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"il fine dell'Autore circa la dilettatione dell'udito" Frescobaldi and Listening in Early Modern Rome

Andrew Dell'Antonio

Scholars and performers have for decades been mining Frescobaldi's writings – textual and musical – for information on how to interpret his keyboard works, debating the often cryptic descriptions in the prefaces and deriving both theoretical and practical inspiration. Some recent insights by Christine Jeanneret and Rebecca Cypess, among others, encourage us to contemplate the *toccate* and *partite* as evidence of a tactile process of exploration. For example, in a recent essay in *Recercare*, Cypess suggests that

Frescobaldi's toccatas and variations present elaborations of standard chord progressions, providing idealized versions of such elaborations as a script for other players attempting to master the rhetorical, expressive style of figuration characteristic of the early *Seicento...* [a mastery achieved] through repeated practice of the bodily movements of the composer at his instrument.²

Focusing on the scores and their physical analogues in the player's gestures, these readings have offered musicians much to contemplate about a performer's ability to reconnect with Frescobaldi's creative process.

My goal in this essay is to dwell on the listeners whom Frescobaldi and his contemporaries ostensibly sought to delight, at least if we are to believe his foreword to the first book of *Capricci*:

[...] in quelle cose, che non paressero regolate, con l'uso del contrapunto, si debba primierame[n]te cercar l'affetto di quel passo & il fine dell'Autore circa la dilettatione dell'udito & il modo che si ricerca nel sonare.

¹ Christine Jeanneret, "Places of Memory and Invention': The Compositional Process in Frescobaldi's Manuscripts", in: *Interpreting Historical Keyboard Music: Sources, Contexts and Performance*, eds. Andrew Woolley and John Kitchen, Farnham: Ashgate 2013, 65–81; Rebecca Cypess, "Frescobaldi's *Toccate e Partite* [...] *Libro Primo* (1615–1616) as a Pedagogical Text. Artisanship, Imagination, and the Process of Learning", in: *Recercare* 27 (2016), 103–38.

² Cypess, "Frescobaldi's *Toccate e Partite*" (see n. 1), 104.

In those matters that do not appear ruled by the use of counterpoint, one must first and foremost seek the *affetto* (expression/emotion) of that passage and the goal of the composer in delighting the sense of hearing and the way one chooses to play.³

These works continue to delight our sense of hearing today, in a way analogous to the delight that Cypess and Jeanneret argue can be found in reproducing their sounds. Indeed, while scholar-performers have convincingly argued for the pedagogical potential of Frescobaldi's music for the practical application of keyboard and compositional technique in the early Seicento, that music initially performed its cultural work largely through the astonishing effect it had on early modern listeners.

My project thus aims to explore a historical listening practice, and suggests ways that such a practice might begin to inform contemporary listening, in a manner analogous to the ways that Frescobaldi's words and notes inform contemporary performers. Further drawing on Cypess's formulation of kinetic ways of knowing as well as on recent work on music and cognition, I will argue that bodily responses to both vocal and instrumental music were at the core of a particular kind of active listening practice in the Seicento that was grounded in versification – a way of musicking that involved the ears, the body, and the poetic-creative mind in a type of analytical engagement that might still prove fruitful to listeners in the twenty-first century.⁴

This project arises directly from my own delight upon hearing a performance of Frescobaldi's *aria* "Voi partite mio sole" performed by Concerto di Margherita in Windisch (Switzerland) in October 2015 and subsequently uploaded to YouTube.⁵ Through my own multifaceted response to this performance, I offer here an excursus in historically informed listening – derived from my own familiarity with the musical language of Frescobaldi and musicians who were his contemporaries, the descriptive language used by those patrons of Frescobaldi and his fellow musicians who systematically crafted standards of listen-

³ Girolamo Frescobaldi, *Il primo libro di capricci fatti sopra diversi soggetti, et arie in partitura* [...] Rome: Luca Antonio Soldi 1624, [3]. Translations throughout are mine unless otherwise indicated.

I am here using the term "musicking" as defined by Christopher Small (*Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening*, Hanover: University Press of New England 1998), the notion that musical activity can consist of a variety of actions, some consisting of production of sound, others relating to the reception and fostering of sound production; with Small I contend that early modern elite communities considered non-sound-producing actions at least as relevant to the cultural meaning of the event as the creation of sound.

The recording was still available at www.youtube.com/watch?v=art3lZ5iDtA on 15 February 2020. At the symposium where this essay was originally presented, the ensemble Concerto di Margherita performed "Voi partite" and "Aria Frescobalda" by Frescobaldi at the conclusion of the presentation.

ing practice, and the continuing discursive field created by the musical acumen of performers as well as scholars who have been making expressive sense of this music in the last half century. My approach draws inspiration from scholars who have trusted their own insights as active performers as useful interpretative springboards into early modern repertories. Singer-musicologist Richard Wistreich reflects directly on this perspective in his essay on singing Monteverdi in a recent essay collection about the Italian *grand tour*:

Can I, as a singer myself, combine historical enquiry with my knowledge of the voice and of singing to develop some genuinely empathic and productive relationship with the now forgotten singers of the vocal music of the 16th and 17th centuries, from which new insights can emerge?⁶

Astute polymaths who have pursued similar intersections of performative and scholarly epistemology in the context of early modern Italian repertories include Laurie Stras, Nina Treadwell, Rebecca Cypess, and of course many others.⁷

My own epistemological insights are not as a performer, however, but as a listener – one, in particular, who has for some time tried to dwell with the strategies and rationales of early modern Italian *virtuosi*, connoisseurs of elite experience, especially within the contexts of masculine sociable self-fashioning that was essential to the culture of the Roman Curia and other powerful institutions of the early Seicento. My goal, as a listener and writer, is to offer a possible path into developing the kinds of "genuinely empathic and productive" relationships with the listening *virtuosi* of the early Seicento whose engagement with the music of Frescobaldi and his contemporaries fostered not only the development of musical innovation but also a changing role for the actively engaged listener. Further, given that early modern performing and listening *virtuosi* expanded their creative musicking through collaborations of sound and word, I propose that our scholarly engagement with the meanings of these repertories can fruitfully expand to resonate in more complex ways with our performer-colleagues' sonic experimentation on the field of historically-informed practice.

Richard Wistreich, "High, Middle, and Low: Singing Monteverdi", in: *Passaggio in Italia: Music on the Grand Tour in the Seventeenth Century*, eds. Dinko Fabris and Margaret Murata, Turnhout: Brepols 2015, 65–84: 68.

In addition to Cypess, "Frescobaldi's *Toccate e Partite*" (see n. 1); see also Nina Treadwell, *Music and Wonder at the Medici Court: The 1589 Interludes for La Pellegrina*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press 2008; and most recently Laurie Stras, *Women and Music in Sixteenth-Century Ferrara*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press 2018.

⁸ Andrew Dell'Antonio, *Listening as Spiritual Practice in Early Modern Italy*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press 2011.

Poetic Performance of Virtù

As I have outlined elsewhere, much of the elite masculine connoisseurship-practice – the performance of virtù – that was essential to the cultural production and standing of these individuals took place in accademie, social gatherings rather similar to the symposia where twenty-first-century scholars frequently gather to present their insights – partly to each other, partly to those who come to witness the "scholarly performances", as was also the case in early modern Italy. Like those of us who are contemporary scholars, the virtuosi depended for their social standing and advancement on the presentation of verbal knowledge that would be understood as continuing and reaffirming a conversazione among peers. Like us, the virtuosi gained and maintained their peer-status through distinction of training and rhetorical craft, showing themselves to be worthy of continued financial and social support by those in a position to provide generous compensation. Like us, the *virtuosi* sometimes displayed their rhetorical prowess in extended prose "discorsi" or "lettere" that were designed to be read aloud as well as eventually published with the seventeenth-century equivalent of scholarly apparatus. Unlike us, they often trafficked instead in shorter forms, customarily in verse: sonetti, madrigali, canzoni.

There are a few extant discorsi on music by these academic virtuosi – those by Vincenzo Giustiniani, Pietro Della Valle, Severo Bonini, and Grazioso Uberti have been examined carefully by scholars yielding useful evidence on specific musicians and practices, and in my own work I likewise undertook to unpack a similar discorso by prominent Roman virtuoso, poet, and Barberini protégé Lelio Guidiccioni for analogous information.¹⁰ In trying to make sense of the information about listening provided by Guidiccioni's discorso, I repeatedly encountered the same kind of ambiguity and opaqueness that has caused fruitful if contentious discussion in Frescobaldi's prefaces. This lack of directness about musical specificity was initially frustrating, not just to me but to colleagues to whom I presented Guidiccioni's insights: following Claudio Annibaldi's perspectives on Guidiccioni's fellow academician Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, they suggested that Guidiccioni may not truly have been interested in specific musical experience, but was rather a "political patron", displaying musical interest in the abstract because it was politically expedient to do so. But multiple other points of evidence seemed to point to a significant musical engagement on Guidiccioni's part: beyond his being the recipient of his fellow academician Pietro Della Valle's

⁹ Briefly on *accademie*, *virtù*, and musical listening in early modern Rome, see Dell'Antonio, *Listening as Spiritual Practice*, 44–46. When this essay was originally presented at the Symposium *Stimme – Instrument – Vokalität*, this passage was more specifically directed at the cohort of scholars and performers who had gathered for the symposium.

Dell'Antonio, *Listening as Spiritual Practice* (see n. 8), especially Chapter 5.

oft-cited *Discourse on the Music of our Times*, his testament left a harpsichord explicitly linked to Frescobaldi's praise, and there are a number of other references in his biography to discerning musical concerns.¹¹

In reflecting on the ambiguity of Guidiccioni's *discorso* in the context of his role within the academic and curial communities in which Guidiccioni developed his professional reputation as a cultural broker and taste-making *virtuoso*, I found myself drawn to Guidiccioni's substantial poetic output, and to the consideration that he was acclaimed as a translator and poetic-commenter on Vergil. I found myself asking, what if Guidiccioni's ambiguity on musical experience in his *discorso* was entirely purposeful, on the same order as the studied ambiguity of his poetry? This led me to a consideration of early modern academic poetry as a resource for our understanding of early seventeenth-century listening experience.

Musicologists have remarked on the presence of several books of poetry that were created in the early Seicento to praise musicians – most notably Adriana Basile and her daughter Leonora Baroni, but also others, both named and unnamed. Specific passages in selected poems from such collections have been quoted in scholarly discussions for their direct reference to musical practice, though those references have been characterised as vague and lacking the specificity of musical content that one can find in the writing of musicians like Frescobaldi. We might consider a few of these poems here before moving on to a discussion of their overall characteristics; first, two poems from the collection *Teatro delle glorie della Signora Adriana Basile*:

For Annibaldi's argument about "political patronage", see Claudio Annibaldi, "Il mecenate 'politico': sul patronato musicale del Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini", in: *Studi musicali* 16; 17 (1987), 33–94; 101–76. For my discussion of Guidiccioni in counterpoint, see Dell'Antonio, *Listening as Spiritual Practice* (see n. 8), especially 95 ff.

For a recent brief reference see Christine Jeanneret, "Gender Ambivalence and the Expression of Passions in the Performances of Early Roman Cantatas by Castrati and Female Singers", in: *The Emotional Power of Music: Multidisciplinary Perspectives on Musical Arousal, Expression, and Social Control*, eds. Tom Cochrane, Bernardino Fantini, and Klaus Scherer, Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 85–102, 90; and especially Amy Brosius, "*Il Suon, lo Sguardo, il Canto: Virtuose* of the Roman *Conversazioni* in the Mid-Seventeenth Century", PhD dissertation, New York University 2009, which focuses on the Neapolitan-Roman *virtuose* more broadly.

Dell'altezza Serenissima del Duca di Mantova Ferdinando Gonzaga

L'armonia del Cielo Echo della voce della signora ADRIANA Basile

Non è musico il Cielo
Dove spiega ADRIANA il dolce Canto,
Ma fermo tace in tanto;
Et se pur l'alte Rote
Forman soavi armoniose note
No 'l creder no, che sia
Del Ciel propia armonia,
Ma di questa gentil Serena eterna

Del signor Cavalier Gio. Battista Marino È rapito al Cielo dal Canto della Sig. Adr.

Echo fatto al bel Canto il Canto alterna. 13

Ahi che veggio? Ahi che sento? Hor ben son io Ne le fiamme beato, e nel tormento, La concordia del Cielo in terra io sento Veggio le Stelle, è [sic] il Sol, gli Angeli, e ...

Sì soave, e sì dolce ascolto e spio Con l'occhio ingordo, e con l'orecchio intento Il bel sembiante, e 'l musico Concento, Che il Mondo abborro, e me medesmo oblio.

Vinto da la dolcezza, e dal piacere A gli accenti del Canto, à i rai del viso L'alma vien meno, il cor languisce, e pere.

E da la spoglia sua sciolto, e diviso Mentre che spatia il senso infra le sfere È rapito lo spirto in Paradiso.¹⁴ By his most serene highness the Duke of Mantova, Ferdinando Gonzaga

The harmony of Heaven [as an] echo of the voice of Signora Adriana Basile

Heaven/the sky is not musical/sounding/musician Where/when ADRIANA unfolds her sweet song, But rather it remains quiet and still then/there; And if the high/remote wheels Form sweet harmonious notes Do not believe that it be Harmony from the Heavens/sky itself, But rather song echoing the sweet song

By Cavalier Giovanni Battista Marino Ravished to heaven by Signora Adriana's song

Of this gentle eternal Siren.

What do I see? What do I hear? Truly now am I Blessed within flames, and within torment On earth I hear the concord of the Heavens, I see stars, the sun, angels, and [God].

So delicate and sweet I hear, and see With greedy eye and focused ear The lovely visage, the musical harmony, That I abhor the world and forget myself.

Overcome by sweetness and by pleasure The soul faints, the heart languishes, perishes At the sounds of her song, the rays of her face.

And separated, divided from its spoils While the senses travel through the spheres The spirit is ravished to paradise.

Then one from the collection of poems gathered to honour her daughter Leonora Baroni (we will return to other poems in this collection below):¹⁵

Gino Doria (ed.), Teatro delle glorie della signora Adriana Basile. Alla virtù di lei dalle cetre de gli Anfioni di questo secolo fabricato, Venetia e ristampato in Napoli: [s. n.] 1628, 15.

¹⁴ Ibid., 53.

¹⁵ L'idea della veglia. Roma: Heredi di Corbelletti 1640.

Si esortano i Poeti à celebrar la Signora Leonora Baroni

Cigni, che di Caistro, e di Cefiso Sù le sponde fiorite il canto alzate, A le chiare del Tebro onde beate Pronti venite a l'armonia d'un viso.

Sta quivi Amor, quasi in suo trono assiso, Di quell volto scrivete: in van sperate Trovar pari à la sua vaga beltate, S'Amor non apre in terra un paradiso.

Se Leonora dal ciel quà giù scende Ad imitar con musical canora L'armonia di quel ciel, da cui dipende,

A ragione sul Tebro hoggi l'honora Schiera de'Cigni, e suo bel sol, che splende, Quasi nume divin, devota adora.¹⁶ Poets are invited to celebrate Signora Leonora Baroni

You swans who raise your songs On the flowery shores of Caistrus and Cephissus,

Quickly come to the harmony of a face On the clear blessed waves of the Tiber.

Love dwells here, as if seated on his throne, Write of that face; in vain you may hope To find a beauty comparable to hers, Unless Love opens paradise on earth.

If Leonora comes down here from heaven To imitate with singing music

The harmony of the heavens on which she depends,

Rightly a gathering of swans honours her On the Tiber, and devotedly adores

Her beautiful sun, shining almost as a divine being.

And finally one from a collection of poems by Lelio Guidiccioni, to which we will return again below, in this case praising "il canto di un virtuoso" – an unnamed male singer, perhaps a castrato?

Sopra il canto di un Virtuoso.

Nè in fonte mormorar liquidi argenti, Nè Rosignolo in su le verdi fronde, Nè Cigno in laco, ò per marine sponde Rinovare Alcion dolci lamenti.

Nè di Sirena, o pur d'Orfeo gli accenti Ch'il gran patto impetrò da le negre onde; Nè di colui, che luce al giorno infonde, Il canto allhor, che custodìa gli armenti;

Spirto immortal, più si rammenta, ò apprezza; A par del tuo, ch'amor ne'i cori accende, Sprona i lenti, erge i vili, e i duri spezza;

Sante Sfere del Ciel, gratie à voi rende Stupido il Tebro, è immoto à la dolcezza

Del suon, ch'è vostro, & sol da voi discende.17

On the Song of a Virtuoso

Nor liquid silver murmuring in a fountain, Nor nightingale on green branches, Nor swan in lake, or on sea shores The recurring sweet laments of Halcyon;

Nor Siren's song, nor that of Orpheus, Who took the great pact from the black waves; Nor the song of he who gives light to the day At the time when he guarded the flocks;

Immortal spirit, is more memorable or valued Compared to yours, which lights love in hearts Spurs the slow, raises the lowly, breaks the tough;

Holy Heavenly spheres, to you the Tiber Gives astonished thanks, motionless at the sweetness

Of the sound that is yours, and flows only from you.

¹⁶ Ibid., 126.

¹⁷ Lelio Guidiccioni, Rime di Lelio Guidiccioni, Roma: M. Manelfi 1637, 112.

Scholars have often characterised poems such as these as "academic" in the negative sense – drawing on metaphorical commonplaces, very similar to one another in imagery and gesture, and ultimately almost formulaic in their repetitive iteration of very similar tropes: Frederick Hammond's remark that "certain terms of description and approval recur constantly, suggesting that the mere presence of the thing described was more important than its quality" is representative of accounts of this tradition of poetry and other writing in response-praise of musicians and their performances. This may be, perhaps, why scholars seem heretofore generally not to have considered the poems a useful resource for our specific understanding of musical activity in the early Seicento.

I would suggest, however, that in these poems the academic *virtuosi* left traces of their listening practice – not by descriptions of musical-technical terms, but through the poetic and linguistic patterns in their verse, which like Frescobaldi's keyboard musical practice was designed to convey the impression of extempore creativity despite being carefully planned and rehearsed. Cypess suggests that Frescobaldi's variation-set *partite* in particular provided

models for the engagement and reengagement with a single idea, a single musical "object" – from multiple perspectives. The notion that there might be multiple ways of approaching a single phenomenon, whether in nature or in art, was a key concept for philosophers, patrons, and amateur academicians of the early seventeenth century.¹⁹

The many poems in honour of musicians likewise consisted of multiple models of "engagement and reengagement" with the musicking experiences of hearing the musicians sing and play, experiences often mediated by other poems by fellow academician *virtuosi*, which like the music they reflected on were also regularly "performed" out loud. This created an ongoing discourse-about-music that performed social cohesion as well as individual expertise among the poetically-musicking noble *virtuosi*; or to draw on Mario Biagioli's formulation, "the experience of oneself as a distinct individual resulted from a subjectivity constituted by peer-recognition of one's social distinction – a subjectivity one developed precisely by being enmeshed in a tightly interconnected social figuration".²⁰ Musicking in this context comprised the creation and spoken performances of poems intertwined with the composition and performance of *arie*, *toccate*, and such.

Fredrick Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome: Barberini Patronage under Urban VIII*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press 1994, 105.

¹⁹ Cypess, "Frescobaldi's Toccate e Partite", 105.

Mario Biagioli, "Etiquette, Interdependence, and Sociability in Seventeenth-Century Science", in: *Critical Inquiry* 22 (1996),193–238: 206.

Commonplaces and Creativity

Like Frescobaldi's works, the poems written/performed about musicians by the literary *virtuosi* also relied on the fruitful tension between repertories of rhetorical commonplaces and the creative individual's ability to manipulate those commonplaces into expressive gestures that would simultaneously allude to a common language familiar to the listener and convey the creative individual's mastery of novel manipulation of that language. This was a practice that relied on the listener's memory of past iterations of similar formulae as a field onto which new iterations could be perceived as both legitimate ("playing by the rules") and creative ("expanding the field of possibilities") – one among many such practices that were at the foundation of the systems of communication and social exchange in early modern Italy.²¹ In other words, these poems are expressive not *despite* their formulaic nature but *because* of it – just like the Romanesca, for example, was a performer's locus for display of individuality within a commonly understood set of potential procedures.²²

Frescobaldi's own invention of an instrumental *aria* ("La Frescobalda") alongside his engagement with the more widespread *arie* such as *Ruggiero* and *Romanesca* provides another useful analogy, since it participates in the sonic-linguistic conventions of well-established *arie* while offering a syntactical variant.²³ We will return to "La Frescobalda" below. For now, let us briefly consider Christine Jeanneret's excellent description of the modularity of musical gestures in Frescobaldi's music, since I will be suggesting that poems by the listening *virtuosi* follow a similar modular approach:

Rather than calling them 'concordances', these simple gestures, repeated again and again in the manuscript, are perhaps better termed 'modules'. They function as building blocks of the composition, juxtaposed one after the other, and represent formulas that were assimilated by the musician over the years and were used at the first stage of writing.²⁴

For a systematic discussion of this type of tension between template/commonplace and creativity/individuality in the art of correspondence of early modern Italian elites, see Amedeo Quondam (ed.), Le "carte messaggiere". Retorica e modelli di comunicazione epistolare: Per un indice dei libri di lettere del Cinquecento, Rome: Bulzoni 1981; and Gigliola Fragnito, "Buone maniere e professionalità nelle corti romane del Cinque e Seicento", in: Educare il corpo, educare la parola nella trattatistica del Rinascimento, eds. Giorgio Patrizi and Amedeo Quondam, Rome: Bulzoni 1998, 77–92.

For an excellent discussion of the expressive potential of the *romanesca* within and because of formulaic expectations, see Suzanne G. Cusick, *Francesca Caccini at the Medici Court: Music and the Circulation of Power*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press 2009, Chapter 7.

Girolamo Frescobaldi, *Il secondo libro di toccate, canzone, e versi d'hinni* [...], Rom: Borbone 1637, 80–82.

Jeanneret, "Places of Memory and Invention" (see n. 1), 72.

How does Frescobaldi's modular approach described so elegantly by Jeanneret find resonance in the poetic musicking of his patrons? Some of the poems by the virtuosi specify that they are intended "per musica" - see for example this canzonetta by Lelio Guidiccioni:

Per Musica To be set to music

Dove sono i desiri Where are the desires, Fonti de' dolci affetti, Sources of sweet emotions, Le speranze, i diletti, Hopes, and delights,

Tregua de' miei martiri? That gave rest to my martyrdom? Dove le liete lagrime, e i sospiri? Where the happy tears and sighs?

Con fuggitivo piede With fleeing foot Ita è la gioia à volo; Joy has flown; Sol grave, e amaro duolo Only harsh, bitter pain Tutt'hor mi punge, & fiede, Always stings and wounds me,

Dov'è l'usata, Amor, cara mercede? Where, Love, is the dear mercy of the past?

Dov'è il bel lume adorno, Where is the lovely adorned light, Et gli atti, & le parole And the actions, the words Di quel terreno Sole, Of that earthly sun Ch'al Sol faceva scorno That put the sun to shame

Dov'è per me l'Aurora, & dov'è 'l giorno? Where is dawn for me, where is the day?

Anni ingordi, & fugaci, Greedy, fleeting years, Fugaci più ch'il vento, Fleeting more than the wind, Di voi mi lagno, & pento, I regret and complain about you,

De' miei desir fallaci. Of my false desires,

Dove son hor d'Amor l'arco, & le faci?25 Where are now the bow and arrows of Love?

While I have not been able to locate any contemporaneous setting of this specific canzonetta, its metric shape and overall stanzaic form is very similar to that of other canzonette of the type that both Robert Holzer and Cory Gavito have documented as culturally pervasive among Italian elites during the flowering of Chiabreran aesthetics under the sponsorship of the Barberini.²⁶ Holzer makes a compelling argument that Chiabreran canzonetta verse was often written with musical setting in mind;²⁷ I would go further in suggesting that the verbal ges-

Guidiccioni, Rime (see n. 17), 46. 25

Robert Rau Holzer, "Music and Poetry in Seventeenth-Century Rome: Settings of the Canzonetta and Cantata Texts of Francesco Balducci, Domenico Benigni, Francesco Melosio, and Antonio Abati", PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania 1990; Cory M. Gavito, "'Quasi industre giardiniero': Giovanni Stefani's Amorosi Anthologies and their Concordant Sources", in: The Journal of Musicology 33 (2016), 522-568.

Holzer, "Music and Poetry in Seventeenth-Century Rome" (see n. 26), 33.

tures of *canzonetta* texts are themselves sonically suggestive within a poetic-musical aural landscape in which *canzonette* were customarily encountered as song. Given that Guidiccioni would have heard many such *canzonette* performed during the years in which he and Frescobaldi shared the patronage of the Barberini circles, it is entirely possible that he envisioned (en-audited?) his verse – whether specifically designated as *per musica* or not – with the sonic qualities of musicians' voices (and their self-accompanying touch) in mind.

It is furthermore not incidental that the texts that were being sung for literary virtuosi such as Guidiccioni were texts of their own crafting, to which those virtuosi then responded with new texts - the musicking exchange was one that was grounded in the performed nature of the poetic text, since even those poetic texts that were not sung were usually recited aloud, their rhetorically vocalised instances echoing the fully-sung iterations. In between the professional singer's expressive intensity and the virtuoso poet-orator's verbal display there was the tradition of intoned poetic recitation to the chitarra spagnola through harmonic/ melodic arie that continued the cantar versi and cantasi come tradition from previous generations.²⁸ Poems manifested more or less directly as songs, and songs generated new poems that could themselves become songs; the musicking process was creatively dynamic and increasingly specialised as singer-composers became responsible for conveying poems with sonic intensity that the poetic virtuosi could then experience, remember, and process through their versification, and hand over again to the singers and musicians to build the circuit of exchange. Or in the words of poet Domenico Benigni (1596-1653), who provided the introduction for - and may have been the principal editor of - the collection in praise of Leonora Baroni L'Idea della Veglia, "Eloquence knows how to celebrate its treasures among the delights of music".29

Singers occasionally wrote poems of their own – verbal performance was a more prestigious currency than musical performance – especially to assert their place within the circles of distinction. See for example this poem attributed to renowned *virtuosa* Leonora Baroni from the closing pages of *L'idea della veglia*, the book of verse published in her honour in which several of the poems above also appeared:

See for example Margaret Murata, "Guitar Passacagli and Vocal Arie", in: *La monodia in Toscana alle soglie del XVII secolo. Atti del Convegno di Studi, Pisa, 17–18 Dicembre 2004*, ed. Francesca Menchelli-Buttini, Torino: ETS 2007, 81–116; Cory Gavito, "Oral Transmission and the Production of Guitar Tablature Books in Seventeenth-Century Italy", in: *Recercare* 27 (2015), 185–208; and Gavito, "Quasi industre giardiniero" (see n. 26).

[&]quot;Fra le delitie della Musica, sa l'eloquenza ancor essa far pompa de' suoi thesori", *L'idea della veglia* (see n. 15), 16.

Alli signori accademici Humoristi con occasione, che fù ricevuta nella loro Accademia.

Sacri Cigni, cui dier stelle feconde Cinger le chiome di famosi allori, E soavi del Tebro in sù le sponde Stilla nube immortal celesti humori;

Hor che vostra mercè Spirti canori Anch'io bagno le labra a sì bell'onde, Vostra Gloria, ch'intorno il ciel diffonde Spargerà sul mio nome aurei splendori.

Se quasi augel, che va radendo il suolo Men già tal hor, sù l'orme vostre, e chiare Spero un dì per lo Ciel sciogliere il volo,

E se sia poi ch'invide stelle avare Me rispingan dal Cielo, io mi consolo Fian vostri humori a mia caduta il mare.³⁰ To the *Accademici Umoristi* on the occasion that she was received in (inducted into?) their Academy:

Sacred swans, whom the fertile stars

Deemed to encircle brows with laurels of fame,

[For whom] an immortal cloud sprinkles

Heavenly humors on the sweet shores of the Tiber;

Now that, thanks to you, singing spirits I also dip my lips into these beautiful waves, Your glory, which heaven diffuses around Will diffuse golden splendor on my name.

If as a bird, that flies close to the ground I hope one day to soar to the heavens Following your distinguished tracks,

And if it happens that the jealous stingy stars Reject me from the heavens, I console myself That your dew will be the sea for my fall.

The placement of Baroni's *ringratiamento* at the end of the volume is strategic for her acknowledgment of the greater prestige of her noble patrons, the members of the *Accademia degli Umoristi* to whose emblem – a cloud with gentle rain falling – she alludes in the opening of the *sonetto*. Baroni's repeated allusion to the "singing" nature of the "swan" academician-poets connects their practice closely to her own, and through her classicising allusion to Icarus's flight and fall into the sea she attempts to position herself rhetorically as a disciple of the *Umoristi*.

However, the noble *virtuosi* were cautious in granting poetic-rhetorical space to professional musicians, since they were eager to continue positing their listening-musicking as a more exalted engagement with sound than that of the professional practitioners.³¹ This attempt on the noble poets' part to establish amateur listening-exegesis as a more meaningful component of musicking than professional music-making is, I have suggested elsewhere, explicitly at the core of Guidiccioni's *discorso* but implicit in other similar treatises: given the more exalted and also pervasive status of poetry, that medium was all the more important for the creation of this distinction.

³⁰ Ibid., 220.

For a more extensive discussion of this, see Dell'Antonio, *Listening as Spiritual Practice* (see n. 8), Chapter 3 – "Proper Listening", especially 84ff.

Song/Poetry Mimesis

Here I turn to recent work in music cognition and its potential applicability to the dynamic between singers and listener-writers, both in the early Seicento and today. In a recent monograph titled Music and Embodied Cognition, music theorist Arnie Cox draws on the substantial scientific literature on human cognition - both musical and otherwise - in making a strong case for what he terms "mimetic participation" in the human experience of music. As Cox describes it, mimetic participation is the physical response through which listeners engage in musicking: a listener who is familiar with the techniques of performance may respond with her or his bodily motions that correspond to the physical performing actions that would yield the sound they are hearing, but even listeners who are not familiar with performance techniques on a particular instrument frequently respond "subvocally" to the musical gestures they hear, whether consciously or not, with subtle motion of the vocal apparatus. Furthermore, cognitive tests indicate that regardless of subvocal response, listeners almost invariably respond to musical sound with movement in the core muscles of the body. Listeners' mimetic participation does not necessarily reflect specific movements by the performers; as Cox suggests,

when I am [engaging in mimetic participation by] tapping my foot or dancing to music, I am usually not imitating the specific actions of the performers, but instead I am imitating, in a different modality, the patterns of the performers' exertions.³²

While there is much more we could consider about Cox's extraordinary arguments concerning the crucial role of physical response in music cognition, I would like to touch on just one more of his insights that I think is extremely useful for my exploration – the notion that listeners respond "mimetically" to multiple sources:

In addition to performers and the music, we have a third mimetic partner: other listeners. [...] The affective reward for this shared mimetic behaviour is tied to the value of socialization, as many others have noted (e.g., Small 1998).³³

There is no doubt that the poetic *virtuosi* of early modern Italy were fully attuned to the actions of their peers, since social status was maintained and reinforced through connection and comparison to those adjacent in the hierarchy. The very nature of the poetic collections and more generally academic activities in which the *virtuosi* engaged exemplify this "shared mimetic behavior" in a

Arnie Cox, Music and Embodied Cognition: Listening, Moving, Feeling, and Thinking, Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press 2016, 179.

³³ Ibid., 180.

wide variety of situations. Thus, when Cox suggests that in collective listening situations "the 'listeners' are also co-performers, so that the [musical] stimulus is comprehended not only non-mimetically as auditory-visual imagery but also mimetically as mimetic motor imagery,"³⁴ we can think of the noble *virtuosi* considering themselves full "co-performers" in the musicking enterprise, along with the professional singer-instrumentalists. I posit that as the *virtuosi* heard sung poetry, they responded mimetically and translated that mimetic engagement into their own specialised creative medium, that of verse.³⁵

If mimetic participation through versification was so central to the musicking of the listening *virtuosi*, and the link was most explicit through the vocal medium, where does that leave instrumental music? Frescobaldi's own reference to his *toccate* being expressively akin to *madrigali moderni* may be his attempt to close that circle:

[...] non dee questo modo di sonare stare soggetto a battuta; come veggiamo usarsi ne i Madrigali moderni, i quali quantunque difficili si agevolano per mezzo della battuta portandola hor languida, hor veloce, e sostenendola etiandio in aria, secondo i loro affetti, ò senso delle parole.³⁶

[...] this way of playing must not be subject to a [regular] beat; as we see the custom in modern madrigals, which albeit difficult are made easier by [changing] the beat, carrying it now languid, now quick, and holding it occasionally suspended, according to their *affetti* or the meaning of the words.

If we can interpret Frescobaldi's words in the light of a model of active listening that channelled mimetic response through versification, he may in essence have been telling his listeners that they could engage in the same interior versification process with the *affetti* (loosely translatable as internal expression) inherent in his *toccate* as they would with the "senso delle parole" – not necessarily relying on specific word-setting, but rather allowing the patterns of sound to operate expressively in ways analogous to the patterns of words, which after all signified as much sonically as they did syntactically.

³⁴ Ibid., 222.

For more on the intersection between the lyric tradition of Frescobaldi's contemporaries and musical settings, particularly in the *canzonetta* tradition of Chiabrera and his followers, see Holzer, "Music and Poetry in Seventeenth-Century Rome" (see n. 26), 63 ff.

Girolamo Frescobaldi, *Toccate e partite d'intavolatura di cimbalo* [. . .] *libro primo*, Borbone: Rome 1616. (This is the reprint of the *Primo libro di toccate*, which contains a rephrased introduction to the reader.) For a nuanced and updated discussion of Frescobaldi's terminology in the prefaces of the *Primo libro* and its relationship to the tradition of *toccate* that preceded the collection, see Fredrick Hammond's updated *Girolamo Frescobaldi*: *An Extended Biography*, https://girolamofrescobaldi.com/affetti-cantabili-e-diversita-di-passi-the-toccate-e-partite-dintavolatura-di-cimbalo-libro-primo-of-1614-1616/ (accessed 10 February 2020).

Mimesis as HIP

I will not pretend that my facility with versification matches that of early seventeenth-century literary virtuosi, whose cultural training was deeply steeped in the verses of Petrarca, Tasso, Ariosto, and their sixteenth-century imitators as well as the newer experiments of Chiabrera and Marino. However, in graduate school I worked at length on a database of Cinquecento and early Seicento poetry assisting my advisor Anthony Newcomb and his collaborator Louise George Clubb. My task was to input hundreds of poems into the database by reading and typing, often sounding out the verses whether out loud or internally to help guide my fingers on the computer keyboard. As a consequence, my own mimetic response to the versification tradition grew such that I was able to think fairly fluently in settenari and endecasillabi as well as larger poetic structures that employed them in coherent ways. This outcome was perhaps similar to that of a young musician who has witnessed hundreds of performances both aurally and mimetically, and acquired an internal facility with the resources for what can then become that musician's own practice, simultaneously conventional and individual, improvisatory and rehearsed.

From my own experience I postulate that for one who is accustomed to thinking expressively in the schemes of *ottave* or *sonetti*, and more generally in seven- and eleven-syllable Italian verbal patterns, words are not just denotative units but at least in part resources for establishing patterns of scansion, metre, rhyme. The choice of a particular word may be occasioned as much by its potential rhythmic and assonance effect as by its meaning: in creative writing of this sort, individual words are not quite interchangeable, but certainly fungible in the service of a broader aesthetic effect. There are poems in the collections in praise of Baroni that even reflect on this phenomenon tongue-in-cheek:

Siete venuti in puzza à tutti homai, Se ben ci fate degli arcipoeti, Sì che sarebbe meglio starvi quieti Che verbigratia non fornirla [sic] mai.

Chi dice, io dissi, io feci, io stetti, io andai Chi ricerca le rime, e gli epiteti, E chi con modi sconci, & indiscreti Non sà cosa, che vaglia, e parla assai.

Chi ride, e grida, come fusse in piazza, Chi tutto si scontorce, e fa visaccio, Chi ti secca le orecchie, e chi t'ammazza. You have by now become distasteful to all, Even as you try to be arch-poets, So that it would be better that you be quiet Than, for instance, not ever shutting up.

Those who say: I said, I did, I was, I went Or search for rhymes and epithets, Or in sloppy and indiscreet ways Know nothing worthwhile, and talk a lot.

Those who laugh, and yell, as if on the square, Who writhe and twist their faces, Who dry up your ears, and kill you. Chi si crede esser Dante, & è il Boccaccio, Et assai più degli altri anche schiamazza, Chi del far versi non sà straccio straccio.³⁷ Those who think they are Dante, but are Boccaccio, And those who holler even more than the others, Who know not a shred of how to versify.

Thus, I would suggest that just as a musical setting of a poem can transform the expressive potential of the verbal content, a poem in this tradition was inherently a manipulation of sound, an instrument that framed verbal meaning much as the melodic-harmonic structure of an *aria* framed its sonic meaning. The instrumentally self-accompanied nature of professional singing was a central conceit of several of the poems in musicians' praise, making it likely that versified responses to their song were engaging with the self-accompanied whole.

Mentre la mia bellissima Sirena Scioglie la mano al suon, la voce al canto, E con quest'armi di Guerriera il vanto Toglie à più fieri, e l'altrui forze affrena;

Caro stimo il languir, dolce la pena, Lieto il tormento mio, canoro il pianto, E 'l cor gioisce del suo ardor; cotanto Amor puote in virtù di sua catena.

Da tante piaghe è il cor punto, e trafitto, E quelle corde son scala al morire Che minacciano al fin mortal conflitto.

Pur, che dolce armonia l'empia m'inspire, Viva pur sempre il cor mesto, & afflitto, Per si bella cagion dolce è '1 martire.³⁸ While my most beautiful Siren Unfolds her hand to playing, her voice to song, And with her warrior arms takes away pride From the most bold, and saps others' strength;

I cherish my languor, my sweet pain,
Delight in my torment, sing my tears,
And my heart burning rejoices; such
Are the strength and power of love's chains.

My heart is stung, pierced by many cuts, And those strings are pathways/scales to death As they menace the mortal end of their conflict.

While that impious one breathes sweet harmony to me Let my heart live always sad, and afflicted, Sweet is martyrdom for such lovely cause.

Furthermore, some poems written in honour of Frescobaldi engage explicitly in the poetic-verbal evocation of non-verbal sound, using a similar formulaic approach. See for example this *sonetto* in praise of Frescobaldi included in the *Secondo libro di toccate*:

In lode dell'autore Del Can.co Pier fran.co Paoli da Pesaro

Tu ch'emulando il suon de l'ampie sfere Per arrichir d'eterna gioia i cori In praise of the author By the canon Pier Francesco Paoli from Pesaro

You who, imitating the sound of the great spheres In order to enrich hearts with eternal joy

L'Idea della veglia (see n. 15), 190.

L'Idea della veglia (see n. 15), 172.

Spargesti i soauissimi tesori De le tue dolci musiche miniere.

Quali nutri nel cor voglie severe Contra i tuoi propri armoniosi honori, Che accogli de le carte entro à gli horrori A starsi mute hor le tue note altere?

Ah che pur quivi à le più sagge menti Dispiegan più che mai canore, e belle Di te, che le formasti, i pregi ardenti.

Tal del Ciel nei volumi impresse anch'elle Sembran muti caratteri lucenti, E le glorie di Dio narran le stelle.39

Spread the most delightful treasures Of your sweet musical mines,

What stern wishes do you hold inside your heart Against your proper harmonious honours, By gathering your papers in hidden places, So that your noble notes remain mute?

Ah but here for the most wise minds They unfold more than ever, sonorous, beautiful Your burning merits for having formed them.

Similarly the stars, also printed in the volumes Of the Heavens, seem mute shining characters, And they narrate the glories of God.

We might also consider a *madrigale* from a short collection of poems in praise of the composer that has recently resurfaced (and here I should thank Fredrick Hammond for his gift of the *unicum* of this collection to the Berenson library at Villa I Tatti, and Cory Gavito for his crucial assistance in sending me a reproduction of the booklet):

Mentre con dotta mano

Con alternanti fughe hor preste or lenti Rapido scorri, e riedi, e sgruppi, e annodi

Note infinite in variati modi, Fai l'Aria dolcemente risonare.

E gli Huomini ammutir, sospesi, attenti; Ecco insieme n'additi un Cielo, e un Mare,

Un ciel rumoreggiante;

Balenar, fulminar Giove tonante.

Un Mar con vasti orgogli

Frangere, e diroccar l'Onde ne'scogli.

Ma tosto il mar s'acqueta, E'l ciel si rasserena Quindi di stupor piena

Passa tua Nave à gloriosa meta.

E 'l Ciel vuol, che le Stelle

(Per eternarti) sien di FAMA ancelle.40

Just as with learned hand

With alternating fughe now fast, now slow You quickly run, and return and group, and tie

Infinite notes in various ways/modes, You make the air/aria resound sweetly, And make men mute, suspended, attentive; Behold you point both to a sky, and a sea,

A rumbling sky,

Jupiter thundering with flashes and lightning,

A sea [which] with vast pride

[makes] waves break and tumble on the rocks,

But soon the sea quiets, And the sky clears,

Thus full of astonishment

Your ship passes to its glorious destination,

And the sky wants the stars

(to make you eternal) to be handmaidens of FAME

Girolamo Frescobaldi, Il secondo libro di toccate, canzone, e versi d'hinni [...], Rome: 39 Borbone 1637, 4.

Pietro Paolo Sabatini (ed.), Sonetti di diversi eccellentiss. autori in lode del sig. Girolamo Frescobaldi, organista del sereniss. Gran Duca di Toscana, Rome: Fei 1628, 6.

In closing I turn to a consideration of the musical gestures that characterise two Arie by Frescobaldi – one for voice and basso continuo, "Voi partite mio sole" from his Primo Libro di arie musicali, the other for plucked instrument, the "Aria detta la Frescobalda" from his Secondo Libro di Toccate e Partite. And here I will return to my reliance not just on Frescobaldi's music as it has come down to us in print, but also on my engagement with the interpretative skills of Concerto di Margherita - the analysis that follows is based entirely on aural response to their performances, rather than on visual examination of a score. In undertaking the analytical strategy of "putting on the lenses", as it were, of an early-seventeenth-century Roman poetic virtuoso, I am not claiming direct knowledge of seventeenth-century experience, rather relying on my reconstruction of what may have been their active listening practice in a way analogous to the informed choices that are made every day by those who engage with the performance practice of historical repertories. And to convey the auditory and mimetic experience of my body and mind (which can perhaps be understood as reconstructions of seventeenth-century instruments) I have chosen to use the poetic practice that I have argued was the foundation for active listening in the Roman academies of the early Seicento. Just as Concerto di Margherita uses past instruments and musical notation building-blocks to engage with a contemporary expressive soundscape, I endeavour to use the poetic building-blocks left to us by the *virtuosi* to offer a consideration of how the experience of listening might have led to expressive response – in other words, following Vasily Byros, I propose to attempt a "transposition of history from a connotation of pastness to one of epistemology" - or perhaps, in Steven Feld's formulation, acoustemology.⁴¹ I cannot hope for my performance to be as compelling as that of our musician colleagues here, but perhaps it can suggest how consideration of traces of multiple components of early Seicento musicking can open more flexibility in our processes of analytical engagement as we scholars try to grapple with historiographical modes that might sometimes feel incommensurate to our own intense affective response to these repertories.

[&]quot;The problematics of historically informed listening would then be situated in a transposition of history from a connotation of pastness to one of epistemology". Vasily Byros, "Towards an 'Archeology' of Hearing: Schemata and Eighteenth-Century Consciousness", in: *Musica Humana* 1 (2009), 235–306: 240. Steven Feld has coined the term *acoustemology* "by conjoining 'acoustics' and 'epistemology' to question sound as a way of knowing. It asks what is knowable, and how it becomes known, through sounding and listening". Steven Feld, "On Post-Ethnomusicology Alternatives: Acoustemology", in: *Ethnomusicology or Transcultural Musicology*?, eds. Francesco Giannattasio and Giovanni Guiriati, Udine: Nota 2017, 82–98: 84.

Appendix

Note to the Reader

The members of Concerto di Margherita were generous enough to offer to give those present at the session where this essay was originally presented an anticipation of their concert that evening, and performed "Voi partite mio sole" and the "Aria detta la Frescobalda;" I provided a recitation of my poetic commentary in between their performances of those two arie. I asked those present to notice my attempt to engage with the two arie through my choice of assonances and rhythmic units as well as the denotative meanings of words. In my commentary, I have taken the overall poetic structure of the stanza of "voi partite" as a starting point, as well as some of the rhymes and assonances; however, I have expanded the poetic form and drawn on my aural-mimetic response to what I consider striking musical gestures in the "aria Frescobalda" in choosing words throughout and an additional combination of endecasillabo/settenario inserted before the final pair in the original "voi partite" structure, keeping the rhyme pattern but varying the order of syllable count. The words and metaphors I chose for my commentary are drawn from the common repertory of early Seicento verse that I discussed earlier.

Voi partite, mio sole

E porta il vostro lume altrove il giorno.

Chi sarà che console La mia notte dolente

Se voi non fate al nostro ciel ritorno?

O mie speranze spente,

Ahi belle luci onde ne givo altera, Come fu l'Alba, ohimè vidi la sera.

[Voi partite, mio bene,

E meco in compagnia restano i mali.

Con voi parte la spene de la bramata gioia,

e l'alma per seguirvi aperte ha l'ali.

È giunto il dì, ch'io muoia.

Ahi fero caso! Ahi dura dipartita! Poiché col vostro piè parte la vita.]

Voi partite, e portate

Con voi la gioia, l'allegrezza e 'l riso,

Misero e qui lasciate

L'affanno, il duolo e il pianto, E si cangia in Inferno il Paradiso. Ahi come è breve il canto You depart, my sun

And the day brings your light elsewhere,

Who will console My grieving night,

If you do not return to our sky? O my extinguished hopes,

Alas beautiful lights where I once proudly went, When dawn came, alas, I saw the evening.

[You depart, my good,

And ills remain in my company.

With you departs hope For my desired joy,

And my soul has opened its wings to follow you.

The day has come for me to die. Ah bitter fate! Ah hard departure! Because life departs with your foot.]

You depart, and you take

With you joy, happiness, and laughter,

And you leave here, in misery, Worry, pain, and tears, And paradise turns to hell. Alas how brief is the song

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Degli infelici e sventurati amanti, Come sono lunghi e senza fine i pianti.

Voi partite, ma resta Misera, in me di voi la rimembranza Sol questa il volo arresta All'anima che fugge, E vive Amore se morta è la speranza. Ma nuovo duol mi strugge Che voi cangiando ciel, cangiate amore Of unhappy and unfortunate lovers, How long and endless are [their] tears.

You depart, but there remains,
Miserable me, your memory in me,
Only this can stop the flight
Of my fleeing soul,
And love lives [even] if hope is dead.

But pain again torments me, That changing sky you [might] change your love, Far away from eyes alas, far away from the heart.

And my own poetic commentary:

Lunge da gl'occhi ohimè, lunge dal core.42

Lungo è 'l tempo che resta
Il fiato in sen se canta MARGHERITA;
L' armonia loro desta
L'affetto all'alte sfere
Qual schiera d'anfion e muse unita.
Deh che sommo piacere
E gran FRESCO diletto a nostra vita!
Chi l'orecchie lor presta
Resta rapito da sì grande ardore
Che pur lunge da lor, risuona ll core.

Long is the time that breath
Remains held if MARGHERITA sings,
Their harmony awakens
Affetto/emotion to the high spheres
Like a conjoined host of Amphion and the Muses
Oh what supreme pleasure
And vast FRESH delight to our life!
They who lend their ears to them
Are ravished by such great ardour
That [their] heart resounds, even when afar.

Girolamo Frescobaldi, Secondo libro d'arie musicali per cantarsi, nel gravicimbalo, & tiorba. 42 a una, a dua, e a tre voci. Di Girolamo Frescobaldi organista del serenissimo Gran Duca di Toscana, Florence: Giovanni Battista Landini 1630, 19. The text is by poet and Barberini protegé Vincenzo Balducci, and was published that same year in Balducci's collection of Rime (Part 6: Rime Famigliari, 31; Rome: Guglielmo Facciotti 1630). The setting for soprano voice in the Secondo libro, which was performed by Concerto di Margherita on this occasion, omits the second stanza above; an almost identical setting for tenor voice in the Primo libro omits the third stanza instead. For more on Balducci and his approach to the canzonetta see Holzer, "Music and Poetry", Chapter 3, with a close reading of the poem and Frescobaldi's two nearly identical settings in the Primo libro and Secondo libro in pp. 136-140. A more recent discussion of Balducci and his Rime in the context of early modern Roman musical practices is in Roberta Ippoliti, La 'minorità' del poeta Francesco Balducci nella storiografia letteraria italiana elaborata fra XVII e XX secolo. Trascrizione delle Rime pubblicate a Roma nel 1630 con note di commento e cenni alla ricezione dell'opera nell'ambiente musicale del tempo, Tesi di dottorato, Università degli Studi di Roma "Tor Vergata", 2011–2012.