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# 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 Vitori 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 Nettl, “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.

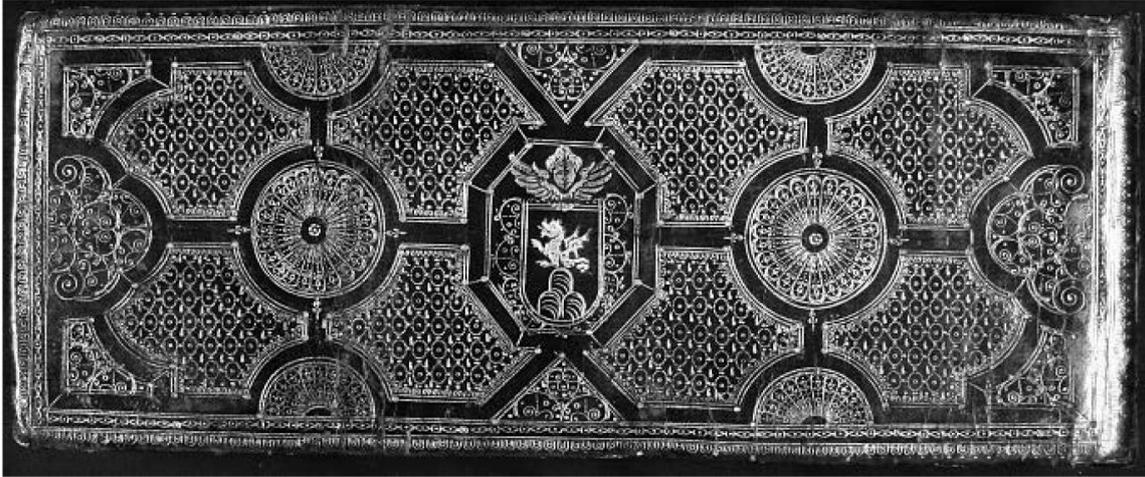


Image 1: D-Hkm, RAR Bb-17/Italien; binding of the manuscript made by the Andreoli atelier in Rome. Photograph: Alessio Ruffatti.

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**

	<b>Incipit</b>	<b>Composer</b>	<b>Fol.</b>	<b>Instrumentation</b>	<b>Concordance</b>
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.	

