" in: *Early Music* 17/4 (1989), 494–511.

18 *Il Corago* (see n. 17), 84.

l'istromento di corde che stacca per aria la botta che non è il continuo suono dell'organo, per questo nei balli l'arpa è stimata la migliore, onde essendo il recitare con la voce e con il moto di tutte le membra simile ai movimenti ritmici, più a proposito si devono giudicare l'istrumenti di corde massime l'arpa quale [non] senza causa si chiama la regina dell'instrumenti; per questo anche appresso gli antichi nel tempo che la poesia o gusto del cantare anche scenicamente fiori nel sommo come nel secolo di Nerone [,] si usò nel teatro l'istromento di corde, e Nerone stesso che tanto si piccava di essere istimato il più intendente in questa parte adoprava l'arpa come si vede nelle sue medaglie e si racconta nelle sue istorie.<sup>19</sup>

Given that music on stage is livelier and full of action, in comparison with that sung in church or in other occasions, much more animated and nearly *arieggiante* [melodic], it is the string instrument that gives rhythmic impulses ("che stacca per aria la botta") as opposed to the organ's continuous sound; that is why the harp is considered the best to accompany dance music, because since reciting with the voice and with the movement of one's limbs is similar to rhythmic movement, string instruments accompany it better, and the harp first among them (not without reason is she known as the queen of all instruments); for this reason when the Ancients developed the practice of poetry and song, also on stage, and it blossomed in Nero's century, one used the string instrument in the theatre; and Nero himself, considering himself a prestigious *connoisseur* in this area, used the harp, as is seen in his medals and as is told in his stories.

Another question of extreme importance emerges in this defining phase of *recitar cantando* in discussions on instrument positioning on- and offstage and on instruments' aural and visual contact with singers: that is, whether or not singers should follow a regular beat. This question of a stable beat brings the author of *Il Corago* to abandon his otherwise neutral tone and to express a clear view in favour of a *recitativo* style free from a regular pulse: indeed, the *stile recitativo* was born to "show and imitate the natural way of reasoning";<sup>20</sup> thus the *tactus* cannot be fixed, but must be dictated by the *affetti*, "because the actor, having to stop, sigh for a long time as nature moves him to and hold the same note for a longer or shorter time according to the *affetto*, cannot be tied to a rule set by others, but must be able to indulge his

<sup>19</sup> *Il Corago* (see n. 17), 85–86.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.* 89.

impetus and his *affetti*. This is of great importance for good acting”.<sup>21</sup> To this effect, one must ensure that “the principal instrumentalist at least sees and hears the actor”.<sup>22</sup> During rehearsal, both singer and instrumentalist evaluate which passages need more attention in order to be together; where there is a more rhythmically complex passage “the instrumentalist will have to adjust to the singer”.<sup>23</sup> Only in polyphonic passages, grants the author, may one show the beat to aid the ensemble.

The new requirements for *recitar cantando* were thus altering the hierarchy between instruments. As the voice acquired utmost responsibility for the music’s unfolding, other instruments had to follow suit: the organ, despite being an instrument with “*perfetta armonia*” is described as less versatile in following voices – being bound to a regular beat, rather than to following the singer’s *affetti*. The trophy is thus given to string instruments.

#### 4. Performance and tunings. How many instruments were there?

Preparing the stage for a performance means choosing the best disposition for each instrument in relation to the singers: it also entails establishing which combinations of accompanying instruments to use. Indeed, spatial acoustic issues cannot elude the more complex questions surrounding tuning and temperaments. One commonly held view in theoretical texts of the time is that it is wise to separate instruments according to their families.

Giovan Battista Doni explicitly suggests the alternating use of plucked string instruments (*di manico* – lutes and theorbos), keyboard instruments (*di tastò* – harp and keyboard instruments) and bowed instruments (*d’archetto* – violins and viols): “instead of a mixture nearly resembling an *Oglia podrida* in Spanish style, one should make different *sinfonie*: one with Viols and Violins; one with Lutes, Theorbos and *Lire*; one with Harps and Harpsichords; and one with Flutes and other Wind Instruments” (“in vece di una mescolanza simile quasi a un’*Oglia podrida* alla Spagnuola, far diverse sinfo-

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21 Ibid., 89–90.

22 Ibid., 90.

23 Ibid.

nè; ora di Viole, e Violini; ora Liuti, Tiorbe e Lire; ora di Arpe, e Clavicembali; e ora di Flauti o di altri Instrumenti di fiato").<sup>24</sup>

Doni later explains that so-called keyboard instruments (harpsichord, organ and harp) are the only ones able to play major and minor semitones, while the tuning of lutes and viols calls for less disparity between semitones:

Poiché nel Gravicembalo, Organo e Arpa, si conosce gran differenza di semituoni maggiori, e minori (e ne' Liuti, e Viole si tiene, che i semituoni siano eguali) sebbene non stimo io, che così sia; ma sì veramente, che non siano tanto diseguali, quanto negli altri strumenti di tasti; onde in molte voci è forza, che dissuonino, come si conoscerà quando se ne farà il paragone voce per voce; che perciò noi vediamo, che quelli, che suonano il Liuto, o Tiorba con Organi, o Gravicembali sempre diminuiscono; perché se usassero botte piene, vi si conoscerebbe la dissonanza, la quale in note veloci non dà fastidio, perché non si discerne.<sup>25</sup>

Since it is known that in the Gravicembalo, Organ and Harp there is a great difference between major and minor semitones (and in Lutes and Viols one considers that all semitones are equal) though I do not think this is the case; but that indeed they are not as unequal as in other keyboard instruments; therefore, when there are many voices, it's obvious that they will be out of tune, as one will find out if one compares voice by voice: for this reason we see that those who play Lute and Theorbo with the Organ or *Gravicembalo* always add diminutions; because if they played with full chords one would hear the dissonance, which is not as disturbing in fast notes because it is less discernible.

It is worth noting that, according to Agazzari, instruments having "perfetta armonia"<sup>26</sup> (i. e. polyphonic instruments capable of perfect voice-leading) in performance must play "the purest and most correct realisation possible, without diminishing or breaking it too much, but aiding it at times by adding a bass at the lower octave [...]" maintaining "a stable, full and continuous harmony in order to sustain the voice, playing at times *piano* and at other times *forte* according to the quality and quantity of the voices, the space one is performing in, and the work one is playing, without striking the strings too

<sup>24</sup> Doni, *Musica scenica* (see n. 1), 110.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 93–94.

<sup>26</sup> Agostino Agazzari, *Del sonare sopra il basso*, Siena: Domenico Falcini 1607, 4.

often while the voice sings a *passaggio* in order not to interrupt it”.<sup>27</sup> For so-called “perfect” instruments, simple and clear voice-leading is preferred. The diminution is seen here as an expedient for hiding non-homogeneous intonation, which would be avoidable by appropriately grouping different groups of instruments according to their temperaments.<sup>28</sup> But Doni goes further, drastically recommending the use of a single instrument. He is guided not by an abstract principle, but by the direct experience of hearing the famous singer Adriana Basile accompanying herself:

Per il contrario, chi avrà sentito cantare Adriana al suono della sua medesima Arpa, avrà potuto conoscere qual sorte di accompagnamento richieda una Musica efficace e patetica. E chi giudicherà, che questa semplicità non convenga alla scena, quanto a me io credo, che abbia il gusto corrotto. Tengasi dunque per fermo, che quanto minor numero d’Instrumenti si metterà in opera, tanto meno faranno difettosi i concerti.<sup>29</sup>

On the contrary, whoever has heard Adriana sing to the sound of her Harp will have known what sort of accompaniment effective and moving music requires. And whoever considers that this simplicity is out of place onstage, I think their taste has been corrupted. Let us therefore take it as a fact, that the fewer instruments play, the less defective the ensemble will be.

Thus, the harp is a flexible and sonorous instrument, able to dominate the stage visually, but also able to support the voice fully.

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27 Ibid., 6: “[...] si deve suonare [...] l’opera più pura e giusta che sia possibile, non passeggiando o rompendo molto, ma sibbene aiutandola con qualche contrabbasso [...]. Il simile dico del Leuto, Arpa, Tiorba, Arpicordo, etc. quando servono per fondamento, cantandoui vna, ò più voci sopra; perche in tal caso devon tener l’armonia ferma, sonora e continovata, per sostener la voce, toccando ora piano or forte, secondo la qualità e quantità delle voci, del luogo e dell’opera, non ribattendo troppo le corde, mentre la voce fa il passaggio per non interromperla.”

28 About plucked string instrument tuning see Vincenzo Galilei, *Il Fronimo, Dialogo* [...], Venice: appresso l’Herede di Girolamo Scotto 1584, 102–108. In relation to Doni’s remarks on the same subject see Mark Lindley, *Lutes, viols, temperaments*, Cambridge: CUP Archive 1984, 46–49.

29 Doni, *Musica scenica* (see n. 1), 111.

However, the problem of different tunings and temperaments is not resolved by simply separating instruments according to families, because they additionally get out of tune when exposed to the heat of the lights and crowded spaces: this causes an uneven change of tuning between string instruments and organs. When faced with this problem, the practical, common-sense solution was that of switching instruments, which, at least in the case of string instruments, could be done in shifts behind the scenes. The author of *Il Corago* clearly describes this practice thus:

Per rimediar poi che l'istromenti di corda non callino a poco a poco per il soverchio caldo che dai lumi e dai fiati si genera, non pare che fin ora vi sia sufficientemente previsto se non si tiene istrumenti duplicati che a suo tempo vadino e venghino.<sup>30</sup>

In order to remedy the string instruments going flat gradually because of too much heat created by lights and breaths, there seems to be no better way to prevent this until this day, other than keeping instrument duplicates that come and go.

Doni describes a similar alternation of instrumentalists, but his reasons, perhaps thanks to his greater knowledge of the harp, appear more articulate. Though having more than one harpist also served the purpose of giving the players rest – in itself a testimony to the widespread use of the instrument in performance – its first goal was that of being able to have instruments in two different tunings, thus allowing each instrument to accompany with “perfetta armonia” in different *toni*:

E si potrebbe moltiplicare quando una non bastasse per l'ampiezza del luogo, o per farle sonare scambievolmente, e dare qualche riposo a' sonatori: come naturalmente seguirebbe, se le melodie ora procedessero per un tuono, ed ora per un altro separatamente; passando per esempio dal Dorio al Frigio, e da questo a quello; perché ciascuno richiederebbe un'arpa propria.<sup>31</sup>

And one could add more when one was not enough for the dimensions of the space, or in order to make them play alternately and give the players some rest: as would naturally follow, if the melodies were at times of one *tuono*, at others of another;

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30 *Il Corago* (see n. 17), 89.

31 Doni, *Musica scenica* (see n. 1), 108–109.

passing for example from Dorian to Phrygian, and from this to that; because each [*tuono*] would require its own harp.

The two harp tunings in use were known as *per h duro* (B) and *per b molle* (B-flat), the latter probably preferred for pieces with a B-flat in the key signature. Both tunings allowed the use of many pure thirds: in the first system, one could have two different strings for A-sharp and B-flat as well as for D-sharp and E-flat, whereas in the second system G-sharp and A-flat could be separated, as well as C-sharp and D-flat.<sup>32</sup>

The two possible tunings for the triple-strung harp are also described in detail in the manuscript *Accordatura per l'Arpa ò Cembalo*, which has survived in two copies, and is presented in this book in both facsimile and transcription, and with a summarized translation.<sup>33</sup>

Vincenzo Galilei had already described the use of these two tunings relative to the double-strung *arpa doppia*. In his *Dialogo della musica antica, et della moderna* he writes:

[...] volendo hora temperarle per b molle, le 16 corde gravi della parte sinistra, vanno secondo la natura del comune Diatonico distribuite; e le 14 a queste opposte [...] ne hanno da dare per così dirlo, il Cromatico genere [...]. Quando poi si volesse suonare per h duro, si tolgono via i b molli di ciascun Diatonico, & si pongano nell'uno & l'altro Cromatico a luoghi de h duri, & questi si collocano a luoghi di quelli nel Diatonico della destra & della sinistra parte, il qual modo di procedere fu così ordinato dal suo autore, per la comodità & facilità che hanno le dita di ambedue le mani nel far particolarmente diminuzioni, e tirate.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>32</sup> The triple-strung harp could therefore have a tuning system similar to that of the *cembalo cromatico*, see Fabio Colonna, *La Sambuca Lincea*, Naples: Costantino Vitale 1613, Book 1 I, 3. Translation in Fabio Colonna, *La Sambuca Lincea*, ed. Patrizio Barbieri, trans. Hugh Ward-Perkins, Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana 1992, LII.

<sup>33</sup> Mara Galassi, “‘Accordatura per l'Arpa ò Cembalo’ – a mysterious Roman manuscript on the tuning of the Italian *arpa a tre ordini*”, in this book. See also Patrizio Barbieri, *Acustica, accordatura e temperamento nell'illuminismo veneto*, Rome: Torre d'Orfeo 1987, 250–255.

<sup>34</sup> Vincenzo Galilei, *Dialogo della musica antica, et della moderna*, Florence: Giorgio Marescotti 1581, 143.

If you wish to temper by B-flat the sixteen low strings of the left side (*parte sinistra*), you distribute them according to the nature of the common diatonic, while the fourteen opposite them [...] supply the notes of the chromatic genre [...]. If you want to play by B-natural, [...] you remove the B-flats [...] from each diatonic and place them in one and the other chromatic [row], at the place of the B-naturals, and the latter you assign to the places of the former in the diatonic of the right side and of the left side. This method of proceeding was ordered by its inventor for the convenience and ease of the fingers of both hands, particularly for making diminutions and runs.<sup>35</sup>

Marin Mersenne also reports that, according to Jacques Jacques Bouchard, Stefano Landi used the above tunings:

Il adiouste que les chordes de dehors estant accordées par h [bequadro] *quarre*, celles de dedans s'accordent par b *mol*, & que celles-cy s'accordant par h [bequadro], celles-là s'accordent par b *mol*: & qu'il est l'instrument le plus difficile de tous, à raison de la difficulté qu'il y a à le faire, à l'accorder, & à trouver la chorde par où il faut commencer l'air ou le chant; car [...] il y a de la difficulté à discerner les cordes des trois rangs de la Harpe, parce qu'elles sont toutes semblables entr'elles, & bien que quelques-uns les ayent voulu marquer par des couleurs differentes, l'on trouve tousiours beaucoup de difficulté à manier la main avec une grande vitesse & legereté.

Enfin il y trouve tant de difficultez qu'il espere d'en escrire un livre tout entier, afin d'enseigner tout ce qui le concerne, & que l'on puisse toucher les quatre parties dessus avec beaucoup plus de grace & de charmes que sur l'Orgue.<sup>36</sup>

He adds that if the outer strings are tuned to B-natural, the ones inside are tuned to B-flat; and when the latter are tuned in B-natural, the former are tuned in B-flat; and that the harp is the most difficult instrument of all, because of the difficulty in building it, in tuning it, and in finding the string which begins the melody (*air*) or song. For [...] there is difficulty in discerning the strings of the three rows of the harp, because they are all similar to one another, and although some have wished to mark them by different colours, always a great deal of difficulty is found in managing the hand with a great speed and lightness.

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<sup>35</sup> Vincenzo Galilei, *Dialogue on ancient and modern music*, translation with introduction and notes by Claude V. Palisca, New Haven & London: Yale University Press 2003, 358.

<sup>36</sup> Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle* (see n. 6), 216.

Finally, he finds so many difficulties that he hopes to write a whole book on it so as to teach all that concerns it, and that one can play the four parts on it with much more grace and charm than on the organ.<sup>37</sup>

## 5. Images of Antiquity: the harp as a meta-historical instrument

Due to a vast knowledge of classical culture underpinning his theory, Giovan Battista Doni captured most profoundly the evocative potential of different instruments; indeed, he used them as scenic objects that contributed to the recreation of a constantly longed-for and idealised Antiquity. Thus, the harp and viol, rather than the irredeemably “modern” looking harpsichord, took their places onstage: according to Doni “their appearances have something simple and majestic, and they best of all represent Antiquity” (“che hanno non so che di semplice e di maestoso, e rappresentano meglio l’antichità”).<sup>38</sup>

Those who developed instruments also aimed at imitating what was thought to have been proper of the Ancient world. Thus, in a letter to Mersenne from 1636, Doni wishes for the reconstruction of an instrument with three harps (!) that could play in Dorian, Phrygian and Lydian *genera*:

Quant à Atenée je ne sçay qu’il face mention d’un instrument à trois harpes pour les trois genres, mais bien du Tripode de Pythagoras Zacynthien à trois harpes, l’une desquelles avoit le sisteme du ton Dorien, l’aute le Phrygien, et la troisieme le Lydien. Lequel instrument, si quelqu’un voudroit faire la despance, j’aurois bien le courage de l’entreprendre et parachever.<sup>39</sup>

As for Athenaeus, I do not think that he speaks of an instrument with three harps for the three *genera*, but of the Tripod of Pythagoras Zacynthus, containing three harps, one of which was tuned in the Dorian system, the other in the Phrygian, the third in the Lydian. If someone were willing to cover the expense, I would have the courage to undertake and complete its construction.

<sup>37</sup> Mersenne/Chapman, *Harmonie* (see n. 6), 275–276.

<sup>38</sup> Doni, *Musica scenica* (see n. 1), 114–115.

<sup>39</sup> Mersenne, *Correspondance* (see n. 8), 82. Letter dated May 1636.

It is, however, a well-known fact that the contextual frame of Ancient theatre was evoked when it corresponded with modern tastes, and was just as easily ignored when it did not fit. An example of this would be the exposition on the usage of theatre masks in *Il Corago*: the mask is one of the most clearly documented elements of ancient theatre, yet it was not compatible with the aesthetics of modern audiences, who preferred reading facial expressions rather than contemplating magnificently decorated masks. Representation of Antiquity seems to have been a shared pretence, a sort of illusion cultivated for a specific purpose. Instruments also participated in this game of appearances, and the harp was able to appear onstage both as a functional modern instrument and one with an ancient aura.

The harp's practical usage could therefore have called for a more evocative role, aside from what is indicated in written scores. Indeed, in certain cases, like the *ritornello* of the third Act of Monteverdi's *Orfeo*, the harp is separated from the other bass instruments in order to have its voice heard and to evoke the sound and likeness of mythical epic poets. The harp thus seems to have acquired an autonomous and authoritative place in Roman performances of the first half of the seventeenth century. In a passage from *Musica scenica*, Doni imagines a fitting conclusion to an action onstage: the plot interrupts, time is suspended, and there begins a beautiful harp *sonata* for gathering the listeners' attention – naturally as the Ancients would have done!<sup>40</sup>

## 6. Some remarks on performance and musical examples

Pietro Della Valle praised the contemporary performance practice of string instruments as a virtuosic and subtle “art”, in which the musician has to combine thorough knowledge of counterpoint with aesthetic sense for ornamentation:

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<sup>40</sup> Doni, *Musica scenica* (see n. 1), 4: “Pare anco, che ad imitazione degli Antichi si potesse dopo l’Azione far sentire una bella sonata di Arpa.” // “It also seems that after the Action, one could offer a beautiful harp sonata, imitating the Ancients.”

Però alcuni de' più eccellenti moderni, che alle sottigliezze de' contrappunti hanno saputo aggiunger ne' loro suoni mille grazie di trilli, di strascichi, di sincope, di tremoli, di finte di piano, e di forte, e di simili altre galanterie da quelli dell'età passata poco praticate, come hanno fatto nella presente il Kapsperger nella Tiorba, Orazio nell'Arpa, Michel'Angelo nel Violino, ed altri se ve ne sono di pari grido, VS. non mi potrà negare, che non solo non abbiano agguagliato, ma anche superato in queste parti tutti i Suonatori de' tempi passati.<sup>41</sup>

But some of the most excellent contemporaries, who have been able to add to the subtlety of counterpoint a thousand graces – trills, *strascichi*, syncopation, tremolos, feints of piano and forte, and other similar gallantries used little in past ages – as have Kapsberger for the theorbo, Orazio for the harp, Michel'Angelo for the violin and others if there are any of the same level; Your Lordship will not be able to deny that they not only have equalled, but also surpassed in these aspects the players of past times.

Agazzari specifically states that the harp has the function of both fundament and ornament:

L'arpa doppia, qual è stromento, che val per tutto, tanto ne' soprani come ne' bassi, devesi tutta ricercare, con dolci pizzicate, con risposte d'ambi le mani, con trilli etc.; insomma vuol buon contrappunto.<sup>42</sup>

The *arpa doppia* is an instrument such that it is usable everywhere, both in the treble as in the bass. Its potential must be searched for and put to good use by the player: with sweet plucking, with responses from both hands, with trills, etc.: in other words, it needs to be played with good counterpoint.

Below is a selection of detailed texts and musical examples regarding the use of the harp in figured bass, notably when playing alongside other instruments; these texts and examples are followed by brief considerations on intabulations of accompaniment parts for theorbo.

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<sup>41</sup> Pietro della Valle, *Della musica dell'età nostra che non è punto inferiore, anzi è migliore di quella passata*, in: Giovanni Battista Doni, *De' trattati* (see n. 1), 254.

<sup>42</sup> Agazzari, *Del sonare*, (see n. 20), 9.

## Athanasius Kircher

In the brief instrumental *sinfonie* for string instruments by the Roman composer Lelio Colista (1629–1680) and found in the *Musurgia universalis*, one can observe that the lowest voice of the composition is always assigned to the harp (Ex. 1). This voice, which is lower than that played by theorbos, often displays longer note values in comparison with the higher voices. In *Paradigma III, a5 Symphonia*, the voices of theorbos, lute, and cittern are diminished: this confirms Doni’s statement, according to which diminutions should be played by instruments “da manico” (i. e. plucked instruments with a neck).<sup>43</sup>

## Stefano Landi

An interesting example of the use of the harp in a large ensemble can be found in the “Sinfonia per Introduttione al Prologo. A tre Violini, Arpe, Lauti, Gravicembali, Tiorbe, Violoni & Lira” in Stefano Landi’s *Sant’Alessio*.<sup>44</sup> The foreword makes clear that doubling the violin parts was common practice for *basso continuo* instruments:

Stefano Landi a chi legge. [...] Le Sinfonie de’ Violini sono à trè voci, e quasi sempre fanno armonia perfetta da sè; mà se per accidente vi sono i Bassi sotto, i quali tal volta caminano con uno de’ Soprani ò in ottave, ò in quinte; e se bene ciò si sarebbe potuto fuggire, nondimeno, perche l’armonia camini con maggior numero, e vaghezza, si sono lasciati in questa forma; non negandosi, che sè si fussero composti à 3 Soprani, & un Basso sariano caminati con maggior regola, ma non con maggior leggiadria. E questa è stata la causa, che ne’ Chori pieni delle voci si sono fatte le Sinfonie de’ Violini in ottave delle parti.

Queste cose m’è parso bene accennare, per togliere a qualcuno la briga di notarle con osservazione particolare.

<sup>43</sup> Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, Vol. 1, Book 6, Part 2: *De musica instrumentali*, Rome: Francesco Corbelletti 1650, 484.

<sup>44</sup> Stefano Landi, *S. Alessio*, Rome: Paolo Masotti 1634, 1–7. See also Mara Galassi “The arpa a tre registri”, in: *Historische Harfen*, ed. Heidrun Rosenzweig, Basel: Eigenverlag der Musik-Akademie der Stadt Basel 1991, 60–79.

484 *Artis Magnae Diffoni, & Consoni*

Parad. II. à 6. Symphonia Cytharis, Thiorbis, Harpis, & Testudinibus appropriata

Paradigma III. à 5. Symphonia.

Ex. 1: A. Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, Vol. 1, Book VI, Part II: *De musica instrumentali* 1650, 484.

Stefano Landi to the reader. [...] The *Sinfonie de' Violini* are for three voices, which almost always create a perfect harmony by themselves; but if in certain circumstances the basses play underneath [these three voices], moving in parallel octaves or fifths with one of the Soprano lines; even if this could have been avoided – nonetheless to let the harmonies proceed in greater number and beauty – it has been left in this form. I am not denying that if they had been composed with three soprano lines and one bass the parts would have progressed with greater conformity to the rules but not necessarily with greater grace. And this was the reason why, in the full choruses, the *Sinfonie de' Violini* double the voices at the octave.

I have thought it useful to mention these things, in order to save someone the trouble in case they wanted to make specific observations about them.<sup>45</sup>

The *sinfonia* contains two separate bass lines: one lower, labelled “Basso Continuo per Gravicembali”, and a higher one for “harps, lutes, theorbos, and violoni”. Some conclusions can be drawn from observing the qualities of the two bass voices and the higher violin voices. First, the bass voice for harp, lute, theorbo, and violone often doubles the third violin part at the lower octave in order to strengthen the entrance of *soggetti* (bars 20–23), even in long diminished passages (bars 62–66). Second, in the Forte this same bass line presents diminutions and repeated notes (bars 31–32), while in the Piano it has rests (bars 33, 37–38). Third, it often presents diminutions, strengthening the melodic parts rhythmically (bars 52–53).

The two fundamental criteria used in this second bass line seem to be the doubling the material of the upper voices at the lower octave and the application of diminutions. Its second bass line's function is to clarify rhythmic impulses and to emphasise dynamics, in contrast to the simpler line of the harpsichords. The art of doubling parts seems to have been a ubiquitous practice which has today perhaps been lost:

Credo anche, che farebbe buon effetto, se oltre il concerto delle Viole, o del gravicembalo, vi fosse un Violino, o una Viola da Braccio, o un Cornetto, o un Flauto, o una Traversa, che si sentisse più degli altri suoni, e che facesse la principale consonanza con la voce che canta; massime quando il suono del concerto non potesse essere sentito dagli spettatori più remoti della scena, per la grandezza del

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<sup>45</sup> Landi, *S. Alessio* (see n. 44), [12].

luogo, o per altro: i quali forse goderebbono di quelle due voci col suono ammollito, che i più vicini con quel concento più pieno ma più crudo.<sup>46</sup>

I also think it would have a good effect if, in addition to the Viol consort or the *gravicembalo*, there were a violin, or a viola da braccio or a cornett, or a recorder, or a flute, which were more audible than the other instruments, and which could make the principal consonance with the singing voice; especially if the sound of the ensemble were not audible for the spectators furthest away from the stage due to the largeness of the space or for other reasons; they may perhaps enjoy those two voices with a weakened sound more than those sitting in the front rows, for whom it would be fuller but also more raw.

### **Giovanni Girolamo Kapsberger**

Giovanni Girolamo Kapsberger's *Libro Primo di Arie Passaggiate* (Rome 1612)<sup>47</sup> offers a compendium for the possibilities of accompaniment with theorbo that can also be applied to the harp. Kapsberger's theorbo *basso continuo* intabulations are of great mastery and refinement, and therefore of great interest. Here, the realisation of the bass part is executed with a continuous variation in numbers of voices: from five to two, according to the progression of the bass. At the end of the phrase and on the text's weak syllables we often find four-part chords, marked with arpeggio signs, almost always major, both in intermediary and final cadences (see Ex. 2, 6, 8, 9 in the Appendix of this article).

The upper voice is often doubled at the lower octave, at times also in the case of passing notes (Ex. 3 and 4). When the bass is written in longer note values it is generally harmonised with three-, four- or five-note chords coupled with bourdon strings (Ex. 2); when the bass is instead written in shorter note values, it is realised with one or two voices, often with the melody of the *cantus* doubled an octave lower, as in *Sconsolato mio core* in Kapsberger's *Libro primo*, p. 10, third and fourth staff.

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<sup>46</sup> Doni, *Musica scenica* (see n. 5) 114.

<sup>47</sup> *Libro Primo di Arie Passeggiate à una Voce Con l'Intavolatura del Chitarrone Del Sig. Gio: Girolamo Kapsberger, Nobile Alemano*, Rome: s. n. 1612.

The intabulated bass is sometimes moderately diminished with simple passing notes that fill out the bare bass and *cantus* structure (Ex. 9); often, the intabulated bass highlights the rhythmic gestures in the *cantus*, even doubling the *cantus*' syncopated figures (Ex. 5 and 10); the intabulated bass also shows frequent use of parallel thirds (Ex. 2 and 7). In some cases, the bass note is substituted by another note in the chord in order to make more notes available, and a chord is generally repeated on the dot of a bass note, with a chord change in certain cases (Ex. 6). It is worth highlighting that the intabulation does not present diminutions, even in cadences: this may either be in keeping with Cavalieri's cautionary statements or, on the contrary, it might mean that the embellishment of a cadence was left in the hands of the experienced player.

Dissonances, such as sevenths, are mainly coupled with simple triads that often resolve in six-four chords; in some cases, these dissonances are accompanied by a six-three chord (Ex. 10). Ninths are never doubled. The fourth in five-four chords is often not prepared (Ex. 3). Quick, embellished soprano lines are soberly accompanied by parsimoniously distributed chordal impulses (Ex. 8).<sup>48</sup>

In Kapsbergers intabulation, chords are underwritten by signs for ornaments and arpeggi; these embellishments are repeatedly noted in commentaries on the performances of famous harpists:

Et ora Oratio Michi suona di questa Arpa Doppia quasi miracolosamente, non solo nell'artificio, [...] e di più in un trillo difficile a qualsivoglia altro.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> "[...] it was determined that, while the actors sang, the instrumental impulses should be few and far between" ("[...] si determinò che poche rare e rimesse fossero le botte degli strumenti mentre i recitanti cantavano"), *Il Corago* (see n. 17), 44.

<sup>49</sup> Vincenzo Giustiniani, *Discorso sopra la musica de' suoi tempi* [1628], Lucca: Giusti, 1878 (in: A. Solerti *Le origini del melodramma*, Bologna: Arnaldo Forni 1983, 124). For a complete transcription and analysis of the *Libro primo di arie passeggiate* by Jeronimus Kapsperger see B. J. de Dixmude, *Mémoire présenté en vue de l'obtention du grade de licencié en Histoire de l'Art et Archéologie – Musicologie*, Université libre de Bruxelles, Année Académique 1980–1981.

And now Oratio Michi plays this *Arpa Doppia* almost miraculously, not only in his artistry [...] and furthermore with a trill more difficult than any other one could think of.

A similar way of realising figured bass on the theorbo is well documented in the intabulated accompaniments of vocal pieces found in Bellerofonte Castaldi's *Capricci a due Strumenti cioè Tiorba e Tiorbino* (Modena 1622).

I wish the above examples to be inspiring for a modern realisation of an early seventeenth-century Italian *basso continuo* on harp. By request of my dearest colleague Heidrun Rosenzweig, I will try to give a few succinct suggestions for the realisation of the *basso continuo*, to be applied *cum grano salis!*

When realising *basso continuo*, one should not always feel necessarily bound to loyally execute the written notes. Indeed, much will depend on the chosen tuning, the speed of the bass and the clarity and quality of sound produced by the instrument. The bass can be transposed up or down an octave according to one's needs, and it may also be altered, omitting certain notes or, contrarily, adding diminutions.

Furthermore, it will be useful to alternate the number of voices, ranging from only the bass in very quick passages, to many voices in recitatives and slow arias. In faster or *arioso* movements, if there is another instrument playing the bass it is possible to double the singer either at the unison or at the octave, even doubling syncopation of the vocal part if the text suggests it. It is desirable to add trills, ornaments and additional melodic parts, making full use of bourdon strings, according to the situation. One should be frugal and sober in recitatives, and should adapt to the "pathetic" style of singing, wisely highlighting the dynamic capabilities of the instrument. In large ensembles one should contribute to the composition's rhythmic clarity by adding diminutions to the bass line and doubling the melodic instruments' entries both at the unison and at the octave, using with ingenuity the written musical material already at hand.

In order to provide examples of harp accompaniments in pieces by Orazio Michi, we have produced a video clip, available on the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis' research web portal ([www.forschung.schola-cantorum-basiliensis.ch/de/forschung/basso-continuo-on-harp.html](http://www.forschung.schola-cantorum-basiliensis.ch/de/forschung/basso-continuo-on-harp.html)). The pieces performed are the *lamento* "Sola fra' suoi più cari" and the aria "Alma che ti sollievi a un

dolce lume"; the first can be musically described with G. B. Doni as effective and moving ("efficace e patetico", see quotation above and n. 29) while the second, with its fast passages of imitation between bass and melody, is well suited to a light and simple harp realisation. The performers are the soprano Maria Cristina Kiehr and the harpist Mara Galassi.

## Conclusions

We thus conclude our discussion on the harp's "aural image". The harp's grandeur, sonorous power, the malleability of its sound, its constant use for the evocation of Antiquity, and its wide range of tuning possibilities render the instrument "not without reason [...] the queen of all instruments" ("non senza causa si chiama regina dell'istrumenti").<sup>50</sup> The harp does not accompany the lamenting Eurydice, and does not always support shepherds and nymphs; instead it is given to Orpheus, creating a mythical status that would define the instrument in successive music history. Haendel lays the harp in the hands of Timoteo, David, the proud Israelite women, and Cleopatra, who in order to seduce Caesar, surrounds herself with exotic "ancient" instruments. The images associated with the harp are not of feminine delicacy and fragility, but of voluminosity, power, and regal dominion over the soundscape.

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50 *Il Corago* (see n. 17), 86.

## Appendix

### Ex. 2–10: From J. J. Kapsberger, *Libro primo di arie passeggiate* 1612

Oc - chi oc-chi so - li d'A-mo - re pie - tos' a' miei mar - ti - ri

Ex. 2: *Occhi soli d'amore*, p. 4, beginning.

di quel so - a - ve\_ar - do - re che vien da vo - stri gi -

The first system of the musical score consists of three staves. The top staff is a vocal line in treble clef with lyrics. The middle staff is the right-hand piano accompaniment in bass clef, and the bottom staff is the left-hand piano accompaniment in bass clef. The music is in a minor key and 4/4 time. The vocal line features a melodic phrase with a trill-like figure. The piano accompaniment provides harmonic support with chords and moving lines.

- ri Hor che vol - ge - te\_al tro - ve\_i vo - stri sguar - di

The second system of the musical score continues the piece. It also consists of three staves: vocal line, right-hand piano accompaniment, and left-hand piano accompaniment. The vocal line has a more active melodic line with some grace notes. The piano accompaniment continues with harmonic accompaniment, including some arpeggiated figures in the right hand.

Ex. 3: *Occhi soli d'amore*, p. 4, second stave.

Già mi man - ca il vi - go - re

Ex. 4: *Occhi soli d'amore*, p. 4, fourth stave.

mi-ra - te ec-co ch'io mo - ro mi-ra - te ec-co ch'io mo - ro

Ex. 5: *Occhi soli d'amore*, p. 5, second and third stave.

Ul - ti - mi miei so - spi - ri

Ex. 6: *Ultimi miei sospiri*, p. 8, first bar.

Dal tuo Fe - del ne cac - ci em - pio mar - ti - re

This musical example shows a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line is in a single staff with lyrics: "Dal tuo Fe - del ne cac - ci em - pio mar - ti - re". The piano accompaniment consists of two staves, with the right hand playing chords and the left hand playing a bass line. The key signature has one flat (B-flat).

Ex. 7: *Ultimi miei sospiri*, p. 8, third stave.

ch'io non vor - rò

ecco

ecco

mo - - - ri - re.

This musical example shows the final bars of a piece. It includes a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line has lyrics: "ch'io non vor - rò", "ecco", "ecco", and "mo - - - ri - re.". The piano accompaniment consists of two staves. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The piece ends with a double bar line.

Ex. 8: *Ultimi miei sospiri*, p. 8, last bars.

A che fug - gir da me per dar - - -

- - - mi pe - ne

Ex. 9: *Se la mia vita sete*, p. 9, third and fourth stave.

el - la non par che'l cre - da e si se'l ve - de e si se'l ve - de

Ex. 10: *Lasso ch'io ardo*, p. 11, fourth stave.

# Die vergessene Perfektion

## Bemerkungen zur Spielpraxis auf historischen Harfen

Heidrun Rosenzweig

Orazio Michi (1595 ca.–1641) war einer der wichtigsten Harfenvirtuosen des 17. Jahrhunderts.<sup>1</sup> Für sein Hauptinstrument,<sup>2</sup> die italienische dreireihige Harfe, ist jedoch kein einziges Solowerk bekannt; stattdessen sind etwa 100 Kompositionen für eine oder zwei Vokalstimmen und Basso continuo überliefert.<sup>3</sup> Informationen über seine Spielweise können daher nur indirekt erlangt werden. Ein Beispiel findet sich bei seinem Zeitgenossen Vincenzo Giustiniani, der unter anderem Michis besondere Fertigkeiten des Dämpfens und Trillerns auf der Harfe pries:

Heutzutage spielt Orazio Michi diese Arpa Doppia auf fast wundersame Art und Weise, nicht nur mit künstlerischem Geschick, sondern auch mit der besonderen Art und Weise wie er den Klang der Saiten abdämpft, der, würden sie weiterklingen, in Dissonanz und Kakophonie münden würde, und des weiteren [ist bewundernswert] wie er von einem schwierigen Triller in den nächsten wechselt.<sup>4</sup>

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1 Alberto Cametti, «Orazio Michi dell'Arpa virtuoso e compositore di musica della prima metà del Seicento», in: *Rivista musicale italiana* 21 (1914), 255–257; Dinko Fabris, «The harp in Naples 1500–1700», in: Heidrun Rosenzweig (Hg.): *Historische Harfen. Beiträge zur Theorie und Praxis historischer Harfen*, Dornach: Musik-Akademie der Stadt Basel 1991, 52; Mara Galassi, «Arpa a tre registri in seventeenth-century Rome», in: ebd., 60–79; sowie in diesem Band Arnaldo Morelli, «Orazio Michi between public and private: spiritual music, devotional practices, and their contexts» und Alexandra Ziane, «Orazio Michi – Contemporary Testimonials, Documents, and Work».

2 Neben den Harfen ist in seinem Nachlass auch eine Chitarrone und ein Cembalo zu finden, s. Cametti, «Orazio Michi» (wie Anm. 1), 257.

3 Siehe Alexandra Ziane, «List of works by Orazio Michi» in diesem Band.

4 «Et ora Orazio Mihi [sic] suona di questa Arpa Doppia quasi miracolosamente, non solo nell'artificio, ma in un modo particolare di smorzare il suono delle corde, il quale se continuasse cagionerebbe dissonanza e cacofonia, e di più in un trillo difficile [passa] a

Einige spärliche konkrete Hinweise zur Spieltechnik der dreireihigen italienischen Harfe im Vergleich mit der in Spanien verbreiteten kreuzsaitigen *arpa de dos órdenes*, entnehmen wir zwei 1634 und 1653 verfassten Traktaten des Harfenisten, Instrumentenbauers, Musiktheoretikers und Juristen Bartolomeo Giovenardi (1600 ca.–1668). Nach eigenen Angaben war Giovenardi ebenso wie Orazio Michi in Rom Schüler des Komponisten und Kapellmeisters Giovanni Bernardino Nanino.<sup>5</sup> Nach seinen Studien wirkte Giovenardi am spanischen Hof in Madrid, unter anderem als Harfenist an der Real Capilla. 1634 verfasste er auf Spanisch und Italienisch das *Tratado de la Mussica, welches* er dem spanischen König Felipe IV. widmete.<sup>6</sup> Darin finden sich einige aufschlussreiche Anmerkungen zum Spiel auf der dreireihigen Harfe, die im Folgenden paraphrasiert seien:

Die Harfe sei das schwierigste Instrument zum Studium und Ausführen eines klaren Spiels. Die Schwierigkeit bestehe darin, eine Reinheit im Klang und eine Gleichheit im Timbre des Anzupfens zu erreichen. Einen sauberen Klang erreiche man durch das Dämpfen des Nachklangs der gespielten Saite: Ein Finger zupft sie an, mit einem anderen wird die erzeugte Resonanz

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qual si voglia altro.» Vincenzo Giustiniani: «Discorso sopra la musica de' suoi tempi» (1628), in: *Le origini del melodramma. Testimonianze dei contemporanei raccolte*, Angelo Solerti (Hg.), Turin 1903, reprint Hildesheim und New York: G. Olms 1969, 98–128: 110.

<sup>5</sup> «Pero con sus estudios nos dejó tales siendas [sendas], por donde con la multiplicación del tercer orden añadido por Bernardino Nanino nuestro famosísimo maestro de la plática y gusto mússico, pudimos llegar Horacio napolitano y yo a restituir al mundo en nuestro siglo la ya olvidada perfección y execución del toque de nuestra arpa, o cítara.» Bartolomeo Giovenardi, «Nueva ciencia, demostración y execución de la perfecta theórica y método de la suspensión armónica executada en el instrumento mússico mathemático que Jovenardi hizo fabricar y traer de Roma à España (1653) Edición anotada», in: María Sanhuesa Fonseca, *El doctor Bartolomeo Giovenardi (ca. 1600–1668): teórico musical entre Italia y España*, Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas 2009, 153–154.

<sup>6</sup> Bartholomé Jobernardi (Bartolomeo Giovenardi), *Tratado de la Mussica* (1634), Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, ms. 8931. Digitalisat verfügbar unter: [bdh.bne.es/bnearch/detalle/bdh0000077606](http://bdh.bne.es/bnearch/detalle/bdh0000077606) (9.3.2019). Vgl. auch die Edition der italienischen Fassung von Mara Galassi, «Dell'arpa a tre registri ovvero sia il manifesto di Bartolomeo Giovenardi», in: *Quaderni della Scuola Civica di Quartu Sant' Elena, Settore Musica Antica* 2 (1999), 77–91.

gestoppt. Um diese Fertigkeit zu meistern brauche es Geduld. Wenn man den Klang nicht abdämpfen würde, wäre er unsauber und mit Geräuschen versetzt.<sup>7</sup> Das Dämpfen der schwingenden Saite müsse vom Spieler und nicht mittels des Instruments durchgeführt werden. So brauchen bei schnellen Passagen alle anderen Musiker auf ihren Instrumenten nur 32 Mal pro Takt ihre Hände bzw. Finger zu bewegen (also einmal pro 32tel-Note), während auf der Harfe die doppelte Geschwindigkeit von 64 Bewegungen nötig ist (eine fürs Zupfen, eine fürs Dämpfen). Wer die Wirkung dieser Spielweise gehört habe, der wisse, dass sich dieser Aufwand lohnt.<sup>8</sup>

Weitere Informationen zur Spielweise gibt Giovenardi, wo er auf das häufige Reißen der Saiten zu sprechen kommt, das durch zwei Faktoren verursacht werde: Erstens dadurch, dass die Saiten bis zur Reißgrenze gespannt werden müssen und zweitens wegen der kunstvollen Zupftechnik, die «ein Zupfen mit der Nagelkante allein, zwischen Nagel und Finger sowie mit der Fingerkuppe allein umfasst. So geschieht es zwangsläufig, dass die 15 bis 20 Saiten, die am häufigsten gezupft worden sind, schon nach einer Stunde spielen ausgewechselt werden müssen.»<sup>9</sup>

Giovenardis Angaben dokumentieren indirekt eine kunstvolle Spielweise durch spezifische Anzupf- und Dämpftechniken. Auch diese beiden Faktoren waren es wohl, die Michis Spiel «wundersam» werden ließen, oder – wie Giovenardi es 1653 in seiner *Nueva ciencia* formulierte:

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7 Vgl. die italienische Übertragung von Galassi, ebd., 85–87.

8 «[...] si por exemplo a qualquiera otro instrumentista vendrá a ser en su instrumento con el movimiento de las manos de 32 números el compás, en esto será menester que la mano taña con doblada velocidad en el mesmo tiempo 64. Es bien verdad que al juicio de quien oye el efecto, está bien empleado el trabajo.» in: Sanhuesa, *Bartolomeo Giovenardi* (wie Anm. 5), 136. Vgl. auch Galassi, «Dell'arpa» (wie Anm. 6), 86.

9 «[...] mas aún artificiosamente tocarlas con el hilo de las uñas, entre las mismas uñas y la carne de los dedos, de modo que tañéndose en ellas sólo una hora es fuerza luego – sin las que por si mismas se rompen– mudar quince o veinte de ellas, que han sido más frequentadas del tocar de los dedos.» S. Sanhuesa, *Bartolomeo Giovenardi* (wie Anm. 5), 137.

Horacio, aus Neapel und mir ist es gelungen in unserem Jahrhundert für die Welt die vergessene Perfektion und Ausübung des Spiels auf unserer Harfe oder *cítara* wiederherzustellen.<sup>10</sup>

Im Vergleich mit den Lauten- und Tasteninstrumenten sind für die historischen Harfen bis zur Popularisierung der Pedalharfen in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts nur wenige Solo- oder Ensemblestücke überliefert. Angesichts dieses Mangels an instrumentenspezifischem Repertoire sind wir heute möglicherweise in einer ähnlichen Lage wie es Giovenardi damals formulierte. Es gilt, die als perfekt gerühmte vergessene Spielpraxis mittels relevanter harfenspezifischer Quellen wieder zu erneuern.

Im Folgenden werden Auszüge aus historischen Quellen aus verschiedenen Ländern zusammengetragen. Sie sollen Aufschluss geben über fünf exemplarische Aspekte der Spielpraxis (Grundstimmung, Handhaltung, Akkordbrechungen und Arpeggios, Halbtonerzeugung, Fingersatz und Dämpfung) auf ein- und mehrreihigen Harfen vor der Etablierung der Pedalharfen. Zum einfacheren Nachschlagen und Vergleichen der Informationen zum Fingersatz und zur Dämpfung sowie zur Halbtonerzeugung wurden ausgewählte Primärquellen des 16.–18. Jahrhunderts tabellarisch zusammengetragen (s. Tabelle 1 und 2). Möge sich jeder Interessierte darauf einlassen, die verschiedenen Ansätze auszuprobieren und so mit eigenen Interpretationen die Spielweise auf den historischen Harfen zu bereichern.

## **Grundstimmung von Harfen**

### **Einreihige Instrumente**

Die Grundstimmung auf der Harfe war nicht festgelegt. Sie hatte sich nach der zu spielenden Tonart des Stückes zu richten, wobei einzelne Töne in verschiedenen Oktaven individuell umgestimmt werden konnten. Der Musik-

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<sup>10</sup> «[...] llegar Horacio [Michi] napolitano y yo [Jobernardi] a restituir al mundo en nuestro siglo la ya olvidada perfección y execución del toque de nuestra arpa, o cítara.» Giovenardi, *Nueva ciencia*, zitiert nach Sanhuesa, *Bartolomeo Giovenardi* (wie Anm. 5), 137.

theoretiker Heinrich Glarean<sup>11</sup> geht von einer diatonisch gestimmten Harfe in F aus. Martin Agricola<sup>12</sup> zeigt in seiner Abbildung eine Harfe mit der Stimmungsoption B oder H, also einer wahlweisen F- oder C-Grundstimmung. Luis Venega de Henestrosa notiert in der Harfenabbildung die Optionen H/B und E/ES, was für eine variable Grundstimmung von C, F oder B steht.<sup>13</sup> Marin Mersenne ist 1636 der einzige Autor, welcher auf dem als *Cithara Nova et Antiqua* bezeichneten einreihigen Instrument eine veränderte Saitenanordnung abbildet. Seine 24-saitige *harpe simple* hat einen Ambitus von G-g'', wobei in der untersten Oktave G, A, H notiert ist, die zwei weiteren Oktaven haben jeweils eine eigene Saite für B und H innerhalb der Oktave und erhöhen den Tonvorrat auf 8 Töne pro Oktave.<sup>14</sup>

Das erste explizit für Harfe notierte Musikstück auf dem europäischen Kontinent stammt aus dem Jahr 1546: Alonso Mudarra druckt im Anhang zu seinem dritten Buch für Vihuela ein kurzes Tiento in einer aus 14 Linien und Zwischenräumen bestehenden Tabulatur für Harfe oder Orgel und versieht es mit einigen Anmerkungen.<sup>15</sup> Die Linien und Zwischenräume repräsentieren die Saiten der Harfe. Das Tiento ist im 6. Ton notiert, was auf einer einreihigen Harfe einer F-Grundstimmung entspricht. Der notierte Kadenzton *h* kann mittels Abdrücken erzeugt werden.

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11 Heinrich Glarean, *Dodekachordon*, Basel: Heinrich Petri 1547, Buch I, Kapitel 20; vgl. auch Heidrun Rosenzweig, «Die 'gemeine Harff' im Spiegel musiktheoretischer Quellen des 16. Und beginnenden 17. Jahrhunderts», in: Boje E. Hans Schmuhl u. a. (Hgg.), *Musikalische Aufführungspraxis in nationalen Dialogen des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Teil 2: *Musikinstrumentenbau-Zentren im 16. Jahrhundert*, 26. Musikinstrumentenbau-Symposium Michaelstein, 6.–8. Mai 2005, Augsburg: Wißner 2007 (Michaelsteiner Konferenzberichte 72), 251–272: 254.

12 Martin Agricola, *Musica Instrumentalis deutsch*, Wittenberg: Georg Rhaw 1529, 12. Kapitel, 54.

13 Luis Venegas de Henestrosa, *Libro de cifra nueva para tecla, harpa, y vihuela*, Alcalá de Henares: Juan de Brocar 1557, Primer Libro, fol. 7r.

14 Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle contenant la théorie et la pratique de la musique*, Paris 1636, Reprint, Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique 1965, Buch 3, Kap. 24, fol. 170v.

15 Alonso Mudarra, *Tres libros de música en cifras para vihuela* [...], Sevilla: Juan de León 1546, 3. Buch, Cifras para harpa y organo, fol. [112r]; s. auch Biblioteca Digital Hispanica: [bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000108275&page=1](http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000108275&page=1), Scan 227 (20.3.2019).

Lucas Ruiz de Ribayaz nennt zwei mögliche Stimmungen für die *arpa de una orden*: mit H (C-Stimmung) oder mit B (F-Stimmung).<sup>16</sup> Nach der Beschreibung wie man Halbtöne auf den einreihigen Harfen erzeugt, fügt er hinzu, man könne alles, was für Harfe (= *arpa de dos órdenes*) in Tabulatur geschrieben sei, auch auf der einreihigen Harfe anwenden.

Diego Fernandez de Huete, der in seinem *Compendio numeroso* die ein- und zweireihige Harfe berücksichtigt, geht generell von einer C-Stimmung für einreihige Harfen aus. Für die *arpa de dos órdenes* sind alle Stücke seines Werkes spielbar, auf der einreihigen Harfe können mit einigen Einschränkungen die meisten Stücke auch gespielt werden. Die Praxis des Umstimmens einzelner Töne in bestimmten Oktaven muss so gängig gewesen sein, dass Huete es bereits in dem ersten Stück seiner Sammlung anwendet: «Pascalle: *f'* mittels *d'* erhöhen.»<sup>17</sup> Die ein-gestrichene Oktave enthält somit den Ton *fis'* während in den anderen Oktaven das F bleibt. Im Inhaltsverzeichnis bezeichnet er für jedes Stück genauestens in welcher Oktave ein Ton umgestimmt werden muss und mit welchem Ton diese Umstimmung zu geschehen hat. Drei exemplarische Beispiele seien hier erwähnt:

«Bacas in C-Stimmung, man erhöht *f'* mittels *d'* und *g'* mittels *e'*»; «Canción Italiana für die zweite Reihe, ist für die zweireihige Harfe», das heißt dieses Stück ist ausschließlich für die zweireihige Harfe spielbar. «Canción Alemana, in C-Stimmung, man erniedrigt *b* mittels *f'* und *b'* mittels *f''*. Dieses Stück benötigt ein *b* und ein *b'* fest eingestimmt während in den zwei anderen Oktaven H und *h''* zur Verfügung stehen.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Lucas Ruiz de Ribayaz, *Luz y Norte Musical para caminar por las cifras de la guitarra española y arpa* [...], Madrid: Melchor Alvarez 1677, 64; s. auch Biblioteca Digital Hispanica: bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000160002&page=1 (15.2.2019).

<sup>17</sup> Diego Fernandez de Huete, *Compendio Numeroso de Zifras Armonicas, con theorica, y practica, para harpa de vna orden, de dos ordenes, y de organo*, Madrid: Imprenta de Musica 1702, Musikteil, 2; s. auch Biblioteca Digital Hispanica: hbdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000075392&page=1 (20.3.2019).

<sup>18</sup> Huete, ebd.: Indice por Abecedario: «Bacas templada por el primer bordon, se sube el vno con gran punto con seis llano, y el dos con punto con siete llano»; «Canción Italiana por el segundo Bordon, es para dos ordenes»; «Canción Alemana, templada por primer Bordon, se baxa el quatro con rasgo, con el vno llano, y el quatro con punto, con el vno con coma.»

## Mehrreihige Instrumente

Die von Vincenzo Galilei 1581 aufgezeichnete Stimmung der zweireihigen Harfe, *arpa à due ordini*, ist eine F-Stimmung in der äußeren Reihe, jeweils doppelten Töne D und A und einem Ambitus von  $C'$  bis  $d'''$ .<sup>19</sup>

Die spanische *arpa de dos órdenes* ist aufgrund der Saitenkreuzung immer in einer C-Stimmung in der ersten Reihe, mit fünf zusätzlichen Saiten (Cis, Es, Fis, Gis, B) pro Oktave in der zweiten Reihe.<sup>20</sup>

Johann Philipp Eisel nennt 1738 in der seinem Traktat beigefügten Abbildung der zweireihigen deutsche *Davidsharfe* ebenfalls eine C-Stimmung in den Außenreihen mit jeweils fünf zusätzlichen Saiten (Cis, Dis, Fis, Gis, B) und einem Ambitus von  $G'$  bis  $e'''$  an.<sup>21</sup>

Die in Wales bis weit ins 19. Jahrhundert populäre *triple harp* wird von Edward Jones mit einem Ambitus von  $G'$  bis  $a'''$  beschreiben und flexibel in den Außenreihen in der jeweils benötigten Tonart gestimmt: «The two outside rows are the diatonic, which are both tuned in unisons, and in any key that the performer means to play in.»<sup>22</sup>

## Handhaltung

Hinsichtlich der Handhaltung finden sich in den historischen Quellen nur wenig unterschiedliche Angaben für ein- oder mehrreihige Harfen. Allen gemeinsam ist das Augenmerk auf praktische Aspekte wie Halbtonerzeugung

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19 Vincenzo Galilei, *Dialogo della musica antica et della moderna*, Florenz: Giorgio Marescotti 1581, 144. Die Außenreihe ist diatonisch und reicht für die linke Hand im Bass von  $C-d'$ , von  $d'-d'''$  ist die äussere Reihe für die rechte Hand diatonisch.

20 Ribayaz, *Luz y norte* (wie Anm. 16) mit einem Ambitus von  $C'-a''$ , mit B als erster Saite der zweiten Reihe und Huete, *Compendio numeroso* (wie Anm. 17), 1, mit einem Ambitus von  $C'-c'''$  und Fis als erster Saite der zweiten Reihe.

21 Johann Philipp Eisel, *Musicus autodidaktos oder der sich selbst informierende Musicus* [...], Erfurt: Johann Michael Funcke 1738, die Bildtafel gehört zu Section II, Kapitel 12: Von der Davids=Harffe, 105–108.

22 Edward Jones, *Musical and poetical relicks of the Welsh bards*, London: Printed for the author 1794, 104.

und ihre Wirkung auf den Klang, der spielt man nahe des Resonanzkörpers oder des Harfenhalses eher obertonärmer, klarer und durchdringender wird. Huete bemerkt zum Spiel auf der einreihigen Harfe:

[...] auf der einreihigen Harfe muss man beachten, dass die Hände hoch, in der Nähe des Harfenhalses spielen, weil es so einfacher ist die Halbtöne zu machen.<sup>23</sup>

Huete möchte beide Hände hoch platzieren, obgleich nur die linke Hand die Halbtöne abgreifen muss.

Diese hohe Platzierung beider Hände wird noch im 18. Jahrhundert für die deutschen einreihigen Harfen mit oder ohne Häkchen bestätigt, z. B. in Backofens *Anleitung zum Harfenspiel*: Die linke Hand spielt bei der Hakenharfe oben, um den Haken nahe zu sein, während die rechte Hand bei der Hakenharfe (und der Pedalarharfe) auf dem Resonanzkörper aufliegt. Zur dadurch erzeugten Klangwirkung äußert er sich ebenfalls:

Bey dem *piano* spielt sie [die Hand] mehr in der Mitte der Saiten, bey dem *forte* senkt sie sich aber etwas mehr den Knöpfen zu, weil da die Saiten nicht so weich sind, und folglich stärker angegriffen werden können.<sup>24</sup>

Für die zweireihige *arpa de dos ordenes* schreiben Ribayaz wie Huete eine hohe Handposition nahe des Harfenhalses vor:

[...] um Harfe zu spielen und sich nicht mit der zweiten Saitenreihe zu irren, spielt man mit der rechten Hand am Harfenhals klebend und mit der linken Hand etwa ein Drittel vom Harfenhals entfernt.<sup>25</sup>

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23 Huete, *Compendio numeroso* (wie Anm. 17), Buch 1, Kap. 2, 4: «[...] y en el Harpa de vna orden, se ha de observar, el que las manos anden altas cerca de la cabeça del Harpa porque con esso es mas facil para hazer los sustenidos.»

24 Johann Georg Heinrich Backofen, *Anleitung zum Harfenspiel mit eingestreuten Bemerkungen über den Bau der Harfe*, Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel 1801, 14.

25 Ribayaz, *Luz y norte* (wie Anm. 16), Kap. 9, 33 : «Adviertase, que para tañer el Arpa, y no tropezar con la segunda orden, se tañe con la mano derecha pegada a la cabeça, y con la izquierda, a un trecho como de una tercia distante a la cabeza.» Sowie Huete, op.cit., Kap. 2, 5: «[...] y en las dos ordenes se ha de poner la mano derecha alta, y la izquierda baxa, para que no se encuentren los dedos con las cuerdas de la segunda orden [...]».

## Akkordbrechungen und Arpeggios

Töne nacheinander als rhythmische Akkordbrechung oder in verschiedenen Tempi als Arpeggios auszuführen sind die besonderen Stilmittel aller Harfen. Welche Angaben liefern die historischen Quellen zur Art wie die Töne nacheinander auf der Harfe zu erklingen hatten?

Am besten bekannt ist das Arpeggio für *arpa doppia* am Anfang des Ritornells im dritten Akt von Monteverdis *Orfeo* (Beispiel 1), das 1607 in Mantua uraufgeführt wurde mit Lucrezia Urbani an der *arpa doppia*.<sup>26</sup> Das Arpeggio erstreckt sich von oben nach unten führend über drei Oktaven von  $g''$  bis  $G'$  im Bass, drei Töne mehr in den Bässen als in Vincenzo Galileis *Dialogo* von 1581 beschrieben.

In der 1615 veröffentlichten Toccata für Harfe von Giovanni Maria Trabaci befindet sich eine Akkordbrechung über den gesamten Ambitus der Harfe  $d'''$  bis  $G'$  ebenfalls von oben nach unten, zuerst mit der rechten Hand, dann mit der linken (Beispiel 2).<sup>27</sup> Nach Art der Setzung und auf einer zweireihigen Harfe gespielt ist anzunehmen, dass die rechte Hand das achttönige rhythmische Arpeggio abwärts spielt und die linke Hand das Arpeggio weiterführt. Eine Fingersetzung von jeweils vier Fingern bietet sich an. Dieses Beispiel zeigt ausgeschrieben, wie mit einem kunstvollen Triller die Energie zu den Spitzentönen gebracht wird und dann mit dynamischen und agogischen Mitteln das Arpeggio zu den tiefen Tönen immer langsamer wird.

Schon mehr als sechzig Jahre früher leitete der Spanier Alonso Mudarra seine *Fantasia que contrahaze la manera de Ludovico*, welche die Spielweise des berühmten neapolitanischen Harfenspielers Ludovico imitieren sollte, ebenfalls mit kurzen Akkordbrechungen ein, wobei der letzte Ton auf der Harfe eine Oktave tiefer erklingen könnte (Beispiel 3).<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Claudio Monteverdi, *L'Orfeo, Favola in musica*, Venedig: Ricciardo Amadino 1609, 61.

<sup>27</sup> Giovanni Maria Trabaci, *Il secondo libro de ricercate, & altri varij capricci*, Neapel, 1615, «Toccata seconda, & Ligature per l'Arpa à 4», 85–87.

<sup>28</sup> Alonso Mudarra, *Fantasia que contrahaze la harpa en la manera de Ludovico*, in: ders., *Tres libros de música* (wie Anm. 15), Buch 1, fol. 13r–14v; s. auch Dinko Fabris, «The harp in Naples 1500–1700», in: Heidrun Rosenzweig (Hg.), *Historische Harfen. Bei-*





Beispiel 4: Huete, *Compendio numeroso* 1702, Notenteil, S. 2: *Trinado* / Akkordtriller.



Beispiel 5: Huete, *Compendio numeroso*, 1702, Notenteil, S. 2: Einfaches Arpeggio; doppeltes Arpeggio; langes Arpeggio.

hervorbringen kann. Im Bass werden die Akkorde bei Huete nicht gebrochen. Er dient als Intervall- oder Harmonie-Stütze und erklingt immer auf dem Schlag. Huete zählt das *Arpeado* zu den Ornamenten. Dem *Arpeado* oder Arpeggio nahe stehend ist der mit einem Triller-Kreuz (+) über einem Akkord notierte *trinado* (Beispiel 4).<sup>29</sup> Je nach Akkordlage Quint-, kleine Sext- oder große Sext-Triller genannt, wird er folgenderweise ausgeführt: Basstöne und höchster Ton werden zusammen angezupft, gefolgt von einem dreitönigen Arpeggio aufwärts, was in der rechten Hand eine viertönige Akkordbrechung ergibt. Man solle diese Töne so schnell ausführen, als ob es ein Schlag wäre.<sup>30</sup> In Huetes Musikstücken findet man den Akkordtriller nicht häufig notiert. Er steht auf länger dauernden Akkorden, bei 'Ruhemomenten' nach Tonleiterketten in der Mitte oder vor einer Reprise. Auf Anfangsakkorden steht er am wenigsten.

Für die verschiedenen Arpeggios der rechten Hand verwendet Huete keine besondere Notationsweise (Beispiel 5). Basstöne und oberster Akkordton erklingen auch hier gemeinsam und die Brechung erfolgt im Nachschlag. Das «einfache *arpeado*» bricht den Akkord von oben nach unten und kann in den drei Grundstellungen ausgeführt werden. Beim doppelten Arpeggio

<sup>29</sup> Huete, *Compendio numeroso* (wie Anm. 17), Kap. 5, 8–10 und Musikteil, 2.

<sup>30</sup> «[...] se executa cada vno tan veloz, como si fuera vn golpe.» Ebd., Kap. 5, 9 und 2.

steigt man nach der Brechung wieder hinauf um dann zum zweiten Mal abzustiegen. Das lange Arpeggio, *arpeado largo*, wird in einer dreifachen Aufwärtsbewegung gespielt und entspricht einem wiederholten Quinttriller. Der Zweck des *arpeados* liegt auf der Hand, der Klang soll durch wiederholtes Anzupfen hörbar und im Ausdruck und Lautstärke modellierbar bleiben. Ob die jeweils dreistimmigen Arpeggios der rechten Hand bei jedem Akkord zum Einsatz gelangen sollen, ist dem Text nicht zu entnehmen. Das einfache *arpeado* wird ausgeführt als ob jemand die Saiten «umschmeichle», was eine rhythmisch freiere und variabelere Ausführungsweise nahelegt als der schnelle fast auf den Schlag ausgeführte Quinttriller. Das doppelte und lange *Arpeado* soll solange andauern, wie der Takt es benötige.<sup>31</sup>

### Transkriptionen des *rasgado*-Stils der Barockgitarre auf die Harfe

Erwähnenswert und einzigartig ist der Versuch der Nachahmung eines Arpeggio-Effektes im akkordlichen *rasgado*-Stil auf der Harfe, der sich 1677 bei Ribayaz findet.<sup>32</sup> Er beschreibt wie man diese Spielweise von der Gitarre auf die Harfe übertragen kann. Dazu benutzt er ein System von 13 Einzelakkorden für die Gitarre mit den Ziffern 1–9, den Bezeichnungen + (*cruzado*), X, P[atilla] und *uno bemolado* (1b) – ein System, welches bereits 1626 von Luis de Briçeno verwendet wurde.<sup>33</sup> Diese Akkorde gilt es zu memorieren.

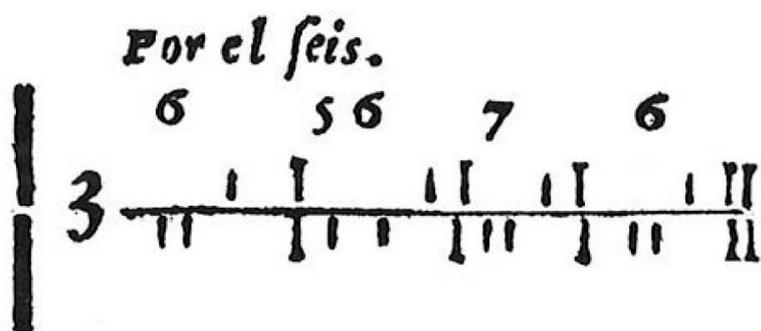
Die unteren Striche auf der horizontalen Linie werden auf der Barockgitarre von oben nach unten, die oberen Striche von unten nach oben gespielt (Beispiel 6).<sup>34</sup> Ein Spielen ‘nach unten’ bedeutet auf der Barockgitarre eine Akkordbrechung von den tiefen Tönen zu den hohen Tönen. Auf der Harfe

31 «[...] y el harpeado sencillo, como quien alaga las cuerdas, y el arpeado doble, y el largo, según requiera el compàs.» Ebd., Kapitel 5, 10 und Musikteil, 2.

32 Ribayaz, *Luz y norte* (wie Anm. 16), 36.

33 Luis de Briçeno, *Metodo mui facilissimo para aprender a tañer la guitarra a lo español*, Paris: Pierre Ballard 1626.

34 Ribayaz, *Luz y norte* (wie Anm. 16), 3: «[...] y las que se proceden à la linea àcia abaxo son golpes que se dan en las cuerdas de la Guitarra àcia abaxo, y las que nacen de la linea que miran arriba, golpes que se dan en las cuerdas con la mano derecha àzia arriba [...]».



Beispiel 6: Ribayaz, *Luz y Norte musical*, 1677, 14: *Passacalle por el seis*, *rasgado*-Stil.

jedoch verhält es sich genau umgekehrt: die Akkordbrechung ‘nach unten’ bedeutet hier von den hohen zu den tiefen Tönen zu arpeggieren. Wie die Akkorde auf der Harfe gespielt werden sollen, darüber schreibt Ribayaz im Kapitel wie man im Vierer- oder Dreiertakt spielt: betonte Schläge, welche man auf der Harfe als vollen Akkord mit beiden Händen spielt, entsprechen auf der Gitarre der Bewegung nach unten, die unbetonten Schläge, seien sie mit drei, zwei oder einer Saite [der rechten Hand] gespielt nennt man *respuestas*, «Erwiderungen» und sie entsprechen der Bewegung von unten nach oben.<sup>35</sup> Legt man das *arpeado*-Spiel von Huete zu Grunde, müsste sich die Akkordbrechung lediglich auf den Akkord der rechten Hand beziehen, die beim Strich nach unten ein einfaches *arpeado* in Abwärtsrichtung spielt, unterstützt von der auf den Schlag spielenden und den Akkord gegebenenfalls ausfüllenden linken Hand. Beim Strich nach oben kann entweder ein Ton, zwei Töne oder der ganze Akkord der rechten Hand gezupft werden.

Während der Gitarre beim *rasgado* nur ein Akkordgriff zugeordnet wird, notiert Ribayaz drei Lagen für die rechte Hand der Harfe (Beispiel 7). Die linke Hand verdoppelt entweder die Oktave, oder spielt eine Quinte oder Sexte. Bei Bedarf kann die linke Hand auch den gesamten dreistimmigen Füllgriff spielen: ein Oktav-Quint Klang, ein Dreiklang oder ein Sextakkord.

<sup>35</sup> Ebd., Kap. 16, 63: «Para tañer con el Arpa à compás, supuesto que se sabe que los puntos que se forman con ambas manos, son llenos, y los que se dan con cualquiera dellas deporsi, sea en tres cuerdas, sea en dos, ò sea en vna, se llaman respuestas: se advierte, que los puntos llenos en el Arpa, conuienen con los golpes que se dàn en la Guitarra àzia abaxo, y las respuestas, con las que se dàn àzia arriba.»

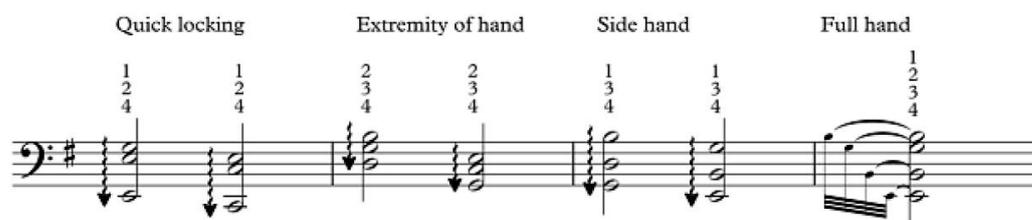
The musical score is written for harp in a single system with two staves (treble and bass clef). It consists of 13 numbered measures. Measure 1 is marked with a '+' sign. Measures 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 are numbered. Measure 8 is marked with '8'. Measure 9 is marked with '9'. Measure 10 is marked with 'X'. Measure 11 is marked with 'P[atilla]'. Measure 12 is marked with '[Uno Bemolado]'. Measure 13 is marked with '13'. The notation includes various chords and intervals, with some notes marked with accidentals (sharps and flats).

Beispiel 7: Ribayaz, *Luz y norte musical*, 1677, 36: *rasgado*-Stil mit der Harfe.

Dieser Akkord dient dazu den Abstand zum Akkord der rechten Hand zu überbrücken. Insgesamt sind acht Dur- (H, E, A, D, G, C, F, B) und fünf Mollakkorde (d, a, fis, h, g als *uno bemolado* nur in der Quintlage notiert).

Diese *rasgado*-Spielweise mit ihren einfachen Begleitmustern in dreizehn verschiedene Akkorde aufgefächert und auf der Harfe auswendig zu beherrschen ermöglicht es, alles was im *rasgado*-Stil für Gitarre geschrieben steht auch auf der Harfe anzuwenden. Darüber hinaus weist Ribayaz darauf hin, dass auch bei Gaspar Sanz die Akkorde, obwohl sie dort mit *alfabeto*-Bezeichnungen versehen seien, zusammen mit den weiteren (Bild-)Demonstrationen leicht verständlich seien.<sup>36</sup> Für die Harfe erschließt sich hier nicht nur das Gitarrenrepertoire von Ribayaz, sondern auch das in Italien beliebte und von Gaspar Sanz beschriebene *alfabeto*-Repertoire. Vor allem beim sich selbst begleitenden Gesang können viele Lieder der Zeit mit diesen memorierten Akkorden mit wenig Aufwand und Basso continuo-Kenntnissen begleitet werden.

36 Ebd., 15.



Beispiel 8: Bunting, *Ancient music of Ireland*, 1840, 27: Bass-Arpeggios.

Resümierend scheint es auf der Harfe im spanischen wie auch italienischen Raum von den Anfängen im 16. Jahrhundert bis ins beginnende 18. Jahrhundert eine Tendenz und Vorherrschen des Arpeggiospiels von den hohen Tönen zu den tiefen Tönen gegeben zu haben, sei es über den gesamten Ambitus des Instruments, sei es im Brechen des Akkords in der rechten Hand mit dem Akkord, Intervall oder Einzelton der linken Hand auf dem Schlag. Nachdem für diesen Zeitraum bisher keine weiteren für die Harfen-Spielpraxis relevanten Beschreibungen bekannt sind, stellt sich die Frage, ob dies die gebräuchlichste Form der Akkordbrechung auf der Harfe war?

Eine überlieferte Spielpraxis aus dem angelsächsischen Raum scheint diese Vermutung zu bestätigen. Edward Bunting, der, selbst neunzehnjährig, 1792 dem letzten Treffen der irischen *harpers* in Belfast beiwohnte und sein Lebenswerk dem Sammeln der überlieferten irischen Weisen widmete, berichtet 1840 über deren veraltete Spielpraxis:

Man sollte noch erwähnen, dass die Harfner die oberste Note dieser Akkorde [der Begleithand] zuerst zupften, anstatt mit dem tiefsten Ton zu beginnen wie man die Arpeggios heutzutage verwendet.<sup>37</sup>

Das Arpeggieren bezieht sich hier im Gegensatz zu dem Spanier Huete jeweils auf das Spielen der Begleitfiguren im Bass. Vier Beispiele führt Bunting auf, jeweils mit genauem Fingersatz (Beispiel 8).

Das Fragment eines *Ancient prelude for the harp* mit dem Titel *Try if it is in tune*, notierte Bunting laut eigener Aussage genauso, wie es der blinde

<sup>37</sup> Edward Bunting, *The ancient music of Ireland*, 1840, Facsimileausgabe Dublin: Walton 1969, 27: «It is worthy to remark, that the harpers struck the upper note of these chords first, instead of beginning with the lowest tone, as the modern do in their Arpeggios.»

Beispiel 9: Hempson in Bunting, *Ancient music of Ireland*, 1840, 88, Einschub 1: *Try if it is in tune*.

Harfenist Denis Hempson<sup>38</sup> 1792 mit Fingernägeln spielte. Hier erhalten wir einen Eindruck davon, wie die *harpers* bis in die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts präludierend und mit Arpeggios, die den Nachklang der Basstöne unterstützen, die Stimmung auf der Harfe überprüft haben könnten (Beispiel 9).<sup>39</sup>

## Halbtoneerzeugung

Auf den dreireihigen Harfen muss für jeden zusätzlichen chromatischen Ton in die mittlere Saitenreihe gegriffen werden. Die Fingerbewegungen werden dadurch um eine Spielebene erweitert. Die Finger spielen nicht nur hinauf und herunter sondern während sie auf- und absteigen bewegen sie sich nach Innen und wieder nach Außen. Nachdem ein chromatischer Ton angezupft wurde «landet» der Finger abgleitend und sich entspannend auf der Saite der

<sup>38</sup> Denis Hempson (1695–1807) war für Bunting eine der wichtigsten Quellen für die bereits 1792 in Vergessenheit geratende Spielpraxis mit Fingernägeln; s. Axel Klein, «Hempson, Denis», in: [www.mgg-online.com](http://www.mgg-online.com), im Druck veröffentlicht 2002 (3.2.2019).

<sup>39</sup> Bunting, *Music of Ireland* (wie Anm. 51), Kapitel 6, 82–83, 1. Leider konnte Bunting nur die Hälfte des Stückes notieren, denn, wie Hempson zugab, hatte er die andere Hälfte vergessen.

Außenreihe und kann von dort in einer Extrabewegung wieder entfernt werden. Das sind ohne den Ton abzdämpfen bereits zwei Bewegungen.

Bei den italienischen *arpe a due ordini* und den deutschen zweireihigen Harfen ist die chromatische Reihe durch die Zweireihigkeit frei zugänglich. Der diatonische Bezug wechselt in der Regel bei *d'* von links von der Spielerseite her gesehen auf rechts. Bei diesem Harfentyp kann zusätzlich zur Dämpfung durch die jeweilige Spielhand, die rechte Hand die von der Linken gespielten Töne abdämpfen und umgekehrt, was einen sauberen, artikulierten Klang ermöglicht. Bei den spanischen kreuzsaitigen Instrumenten kann sowohl ein Zwischengreifen mit Abgleiten verwendet werden als auch die Ebene hoch-tief: Spielt die linke Hand die diatonischen Töne nahe dem Kreuzungspunkt, erhält man den Versetzungsston durch leichtes Bewegen des Fingers nach oben. Bei der rechten Hand verhält es sich umgekehrt. Sie muss leicht nach unten greifen.

Bei den einreihigen Harfen mussten sich die Spieler zur Erzeugung von temporär vorkommenden Versetzungszeichen von je her einer Behelfsmaßnahme bedienen: das Verkürzen der Saite mittels Abdrücken. Auffällig ist, dass sich die meisten Autoren über einen Zeitraum von immerhin 250 Jahren in ganz Europa im Großen und Ganzen darüber einig sind, wie dieses Abgreifen durchzuführen ist: Die linke Hand drückt die Saite oben nahe dem Harfenhals unterhalb des Wirbels ab, die rechte oder linke Hand zupft den so erzeugten Halbton. Schon Bermudo beschreibt wie der berühmte Harfenspieler Ludovico, den Mudarra in der oben beschriebenen *Fantasia* imitierte die (vorübergehend) vorkommenden Halbtöne erzeugte und bemerkte dazu, dass es hierfür einer großen Geschicklichkeit und Sicherheit bedürfe.<sup>40</sup>

Ribayaz generiert mittels Anlehnen des linken Zeigefingers oben am Harfenhals den Halbton und zupft ihn mit dem linken Mittelfinger an. Benötigt er den Halbton in einem Melodieton der rechten Hand, wird er mit dem linken Daumen produziert und mit dem nächstgelegenen rechten Zei-

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<sup>40</sup> Juan Bermudo, *Declaración de instrumentos musicales*, Osuna: Juan de Leon 1555, 4. Buch, Kap. 88: «Dizen, que el nombrado Ludouico cuando venia a clausurar: poniendo el dedo debaxo de la cuerda, la semitonaua, y hacia clausula de sustentado. Gran destreza y certidumbre era menester para esto.»

gefingert oder Mittelfinger gespielt.<sup>41</sup> Für Huete ist das ebenfalls die gängige und in seinen Musikstücken am meisten verwendete Art. Zumeist erhöht der Daumen der linken Hand den benötigten Halbton für den Diskant, welcher dann mit der rechten Hand in der normalen Fingersetzung gespielt wird. Der Mittelfinger links kann zusätzlich zum Abdrücken mit dem Daumen noch einen Basston, in den meisten Fällen eine Dezime nach unten, greifen.<sup>42</sup>

In Deutschland wurde die Angewohnheit, vorübergehende Halbtöne mittels Abdrücken zu generieren bis ins frühe 19. Jahrhundert beibehalten, auch wenn die Möglichkeit bestand Häkchen zum Umstimmen zu verwenden. Wernich, Backofen und Heyse<sup>43</sup> bedienen sich der linken Zeigefingerspitze um den Versetzungston zu generieren, während der linke Daumen spielt (Beispiel 10). Erst Edward Jones bezweifelte, ob selbst bei großer Geschicklichkeit der Handhabung der Klang der abgedrückten Saiten ebenso klar wie die anderen Saiten sein kann.<sup>44</sup> Eine Frage, die bis heute offen bleibt, wenn versucht wird, die Halbtonerzeugung nach historischem Vorbild durchzuführen.

Für eine Übersicht der Quellen zur Halbtonerzeugung siehe Tabelle 1 im Anhang dieses Beitrags.

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<sup>41</sup> Ribayaz, *Luz y norte* (wie Anm. 16), 64: «[...] y saber que los sostenidos, y bemoles, cuando se hazen con la mano izquierda, se arrima el indice de dicha mano a la cuerda en que se haze dicho bemol, ò sostenido, por junto à la cabeça de dicha Arpa, y se hiziere con el largo: y cuando se han de hazer con la mano derecha, ha de ser arrimando el dedo pulgar de la izquierda tambien por junto la cabeça à la cuerda en que se señala, y herirlas con el largo, ò el indice de la derecha, que se hallare mas cercano.» Für die Übersetzung s. Tabelle 1.

<sup>42</sup> Huete, *Compendio numeroso* (wie Anm. 17), Buch 1, Kap. 3, 5–6 sowie ebd., Buch 2, 12. Für Originaltext und Übersetzung siehe Tabelle 1.

<sup>43</sup> Johann C. G. Wernich, *Versuch einer richtigen Lehrart die Harfe zu spielen*, Berlin: Georg Ludwig Winter 1772, Kap. 6, 21–22; Backofen, *Anleitung zum Harfenspiel* (wie Anm. 24), §6, 13; Anton Gottlieb Heyse, *Anweisung die Harfe zu spielen*, Leipzig, Breitkopf und Härtel, 1803, §16, 40–41. Genaue Zitate und Übersetzungen in Tabelle 1.

<sup>44</sup> Jones, *Musical and poetical relicks* (wie Anm. 22), 103–104, Zitat und Übersetzung siehe Tabelle 1.



Beispiel 10: Heyse, *Anweisung die Harfe zu spielen*, 1803, 40: Halbtonerzeugung: A: Zeigefinger drückt *f*-Saite an den Harfenhals, Daumen zupft. B: Zeigefinger drückt *f*-Saite an den Harfenhals, Mittelfinger zupft.

## Fingersatz

«Große Sorgfalt muss man in eine gute Fingersetzung geben, denn von ihr hängt die Leichtigkeit des Spiels ab».<sup>45</sup> Diese Meinung vertritt Huete in den zwei Bänden seines *Compendios* vehement und hinterlässt in den Musikstücken die genauesten und umfangreichsten Fingersätze der Harfengeschichte vor 1800. Jedes einzelne Stück ist mit Fingersätzen für die Harfe versehen obgleich die Tabulatur selbst auch für Tasteninstrumente spielbar ist.<sup>46</sup>

Angaben zur Fingersetzung auf einreihigen Harfen auf dem europäischen Kontinent finden sich erstmals 1557 in Venegas de Henestrosas *Libro de cifra nueva*.<sup>47</sup> Der Hinweis ist im ersten Buch integriert unter der Überschrift

<sup>45</sup> Huete, *Compendio numeroso* (wie Anm. 17), Kap. 4, 7: «Grande cuydado se debe poner en la buena ordenación de los dedos; pues de ella depende la facilidad para la ejecución [...]»

<sup>46</sup> Die gängigen Fingersatzbezeichnungen der spanischen Quellen sind p = pulgar = Daumen oder 1. Finger; y = yndice = Zeigefinger oder 2. Finger; l = largo = Mittelfinger oder 3. Finger. Der 4. und 5. Finger werden zum Spielen auf den Harfen in Spanien bis 1794 bei Pablo Minguet y Yrol nicht verwendet. Für Italien fehlen uns die Angaben, siehe auch Tabelle 2.

<sup>47</sup> Henestrosa, *Libro de cifra* (wie Anm. 13); s. auch in *La música en la corte de Carlos V con la transcripción del «Libro de cifra nueva para tecla, harpa y vihuela»*, Higinio Anglés (Hg.), Barcelona 1944 (= Monumentos de la música española 3), Reprint 1965; s. auch Biblioteca Digital Hispanica: [bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000039213&page=1](http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000039213&page=1) (12. 4. 2019).

Wie man [auf den Tasteninstrumenten] mit der linken Hand auf- und absteigt.<sup>48</sup> Am Ende der Aufzeichnung für Tasteninstrumente befindet sich der vierzeilige Absatz zur Fingersetzung auf der Harfe:

Auf der Harfe steigt man hinab und hinauf mit dem 1. und 2. Finger der rechten Hand indem man den Daumen über den 2. Finger kreuzt und mit dem 2. und 3. Finger der linken Hand.<sup>49</sup>

In der Regel sind auf der Harfe die Fingersätze für beide Hände stets identisch. Warum beschreibt Henestrosa einen unterschiedlichen Fingersatz für beide Hände? War die rechte Hand ausschließlich 'Melodiehand'? Die Kreuzung des Daumens über den Zeigefinger beim Abwärtsgehen lässt ein Spiel mit hohem Daumen sowie ein verbundenes Spiel vermuten, d. h. der Zeigefinger spielt erst, wenn der Daumen schon auf dem nächsten Ton platziert ist. Ist die linke Hand die Begleithand und spielt eher langsame *tenores*, was eine veränderte Fingersetzung rechtfertigen würde? War die Harfe zu der Zeit nur dafür geeignet ein- bis zweistimmige Musik zu spielen? Im Umkehrschluss würde es auch bedeuten, dass auf der Harfe Henestrosas maximal drei- bis vierstimmige Akkorde gespielt werden konnten.

Ribayaz erklärt pragmatisch den Unterschied der Fingersätze von Tasteninstrument und Harfe, da für beide dieselbe Tabulaturenschrift verwendet wird:

Von jeder Hand gebraucht man auf der Harfe jeweils nur drei Finger, Daumen, Zeigefinger und Mittelfinger, während auf Tasteninstrumenten links alle fünf Finger gebraucht werden, rechts Zeigefinger, Mittelfinger, Ringfinger und kleiner Finger.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Für Tasteninstrumente wird der Fingersatz 4 3 2 1, 3 2 1 aufwärts und 1 2 3 4, 3 4, 3 4 abwärts beschrieben. Auch könne man mit dem Daumen und Zeigefinger der linken Hand aufsteigen.

<sup>49</sup> Henestrosa, *Libro de cifra* (wie Anm. 13), fol. 6r.: «En la harpa, se descende y sube con el primero y segundo dedos de la mano derecha, cruzando el pulgar sobre el segundo dedo, y con el segundo y tercero de la mano izquierda.»

<sup>50</sup> Ribayaz, *Luz y norte* (wie Anm. 16), 37: «En el vso de pisar las teclas, y formar los puntos, ay diferencia, porque para el Arpa no vsamos mas que tres dedos de cada mano, que son Pulgares, Indices, y Largos; y para el Monacordio ay muchos que han vsado de todos los dedos de las manos, esto es en particular: mas lo general tengo entendido que se

Die linke Hand spielt in Oktaven, Quinten, Sexten oder Dezimen. Wenn möglich wird ein Intervall zum Akkord aufgefüllt: Oktave wird mit Quinte, Quinte und Sexte mit Terz aufgefüllt. Wenn es einen Lauf oder Ornament ohne einen Fingersatz gibt, soll man den der Saite am nächsten liegenden Finger verwenden um mit dem Lauf zu beginnen.<sup>51</sup>

Huete macht die genauesten Angaben zum Fingersatz.<sup>52</sup> Penibel beziffert er alle Musikstücke in beiden Bänden um die von ihm gepriesene «Leichtigkeit des Spiels» einzuüben. Der Anfänger lernt so genauestens auf eine geordnete Reihenfolge der Finger zu achten. Die Fingersetzung ist für beide Hände gleich. Eine absteigende Tonleiter beginnt mit dem Daumen, Zeigefinger und Mittelfinger und fährt mit Zeigefinger und Mittelfinger fort. Aufsteigend wird mit Mittelfinger, Zeigefinger und Daumen begonnen und mit Zeigefinger fortgefahren. Bei den Akkorden spielt die linke Hand die Oktaven und Quinten mit dem 3. und dem 1. Finger, Quartan mit dem 2. und 1. Finger. Der rechte Mittelfinger und Zeigefinger wird in kurzen Stufenpassagen bevorzugt verwendet, auch mehrmalig hintereinander.<sup>53</sup> Das ist am besten durchführbar wenn die rechte Hand auswärtsgedreht fast rechtwinklig zu den Saiten positioniert ist, was ein Über- und Untersetzen der Finger erleichtert. Tonwiederholungen werden meist mit dem gleichen Finger durchgeführt. Es gilt auch hier die implizierte Regel, dass jeweils der der Saite am nächsten liegende Finger spielt. Die Fingersetzung scheint noch eine weitere Bedeutung entsprechend der Stellung im Takt gehabt zu haben: Im Vierer-Takt betont, unbetont, betont, unbetont, im Dreiertakt betont, betont, unbetont.<sup>54</sup> Daumen und Mittelfinger sind die 'starken' Finger, während der

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vsa de toda la mano izquierda, y del Indice, el Largo Anular, y pequeño de la mano derecha.»

51 Ebd., 25: «Por si a caso se hallaren alguna carretilla, o glossa, apuntadas sin las tres letras que indican los dedos, se ha de usar del dedo que estuviere mas cercano a la cuerda con que se comienza la carretilla, ò glossa para cualquiera de las manos.»

52 Huete, *Compendio numeroso* (wie Anm. 17), Buch 1, Kap. 1, 7: 1–2; vgl. auch Tabelle 2.

53 Heute, *Compendio numeroso* (wie Anm. 17), Buch 1, z.B. 4: Mariona Agaitada, Takt 3:  $h'$ ,  $c''$ ,  $d''$  mit dem Fingersatz 3–2–1, Takt 4:  $d''$ ,  $c''$ ,  $h'$  mit dem Fingersatz 3–3–2.

54 Siehe Anmerkung 35.

Zeigefinger eher schwach artikuliert wird. Ist dieses schwer-leicht Prinzip nicht einzuhalten, wird ein stimmiger, 'bequemer' Fingersatz der korrekten Betonung innerhalb des Taktes vorgezogen. Huete macht keine Angaben darüber, ob er mehrere Töne zusammen aufsetzt oder gänzlich über den Saiten schwebend ohne voriges Platzieren 'aus der Luft' spielt. Die Tonleitern lassen abwärts eine Fingersatz-Gruppierung von 1 2 3, 2 3 respektive aufwärts eine 3 2 1, 2 1 vermuten, die auch für die anderen Intervalle gut funktioniert.

Der Gebrauch des 4. Fingers zum Spielen von vierstimmigen Akkorden oder Tonleitern war in der spanischen Spielpraxis lange nicht vorgesehen. So ist es nicht verwunderlich, dass Pablo Minguet y Yrol 1752 einen neuen Harfenstil für die *arpa de dos órdenes* deklariert: Der C-Akkord für jede Hand mit vier Fingern gespielt, Oktaven in den Bässen mit dem vierten und ersten Finger, die einzelnen Intervalle mit dem dritten und ersten Finger und Tonleitern in der Abfolge 4 3 2 1, aufwärts und abwärts.<sup>55</sup>

In Deutschland findet sich erst spät eine knappe Anmerkung zum Gebrauch der Fingersetzung auf einem chromatischen Instrument. Philip Eisel, der sich selbst im Titel als «in der Praxis erfahren» bezeichnet, notiert 1738 zum Gebrauch der rechten und linken Hand:

Im Anfang eines Stückes wird der Vorschlag durch den Zeigefinger und aufgesetzten Daumen [der rechten Hand] der aufwärts gehenden Sekunde notwendigerweise vorgeschlagen, übrigens wird mit den Fingern abgewechselt. [...] Sie [die linke Hand] wird zum Bass angewendet, und wenn blosse Oktaven gegriffen werden, braucht man den Daumen und Gold-Finger; Bey anderen Griffen aber werden der Mittel- und Zeigefinger mitgebraucht.<sup>56</sup>

Man beachte, dass hier zum ersten Mal von einem (vorher) aufgesetzten Finger gesprochen wird.

Für eine Übersicht ausgewählter Quellen zur Fingersetzung und Dämpfung siehe Tabelle 2 im Anhang dieses Beitrags.

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<sup>55</sup> Pablo Minguet y Yrol, *Reglas y advertencias generales que enseñan el modo de tañer todos los instrumentos mejores, y mas usuales*, Madrid: Ibarra 1752–1754, o.S. «Explicación del Nuevo Estilo del Arpa de Dos Ordenes»; siehe auch Tabelle 2.

<sup>56</sup> Eisel, *Musicus autodidaktos* (wie Anm. 21), Section II, 107.

## Abdämpftechniken

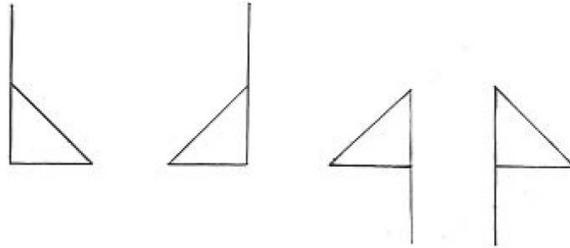
Zur besonderen Art und Weise wie Orazio Michi den Nachklang der Saiten abdämpfte sind im spanischen und italienischen Raum keine Angaben erhalten. Richtungsweisende Ideen, wie genau man auf der Harfe einen sauberen Klang mittels kunstfertigen Fingerspiels in Kombination mit einer sorgfältigen Abdämpftechnik produziert, finden sich auf den Britischen Inseln im sogenannten «ap Huw Manuskript». <sup>57</sup> Die Handschrift wurde nach dem walisischen Meisterharfenspieler Robert ap Huw (ca. 1580–1665) benannt, der um 1613 die bis dahin nur mündlich überlieferten Werke walisischer Dichter und Musiker des 14. bis 16. Jahrhunderts kompilierte bzw. kopierte. Für die Notation der Musikstücke verwendete ap Huw eine spezielle Harfentabulatur. <sup>58</sup> Diese konnte erst Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts schlüssig entziffert werden und beinhaltet die früheste eigenständige europäische Harfenmusik mitsamt Hinweisen zur Spiel- und Abdämpftechnik. Das Repertoire benötigt eine Harfe von 11–25 Saiten mit einem Umfang von  $C-f''$ , oder  $c-f'''$ . Die walisische Harfe des 17. Jahrhunderts hatte 31–34 Saiten, war mit Darmsaiten bespannt und mit Schnarrhaken, *brays*, versehen. <sup>59</sup> Auf fol. 35 befinden sich die 17 verschiedenen Spielmuster, mit genauer Fingersetzung in weißen Dreiecksnoten mit Hälsen und zum Abdämpfen in schwarzen Dreiecksnoten. Gespielt und kunstvoll gedämpft wird mit den Nägeln der vier Finger

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<sup>57</sup> *Musica neu Beroriaeth, the Music of the Britains, as settled by a congress, or meeting of masters of music, by order of Gryffydd ap Cynan, Prince of Wales, about A.D. 1100; transcribed by Robert ap Huw, of Bodwigan, Anglesea [...]*, London, British Library, Add. MS 14905. S. auch John Harper: «Robert ap Huw», in: [www.oxfordmusiconline.com](http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com), veröffentlicht 2001 (12.2.2019).

<sup>58</sup> Herzlichen Dank an Bill Taylor für die Informationen zum Manuskript und die Bereitstellung des Materials. Zur genauen Beschreibung der verschiedenen Spielmuster siehe auch: *Sources for fingernail harp technique from Wales & Ireland*, Wire Branch of the Clarsach Society, 2012: <https://wirebranch.files.wordpress.com/2017/02/sources2017.pdf> (12.2.2019).

<sup>59</sup> Joan Rimmer, «James Talbot's Manuscript (Christ Church Library Music MS 1187)», VI. Harps, in: *Galpin Society Journal* 16 (May, 1963), 64–66. Die mittelalterlichen walisischen Harfen waren ursprünglich ausgehöhlt aus einem Stück, mit einer Resonanzdecke aus Ochsenleder bespannt und zumindestens für Anfänger mit Pferdehaaren, später mit Darmsaiten besaitet. Jones, *Musical and poetical relicks* (wie Anm. 22), 103.



Beispiel 11: «Robert ap Huw Manuskript»:  
Fingersatzdarstellung 1, 2, 3, 4, (Transkription:  
H. Rosenzweig).

beider Hände, der kleine Finger der Melodiehand dient nur in einem Fall zum Dämpfen. Die Tonhöhen werden in den Buchstaben a, b, c, d, e, f, g notiert, mit Zeichen für die verschiedenen Oktaven. Punkte, Striche und Linien oberhalb der Buchstaben charakterisieren das spezielle Spiel/Stop-Muster.

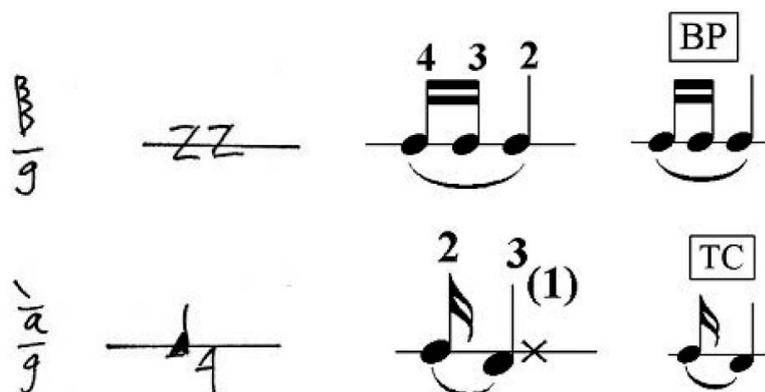
Die Fingersätze werden durch die Notenhalsrichtung definiert (Beispiel 11): links nach oben repräsentiert den Daumen/1. Finger, rechts nach oben den Zeigefinger/2. Finger, rechts nach unten den Mittelfinger/3. Finger und links nach unten den Ringfinger/4. Finger.

Beide Hände sind durch eine waagrechte Linie getrennt.

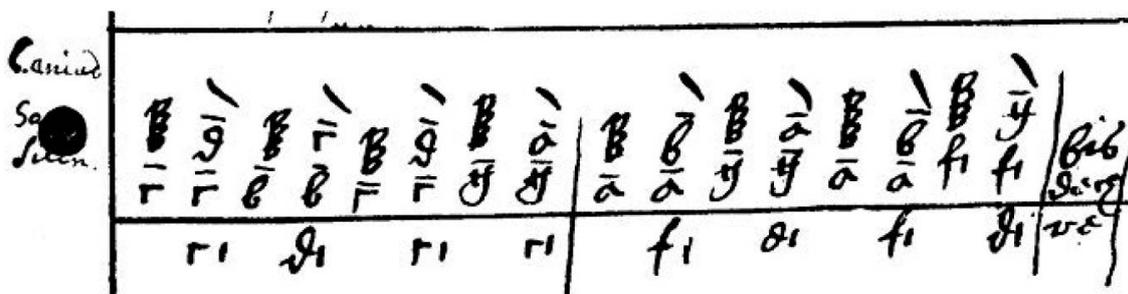
Robert ap Huw beschreibt drei verschiedene Anzupftechniken: normales Fingernagelspiel, Auswärtsspiel mit dem Nagelrücken, einmalig angezupft als *fling* oder *back of nail*, dreimalig angezupft in einer hin-und-her Bewegung als *shake the finger* oder *wrinkle the thumb*, und das Abgleiten eines Fingers auf die nächste Saite als *scratch*. Gedämpft wird jeweils mit einem anderen Finger als dem gespielten, mit Ausnahme des Daumens wenn er durch Abgleiten zum unteren Ton eingesetzt wird.

Beispiel 12 und 13 zeigen zwei exemplarische Spielmuster aus dem «ap Huw Manuskript». <sup>60</sup> Die Transkription der Abbildung 3 zeigt das Spielmuster *bee's plait*. Notiert wird es als absolute Tonhöhe g mit einem Strich darüber (= g'). Die Wellenlinien darüber imitieren ein Bienengeräusch, notiert als «zz» und ausgeführt von den Nägeln des vierten, dritten und Zeigefinger in einem (unbestimmt) schnellen Tempo über die Saiten streichend. Das Spielmuster *choke the thumb* in Beispiel 12, notiert durch einen Schrägstrich

<sup>60</sup> Notation von Bill Taylor (wie Anm. 59).



Beispiel 12: «bee's plait» und «choke the thumb», zwei exemplarische Spielmuster aus dem «Robert ap Huw Manuskript». Transkription: Bill Taylor (s. Anm. 59).



Beispiel 13: «Robert ap Huw Manuskript», [69]: Anfang des Lieds *Caniad San Silin* mit den zwei Mustern «bee's plait», und «choke the thumb».

von links nach rechts, heißt, dass mit dem Daumen abgedämpft wird und die Bewegungsrichtung von oben nach unten verläuft. Die Töne  $a'$  und  $g'$  werden rasch hintereinander gespielt. Der schwarz gefärbte Notenkopf mit Notenhals rechts oben bedeutet, dass diese Saite mit dem Zeigefinger gespielt und (mit dem Daumen) gedämpft wird. Der weiße Notenkopf mit Notenhals nach rechts unten indiziert, dass das  $g'$  weiter klingen soll und mit dem Mittelfinger gespielt wird. «x(1)» in der Transkription bedeutet, dass der Daumen mit einer extra Bewegung die durch den Zeigefinger angezupfte Saite stoppt und auf der Saite liegen bleibt, während die durch den Mittelfinger angezupfte Saite weiter klingt. Hat man dieses exemplarische Spiel- und Dämpfprinzip verstanden und erweitert es durch die anderen sechzehn Spielmuster, kann die Tabulatur aus dem Manuskript gelesen und gespielt werden.

Wie können wir in unserer Zeit die von Orazio Michi und Bartolomeo Giovenardi schon vergessen geglaubte Perfektion des Harfenspiels wiederbeleben?

Ein sauberer und reiner Klang wird durch die jeweilige Anzupf- und Abdämpftechnik erreicht. Ausgewählte Quellen zur Fingersetzung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Robert up Huw Manuskripts mit detaillierten Angaben zur Dämpfung können der Tabelle 1 im Anhang entnommen werden. Vermehrt umsetzbar sind die Akkordzerlegungen und Arpeggios von oben nach unten bei gleichem Anschlag von Basston oder Bassakkord und obersten Melodieton um die Saiten zu «umschmeicheln». Gitarrenrepertoire kann durch das Memorieren der Bezifferungen 1–9, X, P und 1b und der sie repräsentierenden Akkorde für die Harfe erschlossen werden und die sich selbst begleitenden Sängerinnen und Sänger können die Harfe wie die Gitarre im *rasgado*-Stil rein akkordlich ohne große Vorkenntnisse über das Basso continuo einsetzen. Die tabellarisch zusammengefassten und verblüffend übereinstimmenden Aussagen zur Halbtonerzeugung auf einreihigen Harfen in einem Zeitraum von 250 Jahren gilt es in die Praxis umzusetzen.

Letztlich sind nicht die Noten von größter Bedeutung, sondern wie diese Noten in einen uns heute berührenden Klang umgesetzt, gewandelt, mit Persönlichkeit versehen und am historischen Instrument interpretiert werden. Die schon vergessen geglaubte Perfektion bleibt bis in unser Jahrhundert eine Herausforderung, die es Wert ist, auf vielfältige Weise neu entdeckt zu werden.

## Anhang

Tabelle 1: Ausgewählte Quellen zur Fingersetzung und Dämpfung

Jahr	Komponist	Quelle	
1557	Luis Venegas de Henestrosa	Libro de cifra nueva para tecla, harpa y vihuela, Buch 1, 3	
		<i>Fingerabfolge Bass-Hand</i>	<i>Fingerabfolge Melodie-Hand</i>
		2 und 3 abwechselnd.	1 und 2. <u>Abwärts</u> : Übersetzen von 1 über 2.
1613	Anonym (ca. 1400–1600)	«Robert ap Huw manuscript», GB-Lbl, Add. MS 14905	
		<p>Fingernageltechnik auf Darmsaiten, 17 [+2] verschiedene Spielmuster mit genauem Fingersatz zum Spielen und Abdämpfungstechnik. <u>Drei Anzupftechniken</u>: normal, abgleitend, rückwärts mit Nagel. <u>Einzelöne</u>: einfach und verziert; <u>Intervalle</u>: 3,5,6,8,10. <u>Akkorde, dreistimmig</u>: drei Lagen, 1/3/8, 1/4/8, 1/5/8, 1/6/8. <u>Akkorde, vierstimmig</u>: Septakkorde, 1/3/5/8, 1/5/8/10. 1.–4. Finger auch zum Dämpfen verwendet.</p>	<p>Fingernageltechnik auf Darmsaiten, 17 [+2] verschiedene Spielmuster mit genauem Fingersatz und Abdämpfungstechnik. <u>Drei Anzupftechniken</u>: normal, abgleitend, rückwärts mit Nagel. 1.–4. Finger, in verschiedenen Kombinationen mit sofortiger Dämpfung nach dem Spiel. 5. Finger auch zum Dämpfen verwendet.</p>
1634	Bartolomeo Giovenardi	Tratado de la música, 34–35	
		<p>Allgemein: Jede Saite muss nach dem Spiel abgedämpft werden um klar und rein schwingen zu können.</p>	Besondere Kunst des Spiels mit Fingernagel und Fingerkuppe gleichzeitig. Hat man 32 Töne zu spielen, muss man 64 Bewegungen durchführen, damit jeder einzelne Ton sauber klingen kann.
1677	Lucas Ruiz de Ribayaz	Luz y norte musical, 23–26, 37	
		<p><u>Abwärts</u>: 123, 23, 23. <u>Aufwärts</u>: 321, 21, 21. Wenn es Platz zwischen r. H. und l. H. gibt, füllt die l. H. den Akkord auf (Dreiklang, Oktav-Quint Akkord). <u>Intervalle</u>: Terz: 21, 31, 32; Quarte bis Oktave: 31.</p>	<p><u>Abwärts</u>: 123, 23, 23. <u>Aufwärts</u>: 321, 21, 21. Bei Läufen ohne Fingersatz den der Saite am nächsten liegenden Finger verwenden. <u>Intervalle</u>: Terz: 21 oder 31; Quarte bis Oktave: 31.</p>

<b>Jahr</b>	<b>Komponist</b>	<b>Quelle</b>	
1702	Diego Fernandez de Huete	<b>Compendio numeroso, Kap. 1, 7: 1–2</b>	
		<i>Fingerabfolge Bass-Hand</i>	<i>Fingerabfolge Melodie-Hand</i>
		<u>Abwärts</u> : 123, 23, 23. <u>Aufwärts</u> : 321, 21, 21. Einzeltöne ohne Fingersatz: 3; Quart: 21; Quinte, Sexte, Oktave: 31.	<u>Abwärts</u> : 123, 23, 23. <u>Aufwärts</u> : 321, 21, 21. Tonwiederholungen meist mit gleichem Finger; Terz: 21 oder 31; Quarte bis Oktave: 31.
1738	Johann Philipp Eisel	<b>Musicus autodidactus oder der sich selbst informirende Musicus, Section II, 107–108</b>	
		Oktaven: 41. Je nach Griff auch 3 und 2 einfügen.	Beginn des Stückes: 21 [Sekunde] aufwärts bei Vorschlag; sonst Finger abwechseln.
1754	Pablo Minuet y Yrol	<b>Reglas y advertencias generales, o. S.</b>	
		Akkord CEGC mit 4321. Tonleitern in Oktaven C–C mit 41.	Akkord CEGC mit 4321. Alle Intervalle mit 31. Tonleitern aufwärts und abwärts 43214321, 12341234 [= neuer Harfenstil].
1849	Edward Bunting	<b>The ancient music of Ireland, 24–28</b>	
		Fingernageltechnik auf Metallsaiten. Sechs Muster für die Bass-Hand. <u>Intervalle</u> : Oktaven: 41 oder 42; Terzen: 2–3. <u>Akkorde, dreistimmig</u> : 1/8/10 mit 124, 1/4/6/ mit 234, 1/5/10 mit 134 immer abwärts arpeggieren. <u>Akkorde, vierstimmig</u> : 1/5/8/10 mit 1234 abwärts.	Fingernageltechnik auf Metallsaiten: <u>Vier Zupftechniken</u> : normal, ableitend, Nagelglissando mit 234, Einzelfinger-Tremolo, abwechselndes 4 Fingerspiel mit Rückdämpfung einzelner Finger. Terzen: 23; Quarten: 24.

**Tabelle 2: Ausgewählte Quellen zur Halbtonerzeugung auf einreihigen Harfen**

Jahr	Komponist	Quelle	
1546	Alonso Mudarra	<b>Tres libros de música en cifras, fol. 6r</b>	
		<i>Zitat</i>	<i>Übersetzung</i>
		Para formar los semitonos se ponen estas dos señales b, #, en la cuerda que qualquiera dellas estuviere sea de poner el dedo acerca de las clavijas.	[...] muss man den Finger nahe der Wirbel legen.
		<i>Ausführung</i>	
		Finger	
1555	Juan Bermudo	<b>Declaración de instrumentos musicales, Buch 4, Kap. 88, o. S.</b>	
		Dizen, que el nombrado Ludouico quando venia a clausurar: poniendo el dedo debaxo de la cuerda, la semitonaua, y hacia clausula de sustentado. Gran destreza y certidumbre era menester para esto.	Man erzählt, dass der berühmte Ludovico, wenn er klausulierte, den Finger unter die Saite legte, den Halbton erzeugte und klausulierte. Eine große Geschicklichkeit und Sicherheit war dazu nötig.
		[Linken] Finger unter Saite legen und Halbton generieren.	
1677	Lucas Ruiz de Ribayaz	<b>Luz y norte musical, 64</b>	
		[...] y saber que los sustenidos, y bemoles, quando se hazen con la mano izquierda, se arrima el indice de dicha mano a la cuerda en que se haze dicho bemol, ò sostenido, por junto à la cabeça de dicha Arpa, y se hiziere con el largo: y quando se han de hazer con la mano derecha, ha de ser arrimando el dedo pulgar de la izquierda también por junto la cabeça à la cuerda en que se señala, y herirlas con el largo, ò el indice de la derecha, que se hallare mas cercano.	[...] und man muss wissen, wenn man die Kreuze und Bs mit der linken Hand macht, dass man den Zeigefinger der genannten Hand an die Saite, an der man dieses B oder Kreuz macht, nahe dem Harfenhals anlehnt, und mit dem Mittelfinger abspielt: und wenn man sie in der rechten Hand benötigt, muss man den linken Daumen auch nahe des Harfenhalses an der benötigten Saite anlehnen und mit dem rechten Mittelfinger oder Zeigefinger, welcher Finger sich auch am nächsten befindet, anzupfen.

Jahr	Komponist	Quelle	
		<p>Linker Zeigefinger generiert Halbton, linker Mittelfinger spielt. Bei Halbtönen der rechten Hand erhöht linker Daumen, rechter Zeigefinger, Mittelfinger [oder Daumen] spielt.</p>	
1702	Diego Fernandez de Huete	<b>Compendio numeroso I, Kap. 3, 5–6</b>	
		<p>[...] en el vno con puntillo, poniendo el dedo pulgar de la mano izquierda debaxo de la cuerda de dicho vno, junto à la cabeça de el harpa, y se aprieta vn poquito, y tocarla con el dedo largo de la mano derecha, ò con el que corresponda à la linea donde estuviere; porque con eso se suple para que sea sostenido. [...] En otros números [...] se haze poniendo el dedo indize debaxo de la cuerda que tuviere sostenido, [...] y se pone el dedo pegado à la cabeça del harpa, y se aprieta vn poquito para hazer el sostenido, y el dedo largo ha de està algo mas baxo, para que suene quando la toque, porque si està junto à el dedo que haze el sostenido, no sonará.</p>	<p>[...] bei der 1 mit Punkt [= f'] bringt man den Daumen der linken Hand unter die genannte Saite nahe des Harfenhalses, drückt sie ein wenig und spielt sie mit dem Mittelfinger der rechten Hand oder mit dem Finger, der der [Tabulatur-]Linie entspricht, denn so erreicht man die Erhöhung. [...] Bei den anderen Tönen [...] legt man den Zeigefinger unter die Saite die erhöht werden soll, [...] und man 'klebt' den Finger an den Harfenhals und drückt ein wenig, um die Erhöhung durchzuführen, und der Mittelfinger muss etwas tiefer sein, damit es klingt, wenn er spielt, denn wenn er nahe dem Erhöhung durchführenden Finger ist, wird es nicht klingen.</p>
		<p>Linker Daumen generiert Halbton, Mittelfinger [oder anderer Finger] rechts spielt. Linker Zeigefinger drückt ab und linker Mittelfinger spielt entfernt von Zeigefinger.</p>	
1704	Diego Fernandez de Huete	<b>Compendio Numeroso II, 12</b>	
		<p>[...] que si se ofreciere hazer algun quatro Bemòl, y no estuviere baxado, se haze entrando el dedo en el tres vn poquito mas abaxo, que como se dixo para hazer el sostenido [...] observando, el que quando està alguno de estos numeros en las tres lineas de arriba, se supla con el pulgar de la mano izquierda, y si en la linea de abaxo, con el indice de dicha mano.</p>	<p>[...] wenn man ein B machen möchte welches nicht erniedrigt gestimmt wurde, lässt man den Finger etwas unter dem A hineinkommen, etwa so wie es bei den erhöhten Tönen beschrieben wurde [...] und man beachte, wenn sich ein Versetzungszeichen auf den drei oberen Linien [= der Tabulatur, d. h. der rechte Hand] befindet, verwendet man den</p>

Jahr	Komponist	Quelle
		<p>Daumen der linken Hand, und wenn es sich auf der untersten Linie [= der Tabulatur, d.h. linke Hand] befindet, verwendet man Zeigefinger der genannten Hand.</p> <p>Linker Daumen generiert Halbton für rechte Hand, linker Zeigefinger generiert Halbton für linke Hand.</p>
1772	Johann C. G. Wernich	<p><b>Versuch einer richtigen Lehrart die Harfe zu spielen, Kap. 6, 21–22</b></p> <p>§2 [...] Zwey halbe Töne zu gleicher Zeit im Bass und Discant auf der Harfe anzugeben, ist völlig unmöglich.</p> <p>§3 [...] Kommt aber in einem Gange ein halber Ton nur einmal vor, so wird solcher mit der Spitze des Zeigefingers im Basse gekniffen, und nur mit dem Daum berührt.</p> <p>Linke Zeigefingerspitze generiert Halbton, Daumen spielt.</p>
1794	Edward Jones	<p><b>Musical and Poetical Relicks of the Welsh Bards, 103–104</b></p> <p>[...] when any accidental sharp was requisite in the middle of a tune, the performer ran up his hand close to the comb, and stopped the string dexterously with his thumb, while he played it with his finger. [...] though they had a method of producing them [flats and sharps] long before, which was by tuning, and by judiciously stopping the strings: the latter they executed, with great skill, whilst they were playing: but query, whether the sound of these could be as clear as the other strings?</p> <p>[...] wenn ein zusätzliches Versetzungszeichen in der Mitte eines Stückes benötigt wurde, nahm der Spieler seine Hand in die Nähe des Wirbelkamms und drückte die Saite geschickt mit seinem Daumen während er sie mit dem Finger spielte. [...] Obwohl sie schon lange vorher eine Methode kannten sie [die Versetzungszeichen] zu produzieren, was durch Stimmen und durch sorgfältiges Abdrücken der Saiten geschah: letzteres führten sie mit großer Geschicklichkeit durch, während sie spielten: Aber die Frage bleibt, ob der Klang dieser Saiten genauso klar wie die anderen Saiten sein konnte?</p> <p>Linker Daumen generiert Halbton, anderer Finger links spielt.</p>

<b>Jahr</b>	<b>Komponist</b>	<b>Quelle</b>
1801	Johann Georg Heinrich Back- ofen	<b>Anleitung zum Harfenspiel, §6, 13</b>
		Blos vorübergehende halbe Töne, werden auch öfters mit dem Zeigefinger der linken Hand gemacht. Man lehnt nehmlich denselben in der Gegend, wo der Haken die Saite berühren sollte, steif und fest an die Saite an, welche dann durch den Daumen angeschnellt wird, wodurch nun freylich der reine Fingersatz bey solchen Stellen ganz vernachlässigt werden muss.
		Linken Zeigefinger an Saite anlehnen, linker Daumen spielt.
1803	Anton Gott- lieb Heyse	<b>Anweisung die Harfe zu spielen, §16, 40–41</b>
		Man drückt die Saite mit dem zweyten Finger fest an den Hals, schnellt mit dem Daumen die nemliche Saite ab, so hat man den Ton derselben um einen halben Ton erhöht. [Siehe Notenbeispiel 9, bei §16, 40]
		Linken Zeigefinger an Saite andrücken, linker Daumen spielt.

# ***Accordatura per l'Arpa ò Cembalo – a mysterious Roman manuscript on the tuning of the Italian arpa a tre ordini***

## **Introduction, facsimile, transcription, and translation**

*Mara Galassi*

### **1. Introduction**

The text of the *Accordatura per l'Arpa ò Cembalo* has survived in two sources. The first, included in this article both in facsimile and in its transcribed form, is found in a larger manuscript most likely compiled by Girolamo Chiti (1679–1759), kept at the Biblioteca dell'Accademia nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana in Rome (Musica C.9.bis/2, fols. 15v–17r).<sup>1</sup> The second manuscript (P.135 olim Cod. 104, fols. 45r–47r) bears the title *N. 6 Accordatura per l'Arpa o Cimbalo* and is located in the Biblioteca del Liceo musicale di Bologna<sup>2</sup> as part of the collection of manuscripts formerly belonging to Padre Martini (1706–1784). The latter source is part of a composite manuscript, compiled at an earlier stage and then conspicuously altered by the insertion of numerous fascicles at a later stage, as can be deduced from the incongruity of the table of contents in the front guard with the current succession of treatises contained within it.

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<sup>1</sup> Enrico Carieri, *Catalogo del Fondo Musicale Chiti-Corsini della Biblioteca Corsiniana*, Rome: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei 1998, 165: Hieronimus Chiti Senensis/Presbit. Mus/Organistae in Provenz[a]no. (Autograph, beginning of the 18th century; 18 folios; 21×15 cm). Carieri, *ibid.*, suggests that Chiti compiled the manuscript before he moved to Rome. The manuscript was first made known by Patrizio Barbieri, see Patrizio Barbieri, *Acustica, accordatura e temperamento nell'Illuminismo veneto. Con scritti inediti di Alessandro Barca, Giordano Riccati e altri autori*, Rome: Torre d'Orfeo 1987, 250–252.

<sup>2</sup> A digital copy of the entire manuscript has been published on:  
[www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/viewschedatwbca.asp?path=/cmbm/images/ripro/gaspari/\\_P/P135/](http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/viewschedatwbca.asp?path=/cmbm/images/ripro/gaspari/_P/P135/), scan 63–65 (8.9.2018).

Girolamo Chiti and Padre Martini shared a common interest in history of music, and Chiti assisted Padre Martini in collecting any sort of material pertaining to this topic. In some cases, Chiti would send copies of his work, either in his own or in a copyist's hand, to Martini. At other times, Chiti would send his original material. Martini would then have it copied and subsequently send back either the copy or the original. In the case of *Accordatura per l'Arpa ò Cembalo*, the palaeographic evidence excludes the involvement of a professional copyist, both for the Roman and Bolognese sources.

Although the two sources do not present textual variations sufficiently significant to choose a *lectio probabilior*, we have opted to examine the Roman copy for the simple reason that, given its similarity to Chiti's other verified autographs, it likely is in his own hand. Furthermore, this source has been preserved within the author's own collection of books: Girolamo Chiti (Siena, 1679–Rome, 1759) – *maestro di cappella* in the Basilica of S. Giovanni in Laterano as well as chaplain and custodian of the chapel of S. Andrea Corsini – donated his library in 1757 to cardinal Neri Maria Corsini. In 1883, the collection, then a part of the Biblioteca Corsiniana, was again donated by prince Tommaso Corsini to the Accademia dei Lincei in Rome.

### **Shedding some light on Chiti's biography**

In the attempt to examine the text of *Accordatura* within the context of Chiti's vast collection of musical manuscripts and treatises, a few biographical notes will be helpful.<sup>3</sup> Girolamo Chiti first studied under Giuseppe Ottavio Cini (1660–1708) in Siena, where he was appointed *maestro di cappella* at the Collegio Tolomei in 1708. In 1712, Chiti moved to Rome in order to further his study of counterpoint with Giuseppe Ottavio Pitoni (1657–1743) and of the secular genres cantata and opera with Antonio Caldara (1670–1736), while also collecting a variety of treatises.<sup>4</sup> Although Chiti returned to

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<sup>3</sup> See Arnaldo Morelli's essential article on Girolamo Chiti "*Tutte le professioni ed arti nobili hanno la loro storia*". *Girolamo Chiti e la storia come riferimento della pratica musicale*, in *Le note del ricordo. Il codice musicale M13 della Biblioteca dell'Accademia nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana di Roma*, ed. Emilio Sala, Padova: Nova Charta, 2015.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 77, and 88, note 13.

Siena in 1713, in 1717 he was back in Rome where, with the help of cardinal Ottoboni, he was appointed *maestro di cappella* in the Pia Casa degli Orfani with its annexed church, Santa Maria in Aquiro.

Chiti's studies with Pitoni intensified from 1721 onward: teacher and student shared ideas on the musical style of the *da chiesa* genres. The two began to develop a method to learn counterpoint based on transcriptions and analyses of Palestrina's works, which was aimed at codifying the type of "perfect counterpoint", or "observable style" ("[contrappunto] perfetto detto stile osservabile").<sup>5</sup> This period is also marked by Chiti's efforts to collect treatises in composition and theory by both contemporary and older authors, and both in manuscript and in printed form. However, in his secular compositions Chiti did not disdain to use what Pitoni, in his subdivision of the counterpoint styles, labelled as "flawed, arbitrary, modern" style ("[stile] difettoso, arbitrabile, moderno").<sup>6</sup> However, Chiti stopped composing *intermezzi* for the theatre in 1723/24.

When Francesco Gasparini (1661–1727) died in 1727, Chiti was appointed *maestro di cappella* of S. Giovanni in Laterano. This was followed by his appointment as chaplain and custodian of the Cappella Corsini in 1735. The year 1745 marked the beginning of a long and historically invaluable epistolary exchange between Chiti and Padre Martini, which lasted until 1756 and produced an impressive 472 letters. The two men shared common musical ideas and an interest in collecting musical material. Therefore, their letters constitute an inestimable historical record that reveals information on their taste and musical aesthetics. The collection of letters also reveals the Bolognese erudite's efforts at gathering heterogeneous musical material for his ongoing work on a history of music. Thus, at the behest of Padre Martini, Chiti collected material – scores, theoretical and practical treatises on music both modern and old – often going in person to the archives of Roman

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 79, and 89, note 26.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 89, note 26: "1° Perfetto detto stile osservabile. Palestrina e Benevoli / 2° Imperfetto detto lo stile tollerabile. Scarlatti [e] Principe di Venosa / 3° Corrotto detto lo stile variabile. Moderno / 4° Defettuoso. Lo stile arbitrabile. Moderno".

churches or noble families, such as the Barberini.<sup>7</sup> Chiti was therefore a musical “archaeologist”.

### **The content of the manuscript**

A peculiarity of the *Accordatura* is that it seems to be the only treatise, among the many collected by Chiti, that deals with tuning systems. Even more striking is the fact that the treatise is dedicated to the harp, which was no longer in fashion at the time. Although its title includes “per l’Arpa o Cembalo”, no keyboard instrument is ever mentioned in the body of the work: its author writes exclusively about strings, strings in unison, and rows of strings. Therefore it is evident that the harp for which the *Regola* has been written is an instrument with three rows of strings.<sup>8</sup>

The problem of harp tuning was not unfamiliar to early theorists. Vincenzo Galilei wrote about tunings in the *Dialogo della musica antica et della moderna*,<sup>9</sup> and a *Regola per accordare* is included in a somewhat problematic Florentine source for harp (Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica Luigi Cherubini, Ms. 3802), which contains dances transmitted in a num-

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 90, note 59.

<sup>8</sup> Several different terms are used to identify this instrument: “*Arpa a tre registri*”, Bartolomeo Giobenardi (Jobenardi), *Tratado de la Música*, 1634, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 8931, fols. 22r–28r, e.g. scan 110–126 in: <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000077606&page=1> (28.6.2019), see also: Mara Galassi, *Dell’Arpa a tre registri ovvero il manifesto di Bartolomeo Giobenardi*, in: *Quaderni della Scuola Civica di Quartu Sant’Elena*, Monastir (Ca): Grafiche Ghiani 1999, 78–87; “*Arpa a tre reistri*”, Giambattista Basile, *Muse napolitane*, VII, 53, as cited in Elio Durante and Anna Martellotti, *L’arpa di Laura*, Florence: S.P.E.S. 1982, 102; “*Harpa triplex nostra quae non ita multis ab hinc annis in usu coepit esse*”, Giovan Battista Doni, *Appendice a’ trattati di musica*, in: *Lyra Barberina amphichordis*, Florence: Anton Francesco Gori, Stamperia Imperiale 1763, Vol. 2, 20; “[...] *nostre harpe grande (qu’on appelle double quoyqu’elle soit triple)*”, Marin Mersenne, *Correspondance*, Paris: C. de Waard and Pintard 1932, Vol. 7, 20; “[...] *nell’arpa, se non sieno di tre ordini [...]*”, Fabio Colonna, *La Sambuca Lincea*, Napoli: appresso Costantino Vitale 1618, Libro I, 3.

<sup>9</sup> Vincenzo Galilei, *Dialogo della musica antica et della moderna*, Florence: Giorgio Marescotti 1581, 143.

bered tablature.<sup>10</sup> Outside of Italy, instructions on how to tune the *harpa de dos órdenes* are given by Diego Fernández de Huete in the preface to *Compendio numeroso de zifras armonicas*.<sup>11</sup> Many manuals on the tuning of hook-harps and pedal-harps were to appear in later periods.

None of the biographical elements relating to Chiti seem to substantiate the plausibility of the hypothesis that he was at all familiar with the triple harp. It is therefore unlikely that he is the author of the *Accordatura*. Since, at the present state of research, there is a lack of documentary evidence that could circumstantiate theories either on the author's identity, or on the treatise's date or provenance, we feel it is appropriate to formulate some hypotheses on the subject:

1. Chiti could have collected the treatise during his earlier stays in Rome, i. e. before 1713 or after 1717, the year of his appointment as *maestro di cappella* in the *Pia casa degli orfani*. The variety of instrumental ensembles used in institutes of this type could well have included harps; there the young *maestro* could have been confronted with the technical problems connected with the instrument. The didactic structure of the *Accordatura* would be well suited for pedagogic use.
2. The field of research surrounding the *Accordatura's* provenance is quite broad. Assuming that Chiti is not among the hypothetical authors, it is quite difficult to formulate a hypothesis on the treatises' origins. From the biographical information contained in the letters between Chiti and Padre Martini, we know that Chiti was a tireless visitor of churches, chapels, Roman religious institutes and private libraries belonging to Roman families. The city's long instrumental tradition could provide countless sources of documentation, starting

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<sup>10</sup> See Vincent Kibildis, *A Florentine harp tablature of the 17th century in the Ms. 3802 of the Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica Luigi Cherubini*, Master Thesis, Barcelona, ESMUC, 2019.

<sup>11</sup> Diego Fernández de Huete, *Compendio numeroso de zifras armonicas, con theórica, y practica, para harpa de una orden, de dos ordenes, y de organo*, Madrid: Imprenta de Musica 1702, 14–16.

from the archives in Vallicella or Chiesa Nuova, where Orazio Michi worked.<sup>12</sup>

3. Among the many collections of documents that Chiti may have examined, the one we thought deserved particular mention is the private library of the Barberini family, located in Rome and in Palestrina. Many harpists had connections with the Barberini family, not least the famous Marco Marazzoli. Indeed, we know that Chiti was on excellent terms with *abate* Ballerini, curator of both Barberini libraries. In a letter dated 28th June 1755 Chiti wrote to Padre Martini:

I have been acquainted and have had dealings with mister Ballerini for 14 years; he willingly assists me, particularly now that we often meet professionally; he is well-disposed towards what will be found, and will investigate, both in the Barberini library in Rome and in the library in Palestrina, when he will go there with the prince; all that is rare and pertinent to these matters will be found, so that you can be consoled by the fact of having two most precious servants.

Il signor Ballarini sono da 14 anni che ne ho cognizione e servizio, e lui più che volentieri mi favorisce, e molto più adesso, che come di servizio ci rivediamo spesso, ed è tutto propenso per ciò che si troverà, e cercherà tanto nella Barberina di Roma che in quella di Palestrina quando v'andrà col principe, come in tutto ciò che di raro e di tali materie ivi troverà, sì che si consoli aver due Suoi preziosissimi servi.<sup>13</sup>

4. To conclude, we feel it necessary to formulate one last hypothesis: that the *Accordatura per l'Arpa* was written out by Chiti himself after having observed a harpist tune his instrument. It is evident from the correspondence with Padre Martini that Chiti's curiosity and erudition brought him to collect treatises which were not always relevant to his daily musical practice – such as a treatise on harp-tuning would have been to a non-harpist – but could have been interesting for the compilation of Padre Martini's History of Music. This

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<sup>12</sup> Giancarlo Rostirolla, Luciano Luciani, Maria Adelaide Morabito Iannucci, Cecilia Parisi (eds.), *Epistolario Giovanni Battista Martini e Girolamo Chiti (1745–1759)*. 472 lettere del Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica di Bologna. Rome: IBIMUS 2010, XXI.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 751.

hypothesis would furthermore explain certain ambiguous passages in the text containing the description of tuning from B-natural to B-flat. Describing a change of tuning is no easy task for someone who is not familiar with the three rows of strings!

### Description of the manuscript

The book containing the *Accordatura* (C.9.bis/2), preserved in the Biblioteca dell'Accademia nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, has survived in a compiled form: it consists of different treatises on music theory, *canto figurato*, *sol-feggi*, antiphons, and motets. In most cases the fascicles correspond to text units. The text which has been the object of this study was compiled in the second fascicle, at the tail end of a general treatise on music and a shorter treatise on Gregorian modes and their intonations. It begins approximately in the middle of fol. 15v and ends on fol. 17v. The whole fascicle is written in the same neat, broad, flowing hand (probably Chiti's own), devoid of corrections. Though the content of this short treatise may not be immediately related to the other works in the book, it is codicologically coherent with the rest of the manuscript.

Some stylistic differences in the texts of the Roman source and the manuscript from Bologna are worth mentioning. They chiefly consist in:

- divergent spellings of the same word, (Ex. [1A]: “8:<sup>aa</sup>” and “Ottava”; Ex. [1A]: “và” e “va”; f. 16r, first line : “sarà” and “sirà”)
- different capitalisations (“istrumento” and “Istrumento”, fol. 15v, line 1)
- dissimilar transcriptions of solmisation letters (Ex. [10A]: “B.mi” and “Bfabemi”; Ex. [10C]: “B.fa b mi” and “Bfabemi”; fol. 17, fourth line: “b fa h mi b molle” and “Bfabmi B molle”).

In the following cases, some words have been left out; in others, they have been added:

In Rome, fol. 16r, Ex. [12A–E], only “8<sup>a</sup> giusta” appears, whereas in Bologna each example is completed with the name of the note which must be tuned: Ex. [12] [A] – “Bfabemi sotto ottava giusta”; [B] – “Alamire sotto cromatico ottava giusta”, [C] –

“Gsolreut sotto ottava giusta”, [D] – “Ffaut sotto ottava giusta”, [E] – “elami sotto ott.<sup>a</sup> giusta”.

In Bologna, fol. 46v one finds “Finis ad laudem Dei”, which is missing in Rome.

In Rome, fol. 16r, ninth line: „F fa ut diesis Cromatico“; in Bologna: „F faut# Cromatico“.

In Rome, fol. 16v, tenth line: “Bisogna cavar fuori b fa b mi per b molle”; in Bologna: “Bisogna cavar fuori Bfabemi B molle”.

In Rome, fol. 17r, first line: “[...] dopo pigliate quel primo b fa h mi che avete accordato [...]”; in Bologna: “[...], doppo pigliate quel primo Bfabemi che havete accordato [...]”.

In Rome, fol. 17r, third and fourth line: “[...] ed accordateci la sua Ottava sotto di dentro sotto”; in Bologna: “[...] ed accordateci la sua ottava sotto di dentro”.

In Rome, fol. 17r, fourth line: “Secondo Ordine”; in Bologna: “Terzo ordine”.

In Rome, on the fourth, fifth and seventh line of the same folio the text reads “b fa h mi”, whereas in Bologna one finds “Bfabemi”.

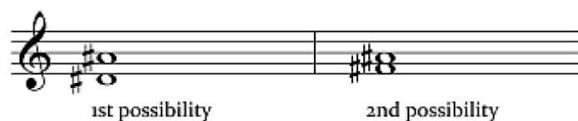
In Rome, fol. 17r, ninth line: “[...] e D la sol re puro [pure] in b molle, [...]”; in Bologna: “e Dlasolre puro [pure] cromatico in Bmolle”.

## Comments

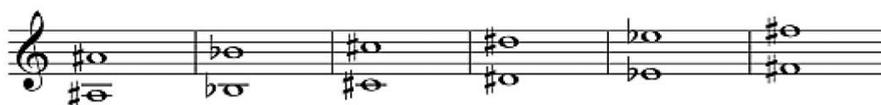
Two examples in the manuscript have been corrected by the scribe: in Ex. [10B] he erased the wrong notes and rewrote the correct ones – *d* and *f*# – above them, and in Ex. [17B] he erased the lower note, i. e. the B an octave below. Ex. [8B] lacks the note of the upper octave.

We would like to add three hypothetical musical examples (see Ex. 10bis, 11bis, and 17bis), since the given ones are not always complete or do not correspond to the rules:

- Addition to Ex. [10] (see p. 393 and p. 385, Ex. 10bis): Although the author of the *Accordatura* mentions the A-sharp later on, he gives no



Example 10bis



Example 11bis



Example 17bis

- rule for tuning it. The context of example [10A–D] is the most likely place where it should be inserted. The A-sharp could have been obtained as fifth above D-sharp, or as a major third from F-sharp.
- Addition to Ex. [11] (see p. 393 and Ex. 11bis): After Ex. [11], the author of the *Accordatura* advises to “continue tuning in octaves until the top F-sharp, beginning with A-sharp, and proceeding with B-flat, C-sharp, D-sharp, E-flat, and F-sharp *diesis cromatico*”, but he gives no musical examples.
  - Addition to Ex. [17] (see p. 395 and Ex. 17bis): In fol. 17r, lines 7 to 13, the rule for tuning A-flat is given, as well as for D-flat, but the musical examples are missing.

The compass of the harp here described extends from  $G'$  to  $c'''$  for the diatonic notes (see p. 395, Ex. [13] with the “cordone ultimo”  $G'$  as lowest pitch) and from  $E^b$  to  $f^{\#}$  (*fa diesis cromatico*). But this  $f^{\#}$  may probably be altered if needed, since on fol. 16r, after Ex. [11 A–E], the sentence “Si seguita ... F fa ut Diesis Cromatico”<sup>14</sup> is to be read as follows: “continue tuning in octaves until the top F-sharp, beginning with A-sharp, and proceeding with B-flat, C-sharp, D-sharp, E-flat, and F-sharp *diesis cromatico*.” The applica-

14 See Transcription, p. 393.

tion of the term “cromatico” to the F-sharp seems out of place here; if it is not simply an error, it could hypothetically mean that this top string of the inner row could be also tuned to other pitches when needed: for example, top A-flat, top A-sharp, as *cromatici*, or G-sharp as *diesis*; see p. 385, Ex. 11bis for musical examples that realise this rule.

The rules collected in Chiti’s manuscript instruct the reader in the tuning of “Be quadrato”<sup>15</sup> by way of a circle of fifths. Beginning on middle C, which has been previously tuned to another instrument, one tunes three “narrowed” fifths (*scarse*): C-G-D-A, the others “pure” (*giuste*): A-E-B-F#-C#-G# ascending, and C-F-Bb-Eb descending pure fifths. From Bb, one tunes the D# as a chromatic third. The A# is referred to as a different note from Bb, but the note one tunes it to is not mentioned. The only pure third, therefore, would appear to be between Bb and D#. Thus, we have different strings for Eb and D#, as well as for A# and Bb.

The last section, headed by the title “Regola per accordarla per b molle” (fols. 16v–17r), explains how to re-tune the external strings from Bb to Bb: the A#-string is lowered to Ab, tuned as a minor third to F; the D#-string is lowered to Db, tuning it as a pure fifth with the Ab previously obtained. The author of the *Accordatura* uses the term “cromatico” for notes such as Ab or Db. Patrizio Barbieri suggests that here the term “cromatico” indicates all notes which are not present in the keyboards of common harpsicords:

The *cembalo ordinario* had a harmonic extension from Eb to G#, while the *cimbalo cromatico*’s range extended, by fifths, from Gb to B#, with split keys for C#/Db, D#/Eb, E#/F, F#/Gb, G#/Ab, A#/Bb, B/B#. Therefore, Ab and A#, like Db and D# were called “note cromatiche” because they were not present on the *cimbalo ordinario*.<sup>16</sup>

To refer to the individual rows of strings, the author uses two distinct terms: “ordine” and “riga”. Strings are also sometimes referred to as being on the “outside” (*fuora*) or on the “inside” (*dentro*). While it is apparent from the rules that the “inside” row is the central row of strings with the sharps, flats

15 Meaning a modern C major scale in the outer rows.

16 I would like to thank Patrizio Barbieri for sharing this information with me by letter.

and *cromatici*, the term *fuora* is ambiguous: it can refer to both the left, and the right row of strings (viewed from the player's perspective).

Generally, the three *ordini* are numbered as first to third (*primo, secondo, terzo*). The *Primo* and *Terzo ordine* are the outer rows of strings, for the rules state that these must be tuned in unison to each other.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore it is clear that the *Primo ordine* is the row of strings to the left from the player's perspective:<sup>18</sup> it is the first row to be tuned, providing the basis for then tuning the other two rows; considering that the tuning key must be generally held in the right hand while plucking with the left, beginning to tune the left row of strings is by far the most ergonomic.<sup>19</sup>

One time the author uses the term *riga* synonymously to *ordine* in the last line of fol. 16v: in this case the *seconda riga* surprisingly indicates the right outside row and not the inner one; perhaps the author's intention was to refer to the "second outside row", after just having referred to the first one.

Since this final section presents some difficulties in interpretation, and the written rules do not always match up with the musical examples, we will present here a suggested reading of the Italian text of the final section. This reading can be easily compared with the facsimile of the manuscript and the

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<sup>17</sup> Fol. 17r, line 5.

<sup>18</sup> Assuming that the strings are attached to the tuning pins on the left side of the neck of the harp and that the right hand plays in the upper register of the instrument, while the left hand plays in the lower.

<sup>19</sup> Compare this numbering to Bartolomeo Giobenardi, *Tratado de la Música*, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Ms. 8931, fol. 23r. "Il primo [registro] comincia dal primo C fa ut grave e si estende per ordine seguito, et uguale sino al D la sol re acuto de la quarta moltiplicazione del diapason, e tutto questo registro viene a servire la mano sinistra. Il terzo [ordine] comincia di sopra dall'ultimo C solfa acuto, et con medesimo seguimento et ordine, se ne cala all'ultimo suo C sol fa ut che viene ad esser la prima ottava di C fa ut grave: et questo reggistro serve tutto intero alla mano destra. Il segundo viene ad essere quello di mezzo alli due detti per distanza uguale all'uno et all'altro di fuori, volendosi toccare è forza interporre li detti tra le corde delli ordini di fuora e sia con la mano destra o con la sinistra [...]". See also Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle: Seconde partie*. Paris: Sebastien Cramoisy 1636, Livre troisieme, Proposition 24, 169: Mersenne numbers the rows of strings of the *harpe à trois rangs* from left to right, calling them "premier rang, second rang, troisieme rang".

complete transcription (see p. 390–397), as well as its English translation (p. 398–399).

<fol. 16v>

[...]

Regola per accordarla per b molle.

Bisogna cavar fuori b fa b mi per b molle ed accordare a la mi re Cromatico in b molle Cromatico [cioè scordare il la $\sharp$  in la b, entrambi detti cromatici] come si vedrà nel sottoscritto esempio.<sup>20</sup>

[Ex. 17A–F]

Cominciate da b fa b molle sotto la Chiave di C sol fa ut di dentro [= di mezzo], e [con questo] accordate all’Unisono b fa b mi di fuori [=sinistra]; dopo pigliate b fa b mi in seconda riga<sup>21</sup> [destra, l’altra fila esterna] con quel b fa b mi b molle di dentro [di mezzo, che è b], e [quest’ultimo] accor-

<fol. 17>

datelo maggiore [cioè il si della fila di mezzo da bemolle diventa bequadro, eventualmente accordato da sol, come terza maggiore]; dopo pigliate quel primo b fa h mi che [dal quale] avete accordato la prima volta [cioè il si di mezzo che è stato accordato bequadro]<sup>22</sup> ed accordateci la sua Ottava sotto, di dentro sotto[. D]opo accordate la sua 8:<sup>a</sup> sopra[. Il] primo b fa b mi nel Secondo<sup>23</sup> Ordine [destra] puro [pure] comincerete [ad accordare partendo] dal primo b fa h mi [destra] accordandoci [accordando] all’unisono l’istesso dal b fa h mi b molle [di sinistra], e poi la sua 8:<sup>a</sup> sopra.<sup>24</sup>

In quanto al b fa h mi molle. [Per quel che riguarda questa accordatura per b molle]

<sup>20</sup> See Transcription, 395, n. 4 for the explanation of Ex. [17A–F].

<sup>21</sup> Here it seems that “seconda riga” refers to the other diatonic row, not the middle row: in the following sentence the author describes to tune the B of the *seconda riga* to the B *di dentro*.

<sup>22</sup> Maybe for this reason in the Roman manuscript the B is named as b fa h mi, whereas in the manuscript in Bologna it is named b fa b mi.

<sup>23</sup> The manuscript in Bologna reads “Terzo Ordine”.

<sup>24</sup> The manuscript in Bologna reads: “le sue ottave sopra”. Confirming that this refers to the row of strings on the right hand side: the left row only ascends normally only one octave above middle C.

Bisogna Accordarci a la mi re cromatico in b molle [il la diesis in la bemolle] e D. la sol re<sup>25</sup> puro [pure] in b molle [e pure il re diesis in re bemolle], che cantando per b molle spesso si toccano. Comincerete dalla Chiave di F e farci 3:<sup>a</sup> che sarà a la mi re Cromatico [la bequadro che però è corda cromatica essendo normalmente accordata come a la b o la diesis], [e successivamente] lo calarete mezza voce fingendo che quell'F fa ut sia re e a la mi re fa che sarà 3:<sup>a</sup> minore.

Accordata che sarà questa [la corda del lab] [si farà la sua] quinta sotto che sarà D. la sol re Cromatico,<sup>26</sup> [cioè re bemolle] e l'aggiusterete in [mezzo alla] quinta giusta [sib–fa che è stata accordata come quinta pura]; tutti due [sia il reb testato su sib, sia il la b eventualmente testato su fa, sono terze] minori, poi d'8:<sup>a</sup> in 8<sup>a</sup>.

### Acknowledgements

I would like to thank many people who assisted me in the transcription and understanding of this *Accordatura*. Without their generous help I would not have been able to reach the end of this text.

Martin Kirnbauer for having corrected my first transcription of the manuscript, Armando Carideo for having checked my transcription with the original manuscript in Rome, Patrizio Barbieri for having checked my transcription of the Bologna copy and for the many advises, Dinko Fabris for having addressed me to Giuseppina Crescenzo who sent me photos of the complete manuscript in Rome, Arnaldo Morelli for having drawn my attention to his fundamental article on Girolamo Chiti, and for having suggested that the *Accordatura* could be Chiti's autograph, Lorenzo Montez for writing the codicological description, Emma Huijsser for editing the musical examples, and finally Vincent Kibildis who, in Milan, on a very hot day with 38 degrees Celsius, helped me in understanding the last part of the *Accordatura*, translated it into English and checked with me the final text. I would also like to thank Martina Papiro for the patience in reading all the versions of this text and editing it.

25 Should be amended to “D. la sol re ‘cromatico’”.

26 See the hypothetical Ex. 17bis, p. 385.

2. Facsimile and transcription of I-Rli, Ms. Musica C.9. bis/2, fols. 15v-17r

Moro misto

In exitu Israel de Aegypto  
Domus Jacob de Populo Barbaro

43

Accordatura per L'arpa o Cembalo

Quando l'Instrumento sarà accordato in tutto, sempre si deve cominciare dalla chiave di  $\text{C sol fa ut}$  questo  $\text{C sol fa ut}$  se si vede il Cimbalo o Arpa accordare con altro strumento si farà unisono con il  $\text{C sol fa ut}$  dell'altro strumento già accordato, ed accordato che sarà il  $\text{D: C sol fa ut}$  si seguirà come si dirà nell'istesso foglio

8 <sup>a</sup> quinta C sol fa ut 5 <sup>a</sup> va accordato	5 <sup>a</sup> va accordato quinta scala	D sol fa ut va accordato 5 <sup>a</sup> scala
D sol fa ut 8 <sup>a</sup> quinta	8 <sup>a</sup> quinta va accordato 5 <sup>a</sup> quinta	5 <sup>a</sup> quinta va accordato 5 <sup>a</sup> quinta
8 <sup>a</sup> quinta dato con flami 8 <sup>a</sup> quinta	5 <sup>a</sup> quinta va accordato 5 <sup>a</sup> quinta	8 <sup>a</sup> quinta va accordato 5 <sup>a</sup> quinta 8 <sup>a</sup> quinta

<fol. 15v>

### Accordatura per l'Arpa ò Cembalo

Quando l'istrumento sarà scordato in tutto, sempre si deve cominciare dalla Chiave di C<sup>1</sup> sol fa ut e questo C sol fa ut se si deve il Cimbalo ò Arpa accordare con altro stromento[,] si farà unisono con il C sol fa ut dell' altro instrumento già accordato, ed accordato che sarà il d[ett]o C sol fa ut si seguirà come si dirà nell'infrascritte Regole

[1A]	[1B]	[2]
		
8: <sup>a</sup> giusta C. sol fa ut sotto vò accordato	G. sol re ut vò accordato quinta scarsa	D. la sol re vò accor= dato in 5: <sup>a</sup> scarsa
[3]	[4]	[5]
		
D. la sol re sotto vò ac= cordato 8: <sup>a</sup> giusta	A la mi re sopra vò acc: quinta scarsa	E la mi vò accordato 5: <sup>a</sup> giusta
[6]	[7]	[8A]                      [8B]
		    
E la mi sotto vò accor= dato con E la mi 8: <sup>a</sup> giusta	B. fa b mi sopra vò accordato 5: <sup>a</sup> giusta	F fa ut sotto vò accordato 5: <sup>a</sup> giusta F fa ut sopra 8: <sup>a</sup> giusta

i) "Chiave di C": C-clef.

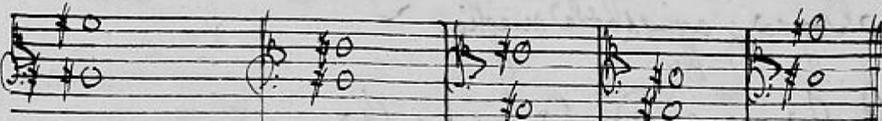
Fatti che saranno tutti questi accordi sarà bene tornare da capo 8<sup>o</sup> e 5<sup>o</sup> con la 3<sup>a</sup> in mezzo e se qualcuna scorderà verrà che non saranno aggiustati bene le 5<sup>o</sup> le quali sono difficili. Ma venghiamo alli b moli e sue 5<sup>a</sup> sotto e sopra con sue 8<sup>o</sup>



F. fa ut con b fa Prova b fa con fa fa fa sopra  
 B mi sotto quinta giusta  
 biniamo in stroa a B Dieji due Cromatici



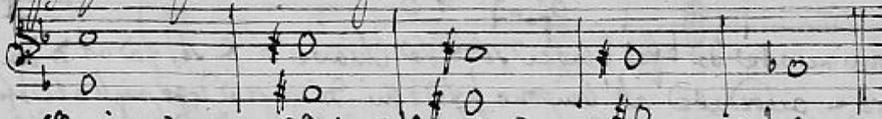
B. mi con f fa ut Prova B. fa b mi con  
 sopra quinta giusta D. la sol re b<sup>o</sup>  
 Cromatica



F. fa ut, stro 8<sup>o</sup> C. sol fa ut sopra C. sol fa ut 9. sol re ut 9. sol re ut sopra  
 giusta quinta giusta stro 8<sup>o</sup> giusta sopra 8<sup>o</sup> giusta 8<sup>o</sup> giusta.

Si sequita d' 8<sup>o</sup> in 8<sup>o</sup> fino ad F fa ut cominciando d' Alama Cromati:  
 e, B fa b mi b mola C sol fa ut Dieji, D. la sol re, flami b mola  
 F fa ut Dieji Cromatico

Più altri poi a quelli che sequitano



(8<sup>o</sup> giusta) 8<sup>o</sup> giusta 8<sup>o</sup> giusta 8<sup>o</sup> giusta 8<sup>o</sup> b. giusta

<fol. 16r>

Fatti che saranno tutti questi accordi sarà bene tornare da capo 8:<sup>e</sup> e 5:<sup>e</sup> con le 3:<sup>e</sup> in mezzo, e se qualchuna scorderà verrà che non saranno aggiustate bene le 5:<sup>e</sup> le quali sono difficili. Ma venghiamo alli b molli con sue 5:<sup>e</sup> sotto, e sopra con sue 8:<sup>e</sup>

[9A]	[9B]	[9C]	[9D]
F. fa ut con b fa B mi sotto quinta giusta	Prova	b fa con E la fa sotto 5: <sup>a</sup> giusta	E la fa sopra con E la fa 8: <sup>a</sup> giusta

Viniamo in'oltre à 3 Diesis e due cromatici<sup>2</sup>

[10A]	[10B]	[10C]	[10D]
B. mi con f fa ut sopra quinta giusta	Prova	B. fa b mi con D. La sol re 3: <sup>a</sup> cromatica	Prova

[11A]	[11B]	[11C]	[11D]	[11E]
F fa ut. sotto 8: <sup>a</sup> giusta	C. sol fa ut sopra quinta giusta	C. sol fa ut sotto 8: <sup>a</sup> giusta	G. sol re ut sopra 5: <sup>a</sup> giusta	G. sol re ut sopra 8: <sup>a</sup> giusta

Si seguita d'8:<sup>a</sup> in 8:<sup>a</sup> sino ad F fa ut cominciando d'A la mi re Cromatico, B fa b mi b molle[,] C sol fa ut Diesis, D. la sol re, E la mi b molle F fa ut Diesis Cromatico<sup>3</sup>

Ripigliasi poi à quelli che seguitano

[12A]	[12B]	[12C]	[12D]	[12E]
8: <sup>a</sup> giusta				

2) See also Introduction, Ex. 10bis.

3) See Introduction, text related to note 14.

Stendo franti di Dieci, e Li b molli dell' Ordine di mezzo Li (ripri-  
 gia dal 1°mo Ordine)



14

d'atelo maggiore dopo pigliato quel  $\text{f}^{\text{a}} \text{mi} \text{b} \text{fa} \text{mi}$  che avete  
 accordato la  $\text{quinta}$  volta ed accordateci la sua  $\text{stava}$  sotto di  
 dentro sotto; dopo accordate la sua  $8^{\text{a}}$  sopra  $\text{f}^{\text{a}} \text{mi} \text{b} \text{fa} \text{mi}$  nel  
 secondo ordine yuxo comincerete dal  $\text{f}^{\text{a}} \text{mi} \text{b} \text{fa} \text{mi}$  accordan-  
 dovi all'unisono l'istesso  $\text{b} \text{fa} \text{mi} \text{b}$  e poi la sua  $8^{\text{a}}$   
 sopra

In quanto al  $\text{b} \text{fa} \text{mi} \text{b}$ .

D'ogna accordarsi ala  $\text{mi}$  re cromatico in  $\text{b} \text{mi} \text{re}$  di  
 $\text{D. fa sol re yuxo}$  in  $\text{b} \text{mi} \text{re}$ , che cantando  $\text{g} \text{b} \text{mi} \text{re}$  dopo  
 si toccano, comincerete dalla chiave di  $\text{D.}$   $\text{fa} \text{mi} \text{b}$  che  
 sarà  $\text{alamire}$  cromatico lo calarete mezza voce fingendo  
 che quell'  $\text{f}^{\text{a}} \text{ut}$  sia  $\text{re}$  e  $\text{alamire}$   $\text{fa}$  che sarà  $\text{B.}$   $\text{quinta}$   
 accordato che sarà questa  $\text{quinta}$  sotto che sarà  $\text{D.}$   $\text{La}$   
 $\text{sol re}$  cromatico et l'aggiusterete in  $\text{quinta}$  giusta tutti  
 due  $\text{minori}$ , poi  $\text{d' } 8^{\text{a}}$   $\text{mi} \text{ } 8^{\text{a}}$

<fol. 17r>

datelo maggiore [;] dopo pigliate quel primo b fa h mi che avete accordato la prima volta<sup>6</sup> ed accordateci la sua Ottava sotto, di dentro sotto; dopo accordate la sua 8:<sup>a</sup> sopra primo b fa b mi nel Secondo<sup>7</sup> Ordine puro comincerete dal primo b fa h mi accordandoci all'unisono l'istesso dal b fa h mi b molle, e poi la sua 8:<sup>a</sup> sopra.<sup>8</sup>

In quanto al b fa h mi molle.

Bisogna Accordarci a la mi re cromatico in b molle e D. la sol re<sup>9</sup> puro in b molle, che cantando per b molle spesso si toccano. Comincerete dalla Chiave di F<sup>10</sup> e farci 3:<sup>a</sup> che sarà a la mi re Cromatico lo calarete mezza voce fingendo che quell'F fa ut sia re e a la mi re fa che sarà 3:<sup>a</sup> minore[.] accordata che sarà questa quinta sotto che sarà D. la sol re Cromatico,<sup>11</sup> e l'aggiusterete in quinta giusta; tutti due minori, poi d'8:<sup>a</sup> in 8<sup>a</sup>.

6) See Introduction, n. 22.

7) See Introduction, n. 23.

8) See Introduction, n. 24.

9) Should be amended to "D. la sol re cromatico".

10) "Chiave di F": F-clef.

11) See Introduction, Ex. 17bis.

### 3. Tuning for the harp or harpsichord (Summarized translation by Vincent Kibilidis)

When the instrument is completely out of tune, one must always begin tuning at middle C. If the harpsichord or harp is to be tuned to another instrument, this C should be tuned to the C of the other, already tuned instrument. Once this C has been tuned, one proceeds as will be explained in the following rules:

[Ex. 1–8]

Once all of these strings have been tuned, it is good to start again from the beginning, [testing] octaves and fifths with the third in the middle. And if any [third] is out of tune, you will see that the fifths, which are difficult [to tune] are not well adjusted (*aggiustate*). But let us proceed to the flats with their fifths below, and their octaves above:

[Ex. 9]

Furthermore, let us come to the three sharps [C-sharp, F-sharp, G-sharp] and two *cromatici* [A-sharp, and D-sharp].

[Ex. 10–11]

Continue tuning in octaves until the top F-sharp, beginning with A-sharp, and proceeding with B-flat, C-sharp, D-sharp, E-flat, and F-sharp *diesis cromatico*.<sup>27</sup>

Return then to the [notes] that follow:

[Ex. 12]

Having finished [tuning] the sharps and flats of the middle row [of strings], return to the first row.

[Ex. 13]

Then take the [strings of] the third row [of strings, and tune them] in unison [to the first row].

[Ex. 14–16]

These octaves must always be tested with their upper and lower fifths to better adjust these [fifths].

Rule to tune *per b molle*.

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<sup>27</sup> See Introduction, p. 385, text related to n. 14.

B must be tuned in the outside rows as [B-]flat, and A-sharp must be tuned to A-flat, as will be seen in the following example:

[Ex. 17]

Start from the B-flat of the inside row, below middle C, and tune the B of the outer row in unison [to it]. Then take the B[-natural] of the second [outside] row, and tune the B-flat of the inside row to it[, so it will be a] major [third to the G]. Then take this first B [of the inside row, now B-natural, to] which you tuned the first time, and tune its octave below on the inside [row]; then tune its octave above. [Now all Bs on the inside row have been tuned as naturals.] Take the B of the second [outside] row then, and tune it in unison to the other outer B-flat, and then its upper octave.

As far as concerns the tuning with B-flat:

A-sharp must be tuned as A-flat, and D-sharp as D-flat, for these are played often when singing *per b molle*. Begin from F below middle C and tune a major third to it, which will be A-natural; then lower it by a half-step, pretending that said F be a D, and the A be an F, making [the interval between them] a minor third.

Once [this A-flat] has been tuned, [you will tune] its fifth below which will be D-flat, and test it [as minor third] in the pure fifth [B-flat – F-natural]; both [A-flat and D-flat must be tuned as] minor [thirds]. Then tune in octaves.



# The “Carlo G manuscript”

## New light on early seventeenth century accompaniment and diminution practices

*Elam Rotem*

### Introduction

The newly surfaced “Carlo G manuscript” constitutes an exceptionally important finding in the fields of early continuo and vocal ornamentation alike. Containing around 300 pages of written-out keyboard accompaniments for highly ornamented monodies and duets, this manuscript is probably one of the most concrete and substantial sources that survives from that time.

The so-called “Carlo G manuscript” was bought around 15 years ago in a flea market near Vienna for circa 60 euros (!). Later, after its importance had been recognized by Roman Chlada, who subsequently wrote his bachelor thesis about it,<sup>1</sup> the manuscript was scanned and sent to Sotheby’s for sale. Iain Fenlon was assigned to examine the manuscript and to write a short description of it, and in 2007 the manuscript was resold for 65,300 pounds.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Roman Chlada, “Die Begleitung am Tasteninstrument bei Carlo G.”. The work can be downloaded on this link: [www.romanchlada.com/download/BA-Arbeit.pdf](http://www.romanchlada.com/download/BA-Arbeit.pdf) (10 January 2017).

<sup>2</sup> Sotheby’s, London, “Music”, 4 December 2007, lot 34: “Early seventeenth-century Italian motets”. According to Iain Fenlon, the manuscript contains “321 pages, folio (ca. 33×23.5 cm), including the 2-page autograph index signed, the double-page openings numbered 1–158, bull’s head watermark, with 4 smaller fragments loosely inserted, contemporary limp vellum, vellum tabs, Italian provenance (probably Rome or the Papal States).” Further findings by Fenlon and the team from Sotheby’s (2007) are available on this link: [www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2007/music-l07408/lot.34.html](http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2007/music-l07408/lot.34.html) (31 May 2017).

The manuscript is currently inaccessible in private (anonymous) hands; research on its content is only possible thanks to the scans made prior to the auction.<sup>3</sup>

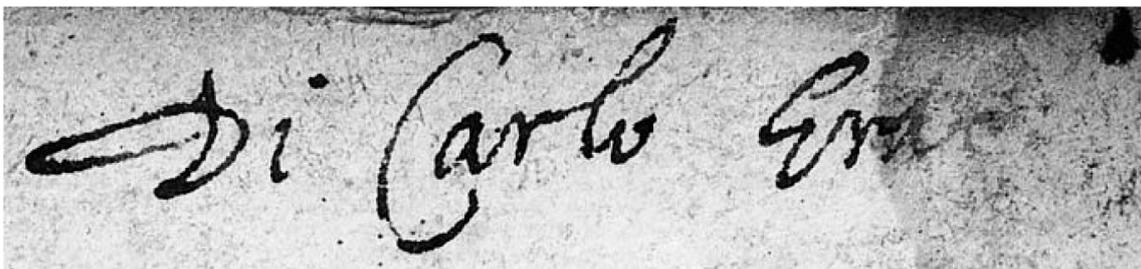
The manuscript contains 89 liturgical and para-liturgical pieces in Latin for one or two highly ornamented vocal lines and organ accompaniment (see Ex. 1 showing the first pages of music in the manuscript). There are 55 motets for one voice and organ (four of which are repeated, with the organ part replaced by a *chitarrone* tablature), 23 motets for two voices and organ, one motet for two voices and basso continuo, and one motet for four singers and two organs (two groups of performers each with two voices and organ). In addition to the vocal motets, there are five instrumental toccatas which are meant to serve as “preludes” for specific motets (e.g. *toccata per il motetto* ...). See the complete index in the appendix of this article, Table 1.

75 of the pieces in the manuscript are compositions by Carlo G; his name appears fully only on the index of the manuscript, but unfortunately a stain hides his last name (see Ex. 2). In the rest of the manuscript, only the initials C G are used (e.g. see the top left part of Ex. 1). Alongside compositions by Carlo G, the manuscript also includes a few pieces (or arrangements of pieces) by Giulio Caccini (1551–1618; named Giulio Romano in the manuscript), Luca Marenzio (1553–1599), Paolo Quagliati (c. 1555–1628), Girolamo Giacobbi (1567–1629), and Bartolomeo Barbarino (c. 1568–c. 1617). Excluding the piece by Marenzio (see below), thus far none of the other pieces in the manuscript have been found in other sources; all the items in the manuscript are unica.

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<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately, several photos are missing from the original scanning, and this is evident in the index (see Table 1 in the Appendix of this article). As we do not have access to the manuscript, we cannot tell if only photos are missing or if some pages are physically missing in the original. However, the few missing photos seem insignificant in the context of the manuscript as a whole.





Ex. 2: Carlo G MS, title on the table of content.

## Historical context

Since we do not know the identity of Carlo G,<sup>4</sup> we may learn about his manuscript's historical context through related material, like pieces mentioned in the manuscript that are known to us, composers that are mentioned in the manuscript, and lastly, musical sources that are musically similar to the "Carlo G manuscript".

My research has identified only two pieces mentioned in the manuscript which can be found in the historical literature. The first piece is the motet *Sic parasti cor meum* (no. [32]), which bears the title "Se bramate ch'io mora di Luca Marenzio". The mentioned madrigal, originally written for six voices, is found in Marenzio's fourth book of madrigals (Venice, 1587).<sup>5</sup> Therefore it would seem that the motet presented by Carlo G is a *contrafactum* and arrangement of a secular Italian six-voice madrigal into a sacred Latin motet for two highly ornamented voices and organ accompaniment. Interestingly,

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4 The only suggestion for the identity of "Carlo G" was made by the team of Sotheby's while preparing the manuscript for sale (see no. 2). They suggested the name Carlo Gratiani based on an evidence presented in: Tibor Tallian, "Archivdokumente über die Tätigkeit Stefano Landis in Rom in den Jahren von 1624 bis 1639", in: *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 19, fasc. 1/4 (1977), 267–295 ("[...] A spese dette s[cudi] 68.80 m[one]ta in cro come sopra pagati con mand[at]o 3023 al Sud[ett]o S[igno]r Carlo [Gratiani] p[er] pagarli a diu[er]si musici [...]"). Fenlon believes that "while it is of course possible the evidence is not strong" (private correspondence, 1.12.2014).

5 Luca Marenzio, *Il quarto libro de madrigali a sei voci*, Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi 1587.

while the original madrigal was written in a set of high-clefs (G2, G2, C2, C3, C3, F3), this arrangement is transposed a fourth lower, using the practice nowadays referred to as *chiavette*;<sup>6</sup> this feature, in addition to the written-out ornamentation and written-out accompaniment, demonstrates the practicality of the manuscript. A comparison of the original Italian text of Marenzio’s madrigal with the Latin *contrafactum* in the Carlo G manuscript follows:

**Original 1587:**

Se bramate ch’io mora  
 Gli è van credete à me vostro desire  
 Che chi vita non ha non può morire  
 Co’ bei vostri occhi voi  
 Datemi vita e poi  
 Havrà ciascun di noi quel che desia  
 Voi la mia morte & io la vita mia.

**Contrafactum in C. G. manuscript:**

Sic parasti cor meum  
 et semitas meas sic direxisti  
 quod iram inimici non timebo  
 o Iesu virtus mea  
 gloria mea et salus  
 ostende mihi lucem et satiabor  
 et quiescam semper in vita mea.

The second piece which is mentioned in the manuscript and found elsewhere is placed in the Alleluia section of the motet *Mater Hierusalem* (no. [37]). On the upper margin of fols. 70v–71r, above the score, the copyist/scribe wrote: “Passo d’Oratio Vecchi del madrigale quella ch’in mille selve à 5” (“passage from Orazio Vecchi’s madrigal *quella ch’in mille selve* for five voices”).<sup>7</sup> Indeed, a comparison proves that Vecchi’s passage was copied and re-used by Carlo G in what is, apart from being transposed by one tone, an original composition (see Ex. 3).

In terms of related musical style, a source that should be mentioned is the *Arie Devote* by Ottavio Durante Romano, which was printed by Simone Verovio (Rome, 1608). The motets in that collection, for one voice and basso continuo, have much in common with Carlo G’s monodies; both are highly ornamented pieces that use similar diminution figures and ornament signs. The same publisher, Verovio, also published Luzzaschi’s famous *madrigali*

<sup>6</sup> A lot was written about the issue of high clefs combinations and their transpositions. For a general overview see Patrizio Barbieri, “‘Chiavette’ and modal transposition in Italian practice (ca. 1500–1837)”, in: *Recercare* 3 (1991), 5–79.

<sup>7</sup> Vecchi’s madrigal is found in *Madrigali a cinque voci di Horatio Vecchi [...]. Libro primo*, Venice: Angelo Gardano 1589.

a)

C  
an - cor ve - drol - lo D'her - bet - te ri - ves - tir - si lie - ta piog - gia

A  
an - cor ve - drol - lo D'her - bet - te ri - ves - tir - si lie - ta piog - gia

Q  
an - cor ve - drol - lo D'her - bet - te ri - ves - tir - si lie - ta piog - gia

T  
an - cor ve - drol - lo D'her - bet - te ri - ves - tir - si lie - ta piog - gia

B  
an - cor ve - drol - lo D'her - bet - te ri - ves - tir - si lie - ta piog - gia

b)

Al - le - lu - ia Al - le - lu - ia

Al - le - lu - ia Al - le - lu - ia Al - le - lu - ia

EX. 3: Comparison between a) Orazio Vecchi, last section of *quella ch'in mille selve* (*Madrigali a 5vv*, 1589), and b) Carlo G MS, a section from *Mater Hierusalem*.

(Rome, 1601), which with its keyboard accompaniment also has much in common with the “Carlo G manuscript”. Another publication with some connections to the “Carlo G manuscript” is Barbarino’s second book of motets from 1614,<sup>8</sup> where for each of the book’s monodies in the book Barbarino didactically supplies two versions, *semplice* and *passaggiato* (without

<sup>8</sup> *Il secondo libro delli motetti di Bartholomeo Barbarino*, Venice: Bartholomeo Magni 1614/5.

and with ornamentation). As Carlo G’s diminution style is quite similar to Barbarino’s, and since he included in his manuscript one piece by Barbarino (no. [5]), it is possible to hypothesize some connection between the two composers. Another source which has similarities in style to the “Carlo G manuscript” is the *Mottectis et dialogis* by Quagliati,<sup>9</sup> yet another composer mentioned in the manuscript.

Considering the references to pieces from the late 1580s (Marenzio’s and Vecchi’s madrigals), the general flourishing period of the other composers mentioned in the manuscript, and the similarities with other musical sources, it seems possible that the “Carlo G manuscript” was scribed and in use in the period of around 1600 to 1620. As there are several related sources from Rome (more Roman connections highlighted below), one may suggest that Carlo G was somewhere in Rome or in an institution with Roman connections.

## Notation

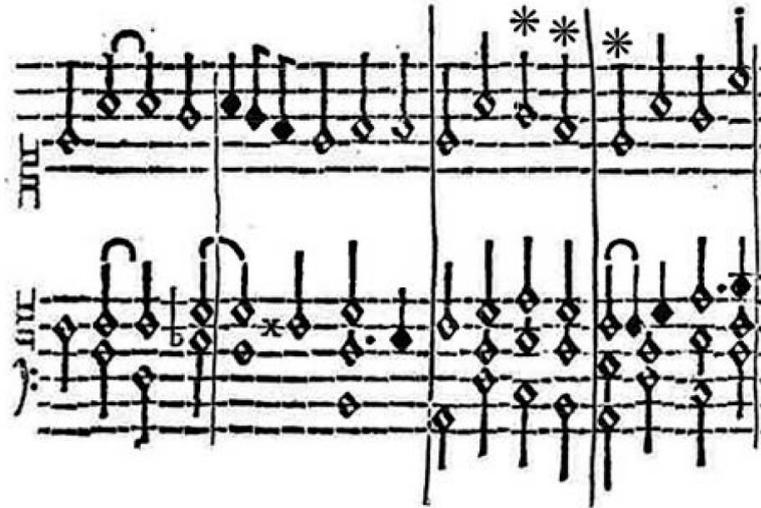
The vocal line is written on a standard 5-line staff, while the keyboard part is written on two 7-line staves, one for each hand. The notation of keyboard parts at the time – the *intavolatura* – was not standardised, and in different sources we find a variety of numbers of lines on the staves.<sup>10</sup> The music written in the *intavolatura* is an intabulation of several voices, but as Alexander Silbiger explains, the keyboard *intavolatura* of the late Renaissance and early Baroque is not a score in the modern sense where one could see the original details of the counterpoint; it is closer to a tablature notation where the musician is merely instructed as to which key to strike and when.<sup>11</sup> Practically speaking, while a modern keyboard score can express the details of counterpoint using different stem directions for each voice, consistent usage of pauses for each voice, and extra lines to show where each voice goes, the

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<sup>9</sup> Paulo Quagliati, *Mottectis et dialogis* Rome: Baptistam Robletum 1620.

<sup>10</sup> For example, this is evident in the keyboard parts found in the different publications of Simone Verovio (1586–1601).

<sup>11</sup> Alexander Silbiger, “Is the Italian keyboard ‘intavolatura’ a tablature?”, in: *Recercare* 3 (1991), 81–103.



EX. 4: Costanzo Antegnati, *L'Antegnata intavolature de ricercari d'organo* (Rome, 1608), fol. 1v.

Italian *intavolatura* cannot; it simply does not employ these notational means, and therefore provides the reader with less information than a modern keyboard score. Thus, it is not surprising that most of the polyphonic keyboard repertoire from that time was published in *partitura* – full scores – rather than in *intavolatura* notation. This is an important point to acknowledge before reading and assessing Carlo G's keyboard parts.

Carlo G's keyboard parts contain very accurate, skilful counterpoint. What might seem to be parallel octaves and fifths in Carlo G's keyboard parts is actually one of the features of playing an arrangement of several voices on a keyboard, either when adapting an existing polyphonic piece or when playing or improvising in polyphonic textures. One can find such apparent parallels (which are normally an outcome of voice crossings) in any intabulation of polyphonic music.<sup>12</sup> Example 4 demonstrates where, in a *ricercar* by Costanzo Antegnati, parallel octaves and fifths are visible to the reader (see asterisks), yet are surely not integral to the original fabric of counterpoint.

<sup>12</sup> This topic is mentioned by Lodovico Viadana in his famous preface to *cento concerti ecclesiastici* Rome: Giacomo Vincenti 1602, point 9, and implied also in the treatise of Francesco Bianciardi *Breve regola per imparar' sonare sopra il basso con ogni sorte d'istrumento*, Siena: [s. n.] 1607.

An interesting feature of the “Carlo G manuscript” is the addition of optional variants for certain vocal passages. In many pieces, there are one or more *ossias*; these appear typically, but not always, on the final cadence, suggesting different variants for certain diminutions. These optional variants are not consistent in their nature: sometimes they offer an easier and shorter passage, but sometimes a longer and more virtuosic one. They are mostly not labeled with text, yet when they are, it is along the lines of: “passaggio altro” (“another passage”; fol. 34r), or “per chi vuol variare” (“for those who would like to vary”; fol. [159r]).

In the motet *Et dilectus meus* (no. [67]), one of the optional variant passages bears the text: “à S. Ma Vitta hò dato q[ues]to”. This might suggest that this passage was sung by or written for a certain Maria Vittoria. Unfortunately, the name Maria Vittoria is rather common and no historical candidate has been identified. The solo singing of women in church was not a completely foreign concept during this time. Along with Caccini’s monody (no. [6]), which is labeled “per monache” (“for nuns”), we know of the famous Vittoria Archilei who sung with Emilio de’ Cavalieri in the Holy week of 1585 in Rome, and of 1599 in Pisa.<sup>13</sup>

## Ornamentation

In addition to having written-out virtuosic diminutions, the “Carlo G manuscript” is swarming with ornament signs and performance instruction signs unlike in any other contemporaneous source; the vocal and keyboard parts have in total circa 700 signs. Although there is no table or other means of explanation in the source itself, it is possible to recover the meaning of the signs with a high degree of certainty. The most common sign is the plus sign (“+”; circa 480 signs); less common sign is the “g” sign (circa 200 signs); and rather rare is the “t” or “tr” signs (circa 20).

The “+” sign has two usages/functions. The first and most common occurs as it is found on the last note of *passaggi*. It could be found both in the voice and in the accompaniment, but it is more common in the voice,

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<sup>13</sup> See Elam Rotem (ed.), *Emilio de’ Cavalieri – lamentations and responsories for the Holy week*, Wilhelmshaven: Florian Noetzel Verlag 2014, note 10.

and often occurs before the introduction of a new syllable in the text. We do not know of another source that employs the “+” sign in this way;<sup>14</sup> nevertheless, there are two Roman sources from 1615, both printed by Niccolò Borbone, which may shed light on the matter. Francesco Severi’s *Salmi* (Rome, 1615) employs an “F” sign on the last notes of diminutions, a similar context to the common usage of the “+” sign in the “Carlo G manuscript”. According to Severi, the “F” sign is an abbreviation of “fermare” (“stop”), and was used as a performance instruction to avoid confusion between *passaggi* or at the end of a *passaggio*.<sup>15</sup> It could be added that these little stops ease the coordination between the singer and the accompanist when performing a lot of diminutions. See Ex. 5 from Severi’s publication, where the “F” sign is located at the end of each of the four *passaggi* (there is also one ‘t’ [trillo] sign). Comparing Severi’s use of the “F” signs with Carlo G’s “+” signs, we can see that both are used in a similar way; in Ex. 6 we can see the “+” signs at the end of each of the four *passaggi* in the upper voice, and once in the second voice. The similar usage of Severi’s “F” and Carlo G’s “+” increases the plausibility that both signs have the same meaning. Moreover, the “F” and the “+” are typographically similar, and it could be that Carlo G’s “+” arises from a transformation of Severi’s “F”. The second Roman source that describes a brief articulation stop between quick *passaggi* is Frescobaldi’s first book of *Toccatas* (Rome, 1615).<sup>16</sup>

Beyond these references, there are certain points where it seems that Carlo G realized the “+” sign himself. In the organ version of *Convertisti planctum* (no. [24]) the “+” sign is used on the first measure, whereas in the version with the *chitarrone* accompaniment (no. [51]) the sign is missing yet the rhythm is different, allowing a written-out short break before the next measure. See Ex. 7 for a comparison between the two versions.

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<sup>14</sup> In later French music the “+” sign can represent a trill ornament; this is not the case in the “Carlo G manuscript”.

<sup>15</sup> Francesco Severi, *Salmi passaggiati per tutte le voci nella maniera che si cantano a Roma* [...], Rome: Nicolò Borboni 1615, fol. [IIv]: “Che si fermi un poco chi canta dove ritrova la lettera .F. e questo tanto quanto non paia di cantare seguitamente l’un passaggio con l’altro, non interrompendo la voce [...]”

<sup>16</sup> Girolamo Frescobaldi, *Toccatte e partite d’intavolatura di cimbalo* [...] *Libro primo* (Rome: Nicolo Borbone 1615). See preface, point 4.

Ex. 5: F. Severi, *Salmi* (Rome, 1615), fol. 55.

Ex. 6: Carlo G MS, *Miserere*, fol. [160r].

Ex. 7: Carlo G MS, comparison between the beginnings of the two versions of *Convertisti planctum*: a) from no. [24]; b) from no. [51]).

The second usage of the “+” sign is in the context of a series of four *crome* (quavers), where the “+” is found on the second and fourth notes. Out of approximately 480 “+” signs, circa 50 are pairs of signs in such a context. There is no direct evidence for the sign’s meaning, but a possible interpretation is that it represents a transformation of the four equal *crome* into a



EX. 8: From G. Caccini, *Nuove musiche* (Florence, 1602), preface, facsimile and transcription.

EX. 9: Carlo G. MS, *Peccavi super numerum* (no. [2]), voice part, mm. 30–32. Upper line: as written; lower line: possible realization.

‘lombardic’ rhythm of short-long, short-long (that is, *biscroma*, dotted *croma*, *biscroma*, dotted *croma*: see Ex. 8, the version “with more grace”). These transformations of rhythms from “square” to “*sprezzatura*” are described by Giulio Caccini in text and in music alike. See Ex. 8 from Caccini’s famous preface to his *Nuove Musiche* (facsimile and transcription) where he demonstrates how to achieve “più grazia” (“more grace”) when performing a series of four *crome*. Although this rhythm is highly common in early Baroque monody, it is not found in the “Carlo G manuscript” in standard notation. Thus, it could be that while Carlo G did not clearly notate the common “lombardic” rhythm, it is nevertheless present in the source, notated in a special way with the help of the “+” signs. See Ex. 9 for a possible realization of these ornament signs in a motet by Carlo G.

The other ornamentation signs, the "g" [gruppo] and the "t" [trillo], are found also in other sources from the beginning of the 17th century and have a rather clear meaning.<sup>17</sup>

### Original pieces or arrangements?

Ten out of the 89 motets in the manuscript are indicated by the scribe to have originated in polyphonic pieces for six, seven, or eight voices.<sup>18</sup> That is, these ten motets for one or two ornamented voices and organ accompaniment were arranged from polyphonic sources. Maybe also the rest or at least several of the pieces in the manuscript are not original monodies or duets, but were arranged from polyphonic compositions.

For example, the analysis of *Veni dilecte mi* (no. [33]) reveals that this motet was most probably originally polyphonic. Throughout the motet, the voices in the accompaniment can be easily fitted with text underlay. In original monodies this is often not possible due to long notes in the bass that cannot carry all the text's syllables. Looking at the text of the first part of the motet, we find further indication that the piece was originally of a polyphonic source:

#### [Song of Songs 7:11–12]

Veni dilecte mi egrediamur in agrum	Come, my beloved, let us go to the countryside;
commoremur in villis	let us spend the night in the villages.
Mane surgamus ad vineas	Let us rise early to go to the vineyards,
videamus si floruit vinea	to see if the vines have budded,
si flores fructus parturiunt	to see if their blossomanuscript have opened,
si floruerunt [mala punica]	if [the pomegranates] are in bloom,
ibi dabo tibi ubera mea.	there I will give you my love.

<sup>17</sup> For example, both in Emilio de Cavalieri's *Rappresentazione di anima, et di corpo*, Rome: Nicolò Mutij 1600, and in Giulio Caccini's *Le nuove musiche*, Firenze: Giorgio Marescotti 1602, the *gruppo* and the *trillo* are explained.

<sup>18</sup> See in Table 1, nos. 7, 21, 22, 32, 35, 38, 61, 77, 81, and 86.

a) 31

si flo - res fruc - tus par - tu - ri - unt si flo - ru - e -

si flo - ru - e -

b)

C  
5  
A  
6  
T  
B

si flo - res fruc - tus par - tu - ri - unt si flo - ru - e -

si flo - ru - e -

si flo - res fruc - tus par - tu - ri - unt

si flo - res fruc - tus par - tu - ri - unt si flo - ru - e -

si flo - res fruc - tus par - tu - ri - unt

si flo - ru - e -

Ex. 10: a) Carlo G MS, section from *Veni dilecte mi*; b) Reconstruction of a possible original motet in six voices.

I have placed the words “mala punica” (“pomegranates”) in bold and in square brackets because they do not appear in Carlo G’s arrangement. In the place of the missing words, an instrumental interlude takes place. Upon close inspection, it becomes clear that the voices in the accompaniment can bear the complete text, and probably did in the original polyphonic version. See

a) 33

- runt

runt

[si flo - ru - e - runt ma - la pu - ni - ca]

b)

- runt

runt

si flo - ru - e - runt ma - la pu - ni - ca

runt, si flo - ru - e - runt ma - la pu - ni - ca

si flo - ru - e - runt ma - la pu - ni - ca

runt, si flo - ru - e - runt ma - la pu - ni - ca

Ex. 10 : (continued).

Ex. 10 for the relevant bars (a) along with a reconstruction of a possible original in six voices (b). This explains the omission of the words “mala punica”, which renders the verse nonsensical.<sup>19</sup> It seems that this detail was over-

<sup>19</sup> It is true that portions from Song of Songs texts were regularly edited and used freely; this is clearly evident in the other Song of Songs settings found in the “Carlo G manu-

looked by the arranger in the process of adapting the motet for two voices and instrumental accompaniment.

With this finding, it is safe to say that the motet *Veni dilecte mi* probably originated from a polyphonic source, despite not being indicated by the scribe. Most importantly, it suggests that there might be other pieces in the “Carlo G manuscript” with a similar history.

Proving that monodies in the “Carlo G manuscript” were originally composed as monodies and are not an arrangement of a polyphonic source is rather difficult. An exceptional example is Caccini’s monody *Benche sovra le stelle / Deus dominus meus* (no. [6]); as we know other monodies by Caccini, and since this motet is practically identical to them in style, there is no reason to think that this piece was not a monody in the first place. Another piece that very much seems like an original monody is *Sub umbra illius* (no. [70]). This is due to some typical *seconda prattica* features found at the end of the motet, on the words “quia amore languo” (“for I am sick with love”). On the vocal line where this text is first presented, there is a slow chromatic alteration from  $c''$  to  $c\#''$ , then an irregular downward leap of an augmented fifth to  $f'$ , which is then followed by a resulting unprepared seventh with the bass ( $g'$  against  $A$ ). In the remaining bars of the piece there are no less than four cases of unprepared sevenths between the voice and the bass on the words “amore” or “languo”. Such writing is typical of the expressive monodies for voice and continuo at the first two decades of the 17th century; it therefore seems likely that Carlo G’s *Sub umbra illius* was conceived as a monody. Several other pieces might also have originated as monodies; unfortunately, their origins cannot be traced definitively, leaving open the possibility that they were originally polyphonic pieces that were arranged into monodies.

We have seen that Carlo G did not only borrow and arrange pieces; he also ‘contrafacted’ them (as is evident in Marenzio’s madrigal and Vecchi’s passage). Caccini’s monody (no. [6]) is presented with two texts in different languages – Italian and Latin. Perhaps the Italian text is from the original

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script”. However, in a context where complete verses are used (the second part of the motet also uses complete verses) there is no reason to believe that the text was edited in this case.

piece (which unfortunately is not known to us from other sources) and the Latin text is a *contrafactum* by Carlo G. There are also reasons to believe that the pieces by Quagliati and Giaccobi (nos. [7] and [11] respectively) are *contrafacta*; both their texts are unique and are not found in liturgical sources. Thus, the pieces by Marenzio, Caccini, Giaccobi, and Quagliati might have been borrowed, "contrafacted", and arranged by Carlo G for his needs. Since these pieces are *contrafacta*, finding their original sources based on the music itself is difficult, should they survive at all.

### **Basso continuo?**

Assuming that the "Carlo G manuscript" contains at least some original monodies and duets, the next question that arises is whether those pieces were composed first with basso continuo, and only later realized and intabulated. Unfortunately, unless we find one of Carlo G's pieces in another source with basso continuo line rather than with an intabulation, we cannot answer this question with certainty. However, there are still several points that tie the "Carlo G manuscript" to the study of early continuo.

Firstly, the "Carlo G manuscript" constitutes a significant new link in the study of the late Renaissance accompaniment. It proceeds along similar lines to the Verovio prints with written-out keyboard accompaniment (1586–1601; the most famous among these is the *Madrigali* by Luzzaschi mentioned above), as well as publications like Mikołaj Zielenski's *Offertoria totius anni* (Venezia: Giacomo Vincenti 1611), which supplied a full score as the organ accompaniment part. However, the "Carlo G manuscript" is distinguished from these sources as it evidences the new style of the early baroque in terms of both ornamentation and composition.

Secondly, as mentioned above, there are several other publications containing liturgical monodies and duets with basso continuo which are very similar musically and stylistically to the monodies of Carlo G. If we were to re-notate Carlo G's monodies, retaining only the bass line from the keyboard intabulation, it will be almost impossible to distinguish between Carlo G's music and original contemporary monodies with continuo. Therefore, since the monodies of Carlo G ultimately seem so similar to original monodies with continuo, there is little reason to doubt that at least some of them were

conceived with basso continuo, and that the intabulations represent just another method of notating practically the same music.

Thirdly, it seems that Carlo G's accompaniments are in line with early continuo features represented in other sources: doubling the skeletal lines of the vocal parts, equal distribution of the voices between the hands, inconsistent number of voices, apparent parallel fifths and octaves, small imitative sections, ornaments, and small *passaggi* between sections. Carlo G's accompaniments provide us with many pages of written-out examples, confirming much that was formerly known about early continuo.

To summarize, it has been shown that the boundaries between an arrangement and an original monody, as well as those between Carlo G's accompaniments and basso continuo realizations, are vague. It seems that the accompaniment of a polyphonic piece, of an arrangement of a polyphonic piece, and the realization of basso continuo in a monody, are practically similar in this musical style; these processes are all characterized by similar features.

It should be added that there are two pieces written with a 'real' basso continuo part in the "Carlo G manuscript": item no. [83], a toccata for violin and two figured basso continuo lines (in the style of pieces with two choirs), and the last item, *Miserere mei* (no. [89]) for two voices and unfigured basso continuo.

### **Instruments and Instrumental toccatas**

The following instruments are mentioned in the "Carlo G manuscript": organ, chitarrone, lirone, violin, basso di viola, and a consort of viols. The main accompaniment keyboard instrument seems to be an organ. The manuscript includes two references to the instrument: once in the toccata before *Florete flores* (no. [39]): "Toccatà per Florete flores con due organi"; and once at the end of *Panis angelicus* (no. [80]): "non si faccia cadenza con l'organo quando suona il violino".

The next accompaniment instrument is the chitarrone, which in the manuscript is referred to with the following abbreviation: "Chittar.e" or "Chitt.e". The meaning of the abbreviation is evident when in the table of contents, as just before the motets with the chitarrone tablatures, it is written

"Per il Chittar.e".<sup>20</sup> These pieces were already presented in the manuscript with keyboard intabulation, but in this section are repeated with chitarrone tablature. In these cases it does not seem that the organ and chitarrone were meant to play their respective versions simultaneously.<sup>21</sup> Further references to the chitarrone appear in the title of the motet *Quasi stella matutina* (no. [27]), during the motet *Quam dilecta* (no. [60]), where a small *ossia* with diminutions appears below the organ part, and in two toccatas (nos. [64] and [79]). Thus, the chitarrone, according to Carlo G, was not only a possible replacement for the organ; it occasionally played together with the organ, as well as with other instruments. Regarding the kind of instrument, the tablatures indicate a 13 or 14 course lute with 8 courses on the fingerboard. The tuning seems to be without re-entrant tuning: fingerboard: *g', d', a, f, c, G, F, E♭*; diapasons: *D, C, B', A', G'*.<sup>22</sup>

The violin, apart from being mentioned in the context of two toccatas (nos. [79] and [83]), is also mentioned in the context of three motets. In all of these motets (*Mater Hierusalem civitas, Non turbetur cor vestrum,* and *Panis angelicus*; nos. [37], [38], and [80] respectively), the violin is to replace one of the voices. The violin parts only contain partial text underlay, and at the points where the part is either too fast, too high, or has too long passages for a singer to sing, the text underlay disappears entirely, proving that this is primarily an instrumental part. At some points, possible bowings markings are seen; see Ex. 11 for an excerpt from the violin part in *Panis angelicus* (no. [80]). Notice how the text underlay stops and that possible bowing markings are included.

The lira is mentioned twice in the manuscript in the context of two toccatas (nos. [64] and [79]). A tablature is supplied, and in both toccatas the instrument is shown to play slow chords, as opposed to the chitarrone, which

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<sup>20</sup> It seems then that Carlo G spelled the name of the instrument with two t's: "chittarrone". Variations in spelling were highly common at the time, and do not in any way suggest that the meaning was other than *chitarrone*.

<sup>21</sup> It will certainly not be possible using only the surviving copy of the manuscript, as the two versions are found on different pages. Furthermore, the accompaniments of the two versions sometimes contradict each other.

<sup>22</sup> Many thanks to Ori Harmelin and Ryosuke Sakamoto for their insights concerning the chitarrone.



Ex. 11: Carlo G MS, fol. 145r, from *Panis angelicus*.

Ex. 12: Carlo G MS, “Tocatta per il mottetto sopra scritto Haurietis aquas con lira, Chitt.<sup>e</sup> et basso di viola”, fol. 126v.

plays bass diminutions. Carlo G’s lira might have been a lira da braccio; however, due to the high positions and its musical function, it seems more likely to have been a lirone. See Ex. 12 for a toccata with basso di viola, lirone, and chitarrone. As there are but few sources concerning such instruments, it is not surprising that there is no historical tuning fitting the Carlo G lira/lirone tablatures. Based on the tuning found in the treatise of Cerreto Scipione (1601),<sup>23</sup> a possible tuning might be:  $e'$ ,  $a$ ,  $d'$ ,  $g$ ,  $g$ ,  $c'$ ,  $c$ .<sup>24</sup>

23 Scipione Cerreto napolitano, *della prattica musica* [...], Naples: Iacomo Carlino 1601.

24 Many thanks to Elizabeth Rumsey, Brigitte Gasser and Baptiste Romain for their insights concerning the lirone. More about the Lirone can be read in Imke David, *Die sechzehn Saiten der italienischen Lira da gamba*, Bissendorf: Orfeo 1999.

The basso di viola appears in two toccatas together with the lirone; this bass instrument (probably what is nowadays referred to as viola da gamba) might have been meant to complement the missing bass line of the lirone.

The Toccatas in the "Carlo G manuscript" have a special feature that is rarely found in other sources; each of the toccatas is connected with a certain motet, and meant to be played before it. Furthermore, there is certain musical connection between the toccata and its motet. There are no two toccatas in the manuscript with the same instrumentation, and each is unique: one for organ (no. [75]); one for two organs (no. [39]); one for bass viol, chitarrone, and lirone (no. [64]); one for violin, bass viol, chitarrone, and lirone (no. [79]); and lastly, one for violin and two basso continuo lines (no. [83]).

## Conclusions

The "Carlo G manuscript" provides a vivid testimony of liturgical and paraliturgical musical life from the early 17th century. Both the vocal lines and instrumental parts are notated in detail, giving us a glimpse into what was actually played and sung; no prior knowledge of counterpoint or diminutions is needed, all is written-out for the performer.

The "Carlo G manuscript" might be seen as a sort-of hybrid between Renaissance traditions and early Baroque style, both in music and its notation: Musically, the manuscript demonstrates that the motet is still very much connected with its polyphonic origin, yet at the same time the motet gets closer to the expressive and "modern" early 17th century monody. The notation, as in other sources from the beginning of the "basso continuo era", is experimental; it represents a temporary link in the process that will end with the standardization of the basso continuo notation. The vague boundaries between an arranged polyphonic motet and an original monody are prominent, and the fact that the written-out intabulation exemplifies the characteristics of what we know of early continuo may serve to enrich our understanding of that period and its performance practices.

While the manuscript has been dated rather convincingly between 1600 and 1620, and located in Rome or with Roman connections, Carlo G remains largely unidentified. As the musical forces implied by the manuscript are rather small, we could imagine that he was not working for a large musical

establishment. Beyond this conjecture, we hope that further studies of the manuscript will reveal more. Apart from finding concordances, a possible direction of research might be in examining the specific variants of the liturgical texts found in the manuscript, as they might lead us to Carlo G's specific church or institution. An edition of selected pieces from the manuscript is available online,<sup>25</sup> and a recording was released on 2017.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Elam Rotem, Carlo G Manuscript – Selected piece: <http://imslp.org/wiki/Special:ReverseLookup/454312> (10 February 2019).

<sup>26</sup> Profeti della Quinta, *The Carlo G Manuscript: Virtuoso liturgical music from the early 17th century* (Glossa GDC 922516).

## Appendix

**Table 1: Index of the “Carlo G manuscript”**

In the comments: text which is originally found next to the piece, or next to the title of the piece in the original table of content [TOC] is in quotation marks.

No.	Composer	Title	Setting	Folio	Paratext / Comments
[1]	C. G.	Tota pulchra es	1v, organ	1v	
[2]	C. G.	Peccavi super numerum	1v, organ	2v	
[3]	C. G.	Sidus de nube	1v, organ	4v	“In festo S. Thomae de Aquino”
[4]	C. G.	Adiuvo vos, filiae Hierusalem	1v, organ	5v	
[5]	Bartolomeo Barbarino c. 1568–c. 1617	Cantate Domino canticum novum	1v, organ	6v	“Del Barbarino”; [TOC:] “Bartolomeo Barbarino”
[6]	Giulio Caccini 1551–1618	Benché sovra le stelle / Deus Dominus meus	1v, organ	8v	“Giulio Romano. Per monache” (‘for nuns’); [TOC:] “Giulio Rom.”
[7]	Paolo Quagliati c. 1555–1628	Alma mater pietatis	1v, organ	9v	“Paulo Quagliati à 6”; [TOC:] “Paulo Quagl.”
[8]	C. G.	Magnificat	1v, organ	11v	
[9]	C. G.	Virgo prudentissima	1v, organ	14v	
[10]	C. G.	Candidi facti sunt	1v, organ	15v	
[11]	Girolamo Giacobi 1567–1629	Luce gratiae tuae	1v, organ	16v	“D. Girol.° Giacobi” [TOC:] “D. Girol.° Giacobi”

No.	Composer	Title	Setting	Folio	Paratext / Comments
[12]	C. G.	Induit me dominus [incomplete]	1v, organ	17v	Incomplete due to a missing photo. However, an additional version with chitarrone is complete (no. [48]).
[13]	C. G.	Ego flos campi	1v, organ	18v	A version with chitarrone is in no. [49].
[14]	[no attribution]	Domine non sum dignus [I]	1v, organ	19v	
[15]	C. G.	Domine non sum dignus [II]	1v, organ	20v	
[16]	C. G.	Ecce cor meum	1v, organ	22v	
[17]	[no attribution]	Salve Regina	1v, organ	23v	
[18]	C. G.	Congratulamini mihi	1v, organ	26v	
[19]	C. G.	Audite celi	1v, organ	27v	
[20]	C. G.	Confiteor Deo [I]	1v, organ	29v	
[21]	C. G.	In te Domine speravi	1v, organ	31v	“In te Domine speravi. Il Coro è à 8 voci”
[22]	C. G.	Ecce nunc	1v, organ	33v	“Ecce nunc. Il Coro è à 7 voci”
[23]	C. G.	Vidi speciosam	1v, organ	35v	This item is followed by a transposed version of the same motet “una quarta alto” (a fourth higher).
[24]	C. G.	Convertisti planctum	1v, organ	37v	A version with chitarrone is in no. [50].
[25]	C. G.	Deus canticum novum	1v, organ	39v	
[26]	C. G.	Ardens est cor meum	1v, organ	41v	

No.	Composer	Title	Setting	Folio	Paratext / Comments
[27]	C. G.	Quasi stella matutina	1v, organ	43v	“Per il Chitt” [chitarrone] the organ intabulation contains only a diminuted bass line
[28]	C. G.	Defecit gaudium	1v, organ	45v	
[29]	C. G.	Laudate pueri dominum	1v, organ	46v	“Laudate pueri dominum”
[30]	C. G.	Nisi Dominus	1v, organ	49v	“Nisi Dominus”; Incomplete due to a missing photo
[31]	[no information due to missing page]	Tibi laus tibi gloria	2v, organ	[51v]	Only one photo (p. 52r) is extant from this piece. The title is available from the TOC.
[32]	Luca Marenzio 1553–1599	Sic parasti cor meum	2v, organ	53v	“Se bramate ch’io mora di Luca Marenzio”; [TOC:] “Luca Marenzio”
[33]	[of unknown author]	Veni, dilecte mi	2v, organ	55v	“d’incerto”; [TOC:] “incerto”. Second part: “Vulnerasti cor meum”
[34]	C. G.	Vulnerasti cor meum	2v, organ	60v	
[35]	C. G.	Sancti tui Domine	2v, organ	63v	“à 8”; [TOC:] “à 8” [for two choirs]
[36]	[of unknown author]	Amor Jesu dulcissime	2v, organ	66v	“d’incerto”
[37]	C. G.	Mater Hierusalem civitas	2v, organ	68v	for voice and violin
[38]	C. G.	Non turbetur cor vestrum	4v, 2 organs	71v	“à 6”; [TOC:] “a 2 cori”;

No.	Composer	Title	Setting	Folio	Paratext / Comments
					for two choirs: (I) two singers and organ (II) singer, violin, and organ
[39]	[C. G.]	Toccata per Florete flores con due organi	2 organs	78v	Toccata for two organs for the following item.
[40]	C. G.	Florete flores	2v, organ	79v	
[41]	C. G.	Pone Domine	2v, organ	83v	
[42]	C. G.	Gaudet anima mea	2v, organ	85v	
[43]	C. G.	Jucundum sit Jesu	2v, organ	87v	
[44]	[C. G.]	Florete flores [transposed]	2v, organ	90v	“abbassato una voce” A transposition of a tone lower of the piece above
[45]	C. G.	Magnificat	2v, organ	93v	
[46]	C. G.	Exurgam diluculo	2v, organ	98v	Incomplete due to missing photos
[47]	C. G.	Cantate Domino	2v, organ	102r	
[48]	C. G.	Adiuro vos, filiae Hierusalem	1v, chitarrone	103v	Chitarrone version of no. [4]
[49]	C. G.	Induit me dominus	1v, chitarrone	104v	Chitarrone version of no. [12]
[50]	C. G.	Ego flos campi	1v, chitarrone	105v	Chitarrone version of no. [13]
[51]	[C. G.]	Convertisti planctum	1v, chitarrone	106v	Chitarrone version of no. [24]
[52]	[no attribution]	Salve suavissimum cor	1v, organ	107v	

No.	Composer	Title	Setting	Folio	Paratext / Comments
[53]	C. G.	Confiteor Deo [II]	1v, organ	108v	
[54]	C. G.	Egressae sunt mulieres	1v, organ	109v	
[55]	C. G.	Nigra sum	1v, organ	111v	
[56]	[no attribution]	Astitit regina	1v, organ	113v	
[57]	[no attribution]	Gaudeamus omnes	1v, organ	114v	
[58]	C. G.	Congratulamini mihi omnes	1v, organ	115v	
[59] ?	—	—	—	—	Incomplete material due to missing photos
[60]	C. G.	Quam dilecta	1v, organ	118v	A small diminution for “Chitt <sup>o</sup> ” [chitarrone] is included.
[61]	C. G.	Benedictus Deus	1v, organ	119v	“A 8”; [TOC:] “A 8”
[62]	C. G.	Magnificat	1v, organ	122v	“2 <sup>di</sup> toni”
[63]	C. G.	Haurietis in aquas	1v, organ	125v	
[64]	[C. G.]	Toccata per il mottetto sopra scritto Haurietis aquas con lira, Chitt <sup>e</sup> et basso di viola	lirone, chitarrone, and bass viol	126v	Toccata for the motet above. Incomplete due to a tear in the patch of which the end of the toccata was written on.
[65]	C. G.	Domine audivi auditum tuum	1v, organ	127v	
[66]	C. G.	Exultabimus in te	1v, organ	128v	
[67]	C. G.	Et dilectus meus	1v, organ	129v	

No.	Composer	Title	Setting	Folio	Paratext / Comments
[68]	C. G.	Defecit gaudium [transposed]	1v, organ	130v	[TOC:] “abbassato”. A transposition of a tone lower of the piece in no. [28]. The accompaniment is incomplete.
[69]	C. G.	Iste est qui ante Deum	1v, organ	131v	“Per S. Bernardo”
[70]	C. G.	Sub umbra illius	1v, organ	132v	
[71]	C. G.	O pretiosum et admirandum	1v, organ	133v	
[72]	C. G.	Nunc dimittis	1v, organ	135v	
[73]	C. G.	Anima mea liquefacta est	1v, organ	137v	
[74]	C. G.	Inebriabuntur ab ubertate	1v, organ	139v	
[75]	[C. G.]	Toccata di Stabat mater dolorosa	organ	140v	Toccata for the motet in no. [78]
[76]	C. G.	Iam hiems transijt	1v, organ	141v	“Per la Madalena”
[77]	C. G.	Num quem diligit	1v, organ	142v	“A 8”; [TOC:] “à 8”
[78]	C. G.	Stabat mater dolorosa	1v, organ	143v	“la sua toccata è à 141” [no. 75] “Seconda parte è à 117” [the second part incomplete as the photos of 116v–117r are missing].
[79]	[C. G.]	Toccata al mottetto Panis Angelicus con violino Chitt <sup>e</sup> et lira, et basso di viola	Violin, lirone, chitarrone, and bass viol	patch [145r]	Toccata for the following motet; written on a patch.
[80]	C. G.	Panis angelicus	2v, organ	145r	For violin and voice.

No.	Composer	Title	Setting	Folio	Paratext / Comments
[81]	C. G.	Sicut sponsus matris	2v, organ	147v	“A 6 per sonar quattro viole et cantar due soprani . le parti sono su'l libro [...?]”; [TOC:] “à 6 due voci et 4 viole”
[82]	C. G.	Salve puella	2v, organ	149v	
[83]	[C. G.]	Toccata per decantabat che è à car. 53	Violin, 2 BC	150v	Toccata for the motet in no. [85].
[84]	C. G.	Haec est virgo	1v, organ	151v	
[85]	C. G.	Decantabat populus israel	2v, organ	152v	“la toccata di questo mottetto e[?] à car. 51”
[86]	C. G.	Benedicite Deum coeli	2v, organ	153v	“A 7”S; for two choirs.
[87]	C. G.	Ego dormio et cor meum vigilat	2v, organ	155v	
[88]	C. G.	Iubilate Deo	2v, organ	156v	
[89]	C. G.	Miserere Mei	2v, BC	[159r]	Written on a patch.

