

Writing and Publishing Music  
Theory in Early Seventeenth-  
Century Italy: Adriano  
Banchieri and His  
Contemporaries

by

Abigail Lois Ballantyne  
Exeter College, University of Oxford

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## ABSTRACT

### Writing and Publishing Music Theory in Early Seventeenth-Century Italy: Adriano Banchieri and His Contemporaries

Abigail Lois Ballantyne

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Why write music theory and publish it? In the thesis I investigate the reasons for a seeming over-abundance of practically oriented music treatises in early seventeenth-century Italy. Throughout I challenge our conventional assessment of the study of music theory: I suggest that we can define a music-theoretical text in terms of its material form in addition to its content. Adriano Banchieri (1568-1634) was the most prolific theorist in early seventeenth-century Italy. His music-theory books exemplify contemporary printing patterns, an overt practical focus, and a synthesis of contemporary theoretical innovations.

In Chapter 1, after considering the meaning of ‘music theory’ and how it is typically classified, I discuss the process of and purposes for writing and publishing music theory. In Chapter 2 I explore Banchieri’s practical and philosophical motives for writing music theory, and thus introduce the reader to his music-theoretical corpus. The focus of the thesis then broadens: in Chapter 3 I survey the typical authors, publishing houses, content, material form, function and readers of the various kinds of theoretical texts printed in Italy between 1600 and 1630. In Chapter 4 I examine the widespread practice of publishing second and revised editions of music-theory books in order to establish the extent to which a new edition corresponds to a seeming demand for a particular text. The case study of the paratext of Banchieri’s *Conclusiones de musica* (Bologna, 1627) in Chapter 5 demonstrates the great extent to which the preliminary matter of an early Seicento music-theory book is embedded in its socio-cultural context and how a paratext projects ideas contained in the text proper. Lastly, in Chapter 6 I explore to whom and in which particular forums

theoretical writings circulated. Here I focus principally on Banchieri's printed letters, which provide evidence of how an author circulated his music books.

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## List of Abbreviations

### Bibliographical Abbreviations

<i>AcM</i>	<i>Acta Musicologica</i>
<i>AnMc</i>	<i>Analecta musicologica</i>
<i>Banchieri</i>	O. Mischiati, <i>Adriano Banchieri (1568-1634), profilo biografico e bibliografia delle opere</i> (Bologna, 1972)
<i>Banchieri 1613 indice</i>	A. Banchieri, 'Indice di trenta et cinque opere in materie musicali distinte', A. Banchieri, <i>Terzo libro di nuovi pensieri ecclesiastici</i> (Bologna, 1613), [5]; ed. <i>Banchieri</i> , 177-78
<i>Banchieri 1614 indice</i>	A. Banchieri, 'Indice di trent'opre musicali', A. Banchieri, <i>Cartella musicale</i> (Venice, 1614; later edition 1615), 149-150 and sig. A1v; ed. <i>Banchieri</i> , 178-79
<i>Banchieri 1615 indice</i>	A. Banchieri, 'Indice delle opere musicali date in luce dall'anno 1594 fin all'anno 1615', A. Banchieri, <i>La cartellina musicale</i> (Venice, 1615), 34-6; ed. <i>Banchieri</i> , 180-81
<i>EitnerQ</i>	R. Eitner, <i>Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten der christlichen Zeitrechnung bis zur Mitte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts</i> (Leipzig, 1900-1904), 10 vols.
<i>EMc</i>	<i>Early Music</i>
<i>EMH</i>	<i>Early Music History</i>
<i>GaspariO</i>	<i>Gaspari On Line</i> . Bologna: Museo Internazionale e biblioteca della Musica, 2006. < <a href="http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/scripts/gaspari/src_aut.asp">http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/scripts/gaspari/src_aut.asp</a> >
<i>Giunta 1604 catalogue</i>	'Catalogus librorum qui in Iunctarum bibliotheca Philippi haeredum Florentiae prostant, Florentiae MDCIV [stile fiorentino]', 455-501; ed. Kast, 'Die Musikdrucke des Kataloges Giunta von 1604' and <i>MischiatiI</i> , 110-34
<i>Grove Art Online</i>	<i>Grove Art Online. Oxford Art Online</i> . Oxford University Press. < <a href="http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/">http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/</a> >
<i>Grove Online</i>	<i>Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online</i> . Oxford University Press. < <a href="http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/">http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/</a> >
<i>MischiatiI</i>	O. Mischiati, <i>Indici, cataloghi e avvisi degli editori e librai musicali italiani dal 1591 al 1798</i> (Florence, 1984)

<i>JAMS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Musicological Society</i>
<i>JM</i>	<i>Journal of Musicology</i>
<i>JMT</i>	<i>Journal of Music Theory</i>
<i>ML</i>	<i>Music &amp; Letters</i>
<i>New Grove</i>	<i>The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians</i> , 2nd edn., ed. G. Grove, S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell (Oxford, 2001)
<i>OPAC SBN</i>	<i>OPAC SBN. Catalogo del Servizio Bibliotecario Nazionale</i> (Rome: Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo Unico delle Biblioteche Italiane e per le Informazioni Bibliografiche, 2010), < <a href="http://www.sbn.it/">http://www.sbn.it/</a> >
<i>RdM</i>	<i>Revue de musicologie</i>
<i>RIM</i>	<i>Rivista italiana di musicologica</i>
<i>RISM</i>	<i>Répertoire international des sources musicales</i>
<i>RISM B/VI</i> <sup>1-2</sup>	<i>Écrits imprimés concernant la musique: ouvrages publiés sous la direction de François Lesure</i> , ed. F. Lesure, 2 vols., Répertoire international des sources musicales, B/VI (Munich, 1971)
<i>RMA</i>	Royal Musical Association
<i>Scotto 1596 indice</i>	‘Indice de libri di musica stampati dalli magn[ifi]ci Scoti cioè quelli che sino al presente anno 1596. si ritrovano.’, ed. <i>MischiatiI</i> , 99-106
<i>SMhMg</i>	Supplement to <i>Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte</i>
<i>Theoi Classical Library</i>	A. J. Atsma, ed., <i>The Theoi Classical E-Texts Library</i> (Auckland, New Zealand, 2000-2007), < <a href="http://www.library.theoi.com/">http://www.library.theoi.com/</a> >
<i>Tini 1596 catalogue</i>	‘Lista delli libri fatti stampare dalli heredi di Francesco & Simon[e] Tini librari in Mil[a]no. E parte de altri libri diverse stampe, che si ritrovano nel loro magazzino.’ [Milan, 1596], ed. Fenlon, ‘Il foglio volante editoriale dei Tini, circa il 1596’ and <i>MischiatiI</i> , 106-110
<i>Vincenti 1591 indice</i>	‘Indice di tutte l’opere di musica, che si truova alla stampa della pigna. In Venetia, Appresso Giacomo Vincenti, 1591.’, ed. <i>MischiatiI</i> , 92-98, and Thibault, ‘Deux catalogues de libraires musicaux’

- Vincenti 1621 indice*      ‘Indice di tutte le opere di musica che si trovano nella stampa della pigna di Alessandro Vincenti. In Venetia, MDCXXI.’, ed. Haberl, ed., ‘Indice di tutte le opere di musica, che si trovano nella stampa della pagina [sic pigna]: di Alessandro Vincenti. In Venetia, M. D[C]. XVIII. (sic? 1619) [sic 1621]’ and *Mischiati*, 135-53
- Vincenti 1635 indice*      ‘Indice dell’opere di musica che si trovano nella stampa della pigna di Alessandro Vincenti Venezia 1635’, ed. *Mischiati*, 153-162
- Vincenti 1649 indice*      ‘Indice di tutte le opere di musica, che si trovano nella stampa della pigna: di Alessandro Vincenti. In Venetia, M.DC.XXXXIX[1649].’, ed. Haberl, ed., ‘Indice di tutte le opere di musica, che si trovano nella stampa della pigna: di Alessandro Vincenti. In Venetia, M. DC. XXXXIX’ and *Mischiati*, 163-186
- Vincenti 1658 indice*      ‘Indice di tutte le opere di musica, che si trovano nella stampa della pigna; di Alessandro Vincenti. In Venetia, M.DC.LXII[1658].’, ed. *Mischiati*, 187-212
- Vincenti 1662 indice*      ‘Indice di tutte le opere di musica, che si trovano nella stampa della pigna; di Alessandro Vincenti. In Venetia, M.DC.LXII[1662].’, ed. *Mischiati*, 213-241

## Library Sigla

ASS	Siena, Archivio di Stato di Siena
AMM	Bergamo, Archivio della Misericordia Maggiore
B-Bc	Bruxelles, Conservatoire royal de Bruxelles, Bibliothèque
D-As	Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek
D-Bds	Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek
D-Hs	Hamburg, Staats- and Universitätsbibliothek, Musikabteilung
D-HEu	Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek
DK-Kk	København, Det Kongelige Bibliotek
E-Msi	Madrid, Universidad Complutense, Biblioteca de San Isidro
F-Pc	Paris, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire (sources now deposited in F-Pn)
F-Pn	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale

GB-Lbm	London, The British Library
GB-Lcm	London, Royal College of Music
GB-Ob	Oxford, Bodleian Library
I-ASCmo	Asciano, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia Benedettina di Monte Oliveto Maggiore
I-BGc	Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai
I-Bam	Bologna, Collezioni d'Arte e di Storia della Cassa di Risparmio (Biblioteca Ambrosini)
I-Bc	Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica
I-Bca	Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio
I-Bu	Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria
I-MATts	Matera, Biblioteca Provinciale Tommaso Stigliani
I-Ma	Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana
I-Mc	Milan, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica Giuseppe Verdi
I-MOe	Modena, Biblioteca Estense
I-Ps	Padova, Biblioteca del Seminario Vescovile
I-PESo	Pesaro, Biblioteca Oliveriana
I-RIM	Rimini, Biblioteca Civica Alessandro Gambalunga
I-Rasc	Roma, Archivio Storico Capitolino e Biblioteca Romana
I-Rc	Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense
I-Rn	Roma, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II
I-Ru	Roma, Biblioteca Universitaria Alessandrina
I-Smo	Asciano (near Siena), Abbazia Benedettina di Monte Oliveto Maggiore, Biblioteca
I-Tn	Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale
I-Tsci	Trieste, Biblioteca Comunale Attilio Hortis

I-Vavb	Venezia, Biblioteca dell'Ateneo veneto
I-VCc	Vercelli, Biblioteca Civica
I-VCd	Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare
I-Vnm	Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana
US-AAu	Ann Arbor, Michigan, University Library, University of Michigan
US-Cn	Chicago, Illinois, Newberry Library
US-Wc	Washington, D.C., The Library of Congress, Music Division

### Standard Abbreviations

4to	quarto
8vo	octavo
C	Cantus
A	Altus
T	Tenor
B	Bassus
bc	basso continuo
S	Soprano
c.	circa
diss.	dissertation
ed./eds.	editor/editors
edn./edns.	edition/editions
ex.	example(s)
facs.	facsimile
fol./fols.	folio/folios
inc.	incomplete
MS	manuscript
n. d.	no date
no publ.	no publisher
obl.	oblong
re-edn./re-edns.	re-edition/re-editions
p./pp.	page/pages
r	recto
rev.	revised
sig.	signature
s. l.	<i>sans lieu (de publication)</i>
s.v.	sub verbo
trans.	translated
v	verso
vol./vols.	volume/volumes

## Preface

The ‘musical transition’ from the Renaissance to the Baroque has always fascinated me, principally because of the hive of activity of Italian theorists who, circa 1600, seemingly took it upon themselves to document an assortment of contemporary performance practices. As a doctoral student, I initially set out to ascertain the relationship among music theory of the early seventeenth century, coeval performance practices and compositional techniques by primarily contextualizing Adriano Banchieri’s *Cartella musicale* (Venice, 1614; later edition 1615). However, on discovering an overabundance of early seventeenth-century music-theory books printed on the Italian peninsula (as opposed to elsewhere in Europe) and that Banchieri revised and re-published theoretical passages in music treatises which fulfilled very different functions, the direction of my research began to shift. Taking the advice of Professor Elizabeth Eva Leach and Professor Suzanne Aspden to heart, I decided to adopt a bibliographical approach as a means to explore the socio-cultural reasons for the proliferation of music-theoretical publications in early Seicento Italy, including those by Banchieri.

Throughout the course of my doctorate, presenting at conferences greatly helped me crystallize my research. I am thankful for many thought-provoking questions from and beneficial conversations with academics and fellow doctoral students: this kind of feedback often shaped my continued research. Two conferences were particularly constructive in the abovementioned ways: the interdisciplinary conference ‘Circulating Ideas in Seventeenth-Century Europe: Networks, Knowledge and Forms’ at The Royal Society in London in July 2010 and the ‘Musical, Cultural and Religious Networks in Early Modern Europe: in Celebration of Peter Philips’s 450<sup>th</sup> Anniversary’ at the University of Aberdeen in March 2011.

My doctoral thesis could not have been completed without much support and encouragement, for which I am truly grateful.

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Consulting primary sources at a number of European libraries was undeniably a highlight of my doctoral research, and I am indebted to the gracious assistance of many librarians. My especial thanks go to the Bodleian Libraries of the University of Oxford (and to the former music librarian Peter Ward Jones), the vivacious staff of the Rare Books and Music Reading Room at The British Library, London; and the librarians of the Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica in Bologna (particularly Alfredo Vitolo, Roberto Marchi, Marzia Mignani and Cristina Targa). I am also very grateful to the following libraries and their staff: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Richelieu and François Mitterrand sites); Asciano, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia Benedettina di Monte Oliveto Maggiore (my thanks to Don Roberto Donghi); Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai; Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio; Bologna, Biblioteca del Dipartimento di Musica e Spettacolo, Università degli Studi di Bologna; Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria; Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica Luigi Cherubini; Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze; Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense; Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana (my thanks to Ferdinando Righetto); Milan, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica

Giuseppe Verdi; Parma, Biblioteca Palatina; Rome, Biblioteca Musicale Governativa del Conservatorio Santa Cecilia; Siena, Biblioteca Comunale; Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana; Venice, Biblioteca della Fondazione Querini-Stampalia; Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare (my thanks to the librarian Timoty Leonardi and cataloguer Alberto Viarengo).

While all the translations in the thesis are my own (unless otherwise specified), Dr Bonnie Blackburn offered much valuable guidance. Dr Leofranc Holford-Strevens also kindly corrected and improved the translations of particularly thorny passages of early modern Latin and Italian. I am also very grateful to Giles Walker, Abigail Dunn, Vicky Liakopoulou, Simon Ford and the scholars who attended Dr Victoria Moul's Early Modern Latin Reading Class at The Queen's College in 2009 for their help with translations. I also thank the Oxford University Language Centre, and chiefly Dante Ceruolo and Tania Batelli-Kneale, for furthering my learning of the Italian language.

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Last of all, but by no means least, I thank my two supervisors, Professor Owen Rees and Dr Bonnie Blackburn, for their continued support and patience. At an early stage, Owen suggested asking Bonnie to joint-supervise the project. Both the open exchange of her extensive knowledge (especially in the field of Italian music theory) and her keen eye have proved to be significant boons to this research project. Moreover, she very kindly let me borrow her personal microfilm copies of Italian music treatises, and while on a research trip in Milan she also endeavoured to view one of Banchieri's lost music-theoretical publications, *La mano, et sicuri documenti* (Milan, 1611), at the Biblioteca Ambrosiana on

my behalf. Many fruitful discussions with Owen Rees enabled me to conceptualize the form that individual chapters of the thesis would eventually take. His insights into early seventeenth-century performance practices and his attention to the subtle nuances of an argument have been invaluable. Critical readings of early drafts by both of my supervisors have undoubtedly enriched the research presented on the following pages.

## Introduction

As soon as it is rewritten it will be published under the title *Seconda Pratica*, or *Perfettione della moderna musica*.<sup>1</sup>

Claudio Monteverdi

Though the small volume is short it contains a great deal.<sup>2</sup>

Adriano Banchieri

Perhaps you will marvel most clement reader that, since neither singing nor playing is my profession as they were in my youth, I set about gathering and writing matters relevant to Music.<sup>3</sup>

Cesare Crivellati

I declare that everything I have written I intend for the benefit of the practical musician, leaving theoretical speculations to more elevated minds.<sup>4</sup>

Adriano Banchieri

Naturally music scholars lament the absence of Claudio Monteverdi's music treatise, which the composer stated he would write in his riposte to Giovanni Maria Artusi's attack on his treatment of dissonance in the madrigals of his fourth and fifth books.<sup>5</sup> Presumably Monteverdi did not complete this treatise because of the impossibility of defending the *seconda prattica* theoretically: although the new contrapuntal rules depended in part on the continuing validity of many of those of the *prima prattica*, more problematically, they were primarily governed by a composer's individual musical interpretation of a text and the subjective aesthetics of the human ear.<sup>6</sup> Although Monteverdi failed to publish a music-theory book, many succeeded: excluding music-theoretical passages at the start of music

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<sup>1</sup> 'Tosto che sia rescritta uscirà in luce portando in fronte il nome di SECONDA PRATICA, ovvero PERFETTIONE DELLA MODERNA MUSICA'. C. Monteverdi, *Il quinto libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice, 1605), 'Studiosi lettori', last page of the Canto, Tenor and Quinto partbooks.

<sup>2</sup> 'Il volumetto è piccolo ma contiene assai'. A. Banchieri, *La Banchierina* (Venice, 1623), 3.

<sup>3</sup> 'Ti maravigliarai forse benignissimo lettore, che non essendo mia professione il cantare, e sonare, si come fu da giovanetto, mi sia posto a raccorre, e scrivere cose pertinenti alla Musica'. C. Crivellati, *Discorsi musicali* (Viterbo, 1624), 5.

<sup>4</sup> 'Dichiarandomi, che quant'hò scritto intendo per giovamento del Musico Pratico, lasciando le Theoriche speculazioni a ingegni più elevati'. A. Banchieri, *Cartella musicale* (Venice, 1614; later edition 1615), 148.

<sup>5</sup> C. Monteverdi, *Il quinto libro de madrigali* (1605), loc. cit. Giulio Cesare Monteverdi took it upon himself to explain his brother's letter in C. Monteverdi, *Scherzi musicali a tre voci*, ed. G. C. Monteverdi (Venice, 1607), 'Dichiaratione della lettera stampata nel quinto libro de' suoi madrigali'. O. W. Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History: From Classical Antiquity through the Romantic Era*, ed. L. Treitler (New York, 1998), 535-544.

<sup>6</sup> Throughout I adopt the modern Italian spelling of 'prattica' rather than adhering to Claudio Monteverdi's orthographic rendering of the word.

prints and those in non-music books, the Italian presses printed no fewer than 125 books between 1600 and 1630. The second quotation from the Bolognese theorist Adriano Banchieri (1568-1634) enumerates the typical characteristics of music-theoretical publications produced in this period: they were slender, pocket-sized and succinct. While the third citation points towards the fact that non-professional musicians such as Cesare Crivellati – a physician from Viterbo<sup>7</sup> – wrote and published music theory, the fourth indicates the intended readership and content of Banchieri's music-theory books. The principal theme of this thesis is the relationship between authors and readers of music-theory books, and the relationship between these two agents and the content and material form of these publications.

In the thesis I explore the socio-cultural reasons surrounding the phenomenon to which the above quotations (and particularly the first) attest: writing, re-writing and publishing music theory in Italy between 1600 and 1630. I use the word 'Italy' to signify a geographical rather than a political unit.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, although the regional dialects and distinct identity of individual Italian states should not be overlooked, the spread of jurisprudence, religiosity and learning across Italy's political divisions 'allowed for an easy circulation of people and ideas to accelerate and deepen ties that bound the peninsula together'.<sup>9</sup> In the thesis I concentrate on the music-theoretical publications of Banchieri, for these exhibit numerous patterns and trends in the corpus of music treatises printed in early seventeenth-century Italy. Moreover, Banchieri was the most prolific writer of music theory in this period.

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<sup>7</sup> Crivellati, *Discorsi musicali*, 1 and 5.

<sup>8</sup> John A. Marino argues that – as the title of the Bolognese guidebook *Descrittione di tutta l'Italia* (Bologna, 1550) by Leandro Alberti reveals – Italy was conceptualized as a distinct geographical unit in the mid sixteenth century. Indeed, he continues, 'The rules governing land, labour, and exchange extended across political boundaries'. Further to this, 'The various Italian states also shared traditions of law, language, and religion. Their very names – Roman law, Latin and Romance languages, and Roman Catholicism – all emphasize the imperial legacy of a universal government'. J. A. Marino, ed., *Early Modern Italy, 1550-1796* (Oxford, 2002), 4-5.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

An investigation into the reasons for writing and publishing music theory invites copious questions. Who wrote books on music theory? Who read them? What was their content? What functions did they serve? How did print culture influence the course of contemporary theoretical debate and musical practice?<sup>10</sup> Why was it that the ossification of the *prima prattica* – itself a pedagogical style that all pupils of composition should master – occurred in the early Seicento, making it the first historical style to become the ‘basis of a pedagogical theory’?<sup>11</sup> More broadly, what were the socio-cultural circumstances – both musical and extra-musical – that led to the printing of these manuals? And lastly, what was the relationship between the surrounding socio-cultural context and the content of early Seicento writings on music theory? An understanding of this, coupled with an exploration of the material form of these texts, allows us to construct a complex and rich picture of the ways in which music-theoretical ideas of the early Seicento were discussed, published, circulated and read.

## 1. Literature review

The secondary literature relevant to the topic of this thesis broadly falls into two categories: one concerns music-theoretical texts of early Seicento Italy, the other the life and published writings of Banchieri.

### a. Music theory in early Seicento Italy

Musicologists have tended to examine either isolated theoretical subjects or the contents of one treatise from this period.<sup>12</sup> In addition, the problematic music-historiographical

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<sup>10</sup> Tim Carter has considered the ways in which the culture of publishing and disseminating music prints influenced contemporaneous musical thought and practices in Italy around 1600. T. Carter, ‘Artusi, Monteverdi, and the Poetics of Modern Music’, in N. K. Baker and B. R. Hanning, eds., *Musical Humanism and its Legacy: Essays in Honour of Claude V. Palisca* (Stuyvesant, 1992), 171-194; T. Carter, ‘Printing the “New Music”’, in K. van Orden, ed., *Music and the Cultures of Print* (New York, 2000), 3-37.

<sup>11</sup> C. V. Palisca and I. D. Bent, ‘Theory, theorists’, *Grove Online*. Accessed 4 May 2010. See also C. V. Palisca, *Music and Ideas in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Chicago, 2006), 170.

<sup>12</sup> For instance, P. Aldrich, *Rhythm in Seventeenth-Century Italian Monody: With an Anthology of Songs and Dances* (London, 1966); H. M. Brown, *Embellishing Sixteenth-Century Music* (London, 1976); F. Garcia,

representation of Italy from 1600 to 1630 has in effect led to a pervasive, dyadic approach to the music theory written in this thirty-year period. Since these decades lie at the juncture between two overlapping musical periods (that is, at the end of the Renaissance and the beginning of the Baroque), music theory of this era is automatically perceived as comprising both preceding, traditional musical concepts and newly fashioned ones that developed non-synchronously.<sup>13</sup>

Claude V. Palisca and Renate Groth – two contributors to *Italienische Musiktheorie im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (1989) – conducted the most in-depth survey of Italian music theory written in the early seventeenth century.<sup>14</sup> Since they concentrated on renowned treatises of the period and on well-known theoretical trends, they overlooked the vast majority of publications printed in Italy between 1600 and 1640. Likewise, Imogene Horsley’s earlier study of seventeenth-century Italian music theory fails to account for the entire spectrum of theoretical texts produced in this period.<sup>15</sup>

In addition to monographs, theses and journal articles, introductions to facsimiles provide valuable information on specific treatises and their connections to others.<sup>16</sup> Photographic reproductions of music-theory books in facsimiles, however, should be treated with caution: discrepancies between a music book and its facsimile copy (typically coupled with an inadequate explanation of the process of preparing a facsimile edition and

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‘Pietro Cerone’s “El melopeo y maestro”: A Synthesis of Sixteenth-Century Musical Theory’ (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1978).

<sup>13</sup> The emergence of a *seconda prattica* and the constant contrast between ancient and modern music in treatises of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries are both depicted as signifiers of the birth of a new musical period.

<sup>14</sup> These two contributors were responsible for the sections ‘Die Jahrzehnte um 1600 in Italien’ and ‘Italienische Musiktheorie im 17. Jahrhundert’ respectively: F. Zamminer, ed., *Italienische Musiktheorie im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert: Antikenrezeption und Satzlehre* (Darmstadt, 1989), 221-379.

<sup>15</sup> I. Horsley, ‘Symposium on Seventeenth-Century Music Theory: Italy’, *JMT*, 16 (1972), 50-61.

<sup>16</sup> For instance, A. Pisa, *Breve dichiarazione della battuta musicale (1611): con alcuni estratti da Battuta delle musica (1611)*, ed. P. Gargiulo (Rome, 1611; facs. edn., with an introduction by P. Gargiulo (trans. by H. Ward-Perkins), Lucca, 1996); G. Uberti, *Contrasto musico: opera dilettevole*, ed. G. Rostirolla (Rome, 1630; facs. edn., with an introduction by G. Rostirolla, Lucca, 1992).

its exact make-up) all too frequently occur.<sup>17</sup> For instance, while the facsimile edition of Banchieri's *L'organo suonarino* (Venice, 1605, 1611 and 1638; facs. edn., with a new introduction by G. Cattin (trans. by Peter Williams), Amsterdam, 1969) helpfully incorporates a reprint of *L'organo suonarino* (Venice, 1605), the frontispiece of the 1611 edition followed by the more substantial fifth *registro*, and the appendix and sixth *registro* (which are both addenda to the 1622, 1627 and 1638 editions), the idiosyncratic word-changes and differing format of certain sections in all of the author's revised editions are not included nor discussed by the editor, Giulio Cattin. Indeed, Cattin does not acknowledge the existence of the 1627 edition.<sup>18</sup>

In historiographical representations of early Seicento music theory, researchers typically emphasize one of three aspects:

1. The information it provides on improvisatory, performance-practice issues such as the authentic formulation of embellishments and ornaments and the correct way to realize an accompaniment from a bass part (to which figures had recently been added).<sup>19</sup>
2. The focus on past and present compositional techniques.<sup>20</sup>
3. The inclusion of theoretical discussion of the rhetorical style (particularly regarding the use of dissonance), which accounts for new musical licences and accompanies the contemporary practice of emulating the expressive quality of any given text.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> John Milsom commented on the untrustworthy nature of facsimiles (termed 'fakesimiles' by Albi Rosenthal): J. Milsom, 'Tallis, Byrd and the "Incorrected Copy": Some Cautionary Notes for Editors of Early Music Printed from Movable Type', *ML*, 77/3 (1996), 348-367.

<sup>18</sup> In addition to this example, in Chapter 2 (n. 112) I discuss the unreliability of the facsimile edition A. Banchieri, *Lettere armoniche* (Bologna, 1628; facs. edn., Bologna, 1968).

<sup>19</sup> Brown, *Embellishing Sixteenth-Century Music*; F. T. Arnold, *The Art of Accompaniment from a Thorough-Bass* (London, 1931); T. Borgir, *The Performance of the Basso Continuo in Italian Baroque Music* (Ann Arbor, 1987); G. Nuti, *The Performance of Italian Basso Continuo: Style in Keyboard Accompaniment in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Aldershot, 2007).

<sup>20</sup> In general, Palisca portrays early Seicento music theory in this manner: C. V. Palisca, *Studies in the History of Italian Music and Music Theory* (Oxford, 1994). Undeniably, while on the one hand music-theory books from this period continually outline compositional techniques of the *prima prattica*, for it still was a viable alternative to the newer style of composing, on the other, the practical reduction of the modes to a few distinct octave species marks the partial loss of music's affective modal qualities in favour of tonally-conditioned ones.

<sup>21</sup> For instance, D. Arnold and N. Fortune, *The New Monteverdi Companion* (London, 1985).

It is worth mentioning that all three historiographical representations frame many of the same theoretical topics differently in order to validate their preferred focus: the figured-bass technique, for instance, is a particularly malleable topic.<sup>22</sup>

#### b. Banchieri

In spite of the wealth of secondary literature on Banchieri's music theory, his organ music and his other sacred compositions (not to mention the theorist's own emphasis on sacred music), musicologists generally regard this monk-musician's madrigal comedies as his most salient achievement. Indeed, the widespread availability of modern editions of these entertaining compositions has undoubtedly assisted their re-examination rather than that of the rest of his published oeuvre.<sup>23</sup>

Although Oscar Mischiati compiled a comprehensive biographic profile of Banchieri and bibliography of his literary output, which includes many theoretical writings catalogued by neither RISM B/VI<sup>1-2</sup> nor *New Grove*, no comprehensive study of the monk-musician's life nor of his entire oeuvre exists.<sup>24</sup> Davide Daolmi, however, used Mischiati's study (*Banchieri*) to create a more accessible resource: he presented Banchieri's published texts chronologically and systematically tracked any re-editions.<sup>25</sup> Cinzia Zotti's published biography of Banchieri is a welcome addition to current scholarship: it is the only extended

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<sup>22</sup> While Emilio de' Cavalieri introduced a figured bass in print for practical performance reasons, in the early Seicento the figuring of a bass line could be considered to be a compositional technique. Moreover, its pedagogical purpose was to teach the elements of harmony. The concept of figuring a bass line triggered discussion regarding the manner and extent to which figures of rhetoric should be realized (including the fashioning of trills and other forms of ornamentation).

<sup>23</sup> Recently, Paul Schleuse researched Banchieri's madrigal comedies in the context of Orazio Vecchi's. He discovered that most of the woodcuts in Banchieri's *Metamorfosi musicale* (Venice, 1601) were re-used from a series of woodcuts previously printed in a cluster of plays around 1590. The one exception is a woodcut copied (rather than re-used) from Orazio Vecchi's *L'Amfiparnaso* (Venice, 1597). Paul Schleuse, 'Pictures for the Singers?—Illustrations in Music Books by Adriano Banchieri', paper given at Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference, University of Nottingham, 8-11 July 2012. Throughout I use the original orthographic rendering of the title of Vecchi's publication rather than the correct modern Italian spelling: *L'Amfiparnasso*.

<sup>24</sup> *Banchieri*; RISM B/VI<sup>1</sup>; W. S. May and F. Wiering, 'Banchieri, Adriano', *Grove Online*. Accessed 1 Feb 2011.

<sup>25</sup> D. Daolmi, 'Adriano Banchieri: opera teorica' (n.d.), <<http://www.examenapium.it/banchieri/>>, especially s.v. 'catalogo delle opere' and 'trattatisca'. Accessed 18 Jan 2013.

biography to date. Unfortunately, though, the book lacks academic rigour: for instance, it fails to account for all of Banchieri's music-theoretical output and to recognize Banchieri's indebtedness to contemporary theorists such as Erycius Puteanus, from whom he surely borrowed the addition of the two seventh syllables *bi* and *ba* to the solmization system.<sup>26</sup> The only other account of Banchieri's diverse assortment of texts was published by A. Wernli.<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, this descriptive overview is distorted, for it focuses on Banchieri's secular compositions; and given the book's concision, this study does not adequately evaluate specific details and issues which Banchieri's oeuvre requires.

Music scholars have frequently focused on one particular genre of Banchieri's music, or on one specific treatise. H. J. Wilbert examined Banchieri's polyphonic masses;<sup>28</sup> William S. May briefly analysed the late motets;<sup>29</sup> C.B. Bowman transcribed and provided an annotation of Banchieri's *Ecclesiastiche sinfonie* (Venice, 1607);<sup>30</sup> M. Farahat considered his madrigal comedies;<sup>31</sup> Karl Gustav Fellerer contextualized Banchieri as an organist, suggesting correlations between his theoretical writings and organ music;<sup>32</sup> Donald Earl Marcuse commented on the various editions of Banchieri's *L'organo suonarino* (1605) and transcribed and translated the first and third editions of the manual as well as any passages in the second which the third does not contain;<sup>33</sup> Lee Raymond Garrett provided a translation and commentary of Banchieri's *Conclusioni nel suono*

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<sup>26</sup> C. Zotti, *Le sourire du moine Adriano Banchieri de Bologne: musicien, homme de lettres, pédagogue, équilibriste sur le fil des querelles du Seicento* (Nice, 2008).

<sup>27</sup> A. Wernli, *Studien zum literarischen und musikalischen Werk Adriano Banchieris (1568-1634)* (Bern, 1981).

<sup>28</sup> H.-J. Wilbert, 'Die Messen des Adriano Banchieri' (Diss., Johannes Gutenberg-Universität, Mainz, 1969).

<sup>29</sup> W. S. May, 'Adriano Banchieri: Late Sacred Motets: The seconda prattica in Sacred Music' (Ph.D. diss., Tulane University, 1975).

<sup>30</sup> C. B. Bowman, 'The Ecclesiastiche sinfonie (Opus 16) of Adriano Banchieri (1568-1634)' (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1971).

<sup>31</sup> M. O. W. Farahat, 'Adriano Banchieri and the Madrigal Comedy' (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1991); M. Farahat, 'On the Staging of Madrigal Comedies', *EMH*, 10 (1991), 123-43.

<sup>32</sup> K. G. Fellerer, 'Adriano Banchieri und die kirchliche Orgelmusik', in M. Schneider and C. Wolff, eds., *Orgel, Orgelmusik und Orgelspiel: Festschrift Michael Schneider zum 75 Geburtstag* (Kassel, 1985), 87-96.

<sup>33</sup> D. E. Marcuse, 'Adriano Banchieri, *L'organo suonarino*: Translation, Transcription and Commentary' (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1970).

*dell'organo* (Bologna, 1609);<sup>34</sup> and Clifford Cranna likewise provided a translation of the *Cartella musicale* (Venice, 1614; later edition 1615) along with a commentary.<sup>35</sup> Although the latter's commentary has established some valuable connections among primary sources, for the most part Cranna does not contextualize the treatise in relation to the music-theoretical climate of the early Seicento.

Palisca commented that Banchieri's *Cartella overo regole utilissime* (Venice, 1601), together with its revised editions of 1610 and 1614, demonstrated the theorist's awareness of 'changes in compositional and performance practices'.<sup>36</sup> Indeed, musicologists tend to focus on this aspect of Banchieri's music theory (and, consequently, on his *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo*, *L'organo suonarino* (1605) and *Cartella musicale* (1614)). As Horsley asserted, along with Artusi's detailed comments and quotations of Monteverdi's madrigals, Banchieri's numerous observations pertaining to two-part contrapuntal exercises (which a novice composer should practise fashioning once he had mastered the first style) 'provide our greatest fund of concrete information about the relation of the second practice to the first'.<sup>37</sup> Andrew Johnstone reiterated that the Italian theorists' silence on the question of high-clef transposition was broken by Banchieri.<sup>38</sup> And similarly, Banchieri's elucidation of the psalm-tone keys features when Harold Powers traced the transition from psalmody to major-minor tonality.<sup>39</sup> The most recent engagement with Banchieri's music theory is by Piero Gargiulo, who, in establishing Banchieri's music-theoretical writings as 'one of the richest contributions to Italian music theory

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<sup>34</sup> L. R. Garrett, 'Adriano Banchieri's *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo* of 1609: A Translation and Commentary' (D.M.A. diss., University of Oregon, 1972); A. Banchieri, *Conclusions for playing the organ* (1609), trans. L. R. Garrett (Colorado Springs, 1982).

<sup>35</sup> C. A. Cranna, 'Adriano Banchieri's *Cartella musicale* (1614): Translation and Commentary' (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1981).

<sup>36</sup> Palisca, *Music and Ideas*, 166.

<sup>37</sup> Horsley, 'Seventeenth-Century Music Theory', 53-54; see also Banchieri, *Cartella musicale*, 165-166.

<sup>38</sup> The practice of high-clef transposition 'provided a neater way of notating *lower* vocal ranges than those accommodated by the normal clefs'. A. Johnstone, 'High Clefs in Composition and Performance', *EMc*, 34 (2006), 29-54: 40 and 44.

<sup>39</sup> H. Powers, 'From Psalmody to Tonality', in C. C. Judd, ed., *Tonal Structures in Early Music* (New York, 1998), 275-340.

scholarship' around 1600, surveys the theorists and musicians that Banchieri cites who evidently affected his theoretical understanding.<sup>40</sup>

While an account of the musical activities of monks during the early Seicento is unfortunately lacking (one of the more helpful reference points is a broad, historical survey of illustrious Benedictine monks by Modesto Scarpini),<sup>41</sup> the recent interest in female musicians prompted Craig Monson to contextualize the Bolognese convent of Santa Cristina della Fondazza in the first half of the seventeenth century, and to examine the compositional development of the nun Lucrezia Orsina Vizzana (1590-1662).<sup>42</sup> My research also underlines the want of a socio-cultural examination of musicians and their sundry musical activities in Bologna during this period, something which has been undertaken for other northern Italian centres: Florence,<sup>43</sup> Milan,<sup>44</sup> Siena<sup>45</sup> and Venice.<sup>46</sup> Gaetano Gaspari, however, compiled brief (but nevertheless valuable) biographic and bibliographic information on the music and musicians in Bologna during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> P. Gargiulo, 'Adriano Banchieri tra "antico" e "moderno": una ricognizione sui trattati', *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia*, 41 (2006), 227-260: 238-39.

<sup>41</sup> M. Scarpini, *I monaci benedettini di Monte Oliveto* (Alessandria, 1952).

<sup>42</sup> C. Monson, ed., *The Crannied Wall: Women, Religion, and the Arts in Early Modern Europe* (Ann Arbor, 1992); C. Monson, *Disembodied Voices: Music and Culture in an Early Modern Italian Convent* (Berkeley, 1995). Other scholars, such as Robert Kendrick and Colleen Reardon, have investigated nuns' music in other Italian cities: R. L. Kendrick, *Celestial Sirens: Nuns and Their Music in Early Modern Milan* (Oxford, 1996); R. L. Kendrick, *The Sounds of Milan, 1585-1650* (Oxford, 2002); C. Reardon, *Holy Concord within Sacred Walls: Nuns and Music in Siena, 1575-1700* (Oxford, 2002).

<sup>43</sup> W. Kirkendale, *The Court Musicians in Florence During the Principate of the Medici: With a Reconstruction of the Artistic Establishment* (Florence, 1993); T. Carter, *Music, Patronage and Printing in Late Renaissance Florence* (Aldershot, 2000); K. A. Harness, *Echoes of Women's Voices: Music, Art, and Female Patronage in Early Modern Florence* (Chicago, 2006).

<sup>44</sup> Kendrick, *Celestial Sirens*; id., *Sounds of Milan*.

<sup>45</sup> C. Reardon, *Agostino Agazzari and Music at Siena Cathedral, 1597-1641* (Oxford, 1993); id., *Nuns and Music in Siena*.

<sup>46</sup> E. Selfridge-Field, *Venetian Instrumental Music from Gabrieli to Vivaldi* (Oxford, 1975); W. B. Heller, *Emblems of Eloquence: Opera and Women's Voices in Seventeenth-Century Venice* (Berkeley, 2003); E. Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice: The Creation of a Genre* (Berkeley, 2007).

<sup>47</sup> Conveniently reprinted in G. Gaspari, *Musica e musicisti a Bologna. Ricerche, documenti e memorie riguardanti la storia dell'arte musicale in Bologna* (Bologna, 1969).

## 2. Method and thesis outline

Although this thesis surveys the vast corpus of music-theoretical texts written on the Italian peninsula between 1600 and 1630, its principal purpose is not to provide a meticulous account of contemporary patterns and trends in musical thought. Instead, I pursue another line of enquiry, particularly through consideration of Banchieri's theoretical output – that is, the dissemination of musical thought, especially in published form. My study adopts approaches associated with art and social history, textual criticism, literary studies and the study of print culture and book history. (Incidentally, my implementation of methods associated with the study of print culture draws attention to the dearth of secondary literature on Italian music printing and publishing in this period: most studies on this topic do not extend to the seventeenth century.<sup>48</sup> The exceptions tend to be either broad-brush studies or extremely localized ones; none of these specifically explores the publication and circulation of music-theory books.<sup>49</sup>) Palisca's approach to the study of music theory has also greatly informed my method.

When examining a music-theoretical writing, Palisca recommends consideration of three points: 'the conception of the theoretical function prevailing at a particular time, the audience for which a treatise was written, and the philosophical or practical goals of the

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<sup>48</sup> For example, J. A. Bernstein, *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice: The Scotto Press (1539-1572)* (New York, 1998); S. C. Boorman, *Studies in the Printing, Publishing and Performance of Music in the 16th Century* (Aldershot, 2005).

<sup>49</sup> These texts are R. J. Agee, *The Gardano Music Printing Firms, 1569-1611* (Rochester, 1998); P. Barbieri, 'Musica, tipografi e librai a Roma: tecnologie di stampa e integrazioni biografiche, 1583-1833', *Recercare*, 7 (1995), 47-85; T. Carter, 'Music-Printing in Late Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth-Century Florence: Giorgio Marescotti, Cristofano Marescotti and Zanobi Pignoni', *EMH*, 9 (1989), 27-72; id., 'Music Publishing in Italy, c.1580-c.1625: Some Preliminary Observations', *RMA Research Chronicle*, 20 (1986-1987), 19-37; id., T. Carter, 'Music-Selling in Late Sixteenth-Century Florence: The Bookshop of Piero di Giuliano Morosi', *ML*, 70 (1989), 483-504; id., 'Printing the "New Music"', in Orden, ed., *Music and the Cultures of Print*; M. Donà: *La stampa musicale a Milano fino all'anno 1700* (Florence, 1961); L. Gottardi, 'La stampa musicale in Bologna dagli inizi fino al 1700' (Tesi di laurea, Università degli studi, Bologna, 1951); N. Guidobaldi, 'Music Publishing in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Umbria', *EMH*, 8 (1988), 1-36; *Mischiatil*; C. Sartori, *Bibliografia della musica strumentale italiana stampata in Italia fino al 1700* (Florence, 1952); id., *Dizionario degli editori e stampatori musicali italiani* (Florence, 1958); id., 'Una dinastia di editori musicali: documenti inediti sui Gardano e i loro congiunti Stefano Bindoni e Alessandro Raverii', *La bibliofilia*, 58 (1956), 176-208; A. Sorbelli, *Storia della stampa in Bologna: con 154 illustrazioni inserite nel testo e 66 tavole* (Bologna, 1929).

author.’<sup>50</sup> In addition, Tim Carter identified three topics warranting further enquiry, knowledge of which would enhance our understanding of another important consideration, the culture of printing music-theoretical texts in early Seicento Italy: the role of music publishing in both creating a demand for certain types of music books and circulating them as well as the limitations of music publishing because of the constraints of early Seicento printing techniques; whether innovative musical ideas were more commonly disseminated in manuscript or print; and the role socio-cultural factors played in all of this.<sup>51</sup>

Throughout the thesis I decentre and re-centre four exploratory factors – that is, the aims of an author of a treatise, its theoretical function, its formal characteristics, and its readership – all of which are placed in their individual socio-cultural framework. By ‘formal characteristics’, I refer to a book’s page layout, foliation, size, format, and ‘the technology used to produce it’, all of which ‘shaped its content, to say nothing of its readership and circulation’.<sup>52</sup> Indeed, through textual criticism of ‘those forms in which a text was contained’ we may glean valuable knowledge regarding the socio-cultural context of a book which enriches our understanding of its conceived function, readership, and the aims of its author and printer.<sup>53</sup> As Donald McKenzie argued while sketching the extended role for the discipline of bibliography (that is, the sociology of texts), broad contextual studies of the recorded and visual evidence of books reveal the complex conditions by which texts and their multiple meanings were produced.<sup>54</sup> In my thesis I show that only through a close examination of multiple factors can we determine the purpose and value of writing and publishing music theory in the first three decades of seventeenth-century Italy – something which is especially evident when seeking to reveal the actual

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<sup>50</sup> Palisca in Palisca and Bent, ‘Theory, theorists’.

<sup>51</sup> Carter, ‘Music Publishing in Italy, c.1580-c.1625’.

<sup>52</sup> K. van Orden, ‘Introduction’, in K. van Orden, ed., *Music and the Cultures of Print* (New York, 2000), ix-xxi: ix-x.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, ix.

<sup>54</sup> D. F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge, 1999), 3-4.

contemporaneous readers of these texts. Accordingly, I analyse music-book catalogues and investigate the unique modes by which the printing industry governed and manipulated the publication and purchase of theoretical texts; I explore the patronage of music treatises and its demonstration; and I consider the audience whom the author expected his music-theory book(s) to reach and the way treatises were circulated and read.

In Chapter 1 ('Classifying and Producing Music Theory') I first define 'music theory' both coevally and currently, chiefly through an investigation of how theoretical texts are catalogued, and hence classified. I then outline how theoretical texts were produced, a topic which incorporates brief discussion of the commonplace reasons for writing and publishing music theory, of the diverse forms of these publications, and of the printing process.

The more traditional approach to the study of music theory which I adopt in Chapter 2 ('Writing Music Theory: The Philosophical and Practical Goals of Adriano Banchieri') facilitates an examination of the musical life and training of Banchieri, and the relationship between this and his production of the most ubiquitous kind of theoretical text in early Seicento Italy – writings on *musica practica* theory. Many topics broached in Chapter 1 (perhaps most importantly, the culture and manner of printing music theory) provide necessary background information for arguments and ideas discussed here.

The focus purely on Banchieri and his music theory in Chapter 2 may seem like an unnecessary interruption to the reader. However, it is important to introduce Banchieri and his theoretical output near the beginning of the thesis since his publications – and in particular his *Conclusiones de musica* (Bologna, 1627) and his two printed collections of letters, the *Lettere armoniche* (Bologna, 1628) and *Lettere scritte à diversi patroni, & amici* (Bologna, 1630) – feature heavily in later chapters.<sup>55</sup> Furthermore, as the thesis

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<sup>55</sup> From Chapter 2 onwards, my method with regard to Banchieri's two *Lettere* publications is akin to that employed throughout Part I of B. J. Blackburn, E. E. Lowinsky and C. A. Miller, eds., *A Correspondence of Renaissance Musicians* (Oxford, 1991). I also 'follow the thread' of music-theoretical arguments, which were for the most part expounded with a practical aim in mind. Indeed, similar to the Spataro correspondence,

continues to unfold it becomes apparent that this biographic interlude enables Banchieri's treatises and his personal motivations for writing them to be easily compared with those of his contemporaries.

In Chapter 3 ('Printing Music Theory: Patterns and Trends') I introduce the panoply of music theory printed in Italy between 1600 and 1630. In a manner akin to Carter's empirical survey of music prints published in Italy between 1580 and 1625, here I examine patterns and trends in printing music-theoretical texts of the early Seicento by analysing their publication details and material form.<sup>56</sup> In addition, I explore the wider socio-cultural context in which they were produced. The outcome is an enriched understanding of the typical authors, content, function and readers of various kinds of theoretical texts.

Chapter 4 ('Second and Revised Editions') acts as a corrective to the statistical survey in Chapter 3: here I assess whether second and revised editions truly reflect the contemporaneous popularity of certain music-theoretical texts, or rather that their production is merely indicative of the imperfect art of calculating how many copies of a book to print. In addition to describing the different kinds of re-edited music-theory books, I draw attention to the multiple editions of Orazio Scaletta's *Scala di musica* (Venice, 1585) and to Banchieri's particular propensity to revise his music treatises.

In Chapter 5 ('Through the Paratext of Banchieri's *Conclusiones de musica* (1627): Patronage, Classical Tropes and Rhetoric'), I undertake a case study of the paratext to Banchieri's *Conclusiones de musica*. By interpreting the Classical tropes and musical references embedded in the paratext in light of their early Seicento significance and in relation to the theoretical content of this treatise, I show that a textual analysis of this material helps unearth the socio-cultural meaning of a text.

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these letters provide us 'with a tangible record of the concerns' of musicians active in Italy around 1600. *A Correspondence of Renaissance Musicians*, 3 and 7.

<sup>56</sup> Carter, 'Music Publishing in Italy, c.1580-c.1625'.

In the last chapter (Chapter 6: 'The Circulation and Social Destinations of Theoretical Writings') I focus primarily on the exemplary way in which Banchieri circulated his music theory (which can be gleaned from his two printed collections of letters) and the three social environments typically associated with the production of theoretical texts: academies, religious institutions and universities.

## Chapter 1. Classifying and Producing Music Theory

In this chapter I outline the customary manner in which a music-theory book of the early Seicento was produced after first defining the term ‘music theory’ primarily through an examination of how it is classified both coevally and currently. Undeniably, the meaning of this term in early Seicento Italy affected the process of writing and publishing it, and vice versa.

### 1. What is music theory?

As a result of the gradual modification of the meaning of ‘music theory’ the domain of the music theorist is now much more limited than in past centuries. The narrower modern understanding of ‘music theory’ led the 1971 cataloguers of RISM to give the cautious, all-embracing designation ‘Writings about Music’ (*Écrits concernant la musique*) to the series RISM B/VI<sup>1-2</sup>, for this ‘represents better the contents ... than the more restricted title “Theoretical Works”’.<sup>1</sup> They continued:

We have, in fact, tried to bring together all literature concerning music, whether theoretical, historical, aesthetic, or technical. . . .

Besides those dealing wholly with music, musicians, or the dance, there are others which touch only partly or indirectly on these subjects – such as encyclopedias and numerous publications dealing with the theatre, with liturgy, and with acoustics. Lacking better criteria, our choice has been governed above all by quantitative considerations. Whenever possible a note after the description of these volumes gives the title of the chapters devoted to music, with page references.

The decision to include publications dealing partly with music carried the risk of incompleteness, but this is a type of risk which RISM is bound to run right up to its conclusion.<sup>2</sup>

The above-quoted passage highlights the main hindrance to creating a complete catalogue of writings about music: the miscellaneous nature of this genre. Music theory of the Early Modern period is concerned with the entire field of the science of music rather than merely the technical and practical aspects of music. The contents of a music treatise, then, might

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<sup>1</sup> RISM B/VI<sup>1</sup>, 13.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

only be ‘theoretical’ in the sense that it comprised thoughtful observation.<sup>3</sup> I consider any text containing thoughtful, musical observation to be a form of musical theorizing. Thus cataloguing such writings is problematic.

a. Cataloguing ‘writings about music’ c. 1600

Similar to modern cataloguers of writings about music, Italian cataloguers of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries seem uncertain about how best to categorize music-theoretical texts.

Although printer-publishers (who often sold books to vendors as well as directly to purchasers) were the chief producers of book catalogues in this period, on occasion authors provided their own. In his three published *indici*,<sup>4</sup> reproduced in Appendix 1, Banchieri does not distinguish between music-theory books and music prints of both secular and sacred compositions: he describes his musical output as ‘works comprising separate musical subject-matters’ (*opere di materie musicali distinte*) in his first *indice*, and then subsequently as ‘musical works’ (*opere musicali*).<sup>5</sup> Likewise, printer-publishers and booksellers do not separate theoretical publications from music prints: three Italian music publishing firms of the late sixteenth century (Vincenti, Scotto and the heirs of Francesco

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<sup>3</sup> Palisca in Palisca and Bent, ‘Theory, theorists’.

<sup>4</sup> The Italian noun *indice* should be understood as a reference list (an obsolete meaning of ‘index’, the literal English translation).

<sup>5</sup> *Banchieri 1613 indice*; *Banchieri 1614 indice*; and *Banchieri 1615 indice*. Banchieri only categorizes his musical output in his second *indice*: here he groups publications together according to the printing locality and firm.

On occasion, Banchieri lists compositions and music-theoretical passages in music books authored either by himself or his contemporaries as distinct items in his three *indici*. For instance, in the *Banchieri 1613 indice*, the last section of one music-theory book (item 29: ‘Moderna pratica di componere. Alla Mad[onna] santiss[ima] di Loreto’) is listed as a distinct item: A. Banchieri, ‘Moderna pratica musicale’, id., *Cartella musicale*, 161-248.

Lodovico Viadana’s *Motecta festorum* (Venice, 1597) was one of the earliest single-composer publications to bear an opus number. Akin to the music prints of Biagio Marini (1594-1663) which were assigned opus numbers, many of Banchieri’s music publications – including his *L’organo suonarino* (1605), its later edition of 1622, his *Conclusioni nel suono dell’organo* and the ‘Moderna pratica musicale’ section of his *Cartella musicale* – have opus numbers affixed to their title pages. D. Fuller, ‘Opus [op.] (i)’, *Grove Online*. Accessed 16 Feb 2013. Banchieri’s last publication bearing an opus number (‘Opera XLIX’) is *Il virtuoso ritrovo academico* (Venice, 1626). The order of Banchieri’s music books in his three *indici* does not correspond to their specified opus number.

and Simone Tini)<sup>6</sup> evidently did not treat the music-theory book as a distinct category of the music book, and two early Seicento cataloguers subcategorize music-theory books alongside music prints.

The only music-theory books catalogued in RISM B/VI<sup>1</sup> which are listed in the *Vincenti 1591 indice* are Giovanni Maria Artusi's *Seconda parte dell'arte del contrapunto* (Venice, 1589) and Vincenzo Galilei's *Fronimo dialogo* (Venice, 1568-9, later edition 1584).<sup>7</sup> Both these are found toward the end of the misleading category 'Musica da Chiesa diversa'. Similarly, the entry 'Intavolatura de Lauto Galilei' – that is, Galilei's *Fronimo dialogo* – surprisingly features under the heading 'Lamentationi per la Septimana Sancta' in the *Scotto 1596 indice*.<sup>8</sup> Observe that the Scotto firm's descriptive title emphasizes the presence of lute compositions in tablature in this treatise rather than the 'true and necessary rules' of scoring music for the lute in tablature.<sup>9</sup> Thus, the Scotto firm draws attention to the music compositions in the treatise rather than to its theoretical content.

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<sup>6</sup> *Vincenti 1591 indice*; *Scotto 1596 indice*; and *Tini 1596 catalogue*. I. Fenlon only edited the two music categories in the *Tini 1596 catalogue*. Although not dated, the *Tini 1596 catalogue* was compiled pre-1597 (for Giovanni Francesco Besozzi took charge of the printing house that year and changed its name to 'Erede di Simone Tini e Giovanni Francesco Besozzi') yet no earlier than 1596 since the catalogue lists the unique edition of Orfeo Vecchi's *Psalmi integri in totius anni solemnitatibus* (Milan, 1596). Fenlon, 'Il foglio volante editoriale dei Tini, circa il 1596', 235.

Two plates in *MischiatiI* ('Tav[ola] II – Catalogo III.' and 'Tav[ola] III – Catalogo IV.')

 are small-scale reproductions of the *Scotto 1596 indice* and *Tini 1596 catalogue*, both of which are broadsides.

<sup>7</sup> The descriptive titles of these publications are 'Arte del Contraponto Secondo' and 'Fronimo Dialogo per Liuto'. *MischiatiI*, 97-98.

<sup>8</sup> *MischiatiI*, 106.

Although it is plausible that 'Intavolatura de Lauto Galilei' might instead refer to Galilei's *Intavolatura de lauto madrigali e ricercate* (Rome, 1563), both editions of this author's *Fronimo dialogo* were printed by the Scotto firm (a fact which accords with the title of the *Scotto 1596 indice* which states that the *indice* comprises music books printed by the firm). Moreover, the high price which the *indice* assigns to this publication (3 lire 10 soldi) suggests that the book was a substantial publication, and perhaps it is no coincidence that 'Fronimo Dialogo per Liuto del Galilei' in the *Vincenti 1591 indice* costs the same amount.

<sup>9</sup> The full title of the 1568-9 edition of Galilei's treatise is: *Fronimo dialogo di Vincentio Galilei fiorentino, nel quale si contengono le vere, et necessarie regole del intavolare la musica nel liuto*; and the full title of his 1584 edition reads: *Fronimo dialogo di Vincentio Galilei nobile fiorentino, sopra l'arte del bene intavolare, et rettamente suonare la musica negli strumenti artificiali si di corde come di fiato, & in particolare nel Liuto. Nuovamente ristampato & dall'Autore istesso arricchito, & ornato di novità di concetti, & d'esempi.*

In the *Tini 1596 catalogue*, musical wares are placed under two italicized headings; each list contains at least one music-theory book which is catalogued in RISM B/VI<sup>1-2</sup>.<sup>10</sup> The first category, ‘Libri di musica’ (‘Music books’), subcategorizes its items according to the musical genres of the compositions in the publications. The second, ‘Altri libri di Musica di diverse stampe’ (‘Other music books printed by various presses’), contains books which are also to be found in the bookshop of the heirs of Francesco and Simone Tini in Milan. It is surprising that only the contents of this last category accords with what one might expect: the title of the catalogue implies that the heirs separate books printed by them from those published by other firms.<sup>11</sup>

Fenlon deduces that two descriptive titles in the *Tini 1596 catalogue* (‘Regole e pasagi di valerio bona sopra il contrapunto’ and ‘Gio. Battista Bovicelli, nuovi’) correspond to two publications listed in RISM B/VI<sup>1-2</sup>: Valerio Bona’s *Essempi delli passaggi* (Milan, 1596) and Giovanni Battista Bovicelli’s *Regole, passaggi di musica, madrigali et motetti passeggiati* (Venice, 1594).<sup>12</sup> Unlike the majority of entries, the cataloguers do not specify the number of folios for both these items, making the identification of these books solely dependant on the catalogue-description. While we can be reasonably confident that the second entry is Bovicelli’s *Regole, passaggi di musica*, since to our knowledge this author only produced one publication, the first might refer to

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<sup>10</sup> Since the first of these headings is rendered in a larger font-size and entirely in capitals, the second one could alternatively be treated as a subcategory of the first.

<sup>11</sup> The full title of the *Tini 1596 catalogue* reads: ‘Lista delli libri fatti stampare dalli heredi di Francesco & Simon[e] Tini librari in Mil[a]no. E parte de altri libri diverse stampe, che si ritrovano nel loro magazzino.’ Observe that G. B. Bovicelli’s *Regole, passaggi di musica, madrigali et motetti passeggiati* (Venice, 1594), presumably since it was printed by Giacomo Vincenti even though it was requested by the heirs of Francesco and Simone Tini, is listed in the last category. (The relevant text on the title page of this treatise reads: ‘In Venetia, appresso Giacomo Vincenti. 1594. Ad instantia delli Heredi di Francesco, e Simon[e] Tini, Librari in Milano’.)

<sup>12</sup> Fenlon, ‘Il foglio volante editoriale dei Tini, circa il 1596’, 241 and 250. In the *Tini 1596 catalogue*, the first of these items is entered by a contemporaneous hand at the very end of the last subcategory headed ‘Madrigali’, which (unlike all the other subcategories) contains some unexpected items. For instance, one typed entry – ‘Recercari d’Ottavio Bariola lib.2. a 4.’ – is surely a lost second book of *ricercari* by Ottavio Bariolla (*fl.* 1573-1619). His first printed collection of instrumental music, *Ricercate per suonar l’organo* (Milan, 1585), together with his *Capricci, ovvero canzoni a quattro ... terzo libro* (Milan, 1594), only survives in manuscript tablature (I-Tn MS Giordano 8 and MS Foà 1). C. William Young, ‘Foreword’, O. Bariolla, *Keyboard Compositions*, ed. C. William Young (Corpus of Early Keyboard Music, 46; n.p., 1986), xi-xii: xi.

the above-mentioned publication by Bona and to his *Regole del contraponto* (Casale, 1595) as well, both of which are in quarto format. Not only does the catalogue description imply this, but Bona evidently considered the latter book to be the companion to his *Essempi delli passaggi* (which contained the practical application of the rules in his treatise on composition). As Gaspari notes, ‘on the reverse side of the dedicatory epistle [in Bona’s *Essempi delli passaggi*] ... is imprinted: Look out for the explanation for this and everything which follows in my *Regole del Contrapunto*.’<sup>13</sup> Moreover, both copies of these two publications at the Universitätsbibliothek in Heidelberg (D-HEu) and the University of Michigan Library (US-AAu) are bound together, suggesting the frequent physical pairing of these items.

In the ‘Musiche’ category in the *Giunta 1604 catalogue*, music-theory books are placed in one of two subcategories (see Figure 1.1).<sup>14</sup> The majority of theoretical publications are listed under the last subheading, ‘Musica e Teoria diversa’ (‘An assortment of Music and Theory’) instead of the penultimate one, ‘Intavolature, & Ricercari’ (‘Intabulations and Exercises’).<sup>15</sup> Descriptive titles of music-theory books in the

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<sup>13</sup> ‘A tergo della dedicatoria ... è impresso: Guarda la dichiarazione di questo, et di tutto quello che segue nelle mie Regole del Contraponto.’ GaspariO. Accessed 14 May 2013.

<sup>14</sup> Since the *Giunta 1604 catalogue* is dated to the year 1604 *stile fiorentino*, it was surely printed between 25 March 1604 and 24 March 1605 *stile commune*. Tim Carter suggests that the catalogue ‘probably appeared in early 1605’: the précis by the scholar Luigi Silvestro Camerini of Filippo Giunti’s letter to the Duke of Urbino dated 12 March 1604 *stile fiorentino* states that Giunti sends him a copy of the catalogue published this year. Carter, ‘Music-Printing in Late Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth-Century Florence’, 51n44; L. S. Camerini, *I Giunti tipografi editori di Firenze 1571-1625 annali* (Florence, 1979), 27 and 145. However, it cannot be concluded from this letter alone that the catalogue dates from between 1 January and 24 March 1605 *stile commune* as Carter asserts elsewhere: Carter, ‘Music-Selling in Late Sixteenth-Century Florence’, 485.

Paul Kast’s identification of the publication details for a number of these music books is sometimes questionable. Kast, ‘Die Musikdrucke des Kataloges Giunta von 1604’. Camerini argued that the disorderly and inconsistent compilation of the *Giunta 1604 catalogue* means that it is of no bibliographical use. Camerini, *I Giunti tipografi editori di Firenze 1571-1625 annali*, 145.

<sup>15</sup> In addition to being a musical genre, *ricercare* can translate as ‘difficult passage’ or ‘exercise’. B. Reynolds, *Cambridge Italian Dictionary* (Cambridge, 1962), i, 651. Translating ‘ricercari’ as ‘exercises’ here by no means excludes the music prints in this section which contain *ricercari* since these compositions served a didactic purpose. Indeed, John Caldwell defines ‘ricercare’ as follows: ‘In its widest sense, a piece of an esoteric nature; a technical exercise either of a practical nature or illustrative of some device of composition’. My emphasis. J. Caldwell, ‘Ricerca’, *Grove Online*. Accessed 31 Jan 2011. Moreover, translating ‘ricercari’

**Figure 1.1:** The music-theory books listed under two subheadings in the *Giunta 1604 catalogue*

<p><i>Intavolature, &amp; Ricercari.</i></p> <p>Arte del Contrapunto dell' Artusi. f.          ...          Fronimo d'Intavolatura. [V. Galilei]          ...          Libro di Passaggi per sonar' e cantare / Vincenzio Spadi.          ...          Passaggi di Gio. Bat[t]ista Bouicelli.          ...          Regole è Passaggi. Valerio Bona.          ...          Transilvano per sonar l'Organo. fog. [G. Diruta]</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Musica e Teoria diuersa.</i></p> <p>...          Compendio di Musica Orazio Ti- / grini. 4.          ...          [Duo] Dialog[h]i Luigi Dentice. 4.          [Dialogo or Ragionamento di musica] Pietro Ponzio. 4.          Francisci Saliuade [sic Francisco Salinas] de Musica. fog.          Liuto, e Modo d'accordarlo. [? M. Carrara]          Mana [sic] di Musica. [A. Banchieri]          Modulata Pallas Henrici Puteani. 8.          Musica [Do]Decacordium, Clareani. [sic Glareanus] fog.          ...          [De tutte l']Opere di Ioseffo Zarlino. fog.          Practica [musice] Franchini. fog. [Gaffurius]          Practica [di musica] F. Ludouici Zacconi. fol.          Regole del Contrapunto, e Passaggi. 4. [Valerio Bona]          Scala di Musica, Orazio Scaletta. 4.          Toscanello. fogl. Venezia. [P. Aaron]</p>
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subcategory 'Intavolature, & Ricercari' include 'Arte del Contrapunto dell'Artusi. f[oglio]',<sup>16</sup> 'Fronimo d'Intavolatura',<sup>17</sup> and 'Transilvano per sonar l'Organo. fog[lio]',<sup>18</sup>

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as 'exercises' makes sense given the inclusion of publications such as 'Libro di Passaggi per sonar' e cantare / Vincenzio Spadi' in this subcategory. This particular item must surely be a lost earlier edition of Giovanni Battista Spadi's *Passaggi ascendenti, et descendenti* (Venice, 1609; later edition 1624). (Either the previous entry in the catalogue, '[Intavolatura] d'Organo [del] Vincenzio Pellegrini', prompted a Christian-name error in the next, or this error arose since Spadi was confused with Vincenzo Spada, author of a first book of villanellas in 1589 and of *canzoni* in 1592.) The title of the 1624 edition of Spadi's book (*Libro de passaggi ascendenti, et descendenti ... con altre cadenze, & madrigali diminuiti per sonare con ogni sorte di stromenti, & anco per cantare con la semplice voce*), rather than that of the 1609 edition (*Passaggi ascendenti, et descendenti ... con altre cadenze, & madrigali diminuiti per sonare con ogni sorte di stromenti & anco per cantare con la semplice voce*), more closely aligns with the descriptive title in the *Giunta 1604 catalogue*.

<sup>16</sup> The item is more likely G. M. Artusi's *L'arte del contrapunto* (Venice, 1586; later edition 1598) than *Seconda parte dell'arte del contrapunto*.

<sup>17</sup> The item is Galilei, *Fronimo dialogo*.

<sup>18</sup> The item is G. Diruta, *Il Transilvano* (Venice, 1593; later edition 1597); both editions are in folio.

while those in the last one include ‘Compendio di Musica Orazio Tigrini. 4.’,<sup>19</sup> ‘Modulata Pallas Henrici Puteani. 8.’,<sup>20</sup> ‘Practica F. Ludovici Zacconi. fol[io]’<sup>21</sup> and ‘Scala di Musica, Orazio Scaletta. 4.’<sup>22</sup>

Alessandro Vincenti likewise places music-theory books (listed in the shaded rows in Figures 1.2 and 1.3) in two distinct categories in his 1621 *indice* of all musical works on sale in his Venetian printing shop.<sup>23</sup> (All but one subsequent seventeenth-century *indice* of the Vincenti firm also categorize music-theory books in this manner.<sup>24</sup>) While a few of RISM’s ‘Writings about music’ fall under the heading ‘Intavolature di organo’ (‘Organ tablatures’) alongside music prints containing *ricercari*, *toccate*, *canzoni* or *balli* (see Figure 1.2), the greater number are included under the heading ‘Regole di musica’ (‘Musical rules’) together with music prints whose compositions presumably principally functioned as pedagogical exercises (see Figure 1.3). The full title of Giovanni Bassano’s Venetian print of 1585, for instance, expounds its autodidactic potential: ‘*Ricercate, passaggi* and *cadentie* to be able to practise diminution with precision on any kind of instrument, and also various *passaggi* for the solo voice.’<sup>25</sup> Conversely, since Banchieri’s music-theory book *L’organo suonarino* (1605; later edition 1611) contains compositions

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<sup>19</sup> Although neither edition is in 4to format, the item is O. Tigrini, *Il compendio della musica* (Venice, 1588; later edition 1602).

<sup>20</sup> The item is E. Puteanus, *Modulata Pallas* (Milan, 1599).

<sup>21</sup> The item is L. Zacconi, *Prattica di musica* (Venice, 1592; later edition 1596).

<sup>22</sup> The item could be one of at least seven pre-1605 editions of Scaletta, *Scala di musica* (1585). However, since the edition was allegedly in 4to format, it likely is either the 1597, 1598, 1599, 1600 or 1602 edition.

<sup>23</sup> *Vincenti 1621 indice*. Mischiati convincingly argues that F. X. Haberl’s dating of this *indice* to 1619 is a copying error. Haberl, ed., ‘Indice di tutte le opere di musica, che si trovano nella stampa della pagina [sic pigna]: di Alessandro Vincenti. In Venetia, M. D[omi]ni. XVIII. (sic? 1619) [sic 1621]’; *Mischiati*, 20. Robert Eitner later provided an accompanying index (by author) of the descriptive titles of the music books in the *Vincenti 1621 indice* and *Vincenti 1649 indice*. R. Eitner, ‘Namen-Register’, *SMhMg*, 15 (1883), S41-S50.

<sup>24</sup> Unlike the *Vincenti 1621 indice*, *Vincenti 1649 indice*, *Vincenti 1658 indice* and *Vincenti 1662 indice*, the *Vincenti 1635 indice* is catalogued alphabetically according to the surname of the author of a music print.

<sup>25</sup> ‘*Ricercate[,] passaggi et cadentie, per potersi essercitar nel diminuir terminatamente con ogni sorte d’istrumento: & anco diversi passaggi per la semplice voce.*’ G. Bassano, *Ricercate, passaggi et cadentie* (Venice, 1585; later edition 1598), fol. 1.

**Figure 1.2:** Music books listed under the heading ‘Intavolature di organo’ in the *Vincenti 1621 indice*

Description in the <i>indice</i>	Corresponding author, title and material form of these books
Tocate di Andrea, e Gio. Gabrieli sopra tutti li tuoni libro primo.	A. and G. Gabrieli, <i>Intonationi d'organo ... composte sopra tutti li dodici toni della musica ... libro primo</i> (Venice, 1593), In-4 obl., 44f.
Ricercari di Andrea Gabrieli secondo terzo libro.	A. Gabrieli, <i>Ricercari ... composti et tabulati per ogni sorte di stromenti da tasti ... libro secondo</i> (Venice, 1595), In-4 obl., 43f.; A. Gabrieli, <i>Il terzo libro de ricercari ... insieme uno motetto, due madrigaletti, et uno capriccio sopra il pass'è mezo antico, in cinque modi variati, et tabulati per ogni sorte di stromenti da tasti</i> (Venice, 1596), In-4 obl., 44f.
Messe del ditto [A. Gabrieli or C. Merulo <sup>26</sup> ] libro quarto.	A. Gabrieli, [ <i>?Quartus liber missarum</i> ] (n.p., post 1580), format unknown (doubtful); <sup>27</sup> or C. Merulo, <i>Messe d'intavolatura d'organo ... libro quarto</i> (Venice, 1568), In-8 obl., 146p.
Canzoni del ditto [A. Gabrieli] libro quinto, e sesto.	A. Gabrieli, <i>Canzoni alla francese et ricercari ariosi, tabulate per sonar sopra istromenti da tasti ... libro quinto</i> (Venice, 1605), In-4 obl., 44p.; A. Gabrieli, <i>Canzoni alla francese per sonar sopra istromenti da tasti ... libro sesto et ultimo</i> (Venice, 1605), In-4 obl., 43f.
Toccate d'Anibal Padoano.	A. Padovano, <i>Toccate et ricercari d'organo</i> (Venice, 1604), In-4 obl., 39f.
Ricercari di Claudio Merulo.	C. Merulo, <i>Ricercari d'intabolatura d'organo ... con ogni diligentia ristampati. Libro Primo</i> (Venice, 1605), In-4 obl., 39f. <sup>28</sup>
Canzoni del ditto [Merulo].	C. Merulo, <i>Canzoni d'intavolatura d'organo ... a quattro voci, fatta alla francese ... libro primo</i> (Venice, 1592), In-4, 43p.; and/or

<sup>26</sup> Given the strong correspondence between the title of the music print by Claudio Merulo listed in the right-hand-side column of the table and descriptive title in the *Vincenti 1621 indice* (particularly if one also considers the heading for this category of music books), Vincenti likely erroneously typeset this entry underneath Andrea Gabrieli's 'Ricercari' instead of Merulo's.

<sup>27</sup> Gabrieli's *Primus liber missarum sex vocum* (Venice, 1572) survives, as well as a manuscript copy of his *Liber secundus missarum, quatuor vocum* (n.p., 1580) (D-As Tonkunst Schletterer MS 19). It is possible that the composer produced a further two books of masses and that some compositions from the last one survive in manuscript: see G. Benzoni, D. Bryant, M. Morell, eds., *Gli anni di Andrea Gabrieli: biografia e cronologia* (Milan, 1988), 77-78 and 91-93.

<sup>28</sup> No evidence supports the existence of a 1567 edition. RISM A/I<sup>5</sup>, 524. I have ruled out Merulo's other music prints containing *ricercari* since the compositions in these publications are not notated in tablature.

Description in the <i>indice</i>	Corresponding author, title and material form of these books
	C. Merulo, <i>Libro secondo di canzoni d'intavolatura d'organo ... a quattro voci, fatte alla francese, da lui reviste in tempo di sua vita &amp; date in luce da Giacinto Merulo suo nepote</i> (Venice, 1606), format unknown, 19f.; and/or C. Merulo, <i>Terzo libro de canzoni d'intavolatura d'organo ... a cinque voci fatte alla francese, et date in luce da Giacinto Merulo suo nepote</i> (Venice, 1611), In-4, 29p.
Messe di Girolamo [Cavazzoni <sup>29</sup> ] d'Urbino.	G. Cavazzoni, <i>Il primo libro de intabolatura d'organo dove si contiene tre messe ... ristampato &amp; da molti errori emendato... libro primo</i> (Venice, n.d.), In-4 obl., 30f.; and/or G. Cavazzoni, <i>Intabolatura d'organo, cioè misse, himni, magnificat composti per Hieronimo de Marcantonio da Bologna detto d'Urbino libro secondo</i> (Venice, 1543), In-4 obl., 39f. <sup>30</sup>
Balli d'Arpicordo di Marco Facoli primo secondo.	M. Facoli, <i>Il primo libro d'intavolatura d'arpicordo</i> (n.p., 1586), format unknown (lost); <sup>31</sup> M. Facoli, <i>Il secondo libro d'intavolatura, di balli d'arpicordo, pass'e mezzi, saltarelli, padovane, &amp; alcuni aeri novi dilettevoli, da cantar, ogni sorte de rima</i> (Venice, 1588), format unknown
Canzon[i] di Sperindio Bertoldo.	S. Bertholdo, <i>Canzoni francese intavolate per sonar d'organo</i> (Venice, 1591), In-4 obl., pagination unknown
Tocate, e ricercari del ditto [Bertoldo].	S. Bertholdo, <i>Tocate, ricercari et canzoni francese intavolate per sonar d'organo</i> (Venice, 1591), In-4 obl., 30p.
Canto fermo per risponder al choro de l'Asola.	G. M. Asola, <i>Canto fermo sopra messe, hinni, et altre cose ecclesiastiche appartenenti à' sonatori d'organo per giustamente rispondere al choro</i> (Venice, 1592; repr. 1596, 1603, 1615, 1616, 1621), In-8, 59p.

<sup>29</sup> The surname Cavazzoni is deduced from the composer's dedication in his *Intavolatura, cioè ricercari canzoni, himni magnificati* [sic] (Venice, 1542), for Girolamo (c1525-post 1577) was the son of Marco Antonio Cavazzoni (c1490-c1560) who was also known as Marco Antonio da Bologna or da Urbino. *GaspariO*. Accessed 14 May 2013. Costanzo Antegnati stated that 'Hieronimo d'Urbino' was formerly his 'honorato Maestro' in the opening discourse to the readers of his *L'arte organica* (Brescia, 1608). Likewise, H. Colin Slim notes: 'Ortensio Landi referred to a "Girolamo d'Urbino" in his [Sette libri de] *Cataloghi [à varie cose appartenenti]* (Venice, 1552) as one of the best musicians of that period; and three of Cavazzoni's works were reprinted after 1555, ascribed to Hieronymo d'Urbino.' H. Colin Slim, 'Cavazzoni, Girolamo', *Grove Online*. Accessed 9 May 2013. The 'Messe di Girolamo d'Urbino' in the *Vincenti 1621 indice*, then, might alternatively refer to a non-extant post-1555 reprint.

<sup>30</sup> The only extant copy (I-Bc, shelfmark S.411/2) is bound to Cavazzoni, *Intavolatura, cioè ricercari canzoni, himni magnificati* [sic].

<sup>31</sup> At least one composition from this music print ('Passmezo di nome anticho di marchio facoli veneto') might be in GB-Lcm MS 2088, '22 fols. in keyboard score'. H. M. Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600: A Bibliography* (Cambridge, MA, 1965), 343.

Description in the <i>indice</i>	Corresponding author, title and material form of these books
Choro, & Organo di Canto fermo, & intavolatura per l'organo commodo à risponder al choro del Botazzi.	B. Bottazzi, <i>Choro et organo primo libro in cui con facil modo s'apprende in poco tempo un sicuro methodo di sonar sù'l organo messe, antifone, &amp; hinni sopra ogni maniera di canto fermo, et si trattano con ottimo ordine alcune regole di intavolatura</i> (Venice, 1614), In-fol., 136p.
Organo Sonarino del Banchieri ove vi è tutto quello che è necessario per l'organista.	A. Banchieri, <i>L'organo suonarino ... tutto novellamente dato in luce a beneficio de gli studiosi organisti</i> (Venice, 1605; later edition 1611), In-4, 118p.
Transilvano per l'organo del Diruta, nel quale v'è il modo di far la mano, & le vere regole per intender la intavolatura, con le toccate de i più famosi Autori posti nel fine.	G. Diruta, <i>Il Transilvano dialogo sopra il vero modo di sonar organi, et istromenti da penna ... nel quale facilmente, &amp; presto s'impara di conoscere sopra la tastatura il luogo di ciascuna parte, &amp; come nel diminuire si deveno [sic] portar le mani, &amp; il modo d'intendere la intavolatura; provando la verità, &amp; necessità delle sue regole, con le toccate di diversi eccellenti organisti, poste nel fine del libro</i> (Venice, 1593; later editions 1597, 1612), In-fol., 36f. <sup>32</sup>
Balli d'arpicordo del Pichi novi.	G. Picchi, <i>Intavolatura di balli d'arpicordo ... novamente corrette, &amp; ristampate</i> (Venice, 1621), format unknown

<sup>32</sup> It is possible that the descriptive title also refers to G. Diruta, *Seconda parte del Transilvano* (Venice, 1609; later edition 1622), In-4, divided into 4 books (21-36-12-25p.). The copies of this publication at F-Pn (RES-M-V-99(2)) and US-Cn (VAULT Case 6A 138) are bound to G. Diruta, *Prima parte del Transilvano* (Venice, 1612). Gaspari notes that in the sale of the musical collection of the Austrian General De Koudelka these two volumes were sold together as item number 56 (something which likewise suggests the frequent pairing of these volumes). *GaspariO*. Accessed 14 May 2013.

**Figure 1.3:** Music books listed under the heading ‘Regole di Musica’ in the *Vincenti 1621 indice*

Description in the <i>indice</i>	Corresponding author, title and material form of these books
Prat[t]ica di Musica del Zac[c]oni prima parte la 2. si stampano	L. Zacconi, <i>Prattica di musica</i> (Venice, 1592; later edition 1596), In-4, 218f.; L. Zacconi, <i>Prattica di musica seconda parte</i> (Venice, 1622), In-4, 283p.
Arte del contraponto dell’artusi.	G. M. Artusi, <i>L’arte del contraponto</i> (Venice, 1586; later edition 1598), In-4, 80p.
Imperfettion[i] della moderna Musica del ditto [Artusi].	G. M. Artusi, <i>L’Artusi overo delle imperfettioni della moderna musica</i> (Venice, 1600), In-fol., 71f.; and/or G. M. Artusi, <i>Seconda parte dell’Artusi overo delle imperfettioni della moderna musica</i> (Venice, 1603), 2 vols., In-fol., 56p., 54p.
Cartella di canto fermo del Banchieri per principianti.	A. Banchieri, <i>Cartellina del canto fermo gregoriano ... operetta giovevole per insegnare, &amp; introdurre al choro qual si voglia novizzo, ò novizza, così secolare, come regolare</i> (Bologna, 1614), In-8, 80p.
Conclusioni di Musica del Banchieri.	A. Banchieri, <i>Conclusioni nel suono dell’organo</i> (Bologna, 1609), In-4, 72p.
Scala di Musica del Scaletta per principianti.	O. Scaletta, <i>Scala di Musica</i> (Venice, 1585; later editions 1595, 1597, 1598, 1599, 1600, 1602, 1607, 1608, 1610, 1614), In-8, 32p.
Cartel[l]ina del Banchieri per principianti.	A. Banchieri, <i>La cartellina musicale che ... introduce i principianti à sicuro possesso del canto figurato</i> (Venice, 1615), In-8, 39p.
Cartella di Musica del ditto [Banchieri] per il contraponto del Canto fermo, e figurato.	A. Banchieri, <i>Cartella musicale nel canto figurato fermo, et contrapunto</i> (Venice, 1614; later edition 1615), In-8, 248p.
Passaggi, e ricercari di Gio. Bassano.	G. Bassano, <i>Ricercate, passaggi et cadentie</i> (Venice, 1585; later edition 1598), In-4, 20f.
Motetti, e madrigali passeggiati del ditto [Bassano].	G. Bassano, <i>Motetti, madrigali et canzoni francesi di diversi eccellenti autori ... diminuiti per sonar con ogni sorte di stromenti, &amp; anco per cantar con semplice voce</i> (Venice, 1591), 4-6vv., format unknown (D-Hs MS M.B/2488) <sup>33</sup>
Libretto facile di passaggi del Spadi.	G. B. Spadi, <i>Passaggi ascendenti, et descendenti</i> (Venice, 1609; later edition 1624), In-4, 30p. <sup>34</sup>
Fantasie, e capric[c]i Politi per violino, e cornetto.	Non-extant pre-1621 edition of G. Puliti, <i>Fantasie, scherzo et capricci da sonarsi in</i>

<sup>33</sup> Friedrich Chrysander made the MS copy in 1890. J. Paras, *Music for Viola bastarda*, eds. G. Houle and G. Houle (Bloomington, Indiana, 1986), 222.

<sup>34</sup> The title of Spadi’s 1624 edition more closely aligns with Vincenti’s descriptive title than that of his 1609 print. The same is true for the descriptive title of a pre-1605 edition of this publication in the *Giunta 1604 catalogue*: see n. 15.

Description in the <i>indice</i>	Corresponding author, title and material form of these books
	<i>forma canzone, con un violino solo o vero cornetto con il basso principale</i> (Venice, 1624), In-4, 2 partbooks: solo violino/cornetto, bc (inc.)
Balli per violino di diversi libro primo secondo.	?F. Caroso, <i>Il ballarino ... diviso in due trattati ... nel primo de' quali si dimostra la diversità de i nomi ... et movimenti ... ne i balli: &amp; con molte regole ... nel secondo s'insegnano diverse sorti di balli, et balletti ... Ornato di molte figure. Et con l'intavolatura di liuto, &amp; il soprano della laica nella sonata di ciascun ballo</i> (Venice, 1581; later edition 1600), 2 vols., In-8, 16f., 184f <sup>35</sup>
Musica vaga, artificiosa sopra Canone di D. Romano Micheli.	R. Micheli, <i>Musica vaga et artificiosa: oblighi, et canoni diversi</i> (Venice, 1615), In-4, 43p. <sup>36</sup>
La mano con le regole per il Canto fermo del Banchieri.	A. Banchieri, <i>La mano, et documenti ... utile à gli chierici, &amp; novizzi, secolari, &amp; regolari, che desiderano ... imparare le buone istruzioni di canto fermo</i> (Milan, 1611), In-fol., 1f. (lost) <sup>37</sup>
Arte pratica del Chiodino.	G. B. Chiodino, <i>Arte practica</i> (Venice, 1610), In-8, 62 p.

<sup>35</sup> A later pre-1621 edition called *Nobiltà di dame* (Venice, 1600; later edition 1605) and a post-1621 edition called *Raccolta di varii balli* (Rome, 1630) are in a different form: 1 vol., In-8, 370p.

<sup>36</sup> Although catalogued in RISM A/I<sup>5</sup> (as opposed to RISM B/VI<sup>2</sup>), this text contains Banchieri's *otto canoni in enigma* which were first printed in his *Canoni à 4 in enigma* (Milan: Filippo Lomazzo, c. 1595-1613) and then in Banchieri, *Cartella musicale*, 151-60. R. Micheli, *Musica vaga et artificiosa* (Venice, 1615), 22-27. See *Banchieri*, 173; and Appendices 1 and 2.

<sup>37</sup> See Chapter 4, pp. 172-173.

for the organ, Vincenti placed it in the first of these two categories. These two examples help to clarify why both categories include music-theory books and music prints.

The categorization of music-theory books in the *Giunta 1604 catalogue* and *Vincenti 1621 indice* is markedly similar. Noticeably, Vincenti's heading 'Intavolature di organo' accords with the subheading 'Intavolature, & Ricercari' in the *Giunta 1604 catalogue*. Both these categories include books containing *ricercari* and solo-instrumental music (limited to keyboard compositions in the *Vincenti 1621 indice*).<sup>38</sup> Problematically, the music-theory books in these two categories contain rules on how to compose musical genres, explanations of certain kinds of musical notation and/or instructions on how to play certain instruments – subjects which qualify items for classification under the heading 'Regole di musica' in the *Vincenti 1621 indice* or the subheading 'Musica e Teoria diversa' in the *Giunta 1604 catalogue*. For instance, although Vincenti describes Diruta's *Il Transilvano* (1593; later editions 1597, 1612) as comprising 'the correct rules for reading tablature',<sup>39</sup> since this book also contained 'toccatas by the most famous authors',<sup>40</sup> – a genre typically notated in tablature in this period – he could justifiably classify it under the heading 'Intavolature di organo'. (The cataloguer, then, examined the contents of books and did not rely on their titles alone when categorizing his wares.) In the *Giunta 1604 catalogue*, the diverse content of some music-theory books likewise led theoretical publications to be placed in either one of two possible categories: the entries 'Regole è Passaggi. Valerio Bona.' and 'Regole del Contrapunto, e Passaggi. 4.' likely refer to the same one treatise (or even two) by Bona (as also is the case in the *Tini 1596 catalogue*: see above).<sup>41</sup> Both these

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<sup>38</sup> Incidentally, Vincenti only lists music prints that include *ricercari* in tablature under the heading 'Intavolature di organo': see Figure 1.2. Regarding the English translation of *ricercare*, see n. 15.

<sup>39</sup> 'le vere regole per intender la intavolatura'. *MischiatiI*, 150.

<sup>40</sup> 'le toccate de i più famosi Autori'. *Ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> The seeming inclusion of this item twice in the *Giunta 1604 catalogue* could have occurred since the last subcategory, together with the last four items in the penultimate subcategory, are typeset on a new page. Unlike Kast, who does not suggest a publication to which the second of these entries might refer, Mischiati attributes this item to Valerio Bona. Kast, 'Die Musikdrucke des Kataloges Giunta von 1604', 70-71; *MischiatiI*, 133-34.

examples demonstrate that the system of classifying music-theory books both in Venice and Florence was often arbitrary, and that the contents of the two categories in which music-theory books feature in both the abovementioned catalogues was permeable.

However, it is clear from both catalogues that the practical-instruction component of a music-theory book and any music compositions within it, rather than its theoretical content alone, greatly determined its categorization. Instructional manuals – particularly those which detailed the liturgical purpose of the music compositions included within them (such as Banchieri's *L'organo suonarino* (1605; later edition 1611)) or which illustrated how to perform ornamentation and embellishments (such as Bassano's *Ricercate, passaggi and cadentie* (1585; later edition 1598)) – were among the most difficult music books to categorize since they could subsume various functions. In all cases, the function(s) of a catalogue and the cataloguer's own understanding of the utility of a book (perhaps coupled with their desire to emphasize one particular aspect of a book to a potential buyer) undeniably determined how publications were categorized and described.<sup>42</sup>

The ways that 'writings about music' were categorized by printer-publishers, booksellers and authors around 1600 makes it clear that in the early Seicento music theory as a distinct book genre did not exist per se. For cataloguers of music books, the prime difficulty lay in ascertaining exactly when a music print became a music-theory book, and vice versa.

#### b. The meaning of music theory c. 1600

The general understanding of what 'music theory' constituted around 1600 is debatable. In the first edition of the seminal Italian lexicon *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* (Venice, 1612), the compilers define 'teorica' (sic *teoria*) as a 'speculative science'

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<sup>42</sup> Catalogues on a *foglio volante* have a multiplicity of functions: they could be inventories of books, lists for printers and booksellers, and lists for advertising purposes. Fenlon, 'Il foglio volante editoriale dei Tini, circa il 1596', 231.

(‘Scienza speculatiua’) and supply two synonymous Latin nouns, ‘contemplatio’ and ‘speculatio’.<sup>43</sup> For the Accademia della Crusca, then, ‘music theory’ (*teoria musicale*) was concerned with the contemplative and speculative science of music.<sup>44</sup> Yet this understanding of ‘music theory’ does not correspond with how music-theoretical texts were categorized in contemporaneous book catalogues. The *Giunta 1604 catalogue* is the only one to include ‘teoria’ in a heading (‘Musica e Teoria diversa’) under which music books are listed. As the heading implies, this subcategory contains a variety of different kinds of music books.<sup>45</sup> Entries such as ‘Vuolfanghi Friuli. a 3. in 8. Norimbergo.’, which Paul Kast identifies as Wolfgang Figulus’s *Tricinia sacra ad pueriles* (Nuremburg, 1559), suggest that this subcategory – the last one in the ‘Musiche’ category – contains leftover items which simply did not belong elsewhere. Most books in the last subcategory, however, contain prose passages on musical matters. The topics broached in these more frequently concern music pedagogy than the speculative science of music. Compare, for instance, the didactic contents of Zacconi’s *Prattica di musica* (1592; later edition 1596) and Scaletta’s *Scala di musica* (1585; later editions 1595, 1597, 1598, 1599, 1600, 1602) with the contemplative writing *Modulata Pallas* by Puteanus. The compilers of the *Giunta 1604 catalogue*, then, considered that books on music theory comprised theoretical explanations and/or descriptions of musical practices whose grounding in philosophical and mathematical speculation may or may not be discussed. The different kinds of topics in the prose texts listed in their subcategory ‘Musica e Teoria diversa’ suggest that in spite of the definition of ‘teorica’ in the *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* (and our ensuing understanding of *teoria musicale* around 1600) the very essence and meaning of ‘music

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<sup>43</sup> Accademia della Crusca, *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca: con tre indici delle voci, locuzioni, e proverbi latini, e greci, posti per entro l’opera* (Venice, 1612; facs. edn., Florence, 1974), 882.

<sup>44</sup> The *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* describes ‘musica’ as the ‘science of combining vocal and instrumental sounds’ (‘Scienza della proporzion della voce, e de’suoni’). *Ibid.*, 548.

<sup>45</sup> Between Mischiati and Kast, most of the publications in this subcategory have been identified. *MischiatiI*, 133-34; Kast, ‘Die Musikdrucke des Kataloges Giunta von 1604’, 71.

theory' was fluid: *teoria musicale* could encompass both *musica speculativa* and *musica practica* theory rather than just the former.

c. Attempts of scholars to classify music theory of the early Seicento

Palisca's justification of why the theory of recitative falls within the scope of the history of music theory exemplifies the predicament for modern scholars of classifying, and hence cataloguing, music theory.<sup>46</sup>

Palisca's lengthy explanation of recitative's rightful place in the history of music theory exposes his anxiety to defend his decision to include this essay in a book on Italian music theory (that is, in Frieder Zaminer, ed., *Italienische Musiktheorie im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*). Jacopo Peri set down what Palisca deemed 'the best theoretical description of early recitative ever written'<sup>47</sup> in the preface to *Le musiche sopra l'Euridice* (Florence, 1600). However, for Palisca the theory of recitative (a genre of music that has certain definable procedural standards) does not 'fit into the usual categories of tonal systems, counterpoint, harmony, or form, which constitute the core of the discipline of music theory.'<sup>48</sup> In his opening paragraph, Palisca qualifies recitative's place in music theory by pointing to its derivation from *musica speculativa* (and hence tacitly validates Peri's *musica practica* theory of recitative in a Zarinian vein): 'Even granted that recitative was prematurely ripe for theoretical formulation because it was born largely of theoretical speculation, Peri's precocious realization of a theory of recitative was a significant achievement.'<sup>49</sup> Palisca's explicit attempt to persuade scholars that music theory could

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<sup>46</sup> C. V. Palisca, 'Peri and the Theory of Recitative', id., *Studies in the History of Italian Music and Music Theory*, 452-66: 452. This essay was first prepared as a chapter: C. V. Palisca, 'Peri und die Theorie des Recitativs', in Zaminer, ed., *Italienische Musiktheorie im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert: Antikenrezeption und Satzlehre*, 293-306. The original English version was published as C. V. Palisca, 'Peri and the Theory of Recitative', *Studies in Music*, 15 (1981), 51-61.

<sup>47</sup> Palisca, 'Peri and the Theory of Recitative', id., *Studies in the History of Italian Music and Music Theory*, 453.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 452.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 453.

encompass an explanation of its practical application appositely demonstrates the difficulty of justifying and classifying *musica practica* theory as a branch of music theory.

Producing a list of criteria by which prefaces to music prints containing practical advice for the performer can be separated from those of more theoretical substance is extremely challenging. In ‘Printing the “New Music”’, Tim Carter shows that many prefaces which purportedly describe how to realize a performance of the ‘new music’ – that is, ornamental solo songs – are of little practical utility to the performer.<sup>50</sup> Yet on what grounds can we separate such prefaces from, for instance, Peri’s description of early recitative in *Le musiche sopra l’Euridice* and Giulio Caccini’s elucidation of the ‘new music’ in his *Le nuove musiche* (Florence, 1602)? The exclusion of Peri’s preface yet inclusion of Caccini’s in RISM B/VI<sup>1-2</sup> illustrates the quandary for cataloguers in drawing such a distinction. Separating brief music-theoretical discussions embedded in learned books from the rest of the text is equally difficult. Determining when thoughtful, musical observation in a book (especially that in the preface to a music print) becomes – rather than ceases to be – music theory is the greatest impediment to cataloguing theoretical texts of the early Seicento.

Since the late Cinquecento and early Seicento cataloguers of music-theory books did not treat music theory as a distinct book genre and since the coeval meaning of ‘music theory’ was in flux, it is no wonder that modern scholars (and cataloguers) still find classifying music-theoretical texts from this period problematic. The difficulty increases if music-theory books from a number of music-historical periods and a variety of geographical locations are catalogued together since the common understanding of what constituted ‘music theory’ might vastly differ.

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<sup>50</sup> Carter, ‘Printing the “New Music”’, Orden, ed., *Music and the Cultures of Print*.

## 2. Writing and publishing

Writing music theory in the early Seicento generally entailed setting down some musical thoughts or observations (whether original or borrowed) on paper and then sending the manuscript to the press. In his posthumously published *Eptamerone overo eptalogi della nobiltà mondana* (Pesaro, 1599), Paolo Luchini's nephew Terenzio Valli, a courtier of the duke of Urbino, asks the author in a fictitious dialogue: 'Did you ever finish that volume about the Theory and Practice of Music you once showed me?'<sup>51</sup> After explaining that the time he must spend in prayer and religious discipline had prevented him from finishing it, Luchini provides a detailed description of the volume. It is deeply ironic that the reasons for not finishing the treatise are recounted inside his *Eptamerone*, a newly written – and printed – book.<sup>52</sup> It remains implicit not only that a book acquired a higher value through publication, but also that, if Luchini had completed writing his music-theory book to an adequate standard, he would have published it. Instead, he left behind 'an *unedited* music treatise'.<sup>53</sup>

The account of the events that led the Bolognese cavalier Ercole Bottrigari to reveal himself as the author of *Il desiderio* (Venice, 1594) in 1599, which then sparked a dispute with Giovanni Maria Artusi (who claimed this treatise was the work of the deceased Anniballe Melone, whose name is an anagram of the first-identified author of this treatise and one of the interlocutors in its dialogue, Alemanno Benelli), alludes to the importance

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<sup>51</sup> 'Havete mai compito quel volume, che mi mostraste della Musica, Theorica, e Pratica?' P. Lucchini, *Eptamerone overo eptalogi della nobiltà mondana* (Pesaro, 1599), 4.

The manuscript treatise to which Valli refers (Luchini's *Della musica*) is preserved in I-PESo (MS 2004). Valli had evidently once seen this volume in an incomplete form. Incidentally, the fact that Luchini's treatise embodies both the speculative and practical aspects of the art demonstrates that for him both were branches of music theory.

<sup>52</sup> Luchini printed at least one non-music book during his lifetime: *Due brevi ragionamenti* (Urbino, 1588).

<sup>53</sup> My emphasis. F. Vatielli refers to Luchini's music treatise in this manner. F. Vatielli, 'Un trattato di musica inedito del Cinquecento', *La cronaca musicale*, 11 (1907), 195-200: 196. A. Atlas argues that the treatise's title is best rendered as *Della musica*: this title is transcribed on a loose slip of paper at the front of the manuscript and is included in the inscription on fo. 1r. I-PESo MS 2004; A. Atlas, 'Paolo Luchini's *Della Musica*: A Little-Known Source for Text Underlay from the Late Sixteenth Century', *JM*, 2 (1983), 62-80: 64.

for practical musicians to publish – or to be involved in the publishing of – music theory. Bottrigari had published *Il desiderio* (1594) under a pseudonym since it was inappropriate for a nobleman to publish and it was not possible to publish books anonymously.<sup>54</sup> Being forced to defend his own honour, in his *Lettera di Federico Verdicelli* (Bologna, 1602), Bottrigari dwelled on ‘Melone’s pitiful attempts to camouflage the paucity of his knowledge and thus to masquerade as a learned musician’.<sup>55</sup> He had become increasingly disgusted with his friend, who had begun ‘showing the dialogue and disclosing the anagram to all and sundry because he was overcome by the ardent desire to obtain the position of *maestro di cappella* in the collegiate church of San Petronio, a post left vacant by the death of Andrea Rota in 1597.’<sup>56</sup> Continuing to report the series of events, the scholar Maria Rika Maniates writes:

So serious was he [Melone] that he wrote forty-one letters to Bottrigari about this matter. Bottrigari quotes a little from the twenty-fifth letter of 19 August 1597. In it Melone writes that his friend Alfonso Ganassa was chatting in the piazza with some gentlemen about possible successors to Rota. When the others claimed there was no Bolognese candidate fit for this post, Ganassa mentioned a few names, among them that of Melone. *The others then asked how a man who had published nothing could possibly know anything.* This incident, reported by Ganassa to Melone, and by Melone to Bottrigari, was reported by Bottrigari to Artusi as *prima facie* evidence of *Melone’s desire to appear qualified for a position beyond his true capacities. For Melone went on to say that if such people knew who Alemanno Benelli really was, they would have to treat him with more respect.*

...

It is not, Bottrigari stresses, that Melone wanted to make himself out to be the author of *Il Desiderio*. *He simply wanted the world, his world, to know that he was worthy and sufficiently erudite to be involved, and to be seen to be involved, in several of Bottrigari’s writings (Il desiderio [1594; later editions 1599, 1601] and Il Melone & il Melone secondo [Ferrara, 1602]).*<sup>57</sup>

This narration discloses the significance in the practical music world of northern Italy of publishing music and music-theory books and, moreover, of being able to demonstrate sufficient understanding of the laws and rules of *musica theorica*. To publish was to prove

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<sup>54</sup> Blackburn, Lowinsky and Miller, eds., *A Correspondence of Renaissance Musicians*, 44-45.

<sup>55</sup> M. R. Maniates, ‘The Cavalier Ercole Bottrigari and His Brickbats: Prolegomena to the Defense of Don Nicola Vicentino against Messer Gandolfo Sigonio’, in C. Hatch and D. W. Bernstein, eds., *Music Theory and the Exploration of the Past* (University of Chicago Press, 1993), 153: 137-188.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 153.

<sup>57</sup> My emphasis; *ibid.*, 153-154.

one's musical knowledge and worth; demonstrating erudition improved the likelihood of becoming a *maestro di cappella*. However, if a nobleman revealed himself as an author of a music treatise his knowledge and worth were both intentionally and unnecessarily exhibited.

a. The form of musical theorizing

Musical theorizing survives in both manuscript and print. In both media, theoretical ideas could be expressed in a variety of ways in books of varying length and thickness. Indeed, music treatises come in an assortment of sizes: while some are large tomes or slim, pocketable pamphlets in octavo or quarto, others are broadsides.<sup>58</sup>

i. Music theory in manuscript

The title of RISM B/VI<sup>1-2</sup> intimates that its cataloguers only list *printed* writings about music (*Écrits imprimés concernant la musique*), and since RISM's Series B does not catalogue post-1500 western European writings about music in manuscript form, scholars might presume that early Seicento music theory only existed in print.<sup>59</sup> Among other entries, however, the *Catalogo nazionale dei manoscritti musicali redatti fino al 1900* records early Seicento music-theoretical texts housed in Italian libraries.<sup>60</sup> Manuscript treatises were less likely to survive than their printed counterparts; thus their present paucity does not reflect their coeval quantity.

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<sup>58</sup> Compare, for instance, the size and length of these four music-theory books: Scipione Cerreto's *Della pratica musica vocale, et strumentale* (Naples, 1601), In-8, 335p.; Pietro Cerone's *El melopeo y maestro* (Naples, 1613), In-4, 1160p.; Agostino Agazzari's *Del sonare sopra'l basso* (Siena, 1607), In-8, 12f.; and Giovanni Francesco's *Principium et ars totius musicae* (Modena, c. 1600), In-fol., 1f. On this point, see also Chapter 3.

<sup>59</sup> Specifically, RISM B/VI<sup>1-2</sup> catalogues western European printed writings about music dating from 1474 to the end of the eighteenth century.

<sup>60</sup> L'Ufficio Ricerca Fondi Musicali, *Catalogo nazionale dei manoscritti musicali redatti fino al 1900*. (Milan: Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, 2003), <<http://www.urfm.braidense.it/cataloghi/catalogomss.php>>. Accessed 8 Oct 2013.

Akin to music compositions, music-theoretical texts may have circulated in manuscript ‘for reasons of choice or necessity’.<sup>61</sup> Gaspari asserts that Bottrigari’s *Lettera di Federico Verdicelli* was written by hand ‘to impart greater sincerity and in order to render the reading of it more speedy and easy’.<sup>62</sup> Maniates’s character depiction of Bottrigari as an anxious man, fearful of Artusi publishing his writings discovered at Melone’s house, supports Gaspari’s surmise: the author wished to appear as honest as possible, and to circulate proof of his innocence speedily.<sup>63</sup> The material form of Bottrigari’s other publicly displayed letters, themselves containing only prose and being short in length, likewise circulated in manuscript. His defensive writings support the fact that circulation of theoretical ideas in manuscript occurred if a small and select readership was expected and if the author wished to disseminate knowledge quickly. Furthermore, Bottrigari’s letters reveal the coeval practice of copying a manuscript for public circulation. In a sense, then, printers could publish not only in print but also in manuscript: for instance, although Bottrigari names himself as the copyist at the end of his *Lettera di Federico Verdicelli*, the recto side of the first folio reads ‘Et Stampate in Milano, appresso gli Stampatori Archiepiscopali’.

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<sup>61</sup> Carter reminds us that a paucity of sacred music prints until the 1570s points to the possibility that many Italian *cappelle* ‘relied largely on manuscript sources for their performing material’. While the large choirbook format was more practical for churches, publishers rarely would make that expense (hence manuscript choirbooks continued to be copied). Carter suggests that manuscript choirbooks may have been more reliable than prints. He continues, ‘there is evidence to suggest that even in the early seventeenth century, some institutions were buying single copies of sacred prints and having them transcribed into manuscript. Furthermore, manuscripts allowed individual *maestri di cappella* to compose, select and order musical items as befitted the particular liturgical needs of their institutions. The lack of such flexibility must have counted against prints, which could only contain the most basic and widespread liturgical repertoires.’ In the case of music theory, however, many of these suggested reasons for a manuscript culture are irrelevant. Perhaps manuscript copies of music-theory books were more readily distributed among theorists before they went into print in order to eliminate glaring errors before being disseminated more widely. Carter, ‘Music Publishing in Italy, c.1580-c.1625’, *RMA Research Chronicle* 20 (1986-1987), 35 and 21. See also J. H. Moore, *Vespers at St Mark’s: Music of Alessandro Grandi, Giovanni Rovetta, and Francesco Cavalli* (Ann Arbor, 1981), i, 86.

<sup>62</sup> ‘Per maggior pulitezza e per renderne più spedita e agevole la lettura’. *GaspariO*. Accessed 5 Oct 2013.

<sup>63</sup> Maniates, ‘The Cavalier Ercole Bottrigari and His Brickbats’, in Hatch and Bernstein, eds., *Music Theory and the Exploration of the Past*, 152-154.

Manuscripts played an integral role in the printing industry: they were the original blueprints of publications (see below). To my knowledge, no exemplars of an early Seicento music treatise marked up for publication survive: these were discarded as soon as a book was printed. Conversely, music-theoretical texts in manuscript could derive from printed books. The manuscript copy of Cesare Crivellati's *Discorsi musicali* (1624) is an example of this: it closely adheres to the layout of the printed treatise; moreover, only slight grammatical and syntactical variants exist.<sup>64</sup> As D. Sabaino shows, two manuscript treatises (*Regole di contrappunto* and *Trattato di contrapunto*) attributed to the Nanino brothers, which were *aide-mémoires* compiled for the novice singer and beginning counterpoint student, draw heavily on a contemporaneous publication by another musician – that is, Rocco Rodio's *Regole di musica* (Naples, 1609).<sup>65</sup>

#### ii. Expressing music-theoretical ideas

Irrespective of whether a music-theoretical text is preserved in manuscript or print, the early Seicento author always expresses his ideas through a combination of simple prose, music notation, drawings and diagrams. Cesare Negri's *Le gratie d'amore* (Milan, 1602) contains all four modes of expression. Drawings and diagrams depicting various rhythmical steps and dance movements are accompanied by a written-out explanation of them. Furthermore, Negri includes the music compositions for which his dances are choreographed.

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<sup>64</sup> I have consulted the printed version of this treatise held at the British Library (shelfmark 1481.ddd.39). A manuscript copy is preserved at I-Rc (MS. 2557); Bonnie Blackburn kindly let me view a personal microfilm copy of this. The manuscript is not marked up, nor does it contain any notes to the printer.

<sup>65</sup> I-Bc, B.124 and B.125. D. Sabaino, 'Aspetti della teoria contrappuntistica e della didattica della composizione nella Roma del Giovannelli: I precetti teorici manoscritti attribuiti a Giovanni Maria e Bernardino Nanino – Note storico-filologiche per nuove attribuzioni', in C. Bongiovanni and G. Rostirolla, eds., *Ruggero Giovannelli, musico eccellentissimo e forse il primo del suo tempo: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Palestrina and Velletri, 12-14 giugno 1992* (Rome, 1998), 363–87: 366ff.

## b. Printing a music-theoretical text

To publish a music treatise was to produce music-theoretical ideas in the medium of print. For this reason, I refer to those who prepared, produced and issued printed books by mechanical process as printer-publishers.

### i. From the author to the printer-publisher

Prior to sending a music manuscript to the press, an author might have sent it to, or at the least have approached, a dedicatee who may have helped underwrite the printing costs; in addition, he might have sent it to those whom he wished to compose encomia for inclusion in the preliminaries of his publication. (See the case study of Banchieri's *Conclusiones de musica* in Chapter 5.)

From Bottrigari's dispute with Artusi over the authorship of *Il desiderio* (1594), we learn that it was common for the author to provide the printer-publisher with two manuscript copies.<sup>66</sup> Rather than hand-delivering these in person, an author could send them to the press, perhaps by way of an envoy. For instance, Banchieri entrusted a monastic friend (Don Marco di Lendenera, Abbot of S. Elena in Venice) with the task of transferring a music book to a printer-publisher:<sup>67</sup>

I request you to favour me when you go along the Mercerie to stop off at the printing house of Gardano, warmly recommending my new compositions Ecclesiastici Musicali, dedicated to the Most Reverend Father Don Domenico Pueroni, Olivetan Abbot General, so that I might be able to make use of them myself in time.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> See Maniates, 'The Cavalier Ercole Bottrigari and His Brickbats', in Hatch and Bernstein, eds., *Music Theory and the Exploration of the Past*, 152-154.

<sup>67</sup> Given the place from which Banchieri wrote the dedicatory letter printed on fol. 1v in the first edition of *L'organo suonarino*, he evidently resided at S. Elena in 1605. Presumably it is his connection with this Olivetan abbot from then which enabled him to later make such a request of his friend.

<sup>68</sup> 'La ricerco volermi favorire nel passaggio, ch'ella farà per merzeria [*sic* Mercerie] di trasferirsi alla stampa del Gardano, raccomandando di sollecitudine i miei nuovi componimenti Ecclesiastici Musicali, dedicati al Reverendiss[imo] P[adre] D[on] Domenico Pueroni Abbate Generale Olivetano, accioche io possa servirmene in tempo.' Banchieri, *Lettere armoniche*, 156. The Mercerie is the street that leads from the Piazza San Marco to the Rialto. In Renaissance Italy, booksellers were concentrated along the Mercerie. B. Richardson, *Printing, Writers and Readers in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge & New York, 1999), 36.

In light of the dedicatee, it is difficult to confirm the particular publication to which Banchieri refers: no extant sacred music print is dedicated to Pueroni. However, writing to Pueroni, Banchieri mentions that he wishes to reveal to the world ‘un mio nuovo pensiero [sic] Armonico’.<sup>69</sup> Perhaps the publication to which he refers in both letters is a fourth book in his series of *nuovi pensieri ecclesiastici* which is now lost.<sup>70</sup> In the *Banchieri 1614 indice*, ‘Quatro Libro di N[u]ovi Pensieri a Voce sola’ is the second of five books which Banchieri had penned to be printed, and F. -J. Fétis records that this publication was produced by the Vincenti in 1626.<sup>71</sup> Nonetheless, since Pueroni was General Abbot in 1627-1633, the year of publication remains problematic. Alternatively, did Banchieri accidentally name the dedicatee as Pueroni instead of Father Don Domenico Luchi (Abbot of San Michele in Bosco), who was the dedicatee of his *Primo libro delle messe e motetti concertato con basso e due tenori nell’organo* (Venice, 1620), which was printed by Alessandro Vincenti? If Banchieri had sent either of these books to Marco di Lendenera, clearly his friend went to the wrong printing house; or perhaps, having sought and failed to recommend these compositions to the Gardano firm, the friend was successful in recommending them to another renowned music printer in Venice.

An author chose to publish his manuscript treatise at a printing house which could suitably render his theoretical ideas. Unsurprisingly, a direct correlation exists between the expertise of a printer-publisher and the form in which music-theoretical ideas were expressed on the printed page. For instance, while Banchieri’s *Conclusioni nel suono dell’organo*, which consists entirely of text, was printed locally in Bologna by Giovanni Rossi (a printer who at this stage did not use musical type), his *Cartella musicale* (1614;

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<sup>69</sup> Banchieri, *Lettere armoniche*, 77.

<sup>70</sup> Only the second and third books survive: A. Banchieri, *Secondi nuovi pensieri ecclesiastici* (Milan, 1611); A. Banchieri, *Terzo libro di nuovi pensieri ecclesiastici* (Bologna, 1613). For evidence of the existence of a first book (dedicated to Father Don Angiolo Maria Cantoni, Abbot of San Michele in Bosco) and a fourth, see *Banchieri*, 173 (nos. 16 and 17).

<sup>71</sup> F.-J. Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique*, 2nd edn. (Paris, 1860), i, 233-236.

later edition 1615), containing simple prose, music notation and a drawing of the Guidonian hand, was printed using movable type and wooden blocks by the skilled music-specialist printer-publisher Alessandro Vincenti (see Figure 1.4). After Francesco Bianciardi's death, his broadside *Breve per imparar'a sonare sopra il basso con ogni sorte d'istrumento* (Siena, 1607), which a certain Zucchi produced by utilizing the expensive technique of copper-plate engraving, was published by Domenico Falcini (see Figure 1.5).<sup>72</sup> This printing method meant that detailed illustrations of musical instruments at the top of the broadside could be drawn; and it also facilitated the representation of music in tablature.<sup>73</sup> To typeset the chordal passage in Figure 1.6, for instance, a single-impression printer would need at his disposal the music type for two or even three notes (sometimes of differing values) aligned vertically on a five- and seven-line staff.

Financial arrangements for the publication and sale of a book varied considerably. Since the book trade involved many financial risks and required substantial sums of money, only the large Venetian presses had the capital and contacts to sponsor publications independently.<sup>74</sup> Elsewhere books were commonly published in partnership or as commissions. Consequently, complicated networks and arrangements existed among

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<sup>72</sup> *GaspariO*. Accessed 5 Oct 2013. Falcini also printed Agazzari's *Del sonare sopra'l basso* that same year in Siena using the same printing technique. In 1625 and 1628, he worked as an 'incisore' for the music printer-publishers Pignoni and Ceconelli in Florence.

<sup>73</sup> Nicolò Borboni likewise utilized the copper-plate engraving technique in order to more easily print Girolamo Frescobaldi's *toccate* in keyboard tablature: G. Frescobaldi, *Toccate e partite d'intavolatura di cimbalo: libro primo* (Rome, 1615; later editions 1615-1616, 1616, 1628, 1637); G. Frescobaldi, *Il secondo libro di toccate canzone versi d'hinni Magnificat gagliarde correnti et altre partite d'intavolatura di cimbalo et organo* (Rome, 1627; later edition 1637).

<sup>74</sup> Although Jane Bernstein makes this remark with the large Venetian music presses of the sixteenth century in mind, her observation also applies to early Seicento printing houses (including those which did not specialize in music publishing). J. A. Bernstein, 'Financial Arrangements and the Role of the Printer and Composer in Sixteenth-Century Italian Music Printing', *AcM*, 63/1 (1991), 39-56: 40.

Figure 1.4: Adriano Banchieri, *Cartella musicale* (Venice, 1614; later edition 1615), 3

MANO IN DISEGNO. 3

In queste tre nature gli Bassi, Tenori, Alti, & Soprani pronuntiano  
Vt, Re, Mi, Fa, Sol, La.

Natura di b molle num. 8. num. 8. Prima Chiaue

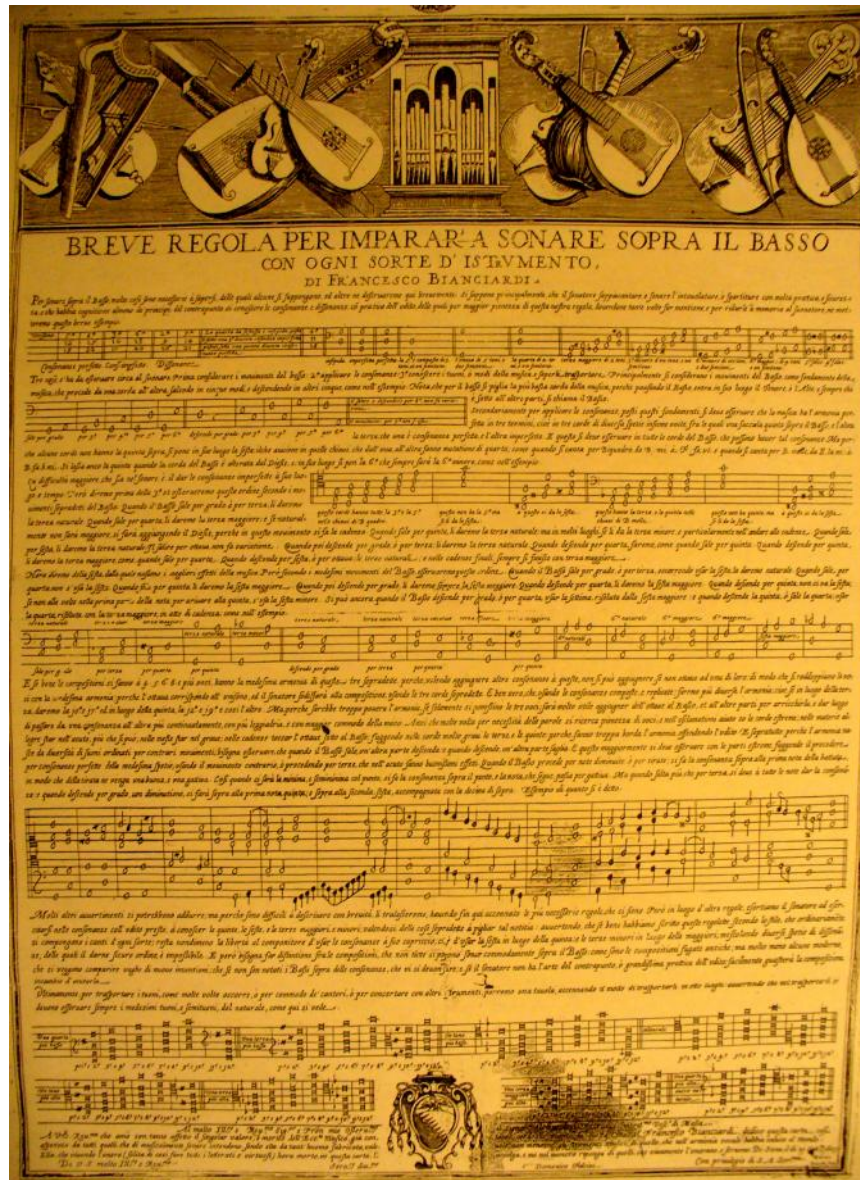
Natura naturale Chiaue al num. 12. formale Fuori della mano

Natura di quadro Chiaue al num. 16. formale.

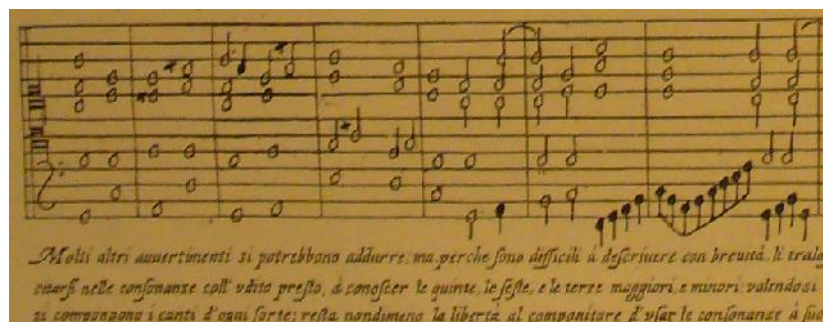
Avuifando (benche s'habbia detto) che le tre Chiaui sono al num. 8. 12. & 16.  
s'intendono però Chiaue ancora in tutte le posizioni segnate con quella nota negra  
seruendo la istessa natura in dire vt, re, mi, fa, sol, la: le citate a gli tre numeri si chia  
mano chiaui formali, le altre s'intendono simili ad esse, ma imaginabili.

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**Figure 1.5:** Francesco Bianciardi, *Breve regola per imparar' a sonare sopra il basso con ogni sorte d'istrumento* (Siena, 1607)



**Figure 1.6:** The start of the penultimate system of music notation in Francesco Bianciardi, *Breve regola per imparar' a sonare sopra il basso con ogni sorte d'istrumento* (Siena, 1607)



authors, their patrons, printer-publishers and bookmen.<sup>75</sup> To a large extent, the rarity of surviving contractual arrangements among these individuals obscures the commerce and organization of the book trade.<sup>76</sup> However, once the financial arrangements of publishing a music-theory book were made, work on producing the books commenced.

## ii. At the printing house

Single-impression printing was the standard technique by which music-theory books were published in the early Seicento. In music treatises containing simple prose in movable type, wooden and metal blocks were still used to render music notation, drawings and diagrams. However, after 1500 movable type became the standard method of printing music notation. Thus, the manner in which music examples and compositions were produced depended on whether a printer-publisher had access to a music font.<sup>77</sup> Giacomo Vincenti, the Venetian music printer-publisher, created page 3 of Banchieri's *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615), for instance, by using a mixture of large- and small-sized Roman type, music font, and either a metal or a wooden block on which the Guidonian hand is drawn (see Figure 1.4). Clearly, the form in which an author expressed his music-theoretical ideas determined whether a book was produced by a music or non-music specialist printing house.

In Figure 1.7, Moses Thym's wood engraving of a printing shop depicts the printing equipment and the typical tasks involved in producing a book in the early seventeenth century. In the foreground, the master printer (who is wearing a robe and counting on his fingers) surveys his two kinds of workmen. While doublets and ruffs identify the

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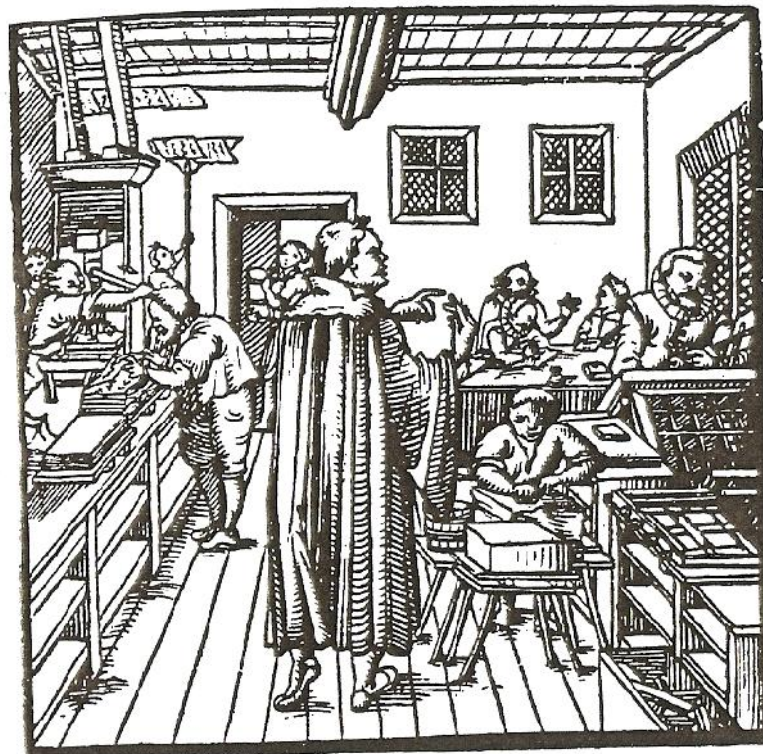
<sup>75</sup> Bernstein explores the networks among these individuals (and particularly between the printer and composer). *Ibid.*

<sup>76</sup> For instance, for information on fewer than a dozen music contracts, see R. J. Agee, 'A Venetian Music Printing Contract and Edition Size in the Sixteenth Century', *Studi Musicali*, 15/1 (1986), 59-65; Bernstein, 'Financial Arrangements and the Role of the Printer and Composer in Sixteenth-Century Italian Music Printing'; B. J. Blackburn, 'The Printing Contract for the *Libro primo de musica de la salamandra* (Rome, 1526)', *JM*, 12/3, 345-356.

<sup>77</sup> For a full account of techniques adopted to print music books, see D. W. Krummel and S. Sadie, eds., *Music Printing and Publishing* (New York, 1990).

correctors, shirts identify the mechanical employees who set the type, inked the formes and printed the pages.<sup>78</sup> The scholar Anthony Grafton continues to paint the scene: ‘To the left, pressmen pull sheets, while a colleague lifts a finished sheet to dry on rack at the ceiling. On the right, a younger workman moistens the paper so it will hold ink. Farther back on the right, men argue.’<sup>79</sup>

**Figure 1.7:** Moses Thym’s wood engraving of a printing shop from Jerome Hornshuch, *Orthotypographia* (Leipzig, 1608); reproduced in A. Grafton, *Humanists with Inky Fingers: The Culture of Correction in Renaissance Europe* (Florence, 2011), 41



Before being printed, a manuscript was marked up. The theorist Giovanni Del Lago’s collected letters, which were to be of use to music scholars, are a rare example of a music-theoretical text which has been marked up in preparation for publication. They even include the instruction: ‘leva tutti i vale’ (that is, remove the closing ‘Vale’ at the end of the

<sup>78</sup> A. Grafton, *Humanists with Inky Fingers: The Culture of Correction in Renaissance Europe* (Florence, 2011), 33.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 40. Grafton, moreover, suggests that the seated man at the back right of the printing house is correcting an author’s text while the latter vigorously objects.

letters).<sup>80</sup> The next stage was for the compositor to set the text in type (and perhaps also the music), together with any metal or wooden blocks on which music notation, drawings or diagrams featured, in a forme. The arrangement and number of pages in a forme depended on the format of the book. Once locked in place, the forme was inked and printed on one side of a sheet of paper by pressmen. The entire process was then repeated until all the pages of a book had been printed. The subsequent folding of the sheets of paper produced a series of gatherings which were later bound together.<sup>81</sup>

Unless a book was very slender, the preliminaries (the title page and first gathering, which tended to include liminary prefaces and poems, dedications, and references to licences or permissions) were typically the last part of the publication to be printed.<sup>82</sup> Several facts suggest that the first gathering of Banchieri's *Cartella musicale* (1614) was printed last: the signatures consist of a fleur de lis and arabic numbers, whereas those from the start of the second gathering (which coincides with the start of the main body of the text and pagination of the book) are letters of the alphabet; the first gathering comprises nine leaves rather than eight, the number one expects to find in a publication in octavo format; three pages of the first gathering list errata; lastly, the title page dates the publication to 1614 while sub-titles in the treatise are dated 1613.

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<sup>80</sup> On Del Lago's preparation of a fair manuscript copy and revisions to it, see Blackburn, Lowinsky and Miller, eds., *A Correspondence of Renaissance Musicians*, 130-141.

<sup>81</sup> Patrizio Barbieri describes the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century printing process and the various printing tools used in Rome between 1583 and 1833. Barbieri, 'Musica, tipografi e librai a Roma: tecnologie di stampa e integrazioni biografiche, 1583-1833'. His reconstruction of the procedure of printing a book (in particular, see pp. 56-61) is based on Giovanni Pietro Pinaroli's *Polyanthea technica* (n.p., 1718-32), a manuscript (I-Rc, shelfmark MS. 3007) containing illustrations of the tools used, and a number of previously unknown workshop inventories (which refer to printers, booksellers and publishers of music matter). His article also contains a number of illustrations of the printers' tools and equipment, including (on p. 58) one of the press (*torchio*) from Vittorio Zonca's *Novo teatro di machine et edificii* (Padua, 1607).

Jane Bernstein explains the process of printing a music edition in sixteenth-century Venice in detail: Bernstein, 'Inside the Venetian Print Shop: The Manufacturing of a Music Book' in J. A. Bernstein, *Print Culture and Music in Sixteenth-Century Venice* (New York, 2001), 29-72.

<sup>82</sup> There are, however, some counter examples. As the catchword 'A2' appears at the bottom right on the recto side of the second folio of the book, the title page and preliminaries to Banchieri's *L'organo suonarino* (1605) were evidently typeset at the beginning of the printing process.

Whether an author or a corrector oversaw the proofs depended on the size of a printing house.<sup>83</sup> In addition, if the forthcoming book contained a large amount of musical notation, who oversaw the manufacturing of it depended on the printer-publisher's expertise in this field and the author's level of trust in the firm's ability to put together complex formes. While Zacconi stayed in Venice specifically to supervise the publication of his *Prattica di musica* (1592), from the above-cited letter to Father Don Marco di Lendenera it seems that Banchieri was comfortable letting a Venetian music-specialist printing house publish his music books without his assistance.<sup>84</sup> According to the Basle scholar Theodor Zwinger, correctors (who were little respected and poorly paid) read each leaf three times, twice against the original and once, in revises, against the second corrected proof.<sup>85</sup> As well as implementing orally received changes, correctors made decisions of their own about the texts they processed. For instance, they imposed the printing-house style – even with regard to punctuation, grammar and orthography. Further to this, their job included writing blurbs, drawing up tables of contents and indexes and, of course, deciphering the scrawl of an author.<sup>86</sup> Consequently, a printed text might not agree with the manuscript from which it was copied in all particulars.

The standard size of a print run (itself dependent on the format of the book) is uncertain. Ian Maclean estimates that in the Early Modern period printing houses of an average size, which operated between two and five presses, produced print runs of about

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<sup>83</sup> I. Maclean, *Learning and the Market Place: Essays in the History of the Early Modern Book* (Leiden; Boston, Mass., 2009), 39.

<sup>84</sup> On the fate of Zacconi's *Prattica di musica* (1592), see Chapter 3, n. 17. Zacconi's *Prattica di musica seconda parte* (Venice, 1622) exhibits the numerous challenges which the skilled music printer Alessandro Vincenti faced when publishing such a learned book on music theory. On page 17, he required not only three different sizes of font (two plain, one italicized), but also a vast palette of musical, moveable type, including multiple time signatures and bar lines (both in quantities not normally encountered per page in a music book), together with a three-note chord on one staff in the musical example at the top of the page. Diagrams, presumably created using metal or wooden blocks, were interspersed with typeset prose on, for instance, pages 52 and 61.

<sup>85</sup> Grafton paraphrases T. Zwinger's remarks of the corrector's tasks in *Methodus apodemica* (Basle, 1577): Grafton, *Humanists with Inky Fingers*, 35. On the culture of correction, see also A. Grafton, *The Culture of Correction in Renaissance Europe* (London, 2011).

<sup>86</sup> Grafton, *Humanists with Inky Fingers*, 38-41.

100 for folios, and 1200 for octavos.<sup>87</sup> The evidence provided by Pierangelo Belletini corroborates such diversity in the size of a print run: in Forlì (a city by virtue of being a bishopric in the province of Romagna), Francesco Soriani printed 500 copies of the laws of commune in 1612 and then 300 copies of the statutes in the following year also for the Conservatori of the commune. 312 copies of a public commission – the quarto-sized *Il fuoco trionfante* (Forlì, 1637) by Giuliano Bezzi – were printed by Giovanni Cimatti, another regional printer-publisher. In contrast, the Cimatti's print run of a posthumous folio-sized volume written by the famous medical doctor from Forlì, Girolamo Mercuriali, was fixed at not less than 800 copies.<sup>88</sup> An examination of the references to the size of press runs for music editions between 1516 and 1600, however, reveals that while printer-publishers generally issued 500 copies of books in quarto or octavo format by less well-known authors, or vocal music mainly intended for private users, 1,000 copies of folio-sized volumes of church music and instrumental music for soloists did appear.<sup>89</sup> Clearly, many factors (such as the content, format and function of a book as well as the standard practices and locality of a printing house) would have impacted upon the size of a print run of a music-theoretical publication.

In the Early Modern period, paper, which cost about half the total cost of production, could be twice as expensive in Italy as in Germany. Printing costs also seem to have varied widely. The cost of labour was the other large expenditure, although to some degree this

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<sup>87</sup> Maclean, *Learning and the Market Place*, 109.

<sup>88</sup> P. Belletini, 'Publishing in the Provinces: Printing Houses in Romagna in the 17th century', in Denis V. Reidy, ed., *The Italian Book 1465-1800: Studies Presented to Denis E. Rhodes on His 70th Birthday* (London, 1993), 291-322: 305-307 and 309-311.

Richardson likewise documents various sizes of print runs in the late fifteenth and sixteenth century. B. Richardson, *Printing, Writers and Readers in Renaissance Italy*, 21, 26, 64, 86-87 and 90.

<sup>89</sup> Matteo Bosca's 1526 music contract regarding the printing of his *Libro primo de musica de la salamandra* (Rome, 1526), which led to the production of 549 copies, supports the evidence presented by Richard J. Agee of the size of the press run of ten other music books. Blackburn, 'The Printing Contract for the *Libro primo de musica de la salamandra*', p. 354; Agee, 'A Venetian Music Printing Contract and Edition Size in the Sixteenth Century'. Kate van Orden and Alfredo Vitolo recently, and conservatively, estimated that Pierre Attaignant – the inventor of economical single-impression technology in the mid-sixteenth century – produced 500 copies per print run. K. van Orden and A. Vitolo, 'Padre Martini, Gaetano Gaspari and the "Pagliarini Collection": A Renaissance Music Library Rediscovered', *EMH*, 29 (2010), 241-324: 242-243 and 243n5.

could be discounted if the printer-publisher had a share in the eventual print run.<sup>90</sup> Thus, when the printing process was completed, the printer-publisher stocked the books (usually in an unbound state). A number of copies, however, may immediately have been handed to the author (or editor) who likewise sold them in that form.<sup>91</sup> (For a discussion of how music-theory books circulated in the early Seicento, see Chapter 6.)

### 3. Conclusion

Music theory of the early Seicento was customarily written with the intention of publishing it. The genre of the music-theory book was heterogeneous in terms of its content, the way in which authors expressed their ideas and the physical form in which it was presented to a reader. Thus, the manner in which theoretical ideas were presented, akin to the subject matter, cannot alone be used as a means of identifying the nominal features of a theoretical text. Hence, as coeval bibliophiles, printer-publishers and booksellers found, and later modern cataloguers, classifying writings about music is riddled with difficulties. Unquestionably, the main hindrance to determining what constitutes a music-theoretical text is the miscellaneous nature of the genre of the music-theory book and, I would argue, above all the vast range of scope in the mode of expressing musical ideas both in manuscript and print.

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<sup>90</sup> Maclean, *Learning and the Market Place*, 39 and 45. With regard to the quality and potential supply of paper for the Italian presses, see Chapter 4, n. 10. Bonnie Blackburn, however, deduces from Matteo Bosca's music contract of 1526 that to produce an edition paper cost one-third of the total printing costs, and the ink and pelts for inking cost one-tenth as much as the paper. The remaining costs were for the labour and the workers' living expenses. Blackburn, 'The Printing Contract for the *Libro primo de musica de la salamandra*', 353.

<sup>91</sup> Maclean, *Learning and the Market Place*, 101.

## Chapter 2. Writing Music Theory: The Philosophical and Practical Goals of Adriano Banchieri

‘Again I declare that what I have written I intend for the benefit of the practical musician, leaving theoretical speculations to more lofty minds.’<sup>1</sup> This often quoted passage from Banchieri’s *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615) truly encapsulates his philosophical and practical reasons for writing music theory. Yet what exactly did Banchieri deem necessary to impart to a practical musician? His statement also raises philosophical questions: What constituted a practical musician for Banchieri? And how did he define *musica speculativa* and *musica practica*? In this chapter I address these questions principally by exploring the relationship of Banchieri’s practical and philosophical goals in writing music theory to his musical training and life as a practical musician.<sup>2</sup>

### 1. Becoming a *musica practica* theorist

As a whole, Banchieri’s printed output marks him as a man of wide-ranging interests. He wrote music-theory books in Italian and Latin and musical compositions ranging from madrigal comedies to sacred motets; he also produced populist books on the superiority of the Bolognese language over the Tuscan, romances (such as a second sequel to the well-known *Le Piacevoli et ridicolose simplicità di Bertoldino* (Piacenza, 1609) by Giulio Cesare Croce), and edited Giovanni Zanti’s book on Bologna’s architecture. Perhaps *La nobiltà dell’asino* (Venice, 1592) best embodies both his vibrant personality and collective

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<sup>1</sup> ‘Di nuovo dichiarandomi, che quant’hò scritto intendo per giovamento del Musico Pratico, lasciando le Theoriche speculazioni a ingegni più ellevati’. Banchieri, *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615), 148. As the opening of this passage makes clear, Banchieri had previously encapsulated the purpose for which he wrote this treatise, which likewise summarizes his theoretical stance: ‘[I will] leave the Greek speculations to those who wish to engulf themselves in an ocean of subtleties’. ‘Lasciando le Greche speculationi a chi vorrà ingolfarsi nell’Oceano delle sottigliezze’. Ibid., fol. 11v (sig. A3v).

<sup>2</sup> It is worthy of mention that, for Mischiati, Banchieri’s theory can only be analysed properly if considered in relation to his other diverse activities: ‘La sua produz[i]one teorica non va disgiunta, per una corretta analisi, dall’intensa attività pratica, esplicata non solo come organizzatore delle manifestazioni liturgiche-mus[icali] della sua chiesa, come insegnante, come animatore della vita mus[icale] e fondatore di accademie’. O. Mischiati, ‘Banchieri, Adriano’ in *Dizionario enciclopedico universale della musica e dei musicisti: i titoli e i personaggi: le biografie*, ed. A. Basso (Turin, 1999), i, 296-7: 296.

literary output. It is a humorous text originally written in Italian but later translated by the author into French. In it Banchieri merges his theological and musical knowledge in order to explain why the ass is surely the most noble and perfect of beasts. The animal bore not only the Mother of God, he argues, but also musical sonorities in life and death: while the ass's voice contains 'all the musical proportions', its shinbones (when the marrow was removed) could make a zampogna, a musical instrument which produced 'a most sweet sound'.<sup>3</sup> This publication also problematizes which of Banchieri's printed books should indeed be considered music-theoretical ones. Here, however, I explore the aspects of his life which may have led him to write treatises *solely* dedicated to musical practice.

#### a. Banchieri's early education

Although Banchieri informs us that he studied music as a boy, as Mischiati notes, under whose guidance remains unknown.<sup>4</sup>

We have scant information about Banchieri's early life. Born on 3 September 1568, he was baptized as Tommaso a month later in the Cathedral of S. Pietro in Bologna.<sup>5</sup> While Banchieri himself stated in 1611 that he had been 'bound for 24 years to the sweet yolk of obedience in the Olivetan Order', which would mean that he entered the monastic order in 1587, the *Liber Professorum* (which records the place and profession of each Benedictine monk of the Olivetan order) assigns his entrance (*ingressus*) to 8 September 1589.<sup>6</sup> From

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<sup>3</sup> 'Tutte le proportioni musicali' and 'un suavissimo suono'; A. Banchieri, *La nobiltà dell'asino* (Venice, 1592), 59 and 44 respectively.

<sup>4</sup> Banchieri, 41. 'Io fin da fanciullo in questa [musica] armonicamente m'approffittai'. Banchieri, *Lettere armoniche*, 10.

<sup>5</sup> Banchieri, 40; E. Capaccioli, 'Precisazioni biografiche su Adriano Banchieri', *Rivista Musicale Italiana*, 56/4 (Oct-Dec 1954), 340-341: 340.

<sup>6</sup> I-Smo, *Liber Professorum*, i: 'Seconda parte del Liber Professorum', fol. 1v.

'Legato da 24 anni al soave giogo dell'obbedienza nella Religione Olivetana'. A. Banchieri, *L'organo suonarino* (Venice, 1611), 1. This passage is cited in Capaccioli, 'Precisazioni biografiche su Adriano Banchieri', 340.

On several occasions when Banchieri refers to something which happened 12 years ago in his publications, the precise date which this would naturally suggest never accords with other biographical

this time he answered to the Christian name of Adriano rather than Tommaso. However, as *ingressus* is defined in the preface to the *Liber Professorum* as the adoption of the habit (*sumptio habitis*), it is possible that these two dates concur: it seems likely that Banchieri only officially became a novice and received a new name in 1589, but before then was enrolled as a student at the monastery of San Michele in Bosco (which is situated less than 1 km south of Bologna's city walls).<sup>7</sup> At the least, a lacuna of 19 years for which no concrete biographical information about Banchieri, let alone about the type of music education that he received, exists.

Likewise, little is known of Banchieri's family, except that his parents came from Lucca. His surname, which literally translates as 'bankers', suggests that his father and forebears were tradesmen rather than gentlemen. Judging from Banchieri's fairly basic Latin in his *Conclusiones de musica*, he likely received a modest education when under the care of his parents.<sup>8</sup> Gabriele Paleotti (archbishop of Bologna in 1566-1597), whose reforming works in Bologna have been equated with those of Carlo Borromeo in Milan,

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details. 24 is a multiple of 12. Akin to how nowadays it is common to make rough estimations by rounding up or down to the nearest ten, Banchieri might likewise have used the measurement of a dozen.

<sup>7</sup> Capaccioli, 'Precisazioni biografiche su Adriano Banchieri', 340; *Banchieri*, 40.

<sup>8</sup> In a dedicatory letter to Gioseffo Guami, Banchieri writes: 'Great is the obligation that I owe to my parents, who in my childhood strove to educate me according to sacred and civil precepts.' 'Grande è l'ob[b]ligo ... ch' io deuo a gli miei genitori, quali in mia giovenile età s'affaticarono, acciò fossi educato sotto il Divino precetto, et Civile.' A. Banchieri, *La Cartella* (Venice, 1610), 2.

One of Banchieri's printed letters makes clear (given the date on which he wrote the dedication in *La cartella*) that by November 1609 both of his parents were dead, and also greatly resembles this passage, for in it the author concisely outlines the three sources to which he is greatly indebted: 'I am greatly obliged to God for having brought me into the world, to my parents for the *educazione* [that I have received], and to you Signor [Gioseffo Guami] who has imparted (musical) culture to me.' 'Grand'ob[b]ligo devo à Dio, havendomi creato al mondo; à miei Genitori per l'educazione, & à V.Sig. che m'hà insegnata la virtù.' Banchieri, *Lettere armoniche*, 90. In Italian, 'educazione' can mean good breeding or good manners rather than education. The first of these two passages is suggestive as much about Banchieri's family status as about the kind of education he received.

Continuous typographical and morphological alterations in Banchieri's *Conclusiones de musica*, which is written in Italianized prose, suggest not only that the print quality was poor, but that he was deficient as a Latin scholar. The end of the seventh *conclusio* demonstrates this, as well as that Banchieri incorporated phrases in Italian (in this case, 'non è contra'): 'His temporibus non ita sit, sed prius Oratio diligenter, consideratur, deinde Musica vestitur couformi [sic conformi] ipsi Orationi, aut meste [maeste], aut laetae [laete] & si in ea error, & dolor exprimitur, Musica pariter, & errorem, & dolorem suo modo exprimat, ita vt Musica Orationi accomodetur, & non è contra.' Banchieri, *Conclusiones de musica*, fol. 6r.

decided that all children without exception must attend the Schools of Christian Doctrine.<sup>9</sup> Banchieri probably attended one of these schools. Owing to the post-Tridentine aim to reform the Catholic Church through a vast programme of Christianization, Banchieri's early familiarity with a catechism can hardly be doubted.<sup>10</sup>

Yet what kind of music education would a boy not from a family of the feudal nobility receive in late sixteenth-century Bologna? If Banchieri had been the son of a patrician, he would have learnt music through private tuition.<sup>11</sup> Unlike his lifelong friend Girolamo Giacobbi (1567-1628), his parents provided for his education rather than placing him among the clerics at the basilica of S. Petronio in Bologna, where grammar and chant were taught gratis to young boys of high aptitude.<sup>12</sup> The musical contract of 1591 between Giovanni Maria Nanino (on behalf of his brother Giovanni Bernardino) and the mother of Alessandro Costantini (c. 1581-1657) proves that paying a modest sum for a boy of 8-10 years to learn to sing and compose counterpoint as well as to live in the house of a music teacher for a period of no more than six years was commonplace on the Italian peninsula – or at least, in music schools in Rome. Costantini's music education under Nanino was to include instrumental lessons, especially at the keyboard.<sup>13</sup> However, Banchieri does not refer to any situation resembling this. Like his nephew, Pietro Paolo, whose *maestro* of measured music and organ playing was Lucio Barbieri, the organist at the Cathedral of S. Pietro in Bologna (1610-1620) and one of the two organists at S. Petronio from 1614, it is

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<sup>9</sup> Noble parents refused to comply, for they wished their children to have private tutors and not to be taught 'in the same school with plebeians'. D. Sella, *Italy in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1997), 51.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 105-6.

<sup>11</sup> In the Renaissance, most gentlemen probably learnt music through private tuition. B. J. Blackburn, 'Myself when Young: Becoming a Musician in Renaissance Italy – or Not', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 181 (2012), 169-203: 177.

Unfortunately Banchieri's baptismal record does not elucidate his status: 'Die 3. octobris 1568. / ... / Thomas filius Antonij de bancheriis lencensis et catherine c[apellae] s[ancti] Georgij c[om]pate[r] Augustinus de montogli Genuensis'. *Banchieri*, 40.

<sup>12</sup> Gaspari, *Musica e musicisti a Bologna*, 453-476: 454.

<sup>13</sup> Costantini's father, who by the time that the contract was drawn up had died, had been a coachman (*cocchiere*). Alberto Cametti suggests that the absence of the surname of Costantini's mother from the contract might reflect the humble origins of the family. A. Cametti, 'Un contratto d'insegnamento musicale nel secolo XVI (1591)', *Musica d'oggi*, 4/2 (Feb 1922), 39-40.

possible that Banchieri received his first music lessons from a similarly positioned musician.<sup>14</sup> Vincenzo Bertalotti, for instance, who was the sole organist of S. Petronio between 1562 and 1596, would have been a likely candidate. Nonetheless, as I discuss later, Banchieri received music tuition from the composer Gioseffo Guami and encountered many other musicians as a result of his movements as a young Olivetan.

The most concrete piece of information regarding Banchieri's early music education is the testimony of the theorist himself in a passage headed 'Useful and Necessary Lessons for Students of Counterpoint' within his *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615): 'nor will I omit a lesson (*documento*) given to me at the beginning of my musical studies by the industrious composer Orazio Vecchi'.<sup>15</sup> The 'lesson' that Vecchi (c. 1550-1605) gave him was one which Banchieri evidently followed by composing madrigal comedies in his youth: 'if one wishes to give pleasure to others, he must first give pleasure to himself by composing some pleasing invention of pleasure and enjoyment, as he [Vecchi] did himself in his youthful studies, with their varied and excellent gallantries'.<sup>16</sup> It is worthy of mention, though, that this *documento* is a piece of very general advice. It might not refer to

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<sup>14</sup> The editor Leland Bartholomew failed to realize that the dedication to Banchieri's *La cartellina musicale* (Venice, 1615) was signed by his nephew, Pietro Paolo, which led him to declare that Adriano's early musical training was provided by Lucio Barbieri. A. Banchieri, *Canzoni alla francese (of 1596)*, ed. L. E. Bartholomew (Madison, 1975), 7. Clifford Cranna comments that many reference works likewise make this error. C. A. Cranna, 'Adriano Banchieri's *Cartella musicale* (1614)', 9.

<sup>15</sup> 'Ne lasciero [sic lascerò] un Documento datomi nel principio de gli miei studi musicali, dall'industre compositore Oratio Vecchi'. Banchieri, *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615), 139 [erroneously numbered 147]. Cranna is the only one of Banchieri's biographers who observes this. Cranna, 'Adriano Banchieri's *Cartella musicale* (1614)', 9.

<sup>16</sup> 'Dissemi che volendo dilettere altrui ricercasi prima dilettere a se stesso in componendo qualche gratiosa inventione di gusto, & spasso, si come hà fatt'egli ne gli di lui novelli studi con le sue variate & dotte galanterie'. Banchieri, *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615), 139 [erroneously numbered 147]. Here the translation is by Cranna: Cranna, 'Adriano Banchieri's *Cartella musicale* (1614)', 305.

Banchieri, however, lived to regret the advice which he had eagerly embraced. Writing to an unnamed correspondent, he expressed how mortified he felt thirty years later at having composed musical frivolities in his youth, for now some of these compositions, such as *La pazzia senile* (Venice, 1598) and *Barca di Venezia* (Venice, 1605), were still being reprinted. By 1627 *La pazzia senile* had been published no fewer than twelve times in Venice alone. Banchieri pleaded with his friend in the letter: how can an author help the reprinting of possessions he no longer owned? It seems that this continued association with the compositions of his youth was detrimental to his future career as an organist and musician in the Papal States beyond the monastery of San Michele in Bosco. See Banchieri, *Lettere armoniche*, 19, and Chapter 5, p.195.

an actual music lesson which Banchieri received from Vecchi but instead to a piece of informal instruction.<sup>17</sup>

The exact time at which Banchieri could have received a music lesson from Vecchi remains unclear, for Vecchi never lived in Bologna. As a result of continual financial difficulties, Vecchi may have given private tuition to young boys, including Banchieri.<sup>18</sup> While Banchieri might have been taught music by Vecchi between 24 June 1584 and mid-1586 when Vecchi was *maestro di cappella* at Modena Cathedral, the more likely time is after Vecchi resumed that same post in 1593 and when Banchieri had returned to San Michele in Bosco in 1594 because of the retrospective nature of Vecchi's advice. Furthermore, Banchieri was principally influenced by Vecchi's *L'Amfiparnaso* (Venice, 1597), which was first performed in 1594.<sup>19</sup> As Vecchi received his ecclesiastical education from the Benedictines of S. Pietro in Modena, perhaps an early encounter with this composer persuaded Banchieri to enter the Olivetan order of Benedictine monks;<sup>20</sup> or perhaps Banchieri's acquaintance with Vecchi was the result of their mutual connection with the Benedictines.

Since Banchieri probably received private music tuition when young, he would only have been trained in measured music. As I will later discuss, his approach to writing music

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<sup>17</sup> Moreover, although Banchieri might have been familiar with Vecchi's understanding of the transposition of the 12 modes and of his rules of counterpoint, the particular 'lesson' which Banchieri received did not have much impact on the way he wrote music theory. An unknown Hercole Giaccobbi transcribed Vecchi's only music-theory book in 1630. This 16-page manuscript is held at I-Bc (shelfmark C.30): O. Vecchi, *Mostra delli Tuoni della Musica* (n.p., 1630).

<sup>18</sup> With regard to Vecchi's meagre finances from 1584 onwards, see W. R. Martin, 'Vecchi, Orazio [Horatio] (Tiberio)', *Grove Online*. Accessed 4 Aug 2013. Vecchi's *Mostra delli Tuoni*, which was given to a pupil called Paolo Bravusi, attests to his didactic activity.

<sup>19</sup> Moreover, Vecchi's own reputation rested on six books of *canzonette*, only two of which were available in print by 1580, and Banchieri's first secular compositions to be printed were his *Canzonette a tre voci* (Venice, 1597).

Banchieri even reduced *L'Amfiparnaso* 'with new Intermedi, dramatic acts and other beautiful additions' so that it could be performed by three singers. 'ridottolo poi con nuovi Intermedij, Argomenti, & altre vaghe aggiunte'. These are the words of the Milanese printing firm of Giovanni Francesco Besozzo and company in the foreword to A. Banchieri, *Il studio dilettevole* (Milan, 1600), 3. This foreword also reveals that Banchieri intended to dedicate this music print to Vecchi: the author changed his mind, deciding instead not to publish the compositions. However, a friend of his sent them to press.

<sup>20</sup> Vecchi, however, received his musical training from the Servite monk Salvatore Essenga (d. 1575).

theory seems to support this. The relatively late age at which he became a musician (and, for that matter, entered monastic life) suggests that this was not his intended occupation. Perhaps a sudden alteration of family circumstances for the worse made a change of profession expedient.

b. Life in the monastery

Banchieri's entrance into monastic life surely guaranteed him a better future education (and perhaps not just musically) than the one his parents had provided. He first embarked on his ecclesiastical education at San Michele in Bosco in Bologna, where he took his solemn vows on 16 September 1590.<sup>21</sup> In his *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615), among the articles regarding the establishment of a musical academy at this monastery, Banchieri outlined the various studies of the monks.<sup>22</sup> While young clerics received lessons in grammar, formal students (*formali*) proceeded to study theology, philosophy or logic. Monastic life also gave Banchieri the additional prospect of becoming a church organist. Indeed, he might well have been admitted as a novice because of his musical aptitude.<sup>23</sup>

The chronology of Banchieri's life in Figure 2.1 lists his place of residence alongside biographical details pertaining to, for instance, his specific occupation in a particular monastery. To a great extent, the different monastic houses where Banchieri resided seem contingent either on where he was to receive formal training in music or on where he was sent by his order for the purpose of fulfilling his duty as church organist and

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<sup>21</sup> I-Smo, *Liber Professorum*, i: 'Seconda parte del Liber Professorum', fol. 1v.

<sup>22</sup> Banchieri, *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615), fols. 3r-6r.

<sup>23</sup> Giovanni Fantuzzi, however, implies that this was not the case: 'Vestito poi l'abito de' MM. Olivetani, e fatti i suoi studj di Teologia, siccome il suo genio, e il suo talento era portato più per la Musica, che per altro, l'anno 1612. fu fatto Organista, nel qual impiego durò fino al 1617.' G. Fantuzzi, *Notizie degli scrittori bolognesi* (Bologna, 1781-1794), i, 338.

**Figure 2.1:** Chronology of Adriano Banchieri's life

1568	born in Bologna; baptized in the Cathedral of S. Pietro
?1587-1589	enrolment in the Olivetan order of Benedictines in the monastery of S. Michele in Bosco, Bologna
1589	official entrance into the Olivetan order as a novice
1590	takes solemn vows
1592	resides in the monastery of SS. Bartolomeo e Ponziano, Lucca; receives musical instruction from Gioseffo Guami
1593	resides in the monastery of S. Benedetto, Siena
1594	returns to the monastery of S. Michele in Bosco
c.1596	becomes organist of S. Michele in Bosco
1600	resides at S. Maria in Regola, Imola
1600	spends the summer at a villa <sup>a</sup> with some friends, among whom were 3 singers who sang his <i>canzonette</i> to pass the time
c.1601	organist at S. Maria in Regola; teaches music to young boys in a music school and gives private music tuition
1604	resides at the monastery of S. Pietro, Gubbio; here he probably meets Girolamo Diruta
1605	resides at the monastery of S. Elena, Venice
1606	resides at S. Maria in Organo in Verona
1607	resides at Monte Oliveto Maggiore; oversees the construction of the new organ and inaugurates it
1608	returns to S. Michele in Bosco
c. 1609	organist of S. Michele in Bosco
prior to 6 Oct 1610	declined organist post at the Cathedral of S. Pietro, Bologna
1610	resides at the monastery of S. Vittore, Milan; partakes in the celebrations of S. Carlo Borromeo's canonization
1611	returns to S. Michele in Bosco
1614/15	founds the musical academy dei Floridi at S. Michele in Bosco
1618	receives the honorary title of Abate Benemerito
1634	moves to the monastery of S. Bernardo in Bologna because of ill health; dies of apoplexy

<sup>a</sup> Giovanni Francesco Besozzo & *compagno*, 'A' gli cortesi, lettori et musici' in A. Banchieri, *Il studio dilettevole* (Milan, 1600), fol. 2r. It is possible that this was Tomasso Raffaelli's villa, situated near Monte San Quilici, north of Lucca: Banchieri reports visiting it on p. 66 of his *Lettere armoniche* (see also Chapter 6, n.56, and Appendix 7).

teacher of the art of music.<sup>24</sup> In particular, it does not seem merely fortuitous that he was in Lucca at the monastery of SS. Bartolomeo e Ponziano in 1592 and S. Pietro of Gubbio in 1604 – two places of residence which likely led to his contact with two leading organists, Gioseffo Guami and Girolamo Diruta respectively. The Olivetan order, then, greatly

<sup>24</sup> The *Familiarum Tabulae*, held at I-Smo, recorded the monastic house at which every Benedictine of the Olivetan order resided on 1 May of nearly each year. Capaccioli records the entries in this source which pertain to Banchieri's whereabouts. Capaccioli, 'Precisazioni biografiche su Adriano Banchieri', 340-341.

facilitated Banchieri's development as a musician, perhaps because he showed especial promise at the keyboard. Indeed, the fact that 'he was organist in the suburban church of his monastery' in 1596, as the title page of his *Canzoni alla francese* (Venice, 1596) attests, arguably suggests that he had been trained in playing the keyboard quite some time before then.<sup>25</sup>

c. The pupil of Gioseffo Guami: Learning from a practical musician

As Guami was organist at Lucca cathedral from 5 April 1591 until his death, it must have been some time during this period when Banchieri, at SS. Bartolomeo e Ponziano, became his pupil. Guami taught Banchieri the art of counterpoint, plainchant and measured music.<sup>26</sup> Perhaps it is also fair to assume that Guami instructed Banchieri on the art of playing the organ. Banchieri first publicly identifies his tutelage under Guami on the title page of his first music print:

CONCERTI  
ECCLESIASTICI  
A OTTO VOCI  
DI D. ADRIANO BANCHIERI DA BOLOGNA  
Monaco Olivetano, Discepolo del Sig. Gioseffo Guami,  
*Aggiuntovi nel Primo Choro in Spartitura per sonare  
nell'Organo commodissima.*

Novamente Composti, & dati in luce.  
[stemma of Cardinal Filippo Sega]  
In Venetia, Appresso Giacomo Vincenti. 1595.

The eye-catching statement not only gave Banchieri's musical compositions a certain cachet (Guami, after all, was first organist at San Marco in Venice from 1588 to 1591), but also served as a caveat: it was a cunning attempt to meet the charge of seeming too

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<sup>25</sup> 'Era organista nella suburbana chiesa del suo monastero'. Gaspari, *Musica e musicisti a Bologna*, 376.

<sup>26</sup> 'À V. S. [Guami] per segno di ricognitione dedico per luce della Stampa un mio volume prodotto da i suoi insegnamenti musicali nell'arte del Contrapunto, canto Fermo, e figurato, intitolato CARTELLA MUSICALE'. Banchieri, *Lettere armoniche*, 90. Here, Banchieri is undoubtedly referring to his second rather than third edition of his *cartelle*, for in its dedicatory letter he wrote: 'A V. S. [Guami] mò in particolare douendo rimandare in luce questa mia CARTELLA MVSICALE mi è parso dedicarla sotto la scorta del suo celeberrimo nome in termine di gratitudine, essendo pianta prodotta entro il giardino de gli suoi fundati insegnamenti, quando dodici anni sono mi fu Maestro di così eccellente virtù'. Banchieri, *La cartella* (1610), 2.

presumptuous and daring to print these compositions at such an early stage in his musical development. In other words, Banchieri could justify any elementary compositional errors on the grounds that he was still in the process of becoming a musician. The conjunction of this caveat in this music print with the phrasing of Banchieri's letter of dedication to Filippo Sega (who at that time was Cardinal-Priest of Sant'Onofrio)<sup>27</sup> led Gaetano Gaspari to suppose that Banchieri only studied counterpoint in adulthood.<sup>28</sup> Although Gaspari was unaware that Banchieri was in Lucca in 1592 and so likely began studying with Guami three years prior to publishing his *Concerti ecclesiastici à otto voci* (Venice, 1595) at the age of 24, his conjecture withstands scrutiny. In his dedicatory letter to Guami dated 20 November 1609 in *La cartella* (Venice, 1610), Banchieri wrote that 12 years earlier Guami had been his teacher.<sup>29</sup> Banchieri's musical training with Guami, then, could have spanned from around 1592 to 1598.<sup>30</sup> This means that Banchieri might have continued to study counterpoint after he had sent his first compositional fruits to press. With regard to the archetypal way of becoming a musician in the Renaissance, metaphorically speaking it is possible that Banchieri learnt to walk before he could crawl.

Although not all music theorists in the Renaissance mention those who taught them in their treatises, on the whole references to their teachers tend to confirm that they,

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<sup>27</sup> David M. Cheney, 'The Hierarchy of the Catholic Church: Current and Historical Information about its Bishops and Dioceses' (1996-2013), <<http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org>>, s.v. 'Bishops > Filippo Cardinal Sega, Deceased, Bishop of Piacenza'. Accessed 11 Aug 2013.

In the letter of dedication to Cardinal Filippo Sega, Banchieri straightforwardly explains that he has printed these *concerti* at the insistence of this patron. A. Banchieri, *Concerti ecclesiastici à otto voci* (Venice, 1595), fol. 1v. Gaspari transcribes this dedication: Gaspari, *Musica e musicisti a Bologna* (1969), 375-6. Banchieri repeats this reason for printing these *concerti* in a letter to the cardinal: Banchieri, *Lettere armoniche*, 37.

<sup>28</sup> 'Alquanto mi son diffuso per comprovare che Adriano non da giovanetto, come asserì il [Giovanni] Fantuzzi, ma in età adulta (verso i trent' anni) applicosi ai laboriosi studi contrappuntistici sotto la disciplina del Guami.' Gaspari further suggests that Banchieri was adept at playing keyboard instruments long before then: the abovementioned title page of his *Canzoni alla francese* (Venice, 1596) attests to this. Gaspari, *Musica e musicisti a Bologna*, 372-377: 376. 'Da giovinetto cogli studj delle belle Lettere, e della Filosofia s'applicò ancora alla Musica sotto la disciplina di Giuseppe Guami Lucchese.' Fantuzzi, *Notizie degli scrittori bolognesi*, i, 338.

<sup>29</sup> See n. 26.

<sup>30</sup> It is possible that Banchieri sojourned in Lucca for short periods of time after 1592 in order to continue lessons with Guami. Banchieri's printed collection of letters also suggests that he might have plausibly maintained his musical studies through correspondence.

likewise, were theorists.<sup>31</sup> Banchieri's teacher, Guami, was not a theorist, although his name does appear in several notable treatises of the late sixteenth century, perhaps most noticeably in two published discourses in which Zarlino's understanding – or rather, misinterpretation – of ancient authors, such as Aristoxenus and Ptolemy, with regard to the theoretical foundations of music, is debated. In one of these, the author Vincenzo Galilei lists Guami along with Annibale Padovano (1527-1575), Claudio Merulo (1533-1604) and Luzzasco Luzzaschi (?1545-1607) as the only four in the whole of Italy who could both play and write well.<sup>32</sup> Replying to his former pupil in his *Sopplimenti musicali* (Venice, 1588), Gioseffo Zarlino concurred that Guami was an 'excellent composer and most sweet player of the organ'.<sup>33</sup> Whether or not Banchieri in early adulthood knew of these glowing accounts of Guami as both organist and composer, by the 1590s this musician's reputation evidently would have preceded him in northern Italy.<sup>34</sup> According to Renaissance convention, Banchieri's training to become a music theorist, then, was atypical. However, if considered in the context of all the music-theory books written in Italy during the first three decades of the seventeenth century, Banchieri exemplifies the trend that most writers (especially those who authored *musica practica* books) were not taught by a music theorist, if at all. This indicates that by the late sixteenth century the formal training previously

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<sup>31</sup> B. Blackburn, pers. comm. Heinrich Glarean's music teacher was Johannes Cochlaeus; Nicolò Burzio studied with the theorist Johannes Gallicus; Vincenzo Galilei studied with Zarlino, before he fell into controversy with him. Zacconi was taught music by the theorist Paolo Luchini and by the composer Ippolito Bacusi. Unfortunately, Johannes Tinctoris does not refer to his teacher.

<sup>32</sup> 'Quelli come Annibale Padovano, che habbiano saputo ben sonare & bene scrivere sà comparatione del numero che ci è de sonatori di tasti, sono pochissimi; & in tutta Italia di che n'è copiosa piu che altra parte del mondo, non credo in modo alcuno che passino il numero di quattro, tra i quali si annoverano Claudio da Coreggio, Giuseppe Guami, & Luzzasco Luzzaschi; l'altro qual sia lo dichiareremo altra volta'. V. Galilei, *Dialogo della musica antica e della moderna* (Florence, 1581), 138.

<sup>33</sup> 'M. Gioseffo Guammi [sic] eccellente Compositore & Sonatore soavissimo d'Organo'. G. Zarlino, *Sopplimenti musicali* (Venice, 1588), 18.

<sup>34</sup> Incidentally, Banchieri quotes Zarlino's description of Guami almost verbatim: 'Restami solo far nominanza dell'Organo soavissimo posto nella Cathedrale di Lucca fabricato da Domenico Nardi Luchese, suonato di presente (userò parole poste da Gioseffo Zerlino [sic] negli Sup. Mus. Cap. 3) Dal molto gentile M. Gioseffo Guami eccellente Compositore, & soavissimo Suonatore di Organo'. A. Banchieri, *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo*, 13. While the chapter number is correct, Banchieri fails to mention that this passage occurs in the first book of Zarlino's *Sopplimenti musicali*.

deemed necessary to write music theory was no longer required. In short, the authorship of music theory had broadened.

It seems that Banchieri underwent the musical training necessary to become a practical musician (and, more specifically, to become a church organist and composer) rather than a theorist. His role in overseeing the construction of the new organ at Monte Oliveto Maggiore, the Mother House of his order, in 1607 – when only two of his music-theory books were available in print – demonstrates the high regard in which his monastic order held him as a musician, and primarily as an organist. Likewise, his musical compositions – secular, instrumental and sacred – attest to his achievements as a composer, the last rung on the ladder which a practical musician reached. Yet, theoretically speaking, what constituted a practical musician for Banchieri?

## 2. The speculative and practical musician

As Banchieri always defines a practical musician in relation to the speculative musician, here I consider his understanding of both of these musicians together. Continuing a conversation with the Bolognese musician Domenico Benedetti,<sup>35</sup> Banchieri imparted the following information about what a musician constitutes:

The musician is of two kinds: the speculative musician and practical musician. The speculative musician is he who *spends his days studying* the theoretical arithmetically in order to discover the truth whence the proportions derive. The practical musician then is he who, according to the judgment and ear of the listeners, in the guise of a perfect orator makes a sweet harmony – [which is] applied to the words – heard, as nowadays is practised by gifted moderns. And all this we can say about the first in the words of a reputed author: The speculative Musician will be he who considers, by applying reason, the science of singing, *not with the servitude of work* but with the power of speculation. About the second, we will say that The supreme orator is a harmonious-sounding man who, in speaking, delights the minds of his listeners and moves them. In passing judgement on it I would say finally that both are musicians, since the first discovers the consonances and the other reduces them to perfection. Who is then more worthy, the speculative musician or

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<sup>35</sup> Benedetti was secretary in the Accademia Filomusa. It is possible that he is a relation of Piero Benedetti (c1585 - after 1649). In 1611, Benedetti is listed as a trombonist at the basilica of San Petronio in Bologna who was to be paid 6 lire. O. Gambassi, *La cappella musicale di S. Petronio: maestri, organisti, cantori e strumentisti dal 1436 al 1920* (Florence, 1987). See also Chapter 6, n. 26.

the practical one? Let him who is curious about it abandon the *salary* (i.e. rationale or merit) of the opinion or find a new judge, since I, as a practical musician, will be suspect.<sup>36</sup>

In this printed letter, Banchieri pits Cicero's description of the supreme orator (who for Banchieri is synonymous with a practical musician) against a definition of a speculative musician by Boethius which has been slightly modified by the Bolognese theorist Nicolò Burzio (c.1453-1528).

#### a. Banchieri citing Cicero

Banchieri took the passage from Cicero's *Libellus de optimo genere oratorum* from a posthumous expanded edition of Celio Rodigino's *Sicuti antiquarum lectionum commentarios concinnarat olim vindex Ceselius* (Venice, 1516), to which we can likewise

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<sup>36</sup> 'Il Musico è di due condizioni. Musico speculativo, e Musico pratico. Il Musico speculativo è quello, che in Teorica aritmeticamente *impiega il di lui studio* per rinvenire la verità dove derivino le proporzioni. Il Pratico Musico poi è quello, che al giuditio, ed orecchio de gl' ascoltanti, in guisa di perfetto Oratore fa sentire una soave armonia, applicata alle parole, come oggidì vien praticato da i moderni intelligenti. e quanto al primo diremmo con autore di credito: *Musicus speculativus erit, qui ratione ducente canendi scientiam, non servitio operis, sed imperio speculationis assumpsit.* Circa il secondo, diremo, che *Optimus orator est vir canorus, qui in dicendo animos audientium delectat, & permouet;* per darne dunque giuditio direi, che l'uno, e l'altro, è musico poiche l'uno inventa le consonanze, e l'altro le riduce alla perfettione, qual sia poi più degno il Musico speculativo [sic speculativo], ò il pratico, chi n'è curioso deponga il *Salario* della sentenza, ò trovi nuovo giudice, posciache io, come pratico, sono anche sospetto'. Banchieri, *Lettere armoniche*, 13-14 (my emphasis).

Although based on a passage by Boethius, Banchieri's first quotation comes from Nicolò Burzio's *Musices opusculum* (Bologna, 1487), Book I, Ch. 6: 'Speculativus musicus is erit qui, ratione ducente, canendi scientiam non servitio operis sed imperio speculationis assumpsit'. A transcription of Burzio's treatise is available: G. Massera, *Nicolai Burtii parmensis florum libellus: introduzione, testo e commento* (Florence, 1975). Here I have adapted Clement A. Miller's translation. N. Burzio, *Musices opusculum*, with introduction and trans. by C. A. Miller, *Musicological Studies and Documents*, 37 (American Institute of Musicology; Hänssler-Verlag, 1983), 37. The equivalent passage (1.34) by Boethius reads: 'Is vero est musicus, qui ratione perpensa canendi scientiam non servitio operis sed imperio speculationis adsumpsit'. A. M. S. Boethius, *Anicii Manlii Torquati Severini Boetii: De institutione arithmetica libri duo: De institutione musica libri quinque. Accedit geometria quae fertur Boetii. E libris manu scriptis edidit*, ed. G. Friedlein (Frankfurt, 1966), 224. 'But a [speculative] musician is one who has gained knowledge of making music by weighing with the reason, not through the servitude of work, but through the sovereignty of speculation.' A.M.S. Boethius, *Fundamentals of Music*, trans., with introduction and notes by C. M. Bower, ed. C. V. Palisca (New Haven, 1989), 51.

The second is a modified quotation from Cicero: M. T. Cicero, *M. Tulli Ciceronis libellus de optimo genere oratorum*, ed. E. Hedicke (Sorau, 1889), 3. A microform copy of this text is available online: *Internet Archive* (1996) <<http://archive.org/>>, s.v. 'Texts > Additional Collections > Microfilm > M. Tulli Ciceronis libellus de optimo genere oratorum'. Accessed 10 Oct 2013. The original passage (I.3) reads: 'Optimus est enim orator, qui dicendo animos audientium et docet et delectat et permovet: docere debitum est, delectare honorarium, permovere necessarium.' Banchieri omits Cicero's brief explanation of why each of the three listed components is integral to the role of a supreme orator.

assume that he had access.<sup>37</sup> Banchieri quotes this specific passage from Cicero in two other music-theory books and echoes of it are found elsewhere.<sup>38</sup> While in his *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo* and *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615) Banchieri cites this passage when writing that the moderns seek to compose in the manner in which a perfect orator sets forth a learned and well-considered oration, throughout the *Conclusiones de musica* he utilizes its tenet as a means of legitimating the role of music in the liturgy (see Chapter 5).

Banchieri, however, modified the quotation from Cicero (as it appears in Rodigino's posthumous edition) in two significant ways.<sup>39</sup> Firstly, he additionally describes the supreme orator as a harmonious-sounding man (*vir canorus*). This strengthens his reason for electing to quote such a passage: it becomes musically relevant because of the newly inserted adjective. As a by-product, this addition gives a fuller description of what Banchieri believed constituted a practical musician in his printed letter to Benedetti.

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<sup>37</sup> Before Banchieri launches into an explanation of the practical and speculative musician in his printed letter to Benedetti, he remarks that when he arrived home he found that the musician is of two kinds ('giunto à casa trovai, che il Musico è di due condizioni'). This circumstance implies that Banchieri likely consulted some texts before expressing his opinion in writing to Benedetti. Banchieri, *Lettere armoniche*, 13.

Banchieri acknowledges that his quotation of Cicero was cited by Celio Rodigino in his *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615), 166. Although Cranna footnotes the source from which Banchieri gained this quotation, he fails to mention that Banchieri erroneously writes that the passage comes from Book 23, Chapter VII – rather than Book 23, Chapter III – of a posthumous edition of Rodigino's *Sicuti antiquarum lectionum commentarios concinnarat olim vindex Ceselius*. Cranna, 'Adriano Banchieri's *Cartella musicale* (1614)', 349 n.6. Banchieri must have quoted from a posthumous edition, since these divide into 30 books instead of 16. Regarding the differences between the first edition and expanded posthumous ones (whose printing was initiated by Rodigino's nephew, Camillo Ricchieri), see M. Marangoni, *L'armonia del sapere: i Lectionum antiquarum libri di Celio Rodigino* (Venice, 1997), 13-15. The posthumous edition, entitled *Lectionum antiquarum libri triginta*, was first printed in Basle in 1542. Subsequent editions which (if we can judge from their presence on *OPAC SBN*) also presumably made their way to Italy either in the late sixteenth century or early seventeenth were printed at the following localities and times: Basle in 1550; two separate editions in Lyons in 1560; Lyons in 1562; Frankfurt in 1599; Geneva in 1620; and Frankfurt in 1666. Banchieri most likely consulted one of the posthumous editions printed prior to 1599 since he is first known to quote this passage in his *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo* (1609).

Rodigino slightly modified the passage from Cicero which he quoted: 'Optimus (inquit M. Tullius) est orator, qui dicendo animos audientium & docet & delectat & permovet. Docere, debitum est: delectare, honorarium: at necessarium, permovere'. C. Rodigino, *Lectionum antiquarum libri triginta* (Frankfurt, 1599), 1074.

<sup>38</sup> Banchieri, *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition, 1615), 166; Banchieri, *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo*, 58. It is also possible that Banchieri's lost *Conclusioni latine sopra l'organo* (Siena, ?1608) – the first Latin version of his *Conclusiones/Conclusioni* publications – contained this Ciceronian citation.

<sup>39</sup> Alternatively, perhaps Banchieri is quoting another author who cites Cicero from Rodigino and, furthermore, both misquotes this passage and gives the incorrect chapter of Rodigino's treatise in which it appears.

Secondly, Banchieri discards the first of the three aims of Cicero's orator – that is, that he teaches. Banchieri, then, limits the role of the orator to two activities: to delighting and moving an audience.<sup>40</sup> Precisely why Banchieri omitted this particular objective of the orator is unclear. However, given his own personal involvement in music instruction (as I will later discuss), I would suggest that for him teaching music belonged (and hence should be restricted) to the realm of the *maestro*. If music instruction were presented in an autodidactic form, it belonged to the realm of the music theorist – and more specifically, to that of the *musica practica* theorist.

#### b. Banchieri responding to Burzio

Throughout his letter to Benedetti, Banchieri draws on – and in a sense responds to – the 6<sup>th</sup> chapter of the first book of Burzio's *Musices opusculum* (Bologna, 1487), concerning what a musician is and the difference between a musician and a singer. (Indeed, it seems likely that Banchieri owned a copy of this treatise, or that one was held either by the monastery of S. Michele in Bosco or by a close friend.) Not only does he quote Burzio's rendering of a citation from Boethius almost verbatim, but he also echoes the theorist elsewhere in the letter by referring, for instance, to a judge and to the perfection of music.<sup>41</sup> However, by comparing the ideas expressed in Banchieri's letter with the way that Burzio distinguishes between a speculative musician and music practitioner two important differences emerge.

Firstly, Banchieri misconstrues his Bolognese predecessor. The passage from Burzio's treatise that Banchieri chooses to cite emphasizes the speculative musician's application of reason. Burzio, however, states that speculation results from two causes,

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<sup>40</sup> Cranna makes this observation. Cranna, 'Adriano Banchieri's Cartella musicale (1614)', 249.

<sup>41</sup> For the chapter in Burzio's treatises, see Massera, *Nicolai Burtii parmensis florum libellus*, 69-70; and, for an English translation, see Burzio, *Musices opusculum*, with introduction and trans. by Miller, 37.

hearing and reason.<sup>42</sup> By excluding Burzio's explanation of how speculation arises, Banchieri confines the activity of hearing to the practical musician alone.

Secondly, unlike Burzio, Banchieri declines to say which kind of musician is more worthy. His silence on this point sharply contrasts with the conclusion of Burzio's chapter. Akin to Boethius, for Burzio the speculative excels the practical musician, 'for it is much better and more worthy to know what one does than to carry out what another knows'.<sup>43</sup> Although Banchieri claims that he is doubtful about this matter, he seems to offer a covert message: consider the italicized words in the above citation from Banchieri's printed letter to Benedetti. As a musician was paid for the practical application of his art, for Banchieri the practical musician is of greater worth. While noblemen could engage in music speculation, an active practical musician could not afford to dispense with his salary for the sake of theoretical contemplation. Indeed, music theorists who wrote about *musica speculativa* in the early Seicento tended to be noblemen; and practical musicians, such as Banchieri, were the principal authors of *musica practica* books (see Chapter 3). Banchieri's reluctance in this printed letter to state whether the speculative or practical musician was more worthy might reflect a growing tenet: although study of the speculative branch of music by the speculative musician was valuable, a practical musician was also deserving of merit. He not only gained a monetary return, but had the ability to move, delight and persuade an audience through music.<sup>44</sup>

By selectively citing both Cicero and Boethius (via Burzio), Banchieri bolsters the importance of a practical musician by confining hearing – that is, the way to discern correct musical practice – to this kind of musician and to this musician's audience. (In this vein,

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<sup>42</sup> 'Speculatio enim duabus ex causis procedit, scilicet auditu et ratione'. Massera, *Nicolai Burtii Parmensis florum libellus*, 69.

<sup>43</sup> Burzio, *Musices opusculum*, with introduction and trans. by Miller, 38. The original text reads: 'Speculativus ergo practicum antecellit: nam multo maius atque dignius est scire quod quisque faciat quam illud ipsum efficere quod sciat'. Massera, *Nicolai Burtii Parmensis florum libellus*, 70.

<sup>44</sup> With regard to the philosophy of the power of music (and music theory) to delight and persuade in early Seicento Italy, see Chapter 3, pp. 128-129, and Chapter 5, especially pp. 207-208, pp. 213-214 and 221-223.

Banchieri's above-cited letter to Benedetti could be seen as one of many instances where he demonstrates his acceptance, and even approval, of the compositional techniques of the moderns, who relied purely on the aural assessment of musical dissonance.)

c. Defining musicians, defining music, defining a 'teorico'

The preliminaries of Banchieri's *Cartella musicale* echo his letter to Benedetti: here he similarly responds to the same chapter from Burzio's *Musices opusculum*. As well as increasing our understanding of what these two kinds of musician meant to Banchieri, the passage likewise implies that being a practical musician is the better pursuit:

There is no small difference between the speculative and practical musician; since the first, through arithmetical, mathematical and philosophical speculations considers simply the mensuration and proportions of sound; and the second gives pleasure by practising the [Guidonian] hand, singing skilfully, and bringing together an ensemble on a skilful practical basis (whose true outcome is its success in giving others delight). This brief distinction seemed to me an apt opening, *so that the rude beginner should not feel misgivings, perhaps imagining that he is not a perfect musician without [the knowledge of] mathematical speculations. It is true that one who could learn theory and practice together would be the most perfect of musicians, but the fleeting lifetime of man does not permit it, except rarely.*<sup>45</sup>

Unlike in the letter to Benedetti, where Banchieri presents the two kinds of musician as being mutually exclusive, in this passage he acknowledges that some men, though rarely, are both. Similarly, his contemporary Scipione Cerreto believed that a musician could be of both kinds: in his *Dell'arbore musicale* (Naples, 1608), he recognized and listed a number

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<sup>45</sup> My emphasis. 'Non picciola differenza scorre tra il Musico speculativo, & Musico pratico; poiche il primo con speculationi Aritmetiche, Mathematiche, & Filosofiche considera semplicemente il suono con misura & proporzioni, & il secondo di practicar la Mano, di cantar sicuro, di buoni fondamenti in ridurre assieme all'atto pratico un conserto, il cui proprio fine rieschi in porgere altrui diletto, si compiace. Questa breve distinzione, mi è paruta in preposito [sic], acciò che il novello principiante non diffidi forse imaginandosi non essere Musico perfetto, senza le Matematiche speculationi'. Vero è chi potesse aprendere Theorica, & practica assieme sarebbe Musico perfettissimo, ma la fallace età dell'huomo non lo permette, se non di rado'. Banchieri, *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615), fol. 12v (sig. A3v). Cranna twice mistranslates 'Musico' in the first sentence of this passage as 'music'. Cranna, 'Adriano Banchieri's *Cartella musicale* (1614)', 44.

Compare this passage with the following one from Burzio's sixth chapter of *Musices opusculum*: 'If he [the musician] spends time on practice he will not add a varied multitude of things to speculation, but rather its completion (*perfectionem*), and it should be known that through this he becomes a well-rounded musician who lacks nothing in speculation and in practice'. Burtius, 'Musices opusculum', with introduction and trans. by Miller, 37. 'Si practicae operam dederit, speculationi non adiciet variatam multitudinem sed perfectionem. Et sic erit notandum quod tunc erit adaequate musicus cui nihil et speculationis et operationis aberit'. Massera, *Nicolai Burtii Parmensis florum libellus*, 69.

of musicians who were both speculative and practical. All of these were music theorists.<sup>46</sup> Banchieri's non-substitution of *speculativo musico* for *teorico* likewise indicates that he did not consider the terms to be synonymous. Moreover, the defensive tone of the above passage from his *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615) suggests his awareness that he must justify his authority when publishing theory purely on practical music.

What is additionally of interest here is the continual appropriation of Burzio's two kinds of musician by early Seicento theorists in order to explain by extension the nature of music (and music theory) which each studied.<sup>47</sup> Banchieri's definition of music could easily be split into two (that is, its theoretical and practical component), meaning that it closely corresponds to the activities by which he defines the speculative and the practical musician: 'Music is a series of consonant and dissonant intervals; these in proportion with regulated measure sweetly delight the sensations of the listener'.<sup>48</sup> In Chapter 1 I showed that circa 1600 *teoria musicale* could envelop both *musica speculativa* and *musica practica* theory rather than just the former. Thus, even though the *Vocabolario degli Accademici*

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<sup>46</sup> Those which Cerreto lists are Pietro Aaron, Heinrich Glarean, Luigi Dentice, Gioseffo Zarlino, Giovanni Maria Lanfranco, Vincenzo Galilei, Aiguino da Brescia, Georg Rhau, Orazio Tigrini and Pietro Ponzio. S. Cerreto, *Dell'arbore musicale* (Naples, 1608), 14-15. As well as being a performer, composer and theorist, Rhau published music. Cerreto – presumably more given the extended treatment of music in the form of text in Tigrini's *Il compendio* (1588; later edition 1602) rather than its subject matter – classes this follower of Zarlino as both a speculative and a practical musician. Tigrini was also a composer: three of his madrigal books and one print of psalm settings survive.

<sup>47</sup> The division was passed down through a chain of theorists. Banchieri was certainly familiar with Pietro Ponzio's *Ragionamento di musica* (Parma, 1588): he mentions Ponzio alongside Zarlino, Artusi and Tigrini in the opening of his *L'organo suonarino* (1605) and also refers to his explanation of the invention of music on p. 28 of his *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo*. Incidentally, Pietro Ponzio quotes the same passage as Banchieri from Burzio's sixth chapter of *Musices opusculum* verbatim on p. 10 of *Ragionamento di musica*. Perhaps, then, Banchieri became knowledgeable of Burzio's treatise primarily through Ponzio.

<sup>48</sup> 'La Musica è una distanza d'intervalli consonanti, e dissonanti, i quali proportionatamente con regolata misura dolcemente diletano al senso dell'udito'. Banchieri, *Lettere armoniche*, 70-71.

Other theorists likewise defined music by dividing up its various components. Akin to Pietro Ponzio, Valerio Bona da Brescia (whose sole treatise is heavily dependent on the former's music theory) outlined how music is divided as follows: 'Music (generally speaking) is divided into two, the natural and the artificial. The natural likewise divides into another two, the *mundana* and *humana*. The artificial then divides into three: plainsong, measured and instrumental'. 'Si che tu hai inteso, Come la Musica (generalmente parlando) si divide in due, Naturale, & Artificiale. La naturale parimente in altre due, Mondana, & Humana. L'Artificiale poi in altre tre; Plana figurata, e instrumentale'. V. Bona, *Regole del contrapunto* (Casale, 1595), 2. For Ponzio, both subcategories of natural music are the realm of the speculative musician. Thus, the artificial is the realm of the practical musician.

Compare this divisional definition of music to Scipione Cerreto's organic one: by depicting a musical tree, Cerreto makes *musica theorica* (itself based on geometry and arithmetic) the root from which musical practice stems. Cerreto, *Dell'arbore musicale*, 7.

*della Crusca* defines ‘teorico’ as ‘one who possesses [the speculative and contemplative science of] theory’ (‘Che ha teorica’), a theorist could consider both *musica speculativa* and *musica practica*.<sup>49</sup> In other words, not only could a theorist write about the constitution and fundamentals of music, and the philosophical and mathematical reasons behind musical practices, but also the musical practices themselves. Clearly music pedagogy was the realm of the theorist circa 1600, something which today we take as a given.

### 3. An overview of Banchieri’s theoretical oeuvre

In the *Vincenti 1621 indice* (see Figures 1.2 and 1.3), Banchieri stands out as the prime author of music-theory books. Indeed, in terms of quantity if not quality, he was the most prolific music theorist from 1600 to 1630. Below, Figure 2.2 contains the publication details of Banchieri’s music-theory books. (Apart from one posthumous publication, all of these texts fall within these three decades.) If we count the re-editions of his music-theory books, he emerges as author of 25 – that is, of approximately one fifth of all music-theory books printed on the Italian peninsula – in this timeframe (see Appendix 2). Furthermore, Banchieri’s oeuvre exemplifies almost all of the different formats and functions that instructional handbooks assumed in early seventeenth-century Italy. Towards the end of his *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615) he concluded: ‘my primary purpose has been to write with the greatest brevity and facility, and with moral, decent, and practical examples’.<sup>50</sup> This confirms both his dedication to writing practical music theory and to providing it in an easily digestible form.

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<sup>49</sup> It is worthy of note that Banchieri rarely referred to ‘theorists’, but instead to musicians, authors or writers.

<sup>50</sup> ‘Essendo stato mio scopo primario tiattare [sic trattare] con ogni brevità, facilità, & esempi motali [sic morali], civili, & pratici’. Banchieri, *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615), 166. My translation is based on Cranna’s. Cranna, ‘Adriano Banchieri’s *Cartella musicale* (1614)’, 316.

**Figure 2.2:** Publication details of the music-theory books of Adriano Banchieri

Year of Publication	Title	Publisher (name and place)	Format (all upright) <sup>a</sup>	Length (pages)
1601	Cartella overo regole utilissime	Giacomo Vincenti, Venice	8°	79
1605	L'organo suonarino ... Tutto novellamente dato in luce a beneficio de gli studiosi Organisti	Ricciardo Amadino, Venice	4°	118
†?1608	Conclusioni latine sopra l'organo <sup>b</sup>	Silvestro Marchetti, Siena	Folio	1
1609	Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo	Heirs of Giovanni Rossi, Bologna	4°	72
1610	La cartella del R.P.D. Adriano Banchieri	Giacomo Vincenti, Venice	8°	48
1611	L'organo suonarino ... Nuovamente in questa seconda impressione	Ricciardo Amadino, Venice	4° <i>grande</i>	104
†1611	La mano, et documenti sicuri prodotti d'autori gravi, et cantici ecclesiastici <sup>c</sup>	Heirs of Simone Tini & Filippo Lomazzo, Milan	Folio	1
†1611	Cantorino olivetano <sup>d</sup>	Heirs of Pacifico Pontio e Gio. Battista Piccaglia, Milan	unknown	33
1614	Cartella musicale nel canto figurato fermo, et contrapunto	Giacomo Vincenti, Venice	8°	248
1614	Cartellina del canto fermo gregoriano	Heirs of Giovanni Rossi, Bologna	8°	80
1614	Frutto salutare alli R.P. sacerdoti per prepararsi alla celebratione della S. Messa privata, e cantata	Heirs of Giovanni Rossi, Bologna	16°	132
1615	La cartellina musicale che in documenti facili ridotti dall' antico allo Istile moderno	Giacomo Vincenti, Venice	8°	39
1615	Cartella musicale nel canto figurato fermo, et contrapunto	Giacomo Vincenti, Venice	8°	248
1615	Il direttorio monastico di canto fermo	Heirs of Giovanni Rossi, Bologna	8°	408
1616	Progressi politici, e christiani di S. Francesca Romana	Heirs of Giovanni Rossi, Bologna	8°	32
1622	Organo suonarino ... In questa Terza impressione	Alessandro Vincenti, Venice	8°	162
1622	Cantorino utile a novizzi, e chierici secolari, e regolari, principianti del canto fermo alla Romana	Heirs of Bartolomeo Cochi, Bologna	8°	104
1623	La Banchierina overo cartella picciola del canto figurato	Alessandro Vincenti, Venice	8°	43
1625	Il principiante fanciullo à due voci	Bartolomeo Magni, Venice	4°	30
1625	La sampogna musicale di D. Adriano Banchieri, Academico Filomuso il DISSONANTE	Girolamo Mascheroni, Bologna (music printed in Venice by Bartolomeo Magni Gardano)	4°	8
1626	Armoniche conclusioni nel suono dell'organo	Girolamo Mascheroni, Bologna	4°	48
1627	Urbano Octavo Pon. Opt. Max. Orbis Splendori. Conclusiones de musica in organo modulanda	Girolamo Mascheroni, Bologna	4°	12

Year of Publication	Title	Publisher (name and place)	Format (all upright) <sup>a</sup>	Length (pages)
1627	Organo suonarino ... In questa Terza impressione	Alessandro Vincenti, Venice	8°	162
1628	Lettere armoniche del R.P.D. Adriano Banchieri	Girolamo Mascheroni, Bologna	8°	176
1630	Lettere scritte à diversi patroni ed amici	Nicolò Tebaldini, Bologna	8°	159
1638	Organo suonarino ... In questa Quarta impressione	Alessandro Vincenti, Venice	8°	162

<sup>†</sup>: Lost or non-extant treatises

<sup>a</sup> With the exceptions of the *Conclusioni latine sopra l'organo* (Siena, ?1608), *La mano, et sicuri documenti* (Milan, 1611) and *Cantorino olivetano* (Milan, 1611), when the format of a treatise in RISM B/VI<sup>1-2</sup> and *Banchieri* differ and I have not been able to view the original publication, I have opted for Mischiati's format.

<sup>b</sup> See pp. 83-85.

<sup>c</sup> See Chapter 4, pp. 172-173.

<sup>d</sup> See Chapter 4, pp. 156-157 (especially n. 43). Although *OPAC SBN* specifies the length of this book (see Appendix 5), its format is unknown.

His music treatises not only synthesise almost all of the music-theoretical developments in circulation at the turn of the sixteenth century, but also exemplify the common trend of revising and reorganizing ostensibly the same music-theoretical material in order to bring a seemingly new and original treatise into print (see Chapter 4). Apart from the most minimal of discussions of the nature of music and the origins of the musical instrument the organ, Banchieri never broaches a *musica speculativa* topic. This means that like many of his theoretical contemporaries he wrote theory solely about musical practice. Yet to some extent, Banchieri's music-theoretical oeuvre was atypical not just because he was such a prolific theorist (compared with his contemporaries), but because of his overt adherence both to the old and new schools of musical thought, as represented by Artusi and Monteverdi respectively. This sets him apart as a conciliatory synthesiser of theoretical ideas. In addition, Banchieri's music-theory books comprise multiple forms of this hybrid genre because of the varying ways he expresses his theoretical ideas; this makes him an unusual theorist. (His music-theory books range from the instructional manual, *Il principiante fanciullo à due voci* (Venice, 1625) – a quasi music print – to the learned book, *Progressi politici* (Bologna, 1616), which consisted entirely of prose.)<sup>51</sup> The format, length and size of Banchieri's music-theory books reflect their intended functions. Nevertheless, although unique in many ways, Banchieri's theoretical oeuvre exemplifies localized socio-cultural factors underpinning the reasons for printing music theory on the Italian peninsula in this period.

Banchieri's itinerant lifestyle from 1592 to 1610 is mirrored by the fact that his flurry of youthful publications – that is, music-theory books, music prints and literary writings – were printed in many different northern Italian cities (including Milan, Padua, Vicenza, Turin, Ferrara, Siena and Venice). From 1609 onwards Banchieri seemed eager to

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<sup>51</sup> See Chapter 4 for fuller details.

publish his theoretical writings and literary works locally in Bologna; the majority of his smaller handbooks were produced there. Indeed, even after his visit to Milan, from 1613 onwards Banchieri staunchly allied himself primarily to the Venetian music presses, but also to the newly founded ones in Bologna (see Figure 3.3).<sup>52</sup> Banchieri's two music-theory books which were printed in Milan were issued by the two most important printing firms of that city. Although Robert L. Kendrick has suggested that Banchieri's ties to Lomazzo's printing firm circa 1610 seem to be strong enough to rival the appeal of the Venetian presses, the monk-musician might have published in Milan around 1610 principally because of the convenience of being able to oversee the proofs while residing at the monastery of S. Vittore al Corpo.<sup>53</sup> Indeed, the purpose of his stay there was to assist with the festal celebrations for the canonization of Carlo Borromeo.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Banchieri's music was first printed in 1595 by Giacomo Vincenti (*Concerti ecclesiastici à otto voci*). He then maintained his links with this firm, even when it passed from father to son. (His *Primo libro delle messe e motetti concertato con basso e due tenori nell'organo* (Venice, 1620) is the first item to be printed by Alessandro.) Alessandro continued to print his compositions and music-theory books. Consequently, the Vincenti published the majority of both Banchieri's music prints and theoretical texts. The last of Banchieri's writings to be printed by this firm is his posthumous *Organo suonarino* (Venice, 1638). The two other Venetian music printers – Ricciardo Amadino and Bartolomeo Magni – tended to print only Banchieri's secular and sacred compositions, the former before the firm's evident demise in the 1610s, and the latter from 1619 onwards. The last of Banchieri's publications to be printed by Ricciardo Amadino is his *Tirsi, Fili, e Clori, che in verde prato di variati fiori cantano* (Venice, 1614). Bartolomeo Magni also printed as the 'heir of Angelo Gardano'. Although Magni's reprint of Banchieri's *La pazzia senile* must date from 1611 or after, the first definitive year Magni produced an edition by Banchieri is 1619: A. Banchieri, *Sacra armonia a quattro voci* (Venice, 1619).

<sup>53</sup> Kendrick, *Sounds of Milan*, 190; see also 490n116. For further discussion of the appeal of the Milanese printers, see Chapter 3, pp. 117-118.

<sup>54</sup> Banchieri, *Lettere armoniche*, 22-23. Carlo Borromeo was canonized on 1 November 1610. See Banchieri, 42. The reprinted organ part of Banchieri's *Vezzo di perle musicali* (Venice, 1610) also confirms that he was in Milan that year. A. Banchieri, *Parte sotteriore nell'organo: Vezzo di perle musicali* (Milan, 1610). Not only was it printed by the heirs of Simone Tini and Filippo Lomazzo, but it also contains a new dedication (to two abbesses) which is dated 10 December 1610 and was written while Banchieri was at S. Vittore al Corpo in Milan.

Banchieri's removal to Milan could have been a means to leave Bologna when the position of organist at the cathedral of S. Pietro in Bologna still remained vacant: Banchieri reports in his dedicatory letter of his *L'organo suonarino* (Venice, 1611) to the Canon Don Carlo Caprara that as it had been vacant for some time, this canon had beckoned him to accept the post if the need arose. Yet Banchieri pragmatically declined this offer: as a monk, accepting it would have led to estrangement from his community. 'Et perche alcuni giorni sono essendo vacante l'Organo della di lei metropoli, fui accennato dal R. S. Canonico D. Carlo Caprara (mio particular' amico et Padrone) se in occorrenza havessi accettato carico tale: Havrei però reputata estrema felicità la mia poter impiegarmivi (qual che, ch'io sia) quando il soave giogo dell'obediencia nella Religione Oliuetana et obbligo particolare ch'io devo vintiquattr' anni sono all' onoratissimo Monastero di S. Michele in Bosco non me ne havesse alienato'. Banchieri, *L'organo suonarino* (1611), 1. Lucio Barbieri was named organist of S. Pietro on 6 October 1610; and so given that Banchieri's dedicatory letter is dated 12

A noticeable span of six years in which Banchieri published no theoretical text follows his prolific period of theoretical writing between 1614 and 1616. This inactivity could perhaps be attributed to the far-reaching effects of the 1619-1622 famine in northern Italy, which, coupled with a period of economic depression, contributed to the collapse of the previously predominant Italian printing press (and particularly the Venetian houses).<sup>55</sup> Banchieri's commitments as a monk and church organist might also be another factor that contributed to his lack of production of music theory between 1619 and 1622: apart from reprints of literary works, only two short publications of sacred compositions and one new literary work appeared in print.<sup>56</sup> After 1622, Banchieri merely revised and re-edited the theoretical material contained in his earlier didactic manuals.

To begin with, it appears that Banchieri attempted to publish four different treatises, seemingly intended for at least three different groups of scholars (see Figure 2.3). Two of these are publications for the church organist: *L'organo suonarino* (Venice, 1605; later editions 1611, 1622, 1627, 1638), on account of its large amount of musical examples and compositions, was printed in Venice first by Ricciardo Amadino and then by Alessandro Vincenti; the other – the purely prose *Conclusiones/Conclusioni* publications of ?1608, 1609, 1626 and 1627 – was printed at more regional presses in Siena and then Bologna. Apart from the *Cartellina del canto fermo gregoriano* (Bologna, 1614), all the *cartelle* were printed by the Vincenti family. Indeed, this *cartellina* is one of Banchieri's five handbooks which he wrote to benefit clerics. These were printed either at Milan or Bologna, two cities (particularly the first) associated with ecclesiastical reforms in the last quarter of the sixteenth century.<sup>57</sup> Further to this, in 1628 the first of Banchieri's

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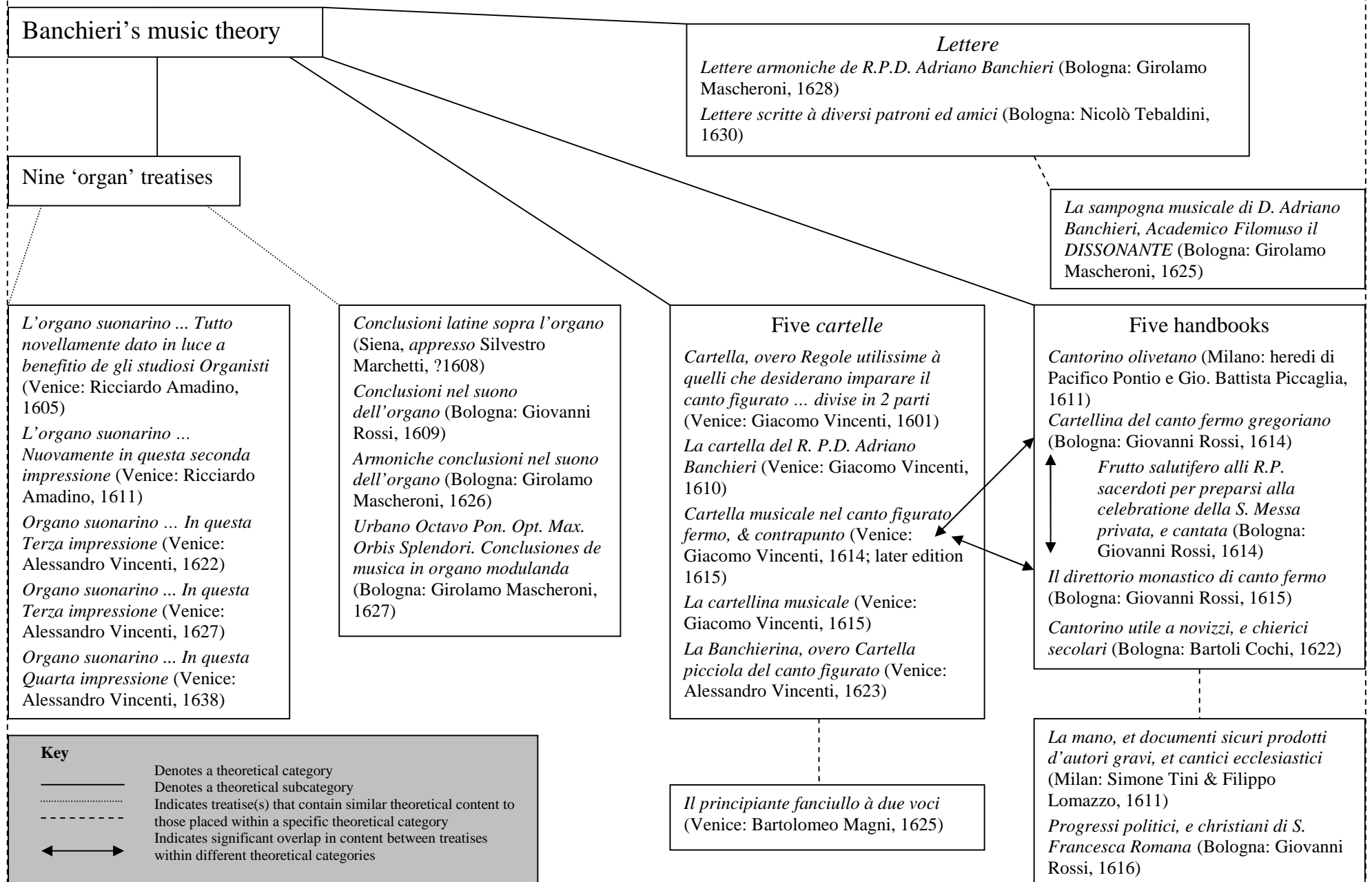
October 1611, we must assume that Barbieri did not hold this position for much longer before that. See *GaspariO*. Accessed 5 Oct 2013.

<sup>55</sup> Carter, 'Music Publishing in Italy, c.1580-c.1625', 26; see also Chapter 3.

<sup>56</sup> For a complete catalogue of Banchieri's works, see *Banchieri*. See also Daolmi, 'Adriano Banchieri: opera teorica' (n.d.), <<http://www.examenapium.it/banchieri/>>, s.v. 'catalogo delle opere'.

<sup>57</sup> Carter, 'Music Publishing in Italy, c.1580-c.1625', 36n19.

**Figure 2.3:** The music-theory books of Adriano Banchieri (1568-1634) divided into four distinct categories



two collected editions of his letters was printed locally in Bologna. Many of these letters contain music-theoretical tit-bits.

#### 4. Banchieri: The practical musician writing music theory

While Chapter 4 focuses on the differences in form and content among the second and revised editions of Banchieri's music-theory books (as well as that of his contemporaries), here I focus principally on the first edition of (seemingly) each of his different theoretical strands in order to identify his initial purpose for writing and publishing them. Aspects and experiences pertaining to Banchieri's life are my point of departure.

Firstly, how did Banchieri's training as a practical musician affect the way in which he wrote music theory? As mentioned above, it is possible that he had not finished studying counterpoint before he sent his first compositional fruits to press. In a similar manner, he might have learnt *canto figurato* prior to *canto fermo*. The atypical pedagogical order which he advocates in his five *cartelle* (grouped together in Figure 2.3) and *L'organo suonarino* (1605; later editions 1611, 1622, 1627, 1638) corroborates the likelihood that his own practical experience of learning music was contrary to the established convention in this particular way. This is corroborated by his late entry as a novice, and also probably indicates that he had not been a choirboy in a church. In his *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615), for instance, Banchieri remarked that his musical lessons on *canto fermo* were 'Useful for students and beginners who desire, after mastering *canto figurato*, to learn counterpoint'.<sup>58</sup> Here an unspoken assumption emerges: a beginner should first learn the basic notational principles of measured music and the art of florid singing, then about

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<sup>58</sup> 'Utili à gli figliuoli, & principianti che desiderano doppo il possesso del Canto Figurato, imparare il Contrapunto'. Banchieri, *Cartella musicale* (1614, later edition 1615), 63. These lessons are positioned after the conspicuous section containing short, introductory musical lessons, by which young students and others could, if they so desired, become skilled in measured music and florid song (*canto figurato*). For the most part, the lessons on *canto figurato* are principally concerned with notational principles and rules that underpin measured music. Nevertheless, Banchieri's twenty-fourth *documento* instructs the singer on the elaborate vocal artifices, the '*gorg[i]a, fioretti, et accenti*'. Banchieri, *Cartella musicale* (1614, later edition 1615), 49.

plainsong and the tones and modes before finally attempting to learn the rules of counterpoint necessary for composition. In this way, Banchieri alters the established, three-stage pedagogical process.<sup>59</sup> On the other hand, for clerics he conversely attempts to justify the utility of first learning the Guidonian hand for *canto fermo* in his *Cantorino utile* (Bologna, 1622) by employing the parsimonious law of Occam's razor: knowledge of this hand could easily be applied to that of *canto figurato*.<sup>60</sup> Nevertheless, the pedagogical process never really advances beyond the first step (learning *canto fermo*) in all of Banchieri's handbooks for clerics. For Banchieri, a secure singer must be able to employ the Guidonian hand under both guises comfortably. As a result, although perhaps it was immaterial for him whether *canto figurato* or plainsong was mastered first by a singer, his openness in suggesting a different ordering of the established pedagogical process might reflect his own experience of learning easily in a manner contrary to convention.

Did Guami as a teacher influence Banchieri? His progressive compositional techniques, to which Artusi and Galilei bear witness, frequently made their way into Banchieri's publications – both his music prints and music-theory books.<sup>61</sup> In his preface to his edition of Banchieri's *Canzoni alla francese*, Leland Bartholomew comments that Banchieri was 'quick to adopt modern techniques, particularly in writing music for antiphonal choirs in the Venetian style',<sup>62</sup> citing the last three compositions in Banchieri's *Canzoni alla francese*, which are antiphonal settings for two four-voice choirs called 'concerto' since they consequently exhibit musical contrast; likewise, Banchieri's first

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<sup>59</sup> Sixteenth-century music pedagogy began with chant, proceeded to counterpoint, and ended (for some) with the attainment of composition. See S. Rice, 'The Five-Part Motets of Nicolas Gombert: Stylistic Elements, Theoretical Issues, and Historiography' (D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 2004), 80.

<sup>60</sup> 'Frustra fit per plura, quod fieri, potest per pauciora & [a]eque bene'. Banchieri, *Cantorino utile* (Bologna, 1622), 28.

<sup>61</sup> P. Crabtree, 'Guami: (1) Gioseffo Guami'. *Grove Online*. Accessed 14 Jan 2012.

<sup>62</sup> A. Banchieri, *Canzoni alla francese (of 1596)*, ed. L. E. Bartholomew (Madison, 1975), 8. The seventh *canzone* in this music print is by Guami, the eighth is by Banchieri; Banchieri's motifs and compositional style are modelled on Guami's. Moreover, the descriptive titles of Banchieri's *canzoni*, such as *La Guamina* and *La Pompanazza*, greatly resemble those which Guami later gave in his *Partitura per sonare delle canzonette francese* (Venice, 1601) (for instance, *La Brillantina* and *La Luchesina*).

compositions in print (1595) were called ‘concerti ecclesiastici’. The term had first been used by Giovanni Gabrieli, a colleague of Guami at San Marco in Venice, a decade earlier. As Guami was Banchieri’s teacher, it is unsurprising that Banchieri’s early compositions should have included the modern traits of the Venetian style, given their *concertato* effects and the idiomatic composition for instruments. Among his large output of sacred music, Banchieri likewise employs a wealth of pioneering practices and techniques. For instance, his *Concerti ecclesiastici à otto voci* is one of the earliest music prints to include a *spartitura* – an optional organ accompaniment to his compositions.<sup>63</sup> In addition, some of the first dynamic markings in music are present in his concerto *Ego dormio* in the *Terzo libro di nuovi pensieri ecclesiastici* (Bologna, 1613). Banchieri’s compositional practices supplement our knowledge of contemporary notational developments not detailed in his theoretical publications.

Oscar Mischiati comments that, apart from sacred music, ‘theory was the other field in which Banchieri clearly endorsed innovation’.<sup>64</sup> Yet were Banchieri’s theoretical innovations, particularly those involving sacred musical practices, not fuelled solely by a desire to transmit commonplace solutions to contemporary practice but also by his understanding of those undertaken by Guami? His teacher’s many appearances in Banchieri’s music-theory books surely attest to his influence on his student in this field. Moreover, the context in which Banchieri refers to Guami might correspond to areas of study on which his teacher most influenced him.<sup>65</sup> In a letter of dedication included in his *Lettere armoniche*, Banchieri indicates that the subject of his volume *La cartella* was the

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<sup>63</sup> It is not surprising that an organist should be the first to make this innovation; prior to this, the organist would have had to have a very good understanding of the piece in question in order to improvise an accompanying part.

<sup>64</sup> ‘L’altro campo in cui B[anchieri] si schierò palesamente a favore dell’innovazione fu quello teorico’. Mischiati, ‘Banchieri, Adriano’ in *Dizionario enciclopedico universale della musica e dei musicisti*, i, 296.

<sup>65</sup> Banchieri openly paid tribute to his teacher in *La cartella*, *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615), *Lettere armoniche* (p. 90) and *Conclusioni nel suono dell’organo* (p. 13).

outcome of Guami's musical instruction.<sup>66</sup> It is worth noting that this is the only edition of his *cartelle* in which he repeats his explanation of high-clef transposition.<sup>67</sup> Moreover, it is the *cartelle* publications – and specifically the third – which contain the greater number of Banchieri's explanations of modern musical practices, including some of his own innovations.<sup>68</sup> Mischiati lists several of these, but does not make the connection between them and this particular publication:

In his [Banchieri's] writings on didactic music he went as far as reproducing, as practical examples for the study of music and for compositional exercises, passages from the most innovative authors of his time: Gesualdo, Viadana, Monteverdi. Furthermore, he attempted to surpass the practice of solmising with hexachords by proposing a specific label for the seventh scale degree: Ba for the b flat and Bi for the b natural.<sup>69</sup>

As mentioned, it might also be reasonable to presume that Banchieri received some instruction at the organ by Guami: his detailed description of the technique of *basso continuo* in the form of a dialogue in the new fifth *registro* in the *L'organo suonarino* (1611) might be a further theoretical passage based on his teacher's own experience.

a. The *maestro*

Banchieri's first book exclusively dedicated to music theory, *Cartella overo utilissime regole* (Venice, 1601), was printed when he was organist at S. Maria in Regola in Imola.<sup>70</sup> It is from this publication, and hence from this time, that we can establish that Banchieri

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<sup>66</sup> See n. 26 above.

<sup>67</sup> Banchieri, *Cartella overo regole utilissime* (Venice, 1601), 21-4; Banchieri, *La Cartella*, 13-15. Silverio Picerli (*Specchio secondo di musica*: Naples, 1631), Giovanni Battista Doni (*Annotazioni sopra il compendio de' generi, e de' modi della musica*: Rome, 1640) and Michael Praetorius (*Syntagma musicum*: Wolfenbüttel, 1614) all later wrote about high-clef transposition: see Johnstone, 'High Clefs in Composition and Performance'.

<sup>68</sup> For further discussion of this, see Chapter 4.

<sup>69</sup> 'Nei suoi scritti di didattica mus[icale] giunse al punto di riprodurre, come es[empi] pratici per lo studio della mus[ica] e per l'esercizio della compos[izione], brani degli autori più originali del suo tempo: Gesualdo, Viadana, Monteverdi. Inoltre, tentò un superamento della solmizzazione esacordale proponendo una denominazione specifica per il VII grado della scala: Ba per il SI <flat> e Bi per il SI naturale.' Mischiati, 'Banchieri, Adriano' in *Dizionario enciclopedico universale della musica e dei musicisti*, i, 296.

<sup>70</sup> Although Banchieri was at the monastery of S. Maria in Regola at Imola from the third Sunday after Easter in 1600, we only know that he was organist there from the title page of his *Cartella overo regole utilissime*. The dedicatory letter in this publication is dated 2 April of that year. Incidentally, Banchieri does not identify himself as organist in his *Il metamorfosi musicale* (Venice, 1601) even though his dedicatory letter in its preliminaries was written from Imola on 23 December 1600. (The secular content of this music print might, however, explain the absence of this piece of information.)

taught the art of music – and in particular, the art of singing. The dedication of this *cartella* publication to Carlo Codronchi draws attention to a possible sustained allegiance of this ancient Imolese family over the course of a short century to the teaching of music in the city. In 1521, Pietro Aaron, then *maestro di cappella* at the Cathedral of S. Cassiano in Imola, was charged by the General Council of the city of Imola with the responsibility of ‘teaching the art of music free of charge to poor clerics of the city or territory of Imola, as well as all other associates and persons serving in this musical chapel’ for the salary of 60 Bolognese pounds per annum.<sup>71</sup> One of the councillors – the ‘distinguished doctor of laws Niccolò de Codruncho’, as he is described in the deliberations of the General Council of the city of Imola – supported Aaron’s retention of this post on 3 April 1521.<sup>72</sup> Banchieri’s chosen dedicatee, then, might indicate that S. Maria in Regola (or perhaps simply their church organist) played a leading role in educating the Imolese community in music around 1600. Indeed, the fact that Banchieri’s pupil and dedicatee Carlo, son of the ensign Francesco Giovanni, came from an old Imolese family could have persuaded other Imolese families also to send their sons to Banchieri for private tuition in music.<sup>73</sup>

What were Banchieri’s teaching duties in Imola? The school (*schola*) to which he refers in his dedicatory letter in the *Cartella overo regole utilissime* was most probably run by the monastery and located within it. Whether or not this school solely taught music, or had a music and grammar master in keeping with Italian cathedrals, remains unclear. The

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<sup>71</sup> Blackburn, Lowinsky and Miller, eds., *A Correspondence of Renaissance Musicians*, 79.

<sup>72</sup> A transcription of this document is also available: *ibid.*, 98-99.

<sup>73</sup> Ensigns (*aliferi*) were formerly commissioned officers of the lowest grade in the infantry.

One of the reasons, according to Banchieri, for choosing Carlo as the dedicatee of his *Cartella overo regole utilissime* was because his father’s decision to appoint Banchieri as his son’s music teacher ‘has moved many gentlemen, and others here in Imola to favour me’. ‘L’uno, in vero testimonio dell’obbligo che io tengo al Sig. Alfieri Francesco vostro padre, come quello il quale m’inanimò all’insegnarvi (attione che ha mosso molti Signori, & altri qui in Imola al favorirmi)’. Banchieri, *Cartella overo regole utilissime*, [3]. The dedicatory letter from which this passage comes is transcribed in Gaspari, *Musica e musicisti a Bologna* (1969), 379-80.

*scolari* who attended it were probably both young boys and novices.<sup>74</sup> Primarily, Banchieri's role was to teach the *scolari*. In the mornings they came for individual lessons, and at 22 Italian hours (around 4 p.m. in Italian standard time) they came again in order to sing together.<sup>75</sup> Banchieri also gave private music tuition, both in singing and playing.<sup>76</sup> In his *Cartella overo regole utilissime*, the pupil in the dialogue (Carlo Codronchi) received his private tuition on two consecutive days at circa 4 p.m.<sup>77</sup>

In the preliminaries to the *Cartella overo regole utilissime*, Banchieri outlined the intended educational utility of this music-theory book: 'I have brought together my present labour, entitled CARTELLA, for the benefit of our School, so that You [Carlo], the pupils and others might be able to have a copy of it'.<sup>78</sup> His purpose in writing the *Cartella overo regole utilissime*, then, was to provide a didactic – not autodidactic – aid for his pupils. In

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<sup>74</sup> While in one printed letter Banchieri refers to a former pupil of his at Imola, Brother Domenico Neretti, as being a 'fanciullino', in another we learn that Neretti was a novice while Banchieri's pupil at Imola: Neretti had informed Banchieri that it was with great enthusiasm that he had now ceased being a novice, since he had greatly anticipated being able to continue his education. Banchieri replies: 'Vostra R[everenda] mi rende ragguaglio con sua lettera, ch'ella è uscita di novitiato con molto suo gusto, e ciò per poter maggiormente attendere à gli studi incam[m]inati; e perch'ella già fù mio discepolo di Musica in Imola, perciò sento particolar contento, e le ringratio della parte, che me ne dà'. Banchieri, *Lettere armoniche*, 93 and 140-141.

Anne Bagnall Yardley's comparison of the three levels of girls and young women (*infantes*, *iuvenulae*, and *scolares*) at the Benedictine abbey at Barking in England during the sixteenth century with the first three 'ages of man' is worthy of note here, particularly since (according to the scholar Laurentia McLachlan) the last of these levels seems to designate novices. A. Bagnall Yardley, 'The Musical Education of Young Girls', in S. Boynton and E. Rice, eds., *Young Choristers, 650-1700* (Woodbridge, 2008), 49-67:52.

<sup>75</sup> 'M[aestro]. ... nè posso piu attendervi, atteso che essendo homai vintidue hore, gli Scolari veniranno a cantare, si che tornate domani alhora di hoggi, che mi sforzerò darvi ogni satisfattione. / D[iscepolo]. Tanto faro, ma se io venissi domattina? / M[aestro]. La mattina non posso attendervi, venendo gli scolari per la lettione particolare, & la sera manco cantandosi in compagnia. / D[iscepolo]. Sia detto: la lascio in pace.' Banchieri, *Cartella overo regole utilissime*, 37-8.

I have calculated the equivalent time of 'vintidue hore' in Italian standard time with the aid of Appendices I and II in Michael Talbot's article on Italian time reckoning: M. Talbot, 'Ore italiane: The Reckoning of the Time of Day in Pre-Napoleonic Italy', *Italian Studies*, 40 (1985), 51-62. I have assumed that the date was 20 April 1601 and the place Imola, both of which are given at the close of Banchieri's dedicatory letter to the *Cartella overo regole utilissime*. I have also fixed sunset as the start of the day instead of timed at 23 hours and thirty minutes. Talbot, 'Ore italiane: The Reckoning of the Time of Day in Pre-Napoleonic Italy', 52. Depending on the time of year when Banchieri's fictional dialogue with Carlo took place, 'vintidue hore' could be reckoned at almost one and a half hours later or two hours earlier than 4 p.m. Italian standard time.

<sup>76</sup> It seems reasonable to assume that Banchieri taught Carlo Codronchi both to sing and play, for he writes at the end of this dedication to him: 'Il Signor Iddio vi benedichi insieme con il vostro padre, et all'uno & l'altro dia felice vita, & gratia di godere il frutto delle virtue, sì di lettere come cantare & sonare, nelle quali di già à sufficiente sete introdotto'. Banchieri, *Cartella overo regole utilissime*, [3].

<sup>77</sup> See n. 75.

<sup>78</sup> 'Havendo io ridotta insieme la presente mia factica, intitolata CARTELLA, per beneficio della nostra Schola, acciò Voi, gli Scolari, & altri ne possino havere la copia'. Banchieri, *Cartella overo regole utilissime*, fol. 2r.

other words, by writing this music textbook, he meant to complement his teaching at Imola. Further to this, Banchieri clearly hoped to supplement his meagre earnings by selling this book to *scolari* and his private pupils. Indeed, his tactful reminder in the body of the *Cartella overo regole utilissime* (pp. 39-40) that the *maestro* should be rewarded for his toil suggests that he often received the monthly salary he was promised for teaching late if at all.<sup>79</sup>

The title ‘cartella’ – a tablet made of slate, wood or wax with permanent staves incised, on which music could easily be written or erased – was repeatedly given to these textbooks, linking their intended didactic function to their content, essentially a series of re-writable musical lessons and rules. The title of Banchieri’s 1601 publication, ‘*Cartella, or most useful rules for those who desire to learn canto figurato*’,<sup>80</sup> lucidly illustrates the association of *cartelle* with their standard function from the mid-fifteenth century onwards as an aid to musical learning in the music classroom. Banchieri’s other *cartelle* publications affirm that a *cartella* was also utilized to teach plainsong and counterpoint. In this sense, pp. 12 and 13 in Banchieri’s *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615) are named *cartelle*, since, entirely consisting of music, they provide explanations (and examples) of how to mutate in the C clef with the key signatures of B flat and B natural.<sup>81</sup> A *cartella* could be used by a beginner as well. The *cartelle* treatises confirm that, by the early

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<sup>79</sup> ‘D[iscepolo]. ... [Il mio signor padre] non mancherà ogni Mese riconoscerla, havendo egli benissimo à memoria quella sentenza, ogni fatica merita premio. / M[aestro]. Così veramente si deve fare con gli Maestri, & tanto maggiormente, quando fanno il debito loro; & chi non sa la fatica, che si mette nell’insegnare, non ne parli, dicalo chi lo prova. / D[iscepolo]. Sopra il mio Sig[nor]. Padre non dubiti già che come ho detto ogni sua fatica sarà remunerata. / M[aestro]. Questo non lo dico per mio interesse, lo dico per l’universale, che molti Scolari ho sentiti in diverse occasioni querellarsi de i Maestri, essendo stati gli anni alle Schole, & altro non hanno imparato ... ma ... il difetto procede dal mancamento; cosa in vero, che sta male, quando il Maestro fa il debito suo, & insegna con vera carità le virtù sue, non si deve disgustare premiandolo di ingratitudine.’ Banchieri, *Cartella overo regole utilissime*, 39-40. Gaspari draws attention to this particular passage: Gaspari, *Musica e musicisti a Bologna* (1969), 379-380. Observe that, like Banchieri, Giovanni Bernardino Nanino was to be paid monthly. (For Banchieri, Nanino’s situation would have been enviable: the contract drawn up between him and his pupil’s mother provided a guarantee of payment for at least 6 years, regardless of the pupil’s (in)aptitude.) Cametti, ‘Un contratto d’insegnamento musicale nel secolo XVI (1591)’, 39-40.

<sup>80</sup> ‘Cartella, overo Regole utilissime a quelli che desiderano imparare il canto figurato’.

<sup>81</sup> J. A. Owens, *Composers at Work: The Craft of Musical Composition 1450-1600* (Oxford; New York, 1997), 89.

seventeenth century, the tablets were a long-established pedagogical device, principally to facilitate the singing of counterpoint exercises and the composing of counterpoint.<sup>82</sup>

b. The influence of a fellow practical musician and organist

Although Banchieri did not name Girolamo Diruta as a teacher, his influence is palpable. Like Guami, Diruta also had ties with the 1580s Venetian music scene at San Marco, for he was a pupil of Merulo and Zarlino.<sup>83</sup> Diruta's contemporaries considered him to be an organist rather than a music theorist. Banchieri, for instance, addresses one of his printed letters to 'Sig. Girolamo Diruta, organista nel Duomo d'Ugubbio'<sup>84</sup> and, in his *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo*, writes that 'in the Cathedral of Gubbio is found a most stupendous organ which is played by Girolamo Diruta'.<sup>85</sup> Music printer-publishers and booksellers likewise did not classify Diruta's *Il Transilvano* (Venice, 1593; later editions 1597, 1612, 1625) as theoretical *per se*: while the *Giunta 1604 catalogue* classifies it under the heading 'Intavolature, & Ricercari' (see Figure 1.2), the Vincenti consistently place it alongside Banchieri's *L'organo suonarino* (1605; later editions 1611, 1622, 1627, 1638) in the category 'Intavolature d'organo' in their *indici*.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> In his *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615) Banchieri urges students to take one melodic, vocal line from an extant composition in the strict style, to write it out 'in cartella', and then to compose an imitative counterpoint – either above or below – without looking at the original composition. Banchieri's approach to composing in the modern style, however, accords with Gioseffo Zarlino's compositional approach to text underlay: while Banchieri advocates that composers should add the words first, instead of filling up their *cartella* with notes and inserting words afterwards, Zarlino recommended 'assigning note values to given words'. Banchieri, *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615), 165-66; Owens, *Composers at Work*, 97; G. Zarlino, *On the Modes: Part Four of Le istituzioni harmoniche, 1558*, trans. Vered Cohen, ed. C. V. Palisca (New Haven, 1983), 97. For an in-depth discussion of the *cartella* and how it was used as a compositional tool, see Owens, 'Erasable tablets', in *Composers at Work*, 74-101.

<sup>83</sup> Another of Diruta's preceptors was his fellow Franciscan Costanzo Porta. C. V. Palisca, 'Diruta [Mancini], Girolamo'. *Grove Online*. Accessed 14 Jan 2012.

<sup>84</sup> Banchieri, *Lettere armoniche*, 33.

<sup>85</sup> 'nel Duomo di Ugubbio ritrouasi un Organo stupendissimo, suonato da Girolamo Diruta'. Banchieri, *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo*, 12.

<sup>86</sup> *Vincenti 1621 indice* (see Figure 1.2); *Vincenti 1649 indice*; *Vincenti 1658 indice*; *Vincenti 1662 indice*.

As mentioned above, Banchieri presumably became acquainted with Diruta when he transferred to the monastery of S. Pietro of Gubbio in 1604.<sup>87</sup> An encounter between the two musicians at this point in Banchieri's life seems likely since 1604 was the year before Banchieri's first treatise on the organ was published.<sup>88</sup> In his opening address to the reader, Banchieri justifies the need for this book in the marketplace as follows:

I decided ... to add this *ORGANO SUONARINO* of mine to those [others] which profess [to teach] how to play the organ. Yet I do this neither to give rules for elegant and learned playing (for these [things] are already available in *Il Transilvano* [1593; later edition 1597] by the most capable Diruta) nor still less [do I issue this book] to give the rules of counterpoint (for Zarlino, Tigrini, Artusi, Ponzio and other most excellent musicians of our time have clearly written about them) but rather to demonstrate what in actual practice is normally required of the Organists when the singers alternate in the *canti fermi* on all the festal and solemn days of the year.<sup>89</sup>

In this passage, then, Banchieri singles out Diruta's treatise in opposition to music-theory books, which were more concerned with the *regole di musica* (to borrow the terminology of the Vincenti *indici*: see Chapter 1) than with the playing of the organ. Seemingly, Banchieri's marketing ploy worked on the Brescian composer and organ builder Costanzo

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<sup>87</sup> I do not know of any primary evidence which supports Diruta being in Gubbio in this particular year: while he sent a letter on 1 February 1602 from Chioggia to the magistrates of Deruta pleading to return to his homeland, we only know from the *Seconda parte del Transilvano* (1609) and from *Prima parte del Transilvano* (1612) that Diruta officially held the post of organist at Gubbio cathedral between 1609 and 1612. Perplexingly, Banchieri's letter to Diruta (in which he thanks the organist for printing his *ricercari* in the *Seconda parte del Transilvano* (1609; later edition 1622)) was sent to Chioggia and not to Gubbio, the city at which Diruta was then an organist (and identified himself as such on the first edition of this book). Perhaps Banchieri had recently been in correspondence with Diruta, who had been residing in Chioggia and had not yet taken up his duties in Gubbio, or perhaps Diruta only sojourned in Gubbio in 1604. Banchieri, *Lettere armoniche*, 86. C. V. Palisca, 'Diruta [Mancini], Girolamo'. *Grove Online*. Accessed 14 Jan 2012.

<sup>88</sup> Banchieri might have pre-determined the subject of this treatise out of a desire to dedicate a book to the Veronese Father Don Carlo Mal'Habbia, the Abbot of S. Maria in Organo: notice Banchieri's fondness of giving titles to his books which are based on a play on words. For instance, he dedicated his second edition of *La nobiltà dell'asino* (1592), *La nobiltà dell'asino* (Venice, 1594), to 'La Signora Torre delli Asinelli in Bologna'. Likewise, his first edition of the *cartelle* treatises, which he published while in S. Maria in *Regola* at Gubbio, is entitled 'CARTELLA OVERO REGOLE UTILISSIME', making it the only one of Banchieri's *cartelle* to include the word 'regole' in its title.

In his *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo*, Banchieri writes that while residing for some months at S. Maria in Organo he composed a mass for the Feast of Muletta (a feast specific to Verona which takes place on Palm Sunday) at the request of the Abbot Mal'Habbia (here spelt Malabbia). Banchieri, *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo*, 49-50. For a translation, see Banchieri, *Conclusions for playing the organ (1609)*, trans. L. R. Garrett, 45.

<sup>89</sup> 'Mi è parso ... aggiugnere [sic aggiungere] questo mio ORGANO SUONARINO, à quelli che professano il sonare Organi; non già per dar loro regole di polito, & dotto suonare (havendole di già entro il Transilvano del sufficientissimo Diruta) ne tampoco per dar regole di Contrapunto (havendone scritto chiaro il Zerlino, Tigrino, Artusi, Pontio, & altri eccellentissimi Musici de tempi nostri) ma si bene per mostrare con vera pratica quanto occorrer suole à gli Organisti per alternare Corista a gli Canti fermi in tutte le feste, & solennità dell'anno'. Banchieri, *L'organo suonarino* (1605), 1.

Antegnati. Not only does Antegnati extol his *L'organo suonarino* (1605) alongside Diruta's organ manual in his foreword to his *L'arte organica* (a fact which suggests that by 1608 both these books were the staple textbooks for organists), but he also adopts Banchieri's promotion strategy:

I praise the work of the Reverend Father Diruta called *Il Transilvano* [1593; later edition 1597], which teaches how to hold the hand[s] well when playing; and I likewise praise the *Organo suonarino* [1605] of Signor Adriano Banchieri, which teaches how to respond well [on the organ] to the choir. These are most necessary things for those who desire to become skilled in the art; and in short I believe those works can be useful and handy for those who delight in this art. Nevertheless, accept and take advantage of my willingness to benefit you in that which I – not a teacher, but good friend and servant – am able. I make it known to you that I neither intend in this little work of mine or dialogue to give the rules of counterpoint, but [rather] some particular advice and rules about playing the organ.<sup>90</sup>

This passage also implies that, unlike Antegnati, both Banchieri and Diruta were teachers of the art of music, and specifically of the organ. Indeed, it is worthy of note that similar to his *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615), Banchieri reveals in the third edition of the *Organo suonarino* (1622) that this music-theory book was intended for pedagogical use in conjunction with the instruction of a *maestro*, and not as an autodidactic manual.<sup>91</sup>

Even if Banchieri and Diruta did not meet in 1604, we know that they corresponded prior to 1609: Diruta requested Banchieri to send him two *ricercari*.<sup>92</sup> Thus, prior to Banchieri's publication of his *Conclusiones/Conclusioni*, Diruta would surely have provided an exemplary model theorist to emulate: after all, before 1605 he was the prime author of lengthy manuals for the organist.

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<sup>90</sup> 'Lodo l'opera del Reverendo P. Diruta nomato il Transilvano, che insegna à portar bene la mano nel suonare; et lodo parimente l'Organo sonarino del Signore Adriano Banchieri ch'insegna à rispondere ben al Choro, cose necessarissime à chi desidera far bene il mestiero, et in somma quelle opere che ponno [possono] portar utile et commodo à chi si diletta di quest'arte. Però accettate, et pigliate da me il buon animo che ho di giouarvi in quel che posso, non come Maestro, ma come buon amico, et seruitore, facendovi sapere come non faccio professione in questa mia operetta, ò dialogo di dar regole di contraponto, ma alcuni particolari a[v]vertimenti, et regole circa il maneggiare d'Organi'. Antegnati, *L'arte organica*, 3-4.

<sup>91</sup> See Chapter 4, p. 167.

<sup>92</sup> Banchieri, *Lettere armoniche*, 86; see also Appendix 7.

### c. The perpetual organist

Banchieri's continuing fascination with the history, construction and music-liturgical function of the organ culminated in the production of a second music-theory book on the organ, his *Conclusiones/Conclusioni*. (For a discussion of the relationship among the four editions of this treatise, see Chapter 4.) In addition, his inspiration to write the *Conclusiones/Conclusioni* came from the city of Siena and from reading recently published music-theory books of his contemporaries.

Although the first edition of this treatise is no longer extant (or possibly lying clandestine in a Sieneese archive), from Banchieri's three *indici* in Appendix 1 we know that the first Latin edition was dedicated to Father Cattanio (the Bolognese Olivetan Vicar-General) and that it was a single folio printed by Silvestro Marchetti in Siena.<sup>93</sup> In his *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo* (1609), as well as again stating where the first edition was printed and its format, Banchieri further reveals that it was printed the previous year and, akin to the Latin edition of 1627, it consisted of ten 'conclusiones'.<sup>94</sup> Perplexingly, F. - J. Fétis writes that Banchieri's first publication, entitled 'Conclusioni per organo', appeared in print (in folio) in Lucca at the house of Silvestro Marchetti in 1591 when Banchieri was under the musical instruction of Gioseffo Guami; then, in his annotation of *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo* he continues: 'This is the second edition; I do not know the date of the first.'<sup>95</sup> While it is possible that Fétis's report is accurate, I am inclined to trust the information Banchieri presents in his music books – that is, that only one edition of his

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<sup>93</sup> Although not listed in Sartori, *Dizionario degli editori e stampatori musicali italiani*, from OPAC SBN, we can deduce that Silvestro Marchetti was a non-music-specialist bookseller and printer-publisher in Siena between 1594 and 1619. In the late sixteenth century he printed books on behalf of a Venetian printer, and he was particularly active circa 1607. In 1612 he was printing books in Florence with an unnamed associate, and between 1625 and 1629 he had a printing partnership with Carlo Massini in Pisa. He may be a relative of the typographer Pietro Maria Marchetti, who was active in Brescia at the end of the sixteenth century, as well as Tomasso Marchetti, the mid-seventeenth-century composer who published *Il primo libro d'intavolatura della chitarra spagnola* (Rome, 1648). Sartori, *Dizionario degli editori e stampatori musicali italiani*, 45 and 95.

<sup>94</sup> 'Last year in the City of Siena, I printed a paper of my conclusions for playing the organ'. 'Hor fà l'anno, che nella Città di Siena fù impressa una carta di mie Conclusioni sopra il suono dell'Organo'. Banchieri, *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo*, 7. Also, see Chapter 4.

<sup>95</sup> Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique*, i, 233-234.

*Conclusiones/Conclusioni* was published prior to 1609, and that this edition was printed in Siena circa 1608.<sup>96</sup>

Banchieri probably delivered a manuscript copy of the first edition to Marchetti in Siena while en route to or from Monte Oliveto Maggiore, where he resided in 1607.<sup>97</sup> The book of general expenditure of Monte Oliveto Maggiore records that, on 1 May 1607, the Vicar General Clemente Cattanio from S. Michele in Bosco ordered that 16 lire and 13 soldi be paid to 'Father Don Adriano da Bologna ... for his expenses [travelling] from Florence to Monte Oliveto'.<sup>98</sup> Indeed, Banchieri transferred to Monte Oliveto Maggiore in order to oversee the final stages of the new organ's construction. Before 18 August of that year, the General Abbot Protasio Piccioli di Corleone selected Banchieri to be the first to play the new organ.<sup>99</sup>

The year and place in which Banchieri first published his *Conclusiones/Conclusioni* may be significant: in Siena in the year of 1607, Domenico Falcini published Francesco Bianciardi's *Breve regola per imparar'a sonare sopra il basso con ogni sorte d'istrumento* and Agostino Agazzari's *Del sonare sopra'l basso*. The printer-publisher's dedicatory letters are dated 21 September and 15 October respectively. Was it mere coincidence, then, that Banchieri published a book about organ playing in 1608? Although in the

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<sup>96</sup> With regard to the biographical details of the first edition of Banchieri's *Conclusiones/Conclusioni*, see also Banchieri, 127n192 and 174.

<sup>97</sup> While the *Familiarum Tabulae* places him at Monte Oliveto Maggiore on 1 May 1607, he resided at S. Maria in Organo in Verona in 1606 and at San Michele in Bosco in 1608. I-Smo, *Familiarum Tabulae*, v, fols. 68v [erroneously numbered 70v], 74 [erroneously numbered 76] and fol. 86 [erroneously numbered 88].

<sup>98</sup> Cesare Mancini transcribes the entry from ASS, Conventi 271, Uscita generale, 1596-1607, p. 637: 'Adi [1 maggio 1607] detto pagati al Padre Don Adriano da Bologna d'ordine del M.R. Padre Vicario Generale [Catani da Bologna], per tanti da lui spesi da Fiorenza à Mont'Oliveto lire sedeci, soldi tredici'. From the entries in the book of general expenditure, it is clear that work on the new organ at Monte Oliveto Maggiore commenced in 1606. C. Mancini, M. Mangiavacchi, L. Martini, eds., *Un così bello e nobile istrumento: Siena e l'arte degli organi* (Siena, 2008), 501. See also C. Mancini, 'Maestri d'organo. La scuola senese', *ibid.*, 11-36: 23-4.

<sup>99</sup> Banchieri mentions his inauguration of the new organ at Monte Oliveto in a dedicatory letter to Piccioli (dated 18 August 1607): 'Ho fatto grandissima stima del favore ricevuto da V[ostra] P[adre] Reverendissima mentre che doppò havere adornato la Chiesa di Monte Oliveto maggiore di un Organo bellissimo conforme all'animo suo, & all'affettione che porta a questo Monasterio e tutta la sua Religione, si è compiaciuta di elegger me (tra gl'altri il minimo) per dar principio a sonare, & concertare in esso'. Banchieri, *Ecclesiastiche sinfonie* (Venice, 1607), fol. 1v.

*Conclusiones/Conclusioni* Banchieri chiefly deals with the playing of the organ strictly in its music-liturgical context, he does touch upon subjects which these two authors treat in depth. For instance, in the 10<sup>th</sup> chapter of the enlarged vernacular edition of 1609, Banchieri not only discusses the four styles in which one plays the organ, but also the three ways that a basso seguente could be printed. Moreover, in this edition Banchieri cites both Bianciardi's broadside and Agazzari's treatise.<sup>100</sup> Most conspicuous, however, is the printed copy of a letter from Agazzari to an unnamed Siense virtuoso (sent from Rome on 25 April 1606) at the very end of Banchieri's *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo* (pp. 68-70) in which the sender alludes to his plan to write a treatise on the subject which here Banchieri briefly treats – that is, on the style which ought to be employed when the organ is played together with voices and instruments. In short, the close alignment of the subject matter of these two music-theoretical writings – particularly with the second edition of Banchieri's *Conclusiones/Conclusioni* – suggests a nexus among the authors.

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<sup>100</sup> Banchieri utilizes Bianciardi's three remarks about the interval of the fourth in order to demonstrate that in practice this interval could be both a consonance and dissonance depending on the position and intervallic relationship of the notes with which it was placed in harmony. In this way, he reconciles Zarlino's opinion (in his *Istitutioni harmoniche* (Venice, 1588), Part III, Chapters 5 and 6) that the interval of a fourth is consonant with Franchinus Gaffurius's. (In Book III, Chapter 14 of his *Practica musice* (Milan, 1496) in which he discusses false counterpoint, Gaffurius believed that the fourth should be classed among the dissonant intervals.) Banchieri concludes that he himself uses the fourth both as a consonance and dissonance 'without scruple'. 'Usando detto intervallo di 4. consonante, & dissonante senza scropolo alcuno'. Banchieri, *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo*, 30-31; Banchieri, *Conclusions for playing the organ (1609)*, trans. L. R. Garrett, 26-27.

Banchieri cites Agazzari's treatise, *Del sonare sopra'l basso*, on pp. 18-19 of his *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo* and on fol. 4v of his *Conclusiones de musica* while discussing how music was almost banished from the church in 1563; however, since Palestrina's *Missa Papae Marcelli* demonstrated that if a text set to music was unclear the composer not the art itself was at fault, music was still kept in Church services on the condition that its use was disciplined. Thus, Banchieri twice replicates the error of linking this composition to this event. For a reconstruction of this sequence of events, see R. Hayburn, *Papal Legislation on Sacred Music, 95 A.D. to 1977 A.D.* (Collegeville, Minnesota, 1979), 25-31. See also Chapter 5, p. 208ff. For a comparison of the content and publication circumstances of the *Conclusiones/Conclusioni*, see Chapter 4.

In his *Ecclesiastiche sinfonie* (1607), Banchieri announces the publication of Agazzari's treatise on the back of the title page to the organ partbook: 'Non tralasciando dire a questo proposito, che fra pochi giorni il Signor Agostino Agazzari, Musico et Organista celledratissimo, manderà in luce un trattato opera utile per chi concerta, et necessaria a chi desidera imparare a suonare francamente sopra il Basso seguente; opera che ancora apporterà grandissima utilità a quelli Organisti gli quali si seruono del mio Libro intitolato Organo Suonarino, che l'anno preterito fu stampato in Venetia dall'Amadino, per beneficio di chi sicuro desidera rispondere alternativamente a gli Canti fermi di tutto l'Anno, sopra un Basso seguente'. (Banchieri's *L'organo suonarino* was actually printed in 1605.)

Antegnati's *L'arte organica* – itself a short music-theory book affixed to a music print of *ricercari* by the same author published in Venice in May 1608 – might have inspired Banchieri to include in his second edition of his *Conclusiones/Conclusioni* a chapter about organs, organists and organ builders in northern Italy (among whom he names the Cortonese Cesare Romani, who was given the task of building the new organ at Monte Oliveto Maggiore); in a sense this list parallels Antegnati's index of the organs built by the Antegnati family.<sup>101</sup> In this 4<sup>th</sup> chapter, Banchieri identifies Costanzo as the organist of the cathedral in Brescia and as an 'excellent organ builder: witness the organ of the Cathedral of Verona, which is played by Paolo Masenelli'.<sup>102</sup> Judging from the organists that Banchieri would have known either personally or through correspondence and from the various places where he had resided in northern Italy, we can gauge that he tended only to mention those whom he specifically knew. In a sense, then, Banchieri was proving to Antegnati that he was a worthy man for he had knowledge of – if not the personal experience of playing – many different organs with different stops and registers.<sup>103</sup> Similar to Antegnati, Banchieri's nineteenth and twentieth chapters provide information on tuning organs (as well as regals and quilled instruments).<sup>104</sup> Banchieri also refers to Antegnati in his third chapter of his fourth edition of his *Conclusiones/Conclusioni* when stating the mood and kind of spirit in which it is appropriate to play the organ. This might, then, be an

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<sup>101</sup> Banchieri, *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo*, 10. Antegnati, *L'arte organica*, 5-7.

<sup>102</sup> This is Garrett's translation. Banchieri, *Conclusions for playing the organ (1609)*, trans. L. R. Garrett, 10. '& organaro eccellente testimonio l'Organo del Duomo di Verona, suonato da Paolo Masenelli'. Banchieri, *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo*, 12.

<sup>103</sup> The passage from Antegnati's opening foreword to his readers in *L'arte organica*, which incidentally occurs just before the author writes that he esteems both Diruta's *Il Transilvano* (1593; later edition 1597) and Banchieri's *L'organo suonarino* (1605), reads: 'La regola, et avvertimenti che dò à mio figliuolo stimo bene (con sopportatione di tutti) essere necessaria, poi che qual'è quel valent'huomo che possa hauer pratica, ò cognitione di tanti Organi differenti di ordini, de' registri?'

<sup>104</sup> Compare these chapters of Banchieri's treatise with pp. 11-12 of Antegnati's *L'arte organica*.

indication that he was familiar with Costanzo's views on such matters before 1608, since this edition would have been more akin to the first one than the second.<sup>105</sup>

Banchieri's stay at S. Benedetto of Siena in 1593 would probably have been the first when he experienced the particular reverence in which the city held Saint Cecilia: she is represented in art displayed in the churches of the city. Typically, she is depicted singing or playing the organ.<sup>106</sup> In his *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo*, Banchieri recalls the city's annual celebrations to honour Saint Cecilia:

according to tradition, every year on November 22 ... to such an ovation the musicians and organists of Siena sing a solemn mass in the cathedral, where I found myself present twelve years ago, as well as the most Illustrious Archbishop Signor Ascanio Piccolomini; [the mass] was arranged for the greatest gathering of a virtuous assembly; Andrea Feliciani was *maestro di cappella*, and Francesco Bianciardi was organist.<sup>107</sup>

Banchieri seems to have had a particular fondness for the celebration of Saint Cecilia, for he mentions it elsewhere in music-theory books.<sup>108</sup> By dedicating the second edition of his *Conclusiones/Conclusioni* to Saint Cecilia, he makes a direct connection between how this saint was frequently depicted and the organ. (The association Banchieri makes with this saint and the Cardinal of Saint Cecilia – that is, Paolo Emilio Sfondrati, Bishop of Cremona

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<sup>105</sup> However, perhaps Banchieri knew of Costanzo's views through correspondence prior to 1609; or perhaps the Brescian composer had written some words about this in a music print with which Banchieri was familiar; another possibility is that Banchieri might have seen a draft of *L'arte organica*. In this treatise (like Banchieri in his *Conclusiones/Conclusioni* publications), Antegnati discusses the liturgical role of the organ (pp. 9-12), stating that the role of the organist was to guide the cleric.

<sup>106</sup> For a rich and in-depth study of how the organ is presented iconographically in artworks of the city of Siena as the instrument either of Saint Cecilia or of an angel, see Mancini, Mangiavacchi, Martini, eds., *Un così bello e nobile istrumento*, 83-185.

<sup>107</sup> 'A' tale applauso gli Musici, & Organisti Senesi ogn'anno per tradittioni [sic] à gli 22. di Novembre ... concertano una Messa solenne nella Chathedale[sic], ond'io dodeci anni sono mi ritrovai presente essendo Arcives[covo] Illust[rissimo] S. Ascanio Piccolomini, la quale fù concertata con grandissimo concorso di virtuoso ridotto, essendo maestro di cap[p]ella, & Organista Andrea Feliciani, & Francesco Bianciardi, le cui anime sieno à godere il frutto, & merito in Paradiso'. Banchieri, *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo*, 6. Piccolomini was Archbishop of Siena from 1588 to 1597. David M. Cheney, 'The Hierarchy of the Catholic Church: Current and Historical Information about its Bishops and Dioceses' (1996-2013), <<http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org>>, s.v. 'Bishops > Archbishop Ascanio Piccolomini, Deceased, Archbishop of Siena'. Accessed 11 Oct 2013. Frank d'Accone has commented that 1597 could not be the year when Banchieri attended this festivity, since Feliciani died in 1596. D'Accone thus suggests a date of 1595 or 1596. F. A. D'Accone, *The Civic Muse: Music and Musicians in Siena During the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Chicago, 1997), 371. However, Banchieri might be referring here to his first visit to Siena in 1593: this could be another occasion where he uses '12 years' to signify an approximate period of time.

<sup>108</sup> He refers to this celebration at the start of the third *registro* (p. 27) in his *L'organo suonarino* (1611), and in his *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615). For an English translation and discussion of the passage in the former publication, see Marcuse, 'Adriano Banchieri, L'organo suonarino', 18-19 and 340-344.

– to whom Banchieri dedicated *Il direttorio* (Bologna, 1615), is also worthy of note: see Chapter 5.) Like Banchieri, the preoccupation of Sieneese organists to explain how to perform the bass line on the organ, as demonstrated by Bianciardi and Agazzari’s music-theoretical writings, might have been encouraged because of their particular local devotion to this musical saint.<sup>109</sup>

d. The respected teacher of clerics

In *The Sounds of Milan, 1585-1659* (Oxford, 2002), Robert L. Kendrick comments: ‘It would have made sense for the *maestro* [that is, Vincenzo Pellegrini (c1562-1630), *maestro di cappella* of Milan’s cathedral from 1612] to have sought the authority of the leading chant expert in north Italy [Banchieri], one with longstanding ties to the city.’<sup>110</sup> Although Banchieri’s reputation as the leading chant expert probably stemmed more from his understanding of the organ’s role in the liturgy, in part it might have been tied to his publication of a number of autodidactic music-theory books for clerics. While I will discuss these individually in Chapter 4, it suffices to say that several of these, as a consequence of their content, are *cantorini*: they provide rudimentary instructions in order to enable clerics to sing the liturgy.<sup>111</sup> As a reputed organist and musician within his order, it is perhaps no wonder that Banchieri authored autodidactic pocket-sized books containing short and easily digestible lessons for regular and secular clerics – especially for those who still had not fully grasped the rudimentary principles of singing plainchant.

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<sup>109</sup> Mancini remarks that Agazzari and Bianciardi’s treatises demonstrate that Siena was one of the first centres in which the practice of *basso continuo* developed, something which is even visually depicted in artwork from the early Seicento. Indeed, Ventura Salimbeni’s *Concerto d’angeli* of 1612 in the church of S Maria degli Angeli shows the artist’s grasp of extraordinary musical and organological knowledge. For instance, Salimbeni depicts the third finger of the organist’s right hand in the process of crossing over her second finger in a descending musical run; this confirms the practice which is described many times in contemporary music treatises. C. Mancini, ‘L’organo nella storia attraverso le immagini’, in Mancini, Mangiavacchi, Martini, eds., *Un così bello e nobile strumento*, 91-93: 93.

<sup>110</sup> Kendrick, *Sounds of Milan*, 133. See also Chapter 4, n. 47.

<sup>111</sup> Cristle Collins Judd alludes to his *Cantorino utile* (1622), a late and more substantial example of a sixteenth-century *cantorinus*. C. C. Judd, ‘Renaissance Modal Theory: Theoretical, Compositional, and Editorial Perspectives’, in T. S. Christensen, ed., *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory* (Cambridge, 2002), 364-406: 368.

e. The correspondent

Modelling his two collections of letters – that is, his *Lettere armoniche* (1628) and *Lettere scritte à diversi patroni, & amici* (1630) – on those by his contemporaries, and in particular those by the Bolognese poet Cesare Rinaldi, Banchieri became not only a participant in the early modern custom of bringing personal correspondence to print, but the first musician to publish such a large collection of letters.<sup>112</sup> In 1628 he named them ‘lettere armoniche’ for two reasons. Firstly, ‘in order to commemorate, on the completion of his harmonic studies, the patronage of and his intimacy with some of his dearest patrons and loving friends’; and secondly, because his prose was harmonious on account of his musical turns of phrase.<sup>113</sup> As he quips at the end of his 1628 foreword, ‘Words are as powerful as they sound’.<sup>114</sup> To

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<sup>112</sup> These two editions are easily accessible in facsimile: Banchieri, *Lettere armoniche* (1628; facs. edn. 1968). However, upon studying the original texts of Banchieri’s *Lettere armoniche* and *Lettere scritte à diversi patroni, & amici* (Bologna, 1630) at I-Bc, the reliability of this facsimile was called into question: it gives no account of the different ordering of the letters (which occurred owing to the inclusion of new epistles) within the second edition (see Chapter 4, pp. 152-153). These new epistles are clustered together at the back of the facsimile as if they were all appended to the first edition. Moreover, the facsimile does not reproduce some of the letters that underwent (albeit minor) alterations before their reappearance in 1630.

In his *Lettere scritte*, p. 10, Banchieri includes a letter addressed to Cesare Rinaldi in which he states his great admiration of this poet’s printed collection of letters, which were ‘divisate in duo volumi con nuova aggiunta’. This is clearly a reference to Rinaldi’s two-volume *Delle lettere* (Bologna, 1620-1624). Like Banchieri, Rinaldi also had produced an earlier edition of his collection of letters: *Lettere di Cesare Rinaldi il Neghittoso Academico Spensierato* (Venice, 1617). The way in which Banchieri lays out his collections of letters, even including some to unnamed recipients, is akin to the way Rinaldi presents his. Furthermore, neither authors order their letters according to their presumed date of composition or according to the place where the recipient resided. Unlike Rinaldi, however, Banchieri never affixed a date of composition to any of his letters. Banchieri might also have modelled his *Lettere* publications on those by the poets Tommaso Costo and Angelo Grillo: see Chapter 6, n. 16.

Giovanni del Lago (1490-1544) seems to be the only musician before Banchieri who had the idea of collecting numerous letters for publication. He prepared a fair copy, but could not interest a publisher. Blackburn, Lowinsky and Miller, eds., *A Correspondence of Renaissance Musicians*, 127-142.

<sup>113</sup> ‘Per commemorare nel compimento de’ suoi studi Armonici il patrocinio, familiarità d’alcuni suoi più cari Padroni, ed amorevoli amici’. Banchieri, *Lettere armoniche*, fol. 3v. The opening of Banchieri’s letter to Girolamo Frescobaldi provides an example of his ‘harmonious’ prose: ‘Il Dijapason, ovvero diciamolò intervallo di ottava consonante, come benissimo sà V.S. dalla scola universale de’Signori Musici scrittori, vien detta continente di tutta la perfetta Armonia, poiche in esso si racchiudono tutte le consonanze maggiori, e minori; perfette e imperfette; armoniche, e Dissonante’. Ibid., 63-4.

<sup>114</sup> ‘Verba tantum valent, quantum sonant.’ Ibid., fol. 3v. It seems that this quotation derived from a passage from St. Thomas Aquinas’s explanation of the Lord’s Prayer, as described in his *Expositio in orationem Dominicam*, Article 5, ‘Et dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris’: ‘Invenerunt autem successores apostolorum alium modum remissionis huius poenae: scilicet beneficia indulgentiarum quae existenti in caritate *tantum valent quantum sonant* et quantum pronuntiantur’; my emphasis. T. Aquinas, *S. Thomae Aquinatis Doctoris Angelici opuscula theologica*, ed. R. V. Verardo (Turin, 1954), ii (ed. R. M. Spiazzi), 219-35.

my knowledge, no handwritten copies of these letters ‘written to various patrons and friends’, as Banchieri succinctly states, survive.<sup>115</sup>

Banchieri’s principal motive for publishing these collections of letters seems to have been to send a festive gift to his patrons and friends that included printed letters previously written by the author to the recipients (in which the latter were often wished ‘buone feste’) as a means to thank them for their support of his musical endeavours. The publication (and hence presumably the distribution) of the *Lettere armoniche* occurred around Christmastime: the dedicatory preface of the printer-publisher Girolamo Mascheroni to Father Don Domenico Luchi, Abbot of S. Bernardo, is dated 20 December 1627 and concludes ‘wishing you most happy holidays at Christmas, I kiss your hand with reverence’.<sup>116</sup> Banchieri’s own association with publishing this book at Christmas is preserved in the foreword to the reader in his second edition, where he recalls that ‘this third Christmas passes since many of the following letters were printed’.<sup>117</sup>

When were the letters included in these two editions actually written? Although Banchieri’s letters remain undated, we can ascertain roughly when they were composed as a result of the known life-spans of the musicians and patrons with whom he corresponded and the fact that in some letters he discusses the forthcoming publication of his musical compositions and theoretical writings (see Chapter 6 and Appendix 7). At one end of the spectrum falls Banchieri’s epistle in which he sends Christmas wishes to Paolo Luchini (on p. 108), which must be prior to this musician’s death in 1598, and another letter in which he seeks financial assistance from the abbot Cipriano Rovatti in publishing his *Canzoni alla*

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<sup>115</sup> The title of the second edition begins: ‘LETTERE Scritte à diversi Patroni, & Amici’. Banchieri, *Lettere scritte*, fol. 1r.

<sup>116</sup> ‘Augurandole appresso felicissime Feste del Santo Natale riverente le bacio la mano’. Banchieri, *Lettere armoniche*, fol. 3r.

<sup>117</sup> ‘Questo scorre’l terzo Natale, che uscirono in luce buona parte delle seguenti Lettere’. Banchieri, *Lettere scritte*, fol. 2r.

*francese*, a music print brought to press in 1596.<sup>118</sup> At the other, some letters were evidently composed not long before the first edition came into print (and then presumably posted as an accompanying handwritten explanatory note along with a copy of the publication soon afterwards).<sup>119</sup> Indeed, it is possible that the author – or even perhaps the printer-publisher – revised these letters before they went to press. While the letters date from the late 1590s right up to the time of publication, judging from the content of the letters, most of them were written in the 1620s.

Banchieri's two collections of printed letters suggest that the exchange of music books (and hence musical ideas) among musicians on the Italian peninsula was commonplace.<sup>120</sup> Writing to Barnaba Milleville to inform him that Diruta's *Seconda parte del Transilvano* (1609) had been reprinted by Alessandro Vincenti, and that he has had the two parts of *Il Transilvano* bound together, it comes to light that Milleville has had in his possession music books lent him by Banchieri for some time. As a means of regaining these books, it seems that Banchieri proposes that – since Milleville's Augustinian friend wishes to see the second part of Diruta's treatise – he will send this once his other music books are returned.<sup>121</sup> As Banchieri was on friendly terms with Diruta, it is possible that he

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<sup>118</sup> Banchieri, *Lettere armoniche*, 69-70.

<sup>119</sup> The letter addressed to Cardinal Scipione Borghese exemplifies this: 'To Cardinal Scipione Borghese. / Rome. / Festive wishes. / In the printed letter in the enclosed book that I send to Your Most Illustrious Lordship you will be assured of the devotion of my heart, which, for many years past and also in the present, has craved for you and craves every great happiness at the solemn Feasts of the Most Holy Birth, and with profound humility I kiss your sacred robes.' 'Al Sig. Cardinale Scipione Borghesi. / Roma. / Di Buone Feste. / Dalla lettera stampata nell'incluso libro, ch'io invio à V. Sig. Illustriss. ella s[']accerterà del mio cuore suo devoto, che per molti anni scorsi, ed anche nel presente le hà desiderato, e desidera ogni felicità maggiore nelle solenni Feste del Santissimo Natale, e con profonda humilità le bacio la sacra veste.' Banchieri, *Lettere armoniche*, 148. A further two examples of such letters are those to the Cardinal Roberto Ubaldini and abbot Modesto Morelli. Banchieri, *Lettere armoniche*, 39 and 112; see also Figure 6.3.

<sup>120</sup> Piero Gargiulo draws attention to some of the more significant letters regarding Banchieri's evident exchanges with renowned musicians (or music practitioners) and theorists of the late Cinquecento and early Seicento in his recent article: Gargiulo, 'Adriano Banchieri tra "antico" e "moderno": una ricognizione sui trattati', 250-258.

<sup>121</sup> 'Se quel R. P. Agostiniano amico di V. P. Rev. Desidera la seconda parte in foglio del Transilvano data in luce dal Rev. P. Girolamo Diruta; Questa infallibilmente è ristampato in Venetia appresso Alessandro Vincenti alla Pigna; dico quello, che hà impresso tutte l'opere Musicali ma date in luce, e da i Professori tanto istimate di V. P. R. Io haveva la prima, e seconda parte legate in un volume; mà, perche i libri di Musica non dantur regressus, le prestatì, ne mai doppo il saltarello, fecero il ritornello. Ecco in tanto le V. P. R. da me ragguagliata, ne avisi l'amico suo, accioche resti da lei onorato; & io dall'uno, e dall'altro, onorato, e favorito,

received both the first and second parts of *Il Transilvano* as a gift. It is also probable that Banchieri exchanged music books with Giovanni Maria Artusi, an action which might have prompted the latter to send him the gift of ‘his learned volume entitled ‘*IMPERFETZIONI DE’ MUSICI MODERNI*’, for which Banchieri thanked him effusively.<sup>122</sup> With the giving of such a present, Banchieri dared not reply to Artusi affirming his reverence for Monteverdi (which he expressed in another printed letter), nor his approval of the compositional style of the moderns.<sup>123</sup> This is not the only occasion when Banchieri was careful not to voice his true opinion to a music theorist. Although he thanked Agostino Pisa for sending him ‘*LA BATTUTA MUSICALE*’<sup>124</sup> of 1611, and pens that he will read it in order to learn, not to judge,<sup>125</sup> he nevertheless criticized the treatise in a letter to Giacomo Finetti. After summarizing Pisa’s main argument and referring to his own explanation of the musical beat given in the first three ‘editions’ of his *cartelle* publications (Venice, 1601, 1610 and 1614), Banchieri concluded that while he honoured the authors cited in this

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e Dio con loro’. Banchieri, *Lettere armoniche*, 116. Banchieri sent this informative letter to Father Don Barnaba Milleville in Siena. Although we only know that Milleville was at S. Benedetto in Siena in 1627-1628, the circumstances related in this letter suggest that it most probably would have been sent not long after the second edition of *Seconda parte del Transilvano* (1609) was printed in 1622. A. Newcomb, ‘Milleville: (4) Francesco Milleville’. *Grove Online*. Accessed 14 Jan 2012. Given the desire of Milleville’s friend to possess the *Seconda parte del Transilvano* (Venice, 1609; later edition 1622), similarly to the third edition of Banchieri’s *L’organo suonarino* which was likewise printed in 1622, it seems that music books offering instruction to the church organist were in high demand (see Chapter 3).

<sup>122</sup> ‘Il suo dotto volume, intitolato *IMPERFETZIONI DE’ MUSICI MODERNI*.’ Banchieri, *Lettere armoniche*, 94. Artusi’s treatise was most probably the *Seconda parte dell’Artusi overo delle imperfettioni della moderna musica* (Venice, 1603), as opposed to Part I: *L’Artusi overo delle imperfettioni della moderna musica* (Venice, 1600). In this letter, Banchieri wrote that this volume deserved eternal praise (‘merita eterna lode’), for it refuted the cruelty of some of the destroyers of the good rules of Zarlino, Gaffurius, Guido, and other intelligent writers. Banchieri did not mean, however, to include along with these the modern imitators of the good Roman School, and in particular those who composed ‘nello stile da Chiesa il Sig. Gio. Palestrina, e nello stile da Camera il Sig. Luca Marenzio, l’uno devotissimo, e l’altro soavissimo, ed ambiduo celebri compositori, si come esemplari di perfetta Armonia; elettori di vaghe parole; Studiosi ne’ contrapunti doppi; grati nelle modulationi; copiosi nelle inventioni’. As these two composers zealously applied the good rules, they would always make their music worth listening to.

<sup>123</sup> See the letter in Banchieri, *Lettere armoniche*, 141-42; part of this is transcribed in Chapter 6, n. 63; see also n. 97. Artusi was the renowned author of a rebuttal of Monteverdi’s treatment of dissonance: Artusi, *L’arte del contraponto* (1586; later edition 1598).

<sup>124</sup> Banchieri, *Lettere armoniche*, 109.

<sup>125</sup> ‘Volontieri lo leggerò per imparare, non per giudicare; e dovendo giudicare, mi costituisco giudice competente, e dò innappellabile sentenza che V. S. Merita esser lodata da gl’intelligenti’. *Ibid.*, 109. Given that Banchieri further describes Pisa’s treatise in this letter as a ‘volume discorsivo’ which was printed in Rome, perhaps it is more likely that the monk-musician was sent Pisa’s expanded edition, *Battuta della musica* (Rome, 1611) rather than his earlier *Breve dichiarazione della battuta musicale* (Rome, 1611). I describe the differences between these two editions in Chapter 4.

treatise and its authority, it was much more the case that practical experience governed the principles of the *battuta*.<sup>126</sup> His objection to this treatise could not have been very strong, however, for he not only cites Pisa's advice on how to practise playing in time and refers to the author as *eccellente* in the fifth *registro* of his *L'organo suonarino* (1611), but he also includes Pisa's sonnet about the *battuta* on page 34 of his *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615). In short, while the above exchanges demonstrate that Banchieri was familiar with the music theory of many of his contemporaries, for the most part these merely reflect rather than inform his music-theoretical observations and innovations. However, it is worthy of note that from his *Lettere* publications we have direct knowledge of some of the music-theory books in Banchieri's possession which he would have cited at first hand in his treatises.

f. The reader, borrower and quoter of music theory

It is inconclusive whether the music-theoretical snippets or passages of treatises to which theorists refer or cite truly represent the body of literature which they read and studied in depth, and hence influenced the music theory which they wrote. For instance, throughout his music-theoretical oeuvre Banchieri has a tendency only to mention one chapter from *Zarlino's Dimostrazioni harmoniche* (Venice, 1571): Book I, *Ragionamento* 5, Definition 8. This is *Zarlino's* well-known passage about the renumbering of the modes.<sup>127</sup> This suggests that Banchieri only drew on select, important passages from large music treatises. It is possible that Banchieri first learnt specific *Zarlinian* passages second hand or by rote prior to studying them in context. In a *processo* against *Pietro Ponzio* beginning in July 1566 which was instigated because of general dissatisfaction with his moral conduct as well as with his daily performance of his duties as *maestro di cappella* at *Santa Maria Maggiore* in

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<sup>126</sup> 'Onoro gli Autori, e l'autorità, ma molto più l'esperienza sin'hora praticata'. Banchieri, *Lettere armoniche*, 146.

<sup>127</sup> Banchieri's other favourite *Zarlinian* passage was Part 4, Ch. 12 (or thereabouts) from his *Istitutioni harmoniche*, in which the author introduces the 12 modes.

Bergamo (having been elected on 17 January 1565), the organist Leonardus of Brescia testified that he

does not hold the true rules and norms, and likewise [he does not hold the rules] of the church modes (*toni di canti*). When reasoning with him, [the] maestro does not wish to adhere to [the rules of] Mr Gioseffo Zarlino, that most excellent maestro di cappella of San Marco; and you can see what these are in print.<sup>128</sup>

Leonardus was presumably alluding to Zarlino's acceptance of Glarean's 12 modes in his *Istitutioni harmoniche* (Venice, 1558). Indeed, Ponzio retained the eight-mode system in the two treatises which he later wrote.<sup>129</sup> From this it can be assumed that by the late sixteenth century, Zarlino's understanding of the modes was very basic knowledge which any *maestro di cappella* and church organist was expected to possess. On the other hand, Banchieri most probably owned a copy of Tigrini's *Il compendio* (Venice, 1588; later edition 1602) since he refers to various passages from it in three music-theory books. Banchieri mentions one specific passage from Tigrini's *Il compendio* (1588) on the musical meaning of *legature* in his *Cartella overo regole utilissime*, another passage in his *L'organo suonarino* (1605) in relation to there being twelve modes, and three different passages (on pp. 32, 34 and 42) on differing subjects in his *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo*. Tracing whom theorists cited, and hence who might have influenced them, might not prove to be revealing. Theorists frequently included much that was not necessary to cite for the purpose of bolstering their work (and they often employed the disclaimer 'and others' in order to include any learned authority whom they had failed to cite). Furthermore, theorists regularly neglected to specify the sources from which they heavily borrowed, leaving the modern reader the task of judging whether the author had read a

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<sup>128</sup> 'Non tiene le vera regola et norma et paramente nelli toni di canti ragionando con lui Maestro non vuol aderire a messer Giusepo Gerlin maestro di capella di San Marco tanto eccellentissimo. Et cosa che se puo veder, che sono in stampa'. The document (I-BGc, AMM, 989: Processo, fol. 15r-16v) which records Leonardus's testimony is transcribed by Russell Eugene Murray, Jr.: R.E. Murray, Jr., 'The Voice of the Composer: Theory and Practice in the Works of Pietro Pontio' (Ph.D. diss., University of North Texas, 1989), ii, 23-51:46; and see also *ibid.*, i, 60-61. Leonardus is described on fol. 15r as 'Dominus Leonardus filio quondam domini Guerini di [sic] Brixia organista in Ecclesia div[a]e Mari[a]e'.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 61n112. In November of that year Pietro Ponzio secured the post of *maestro di cappella* at Santa Maria della Steccata in Parma (see *ibid.*, i, 67ff.).

particular book. As Banchieri himself stated (hence clarifying why he cites Zarlino on the modes and also that he probably did not read Heinrich Glarean's *Dodecachordon* (Basle, 1547)):

In this work [*Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615)] I have recalled only those authors [i.e. theorists] who were inventors of material. I have omitted those who repeated it through tradition, not in disparagement of their authority – for I esteem them all – but in order not to confuse the beginning scholar.<sup>130</sup>

## 5. Conclusion

Banchieri's evident belief that his reader could learn how to sing *canto fermo* after mastering *canto figurato* suggests that the way in which he was trained musically is reflected in his music-theory books. His tutelage under Guami led to his firm grasp of the rudiments of music and assisted his ever increasing familiarization with sacred musical practices. Indeed, it seems that Guami's knowledge and teaching of the contemporary sacred musical style of Venetian composers led to Banchieri's adoption of these both in his own compositions and in his explanations of current and innovative sacred musical practices in his music-theory books. Yet his real impetus for writing music theory seems to stem from a desire as a *maestro* of singing, and (presumably) of the organ, to provide music textbooks for those he taught and with whom he daily performed the liturgy. One of the most distinct features of Banchieri's treatises is their embodiment of a pedagogical approach to music theory in an easily digestible and succinct manner. Unsurprisingly, Banchieri's music education and life reveal close connections with the kind of music theory which he chose to write and with those for whom his music-theory books were destined. His practical and philosophical goals were evidently shaped by his own musical training

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<sup>130</sup> This is Cranna's translation. Cranna, 'Adriano Banchieri's *Cartella musicale* (1614)', 316. 'Hò commemorato in quest'opera solamente quelli Autori inventori delle materie, & quelli che hanno reiterato per tradizioni [sic] hò tralasciato, non già in disprezzo delle loro autorità, le quali tutte honoro, ma per non confondere il novello scolaro'. Banchieri, *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615), 148.

and life experiences; in many respects, these exemplify the motivations of many other early  
Seicento practical musicians who likewise wrote and published *musica practica* theory.

## Chapter 3. Printing Music Theory: Patterns and Trends

My survey and analysis of the patterns and trends in printing music theory in early Seicento Italy is based on a representative sample of publications. Regrettably, since many late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century books are no longer extant or still remain uncatalogued, no matter how rigorous the research any survey will inevitably be incomplete and risk generating biased results. Moreover, the dates on the title pages of publications might not reflect contemporary thought or practice, but instead reveal ‘trends in dissemination’.<sup>1</sup> (For instance, Pamela Jones observed that Giovanni Negri’s dance career, on which he based the content of his treatise *Le gratie d’amore* (Milan, 1602), spanned from the 1550s to the late 1590s.<sup>2</sup>) Nevertheless, an examination of this kind exposes patterns in the production of music theory.

### 1. Introduction

Graphs 1a and 1b plot the number of music-theoretical texts – including passages in learned publications and one music print – listed in RISM B/VI<sup>1-2</sup> which were published between 1570 and 1599, and 1600 and 1630 respectively.<sup>3</sup> (According to RISM B/VI<sup>1-2</sup>, the only music print whose preface includes music theory in this period is Caccini’s *Le nuove musiche* (Florence, 1602).) More than twice the number of theoretical publications came to print between 1600 and 1629 than between 1570 and 1599.<sup>4</sup> This finding is curious, for a gradual economic decline occurred in the early Seicento throughout the Italian peninsula.

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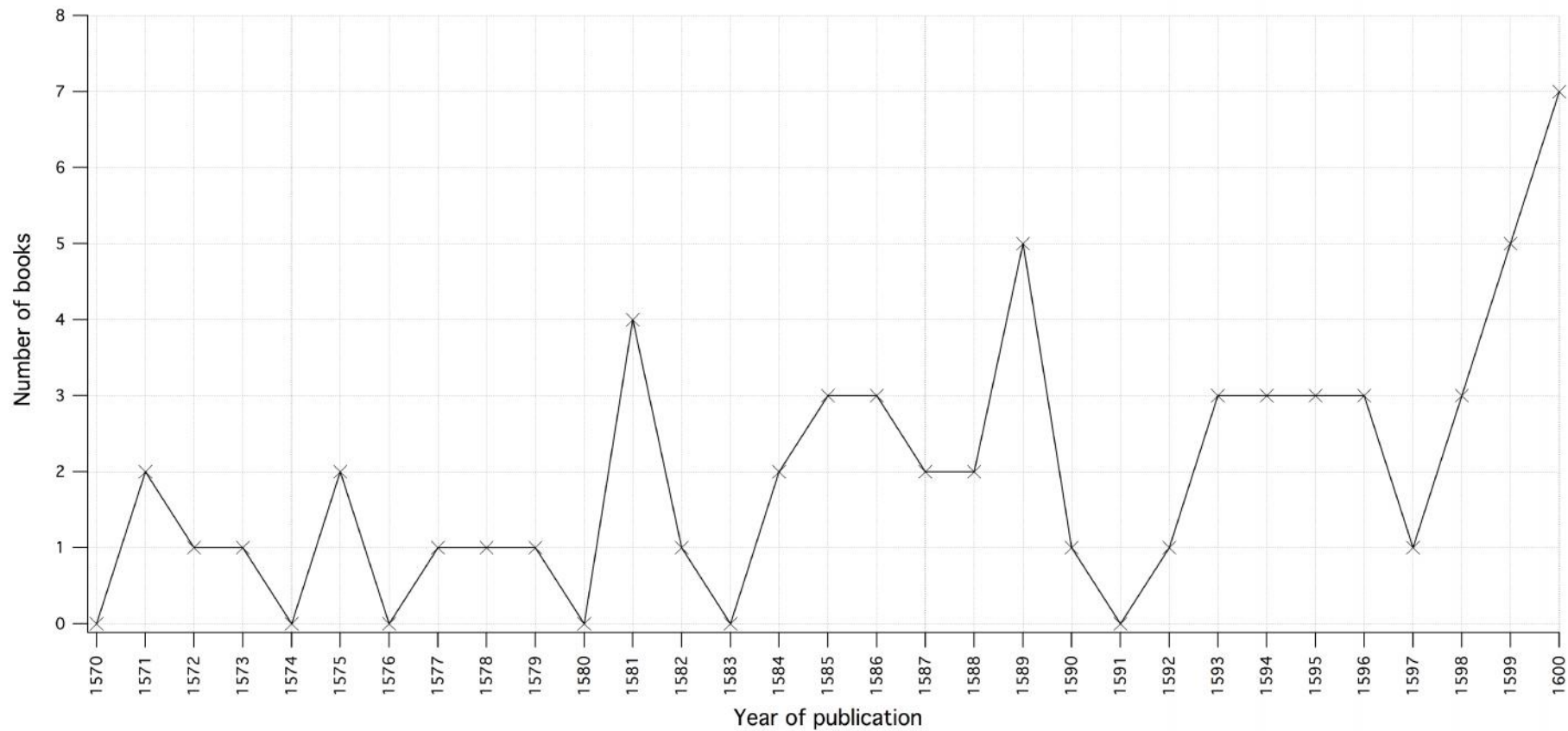
<sup>1</sup> Tim Carter makes this point, and in the case of musical genres and styles he observes that ‘Dates of publication are scarcely reliable indicators of dates of composition’. Carter, ‘Music Publishing in Italy, c.1580-c.1625’, 35.

<sup>2</sup> See P. Jones, ‘The relationship between music and dance in Cesare Negri’s *Le gratie d’amore* (1602)’ (Ph.D. diss., King’s College, University of London, 1988), i, 21-27.

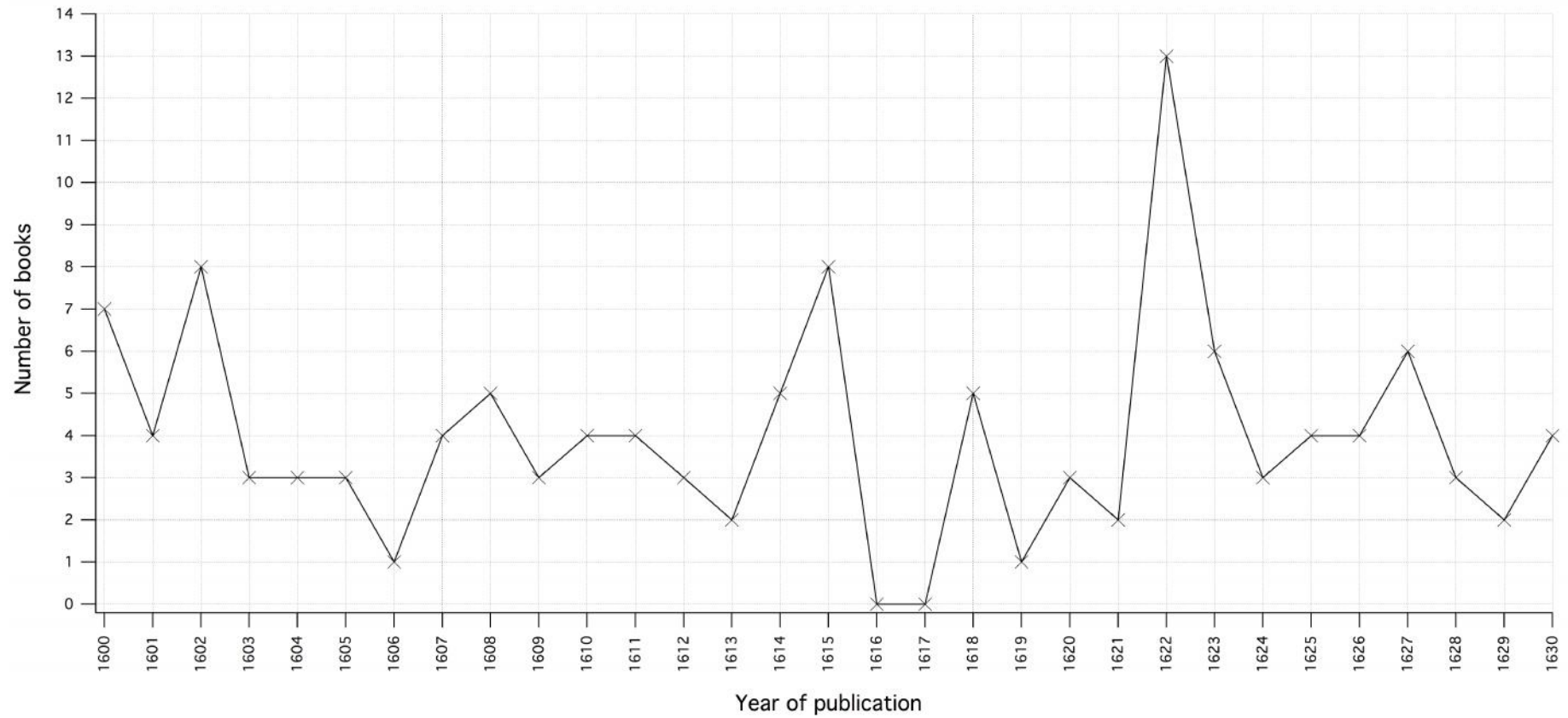
<sup>3</sup> For the data plotted in Graph 1b and Graph 2 below, see Appendices 2 and 3. While Graph 1b and Graph 2 include Giovanni Francesco’s *Principium et ars totius musicae* (Modena, c. 1600) along with the publications brought to the press in 1600, they exclude its re-edition (G. Francesco, *Principium et ars totius musicae* (s. l., post-1600)).

<sup>4</sup> While 54 were printed between 1570 and 1599, 119 were printed between 1600 and 1629.

**Graph 1a:** Books containing music theory (1570-1599) and which are catalogued in RISM B/VI<sup>1-2</sup>



**Graph 1b:** Books containing music theory (1600-1630) and which are catalogued in RISM B/VI<sup>1-2</sup>



While a slump in production of theoretical texts (and their complete non-appearance in the years 1570, 1574, 1576, 1580, 1583, 1591, 1616 and 1617) likely coincides with periods of worsening economic conditions, a steadily increasing production of these publications occurred from 1580 onwards: a gradual rise in production first occurred between 1583 and 1589, then between 1591 and 1600, 1606 and 1615, and (most noticeably) between 1616 and 1622.

The inclusion of second and revised editions of theoretical texts, which are listed in RISM B/VI<sup>1-2</sup> and hence plotted in Graphs 1a and 1b, does not impact on the statistical results.<sup>5</sup> While 29.6% (16 re-editions out of 54 theoretical texts) of publications were issued between 1570 and 1599, an equivalent percentage (30.8% – that is, 37 re-editions out of 119 theoretical texts) entered the market between 1600 and 1629. (For further discussion of second and revised editions, see Chapter 4.)

Tracing the place of publication and printer-publisher of printed music-theory books in the thirty years preceding and following 1600 points to the emergence of Milan and Bologna in the 1590s, and then Naples in the early 1600s, as growing production-centres of this genre alongside Venice, Florence and Rome. These centres were the predominant places for music publishing in this period. However, a clear link exists between many theorists who were situated in (or nearby) small urban centres and their local printing house.<sup>6</sup> Over this sixty-year period the smaller regional centres which produced music-theory books changed. This change might be indicative of a shift in the interests of local authors (or even their removal), the decision of the local printing firm to pack up shop and

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<sup>5</sup> To see which books I have classified as re-editions, see Appendix 2.

<sup>6</sup> For instance, Agostino Agazzari published his *Del sonare sopra'l basso* in Siena, the urban centre to which he returned in 1607 and remained until his death in January 1642. Ercole Bottrigari, who chose to publish his *Il Melone* in the smaller urban centre of Ferrara rather than in his home-city of Bologna, however, is a counter example. Nevertheless, Bottrigari did have connections with Ferrara: he fled there in 1576 and stayed for eleven years. Perhaps these past connections and knowledge that Vittorio Baldini had previously printed music-theoretical ideas (and in particular those of Francesco Patrizi) motivated his choice of printing house.

move elsewhere,<sup>7</sup> or the economic and political stability of a provincial state.<sup>8</sup> While selecting local presses in a small urban centre afforded the opportunity to oversee the publication process, their printing techniques were usually much more limited than the larger, more experienced – and perhaps even music-specialist – printing houses found in larger urban cities. (Domenico Falcini, however, utilized the technique of copper-plate engraving in the small urban centre of Siena: see Chapter 1, p. 39.) From the 1580s onwards, a strong correlation exists between the dominance of music-specialist printing houses (not coincidentally situated in the economically driven urban centres) and their high production of music-theory books. Thus, whether a firm could print a large quantity of music was often the deciding factor for an author. The amount of musically notated examples and compositions in a music-theory book corresponds to the kind of reader that authors wished to attract: if a music-theory book contained a large amount of printed music, the author intended his text to be read by a practical musician.

I have supplemented the sample of publications listed in RISM B/VI<sup>1-2</sup> with those which my own search for music-theoretical texts printed on the Italian peninsula between 1600 and 1630 yielded. These 190 printed texts (including those in learned publications and prefaces to music prints) are listed by author, chronologically and according to their place of publication and printer-publisher in Appendices 2, 3 and 4. The main supplements come from *Banchieri*, searches on *GaspariO*, and initially from secondary-source readings. Searches through library catalogues, such as *OPAC SBN*, also revealed many theoretical texts and multiple re-editions, particularly of late sixteenth-century books which RISM B/VI<sup>1-2</sup> does not catalogue. This data is plotted in Graph 2.<sup>9</sup> If we compare this data to that

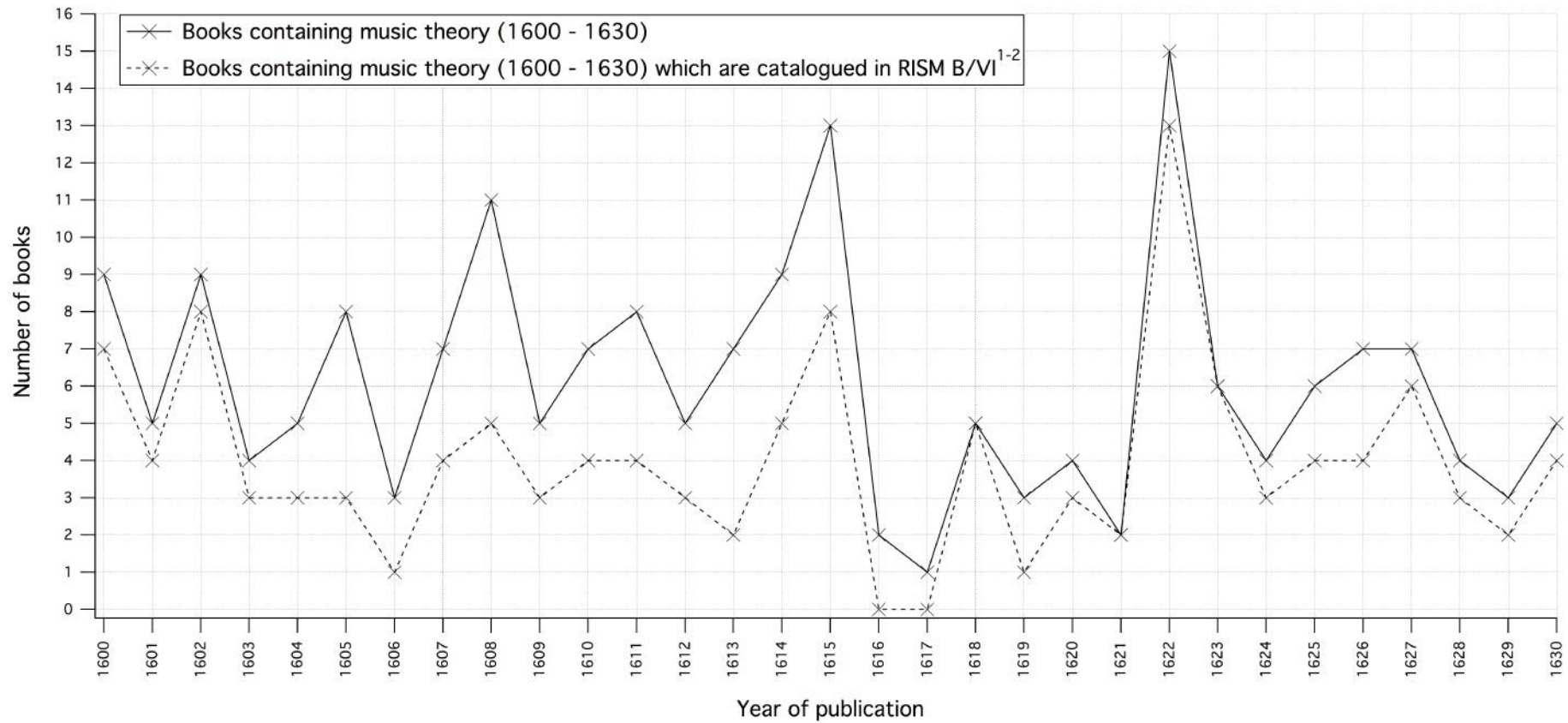
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<sup>7</sup> Silvestro Marchetti provides an example of this: see Chapter 2, n. 93.

<sup>8</sup> The duchies of Ferrara and Parma are examples of places of declining economies and political instability in the early seventeenth century.

<sup>9</sup> See n. 3 above.

**Graph 2:** Books containing music theory (1600-1630)



in Graph 1b, 1622 is even more conspicuously the year when the most theoretical texts were printed.

## 2. The 1622 boom

Can a proliferation of music-theory books in 1622 be accounted for? Four of the fifteen books containing music theory (which are listed in Figure 3.1) were printed in Venice by Alessandro Vincenti. The *Vincenti 1621 indice* stipulates that Lodovico Zacconi's *Prattica di musica seconda parte* (Venice, 1622) was being printed ('la 2. si stampano'): see Figure 1.3. The three other music-theory books which Vincenti printed in 1622 are re-editions which the *Vincenti 1621 indice* also lists. In a printed letter, Banchieri intimates that one of them – the third edition of his *L'organo suonarino* (1605; later editions 1611, 1622) – was in high demand.<sup>10</sup> Did the circulation of the *Vincenti 1621 indice* generate a fresh demand for these music-theory books? Since Orazio Scaletta's *Scala di musica* (1585) was also reprinted by Filippo Lomazzo in Milan in 1622, along with the same author's *Primo scalino della scala di contrapunto* (Milan, 1622), it is plausible that this author and Milanese printer-publisher likewise tried to capitalize on the rejuvenated interest in the former publication which the *Vincenti 1621 indice* probably created. Incidentally, the two other books containing music theory which were published in Venice in 1622 – Banchieri's *Gemelli armonici* and Gioseffo Zarlino's *Istitutioni armoniche et dimostrationi* – are also re-editions (see Appendix 2).

Three of the remaining four theoretical texts of 1622 which were printed in Milan bear the title of 'Regola' or 'Regole', and two of these three were printed by the heirs of Pacifico Pontio and Giovanni Battista Piccaglia (the archbishop's printers). Both are concerned with the explication of Ambrosian plainchant. The similarities continue: while

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<sup>10</sup> Banchieri, *Lettere armoniche*, 40-41. See also Chapter 6, pp. 226-227.

**Figure 3.1:** Music-theoretical texts printed in 1622

Place of publication	Printer-publisher	Author	Title	Format, length (no. of folios or pages)
Venice	Alessandro Vincenti	Adriano Banchieri	Organo suonarino ... libro utilissimo à qual si voglia organista per alternare in voce chorista alli canti fermi di tutto l'anno nelle chiese secolari, regolari, monache, e confraternità secondo l'uso di Santa Madre Chiesa	In-8, 159p.
		Girolamo Diruta	Seconda parte del Transilvano dialogo diviso in quattro libri ... opera nuovamente dall'istesso composta, utilissima, et necessaria a' professori d'organo	In-4, 21-36-12-25p.
		Orazio Scaletta	Scala di musica molto necessaria per principianti. Ampliata di n[u]ovo in questa quinta impressione	In-4, 26p.
		Lodovico Zacconi	Prattica di musica seconda parte. Divisa, e distinta in quattro libri. Ne quali primieramente si tratta de gl'elementi musicali, cioè de primi principij come necessarij alla tessitura o formatione delle compositioni armoniali.	In-4, 283p.
	Giovanni Antonio and Giacomo de Franceschi	Gioseffo Zarlino	Institutioni [sic] et dimostrazioni di musica, divise in quattro parti, et cinque ragionamenti; dove si dichiarano assai luoghi di molti famosissimi scrittori di questa professione, et si discorre sopra tutti i dubbj d'importanza che possono occorrere in cotal materia. Composte dal Reverendo Monsignor Giuseppe Zalino da Chioggia, già maestro di capella della serenissima signoria di Venetia. Utili et necessarie a tutti quelli che desiderano imparare, et far buon profitto nell'intelligenza di questa nobile, honorata, et dilettevole scienza. Con le sue copiosissime tavole per commodità de gli studenti, et lettori.	In-fol., 464-395p.
	Stampa del Gardano, appresso Bartolomeo Magni	Adriano Banchieri	Gemelli armonici che concertano nell'organo una, e due voci in variati modi parto ventesimo primo. Di Don Adriano Banchieri abbate benemerito olivetano, e capo de concerti nella Florida Accademia di San Michele in Bosco nuovamente revisti e modernati dall'Autore con nuova aggiunta di tre concerti, e dui dialoghi. Con privilegio. ( <i>Parte organica</i> , fol.1v) <sup>11</sup>	In-4, 28-28-36p.
Milan	Filippo Lomazzo	Orazio Scaletta	Primo scalino della scala di contrapunto... introductione brevissima, utilissima, e facilissima, per principianti, à così illustre virtù	In-4, 8f.

<sup>11</sup> Banchieri, 64-66.

Place of publication	Printer-publisher	Author	Title	Format, length (no. of folios or pages)
		Orazio Scaletta	Scala di musica molto necessaria per principianti ... nona impressione.	In-4, 30p.
	Heirs of Pacifico Pontio e Giovanni Battista Piccaglia. Stampatori Archiepiscopali.	Anon.	Regole d'alcuni capi necessari, e più frequenti per l'osservanza delle sacre ceremonie, e del canto fermo ambrosiano	In-4, 46p.
		Camillo Perego	La regola del canto fermo ambrosiano	In-8, 162p.
	Giorgio Rolla	Camillo Angleria	La regola del contraponto, e della musical compositione	In-4, 117p.
	'PALATINAE ACADEMIAE Typographus Io. Angel. Nava Excud[ebat]'	Girolamo Bossi	Isiacus de sistro	In-8, 72p.
Bologna	Heirs of Bartolomeo Cochi	Adriano Banchieri	Cantorino utile a novizzi, e chierici secolari, e regolari, principianti del canto fermo alla romana	In-8, 104p.
Naples	Ottavio Beltrano	Giovanni Domenico Auriemma	Breve compendio di musica ... doue con nove regole s'insegna con facilità il canto fermo, e figurato, con alcuni passaggi per la voce, e per instrumenti. Introductione facile di canto fermo	In-4, 64p.
Vicenza	<i>appresso</i> Roberto Meietti (nella stamparia di Dominico Amadino)	Giovanni Battista Marino	'La musica, diceria seconda' (fols. 97r-235r) in <i>Dicerie sacre</i>	In-12, 290f.

one was commissioned by Carlo Borromeo and ordered to be printed by Cardinal Federico Borromeo, then Archbishop of Milan, the other was commissioned by the cardinal.<sup>12</sup> Undoubtedly, then, these manuals attest to the process of *disciplinamento* (social disciplining) being carried out by Borromeo: he oversaw the printing of religious music manuals in order to ensure the consistency of the Ambrosian rite in the diocese of Milan. (Likewise, it is probable that Banchieri's *Cantorino utile* – itself a re-edition of a *cantorinus* printed in Milan – was probably issued as part of the continual Catholic educational reforms.<sup>13</sup>) While the manual by Camillo Angleria which was printed in Milan by Giorgio Rolla contains the rules of counterpoint and musical composition, the only other music-theoretical text produced in this city that year was Girolamo Bossi's *Isiacus de sistro* (Milan, 1622), a book published for an academy in which the history of the *sistrum*, a rattle used for worshipping Isis is recounted. The high production of music-theoretical books in Milan in 1622 is surprising since this city's economy experienced a downturn from that year onwards, which led to a drop in the output of its two leading music printers, Filippo Lomazzo and Giorgio Rolla.<sup>14</sup>

The remaining two books printed that year are a re-edition of Giovanni Battista Marino's *Dicerie sacre* (Turin, 1614), which was printed by a minor printer-publisher in Vicenza and contains music-theoretical verses, and Giovanni Domenico Auriemma's *Breve compendio di musica* (Naples, 1622), which, akin to the 'regole' publications of Milan,

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<sup>12</sup> The title pages contain this information. 'LA REGOLA DEL CANTO FERMO AMBROSIANO, Composta già d'ordine di S[an] Carlo dal Rever[endo] P[adre] Camillo Perego uno de' Notari della Chiesa Metropolitana di Milano. Ed hora data alla Stampa per commessione di Monsignor' Illustrissimo, e Reverendissimo Federico Cardinale Borromeo Arcivescovo. CON PRIVILEGIO. IN MILANO, Per l'her[eredi] di Pacifico Pontio, & Gio. Battista Piccaglia Stampatori Archiepiscopali. M DC XXII.' And: 'REGOLE D'ALCVNI CAPI NECESSARII, e più frequenti per l'osservanza delle Sacre Cerimonie, e del Canto Fermo ambrosiano. Stampate d'ordine di Monsig[nor] Illustrissimo, e Reverendissimo Federico Cardinal Borromeo Arcivescovo di Milano. CON PRIVILEGIO. IN MILANO, Per gli her[erdi] di Pacifico Pontio, & Gio. Battista Piccaglia. Stampatori Archiepiscopali. 1622.'

<sup>13</sup> 'Havendo composto , o raccolto il presente Cantorino, per uso particolare della nostra Religione Olivetana, ho giudicato farne alcune copie per uso universale di qual si voglia giovinetto Religioso principiante di Canto Fermo.' Banchieri, *Cantorino utile*, 3, cited in *Banchieri*, 107n. 157. See also Chapter 4, p. 156ff.

<sup>14</sup> Kendrick, *Sounds of Milan*, 190.

teaches the ‘n[u]ove Regole ... con facilità il canto fermo, e figurato, con alcuni passaggi per la voce, e per instrumenti’.<sup>15</sup>

1622 as a pinnacle in production of music-theory books probably occurred because of a fresh demand generated by the *Vincenti 1621 indice*, coupled with the publication of re-editions, and because of the continued Catholic-Reformation drive to ensure the correct way of singing plainchant was known and followed.

### 3. Vincenti’s *indici* and the material form of music-theory books

The *Vincenti 1621 indice*, which facilitated the circulation of Alessandro’s stock, provides a representative sample of music-theory books printed on the Italian peninsula prior to 1621. Almost all of these were printed in the early 1600s (see the shaded rows in Figures 1.2 and 1.3). The *indice* draws attention to the Vincenti as the principal printing house of theoretical texts and the rising dominance of music presses in two other northern Italian cities, Milan and Bologna (see below). Moreover, the *indice* provides a sample of the different material forms of music-theory books printed circa 1600: the theoretical items in Figures 1.2 and 1.3 comprise large tomes (in folio, quarto and octavo) and pocket-sized pamphlets, as well as a broadside, Banchieri’s *La mano, et documenti sicuri* (Milan, 1611). The *Vincenti 1621 indice* also corroborates the fact that the majority of early Seicento theoretical texts belong to the branch of *musica practica* rather than *musica speculativa*. Indeed, the authors of music-theory books printed by Vincenti tend to be music practitioners. Since only Banchieri’s *Conclusioni nel suono dell’organo* does not include music notation, the sample of music-theory books on the *Vincenti 1621 indice* suggests that *musica practica* books tended to be printed at music-specialist printing houses: the inclusion of movable musical type greatly assisted a *musica practica* theorist in expressing

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<sup>15</sup> G. D. Auriemma, *Breve compendio di musica* (Naples, 1622), title page.

his ideas. In addition, this sample highlights the widespread usage of the Italian language, a point to which we will return.

Unlike the *Vincenti 1621 indice*, the *Vincenti 1591 indice* and *Vincenti 1649 indice* contain price lists, hence revealing the standard range of prices of music books over this period. From these two *indici*, it is possible to make a direct correlation between the price of a music-theory book and its weightiness – both in terms of a book’s size and length (see Figure 3.2), and in terms of the gravity of its theoretical content, the latter itself dependent on the author’s musical education and understanding, which in turn was dependent on their social status. Practical, more simplistic music manuals, such as Orazio Scaletta’s *Scala di musica*, are smaller, shorter and less expensive than weightier tomes; predictably, the former are intended for the musical novice rather than for an erudite scholar.<sup>16</sup> One exception is Lodovico Zacconi’s *Prattica di musica seconda parte* in the *Vincenti 1649 indice*. Perhaps its didactic contents and the slow sale of Zacconi’s *Prattica di musica* (1592; later edition 1596) caused Vincenti to allot the second volume a low retail price.<sup>17</sup>

It seems that between 1591 and 1649 the price of producing music-theory books increased. For instance, compare the cost of Vincenzo Galilei’s *Fronimo dialogo* (Venice, 1568-9; later edition 1584) to the cost of Bernardino Bottazzi’s *Choro et organo* (Venice, 1614) and to the first and second parts of Girolamo Diruta’s *Il Transilvano* in Figure 3.2.

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<sup>16</sup> Marco Scacchi’s *Cribrum musicum* (Venice, 1643) is the most expensive volume because of its length and learned content, and perhaps also because Alessandro Vincenti likely distributed it in manuscript form: the copy at I-Bc (shelfmark E.50) attests to this.

<sup>17</sup> The biographer Francesco Vatielli relates how the printer-publisher Girolamo Polo, who brought Zacconi’s *Prattica di musica* (1592) to the press, disregarded the author’s interests: ‘Dopo avergli promesso, come di suo dovere, di prendere cura alla divulgazione dell’opera, non appena l’autore se ne ritornò in Baviera messer Girolamo lasciò per ben quattro anni che nei propri magazzini la polvere s’accumulasse sui recenti volumi e più sarebbe rimasta nell’oblio se lo Zacconi di ritorno in Italia, saputo della triste sorte del suo lavoro non avesse prontamente ritirato le copie, chiedendo mercè ad altro libraio perchè volesse in parte almeno rimediare ai danni sofferti.

‘Trovò piccolo e magro aiuto in messer Sebastiano Conti che per una meschina somma, (trentaquattro marchetti la copia) acquistò la *Prattica di Musica* e, dopo aver tolto il primo foglio di stampa, per non vedere a’ suoi avventori cosa stampata da altri, lo sostituì con altro che portava il nome del suo stampatore Girolamo Carampelli.’ F. Vatielli, *Un musicista pesarese nel secolo XVI (Ludovico Zacconi)* (Bologna, 1904; repr. Bologna, 1968), 25. Since Zacconi’s *Prattica di musica* (1592; later edition 1596) is listed in the *Vincenti 1621 indice* (see Figure 1.3), the Vincenti were surely aware of the difficulties of circulating this item.

**Figure 3.2:** Music-theory books listed in the *Vincenti 1591 indice* and *Vincenti 1649 indice*, together with their price and publication details

<i>Indice</i>	<i>Category in indice</i>	<i>Description in indice</i>	<i>Price in indice</i> Lire soldi	<i>Corresponding author, title, place of publication and year<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>Format</i>	<i>Length</i>
<i>Vincenti 1591 indice</i>	<i>Musica da Chiesa diversa</i>	Arte del Contraponto Secondo [Artusi]	15	G. M. Artusi, <i>Seconda parte dell'arte del contrapunto. Nella quale si tratta dell'utile et uso delle dissonanze</i> (Venice, 1589)	In-4	47 p.
		Fronimo Dialogo per Liuto del Galilei.	3 10	V. Galilei, <i>Fronimo dialogo ... nel quale si contengono le vere, et necessarie regole del intavolare la musica nel liuto</i> (Venice, 1568-69; later edition 1584)	In-fol.	182 f.
<i>Vincenti 1649 indice</i>	<i>Intavolature di organo</i>	Choro, & Organo di Canto fermo, & Intavolatura per l'Organo, commodo a rispondere al Choro, del Borazzi [sic].	12	B. Bottazzi, <i>Choro et organo primo libro</i> (Venice, 1614)	In-fol.	136 p.
		Organo Sonarino del Banchieri, ove vi è tutto quello che è necessario per l'Organista.	6	A. Banchieri, <i>L'organo suonarino</i> (Venice, 1605; later editions 1611, 1622, 1627 and 1638)	In-8	162 p.
		Transilvano per l'Organo del Diruta, nel qual vi è il modo di far la mano, e le vere regole per intender la intavolatura, con le toccate de i più famosi Autori posti nel fine dell'Opera utilissima per professori d'Organo libro primo, e secondo	14	G. Diruta, <i>Prima parte del Transilvano</i> (Venice, 1593; later editions 1597, 1612 and 1625) and G. Diruta, <i>Seconda parte del Transilvano dialogo diviso in quattro libri</i> (Venice, 1609; later edition 1622)	In-fol. In-4	63 p. 26-36-12-25 p.
		Regole per sonar Sabatini primo	2	G. Sabbatini, <i>Regola facile, e breve per sonare sopra il basso continuo, nell'organo, manacordo, ò altro simile stromento ... Dalla quale in questa prima parte ciascuno da se stesso potrà imparare da i primi principii quello che sarà necessario per simil'effetto</i> (Venice, 1628; later edition 1644)	In-4	27 p.

<i>Indice</i>	<i>Category in indice</i>	<i>Description in indice</i>	<i>Price in indice</i>	<i>Corresponding author, title, place of publication and year<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>Format</i>	<i>Length</i>
			Lire soldi			
<i>Regole di Musica</i>		Pratica di Musica del Zacconi, seconda parte	8	L. Zacconi, <i>Prattica di musica seconda parte</i> (Venice, 1622)	In-4	283 p.
		Imperfettion[i] della moderna Musica del Artusi	9	G. M. Artusi, <i>L'Artusi, ovvero delle imperfettioni della musica moderna ragionamenti dui</i> (Venice, 1600) and/or G. M. Artusi, <i>Seconda parte dell'Artusi, ovvero delle imperfettioni della moderna musica</i> (Venice, 1603)	In-4  2 vol. In-4	71 f.  56 p., 54 p.
		Scala di Musica del Scaletta per principianti	12	O. Scaletta, <i>Scala di musica</i> (Venice, 1585; after at least 14 later editions, 2 further ones were printed in 1647, one in Milan, the other in Rome)	In-4 / In-8	22 p. / 29 p.
		Cartellina del Banchieri, per principianti	1 10	A. Banchieri, <i>La cartellina musicale che ... introduce i principianti à sicuro possesso del canto figurato</i> (Venice, 1615)	In-8	80 p.
		Porta Musicale per il Contrappunto Bernardi	1 10	S. Bernardi, <i>Porta musicale</i> (Verona, 1615; later edition Venice, 1639)	In-4	21 p.
		Practica di Musica Crib[r]um Musicum Cioè Tratatto di Musica del Signor Marco Scac[c]hi	18	M. Scacchi, <i>Cribrum musicum ad triticum Siferticum, seu examinatio succinta psalmorum</i> (Venice, 1643)	In-4	248 p.

<sup>a</sup> Where a music-theory book could be one of many editions, I give the publication details (including the format and length) of the most recently printed one.

Compare also the price of Artusi's publications. The *Vincenti 1658 indice* and the *Vincenti 1662 indice* show that the price of music-theory books – in spite of the changing economic climate – stayed constant after 1649. Only the price of one manual altered: according to the *Vincenti 1662 indice*, the value of Banchieri's *La cartellina musicale* (Venice, 1615) increased by one lira. Given its length and size compared with Scaletta's *Scala di musica*, I suspect the printer-publisher was merely amending an error present in his previous catalogues. Thus, music theory of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century did not decrease in value. At least in the printer-publisher's and bookseller's eyes, then, the content of every music-theory book was still worth reading decades after its publication.

In both *indici*, the books in folio tend to be the more expensive items. The difference in price between these books and, for instance, Scaletta's *Scala di musica* and Banchieri's *La cartellina musicale*, however, seems to reflect more than a difference in the price of the quantity and size of paper needed to produce them. Perhaps tellingly, the cataloguer and the authors use the same word – 'principianti' – in their descriptive titles to identify the readers of the publications. Were these two manuals cheaper because they were marketed at beginners who would only purchase them (or have them purchased on their behalf) if they cost a relatively small amount? The manuals neither in folio nor written for beginners are for a more specialist audience: for instance, Banchieri's *L'organo suonarino* (Venice, 1605; later edition 1611, 1622, 1627 and 1638) aids the church organist, and Artusi's writings – or writing – on the imperfections of modern music question not only Claudio Monteverdi's compositional process and Ercole Bottrigari's criticisms of Gioseffo Zarlino, but also suggest an alternative tuning system. While the difference in price between the large tomes in folio and Scaletta's pocket-sized textbook for novices reflects the varying abilities and scholarliness of different authors, the variation in price between Banchieri's two music-theory books listed in Figure 3.2 points to the ability of one author

to provide different levels of detail and kinds of knowledge in order to market two different books to two different audiences.

#### 4. The printing presses

In examining the place and printing houses which produced music-theory books of the early Seicento, connections among individual firms surface, as well as their fates and fortunes. For instance, the music font which the printer Giorgio Marescotti used in all his Florentine music editions between 1581 and 1602 (including Giulio Caccini's *Le nuove musiche* (1602)) later became that in which Volcmar Timan, a German printer working in Florence, typeset the music examples in Antonio Brunelli's *Regole utilissime* (Florence, 1606).<sup>18</sup>

Figure 3.3 shows that the Venetian music printing houses dominated the industry of publishing music-theoretical texts. Together they produced almost four times the number of theoretical texts printed in Milan, the second principal urban centre where these publications were brought to the press. In Venice, the printing cost and selling price of a book may have been lower than in other Italian cities such as Florence.<sup>19</sup> In a petition dating from after 1563, Filippo and Jacopo Giunti reported that the Florentine presses could not compete with others in Italy (including the branch of the Giunti firm in Venice) in terms of price, and even though they focused on producing books which were 'of greater exquisiteness and honour, and less practical' they still suffered disadvantages 'because of the effort and great expense in producing them owing to the wide variety of typefaces required by one such book'.<sup>20</sup> While Carter concludes that Florentine music-printers catered largely for a 'vanity press', with composers or their patrons bearing most if not all

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<sup>18</sup> Carter, 'Music-Printing in Late Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth-Century Florence', 53.

<sup>19</sup> Carter, 'Music-Selling in Late Sixteenth-Century Florence', 487-488.

<sup>20</sup> Filippo and Jacopo Giunti cited and translated by Carter, 'Music-Printing in Late Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth-Century Florence', 33; for the original Italian, see 33n.10.

**Figure 3.3:** The principal urban centres and printing houses which produced music-theoretical texts in early Seicento Italy

Place of publication and principal printer-publishers	Music-theoretical texts printed c. 1600 – c. 1630 (percentage) <sup>a</sup>	Music-theory books in Vincenti's printing shop in 1621 (percentage) <sup>b</sup>	Music-theory books by Adriano Banchieri, printed between 1600 and 1630 <sup>c</sup>
Venice	85 (45%)	11 (79%)	12 (48%)
by Vincenti family	32 (17%)	9 (64%)	8 (32%)
by Ricciardo Amadino	17 (9%)	1 (7%)	2 (8%)
by Gardano/Bartolomeo Magni	10 (5%)	-	2 (8%)
Milan	23 (12%)	1 (7%)	2 (8%)
by Lomazzo (& Tini)	8 (4%)	1 (7%)	1 (4%)
by heirs of Pontio & Piccaglia	4 (2%)	-	1 (4%)
Bologna	19 (10%)	2 (14%)	10 (40%)
by heirs of Giovanni Rossi	7 (4%)	2 (14%)	5 (20%)
by Ferroni and/or Mascheroni	6 (3%)	-	3 (12%)
Rome	14 (7%)	-	-
by Zanetti	4 (2%)	-	-
Naples	10 (5%)	-	-
by Carlino and/or Vitale	4 (2%)	-	-
Florence	10 (5%)	-	-
by Marescotti	4 (2%)	-	-
Other (Bologna & Verona, Brescia, Cosenza, Ferrara, Modena, Padua, Pavia, Pesaro, Serravalle <i>di Venetia</i> , Siena, Turin, Verona, Vicenza and Viterbo)	25 (13%)	-	1 (4%)
Unknown	4 (2%)	-	-
<i>Total</i>	<i>190</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>25</i>

<sup>a</sup>The figures in this column are based on the data presented in Appendix 4.

<sup>b</sup>Where a book could be one of many editions, I have selected the publication details of the most recently printed, including those produced in 1622, the year in which the Vincenti firm brought a number of re-editions to the press: see Figures 1.2 and 1.3 and Appendix 2.

<sup>c</sup>See Figure 2.2.

expenses, my survey of early Seicento music-theory books suggests that small urban centres, such as Florence, produced both vanity publications and short instructional manuals for wide circulation. In addition, it seems that music printer-publishers in Venice and Milan relied more than printer-publishers located in smaller urban centres on their ability to circulate re-editions of marketable theoretical texts, such as Scaletta's *Scala di musica*.

Although the *Vincenti 1621 indice* highlights the dominance of the music-specialist printer-publishers in producing music-theoretical publications (particularly those in large, economically driven urban centres of northern Italy), it under-represents the production of these texts in Rome, Naples, Florence and many small, northern Italian urban centres. Banchieri's music-theoretical output also emphasizes the significant role of music-specialist printing houses in Venice, Milan and Bologna in producing theoretical texts. Furthermore, even though his output over-emphasizes the role of Bologna, it embodies the patterns and trends of printing music-theoretical texts between 1600 and 1630 more than the *Vincenti 1621 indice*. (On Banchieri's publishing patterns and trends, see Chapter 2, pp. 69-73.)

#### a. Venice

Venice was firmly established as the centre of Italian publishing by the late sixteenth century, and by 1600 approximately half of all the books produced in Italy were still printed by the Venetian presses.<sup>21</sup> Music-specialist printing houses also continued to be based there circa 1600. Curiously, in spite of the economic slump in the early 1620s which, according to Tim Carter, consequently led to a significant decrease in the musical output of printing firms in Venice, a high number of music-theoretical texts were produced that

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<sup>21</sup> J. R. Snyder, 'Mare magnum: The Arts in the Early Modern Age', in Marino, ed., *Early Modern Italy*, 143-165: 159. I. Fenlon, *The Ceremonial City: History, Memory and Myth in Renaissance Venice* (New Haven; London, 2007), 210-271. B. Richardson, *Print Culture in Renaissance Italy: The Editor and the Vernacular Text, 1470-1600* (Cambridge, 1994), 39 and 140.

decade, principally by Giacomo and Alessandro Vincenti.<sup>22</sup> This finding might support the fact that the early seventeenth-century economic decline of Venice is a myth: instead, the Venetian economy reoriented itself away from international trade and manufacturing towards services and ‘luxury’ goods.<sup>23</sup> While a decline (or at least stasis) in secular music publishing occurred, publishing houses reoriented their activities towards printing sacred music.<sup>24</sup> A demand for providing religious instruction naturally ensued. Nevertheless, in the late 1620s, the decline in production of music-theoretical publications corresponds to the decline in production of the then two dominant music printing houses: that of Bartolomeo Magni (the son-in-law of Angelo Gardano) and of Alessandro Vincenti.

All three music-specialist printing houses in Venice circa 1600 issued texts which taught beginners the rules of counterpoint necessary for singing and for composition, and which gave practical guidance to string and keyboard players, particularly organists. The adoption of basso continuo in sacred rather than secular publications of music in the early 1600s coincides with the production of manuals specifically for church organists, above all in Venice and by the Vincenti.<sup>25</sup> Thus, Venetian music presses catered both for the growing number of dilettantes wishing to become better acquainted with the rudiments of music and for specialist and erudite musicians.

Although Tim Carter suggested the Artusi-Monteverdi controversy ‘may have been fuelled by two competing printers (Amadino for Monteverdi, and Giacomo Vincenti, who published Artusi),’<sup>26</sup> whether rivalry occurred among these Venetian firms remains uncertain. Vincenti and Amadino maintained a printing partnership between 1583 and 1586

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<sup>22</sup> Carter, ‘Music Publishing in Italy, c.1580-c.1625’, 20.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 26; R. T. Rapp, *Industry and Economic Decline in Seventeenth-Century Venice* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1976).

<sup>24</sup> Carter, ‘Music Publishing in Italy, c.1580-c.1625’, 26.

<sup>25</sup> For instance, the Vincenti produced Banchieri’s *L’organo suonarino* (Venice, 1622; later editions 1627 and 1638), Bernardino Bottazzi’s *Choro et organo* and all the editions of the first and second parts of Diruta’s *Il Transilvano*.

<sup>26</sup> T. Carter, ‘Musical Sources’ in J. Whenham and R. Wistreich, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Monteverdi* (Cambridge, 2007), 21.

(after which they parted amicably), as well as between 1600 and 1609.<sup>27</sup> Moreover, Ricciardo Amadino's low production of music treatises between 1600 and 1630 is explained less by his failure to rival the Vincenti in this book genre than by the fact that the printing firm shut down in the mid-1610s, perhaps on account of economic difficulties.<sup>28</sup> The last music-theory book Ricciardo Amadino printed was in 1614.<sup>29</sup> Thus, the Gardano press, which was under the direction of Bartolomeo Magni after Angelo Gardano's death in 1611, was continually the Vincenti's Venetian competitor during the early Seicento.

In addition, it is unclear whether the Vincenti and Amadino favoured publishing the writings or certain stance of one theorist over another, and whether a theorist's independent decision of where to print the first edition of his manuscript was influenced by his knowledge that texts similar to his own had been brought to the press by a particular printer-publisher. In the late sixteenth century, Ricciardo Amadino printed the first edition of *Il desiderio* (1594) by 'Alemanno Benelli' which was later to antagonize Artusi not only because of the author's adherence to Vicentino rather than to Zarlino, but because of this theorist's dispute with Bottrigari over the authorship of this treatise.<sup>30</sup> Later, Amadino printed Claudio Monteverdi's 1605 riposte to Artusi's attack on his treatment of dissonance as well as Giulio Cesare's explanation of his brother's letter in 1607 (see Introduction, p. 1) and Giovanni Battista Chiodino's *Arte practica* (Venice, 1610). In the latter publication, the tenth chapter (regarding singing in the three genera) reveals that Bottrigari, rather than Zarlino, heavily influenced the author: Chiodino cites Zarlino less often and mostly alongside Bottrigari, chiefly to demonstrate Bottrigari's superiority of thought.<sup>31</sup> Although

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<sup>27</sup> T. W. Bridges, 'Amadino, Ricciardo'. *Grove Online*. Accessed 15 Feb 2011.

<sup>28</sup> Carter, 'Music Publishing in Italy, c.1580-c.1625', 20.

<sup>29</sup> I have discounted the existence of Orazio Tigrini's *Il compendio* (Venice, 1638): see Appendix 2.

<sup>30</sup> See Chapter 1, pp. 32-34.

<sup>31</sup> For instance, Chiodino concludes his third observation concerning the enharmonic genre: 'Ammonisco con il Conte Ercole [Bottrigari] Bolognese, che la cantilena sempre sarà enarmonica se bene si facciamo salti, purché siano tocche le sue corde proprie, & vengo alli essempi.' G. B. Chiodino, *Arte practica* (Venice, 1610), 61.

Artusi's *L'arte del contraponto* (1586) was first printed jointly by Amadino and Giacomo Vincenti, all Artusi's later Venetian publications were printed by Giacomo Vincenti. However, since Giacomo personally requested a modern musical practice section for Banchieri's *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615), which comprises approximately the last third of the treatise (see Chapter 4, pp. 145-146 and pp. 155-156), we can hardly doubt his desire to publish about the new or 'second' musical practices. After the demise of Amadino's printing house, the Vincenti clearly took the lead in printing music-theoretical texts. Once Alessandro Vincenti had sold the back stock of two music-theory books which Amadino had produced – Scaletta's *Scala di musica* (Venice, 1600; later editions 1608 and 1614) and Banchieri's *L'organo suonarino* (Venice, 1605; later edition 1611) – he printed new editions of them in 1622. Thus, while Amadino might have facilitated the publication of anti-Artusi theoretical texts, the Vincenti likely were more concerned with fashioning and selling *musica practica* texts which proved to be popular and profitable than with publicizing Artusi's theoretical ideas.

#### b. Milan

The prospect of publishing a music book with at least two Milanese printer-publishers certainly would have been attractive: Filippo Lomazzo's music editions were 'remarkable for the accuracy of their musical text, even when compared with the top-line Venetian houses of Amadino and Vincenti'<sup>32</sup> and, likewise, Giorgio Rolla's 'were of the highest quality'.<sup>33</sup> In addition to Carlo Borromeo's above-mentioned enthusiasm for producing didactic music manuals for clerics, the quality of the finished product at certain presses might have led to Milan becoming the second largest urban centre which published music-theoretical texts. Since the heirs of Pontio and Piccaglia printed Scaletta's *Scala di musica*

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<sup>32</sup> Kendrick, *Sounds of Milan*, 190.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 191.

(Milan, 1599) on behalf of the Tini family, it seems probable that relationships between these two firms – the chief Milanese producers of music-theoretical texts – remained amicable.<sup>34</sup>

The kinds of music-theory books printed in Milan reflect the kinds of music editions which music-specialist Milanese firms produced: publications which were of particular use in the sacred sphere, such as Camillo Perego's *La regola del canto fermo ambrosiano* (Milan, 1622), and those to be utilized during domestic music-making, such as Orazio Scaletta's *Primo scalino della scala di contrapunto*.<sup>35</sup> The latter category also includes books on specialist (and on occasion obscure) topics. For instance, in *Il noniano* (Milan, 1603) Erycius Puteanus discusses the *musica speculativa* reasons for adding a seventh syllable to the solmization system, an act which removed the need to mutate.

Even though Banchieri printed more music-theory books in both Venice and Bologna than in Milan, together with Agostino Agazzari (another leading early Seicento music theorist) and Enrico Radesca (Foggia; *d* 1625), he was one of the most modern composers of pan-Italian importance to whom Filippo Lomazzo opened his press: Lomazzo produced multiple editions of polyphonic prints by these three extra-urban figures.<sup>36</sup>

### c. Bologna

The rise in production of music-theoretical texts in Bologna occurred because of the authorities' support of one local printing press, and because this was the home-city of the most prolific theorist of the early Seicento, Adriano Banchieri. As I mentioned in Chapter 2, Banchieri printed the majority of his small pocket-sized books on music theory in

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<sup>34</sup> For further details, see Chapter 4, n. 43.

<sup>35</sup> Kendrick summarizes the output of music-specialist Milanese printer-publishers during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. He focuses primarily on the output of the Tini and Lomazzo firm whose stocklist, the *Tini 1596 catalogue*, shows that 80 of their 132 volumes of music editions were sacred. Moreover, the firm was dedicated to the spread of domestic music-making, and music books printed in Milan specifically catered for the needs of the vocal or instrumental skills of young unmarried women. Kendrick, *Sounds of Milan*, 188-191.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 189 and 489n.108.

Bologna. These were either instructional manuals for clerics or, essentially, musical literature.

In the decree of 31 March 1593, the Bolognese Senate renewed for ten years the unique subsidy which it bestowed on Giovanni Rossi (and his heirs) to support his printing house, including his production of music books.<sup>37</sup> Perseo, Giovanni's son, was still receiving financial backing from the senate in 1613 when, having acquired musical movable type, he published Banchieri's *Terzo libro di nuovi pensieri ecclesiastici*, a sacred music print which includes a short music-theoretical snippet (see Chapter 4, p. 171).<sup>38</sup> In total, the heirs of Giovanni Rossi printed seven books containing music theory, six of which were by Banchieri. However, the last theoretical publication to include music examples is Banchieri's *Il direttorio* (1615). Out of Banchieri's music-theory books printed by other Bolognese presses, two contain musical type. The Bolognese firm of the heirs of Bartolomeo Cochi printed his *Cantorino utile* (1622) at the request of a Venetian music printer-publisher, Bartolomeo Magni. Similarly, on the title page of Banchieri's *La sampogna musicale* (1625) it is specified that the music in the volume was printed in Venice by 'Bartolomeo Magni Gardano' rather than by the Bolognese printer-publisher Girolamo Mascheroni.

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<sup>37</sup> The decree states that the firm would receive the reduced amount of 300 lire per annum and records the stipulated terms and nature of the concession in its first article: 'Si obbliga (il Rossi) mentre durerà il sopradetto tempo di mantenere la sua stampa in ordine di tutto punto da poter servire, fornita di torchi, di caratteri buoni, *et in specie della Musica conforme alle mostre di detti caratteri buoni*, li quali tutti s'habbino da rinnovare secondo il bisogno a giudizio de' Signori Assonti pro tempore dello Studio, con un capo degli stampatori, chiamato Proto, che sia sufficiente a tal carico, con buon inchiostro, accioché siano pronti et in essere per beneficio pubblico et in specie di questo Studio.' My emphasis. The first article of this decree is transcribed in Sorbelli, *Storia della stampa in Bologna*, 124.

<sup>38</sup> Perseo wrote in his dedicatory letter to the Bolognese Senate: 'Hebbi sempre particolar pensiero, ... doppo la morte di mio Padre, continuare & augmentare in questa nobilissima Città l'esercizio della Stampa; & per renderla maggiormente copiosa, eccola di presente ornata, oltre gli caratteri greco, Latino, & Volgare con quello della MUSICA, nuovamente da me introdotto.

'Questa è la prima opera da me stampata in materia simile, la quale debitamente devo dedicare alle VV. SS. ILLUSTRISIME, per mostrare un picciol segno di gratitudine, à gl'infiniti favori, & sollevamenti, & da mio padre (mentre visse) & da me continuamente ricevuti.' Banchieri, *Terzo libro di nuovi pensieri ecclesiastici*, fol. 2r. See also Sorbelli, *Storia della stampa in Bologna*, 124-126.

Only one of the other music-theory books printed in Bologna during this period – Alessandro Piccinini’s *Intavolatura di liuto et di chitarrone* (Bologna, 1623) which is scored for the lute and chitarrone – contains music notation. The material forms of the remaining theoretical publications resemble the learned book, whose contents could consist entirely of text. If an author living in the vicinity of Bologna wished to publish a music-theory book which required a large quantity of musical type, he usually took his manuscript to a music-specialist printing house in Venice, an act which (according to the scholar Francesco Vatielli) ensured that his book would acquire editorial validation:

A music book which was published by the house of Amadino or Gardano was a recommendation in itself in Italy and abroad; it was a guarantee of accuracy and of the validity of the same work. And this fact explains why, even when a local music printing house was established in Bologna, the [Bolognese] masters were rather reluctant to commit their own works.<sup>39</sup>

Even Banchieri intimates in his *Terzo libro di nuovi pensieri ecclesiastici* that the choice of publishing house had been imposed on him.<sup>40</sup>

## 5. Language

The majority of early Seicento music-theoretical texts are printed in the vernacular.<sup>41</sup>

Banchieri drew the following comparison:

I say then that this *Organo Suonarino* [1605], translated and transformed from plainchant into *canto figurato* through the most trustworthy guidance, makes it like a Latin book which, only understood by those who have cognizance of the Latin language, when translated into the vernacular is then understood not only by those who have cognizance of the Latin language, but equally by those who understand the vernacular.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> ‘Un libro di musica che usciva dalle Case dell’Amadino o del Gardano si raccomandava da sè in Italia e fuori; era una garanzia della serietà e della bontà dell’opera stessa. E questo fatto spiega il perchè, ... anche quando s’instituì [sic] a Bologna una stamperia musicale indigena, i maestri furono piuttosto restii ad affidar loro le opere proprie.’ F. Vatielli, ‘Editori musicali dei secoli XVII e XVIII’, in F. Vatielli, *Arte e vita musicale a Bologna: Studi e saggi* (Bologna, 1927; repr. Bologna, 1969), 239-256: 244.

<sup>40</sup> ‘Producendo questo mio Terzo libro Musicale in luce, sotto la nuova Stampa di Bologna mia Patria (à requisitione di [chi] comandar me lo può).’ My emphasis. Banchieri, *Terzo libro di nuovi pensieri ecclesiastici*, 71. See also Vatielli, ‘Editori musicali dei secoli XVII e XVIII’, in Vatielli, *Arte e vita musicale a Bologna*, 246.

<sup>41</sup> By the early Seicento, the printing industry continued to standardize the Italian language, which itself was based on Trecento Tuscan. Richardson, *Print Culture in Renaissance Italy*, 91.

<sup>42</sup> ‘Dico adunque che quest’Organo Suonarino tradotto, & trasportato con sicurissima guida dal Canto fermo al figurato, si può dire essere alla conditione della lingua latina, ma tradotto in volgare viene inteso, non solo

Thus, by writing in Italian instead of Latin, an author commanded a larger potential audience: their text(s) could be read both by *litterati* and the less well educated.<sup>43</sup> The considerable pan-European interest in Italian literature between 1600 and 1640 might explain the production of numerous re-editions of Italian literary texts containing music-theoretical ideas, such as Marino's *Dicerie sacre*.<sup>44</sup> However, it is worth bearing in mind that prefaces containing theoretical ideas in music prints might have circulated over a large geographical area since the primary function of these books required musical rather than linguistic knowledge. (For further discussion of the circulation of music-theory books, see Chapter 6.)

Theoretical texts which were written in Latin had a religious, philosophical or quasi-mathematical dimension. These texts were composed by erudite scholars for erudite readers. The small quantity of purely speculative music-theory books printed in this period is typically in Latin.<sup>45</sup> The presence of music-theoretical snippets in learned books might be a result of the desire of non-musicians who were *litterati* to write about music, perhaps even in relation to their particular discipline. For instance, the Jesuit Gioseffo Biancani, who alluded to music's mathematical properties according to Aristotle, was a Bolognese professor of mathematics 'in Gymnasio Parmensi'.<sup>46</sup> Since Latin was the international language of the scholarly book, Latin texts had a pan-European reception.<sup>47</sup> The subject guide to all of the books in the world which Paulus Bolduanus created (and which,

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da quelli che hanno cognitione della lingua latina, ma parimente da quelli che intendono la volgare'. Banchieri, *L'organo suonarino* (1605), 70.

<sup>43</sup> This accords with the Cinquecento trend of marketing books at an ever broader public. Richardson, *Print Culture in Renaissance Italy*, 91.

<sup>44</sup> The Englishman John Sanford's *A Grammar or Introduction to the Italian Tongue* (Oxford, 1605) illustrates the alacrity of Western Europeans to digest Italian texts. Robin C. Alston comments on the Englishman's fascination with the Italian language during this period: R. C. Alston in J. Sanford, *A Grammar or Introduction to the Italian Tongue* (Oxford, 1605; facs. edn., with an introduction by R. C. Alston, Menston, 1972), i.

<sup>45</sup> Examples of these texts are E. A. von Harrach's *Symbuleuticon, seu consultatio virtutum* (Rome, 1620) and F. Rosserminus's *Medicei sex orbes* (Rome, 1625).

<sup>46</sup> G. Biancani, *Aristotelis loca mathematica* (Bologna, 1615), fol. 1r.

<sup>47</sup> In Early Modern Europe, learned texts on medicine were translated from the Italian into Latin in order to have international commercial impact. Maclean, *Learning and the Market Place*, 59.

according to Donald W. Krummel, probably includes a third or quarter of the total number of European music books printed between 1560 and 1613) supports the hypothesis that music-theory books written in Latin tended to circulate over a large geographical area: under the heading ‘*Musicae precepta*’, Bolduanus lists only two music-theory books which were printed on the Italian peninsula, both of which are in Latin. These are Franchinus Gaffurius’s *De harmonia musicorum instrumentorum opus* (Milan, 1518) and Erycius Puteanus’s *Modulata Pallas* (Milan, 1599).<sup>48</sup>

Pietro Cerone’s *El melopeo y maestro* (Naples, 1613) is the only music treatise written solely in Spanish.<sup>49</sup> Cerone’s choice of language reflects the fact that he (himself an Italian) wished ‘to curry favour with Philip III [King of Spain] and his patron in Naples, the Spanish viceroy’<sup>50</sup> and that he addressed a Spanish-reading audience. The publication was thus circulated accordingly: see Chapter 6, p. 225. A further two theoretical texts – Chiodino’s *Arte practica* and Giulio Cesare Croce’s *Conclusiones mathematicae, medicinae, ars poeticae et musicae, vulgariter et grossolaniter disputatae* (Bologna, 1605) – are published in a combination of languages, which presumably enabled a broad readership.<sup>51</sup>

Two music-theory books – Anacleto Secchi’s *Della hinnodia ecclesiastica* (Milan, 1643) and Adriano Banchieri’s *Conclusioni nel suono dell’organo* – were translated from Latin into Italian and suggest that their readers were female. The first of these is the only music-theory book from this period in which it is specified that it was vernacularized for

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<sup>48</sup> D. W. Krummel, *Bibliotheca Bolduaniana: A Renaissance Music Bibliography* (Detroit, 1972), 24-25.

<sup>49</sup> In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, the Catholic Spanish king presided over the Kingdoms of Sicily and Naples and the Duchy of Milan. T. J. Dandeleit, ‘Politics and the State System after the Habsburg-Valois Wars’, in Marino, ed., *Early Modern Italy*, 11-29: 12-14.

<sup>50</sup> B. Hudson, ‘Cerone, Pietro’. *Grove Online*. Accessed 15 Feb 2011.

<sup>51</sup> The theologian Chiodino presents a set of theoretical precepts both in Latin and the vernacular. His dedication to Thoma Zamascio, the Captain of the ‘Knifinensi’ and son of the Great Chancellor of Poland, strengthens the likelihood that his treatise was aimed at an international audience. As a Professor of Theology, Chiodino would have had a firm grounding in Latin; as a musical dilettante, perhaps he felt more comfortable expressing his ideas in Latin rather than in the vernacular.

For information on Croce’s publication, see Chapter 6, n. 103.

the purpose of instructing nuns musically. Addressing the ‘very Reverend Mothers of the Angelic Order of St Paul in Milan,’<sup>52</sup> the volume’s translator, the Barnabite Donato Benzoni, wrote:

*La Hinnodia* by Father Don Anacleto Secchi ... in its first Latin impression [*De ecclesiastica hymnodia* (Bologna, 1629)] sold so well that it had been necessary for the common benefit to reprint it in Antwerp [in 1634] ... The book published there beyond the mountains received the same fortune as it had had with us in Italy ... Still living, the same Author had thought, in order to satisfy the desire of many, and particularly the Cloistered Virgins, of giving it [the book] again to the world for the third time in our Italian language.<sup>53</sup>

Not only were Milanese nuns the dedicatees of the volume, but, in addition to ill-educated men of modest social rank, they were the intended readers.<sup>54</sup>

Since the content of the 1643 manual remained almost identical to that of the first two Latin publications, the nuns of St Paul received the same musical training as monks.<sup>55</sup> Although neither Benzoni nor Secchi insinuate a deficient musical ability in the cloistered virgins of St Paul, their choice of language vividly intimates the inferiority of the female

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<sup>52</sup> ‘Molto [sic Molte] Rever[ende] Madri ANGELICHE di S. Paolo di Milano.’ Donato Benzoni in A. Secchi, *Della hinnodia ecclesiastica* (Milan, 1643), fol. 6r. It is worthy of note that Agata Sfondrati (1565-1631) was a member of this convent: Banchieri sent her a music print (see Chapter 6, n. 82), Agostino Soderini dedicated his *Sacrarum cantionum octo et novem vocibus liber primus* (Milan, 1598) to her and Orfeo Vecchi dedicated his *Falsi bordoni figurati sopra gli otto toni ecclesiastici* (Milan, 1600) and *In septem regij prophetarum psalmos vulgo poenitentiales sacrarum modulationum* (Milan, 1601) to her.

<sup>53</sup> ‘La Hinnodia del P[adre] Don Anacleto Secchi ... hebbe nella sua prima impressione latina tanto spaccio, che fù necessario per utilità comune ristamparla in Anversa ... Sortì il Libro di là da’Monti la medesima fortuna, c’haveva havuta in Italia ... Hebbe pensiero l’Autor medesimo, ancor viuendo, per sodisfare al disiderio di molti, e particolarmente delle Vergini Claustrali, darla di nuouo per la terza volta al Mondo nella nostra lingua Italiana’. Donato Benzoni in Secchi, *Della hinnodia ecclesiastica* (1643), fols. 6r-7v.

<sup>54</sup> In addition to observing that some of the texts dedicated by the Cinquecento Giolito press to women were translations into the vernacular, Brian Richardson argues that the sex of a dedicatee is indicative of the sex of the primary readers of a religious book: a dedication to a woman ‘would at least have encouraged other women to read a work.’ Richardson, *Printing, Writers and Readers in Renaissance Italy*, 144 and 149. The *Rubriche generali del breviario monastico, tradotte dal latino in volgare, da un devoto religioso, a beneficio delle monache dell’ordine monastico* (Milan, 1614) is another coeval publication which was dedicated to a Milanese nun, the abbess Maria Elisabetta Trezza: see Kendrick, *Celestial Sirens*, 126, 126n.10 and 127.

<sup>55</sup> The daily liturgical exercise of singing ecclesiastical hymnody – within which Secchi includes the hymns and psalms of the Divine Office – is the principal subject of the manual. Divided into three books, the first is concerned with the excellence and effects of hymnody, the second with the ways of practising it both well and in an orderly manner, and the third reveals shortcomings in the singing of it. Among other subjects, individual chapters describe how polyphonic music fulfils a similar function as hymnody, the defects that occur in ecclesiastical music, of those who sing in choir with a meagre voice, and of various ones that occur when a choir begins and finishes psalm-singing.

religious.<sup>56</sup> In one chapter, the author explains why the psalm-singing of Virgins is very dear to God, and he comforts the cloistered nuns who ‘are able to satisfy and to please God through their devout attention and are deserving in the exercise of hymnody, even though they have no knowledge of the Latin tongue’.<sup>57</sup> They should carry out the following three steps to demonstrate their attentiveness in vocal prayer to God: be sure to pronounce the words (and not to omit any); be mindful of the literal and spiritual meaning of these; and be aware that psalm-singing is done for the glory of God and even to benefit both fellow man and woman. Since only learned men can achieve the second of these, Secchi reassures the nuns that although knowledge of the Latin language would be of great utility, the first and third steps are more necessary to reaping the fruits of hymnody. Yet surely a nun possessed some knowledge of Latin, which is linguistically similar to Early Modern Italian. Craig Monson has argued that the countless recitations of a convent so affected a nun that Latin religious phrases marked her living vocabulary more than a male musician’s active both in the church and the world.<sup>58</sup> Moreover, the meaning of the music compositions by the nun Lucrezia Vizzana (1590-1662), a particularly gifted Italian and Latin scholar, was dependent on the textual understanding of Latin religious texts.<sup>59</sup> Perhaps, then, Secchi exaggerated the literary gap between Barnabite monks and their Angelic sisters in order to bolster the superior literate ability of the first.

The visual image on the front cover of Banchieri’s *Conclusioni nel suono dell’organo* of his chosen devotee – the virgin and martyr Saint Cecilia, the chaste female organist and musician – symbolizes that the second expanded and translated edition of his

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<sup>56</sup> In contrast, Ignazio Donati believed that the female religious needed special instruction in order to learn how to sing *passaggi* and to execute specific vocal techniques. By placing nuns alongside boys, girls and those ‘who have no natural [musical] inclination’, Donati suggests that the female religious were both unmusical and inferior to male adults intellectually. ‘Per Educande de figlioli, & figliole, over Monache, & per quelli che non hanno dispositione Naturale’. I. Donati, *Il secondo libro de motetti a voce sola ... opera decima quarta* (Venice, 1636), [3], cited in Kendrick, *Celestial Sirens*, 181.

<sup>57</sup> ‘Esse possano sodisfare all’attention dovuta, piacere à Dio, e meritare nell’esercitio della Hinnodia, non havendo della lingua Latina intelligenza alcuna’. Secchi, *Della hinnodia ecclesiastica* (1643), 345.

<sup>58</sup> Monson, *Disembodied Voices*, 71-73.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 71-73.

*Conclusiones/Conclusioni* was destined to be read by women as well as men (see Figure 3.4).<sup>60</sup> Banchieri had ties with the nuns of S. Cristina in Bologna;<sup>61</sup> and in addition to sending a music book to Agata Sfondrati (see Chapter 6, n. 82), he dedicated his *Vezzo di perle musicali* (Venice, 1610) to the nuns of Santa Maria della Neve in Piacenza. Towards the end of his preface in the 1609 manual, Banchieri wrote: ‘May it please God that, for the common benefit, these poorly composed words of mine might be effective as a result of their devout concurrence with the musicians of Siena, Milan and Ferrara’.<sup>62</sup> Incidentally, all three cities had a high density of convents which were musical hives of activity.<sup>63</sup> Indeed, in Milan during the first half of the seventeenth century, no less than 75 percent of the daughters of all patrician families were destined to take orders, and by the 1630s nuns comprised the largest sector of the Milanese population, since they were the principal survivors of the plague.<sup>64</sup>

## 6. The content and function of theoretical publications

The content of a music-theory book (or theoretical text contained in a learned book or music print) was dependent on the function it would assume; and the latter determined its material form. The way a book is described on its cover (and in coeval book catalogues)

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<sup>60</sup> ‘A visual affirmation of women’s devotional reading can be seen in the spread of images of the Virgin and of female saints with a book’. Richardson, *Printing, Writers and Readers in Renaissance Italy*, 146. Gabriella Zarrì’s analysis of the dedications of approximately sixty spiritual texts printed between 1475 and 1520 shows that lay people, and especially lay women, were the principal readers of devotional books promoted by religious orders. Only one of the texts in Zarrì’s sample was addressed to a male dedicatee, and even those lacking a dedication have woodcuts indicating that their main audience were veiled women, either nuns or widows. G. Zarrì, ‘La vita religiosa femminile tra devozione e chiostro: Testi devoti in volgare editi tra il 1475 e il 1520’ in *I frati minori tra ‘400 e ‘500, Atti del XII Convegno internazionale* (Assisi, 1986), 125-168. Regarding Saint Cecilia, see also Chapter 2, pp. 87-88, Chapter 4, p. 164, and Chapter 5, p. 185.

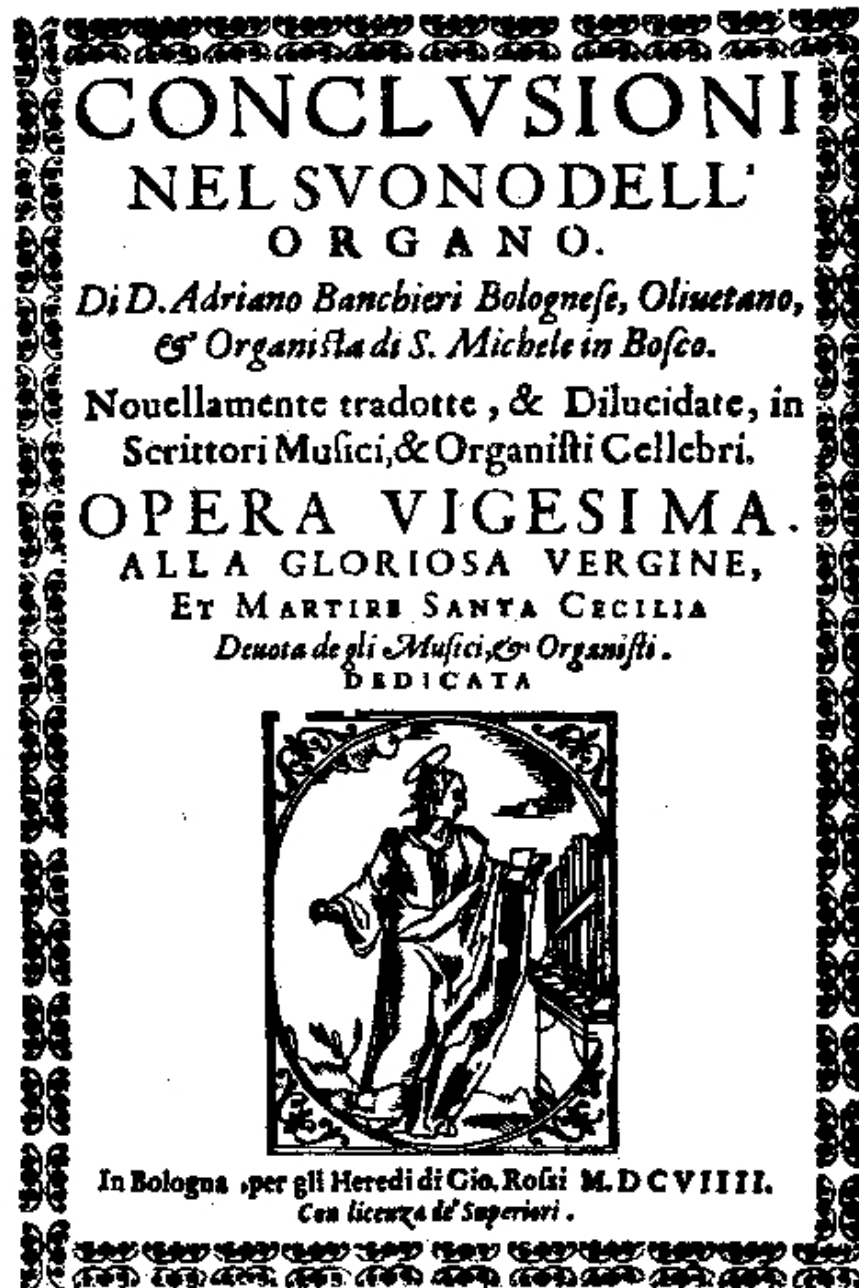
<sup>61</sup> Kendrick, *Celestial Sirens*, 145, 186, 186n.33, 223 and 225.

<sup>62</sup> ‘Dhe piacesse à Iddio, che per beneficio commune, queste mie maltestute parole fossero efficaci in tal devota concorenza con gli Musici, Senesi, Milanesi, & Ferraresi’. Banchieri, *Conclusioni nel suono dell’organo*, 6.

<sup>63</sup> See, for instance, Reardon, *Nuns and Music in Siena*; Kendrick, *Celestial Sirens*; id., *Sounds of Milan*; J. Bowers and J. Tick, eds., *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150-1950*, (London, 1986), 141-146.

<sup>64</sup> See K. Pendle, *Women in Music: A Research and Information Guide* (New York, 2005); Kendrick, *Celestial Sirens*; and Kendrick, *Sounds of Milan*.

Figure 3.4: Title page to Adriano Banchieri's *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo* (Bologna, 1609)



reflects its content, function and material form. Figure 3.5 comprises the words or phrases repeatedly displayed on the title pages of music-theory books. Music treatises were sold because they were short and useful; they were introductory texts; they were frequently written for beginners, and more specifically, for clerics or organists. They contained rules, most commonly those of *canto figurato*, plainchant or counterpoint; these were (allegedly)

**Figure 3.5:** Often-repeated words and phrases on the titles of music-theory books, c. 1600  
– c. 1630

introduzione	principianti/novizzi
trattato	chierici
cartella	organista
regole/arte: del canto figurato	
del canto fermo	liuto
del contrapunto	organo
musica pratica	semplice
basso continuo	breve
intavolatura	utile
passaggi	facile
	necessaria
balli	
rime	
	per imparare
dialogo	per cantare
discorso	per suonare
	per comporre

easy to grasp, simple and necessary for the singer and/or composer. Most treatises were concerned with performance-practice matters: they explained how to place music in tablature so that it could be played on a lute or how to score it for organ; they described how to realize a *basso continuo* part; they listed countless examples of how to perform embellishments. *Musica speculativa* books tended to assume the title of *discorso* or *dialogo*, thereby emphasizing the form in which this discourse would be presented more often than *musica practica* books.<sup>65</sup> By outlining the content of a music-theory book with carefully selected words, the author and even the printer-publisher attempted to allure a particular kind of buyer. It is also worth observing here that many of the titles of the theoretical publications printed in 1622 (see Figure 3.1) share the same choice words. Moreover, the fact that four of them include the noun ‘regola’ in either the singular or

<sup>65</sup> For instance, see Girolamo Mei, *Discorso sopra la musica antica e moderna* (Venice, 1602).

plural links these publications to the category which principally contains music-theory books in the *Vincenti 1621 indice*, 'Regole di musica'.<sup>66</sup>

In late Renaissance Italy, the principle of both teaching and delighting (*docere et delectare*) is synonymous with that of imparting both instruction and pleasure (*utile e giovare*). Both axioms, which had ancient precedent and are often discussed in Italian literary criticism circa 1600, infiltrated writings as a means of persuading a reader of their virtue and truth.<sup>67</sup> Both the titles and text of many music-theory books of the early Seicento embody the principle of *docere et delectare*.<sup>68</sup> Although the authors of these books emphasize their ability to instruct, delighting the reader is usually an auspicious by-product.<sup>69</sup> The embodiment of the dual aim of instructing and pleasing is palpable in music-theory books by Banchieri, most noticeably in two of his didactic handbooks for clerics. In

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<sup>66</sup> The feminine plural of *regola* in the title of Banchieri's *Cartella overo regole utilissime*, however, likely has a dual meaning: see Chapter 2, n. 88.

<sup>67</sup> In his *Tractatio de poësi et pictura* (Rome, 1593), Antonio Possevino, an advocate of Christian poetry, expressed Horace's belief that instruction and pleasure should be combined: 'The whole effect of poetry and of painting is reduced to two things, teaching and delighting'. 'Tota vis Poeseos, atque Picturae duobus absolutur docendo, & delectando'. Possevino cited and translated by B. Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism in the Italian Renaissance* (Chicago, 1961), 335. See also Q. Horatius Flaccus, *Ars poetica*, lines 333-365, which is available online, both in Latin and in English translation: *The Latin Library* (n.p., n.d.), <<http://www.thelatinlibrary.com>>, s.v. 'Horace > Ars Poetica (posted by J. D. Dezotti)'. Accessed 20 Sept 2014. A. S. Kline, *Poetry in Translation* (n.p., 2000-2014), <<http://www.poetryintranslation.com>>, s.v. 'Browse (Latin > Horace: Odes, Satires, Epistles, Ars Poetica, Epodes and Carmen Saeculare) > Ars Poetica: The Art of Poetry'. Accessed 20 Sept 2014.

The prevalence of this axiom in literary criticism (a Jesuit ideal also voiced by the influential scholar father Bernardino Steffonio and conceived as the main objective of the sister arts) had the propagandistic effect during Urban's papacy that 'Rome became more than ever a theatre where all audio-visual means were used to create spectacles that would convince precisely because of the combination of *docere* and *delectare*'. P. Rietbergen, *Power and Culture in Baroque Rome: Barberini Cultural Policies* (Leiden, 2006), 137. The principle of coupling instruction with delight is a concept that pervades the Barberini operas: see F. Hammond, 'Delectare et Docere: Barberini Opera, 1628-1644', id., *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome: Barberini Patronage under Urban VIII* (New Haven, 1994), 199-253.

The second duality – *utile e giovare* – is frequently presented as an uneasy dichotomy in literary criticism of the Italian Renaissance with regard to the function of poetry. Giuseppe Malatesta's *Della nuova poesia* (Verona, 1589), for instance, includes a full-scale consideration of the ends of poetry: see Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism in the Italian Renaissance*, 332-333.

<sup>68</sup> For example, on the title page of his *Della pratica musica vocale, et strumentale*, Scipione Cerreto describes his treatise as a 'necessary work for those who delight in music.' 'Opera necessaria a coloro, che di Musica si diletta.' My emphasis. The *maestro di cappella* of Verona, Stefano Bernardi, wrote in the foreword to his counterpoint treatise: 'et certe notarelle à quelli che d'imparare il modo del ben cantare si diletta.' S. Bernardi, *Porta musicale* (Verona, 1615), fol.3r-v. Likewise, Costanzo Antegnati merged together both axioms in the foreword of *L'arte organica*: see Chapter 2, p. 82.

<sup>69</sup> Emphasizing the ability to teach rather than to delight was a coeval idea associated with utilizing poetry for moralistic education. Possevino, for instance, believed that instruction was the primary end to which the poet should bend all his effort, while pleasure was secondary. Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism in the Italian Renaissance*, 335.

his dedication to the Olivetan Abbot Lorenzo di Ferrara in his *Cartellina del canto fermo gregoriano*, Banchieri wrote that he is sure that Lorenzo will be grateful for this book, for it contains ‘relevant matters regarding the observance of the Choir, in which you delight so much. I even hope’, he continues, ‘that it may be universally useful to religious youth’.<sup>70</sup> Similarly, Banchieri wrote that he composed *Il direttorio* ‘for the public enjoyment of the studious Olivetan youth’<sup>71</sup> and ‘for the particular use of the Olivetan congregation’.<sup>72</sup>

The overwhelming majority of music-theory books printed in Italy within the first three decades of the seventeenth century belongs to the branch of *musica practica* rather than to its *musica speculativa* counterpart. *Musica speculativa* books only tend to contain discussion of one particular theoretical topic. While the erudite scholar Erycius Puteanus advocated the addition of a seventh syllable to the solmization system in his *Musica Pleias* (Venice, 1600) and *Il noniano* (Milan, 1603), a number of tracts focus on the issue of tuning (for instance, Bottrigari’s *Enimma di Pitagora* (Bologna, 1609)).

The growing range of authors writing music theory reflects the diverse functions and content of books containing theoretical material. Indeed, a growing participation of noblemen and scholars (such as Bossi and Ernst Albrecht von Harrach) engaged in non-musical professions produced discourse on music-theoretical subjects for dilettantes. While the doctors Julius Casserius and Hieronymus Fabricius both took an empirical approach to the corporeal, scientific formulation of sound and the way it was sensed, a number of other medics wrote less heavyweight and more easily digestible music treatises.<sup>73</sup> The doctor

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<sup>70</sup> ‘Contenendo in se materie pertinenti all’osservanza del Choro, nella quale lei tanto si compiace: Spero ancora, che universalmente sia per utilitare alla gioventù Religiosa’. Banchieri, *Cartellina del canto fermo gregoriano* (Bologna, 1614), 3.

<sup>71</sup> ‘Per publico giovamento della studiosa gioventù Olivetana’. Banchieri, *Il direttorio*, 3-4.

<sup>72</sup> ‘Per uso particolare Olivetano’. *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>73</sup> Ideas propagated as part of the scientific revolution stimulated an interest in understanding music’s constituent parts and sound production in this period. The dissections of Casserius demonstrate the systematic approach adopted in the sciences through physiological research. J. Casserius, *De vocis auditusque organis historia anatomica* (Ferrara, 1600-1601). Fabricius investigated the larynx’s production of sound and the ear’s ability to hear through human dissection. H. Fabricius, *De visione, voce, auditu* (Padua, 1600), Book II: ‘De larynge vocis organo’ and Book III: ‘De aure auditus organo’.

Cesare Crivellati, for example, published a short compendium, *Discorsi musicali* (Viterbo, 1624), principally in order to facilitate his son's music-theoretical education. Many other theoretical texts written in Italian by dilettantes are informative of contemporary Italian musical culture. Some provide a rich account of the relationship between music and poetry (such as those by the poets Guasparri Torelli and Marino),<sup>74</sup> or between music and dance (such as those by Negri),<sup>75</sup> and some report musical performances and activities undertaken mostly in the city of Rome or in academies. In his *Contrasto musico* (1630), the jurist Gratoso Uberti reviews the seven places where music was performed in Rome. The doctor and cavalier Alfonso Goretti's discourse *Dell'eccellenze, e prerogative della musica* (Ferrara, 1612) increases our awareness of the activities undertaken in Italian music academies. However, musicians – or simply music theorists – also contributed to the written accounts we have on Italian musical culture, such as Ludovico Casali, who published *Generale invito alle grandezze* (Modena, 1629). Likewise, the composer Antonio Falcone narrates the counterpoint competition between his son and Sebastian Raval in his *Relatione del successo* (Cosenza, 1603); Giovanni Battista Magone's *Ghirlanda musicale* (Pavia, 1615) describes the duties of a *maestro di cappella*, and also supplies a brief report of music's place within the university; from the polemical writings of Romano Micheli, which are mostly concerned with canonic compositions, we learn about this musician's antagonistic relationship with papal singers;<sup>76</sup> furthermore, the musicians Orazio Vecchi, Ottavio Vernizzi and Pierfrancesco Lanci provide evidence of the musical activities in Italian academies.<sup>77</sup>

A number of treatises are devoted to the explication of an extraordinary assortment of musical instruments, illustrating three contemporaneous preoccupations: providing the

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<sup>74</sup> G. Torelli, *Capitolo in lode della musica* (Padua, 1607); Marino, *Dicerie sacre*.

<sup>75</sup> C. Negri, *Le gratie d'amore* (Milan, 1602); C. Negri, *Nuove inventioni di balli* (Milan, 1604).

<sup>76</sup> See, for instance, R. Micheli, *Certezza d'artificii musicali* (Venice, 1621).

<sup>77</sup> O. Vecchi, *Le veglie di Siena* (Venice, 1604); O. Vernizzi, *Alcune conclusioni musicali* (Bologna, 1625); P. Lanci, *Academie musicali* (Pesaro, 1627).

history of specific musical instruments, describing the context in which they were used and elucidating how to play them. While the history of the *sistrum* is narrated in the above-mentioned book by Girolamo Bossi, the ‘respected citizen, Roman patrician and Royal Professor of Eloquence from Pavia,’<sup>78</sup> Bernardino Bottazzi, for instance, details the organist’s (and his instrument’s) musical role. Fabio Colonna familiarizes his reader with the *sambuca lincea* (an enharmonic harpsichord with eight keyboards and fifty strings that divided the octave into seventeen parts), the campanologist Angelo Roccha debates the similarity between the *tuba* (the Roman straight trumpet) and bells, and Pietro Millioni and Lodovico Monte explain how to play and tune the Spanish *chitarra*.<sup>79</sup> Some authors discuss the temperament and construction of more familiar instruments, such as the organ-builder Costanzo Antegnati in his *L’arte organica*, and Bottrigari examined the effects of a varied collection of instruments playing in ensemble in *Il desiderio* (1601). Coinciding with contemporary belief, Scipione Cerreto’s hierarchical tree of musical instruments and voices ranks the organ and bass voice first respectively.<sup>80</sup> Many theorists provide instruction for accompanists – most commonly for those who played the organ, but also lute and guitar – in realizing a continuo part.<sup>81</sup> Thus, printed music-theory books frequently describe an array of instruments, in addition to explaining how to accompany a single vocal line.

The comparative studies of (and ensuing controversies over) the *prima* and *seconda prattica*, and of ancient and modern music, are perhaps the best-known theoretical texts from this period. The Bolognese theorist Artusi was the main protagonist.<sup>82</sup> Girolamo

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<sup>78</sup> ‘Hieronymi Bossii Ticinensis, Civis Nobilis, et Patricii Romani, ac Regii eloquentiae professoris.’ G. Bossi, *Isiacus de sistro* (Milan, 1622), fol. 1r.

<sup>79</sup> Bottazzi, *Choro et Organo*; F. Colonna, *La sambuca lincea* (Naples, 1618); A. Roccha, *De campanis commentarius* (Rome, 1612); P. Millioni and L. Monte, *Vero e facil modo* (Venice, 1627).

<sup>80</sup> Cerreto, *Dell’arbore musicale*, 7.

<sup>81</sup> For instance, see Agazzari, *Del sonare sopra’l basso* and Banchieri, *Conclusioni nel suono dell’organo*, the first and second parts of Diruta, *Il Transilvano*, and G. Sabbatini, *Regola facile, e breve per sonare sopra il basso continuo* (Venice, 1628).

<sup>82</sup> Artusi, *L’Artusi*; Artusi, *Seconda parte dell’Artusi*; G. M. Artusi, *Discorso secondo musicale* (Venice, 1608); E. Bottrigari, *Lettera di Federico Verdicelli* (Bologna, 1602); E. Bottrigari, *Aletologia di Leonardo Gallucio* (Bologna, 1604).

Mei's *Discorso sopra la musica antica e moderna* (1602) – in which the author concludes that modern modes lack affection because of their lack of pitch diversity, and that polyphony simultaneously conveyed sundry and contrary affections to the listener's soul – is an example of a comparative study. This branch of music theory shares a certain affinity with contemporaneous speculative treatises and tracts on musical instruments: to some degree, they are all concerned with the question of tuning. The interlocutors in *L'Artusi* (Venice, 1600 & 1603), for instance, decided to employ the equal tones and equal semitones of Aristoxenus so that all instruments could be played together and any melody could be transposed to any key (and by this means modern music would gain perfection). Zarlino's discussion of tuning in the first two books of *Istitutioni harmoniche*, which was refuted most notably by Vincenzo Galilei in his *Dialogo* (1581), but also Bottrigari and the scientist Giovanni Battista Benedetti, no doubt furthered this interest.<sup>83</sup> These comparative studies epitomize the fact that, more consciously than in past decades, early Seicento theorists sought to synthesize and simplify past practices, and thus shed light on the modern and new.

While Giovanni Francesco's broadside *Principium et ars totius musicae* (Modena, c. 1600) represents the educational necessity of teaching the principal rudiments of music chiefly to singers, Chiodino's treatise highlights attempts to simplify and condense the rules of counterpoint, both necessary for the performer and composer, for easy application. In spite of their differing format and length, these publications share the primary characteristic of offering practical advice to either the performer or the composer. Consequently, their function is markedly similar to that of a sixteenth-century *cantorinus*: they provide easy and/or most useful rules by which a beginner, scholar, or cleric could learn, if they so desired, to sing the liturgy and/or devise counterpoint. This characteristic is

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<sup>83</sup> Regarding Benedetti (and, indeed, for some of this whole discussion), see C. V. Palisca, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought* (New Haven; London, 1985), especially 186-187, 257-265 and 270-1. See also C. V. Palisca, 'Zarlino, Gioseffo [Gioseffe]'. *Grove Online*. Accessed 15 Feb 2011.

a recurring tendency in early Seicento music-theory books. Banchieri's *Cartella musicale* (Venice, 1614; reprinted 1615) embodies many of these trajectories: it outlines the rules of plainchant and *canto figurato*, both for the singer and composer, as well as discussing the ornamentation and *passaggi* a singer or instrumentalist should apply to a given musical figure and, among other specific theoretical issues, the nature of the musical beat. Among similar music-theory books are a handful whose authors steadfastly affirm the veracity of Zarlino's theoretical writings more than others.<sup>84</sup> While some treatises (mostly authored by clerics) contain the standard Gregorian or Ambrosian chants and recitation formulae which clerics were taught,<sup>85</sup> others were intended for the budding composer and generally offered particular instruction on the art of counterpoint.<sup>86</sup> In other words, whether the intended reader of a treatise was a secular cleric or a novice composer greatly influenced the content of a primer once the author had sketched the fundamental principles of solmization, normally alongside a diagram of the Guidonian hand and duly followed by simple formulae for mutations.<sup>87</sup> Furthermore, by refining the practical guidance offered on the performance of the liturgy and composition of counterpoint, a few theorists produced manuals for the express utility of the church organist.<sup>88</sup> (These texts demonstrate the overlap in function and content of music-theory books.) Organ manuals illustrate a perceived need to explain new compositional practices and the ways in which performances could be realized.<sup>89</sup> Some theoretical texts tackle isolated aspects of contemporary musical practice, such as

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<sup>84</sup> For instance, O. Tigrini, *Il compendio* (1588; later edition 1602); G. M. Artusi, *Impresa* (Bologna, 1604); C. Angleria, *La regola del contraponto, e della musical compositione* (Milan, 1622); Zacconi, *Prattica di musica seconda parte*.

<sup>85</sup> For instance, see P. A. Pagani, *Breve trattato sopra il canto fermo* (Venice, 1604); P. Cerone, *Le regole* (Naples, 1609); O. da Caposele, *Prattica del canto plano, o canto fermo* (Naples, 1623); and A. Paoli, *Breve introduzione al canto fermo* (Florence, 1623).

<sup>86</sup> For instance, see R. Rodio, *Regole di Musica* (Naples, 1609); Bernardi, *Porta musicale*; G. B. Rossi, *Organo de cantori* (Venice, 1618).

<sup>87</sup> Judd, 'Renaissance Modal Theory', in Christensen, ed., *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, 368-370.

<sup>88</sup> For instance, see Diruta, *Seconda parte del Transilvano* (1609; later edition 1622); Bottazzi, *Choro et Organo*; Banchieri, *L'organo suonarino* (1605).

<sup>89</sup> Carter, 'Music Publishing in Italy, c.1580-c.1625', 31-34.

Agostino Pisa's two tracts, which concentrate on establishing what constituted the beginning and end of the musical beat,<sup>90</sup> the above-mentioned treatises centring on how a performer should realize the *basso continuo*,<sup>91</sup> and those on how to fashion varied *passaggi* or ornaments, such as Francesco Rognoni Taegio's *Selva de varii passaggi* (Milan, 1620).<sup>92</sup>

Many music-theory books were evidently written to educate the religious. Indeed, twice Banchieri was instructed to compile books for those of his order.<sup>93</sup> With the long-term consequences of the Catholic Reformation playing themselves out, the papacy brought about an intensification of social disciplining of Italian populations. Indeed, the increasing numbers and influence of clerics in the Italian urban scene, also as a result of the creation of new seminaries, led to a growing demand for pedagogical manuals devoted to their musical instruction. Thus, the Catholic Church's programme of *disciplinamento* fuelled a need and desire for practical knowledge among clerics. Plagues besetting the peninsula and economic depression in the north of Italy in the 1620s, as well as the concerted efforts of patrician families not to divide up their estate and (in particular) to burden their first-born with the expense of providing for unmarried daughters, drove many patricians to take up the habit. Accordingly, many music-theory books foster the audibility and comprehensibility of the *veritas*, the Word of God: they do not merely teach and delight, but enable church performers to produce music in an eloquent manner in order to convince and to persuade.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> Pisa, *Battuta della musica* and Pisa, *Breve dichiarazione della battuta musicale*.

<sup>91</sup> Agazzari, *Del sonare sopra'l basso*; Bianciardi, *Breve per imparar'a sonare sopra il basso con ogni sorte d'istrumento*; and Sabbatini, *Regola facile, e breve per sonare sopra il basso continuo*.

<sup>92</sup> This publication played an important role in developing the instrumental technique of the violin (turning it from a street into a court instrument in Milan).

<sup>93</sup> These publications are *Il direttorio* and his *Cantorino olivetano* (Milan, 1611). The latter was written at the request of the General Abbot Father Angelo Maria Alchisi for the novice Olivetans. However, it remained unfinished. *Banchieri 1615 indice* (item 8). See also *Banchieri*, 174.

A 1565 music contract between a monk of San Giorgio Maggiore of Venice and Girolamo Scotto attests to sacred music publications being financed by and printed for religious houses. Agee, 'A Venetian Music Printing Contract and Edition Size in the Sixteenth Century', 59-61.

<sup>94</sup> In Chapter 5 I explore these ideas and concepts in Banchieri's *Conclusiones de musica*.

A number of practical music-theory books resemble music prints in terms of their material form: Rognoni's *Selva de varii passaggi*, for instance, is an upright book in folio and for the most part contains musically notated exercises. The music in this book has a two-fold function: it provides both musical exercises for the violinist and theoretical examples for the musical connoisseur. Indeed, many music-theory books, such as Banchieri's *L'organo suonarino*, contain music compositions. Conversely, many music prints contain theoretical ideas, particularly in their prefaces. These are all authored by practical musicians. The most renowned prefaces containing theoretical material are those in Giulio Caccini's *Le nuove musiche* (1601), Alessandro Piccinini's *Intavolatura di liuto* (1623), Lodovico Grossi da Viadana's *Cento concerti ecclesiastici* (Venice, 1602), Claudio Monteverdi's *Il quinto libro de' madrigali a cinque voci* (1605) and Jacopo Peri's *Le musiche sopra l'Euridice* (1600). Tim Carter observed that the 'paratextual matter' in Italian editions of solo songs circa 1600 'increasingly sought ... to offer explanation to "readers" ... needing explanation of new aesthetic and performing worlds'.<sup>95</sup> Thus, theoretical texts reside in music prints to assist the performer (not to mention specifically the accompanist) in mastering new (or even commonplace) techniques or understanding notational practices which their instrument required. The overt practical focus of this particular form of music theory is striking since, as Palisca observed:

Music theory, it is said, follows practice, and that with some delay. We should not expect, then, to find in the years immediately surrounding 1600 an adequate theoretical exposition of the new idiom of recitative [in the preface to *Le musiche sopra l'Euridice* (Florence, 1600): see Chapter 1]. Yet this is precisely what we do find, published simultaneously with the first full-length music drama.<sup>96</sup>

Music theory in a music print's preface is more likely to be a theory conceived simultaneously with practice than one that merely follows it. This is certainly the case also

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<sup>95</sup> Carter, 'Printing the "New Music"', Orden, ed., *Music and the Cultures of Print*, 5. By 'paratextual matter', Carter means, for instance, title pages, dedications, prefaces, postfaces and tables of contents.

<sup>96</sup> Palisca, 'Peri and the Theory of Recitative', id., *Studies in the History of Italian Music and Music Theory*, 453.

in Caccini's *Le nuove musiche*. The material form which music theory took, therefore, might relate to the practical relevance – or application – of the ideas conveyed.

## 7. Conclusion

Although it would be rash to over-generalize certain printing patterns and trends, for many are strongly dependent on the fortunes of individual printing houses, on the socio-cultural context within diverse and distinct Italian provinces, and on the aspirations and desires of authors, printer-publishers, patrons and readers, I am able to draw the following conclusions. Music-theoretical texts of the early Seicento not only assume a wide variety of forms depending on the way a theorist expressed his ideas and how a printer-publisher realized them, but also encompass a variety of theoretical strains (particularly within the *musica practica* branch of music theory). Between 1600 and 1630 music theory tended to be printed at music publishing houses in northern Italian cities, and in particular in Venice, Milan and Bologna. Venice emerges as the predominant printing centre for these books, and the Vincenti as the predominant printing firm within it. Music publishers such as Vincenti catered both for a specialist, erudite audience as well as for the growing number of dilettantes wishing to become better acquainted with the rudiments of music. While the titles of music-theoretical texts reflect their function, material form and theoretical content, the language in which they were written is interdependent on the publication's content, intended audience and geographical area in which it would be circulated.

An increase in production of multiple branches of *musica practica* books occurred from the 1580s onwards and continued during the first three decades of the Seicento. The theoretical output of Banchieri exemplifies the contemporaneous focus on offering practical instruction and the rules of music to a novice in a slender handbook. An emergence of clerics and beginners as the general readers of these music-theory books throughout the peninsula coincides with a growing number of dilettantes writing music

theory as well as with the proliferation of slender *musica practica* books and an inundation of theoretical nuggets in the prefaces of music prints. Thus, it seems that a burgeoning craving for musical knowledge by a growing sector of society fuelled a mounting emphasis placed on practical musicianship and musical knowledge in theoretical writings, and vice versa. With an arguably growing literate sector of the populace, their wish to participate in recreational, musical pursuits and even to instruct others in them by producing affordable texts, the music market thrived. In this climate, the documenting and articulation of basic performance and compositional practices which were hitherto taught orally blossomed. With this came the ossification of the *prima prattica*, the first historical style to become the basis of a pedagogical theory; this occurred because of the Catholic Church's programme of *disciplinamento* and because of a widespread desire for practical musical knowledge.

## Chapter 4. Second and Revised Editions

It is often assumed that there is a symbiotic relationship between the republication of a music book and its contemporary demand (and hence popularity). A detailed examination of second and revised editions of early Seicento music-theoretical texts, especially those by Banchieri, shows that the situation is more complicated.

Distinguishing between a first edition and a subsequent one, however, is a difficult task. As H. Wiley Hitchcock remarked when arguing that Giulio Caccini *detto* Romano was not (as François-Joseph Fétis first supposed) the author of the music print *Fuggiloto musicale* (Venice, 1613), ‘It was not beneath printers to lure buyers by assuring them of getting a “corrected and reprinted” [*corretto, & ristampato*] version of a work even when it was being printed for the first time.’<sup>1</sup> The words ‘nuovamente ristampata’ feature on the title page of Giovanni Maria Artusi’s *Seconda parte dell’Artusi overo delle imperfezioni della moderna musica* (Venice, 1603), for instance; and although the ‘ri-’ is blotted out in the copies held at F-Pn (shelfmark Res.V.573) and GB-Lbm (shelfmark Hirsch. I. 35), suggesting that the publishing house of Vincenti attempted to correct their printing error, the possibility that the first edition is no longer extant and that this volume is a second or subsequent edition still remains. Similarly, consideration of whether each edition had been granted a privilege and licence is fruitless in determining how many editions of a publication were brought to the press. As Richard J. Agee discovered with regard to the Venetian privilege, in most cases authors and printer-publishers did not apply for a privilege for a new music book. Furthermore,

From the mid-1580s until the virtual cessation of Senate documents dealing with music prints in 1603, the books carrying a privilege label and the testimony of the archival sources ... begin to diverge ... After 1603, the privilege became automatic upon the granting of a licence; thus, only documents dealing with extraordinary concessions granted by the Senate are listed from 1603 to 1630.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> H. W. Hitchcock, ‘Depriving Caccini of a Musical Past Time’, *JAMS*, 25/1 (1972), 58-78: 65.

<sup>2</sup> Further on, Agee writes: ‘The licences issued in the late sixteenth century relate to only a tiny percentage of all music titles published, and the privileges found in the archival sources account for only a small number of

Nevertheless, taking into account whether the title page of a music-theory book stipulates that it is a new edition and if the volume has a privilege or was granted a licence assists in establishing interrelations among various editions of a publication.

The fact that each edition could survive in different states creates an additional complication when establishing whether an edition is the first or a subsequent one. John Milsom explores the different types of alterations – especially the changes to the movable type which were introduced when a forme was unlocked, but also amendments made in manuscript or pasted to the page – which one music book, Thomas Tallis and William Byrd's *Cantiones sacrae* (London, 1575), underwent.<sup>3</sup> Most often, discrepancies arose among copies from a single print run because stop-press corrections were introduced by the author or corrector who undertook the task of proofreading the book. One typographical revision to Giovanni Negri's *Le gratie d'amore* (Milan, 1602), for example, required a complete resetting of a single bifolium (the unit of impression for the book) in order to amend a choreographic blunder in the second part of the dance 'Laura gentile' both by making minor typographical adjustments and by changing the dance-steps so that they corresponded to the music.<sup>4</sup> However, since uncorrected sheets were neither kept separately nor destroyed, they were (as was common practice) used for making finished books, even though the printer-publisher was aware of their deficiencies. Thus, it would be an oversimplification to state that Negri's *Le gratie d'amore* and his re-edition, *Nuove inventioni di balli* (Milan, 1604), are identical save for the title pages: as a result of stop-

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the prints issued "con gratia et privilegio". It is possible, of course, that the registration of a privileged volume with the printers' guild began years before its official recognition in 1603 - indeed, perhaps in the 1580s, when large numbers of prints began to appear with no corresponding Venetian archival documentation.' Though Agee refers to 'music prints', it is clear from his Appendix that he includes music-theory books in his assessment. R. J. Agee, 'The Venetian Privilege and Venetian Music-Printing in the Sixteenth Century', *EMH*, 3/1 (1983), 1-42: 4-5 and 42.

<sup>3</sup> Milsom, 'Tallis, Byrd and the "Uncorrected Copy"'.  
<sup>4</sup> Negri, *Le gratie d'amore*, 209-211. For a summary of the revisions in different versions of Negri's two editions, see Jones, 'The relationship between music and dance in Cesare Negri's *Le gratie d'amore* (1602)', i, 85-102.

press corrections, each edition survives in different states.<sup>5</sup> In addition to changes to the type itself, misprints could be corrected by hand or by paste-over cancel before an edition was put on sale. In the first and second editions of Lodovico Zacconi's *Prattica di musica* (Venice, 1592; later edition 1596), for instance, the handwritten markings are the same, a fact which suggests that these editorial additions were made prior to the 1592 edition going on sale.<sup>6</sup> In the copies of Ercole Bottrigari's *Il desiderio* (Venice, 1594; later edition 1599) held at GB-Lbm (shelfmarks 785.h.53 and Hirsch I.87) and I-Bc (shelfmark B.40) almost all of the running headings on odd pages (that is, on every recto folio) have been altered by means of a paste-over cancel: instead of reading 'Di Alemanno Benelli' (the pseudonym under which Bottrigari first printed his treatise: see Chapter 1, pp. 32-34) they read 'Del S. C. Herc. Bottrigari' and thus reveal the author's true identity.

While the majority of re-editions between 1570 and 1599 were weighty theoretical tomes and learned books containing snippets of music theory, most re-editions in the first three decades of the Seicento are of didactic music handbooks, predominantly authored by Banchieri or Orazio Scaletta. However, re-editions of music-theoretical texts in learned publications or in collections of poetry, of which Tommaso Garzoni, Giambattista Marino and Guido Panciroli are the principal authors, also abound. Marino's *Dicerie sacre* (1614) was reproduced, for instance, no fewer than seven times between 1615 and 1628. The existence of so many re-editions of the latter is likely a result of over-estimation of the market which, as the scholar Ian Maclean established, is a feature of much learned publication from the 1580s onwards in Early Modern Europe.<sup>7</sup> After exploring the different kinds of second and revised editions that music-theory books of the early Seicento

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<sup>5</sup> Jones, 'The relationship between music and dance in Cesare Negri's *Le gratie d'amore* (1602)', i, 2-3 and 85.

<sup>6</sup> Some of these marking are corrections, and some those things which would have needed to be added by hand (e.g. various clefs, mensuration signs, and free-standing dots). Bonnie Blackburn, per comm.

<sup>7</sup> Maclean, *Learning and the Market Place*, 124-5.

underwent, I examine the re-editions of three theorists: Girolamo Diruta, Scaletta and Banchieri.

### 1. The various types of second and revised editions

In the early Seicento, a republished music-theory book could take several forms. Chiefly, it could be a reissue or a resetting (ranging from being an entirely faithful rendering of a previous edition to being a substantially revised one). In addition, I have called music-theoretical texts re-edited modules or offshoot editions if they contain theoretical material present in an earlier publication.

#### a. The reissue

The simplest kind of re-edition was the reissue. At the very least, the only difference between an edition and its reissue is the change of date on the title page. More commonly, however, a reissue included sheets from a previous edition in front of which a new title page and possibly a new first gathering (on whose pages a new dedicatee typically features) were inserted. Reissues were primarily made to clear back stock if too great a number of copies remained unsold. Consequently, reissuing a book suggests that circulation of the previous edition had been limited, or that the supply exceeded the demand. This in turn meant that the impact of the music-theoretical ideas contained in the book was curbed, or at best their dissemination was more gradual than an author or printer-publisher initially anticipated.

Negri's *Nuove inventioni di balli* is a reissue of leftover stock from the author's *Le gratie d'amore*, which was published by Pacifico Pontio and Giovanni Battista Piccaglia. As Pamela Jones discovered, 'the paper, printing, spacing, colophons, engravings, indices, pagination errors, etc., are exactly the same in both the 1602 and 1604 editions; only the

frontispiece, title-page, and dedication are new'.<sup>8</sup> Since no evidence exists to support the assumption that Negri was alive in 1604, nor that he was responsible for the wording on the title page of the second edition, it seems that the printer-publisher, Girolamo Bordone, was responsible for the reissue.<sup>9</sup> Akin to Jones, to ascertain whether a subsequent edition is a reissue, I place more weight on establishing whether the format, pagination, number of gatherings, catchwords and typographic characters are the same as those of a previous edition than on the presence of the same watermark(s): comparing the latter is not a watertight method of determining whether one book is a re-issue of another.<sup>10</sup> A small stub to which the replacement title page is glued, as well as residual ones (indicating that pages from a previous edition had been removed), also betray a reissue.

#### b. The resetting

I consider a second or subsequent edition to be a resetting when the majority of its contents were set in type afresh. While at one end of the spectrum we find what I call a faithful resetting (a new edition in which prose, musically notated examples, diagrams and drawings might be changed subtly as a consequence of orthographical corrections or errors and according to the characteristic turns of phrase of an author, corrector or printer-

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<sup>8</sup> Jones, 'The relationship between music and dance in Cesare Negri's *Le gratie d'amore* (1602)', i, 85.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 28; see also 21n.1: Jones was unable to find Negri's name in the registry of deaths in Milan from the year 1604 to 3 November 1610.

<sup>10</sup> In general, the quality of paper in the Early Modern period was poor, meaning that watermarks in books from this period are difficult to discern. *Ibid.*, i, 45. Moreover, it seems that it was common practice to use sheets of paper from different sources in one publication, meaning that a variety of watermarks in two or more books comes from the same print run. Regarding the watermarks in books printed by Gardano's firm, Richard J. Agee writes: 'Over forty watermarks similar to those in [Charles-Moïse] Briquet's legendary *Les Filigranes [dictionnaire historique des marques du papier jusqu'en 1660]*, facsimile ed. with supplementary material, ed. by A. Stevenson; Amsterdam, 1968] have been identified from Angelo and Alessandro Gardano's editions published in Venice in the last decades of the sixteenth century.' Consequently, ascertaining the source of paper used to make books for this firm proved impossible, for 'No records detailing the acquisition of paper survive from the Gardano firms in Venice or in Rome.' However, Agee suggests that, 'given the high cost of transportation of merchandise in the period, simple economics would suggest that the printers acquired paper from as close to home as possible, especially considering that the area around Venice was home to many paper mills.' (On the production and commerce of paper in Veneto, see I. Mattozzi, *Produzione e commercio della carta nello stato veneziano* (Bologna, 1975).) Agee, *The Gardano Music Printing Firms*, 36. Since the gatherings of a book's main content were printed successively, the fascicle where an alteration in the type of paper (and hence in the watermark) appears in one edition might correspond with that in another book from the same print run. Banchieri's *Lettere armoniche* (Bologna, 1628) held at I-Bc, for instance, contains multiple watermarks.

publisher), at the other we find the substantially revised resetting: a new edition which the author or printer-publisher (or both) reworked, an act which typically led the publication to be shortened or lengthened. Whether a new edition had been corrected, curtailed or expanded (or all three) tended to be drawn to the reader's attention: for instance, the sentence 'Nuovamente dal proprio autore corretto, ampliato di nuovi balli, di belle regole, & alla perfetta theorica ridotto' features on the title page of Fabritio Caroso's *Nobiltà di dame* (Venice, 1600), itself a revised edition of the author's *Il ballarino* (Venice, 1581). As the title pages of early Seicento music-theory books imply, the length and format of resettings were more susceptible to alteration than reissues.

Early Seicento music-theory books which were reprinted posthumously (or without the author's supervision) tend to be faithful resettings rather than substantially revised ones. Ricciardo Amadino's faithful resetting of Orazio Tigrini's *Il compendio della musica* (Venice, 1588) in 1602 illustrates this. If we exclude the preliminary material (the posthumous 1602 edition omits the dedication to Zarlino and prefatory poems), the main text of both editions occupies exactly the same number of pages. Moreover, a comparison between the two editions at GB-Lbm reveals that their foliation and size are the same; even the title pages for each of the four books which comprise the compendium are placed in 1602 on the same page and page gathering as the 1588 edition. Throughout, orthographical and syntactical alterations render the second edition, as Amadino wrote on the posthumous title page, one which was 'corrected with diligence and reprinted'.<sup>11</sup> The type characters in the 1602 edition, which are smaller than those used in the first edition for text and larger for musical notation, yield a difference in spacing between lines. This, then, also

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<sup>11</sup> 'Di novo con diligentia corretto, & Ristampato.' Tigrini, *Il compendio della musica* (1588; later edition 1602), fol. 1r. Abbreviations in marginalia are the most discernible difference. However, some alterations seem somewhat arbitrary, such as the italicization of quotes (for instance, on p. 127 and p. 135). Furthermore, in the process of resetting this compendium, the occasional new error appears: for instance, while most page-numbering errors were corrected p. 96 is numbered p. 66.

contributes to slight adjustments to the layout of each page.<sup>12</sup> In short, the first edition of *Il compendio della musica* was used as a copy text for the 1602 reprint by the same Venetian printing house. Although the music-theory book was reset, Amadino introduced his own minor textual revisions. Thus, it seems that the success of the first edition warranted a resetting of the publication. The large number of both the first and second editions of Tigrini's compendium which have been preserved likewise implies that readers valued the short textbook.<sup>13</sup>

Resettings of early Seicento music-theory books which an author instigated, however, tend to be substantially revised rather than faithful ones. Moreover, when the content of an edition was significantly revised, the ensuing resetting commonly reflected this by being renamed. Renamed revised editions draw attention to the difficulty of differentiating between a significantly altered edition and a new distinct publication. Agostino Pisa's second of two treatises on the musical beat, themselves speculative theoretical writings, serves as an example. While his *Breve dichiarazione della battuta musicale* (Rome, 1611) is a slim volume of sixteen pages, his 'newly reprinted and enlarged'<sup>14</sup> version of this treatise, *Battuta della musica* (Rome, 1611), is 144 pages long. It is commonly accepted that, since his first treatise 'met with strong dissent from within the Roman environment', Pisa decided to 'recast the content of his treatise on a larger scale and to address a readership that was even more specialised'.<sup>15</sup> Piero Gargiulo suggests that the prolixity of the reprinted edition's proem, which is divided into 21 sections, emphasises

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<sup>12</sup> The most discernible differences in layout occur towards the end of the compendium. Compare, for instance, the textual differences between pp. 115-116 in each edition, and the different spatial representation of musical examples on p. 130: since each part (C, A, T and B) was presented on a different staff line in the 1602 edition (instead of on the same one, with one part following the next), some of the prose at the foot of the page had to be shunted over to p. 131. This affected the layout of text on the remaining pages of the compendium.

<sup>13</sup> RISM B/VI<sup>2</sup> (pp. 831-832) lists 44 copies of the 1588 edition (if we include the one erroneously dated 1638: see Appendix 2) and 19 copies of the 1602 edition.

<sup>14</sup> 'Ristampata di nouo, & Ampliata'. Pisa, *Battuta della musica*, title page.

<sup>15</sup> Piero Gargiulo in his introduction to Pisa, *Breve dichiarazione della battuta musicale* (1611; facs. edn. 1996), xix-xxviii: xxi-xxii.

‘the greater weight of this second work’.<sup>16</sup> Pisa reorganized much theoretical material, causing the second treatise to include not only six expanded chapters, but also five additional ones.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, to assist with the structure of the treatise, in the expanded edition of the treatise Pisa incorporated fragments of his sonnet on the musical beat. In addition, this sonnet appears in its entirety twice in Pisa’s *Battuta della musica* (pp. 9 and 68). As mentioned in Chapter 2, Banchieri includes Pisa’s sonnet on p. 34 of Banchieri’s *Cartella musicale* (Venice, 1614; later edition 1615).

### c. Re-edited modules and offshoot editions

A module is an independent unit which can function both as a self-contained component of a book and as a distinct publication. The ‘Moderna pratica musicale’ section (pp. 161-248) of Banchieri’s *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615) is an example of a module of a music-theory book: it even has its own title page which specifies its publication details and includes the printer’s mark (see Figure 4.1). Since the author listed the module as a distinct publication in the *Banchieri 1613 indice* (item 29), and since I-Vnm holds an individually bound copy of it (shelfmark Mus. 569), it seems likely that the ‘Moderna pratica musicale’ section circulated in the early Seicento both as a separate unit and as part of the *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615). Unusually, however, this module begins in the middle of a fascicle: the edition is in octavo format and the signature ‘F5’ clearly features on title page in Figure 4.1.<sup>18</sup> If reprinted, a module took the form of a reissue or a resetting. Banchieri’s *Progressi politici* (Bologna, 1616) is an example of a reset module (see below).

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid., xxii.

<sup>17</sup> Of the five additional chapters, three (2, 6 and 7) were ‘on precepts of a technical nature’ and two (10 and 11) were ‘dedicated respectively to proportions and to a remarkable “Catalogue of Iniquitous Errors”’. Ibid., xxiii.

<sup>18</sup> It is more common to find that a module could be easily removed and kept intact because of the manner in which its pages were gathered. The peculiar manner in which the pages were gathered in Diruta’s *Seconda parte del Transilvano* (1609; later edition 1622), for instance, made it possible for the publication to be easily divided into four books. An examination of the 1622 copy held in GB-Ob (shelfmark Tenbury Mus.c.91(2)) reveals that the first book (including the title page to the whole publication and the opening dedication to Leonora Ursina Sforza) consists of a six-leaved gathering (24 pages) bearing the signatures A1-6, the second

**Figure 4.1:** The title page of the ‘Moderna pratica musicale’ section. Adriano Banchieri, *Cartella musicale* (Venice, 1614; later edition 1615), 161



If a music-theory book contains material which clearly derives from a previous publication that has been interwoven with a significant amount of additional material, I have called it an offshoot edition. Banchieri’s *Il principiante fanciullo à due voci* (Venice, 1625) serves as an example. Here three contrapuntal duos, which he incorporated successively in a previous treatise, his *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615), are scattered throughout and fulfil a different pedagogical function. While the duos are examples of *contrapunto alla moderna* in the *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615), in *Il principiante fanciullo à due voci* they are primarily singing exercises for young cantors. (For further details, see below.)

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book consists of a six-leaved gathering (24 pages) bearing the signatures B1-6 and a three-leaved gathering (12 pages) bearing the signatures Bb1-3, the third book consists of a three-leaved gathering (12 pages) bearing the signatures C1-3, and the fourth book (including the *tavola* for the whole publication on the last page) consists of a seven-leaved gathering (28 pages) bearing the signatures D1-7.

Module and offshoot editions draw attention to the fact that the material incorporated in music-theory books could be re-published in an *ad hoc* manner. Banchieri's narration about the invention of the *sampogna*, which is found in several of his music-theory books, exemplifies this (see below). By modifying a snippet of text on a specific topic and placing it in a different publication, an author could address a wider, narrower or different readership. For instance, while Guasparri Torelli's *Capitolo in lode della musica* (Padua, 1607) is a distinct publication which consists of a poem on a music-theoretical topic, its incorporation as a module at the end of his *Rime* (Vicenza, 1613) meant that its contemporary readership widened to include all those who appreciated vernacular poetry, not just those who had an interest in verse on a musical subject.

## 2. Case study 1: The first and second parts of Diruta's *Il Transilvano*

Edward J. Soehnlén and Murray C. Bradshaw's comprehensive examination of the first editions and faithful resettings of the first and second parts of Girolamo Diruta's *Il Transilvano* verifies their continuing exigency. Modelled on the first edition of 1609, the *Seconda parte del Transilvano* (Venice, 1622) was reset in different type.<sup>19</sup> As Soehnlén and Bradshaw determined, although the four editions of the first part of *Il Transilvano* can be grouped in pairs, the situation is more complicated:

Although the edition of 1625 was clearly modelled on that of 1597, as the edition of 1612 was on 1593, the parallelism is by no means exact. The first three editions, of 1593, 1597, and 1612, for instance, have the basic text set in italics, whereas that of 1625 is in roman type. The single edition of 1625 spelled 'esempio' with one 's' ... rather than the double 's' found in the three earlier editions. But the last three editions, of 1597, 1612, and 1625, have the same sort of floriated border around the title page (that of 1597 and 1625 is the same) whereas the border for the 1593 title page is quite different. In none of the four editions, though, is anything essential eliminated or changed.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> While the *Seconda parte del Transilvano* (1609) is principally in Roman type, the *Seconda parte del Transilvano* (1622) is in italics. Furthermore, 'Line arrangements and page numbers of the two editions generally coincide, with the exception of ... two instances'. G. Diruta, *Il Transilvano* (1593, 1609), ed. by E. J. Soehnlén and M. C. Bradshaw (Venice, 1593, 1609; facs. edn., with introduction by E. J. Soehnlén and M. C. Bradshaw, s.l., 1983), 14 and 16; for the two exceptions, see Soehnlén and Bradshaw's chapters III and VI at the start of this facsimile.

<sup>20</sup> Diruta, *Il Transilvano*, (1593, 1609; facs. edn. 1983), 14-15. Specifically regarding the 1593 and 1612 editions, Soehnlén and Bradshaw write: 'Page numbers and line arrangements between the two editions

It becomes clear from Soehnlén and Bradshaw's in-depth analysis of the material form of these six texts that all re-editions – whether of the first or second part of Diruta's *Il Transilvano* – were copied verbatim by the typesetter. In other words, hardly any phrases were altered and the most recurrent differences are morphological and typographical.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, more critical differences among these six texts abound in the notated music examples and compositions rather than in the prose.<sup>22</sup> Thus, as Soehnlén and Bradshaw comment, 'Although there are numerous differences between the various editions of Diruta's texts, few are of major significance ... The text still remains reasonably clear to the reader.'<sup>23</sup> The resettings, then, were 'faithful' – discounting the mistakes of the typesetter – to previous editions. Clearly, Diruta's involvement in the printer-publisher's

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generally correspond'; and moreover, 'the two volumes frequently agree in spelling, punctuation, and other typographical traits'. Ibid, 14.

<sup>21</sup> The theorist and/or printer-publisher merely corrected glaring errors, or changed choices of spacing, splitting of words (between lines), various forms of 's', alternate use of 'v' or 'u', capitalization, punctuation, pagination, abbreviations, the presence or absence of accent marks, difference in type (roman/italic) and spelling. Examples of some of the more substantial (albeit minor) changes made in the first part of *Il Transilvano* are as follows:

Page/folio	Line(s)	Variant
[A1] title page	10	1593, 1597, 1625: DI CHIOGGIA. 1612: D'AGOBPIO
1v	3	1593, 1612: a fatica, ne' a' cosa veruna. 1597, 1625: a' fatca, veruna.
5v	35	1593, 1597, 1612: ragioni; 1625: cagioni
5v	25-26	1597, 1625: music lacking
6r	20	1593, 1612: la nota buona, e cattiva; 1597, 1625: la nota buona
9v	3	1593,1597: sonno; 1612: suono; 1625: sono

Soehnlén and Bradshaw record the numerous typographical and morphological differences among these four editions of the first part of *Il Transilvano* in Diruta, *Il Transilvano*, (1593, 1609; facs. edn. 1983), 33-54.

On occasion, orthographical and typographical differences change the meaning, or at the least obscure the meaning, of the text. The last variant listed in the above table exemplifies this. While the 1593 and 1597 editions read 'sonno' (the Italian noun for 'sleep'), the 1612 edition substitutes the word for the more likely 'suono' ('suono': first person singular in the present tense of *suonare*). From the context, the 1625 edition's amendment to 'sono' (a variant spelling of the first person singular in the present tense of *suonare*, but also the Italian for the first person singular and third person plural of the present tense of the verb 'to be') is the correct reading, which readers of the 1593 and 1597 editions no doubt would have realized: 'Hò inteso benissimo, il grado, con l'una, è l'altra mano, & anco il salto buono, ma nel salto cattivo mi nasce un poco di difficoltà, nella mano sinistra nel discendere, che quando io *sonno/suono/sono* alla settima nota, non sò se la debbo fare con il quarto dito, over con il secondo.' 'I have thoroughly understood [how to play] stepwise passages both with the right and left hand, and even [how to play] the good leaps; but I have some difficulty with the bad leaps when the left hand descends, for when I am sleepy (*[ho] sonno*) I play/I am at the seventh note I do not know if I ought to play it with the fourth finger or rather with the second.' G. Diruta, *Il Transilvano* (Venice, 1593), fol. 8r-9v. G. Diruta, *The Transylvanian = Il Transilvano*, ed. and trans. by M. C. Bradshaw and E. J. Soehnlén (Venice, 1593, 1609; facs. edn. Henryville, 1984), i, 63-5. (A good leap (*salto buono*) for Diruta occurs when the note to which the hand jumps occurs on a strong beat, irrespective of the interval between the notes. A bad leap (*salto cattivo*) occurs when the first note of a beginning stepwise passage, to which the hand has leapt, begins on a weak beat.)

<sup>22</sup> Diruta, *Il Transilvano*, (1593, 1609; facs. edn. 1983), 33-54.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 33.

alterations was minimal if non-existent, particularly in the editions of 1612, 1622 and 1625 where the dedicatee and preliminary material mirror an earlier edition.<sup>24</sup> This is unsurprising, since Diruta died soon after 25 March 1610.<sup>25</sup> As both parts of Diruta's *Il Transilvano* (but especially the first) were staple music textbooks which were 'necessary for teachers of the organ,'<sup>26</sup> it seems that steady sales led to them being reset over a period of 31 years. It is also worthy of note that Giacomo Vincenti and his son Alessandro did not base a new edition of the first part of *Il Transilvano* on the most recently printed one when we consider more complicated examples of textual transmission which music-theory books underwent, such as Orazio Scaletta's *Scala di musica* (Venice, 1585).

### 3. Case study 2: The multiple editions of Scaletta's *Scala di musica*

Republished no fewer than twelve times between 1600 and 1630 (see Appendices 2 and 3), Orazio Scaletta's *Scala di musica* (Venice, 1585; later editions 1595, 1597, 1598, 1599) is by far the most re-edited music-theory book of the early Seicento. The lack of dedication in all but one of the editions printed in the first three decades of the Seicento suggests that printer-publishers (as opposed to the author) instigated its republication.<sup>27</sup> Thus, printer-publishers and editors were likely responsible for alterations to the text.

Most of the surviving editions (listed in RISM B/VI<sup>2</sup>) are resettings rather than reissues, and some (as their differing material forms illustrate) underwent more revision than others. Apart from the 1627 edition which was printed in Rome, between 1600 and 1630 all editions were printed either in Venice by Ricciardo Amadino or by Alessandro Vincenti or in Milan by the heirs of Simone Tini and Filippo Lomazzo, or later by only

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<sup>24</sup> For more information regarding the dedication of Diruta's treatises, see Diruta, *The Transylvanian* (1593, 1609; facs. edn. 1984), i, 2-4.

<sup>25</sup> C. V. Palisca, 'Diruta [Mancini], Girolamo'. *Grove Online*. Accessed 14 Jan 2012.

<sup>26</sup> 'Necessaria a professori d'organo'. Diruta's *Il Transilvano* (1593), title page. Observe how the author's description of the function of his treatise concurs with Costanzo Antegnati's understanding of the function of *Il Transilvano* (1593; later edition 1597) as well as Banchieri's: see Chapter 2, pp. 81-82.

<sup>27</sup> The exception is the dedication written by the printer-publisher (as opposed to the author) in the 1627 edition printed in Rome. Scaletta died in 1630. I. Fenlon, 'Scaletta, Orazio', *Grove Online*. Accessed 24 March 2014.

Lomazzo. Iain Fenlon discovered that there were ties among these firms. (On the links between the Venetian printing houses of Amadino and Vincenti, see Chapter 3, pp. 115-117.) In 1586, the Milanese firm (then called ‘Francesco and heirs of Tini’) established a relationship with the retail office (*ufficio di vendita*) of Giacomo Vincenti and Ricciardo Amadino. As Fenlon observed: ‘With the unique exception of Giovanni Battista Bovicelli’s *Regole, passaggi di musica, madrigali, e motetti passeggiati* printed by Vincenti in 1594, these printing commissions seem to have stopped from 1586 onwards’.<sup>28</sup> However, the similarity among many editions of the *Scala di musica* (1585) – another music-theory book printed at these three houses – suggests that good relationships between these firms continued in the early Seicento.

The fact that the title page of the 1630 edition of Scaletta’s didactic handbook is labelled ‘duodecima impressione’ suggests that twelve resettings of the publication were printed up to and including that year. However, given the stipulated impression numbers on the title pages of some of the pre-1630 editions, the situation is clearly more complicated. It is possible, for instance, that the impression number assigned to an edition depended on the city in which it was published. Whether each printer-publisher followed his own order or whether a particular impression number was affixed to the title page of an edition at Scaletta’s insistence remains uncertain.<sup>29</sup> While one fourth, two fifth, one ninth and one twelfth *impressioni* printed in Milan by the heirs of Simone Tini and Filippo Lomazzo survive, the intermediate *impressioni* do not.<sup>30</sup> Likewise, the impression numbers on the

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<sup>28</sup> ‘Con l’unica eccezione delle *Regole, passaggi di musica, madrigali, e motetti passeggiati* di Giovanni Battista Bovicelli stampate dal Vincenti nel 1594, queste commissioni di stampa sembrano esser cessate a partire dal 1586’. Fenlon, ‘Il foglio volante editoriale Tini, circa il 1596’, 241.

<sup>29</sup> According to Oscar Mischiati, Banchieri’s lost *La mano, et documenti sicuri* (Milan, 1611) shares its opus number with *L’organo suonarino* (1611). (On Banchieri’s numbering of his musical *opere*, see Chapter 1, n. 5.) This suggests that, akin to the assignment of an impression number, the assignment of an opus number depended on the city in which the latest edition of an author was produced. *Banchieri*, 105, 105n.153, 121-122.

<sup>30</sup> Gaetano Gaspari, however, states that the eleventh *impressione* (printed by Filippo Lomazzo in Milan in 1626) is held at I-Bc (shelfmark C.14). Unfortunately, though, the title page of this edition is missing. *GaspariO*. Accessed 24 March 2014.

title pages of the editions printed in Venice between 1600 and 1630 suggest that at least six resettings were produced there.<sup>31</sup> However, three distinct Venetian re-editions (two printed by Ricciardo Amadino in 1608 and 1614 and one by Alessandro Vincenti in 1622) include the phrase ‘quinta impressione’ on their title page. In addition, two labelled ‘quinta impressione’ were printed by the heirs of Lomazzo and Tini in Milan in 1607 and 1610. While it seems that the 1608 and 1610 editions are reissues of the 1607 edition printed in Milan, the 1614 impression contains different orthographical mistakes and is cast in slightly different type. The different title pages affixed to the Milanese edition of 1607 and Venetian edition of 1608 suggest that the heirs of Tini and Lomazzo and Amadino independently circulated the book through their own wholesale and retail channels.

The presence of re-editions of allegedly the same *impressione* leads to additional confusion when calculating the number of editions of a music-theory book: does the impression-count (as stated on a book’s title page) act as a veritable gauge of how many resettings a treatise underwent, and were intermediate *impressioni* actually printed? The likelihood that many editions of Scaletta’s *Scala di musica* (1585) and other treatises are no longer extant means that any statistical review of all music-theory books printed in the early Seicento (such as that carried out in Chapter 3) will be flawed. Another consequence of this is that a thorough examination of the different kinds of editions that some books such as Scaletta’s *Scala di musica* (1585) underwent is not possible. What can be ascertained, though, is that a slender pocket manual on music was brought to press countless times in the early Seicento by printer-publishers. (Indeed, the last edition listed in RISM B/VI<sup>2</sup> is dated 1698.) The high number of re-editions of *Scala di musica* (1585) clearly demonstrates that a symbiotic relationship existed between a need for such a publication in the marketplace and the printer-publisher’s attempt (through reprinting it) to

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<sup>31</sup> ‘Sesta impressione’. O. Scaletta, *Scala di musica* (Venice, 1626), title page.

continue to fuel an interest in such a manual. In his opening dedication to his patron, Monsignor Francesco Vitelli, the printer Paolo Masotti wrote: ‘I must now print this Musical SCALE, which must be the first course of studies in this discipline for the young.’<sup>32</sup> Here the dual purpose of printing the handbook is explicit: while an evident need for the music manual made printing it a safe business proposition, Masotti’s belief that *Scala di musica* (1585) was necessary for the young demonstrates his overt attempt to influence – and increase – sales of the manual by suggesting it is both an indispensable and fundamental commodity.

#### 4. Case study 3: Banchieri’s second and revised editions

For the remainder of this chapter, I examine the various kinds of re-editions which Banchieri’s music-theory books underwent. Throughout this section, reference should be made to Figure 2.2 and Appendix 2 where I list the publication details of his music-theoretical writings, and also to Figure 2.3 where I categorize them. Even though the majority of Banchieri’s theoretical output consists of re-editions, relatively few of his treatises are reissues or barely altered resettings. Unlike his contemporaries, the monk-musician had a particular propensity to revise his theoretical publications substantially.

##### a. The *Lettere*

The death of the Bolognese printer-publisher Girolamo Mascheroni had the effect of consigning Banchieri’s first edition of printed letters to oblivion. However, Nicolò Tebaldini recovered nearly all of these in a reissue, to which Banchieri added some more letters.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, although numbered up to page 160, the content of both publications

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<sup>32</sup> ‘Dovendo io hora dare alla mia Stampa questa SCALA Musicale ch’è giovani deve essere il primo indrizzo in questa scienza’. Paolo Masotti in Scaletta, *Scala di musica* (Rome, 1627), fol. 2r.

<sup>33</sup> ‘La morte dell’andetto [*sic* antedetto] Mascheroni fece anche sep[p]ellire all’oblivione tali lettere.mò recuperate vengono à nuova publicatione, con nuova aggiunta di Buone Feste, Proposte, e Risposte in variati generi.’ Banchieri, *Lettere scritte*, 3.

slightly differs. While the second edition of the letters omits the original preliminaries, the madrigal ‘A’ SIRINGA’ by Cesare Rinaldi and an abridged narrative about the harmonic *sampogna*, it has a new title page (indeed, a different title: compare Figures 6.1 and 6.2). It also contains a foreword by the author, two orations for a young child to recite at Christmas and, at the end, twelve three-line *morali*. Furthermore, while the *Lettere armoniche* (Bologna, 1628) contains 183 letters, the *Lettere scritte à diversi patroni, & amici* (Bologna, 1630) contains only 175. It was not, however, simply the case that eight letters from the 1628 print run were omitted: on the newly typeset fascicles A, I and K, some of the letters printed in 1628 were replaced with ones written (presumably) more recently. The fascicles B-H (that is, pp. 18-128) in both editions of Banchieri’s letters are identical. The remaining three fascicles (A, I and K) in *Lettere scritte* reprint some other letters from the earlier edition faithfully and in two cases in a revised form.<sup>34</sup> Apart from a letter of condolence and seasonal greetings addressed to Claudio Monteverdi (see Chapter 6, pp. 237-238), these new epistles are of less musical interest: in them, Banchieri mostly wishes fellow Olivetan monks happy holidays (*buone feste*).

#### b. The *Cartelle*

As mentioned in Chapter 2 (pp. 79-80), there is some irony in entitling treatises ‘cartella’ or ‘cartellina’: like tablets, whose common property was erasability, the content of Banchieri’s treatises could be removed or even re-written; as a *cartella* or *cartellina*,

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In the dedicatory epistle in Banchieri’s *Lettere armoniche*, Mascheroni paid Domenico Luchi (the dedicatee of the publication) a compliment by associating him with Luca Luchi and his two sons who are mentioned in Giovanni Nicolò Pasquali Alidosi’s *I dottori bolognesi di teologia, filosofia, medicina, e d’arti liberali, dall’anno 1000 per tutto marzo del 1623* (Bologna, 1623), a book printed by Nicolò Tebaldini. Mascheroni’s mention of this book suggests an amicable connection between Tebaldini’s printing house and/or bookshop and his own. ‘Parmi anche bene per autenticare il mio nobile pensiero, far mentione, che Gio[vanni] Nicolò Pasquali Alidosi nel suo volume de i Sig[nori] Dottori Bolognesi fa degna mentione, che Luca Luchi Cittadino Bolognese, che fù un Avo de’ suoi antenati hebbe duo figliuoli Gio[vanni] Matteo, e Vincenzo’. Banchieri, *Lettere armoniche*, 2r-3r: 2v.

<sup>34</sup> Compare Banchieri’s *Lettere scritte*, 129-130, with his *Lettere armoniche*, 136 and 139-140.

revisions to these treatises were always possible.<sup>35</sup> Indeed, if we discount the 1615 reissue of the *Cartella musicale* (Venice, 1614), Banchieri's *cartelle* publications provide a vivid example of how a theorist might continuously revise the music-theoretical content of a book in order to create similar yet distinct editions.<sup>36</sup>

With the exception of the *Cartellina del canto fermo gregoriano* (Bologna, 1614), which I will discuss later, all of the *Cartelle* are concerned with the implementation of the solmization system and include introductory musical lessons. In addition, apart from *La cartellina musicale* (Venice, 1615) and *La Banchierina* (Venice, 1623), all of the *Cartelle* which were printed in Venice contain duos in counterpoint on *ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la*. The *Cartelle* utilize the Guidonian hand to show the relationship between the seven letters and the six syllables that a singer employed to mutate between the three hexachords. While the 1601, 1610 and 1614 editions provide didactic advice on the solmization system through a dialogue between a *maestro* (Banchieri) and his pupil, the last two editions discard this approach in favour of simple prose. Indeed, much of *La Banchierina* is directly modelled on the fourth edition, *La cartellina musicale*, both in terms of content and layout. The format of the introductory musical lessons in *La cartella* (Venice, 1610) and *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615) is congruent with the latter two editions, being in the form of prose instead of a pedagogical interchange.

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<sup>35</sup> The particular title of the 1623 edition (*La Banchierina overo cartella picciola del canto figurato*) suggests that many Italian *litterati* associated Banchieri – the only music theorist to name treatises ‘cartella’ – exclusively with music-theory books bearing this title.

<sup>36</sup> At least three exemplars of Banchieri's *Cartella musicale*, dated 1615, are still extant: see RISM B/VI<sup>1</sup>. Surprisingly, since Banchieri lists several dedicatees for *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615) which are not named in any of the surviving copies of the treatise in his three published *indici* (see Appendix 1), only the date on the title page of the 1615 edition was altered. One named dedicatee of the *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615) in the *Banchieri 1613 indice* (item 4), however, can be explained: Cardinal Flaminio Piatti, the intended patron of the edition, died on 1 November 1613. S. Miranda, ‘The Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church’ (Florida International University Libraries, 1998-2014), <<http://www2.fiu.edu/~mirandas/cardinals.htm>>, s.v. ‘General List of Cardinals’ > ‘17th Century (1605-1700)’ > Flaminio Piatti’. Accessed 7 March 2014. Nevertheless, Banchieri surely intended different unbound copies of the 1614 edition and 1615 reissue to have different dedications inserted inside them.

The brief musical lessons in these *Cartelle* differ slightly. Moreover, the 1614 version (reissued in 1615) is an expansion of the other four. In *La cartellina musicale*, Banchieri stated that there are sixteen clefs (F3, F4, F5, C1, C2, C3, C4 and G2, all with and without a B flat) that different voices use in singing: six for bass, two for contrabass, and four for tenor, alto, and soprano.<sup>37</sup> Banchieri also affirmed that if one wished to learn how to mutate between hexachords in these clefs, in practice one only had to learn seven mutations, for ‘by learning [how to mutate between hexachords in] one [clef], one understands [how to do so in] two or three others’.<sup>38</sup> However, in the *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615) only fourteen clefs are mentioned.<sup>39</sup> Perhaps this inconsistency demonstrates changes in compositional and performance practices of the period and, more specifically, the rarity of using F5 clefs of B flat and B natural for *contrabassi*. Apart from the more general idiosyncrasies of the *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615), its most pronounced peculiarity concerning figural singing is the new addition of the two seventh syllables, *bi* and *ba*, to the solmization system, which according to Banchieri was a second practice.<sup>40</sup> Thus, Banchieri adopted Claudio Monteverdi’s phrase, *seconda prattica*, in order to signify an avante-garde musical practice.

The *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615) is undoubtedly Banchieri’s most distinctive theoretical publication because of its length and content. In addition to the sections concerning *canto figurato*, it includes the founding principles of the Accademia dei Floridi, musical canons for four voices, and more musical lessons concerning *canto fermo* and duos in counterpoint. Furthermore, at the request of the printer Giacomo Vincenti, Banchieri additionally compiled a section concerning modern musical practice – a component that delayed the treatise’s publication by a year. This section includes a

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<sup>37</sup> The tenor shares two clefs (C4 with and without a B flat) with the bass, and two with the alto (C3 with and without a B flat). Banchieri, *La cartellina musicale* (Venice, 1615), 10 and 32.

<sup>38</sup> ‘Imparandone una, capisconsene Dui, & Tre’, *ibid.*, 32; see also 23-31.

<sup>39</sup> Banchieri, *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615), 27.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 18-24.

discourse on that subject, one hundred varied *passaggi*, one hundred cadences by a number of modern composers and many examples of extant compositions, one of which demonstrates how to create the effect of *contrapunto alla mente*. Vincenti's enthusiasm which led to this section's creation corroborates the fact that in the early Seicento he was greatly aware of a demand for a didactic explanation of the art of modern compositional and performance practice (see Chapter 3, pp. 114-117). By comparing Banchieri's approach to *canto fermo* in this treatise to those in his handbooks on this specific subject, more interconnections among his music-theory books are revealed.

c. The five handbooks and the *Cartella musicale*

Banchieri's five handbooks (see Figure 2.3) demonstrate the utility of *canto fermo* in the Catholic liturgy to varying degrees. While the *Frutto salutifero* (Bologna, 1614) and *Il direttorio* (Bologna, 1615) present a practical model for the cleric who prepared for the celebration of privately sung mass, the *Cartellina del canto fermo gregoriano* and *Cantorino utile* (Bologna, 1622) provide a more didactic approach to *canto fermo*. Similar to his *L'organo suonarino* (Venice, 1605) for the organist, Banchieri's *Frutto salutifero* is an instruction manual for the secular cleric, containing plainchant required for festive and weekday masses throughout the year. (Banchieri compiles the *canti fermi* 'most needed in the high Masses'.<sup>41</sup>) The purpose of *Il direttorio* is self-explanatory: it is a pocket-sized monastic directory of the plainchant employed in the liturgy by the Olivetan order. It seems appropriate to include the *Cartellina del canto fermo gregoriano* in this category because of its related subject matter.<sup>42</sup> Presumably it contains a revised version of the practical theory presented in the *Cantorino olivetano* (Milan, 1611) four years earlier. Although the

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<sup>41</sup> 'Più bisognevoli alle Messe maggiore', A. Banchieri, *Frutto salutifero* (Bologna, 1614), 6.

<sup>42</sup> Indeed, the woodcut of the Guidonian hand on p. 197 of *Il direttorio* is identical to that on p. 16 of the *Cartellina del canto fermo gregoriano* and the woodcuts in *Il direttorio* both of S. Francesca (pp. 120 and 206) and of S. Carlo Borromeo (p. 273) are identical to those included in *Frutto salutifero* on p. 126 and p. 118 respectively. Evidently the printing firm (the heirs of Giovanni Rossi) re-used existing woodcuts.

one surviving copy of the *Cantorino olivetano* cannot be located, the *Cantorino utile* is probably either a reissue or a resetting of it, with addenda.<sup>43</sup> Both the *Cartellina del canto fermo gregoriano* and *Cantorino utile* offer their intended audience (the youthful religious man and older novice cleric) a pedagogical explanation of *canto fermo*. Further to this, unlike the other *Cartelle* but akin to the other *canto fermo* handbooks, all of the music in the *Cartellina del canto fermo gregoriano* is notated on a four-line staff. Nevertheless, this publication draws attention to the similarity in content between the five handbooks and the *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615) more than the other handbooks.

Banchieri was aware of the similarity between the *Cartellina del canto fermo gregoriano* and the *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615), for he wrote in the postscript to the reader: ‘I have brought together [the rules regarding the Chorus] here in the present little work named *CARTELLINA di Canto fermo*, produced from my large *Cartella* about figural singing, plainchant and Counterpoint, reprinted this year for the third

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<sup>43</sup> Although Mischiati lists the *Cantorino olivetano* among Banchieri’s lost items (*Banchieri*, 174n.20), according to *OPAC SBN*, I-VCd holds a copy of it (see Appendix 5). However, since the librarian and cataloguers there cannot locate this manual, perhaps this is a cataloguing error.

Item 8 in the *Banchieri 1615 indice* records a ‘Cantorino non finito, per gli Nouizzi Oliuetano’ – that is, the *Cantorino olivetano*. Does this publication consist of the opening 32 pages of the *Cantorino utile*? The number of pages per gathering used in the latter publication differs from this point onwards, and the record in *OPAC SBN* (which specifies that the *Cantorino olivetano* comprised 33pp.) seems to support this. Moreover, as Mischiati observes (*Banchieri*, 107), Banchieri’s foreword in his *Cantorino utile* (p. 3) suggests that it is a re-edition of his *Cantorino olivetano*: ‘ho giudicato farne [il presente Cantorino] alcune copie per uso universale di qual si voglia giovinetto Religioso principiante di Canto Fermo’.

While *OPAC SBN* records that the *Cantorino olivetano* was printed by the heirs of Pacifico Ponzio and Giovanni Battista Piccaglia, the *Banchieri 1614 indice* specifies that the printer-publisher was ‘il Lomazzo’ (see Appendix 1). Perhaps the *OPAC SBN* entry confuses Banchieri’s *Cantorino olivetano* with the anonymous *Regole d’alcuni capi necessari* (Milan, 1622), a *canto fermo* handbook which was issued by Ponzio and Piccaglia, a copy of which is in I-VCc: see *RISM B/VI*<sup>2</sup>, 977. However, I would argue that both bibliographic records are compatible: Iain Fenlon established a close connection between these two Milanese printing presses in the mid 1590s. Indeed, after 1586, the Tini family (who were in partnership with Filippo Lomazzo between 1603 and 1612) still did not print all of their editions themselves: I. Fenlon, ‘Il foglio volante editoriale Tini, circa il 1596’, 241. In the late 1590s, Orazio Scaletta’s *Scala di musica* (Milan, 1599) was printed ‘Nella Stamperia del quon[dam] Pacifico Pontio’, as its title page reads, on behalf of the heirs of Tini and G. F. Besozzi. If similar printing arrangements between the two firms continued into the 1600s, Banchieri’s *Cantorino olivetano* might likewise have been printed by Ponzio and Piccaglia for the heirs of Tini and Filippo Lomazzo.

time in Venice by Master Giacomo Vincenti'.<sup>44</sup> Indeed, Banchieri went on to say that another 'CARTELLINA di Canto figurato' (presumably *La cartellina musicale*), which likewise reproduced material included in his *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615), would soon be printed.

Consideration of the sections on *canto fermo* which Banchieri chose to include or exclude might assist our understanding of his theory's metamorphosis. Such an investigation also reveals a certain affinity among the content of the *canto fermo* sections in the *Cartellina del canto fermo gregoriano*, *Cantorino utile* and *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615). All three of these sections concur that *canto fermo* contains two orders (*Grave* and *Acuto*) which comprise fourteen notes (A to g<sup>1</sup>) as illustrated on the Guidonian hand in the clefs of C and F. They all also utilize the three hexachords (*b molle*, *b quadro* and *naturale*). However, in the *Cantorino utile*, Banchieri does not discuss the rests, direct or note values employed in *canto fermo*. Moreover, in the *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615), he does not include exercise lessons and examples of plainchant typically used in the Catholic liturgy that the novice singer could practise reading in order to apprehend the necessary mutations to be undertaken in each one.

The dual meaning that Banchieri ascribed to *canto fermo* is only evident in one section of the *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615).<sup>45</sup> After an explanation of plainchant (as *canto fermo* was liturgically understood) comes a discussion of counterpoint, including many examples of double counterpoints upon the same *cantus firmus*. The meaning of *canto fermo* within the *Cantorino utile* and *Cartellina del canto fermo gregoriano* is more limited, for these treatises focus upon the liturgical role of plainchant.

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<sup>44</sup> 'Hò raccolta [l'osservanza del Choro] qui presente operetta sotto nome di CARTELLINA di Canto fermo, prodotta dalla mia Cartella grande di Canto figurato fermo & Contrapunto, ristampa quest'anno la terza volta in Venetia appresso il Mag. Giacomo Vincenti'. A. Banchieri, *Cartellina del canto fermo gregoriano*, 80.

<sup>45</sup> Banchieri, *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615), 63-110.

However, Banchieri's distinction between *canto plano* and *canto fermo* is found only within the *Cartellina del canto fermo gregoriano* and *Cantorino utile*:

One should finally understand *canto plano* as when the chorus of singers simply intones a melody; similarly, by calling it *canto fermo* – for this is the more modern usage, introduced in the chapels by musicians and skilled singers – [it is understood] that contrapuntal figures overlay it, and the [*canto fermo* part] will remain steady in semibreves. That is to say, *canto plano* [is] sung plainly at a slow tempo, while *canto fermo* has had [contrapuntal figures] composed around it.<sup>46</sup>

In concurrence with standard convention, Banchieri understood that *canto plano* could signify any type of unmeasured music and, as he explains on p. 67 of his *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615), that *canto fermo* signified a plainchant which was written as black breves but sung as white semibreves. These breves formed the basis over which melodies were improvised.<sup>47</sup>

However, the greatest disparity between the theoretical subject matter presented in these treatises comes with the explication of the eight *tuoni*.<sup>48</sup> While all three agree on what was standard, practical knowledge in the Seicento (that eight modes were formed on the letters D, E, F, and G, that the four plagal modes had an ambitus of an octave which

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<sup>46</sup> 'Canto Plano adunque intender devesi quando il Choro semplicemente da gli Cantori vien modulato; Similmente nominandolo Canto Fermo, questo è uso più Moderno introdotto nelle Cap[p]elle di Musici, & Cantori periti, che sopra questo fanno Contraponti Figurati, & esso nella di lui Semibreve stà fermo. cioè à dire. Canto Plano semplicemente Cantato, à passi lenti. Et Canto Fermo, mentre se gli fu contraposto sopra.' Banchieri, *Cantorino utile*, 17. See also 'Differenza tra il Canto Fermo, e Plano' in Banchieri, *Cartellina del canto fermo gregoriano*, 13.

<sup>47</sup> 'Le note nel Canto Fermo si segnano Breve negre, la qual negrezza le cangia in Semibreve, si come nel Canto figurato la negrezza della Minima la trasforma in Semiminima.' Banchieri, *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615), 67. Here Banchieri also provides a musical example of a 'contrapunto autentico' on the chant 'Ecce Sacerdos magnus', which Clifford Cranna has placed in score: Cranna, Adriano Banchieri's *Cartella musicale* (1614)', 185.

Replying to Vincenzo Pellegrini, Banchieri explained that plainchant is measurable: 'Tutti i Musici Scrittori dicono, che il Canto Fermo sia una quantità di note uniformemente cantate sotto'un'istessa misura. ... il mensurabile è di due condizioni, attuale, & imaginaria; concludo dunque, che misura attuale sia quella, quando più concorrino ad una terminate attione per mezzi diversi, com'è il giro de gl'orbi celesti al compimento [completion] dell'anno; Il rotale dell'Orologio al termine dell'hora; Il canto figurato di variati suoni alla battuta, e simili, questi ricercano misura *In actu*; ma, chi suona un'Organo. ò altro stromento di pienezza, si come il Canto Fermo, che non si ricerca concorrenza di varietà, questa è misura imaginaria, però, che Tendit ad action. à orecchio di chi pratica'. Banchieri, *Lettere armoniche*, 145. Robert L. Kendrick suggested that the question of whether the normal rhythmical performance of chant was measured 'could have arisen if Pellegrini (as a non-Ambrosian outsider) had imported or invented the practice in his polyphonic settings, encountering the opposition of the polyphonic specialists and/or the *capitolo minore*.' Kendrick, *Sounds of Milan*, 133.

<sup>48</sup> Seventeenth-century theorists use '*tuoni*' synonymously when referring to both the octonary and dodecachordal modal systems, and with the psalm tones. This ambiguity is present in Banchieri's explanation of the eight and twelve modes, and eight psalm tones.

encompassed the fifth above and the fourth below the final, that the ambitus of the four authentic modes lay in the octave immediately above their final, and that the psalm tone could be identified from the end of the Antiphon and the ‘seculorum. Amen’), it is only within the *Cantorino utile* that the four mixed tones are discussed at any length. Here Banchieri writes that while the reciting note is the same for both half-verses of a chant in simple psalmody, when a melody ranges across the plagal and authentic *ambitus* a singer needs to realize that it can be sung as a whole:<sup>49</sup> ‘For the intonation [of a mixed tone] it is good to proceed judiciously, and before attempting it, if you can, practise attaining the high and low [itches] with your voice; the ear, judgment and discretion of the one who practises should be of use in these [vocal tests].’<sup>50</sup> Further to this, the explanation of the *tuoni* and the demonstrative transposition of psalmody to the range suitable for figural singing in his *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615) is unique, since Banchieri’s discussion of the differences between the eight modes, eight psalm tones, and twelve modes led to a demonstration of how the psalm tones corresponded to the twelve modes. This in effect produced a conglomerate modal system known as the eight ‘psalm-tone keys’ (*tuoni ecclesiastici*).<sup>51</sup>

In light of the content of these five handbooks, I would suggest that the *Cartelle* which were printed in Venice should not be viewed separately. Instead, the third edition – the *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615) – acts as a nodal point around which four

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<sup>49</sup> ‘The Mixed Tone interlaces the Authentic and the Plagal [tones], as we see in the Salve Regina at the words *Et Iesum*, Plagal, [and] *O Clemens*, Authentic; similarly in the *Dies Irae*, and in other chant inflections.’ ‘Il Tuono Misto viene intrecciato trà l’Autentico, & il Plagale, come vediamo nella Salve Regina alle parole, *Et Iesum*, Plagale, *O Clemens*, Autentico; similmente nella Sequenza da Morti, & in altre ferme modulationi’. Banchieri, *Cantorino utile*, 14.

<sup>50</sup> ‘Nell’imponere sia bene procedere giuditiosamente, & avanti provarsi, se può con la di lui voce arrivare all’altezza, e bassezza: à questi servi orecchio, giuditio, e discretione di chi pratica.’ Ibid., 14.

<sup>51</sup> A less-detailed representation of the psalm-tone keys is found in Banchieri, *L’organo suonarino* (1605). Powers, ‘From Psalmody to Tonality’, in Judd, ed., *Tonal Structures in Early Music*, 275-340; and M. R. Dodds, ‘Tonal Types and Modal Equivalence in Two Keyboard Cycles by Murschhauser’, in Judd, ed., *Tonal Structures in Early Music*, 341-372; M. R. Dodds, ‘The Baroque Church Tones in Theory and Practice’ (Ph.D. diss., University of Rochester, 1999); and J. Lester, *Between Modes and Keys: German Theory, 1592-1802* (New York, 1989). Ursula Brett compares Banchieri’s explanation of the psalm-tone keys to those provided by other northern Italian theorists (1558-1688): U. Brett, ‘Modal evolution in Northern Italy: The Origin of Angleria’s Modern Tones (1622), *Consort*, 67 (2011), 50-73.

smaller treatises concerning figural singing were written as well as five manuals on *canto fermo*, two of which focus explicitly on providing an explanation of *canto fermo*. Depending upon the intended audience of a primer, Banchieri would focus on either *canto figurato* or *canto fermo*. For instance, although the *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615) is the only treatise in which Banchieri discusses the pedagogy of both *canto fermo* and *canto figurato* at length, the emphasis he places on *canto figurato* rather than on *canto fermo* on its title page (see Figure 4.2) suggests its suitability for a practical musician, especially the beginning singer, rather than a cleric. (Moreover, on this title page it seems that Banchieri advocates adjusting the established, three-stage pedagogical process.<sup>52</sup>)

**Figure 4.2:** Title page to Adriano Banchieri, *Cartella musicale* (Venice, 1614)



#### d. The *Conclusiones/Conclusioni*

Banchieri's four handbooks containing a set of 'conclusions' about how music should be played on the organ were printed between c. 1608 and 1627. In some respects it is

<sup>52</sup> For further discussion of this point, see Chapter 2, pp. 73-74.

surprising that only the second edition, the *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo* (Bologna, 1609), has attracted much musicological attention on account of its discussion of contemporary practical issues relating to *basso continuo* accompaniment.<sup>53</sup> The subsequent edition of 1626 and the two shorter Latin texts (printed c. 1608 and 1627) are rarely discussed by scholars, despite their similar, albeit abridged, content.<sup>54</sup> The symmetrical timing of the transformation of the theoretical material from Latin into the vernacular, and then from the vernacular back into Latin is striking. First a Latin manual (which is no longer extant: see Chapter 2, pp. 83-88) appeared in print circa 1608. The following year Banchieri translated the text into the vernacular and revised its theoretical content, doubling the number of 'conclusions' in the process. Thus, unlike his contemporary, Anacleto Secchi, who produced a faithful resetting in 1643 by translating his *De ecclesiastica hymnodia* (Bologna, 1628; later edition 1634) from Latin into the vernacular almost verbatim, Banchieri's *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo* was a substantially revised resetting.<sup>55</sup> The exact reverse happened nineteen years later: Banchieri supposedly abbreviated the second Italian edition to form a condensed Latin version printed in the subsequent year.<sup>56</sup> However, it is more probable that his *Conclusiones de musica* (Bologna, 1627) is a re-working of the first Latin edition.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> See, for instance, Nuti, *The Performance of Italian Basso Continuo*, 19. The fact that only the 1609 edition is available in facsimile and in English translation also demonstrates this. A. Banchieri, *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo* (Bologna, 1609; facs. edn. Bologna, 1981) and Banchieri, *Conclusions for playing the organ (1609)*, trans. L. R. Garrett. Moreover, in the latter publication Lee Garrett does not supplement Banchieri's reference to the first Latin edition in his *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo* (see Chapter 2, p. 83) with additional bibliographical information about the three other editions.

<sup>54</sup> Even Piero Gargiulo, for instance, only fleetingly mentions these publications in Gargiulo, 'Adriano Banchieri tra "antico" e "moderno": una ricognizione sui trattati'.

<sup>55</sup> Regarding Secchi's reasons for translating his music-theory book into the vernacular, see Chapter 3, p. 123.

<sup>56</sup> Banchieri wrote in a letter to Cardinal Scipione Borghese that his *Armoniche conclusioni nel suono dell'organo* (Bologna, 1626) was translated 'from the vernacular into the Latin language' ('dalla volgare nella latina favella': Banchieri, *Lettere armoniche*, 15), and likewise in a printed letter to Giovanni Cottunio (see Chapter 5, pp. 191).

<sup>57</sup> Banchieri, 127n.192.

It seems that both Latin publications (whether a mere folio or a pamphlet) consisted of ten short paragraphs which are entitled ‘conclusions’.<sup>58</sup> After the preliminaries (consisting of a dedicatory letter, two Latin poems and a Greek distich), the 1627 manual paraphrases the theoretical material presented in the two vernacular *conclusioni*. Apart from minor philological and orthographical differences, the only alteration between the ten *conclusiones* of the 1608 publication, outlined by Banchieri in *Conclusioni nel suono dell’organo* (1609), and those of the 1627 publication is the ordering of the headings (see Figures 4.3 and 4.4). The tenth *conclusio* in the first Latin publication, concerning the musical irregularities of modern musicians who play the organ, is inserted between the sixth and seventh *conclusiones* in the 1627 edition, thereby necessitating a renumbering of the last three *conclusiones* (those numbered 7, 8 and 9 in the 1608 version). The major philological difference is the substitution of the Latin word *modus* for *modulatio* to signify a musical mode. Perhaps this philological adjustment, given the etymological roots of *modus* and *modulatio*, suggests careful reflection on the part of Banchieri regarding the contemporaneous function and perception of a musical mode: a mode was understood as a melodic contour, either to be played or sung; thus, he distinguished mode as melody from the psalm tone in the 1627 edition.<sup>59</sup>

**Figure 4.3:** The ten *conclusiones* in Adriano Banchieri’s *Conclusioni latine sopra l’organo* (Siena, ?1608). A. Banchieri, *Conclusioni nel suono dell’organo* (Bologna, 1609), 7

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|-----|---------------------------------------|
| 1.  | Origo perfectiorque Organi.           |
| 2.  | De canticis, & concertibus in Organo. |
| 3.  | Id quod sonandum sit in Organo.       |
| 4.  | De tonis siue modis in Organo.        |
| 5.  | Modi usque ad 14. in Organo.          |
| 6.  | Modi realiter 12. in Organo.          |
| 7.  | Quis stilus gratior in Organo.        |
| 8.  | Quid ad concertationes in Organo.     |
| 9.  | Quonam tempore psallatur in Organo.   |
| 10. | De ino[b]seruantijs in Organo.        |

<sup>58</sup> Although in quarto format, the 1627 copy at F-Pc (shelfmark Rés. 122) consists of six printed leaves (the exterior two are blank).

**Figure 4.4:** The ten *conclusiones* in Adriano Banchieri's *Conclusiones de musica* (Bologna, 1627)

1. Origo, Inuentor, perfectorque Organi.
2. De Missis, Psalmis, Canticis e concertibusque in Organo decantandis.
3. Id quod sonandum est in Organo.
4. De modulationibus, siue Tonis in Organis.
5. Modulationes usque ad quartum Decimum numerum possible in Organo ect [*sic est*] ascendere.
6. Modulatioues [*sic* Modulationes] in Organo realiter esse Duodecim.
7. Si in osseruautijs [*sic* observantiis] Musicalibus utendum sit.
8. Quis stylus gratior, wagsiq [*sic* magis que] delectet in recentibus compositionibus.
9. Quid necesse est ad Concertationes in Organo.
10. Quonam tempore Organo [*sic* Organum/in Organo] psallatur [*sic* psallatur].

With the assistance of the printer Girolamo Mascheroni, Banchieri re-launched his *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo* in 1626.<sup>60</sup> Although the 1626 reissue essentially reproduces the twenty *conclusioni* in the 1609 vernacular edition, Banchieri amended the title to 'Armoniche conclusioni nel suono dell'organo' and changed the dedicatee from Saint Cecilia (the 'Devotee of Musicians and Organists'<sup>61</sup>) to Cardinal Scipione Borghese (see Chapter 6, n. 104). In addition, he merged the first and second paragraphs into one abbreviated *conclusione* (an act which removed his mention of the first Latin edition of the treatise) and truncated the reissue by 23 pages by omitting the 'Appendici alle vinti Conclusioni'. The only extant copy of the *Armoniche conclusioni nel suono dell'organo* (F-Pc, shelfmark Res. 121) adheres to the 1609 edition's page-numbering sequence from page 5 onwards (first page of gathering B). It includes, for instance, the same misprint: page 42 (page 46 in *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo*) is erroneously numbered page 94. Moreover, in spite of three minor (and somewhat inconsequential) alterations, the

<sup>59</sup> For further discussion of the paratext to and contents of Banchieri's *Conclusiones de musica*, see Chapter 5.

<sup>60</sup> Although the heirs of Giovanni Rossi (run by the former's son Perseo from 3 October 1595 onwards), who printed the 1609 edition, and Girolamo Mascheroni, the printer of the re-launched 1626 version, were both active in Bologna at the beginning of the Seicento, I cannot establish any other connection between the two publishing houses. On the demise of the printing house of Giovanni Rossi, Albano Sorbelli writes: 'Perseo (o gli eredi Rossi) continuò l'opera sua attiva e fervorosa per parecchi anni ancora, sin oltre il 1620; ma con lui la casa si spense, giacché non possiamo vedere alcun segno di continuazione fra Perseo e altri Rossi che stamparono qui nella seconda metà del secolo XVIII.' Sorbelli, *Storia della stampa in Bologna*, 110-111; for biographic information on the Mascheroni printing family, see *ibid.*, 149-150 and 136.

<sup>61</sup> 'Devota de gli Musici, & Organisti'. Banchieri, *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo*, 1.

typographical execution of the last 40 pages of the 1626 reissue renders them indistinguishable from those in the preceding edition: their identical format, collation, typeface and orthography suggest that they both comprise sheets from the same print run.<sup>62</sup> While the first two typographical errors (of which the second appears very faintly in the copy held at F-Pc) suggest that the typecast was worn down and, moreover, that the page was not reset to remove the catchword, the last typographical difference highlights the fact that the reissue is an abridged copy of the 1609 edition.<sup>63</sup> Presumably, since copies of the *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo* lingered on the author's shelves and in the Vincenti printshop, Banchieri decided to attempt to re-circulate it in 1626.<sup>64</sup>

#### e. The *Organo suonarino*

While the content of the first three *Organo suonarino* were revised by the author with each new publication, the 1627 edition is a reissue and the 1638 edition is a posthumous faithful resetting.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> The 1609 edition held at I-Bc (shelfmark C. 69) consists of an eight-page gathering sequence (A-I). An inspection of the 1626 volume held at F-Pc (shelfmark Res.121) reveals that a two-leaved folio (cut to size) preceded part of the previously printed eight-page gathering sequence (B-F). As eight-page gathering sequences are formed from four-leaved folios both publications have (for the most part) the format of upright quarto. Both publications are probably made from *reale* sheets of paper (61.5cm x 44.5cm). However, by the late sixteenth century the standard paper sizes used for printing varied and, since leaves were trimmed at least once, 'it is possible to determine the original size [of the sheets of paper in a book printed in the sixteenth century] only in the case of a few untrimmed volumes'. M. S. Lewis, *Antonio Gardano, Venetian Music Printer, 1538-1569: A Descriptive Bibliography and Historical Study* (New York; London, 1988), i, 36.

<sup>63</sup> The first alteration is the addition of 'SE' at the bottom of page 11 (incorrectly numbered page 15), signifying that the 'SESTA CONCLVSIONE DILVCIDATA' in the *Armoniche conclusioni nel suono dell'organo* is positioned on the verso side of the folio. The second is the addition to the gathering-sequence mark 'E' at the foot of page 31 (incorrectly numbered page 35) so that in the second vernacular edition it reads 'E 2 QUIN-'. The final typographical alteration comes with the truncation of the 1626 edition on page 44 (incorrectly numbered page 48): unlike in the *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo*, the footer 'APPEN-' is crossed out, signalling the non-inclusion of the 1609 addenda and the abrupt end of the *Armoniche conclusioni nel suono dell'organo*.

<sup>64</sup> While the 1609 edition is listed in the *Vincenti 1621 indice* (see Figure 1.3), its absence from the *Vincenti 1649 indice* suggests that by then all remaining copies of the treatise had been distributed. (The *Vincenti 1635 indice* only list music prints.) Regarding Banchieri's circulation of his *Conclusiones/Conclusioni*, see Chapter 6, especially pp. 244-247.

<sup>65</sup> While the form, structure and pagination of the 1638 edition are the same as those of the 1622 edition, and in places the same (or similar) pagination errors occur, the title pages (including the two internal ones on p. 126 and p. 145) give a different date. Furthermore, while the 1622 edition was rendered in italics, the 1638 edition is in Roman type. Regarding the catchwords and signatures of each fascicle, see *Banchieri*, 126: 'Stesso formato, struttura e paginazione della precedente edizione [*Organo suonarino* (1622)] ... sono in parte

As mentioned in Chapter 2, Banchieri wrote his *L'organo suonarino* (1605) in order 'to demonstrate what in actual practice is normally required of the Organists when the singers alternate in the *canti fermi* on all the festal and solemn days of the year'.<sup>66</sup> Thus, Banchieri provided the organist with a bass with figures (notated mensurally on a five-line staff) for the liturgical items which were to be performed on the organ. He subdivided his publication into five books, which he called *registri*. In these he outlined the rubrics with which an organist required to be familiar in order to fulfill his liturgical role:

1. instructions on alternating and harmonizing the Masses from an organ bass based on *canto fermo*;
2. a theoretical account of the church modes and a clear scheme of how to play the eight psalm tones at Vespers (and those most used in the Office);
3. 32 festal hymns and the *Te Deum*, for which Banchieri provides the organ phrases which alternate with Gregorian verses;
4. settings of the Magnificat in eight tones;
5. the major Antiphons of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

He also included organ compositions at the end of his first, second and fourth *registri*. Apart from minor amendments, the contents of the first four *registri* in the first three editions are, for the most part, the same.<sup>67</sup>

The new fifth *registro* in *L'organo suonarino* (Venice, 1611) contains many new subjects, such as Banchieri's detailed description of the technique of *basso continuo* in the form of a dialogue. It is also worthy of note that overlapping passages in the opening

diversi gli errori di paginazione: pp. 22-23 num. 18-19, 34-35 num. 54-55, 50 num.70, 54-55 num.58-59, 116 num. 114. Le segnature e diciture dei fascicoli sono in tondo.

'Analogamente a quanto succede nel primo frontespizio, nei frontespizi interni a pp. 126 e 145 muta solo la data.'

Regarding the *Organo suonarino* (Venice, 1638) held at I-Bc (shelfmark C.68), Gaetano Gaspari writes: 'Questa stampa segue a pagina per pagina la terza edizione del 1622 e perciò si compone dello stesso numero di carte, ed ha come quella i due frontespizij alle pag[ine] 126 e 145. Non v'ha altra differenza fra le due ristampe se non che la presente è in carattere tondo, laddove quella del 1622 è in carattere corsivo.' *GaspariO*. Accessed 24 March 2014.

Akin to Mischiati, I discounted the existence of an improbable edition which François-Joseph Fétis records: 'L'organo suonarino piccolo; in Venetia. app[resso] Ricciardo Amadino, 1608, in-4°. C'est un abrégé du grand ouvrage précédemment cité'. Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique*, i, 234; *Banchieri*, 121n.178. I have also not treated a defaced copy of the 1622 edition (dated 1628) as a distinct edition: see below.

<sup>66</sup> Banchieri, *L'organo suonarino* (1605), 1. For the Italian translation, see Chapter 2, n. 89.

<sup>67</sup> For an in-depth discussion of the contents of *L'organo suonarino* (1605; later edition 1611, 1622, 1627 and 1638), in particular its first three editions, see Marcase, 'Adriano Banchieri, L'organo suonarino'. See also A. Banchieri, *L'organo suonarino* (Venice, 1605, 1611 and 1638; facs. edn., with a new introduction by G. Cattin (trans. by Peter Williams), Amsterdam, 1969).

paragraphs of the *Primo Registro* of *L'organo suonarino* (1611) and its subsequent editions (with regard to grounding the organ's creation in theology and justifying its introduction and continued use in church worship as well as listing contemporaneously renowned organs in northern Italy) with the second, third and fourth *conclusioni* in Banchieri's *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo* abound.<sup>68</sup>

In addition to the five *registri* being revised, the 1622 edition includes an appendix, in which the monk-musician teaches how to extemporize in two parts (one high, the other low), and a sixth *registro*, which consists of three motets and four sonatas. At the end of the *tavola* (after the appendix), a note from the author reads: 'The prudent reader should not be surprised if in this third printing the scores are lacking which were printed in the second; the whole thing stems [from a desire] not to enlarge the volume, since it turned out to be of greater satisfaction in assisting teachers.'<sup>69</sup> Clearly, then, a reader would have expected the musical notation to be presented in score rather than separately in individual parts. Indeed, while in terms of its content the 1622 edition resembles the 1611 edition, in terms of its size and layout (and in particular, the presentation of musical notation) it resembles its 1605 counterpart. Hence the 1622 edition – the first to be published by Alessandro Vincenti – was modelled on both the 1605 and 1611 edition. Unluckily for Vincenti, he overestimated the demand for what had previously been a best-selling publication (see Chapters 3 and 6). The 1627 edition is a reissue of the 1622 edition: only its first four pages

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<sup>68</sup> Banchieri declared that his other organ manual, *L'organo suonarino* (1605; later edition 1611, 1622), supported the validity of the theoretical material presented in his *Armoniche conclusioni nel suono dell'organo*. 'Con le Corroborazioni DELL'ORGANO SVONARINO GIA' DEDIC.<sup>TO</sup> ALL'ILLVSTRISS. E REVER.<sup>MO</sup> Signore (Dio conserui) IL SIG. CARD. BORGHESE.' He continued: it seemed right to bestow the former handbook on the cardinal as metaphorically it contained 'fruit produced from the tree already dedicated to him'. 'Come frutto prodotto da arbore à lei dedicato', Banchieri, *Armoniche conclusioni nel suono dell'organo*, 1 and 3. Perhaps it is no coincidence, then, that both the *Armoniche conclusioni nel suono dell'organo* and the 1627 reissue of the *Organo suonarino* (as well as the defaced copy of 1622, dated 1628: see below) are dedicated to the same Roman Cardinal, Scipione Borghese.

<sup>69</sup> 'Non s'ammiri il prudente Lettore se in questa Terza impressione mancano le spartiture, che nella Seconda erano impresse, il tutto nasce per non ampliare il volume, stando che dalli professori reusci di maggior sodisfazione commodità'. Banchieri, *Organo suonarino* (1622), 144. Thus, this manual was intended to be used in conjunction with receiving instruction from a *maestro*, and not as an autodidactic manual.

were redone in order to render a new date and dedicatee (Cardinal Scipione Borghese).<sup>70</sup> Moreover, observe that the 1627 reissue is the only edition which was not brought out ‘con privilegio’ and that it is, akin to the 1622 edition, the ‘terza impressione’.<sup>71</sup> In contrast, the title page of the 1638 edition specifies that it is the ‘quarta impressione’, which suggests that by then Vincenti’s back stock had run low, causing him to reset it.<sup>72</sup>

#### f. Banchieri’s modules and offshoot editions

Banchieri is one of the few early Seicento authors of re-edited modules and offshoot editions on music-theoretical topics. The large number of overlapping passages among the theoretical texts that he produced (which these two kinds of second and revised editions greatly illustrate) makes him unique.

#### i. *Progressi politici*

The short volume *Progressi politici* (Bologna, 1616) essentially is a resetting of three modules incorporated in *Il direttorio*.<sup>73</sup> Even its title page and preliminaries recall this publication: the woodcut incisions in *Il direttorio* feature on the title page and p. 4 of

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<sup>70</sup> In addition, a counterfeit copy of the third edition at I-Bc (shelfmark C. 67) is dated 1628 and also dedicated to this patron as a result of the typographical addition of one line (‘ALL’ILLVSTRISS. SIG. IL CARD. BORGHESE’), and of the Roman numeral ‘X’ following the date ‘MDCXXII’, to the title page. Pages 3 and 4 in the reissue are missing, presumably in order to remove the dedicatory epigraph to Prothasio Stagiera. See *Banchieri*, 125, and *GaspariO*. Accessed 24 March 2014.

<sup>71</sup> See Figure 2.2 and *Banchieri*, 120-126.

<sup>72</sup> The fact that Banchieri was able to procure at least two copies of the ‘terza impressione’ (that is, the 1622 edition) a long time after it had been published (see Chapter 6, p. 242, and Appendix 7) also suggests that Vincenti overestimated how many copies he would be able to sell (and thus he belatedly had no qualms about giving some to the author).

<sup>73</sup> The parts of *Il direttorio* which were reset also date from 1616. The third part includes a dedication to Clemente Cattanei dated 15 April 1616. Banchieri, *Il direttorio*, 203-4, 297 and 323.

Oscar Mischatì provides the following details: ‘Quest’opera [*Progressi politici*] è una ristampa pressoché inalterata di parti del *Direttorio*; lo afferma l’editore stesso nell’avvertenza iniziale: *Stampò alcuni mesi sono il R. P. / D. ADRIANO BANCHIERI il Direttorio di Canto Fermo [...] sopra il qual Direttorio tro- / vandosi sparsamente li qui seguenti Progressi, mi / sono risoluto ridurli insieme, e pubblicarli in que- / sta breue operina [...].* And later: ‘salvo minime varianti alla conclusione, coincide anche l’impaginazione stessa di tutti tre i testi; il seguente specchio presenta le concordanze tra la presente edizione e quella del *Direttorio*:

pp. 5-11	= pp. 207-213
12-23	= 299-310
24-31	= 235 -243’.

*Banchieri*, 110.

*Progressi politici*.<sup>74</sup> It is this specific connection with *Il direttorio* which led Mischiati to catalogue it among Banchieri's publications on music theory. *Progressi politici* is, however, of little musical interest: it consists of the three parts of *Il direttorio* in which Banchieri outlines the biographies of Santa Francesca Romana (who founded a community that, with the Olivetan Benedictines, worked for the sick and the poor), Vanozza (the sister-in-law of Francesca's husband) and Evangelista Ponziani (the son of Francesca and Lorenzo who died at the age of nine, but who, in a vision of Francesca, re-appeared on the one-year anniversary of his death with a guardian angel sent from God for his mother).<sup>75</sup>

ii. *La sampogna musicale*

Banchieri retells the mythical invention of the musical instrument the syrinx, first in the short music-theory book *La sampogna musicale* (Bologna, 1625) and then, in the form of a reset and revised module, in a less-detailed musical essay in his *Lettere armoniche*. This short discourse, which the author delivered in the Accademia dei Filomusi (see Chapter 6, pp. 251-252), is not only concerned with the origins of the harmonious syrinx, but also with the mythological and biblical roots of the organ. Unsurprisingly, then, elements of this text are embedded in Banchieri's organ treatises. The most noticeable similarities among these texts are in the amalgamated first and second *conclusioni* of his *Armoniche conclusioni nel suono dell'organo* which begins: 'The ancient and modern Poets tell the tale of how Pan,

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<sup>74</sup> Mischiati erroneously notes that the woodcut on the title page of *Progressi politici* appears on p. 188 of Banchieri's *Cantorino utile*. The woodcut actually appears on p. 188 (erroneously numbered 488), and again on pp. 200 and 205 of *Il direttorio*. Thus, *Progressi politici* is more closely related to *Il direttorio* than to *Frutto salutifero*, which also includes the woodcut on p. 4 of *Progressi politici* on its p. 126. (It is also worthy of note that the stemma of the Olivetan Order on p. 32 of *Progressi politici* is identical to that in the fourth part, second book of *Il direttorio*.) Ibid., 110.

<sup>75</sup> R. E. Guiley, *The Encyclopedia of Saints* (New York, 2001), 110-111. Pope Paul V canonized her in 1608. Banchieri also informs us that in 1615 the same pope registered her feast day in the calendar of the new monastic missal printed in Rome so that all monastics should celebrate Santa Francesca Romana with a double office on 9 March every year. Banchieri, *Progressi politici* (Bologna, 1616), 11. Indeed, this is one of Banchieri's reasons for printing *Progressi politici*.

god of the woods ... invented the Syrinx of seven reeds from which the musical Organ was produced'.<sup>76</sup>

### iii. *Il principiante fanciullo*

The practical exercise book, *Il principiante fanciullo à due voci* (Venice, 1625), with which a young beginner could learn to solmize notes and mutate between hexachords under the guidance of his teacher, contains reprints of some of the music examples in the modern musical practice section of the *Cartella musicale* (Venice, 1614; later edition 1615) on pp. 201-208. These are three of the contrapuntal duos in this music print whose Tenor parts were composed by the monk-musician around Canto parts of two well-known contemporary madrigals and one sacred song – that is, Claudio Monteverdi's *Non più guerra*, Carlo Gesualdo's *Non mirar non mirare* and Lodovico Viadana's *Veni Sancte Spiritus*.<sup>77</sup> As previously mentioned, these duos serve different pedagogical functions in each publication. The offshoot edition maintains an additional relationship with the *Cartella musicale* (Venice, 1614; later edition 1615), not to mention with *La sampogna musicale* and two of Banchieri's music prints, *Il virtuoso ritrovo academico* (Bologna, 1626) and *Dialoghi concerti sinfonie e canzoni* (Venice, 1625): all five publications are associated with the music performed, taught and discussed in the Accademia dei Filomusi.

### iv. The *Arpichittarone* and *Dialogo sopra il sonar il basso nell'organo*

While Banchieri's three published *indici* (reproduced in Appendix 1) suggest that Filippo Lomazzo printed his *dialogo* about how to play the basso continuo part on the organ in Milan before 1613, the only extant copy of the dialogue (which lacks a dedicatee) is in the

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<sup>76</sup> 'Favoleggiano gli Poeti antichi, e moderni, Che Pane Dio delle Selue ... inventasse la Sampogna di sette canne, dalla quale ne vien prodotto l'Organo musicale'. Banchieri, *Armoniche conclusioni nel suono dell'organo*, 4.

<sup>77</sup> For further publication details, see C. A. Cranna, 'Adriano Banchieri's *Cartella musicale* (1614)', 393.

*quinto registro* of *L'organo suonarino* (1611).<sup>78</sup> In the latter manual, a 'Descrizione [sic] nel nuovo stromento detto arpi[chit]tarrone' is printed on the page immediately before this dialogue. Likewise, Banchieri treats this text as a distinct item in his three *indici*.<sup>79</sup> From his *Terzo libro di nuovi pensieri ecclesiastici* (Bologna, 1613), which includes an extended description of the *arpichittarone* on pp. 66-67, as well as *L'organo suonarino* (1611), we learn that Banchieri also incorporated this text in his *Secondi nuovi pensieri ecclesiastici* (Milan, 1611).<sup>80</sup> Only the fascicle including the soprano part of this music print, which was published by the heirs of Tini and Filippo Lomazzo, survives. Its title page, however, suggests that the print also included the above-mentioned *dialogo*, presumably in the bass part's fascicle along with the description of the *arpichittarone*.<sup>81</sup> Thus, both texts are self-contained components of a music-theory book, theoretical snippets in at least one music print and potentially distinct publications.

#### g. Miscellaneous

Banchieri's three *indici* list additional theoretical 'opere' which either are no longer extant or form part of a music book.<sup>82</sup> Determining which of these is the case is difficult. For instance, although Oscar Mischiati includes Banchieri's duos for *maestro & discepolo*

<sup>78</sup> The full title of the dialogue in the latter publication reads: 'DIALOGO MUSICALE Del R.P.D. ADRIANO BANCHIERI BOLOGNESE CON UN AMICO SUO Che desidera sonare sicuramente sopra un Basso continuo nell'Organo in tutte le maniere'. Banchieri, *L'organo suonarino* (1611), 59-65: 59. See also *Banchieri 1613 indice*, item 8; *Banchieri 1614 indice*, item 32; and *Banchieri 1615 indice*, item 21.

<sup>79</sup> *Banchieri 1613 indice*, item 33; *Banchieri 1614 indice*, item 30; and *Banchieri 1615 indice*, item 22.

<sup>80</sup> 'Feci stampare à Milano nel mio secondo libro di Nuovi Pensieri Ecclesiastici dedicati all'Illustriss[imo] & Eccellentiss[imo] Marchese D. Alfonso d'Este la veduta inscrizione [del moderno stromento musicale arpichittarone]'. Banchieri, *Terzo libro di nuovi pensieri ecclesiastici*, 67. 'Ne hò fatto un trattatello [regarding the *arpitarrone*, its structure and construction] stampato in milano ap[p]resso il mag. Filippo Lomazzo, & questo posto al fine nel Basso seguente de gli miei Concerti novi stampati sotto nome di Secondi Nuovi Pensieri, dedicati All'Eccellentissimo, & Illustrissimo Marchese Il S[ignor] D[on] Alfonso d'Este'. Banchieri, *L'organo suonarino* (1611), 57.

<sup>81</sup> 'Secondi nuovi pensieri ecclesiastici ... per concertare due voci ò stromenti in variati modi; et agg[iunto] un dialogo di esso autore .. sopra le quatro varietà de bassi continui da gli odierni compositori impressi.' Banchieri, *Secondi nuovi pensieri ecclesiastici*, title page, cited in *Banchieri*, 68; see also 68-69n.89.

<sup>82</sup> See Appendix I. I suspect that Banchieri purposefully drew attention to distinct sections within a music book that he believed would be of particular interest to his readers. For instance, although he did not list all inner sections – for which a new title page is given – in the *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615) in his three *indici*, one entry in the *Banchieri 1613 indice* clearly alludes to the module 'Moderna pratica musicale' (see Chapter 1, n. 5).

For a comprehensive list of Banchieri's lost publications, see *Banchieri*, 171-175.

amidst the author's 'Opere non pervenute', I would suggest that these might solely be those in the first three *cartella* publications, in spite of the fact that none of these publications includes the dedication (which is inscribed in two of Banchieri's *indici*) to Girolamo Giacobbi.<sup>83</sup> Indeed, on occasion Banchieri himself may have misattributed dedications of his music books.<sup>84</sup> As with the non-extant editions of Scaletta's *Scala di musica* (1585), it is probable that the precise publication circumstances and material form of some of Banchieri's music-theoretical texts cannot be recovered. Nevertheless, his surviving editions likely reproduce the theoretical contents of these lost texts. For instance, Banchieri's lost *La mano, et documenti sicuri* (Milan, 1611), which was intended for both secular and regular clerics and novices who desired to learn *canto fermo* securely, likely consists of some of the theoretical material contained in his five handbooks for clerics and perhaps his *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615).<sup>85</sup> The descriptive titles of this broadside in all three of Banchieri's *indici* accord with the publication details which the eighteenth-century historian Giovanni Fantuzzi and the bibliographer Oscar Mischiati supply.<sup>86</sup> Mischiati, however, provides the fullest description: it is a one-sided folio with the Guidonian hand positioned in the centre, and with text printed in three columns,

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<sup>83</sup> *Banchieri 1613 indice*, item 18; *Banchieri 1615 indice*, item 23; and *Banchieri*, item 174.

<sup>84</sup> See n. 36 above, Chapter 5, p. 195, and Chapter 6, p. 231 and p. 231n19.

<sup>85</sup> Although both Mischiati (*Banchieri*, 105) and *OPAC SBN* (see Appendix 5) confirm that Banchieri's *La mano, et documenti sicuri* (Milan, 1611) is held at I-Ma, I could not find the item under the shelfmark S.I-D.VI-22 (which *OPAC SBN* incorrectly renders as S.I.D.6.22). Furthermore, the library's card catalogue does not record the publication. Consequently, it seems that a cataloguing error occurred.

<sup>86</sup> 'Carta, & Mano di Canto Fermo. R.2.', *Banchieri 1613 indice*, item 17. The 'R.2.' suggests that, by 1613, a second edition of this broadside had been printed. Oscar Mischiati notes that the fact that the 1611 broadside was signed and dated by the printer-publisher Filippo Lomazzo rather than the author might support this. However, since Banchieri incorrectly records that *L'organo suonarino* (1605; later editions 1611, 1622, 1627, 1638) had been reprinted for a third time in this *indici* (item 5), the reliability of such information is debatable. *Banchieri*, 105n.155. 'Carta di Canto Fermo', *Banchieri 1614 indice*, item 27; 'Regole del Canto Fermo in foglio', *Banchieri 1615 indice*, item 19. 'Carta di Canto fermo, dedicata al P[adre] Cantore nelle Grazie di Milano.' Fantuzzi, *Notizie degli scrittori bolognesi*, i, 341. Oscar Mischiati transcribed the title as follows: 'La mano, et documenti sicuri prodotti d'autori gravi, et cantici ecclesiastici ... Utile à gli Chierici, & Novizzi, Secolari, & Regolari, che desiderano con facilità imparare le buone istruzioni di Canto Fermo.' *Banchieri*, 105.

including music examples.<sup>87</sup> Thus, the broadside resembles Giovanni Francesco's *Principium et ars totius musicae* (Modena, c. 1600).

## 5. Conclusion

While printer-publishers generally played a more active role in bringing about republished music-theory books than authors (as it seems, for instance, with regard to the faithful resettings of the first and second parts of Diruta's *Il Transilvano* and the various re-editions of Scaletta's *Scala di musica* (1585)), the input of authors should not be underestimated. Banchieri's theoretical oeuvre exemplifies this, and also draws attention to the fact that every kind of re-edition afforded the opportunity of seeking a different patron, and hence potentially a different source of financial support for printing it.

Different kinds of re-editions reflect both changing and unwavering tastes for music-theory books in the marketplace: they point towards the past success or failure of a former edition – or perhaps rather the printer-publisher's imperfect art of calculating how many copies of an edition to print. A reissue came about because too many copies of a book were in circulation. Freshly rebranded with an alluring title page, a printer-publisher (perhaps on behalf of an author) brought out a reissue in order to rekindle an interest in a specific music-theoretical topic and to generate sales for what readers otherwise might not have considered necessary or important. If the market was too saturated and the reissue could not be re-circulated, its fate to gather dust or take on some lowlier use was sealed. In contrast to the reissue, a resetting indicated the continuing need for a music-theoretical publication in the marketplace. The faithful resetting (a form which the music-theory books of many of Banchieri's contemporaries assumed) and substantially revised resetting ought not to be viewed as two distinct sub-types of the resetting, but on a continuum. Reset

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<sup>87</sup> 'Foglio massimo stampato su una sola parte; testo su tre colonne, con esempi musicali e, al centro, la mano guidoniana'. *Banchieri*, 105.

modules and offshoot editions likewise indicate that theorists and printer-publishers produced publications to cater for the particular passions of their anticipated readers. The *Vincenti 1662 indice* advertises the faithful resetting of Banchieri's *Organo suonarino* (Venice, 1638), and those of the first and second books of Diruta's *Il Transilvano* (last printed in 1625 and 1622 respectively), together with Zacconi's *Prattica di musica seconda parte* (Venice, 1622), which could be regarded as an offshoot edition, and Banchieri's *La cartellina musicale*, which is a substantially revised resetting.<sup>88</sup> While the presence of these books in this *indice* attests to the still perceived utility of these kinds of re-editions and their steady sale, it nevertheless suggests that the popularity of these items waned and that the printer-publisher overestimated how many copies he could sell immediately.

Since the re-editions of music-theoretical texts printed in Italy between 1600 and 1630 tend to be resettings (rather than reissues) of didactic music handbooks, it seems that these were popular commodities. It is striking that approximately one sixth of all re-editions of music-theoretical publications in these three decades were of one particular didactic handbook, Scaletta's *Scala di musica* (1585). Such a high proportion of re-editions of one particular music treatise is unparalleled in the years 1570 to 1599. Banchieri, however, was the chief author responsible for producing re-editions of music-theory books, primarily in the form of revised resettings: he authored almost a quarter of all re-editions printed in Italy during the first three decades of the Seicento. Moreover, the multiple interconnections among music-theoretical passages in his treatises make his output somewhat unusual. Clearly he was particularly adept at substantially revising music-theoretical material, often placing it in differing contexts so that it assumed new functions and could thus be circulated to different readers.

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<sup>88</sup> Although not a re-edition *per se*, the title and contents of Zacconi's 1622 treatise, akin to the first and second parts of Diruta's *Il Transilvano*, creates a definite link with this author's first treatise: *Prattica di musica* (Venice, 1592; later edition 1596). Akin to the *Vincenti 1621 indice* (see Figure 1.3), the 1615 *cartella* by Banchieri is described as a 'Cartellina ... per principianti' in the *Vincenti 1662 indice*.

The success – and even popularity – of a music-theory book as a commodity, however, does not necessarily correspond to the significant (or insignificant) role a music-theoretical text – or even a specific music theorist – might later play in the development of theoretical ideas. Zarlino’s *Istitutioni et dimostrationi di musica* (Venice, 1602; later edition 1622) – two posthumous reissues of the first and second volumes of the author’s *De tutte l’opere* (Venice, 1589) – demonstrates this.<sup>89</sup> On the one hand, the large number of extant copies held in libraries worldwide suggests that the 1602 edition was a popular commodity.<sup>90</sup> Yet on the other, the synthesis of Zarlino’s theoretical ideas in short compendia, for instance Tigrini’s *Il compendio della musica* (1588), of which a resetting was made in 1602 (therefore suggesting its popularity), no doubt contributed to the former’s posthumous reception and the establishment of his seminal treatises as authoritative sources. The shift towards re-producing slimmer and practically oriented handbooks on music theory rather than daunting volumes such as Zarlino’s *De tutte l’opere* corroborates the fact that the former began to usurp the latter kind of theoretical text in music education (see Chapter 3 and Chapter 6).

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<sup>89</sup> Gaetano Gaspari reports the following: ‘This [the copy at I-Bc with the shelfmark C.44] is an edition of the first and second volume of the works of Zarlino printed in the year 1589; and except for the title page and preliminary pages having been removed, the above-mentioned title, foreword to the readers and erratum slip were printed anew. It must be believed that a great number of copies of it were printed in 1589, or rather that many copies remained unsold in the Franceschi workshop; since not only was it desired to affix such a new title page to Zarlino’s *Istitutioni* and *Dimostrazioni Armoniche* in 1602, but likewise twenty years after the two Is in the date MDCII were scraped, thus adjusting the printing of it to MDCXXII. All these seemingly distinct editions are the very same *Istitutioni* and *Dimostrazioni Armoniche* as those in the first and second volume of Zarlino’s *tutte l’opere* reprinted in 1589.’ ‘È questa l’edizione del primo e secondo volume delle opere del Zarlino impresse l’anno 1589; se non che toltovi il frontespizio e la sua carta corrispondente, vi fu stampato di nuovo il titolo surriferito, l’avviso agli studiosi lettori e l’errata. Convien credere che gran numero d’esemplari ne fosse impresso del 1589, oppure che assai copie restassero invendute nell’officina dei tipografi de’ Franceschi; imperocchè non solo si volle apporre cotal nuovo frontespizio nel 1602 alle *Istitutioni* e *Dimostrazioni Armoniche* del Zarlino, ma eziandio vent’anni appresso alla data MDCII, furon raschiati i due I, così aggiustandone la stampa: MDCXXII. Tutte queste edizioni in apparenza diverse, sono la stessa stessissima cosa dell’*Istitutioni* e *Dimostrazioni Armoniche*, primo e secondo volume di tutte l’opere del Zarlino ristampate del 1589.’ *GaspariO*. Accessed 24 March 2014.

<sup>90</sup> See RISM B/VI<sup>2</sup>, 831-2.

## Chapter 5. Through the Paratext of Banchieri's *Conclusiones de musica* (1627): Patronage, Classical Tropes and Rhetoric

Many panegyric epistles and poems were composed specifically for insertion into prefaces of Early Modern music books. A faithful transcription, translation and, ultimately, interpretation of these prefatory texts – with the aid of literary-historical reflection – can lead to a better understanding of the context and aesthetic ideals surrounding the musical material that follows.<sup>1</sup> Demmy Verbecke has argued that the insufficient attention of musicologists to neo-Latin paratexts in Renaissance music books has been to the detriment of much musical knowledge, leading to the transmission of inaccurate, incomplete and incorrectly interpreted biographical details or commonplace aspects of humanist literary thought pertaining to music.<sup>2</sup> His criticism of this institutionalized neglect of textual scholarship (and particularly of a lack of consideration of neo-Latin prefatory texts) in Renaissance musicological studies can be applied more broadly to encompass a much wider period (including, for instance, the seventeenth century). My rendering of a neo-Greek Homeric distich into twenty-first-century English in Figure 5.1 exemplifies the

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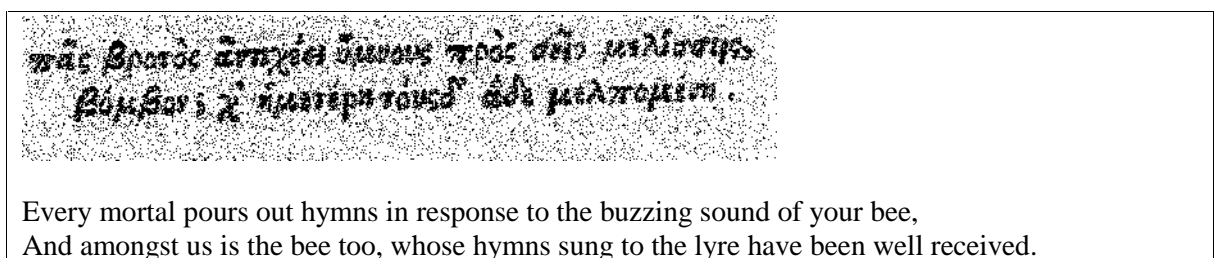
<sup>1</sup> By musical material, I include writings on music theory as well as prints containing musically notated compositions.

<sup>2</sup> For specific examples, see D. Verbecke, 'The Need for Latin Textual Scholarship in Renaissance Musicology', *ML*, 90/2 (2009), 205-216: 205-214. The literary theorist Gérard Genette was the first to introduce the term 'paratext'. He borrowed the words of Philippe Lejeune (*Le Pacte Autobiographique* (Seuil, 1975), 45) to define it as 'a fringe of the printed text which in reality controls one's whole reading of the text'. Paratextuality comprises 'those liminal devices and conventions, both within the book (*peritext*) and outside it (*epitext*), that mediate the book to the reader: titles and subtitles, pseudonyms, forewords, dedications, epigraphs, prefaces, intertitles, notes, epilogues, and afterwords'. Throughout this chapter, I also draw on Genette's distinction between the authorial and allographic paratext. See G. Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. J. E. Lewin; foreword by R. Macksey (Cambridge, 1997), particularly xviii and 1-15.

Paratextual analysis has, however, become a component of some musicological studies – i.e. in the fields of music publishing and printing. Mary S. Lewis acknowledges that the 2001 interdisciplinary research project on 'The Latin Dedications of the Motet Editions of the Franco-Flemish Polyphonists from the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century as Musical and Literary Sources' of the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven builds on earlier studies, such as Raimund Redeker's *Lateinische Widmungsvorreden zu Mess- und Motettendruckten der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Eisenach, 1995) and D. Schnell's *In lucem edidit. Der deutsche Notendruck der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts als Kommunikationsmedium. Dargestellt an der Vorreden* (Osnaburg, 2003). M. S. Lewis, 'Introduction: The Dedication as Paratext', in I. Bossuyt, N. Gabriëls, D. Sacré and D. Verbecke, eds., *Cui dono lepidum novum libellum? Dedicating Latin Works and Motets in the Sixteenth Century. Proceedings of the International Conference Held at the Academia Belgica, Rome, 18-20 August 2005* (Leuven, 2008), 1-12: 1-2.

challenge musicologists face in correctly translating and interpreting texts in a different language. Taking Verbecke’s cautionary examples to heart, here I carry out a textual analysis of the paratextual material to Banchieri’s *Conclusiones de musica* (Bologna, 1627), focusing on a socio-cultural interpretation of the distich. Indeed, a critical examination of the epitext (that is, the external, distanced elements pertaining to the musical enchiridion’s text) in conjunction with the peritext (that is, the title page, the dedicatory epistle, two neo-Latin epigrams and neo-Greek distich) leads to greater understanding of how and why the paratext to this manual – the fourth and last edition of a series of treatises which Banchieri named ‘Conclusiones’ or ‘Conclusioni’ – was created. In addition, I discuss the fresh ethics ascribed to Classical imagery which Urban VIII (1623-1644) adopted for his own political ends, and which is latent in the *Conclusiones de musica*. Through this lens, and through consideration of the consequences of Catholic reform in early Seicento Italy, I explore the content and rhetorical language which Banchieri employs (perhaps even unconsciously) in the *Conclusiones de musica*. I then explore whether Banchieri was influenced by Pico della Mirandola, and conclude by unearthing more Classical tropes in the distich. I interpret these in light of their position in the peritext to the *Conclusiones de musica* and the wider socio-cultural context.

**Figure 5.1:** Giovanni Cottunio’s Neo-Greek distich in the preface of Adriano Banchieri, *Conclusiones de musica* (Bologna, 1627), together with English translation<sup>3</sup>



<sup>3</sup> Vicky Liakopoulou, Simon Ford and Leofranc Holford-Strevens kindly assisted me in translating the distich.

## 1. The paratext to *Conclusiones de musica*: its content and creation

The preliminaries of the *Conclusiones de musica* suggest that Banchieri's prime motive in producing this re-Latinized version was not its didactic utility, but the symbolic action of dedicating it to Urban VIII.<sup>4</sup> Appendix 6 comprises a reproduction of the paratext and provides a transcription and English translation of it. The layout of the paratext (or rather the peritext) is as follows:

Folio 1r: title page

Folio 2r-v: Banchieri's dedicatory epistle to Urban VIII

Folio 3r-v: two neo-Latin epigrams followed by a neo-Greek distich (at the foot of folio 3v)

Below, I examine each constituent part of the paratext in turn.

### a. The title page

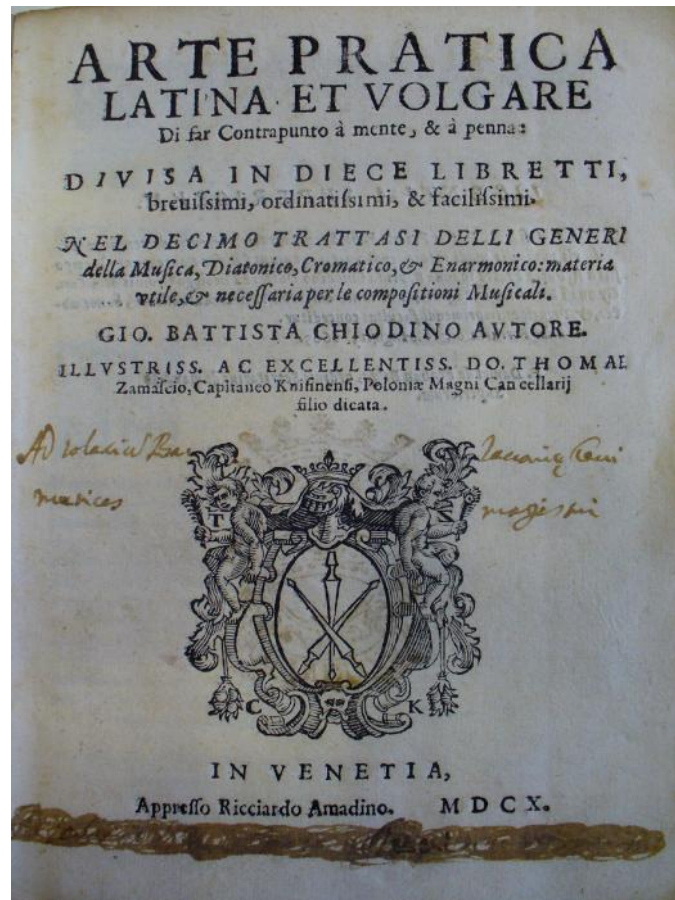
The title page was presumably designed by Banchieri (in conjunction with the printer-publisher), and perhaps is a re-working of that of the first Latin edition.<sup>5</sup> If we compare the title page of Banchieri's *Conclusiones de musica* with the title pages of his other treatises (for instance, that of his *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615) in Figure 4.2) it is clear that he de-emphasized the short title and authorship of this musical enchiridion by emphasizing the dedicatee in the largest font. Even in comparison with the music-theory books of his contemporaries, such overt emphasis on the dedicatee is striking (compare this title page, which is reproduced in Appendix 6, for instance, with the title page to Giovanni Battista Chiodino's *Arte practica* (Venice, 1610) in Figure 5.2). Rather than a printer's device or the woodcut of a saint, the illustration on the title page is the stemma of Pope Urban VIII. The trigon of bees – the heraldic emblem of the Florentine Barberini

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<sup>4</sup> The bestowing of this handbook (and its dedication) on Urban VIII is mentioned in several letters in Banchieri, *Lettere armoniche*, 7, 15, 49-50, 75, 96. See also Chapter 6 and Appendix 7.

<sup>5</sup> For information on this edition, see Chapter 2, pp. 83-84, and Chapter 4, pp. 161-165.

Figure 5.2: Title page to Giovanni Battista Chiodino's *Arte practica* (Venice, 1610)



family – is the focal point.<sup>6</sup> This distinctive woodcut, underneath which the neo-Greek distich is placed, also features on the opposite page to the first printed dedicatory epistle in Banchieri's *Lettere armoniche*, which is addressed to Urban VIII (see Figure 5.3).

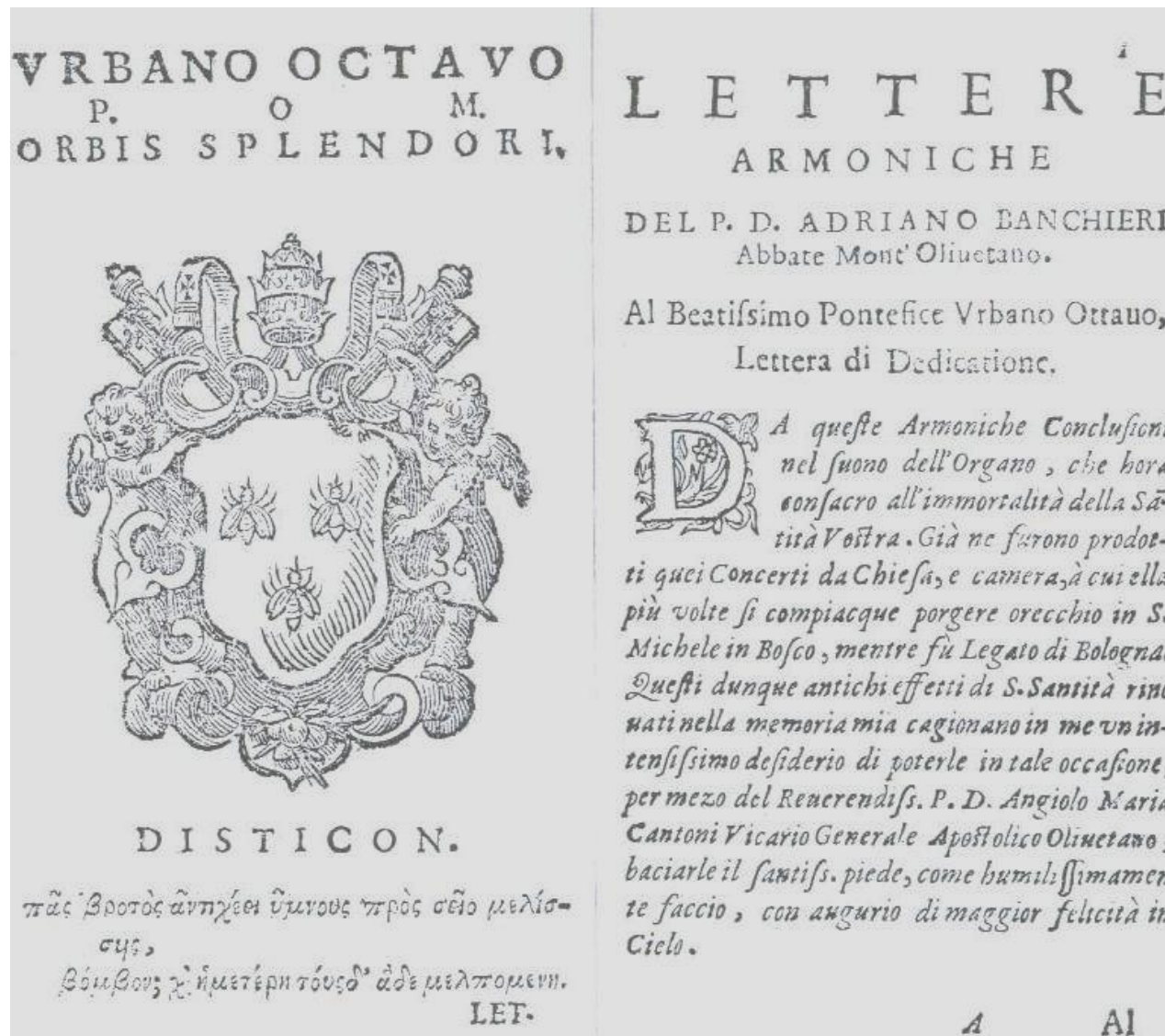
b. The dedicatory epistle

As the *Conclusiones de musica* comprises one fascicle in quarto format, Banchieri evidently had the whole book, including the preliminaries, printed at once.<sup>7</sup> This suggests

<sup>6</sup> Scholars disagree about the origin, and time of origin, of the Barberini heraldic design of the bee-trigon. Frederick Hammond notes that Maffeo set about recreating the Barberini as a Florentine noble family, a project which included changing their arms 'from three rather plebeian silver horseflies on a red field to three golden bees on a blue ground, dropping in the process the wool shears that commemorated the original source of Barberini prosperity'. Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome*, 17-18; see also 285-286n3. David Freedberg offers another explanation: the portent of a swarm of bees entered the Vatican (and thereby prophetically announced Maffeo's accession to the papacy) long after this Tuscan family's coat of arms had been 'transformed from three wasps into an emblem of three bees'. D. Freedberg, *The Eye of the Lynx: Galileo, His Friends, and the Beginnings of Modern Natural History* (Chicago, 2002), 154.

<sup>7</sup> On the precise format of this publication, see Chapter 4, n. 58.

**Figure 5.3:** The Barberini stemma and ‘Lettera di Dedicazione’ to Pope Urban VIII. Adriano Banchieri, *Lettere armoniche* (Bologna, 1628), fol. 8v and p. 1



either that he sent Urban VIII a manuscript version and asked whether he could dedicate the printed version to him, or that he sought patronage from the pope only on the manual's completion. The dedicatory epistle is surprisingly short, and its brevity is scarcely concealed: even if Banchieri had wanted to fit it on one side of a leaf, it was set in a large font, which meant that it continued onto the verso side of the folio. Nevertheless, its obsequious style is typical of the period, and of Banchieri.

The similarity among certain phrases in the dedicatory epistle in *Conclusiones de musica*, the printed 'Lettera di Dedicatione' to Urban VIII in Banchieri's *Lettere armoniche*, and the printed letter of information ('Di Raggiunglio') to the Apostolic Vicar-General Angelo Maria Cantoni suggests that much of the material content of his two *Lettere* publications was based on the information already printed in paratexts to Banchieri's music books.<sup>8</sup> The Italian epitext gives more concrete information than the Latin peritext about Banchieri's connection with this pope: Banchieri became acquainted with Maffeo Barberini while he was Papal Legate to Bologna (August 1611 to 1614). Maffeo had, moreover, often frequented San Michele in Bosco while Cantoni was an abbot there. Under Cantoni's command Banchieri performed music which Maffeo delighted in

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<sup>8</sup> Observe, for instance, the similarity between the opening of the final sentence of the dedicatory epistle in the *Conclusiones de musica* and the wording of passages in both printed letters. Also, notice how Banchieri's prostration of himself at the feet of the pope is replaced by Cantoni's act of doing so on his behalf in the Latin dedication. 'Interim ad Tuos sanctissimos pedes prouolutus, Tuum in terris summum Numen supplex adorans, hoc vt diu faciam'. Banchieri, *Conclusiones de musica*, fol. 2r-v. 'Questi dunque antichi effetti di S[ua] Santità rinovati nella memoria mia cagionano in me un intensissimo desiderio di poterle in tale occasione, per mezo del Reverendiss[imo] P[adre] D[on] Angiolo Maria Cantoni Vicario Generale Apostolico Olivetano, baciarle il santiss[imo] Piede, come humilissimamente faccio'. Letter to Urban VIII in Banchieri, *Lettere armoniche*, 1. 'Hora voglioso di baciare il Santissimo piede à un tal Potentato, e riceverne l'indulgente beneditione, non potendo costà trasferirmi, prego la V[ostra]P[adre] Reverendiss[ima] conseguirmi tal gratia favorevole ... Sò quanto la V[ostra]P[adre] Reverendiss[ima] sia bramosa di compiacermi, perciò umilmente la supplico di tal gratia'. Letter to Cantoni in Banchieri, *Lettere armoniche*, 7.

The title page of Andrea Antico's *Liber quindecim missarum electarum* (Rome, 1516), on which those of Cristóbal de Morales's *Missarum liber secundus* (Rome, 1544) and Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina's *Missarum liber primus* (Rome, 1572) were later modelled, 'embodies all the gestures of deference and benevolent acceptance' which characterize sixteenth and early seventeenth-century dedicatory letters to a pope (such as Banchieri's). I. Fenlon, *Music, Print and Culture in Early Sixteenth-Century Italy* (London, 1995), 30. Fenlon reproduces Antico's title page in Figure 9 on p. 32 and Palestrina's in Figure 17 on p. 57; for further details on the *mise-en-page* of these three title pages, see pp. 29-33 and pp. 55-56.

hearing on many occasions.<sup>9</sup> It is worth observing, however, that Banchieri's phrase 'musica hasce modulationes' in the dedicatory epistle within the peritext might evoke a dual meaning: it might refer not only to the music he performed, but also to the 'conclusiones', which as the Latin title page informs us 'he elucidated in the Italian language in the Academy of the Filomusi'.<sup>10</sup> Yet such a phrase seems a strange way to refer to the content of this Latin music-theory book, particularly given that it contains no musical notation. Since all three of the allographic poems emphasize Banchieri's prowess in musical performance, it seems more likely that Banchieri wished to emphasize his practical abilities as an organist than his competency in writing music-theory books in the dedicatory letter in the peritext. Why, then, did he dedicate a music manual to Maffeo Barberini rather than a music print? Perhaps, for Banchieri, while the main text of the *Conclusiones de musica* established him as a music theorist (the most esteemed kind of musician in the Italian Renaissance: see Chapter 2, pp. 59-66), the peritext supported his capabilities in musical performance.

Banchieri's motive behind the dedication of the 1627 manual can be paralleled with those of Claudio Monteverdi, who in the autumn of 1608 attempted to leave Mantuan service, seeking a musical appointment in Paul V's service through the dedication of his *Sanctissimae Virgini missa senis vocibus ac vesperae* (Venice, 1610) to that same pope. Perhaps Banchieri, tired of performing the same liturgical duties at San Michele in Bosco and feeling acute frustration that his musical academy was disbanded (see Chapter 6, p. 250), decided to try to gain the pope's favour in order to secure a musical post in Rome,

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<sup>9</sup> The way in which Banchieri describes the music that he performed differs. While he writes to Cantoni that 'sott' il di lei commando più volte concertai Musiche alla Santità Sua', in his dedicatory letter to Urban VIII, he describes the event as follows: 'Già ne furono prodotti quei Concerti da Chiesa, e camera, à cui ella più volte si compiacque porgere orecchio'. Banchieri, *Lettere armoniche*, 1 and 7. In the dedication to Urban VIII in his *Conclusiones de musica* (fol. 2v-r), these compositions are described as 'MUSICAS hasce modulationes'. Banchieri's description of the event in the Latin dedication also subtly differs from that in his printed letter to Urban: Banchieri writes that his music once delighted Urban's soul (*animus*) rather than that it gave him pleasure to lend his ear to it.

<sup>10</sup> See Appendix 6.

thereby creating an acceptable justification for his removal from the monastic sphere of San Michele.<sup>11</sup> Unlike Banchieri, however, who entrusted the safe delivery of a copy of the 1627 organ handbook to the Apostolic Olivetan Vicar-General Angelo Maria Cantoni, Monteverdi travelled in person to Rome, with recommendations from Duke Vincenzo to Cardinal Alessandro Peretti Montalto and Cardinal Borghese preceding him.<sup>12</sup>

Another principal motive behind Banchieri dedicating his treatise to the reigning pontiff could have been his desire to gain financial assistance in publishing his music books. Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina dedicated his *Lamentationum Hieremiae prophetae liber primus* (Rome, 1588) to Pope Sixtus V, for instance, in the hope of securing the financial support to print many more sacred compositions.<sup>13</sup> In the early Cinquecento, Andrea Antico dedicated his lavish 162-folio *Liber quindecim missarum electarum* (Rome, 1516) to Leo X, an act which paid handsome dividends, ‘since within ... a matter of months Antico had been allocated [Ottaviano] Petrucci’s unused privilege for printing organ tablature and had issued the *Frottole intabulate* of 1517, in its way another de-luxe edition with clear Papal overtones in the design of its title-page.’<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Although Banchieri was a monk, such an aspiration was not unprecedented. In 1580, the Franciscan Lodovico Balbi competed for the directorship of the choir at Padua Cathedral. Among other musical posts, he was *maestro di cappella* at Treviso Cathedral in 1597-8. G. Rostirolla, ‘Balbi, Lodovico [Ludovico]’. *Grove Online*. Accessed 13 Mar 2012. In addition, after some initial reluctance, Cardinal Carlo Borromeo was persuaded by Costanzo Porta to appoint Balbi as *maestro di cappella* of Milan Cathedral in 1582. It seems, however, that Balbi refused this post since it came with the condition of residing outside the monastery. Murray, Jr., ‘The Voice of the Composer: Theory and Practice in the Works of Pietro Pontio’, i, 108-19. Nevertheless, Balbi’s biography demonstrates that men in holy orders were occasionally considered for musical posts, and also sought them.

<sup>12</sup> Banchieri also sent a copy of his *Conclusiones de musica* to Cardinal Scipione Borghese, presumably in order to ensure his recommendation to the Pope and, perhaps, in the hope of receiving some financial aid. Urban VIII’s nephew, Francesco Barberini, apparently approved of Banchieri’s 1627 booklet, and so Banchieri sent him a copy of his *Lettere armoniche* to show his gratitude. Banchieri, *Lettere armoniche*, 15 and 96. See also Appendix 7.

For an account of Monteverdi’s attempt to leave Mantuan service, see P. Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, trans. T. Carter (Cambridge, 1994), 109-110.

<sup>13</sup> Bernstein, ‘Financial Arrangements and the Role of the Printer and Composer in Sixteenth-Century Italian Music Printing’, 50. See also A. Cametti, *Palestrina* (Milan, 1925), 277ff.; and F. X. Haberl, ed., *Pierluigi da Palestrina’s Werke* (Leipzig, 1888), xxv, vii.

<sup>14</sup> Fenlon, *Music, Print and Culture in Early Sixteenth-Century Italy*, 30-33.

*Conclusiones de musica* is the only book that Banchieri dedicated to a pope. However, the monk-musician includes an intriguing dedication in the *Banchieri 1615 indice* (reproduced in Appendix 1): ‘Cartella Grande di Canto Figurato, Fermo, & Contrapunto / All’Illustrissimo & Reverendissimo Sig. Cardinale Barberino’. As Paul V made Maffeo Barberini a cardinal in 1606 and, since his surname was originally spelt this way, Banchieri’s reference must surely be to him. Either this entry is a misattribution of dedicatee to Maffeo, or – as I suggest in Chapter 4, n. 36 – Banchieri changed the dedication in at least one unbound copy of his *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615).

Banchieri’s overt references to Urban VIII in his *Conclusiones de musica* resemble those he makes to another pope (Urban VIII’s predecessor but one, Paul V) in *Il direttorio* (Bologna, 1615): Paul V’s name and stemma feature on the title page of the first part of the first book of *Il direttorio*, and on the title page of the appendix to the first book. In 1612, Paul V authorized a new version of the *Rituale Romanum*, which was published on 17 June 1614 by the Plantin printing house in Antwerp. (Incidentally, the title page of this liturgical book is identical to the firm’s 1629 publication of Urban VIII’s Breviary, save for the text’s inclusion of the publication details and the alteration made to the papal stemma.<sup>15</sup>) The issuing of this new edition led the Olivetan General Abbot Cattanei to commission Banchieri to reduce the directory for the particular use of the Olivetans so that it conformed to the new Breviary.<sup>16</sup> Thus, Banchieri’s *Il direttorio* is indicative of his role in revising music-liturgical texts in the early Seicento.

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<sup>15</sup> Léon Voet writes: ‘The 1614 edition of the *Breviarium Romanum* had a title-page cut to a Rubens design with a central panel containing the address of Balthasar I and Jan Moretus, the date 1614, and, at the bottom, the arms of Pope Paul V. In the 1628 edition these had been erased and replaced by a new imprint, engraved with the date 1628, in the name of Balthasar Moretus, the widow of Jan II Moretus; the papal arms were those of the new pope, Urbanus VIII.’ L. Voet, *The Golden Compasses: A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp* (Amsterdam; New York, 1969), 219-220n5. For the illustrations (nos. 70 and 71), see W. Hellinga, *Copy and Print in the Netherlands: An Atlas of Historical Bibliography* (Amsterdam, 1962).

<sup>16</sup> Various passages in Banchieri’s *Il direttorio* attest to this. ‘Prima Parte del Primo Libro AL DIRETTORIO ... PER VSO PARTICOLARE della Congregatione Olivetana ... Nuovamente registrato dalli libri Choralis alla riforma del Breviario impresso sotto la Santità di N.S. Papa Paolo V.’ A. Banchieri, *Il direttorio* (Bologna,

Unlike the *Conclusiones de musica* which was dedicated to the then pope, Banchieri dedicated *Il direttorio* to ‘Il Sig[nore] Card[inale] di S[anta] Cecilia / Vescovo Albanese, / E Protettore della Congreg[atione] Olivetana’<sup>17</sup> – that is, Paolo Emilio Sfondrati, Bishop of Cremona, who received his red hat and titular church of Santa Cecilia in Rome on 14 January 1591. A woodcut of Saint Cecilia (the virgin and martyr devoted to musicians and organists) holding a panpipe of seven reeds features on the page after Banchieri’s dedication to Sfondrati. Thus, there is a visual link between the paratextual material of *Il direttorio* and the first vernacular edition of the *Conclusiones/Conclusioni*, which is dedicated to the saint herself.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, Banchieri also dedicated his *Gemelli armonici* (Venice, 1609), a music print closely connected to his *Conclusioni nel suono dell’organo* (Bologna, 1609), to Sfondrati.<sup>19</sup> Consequently, the dedicatee of *Il direttorio* – in spite of not being the then pope – can be linked with the *Conclusiones/Conclusioni* publications.

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1615), title page. ‘Il Reverendissimo P[adre] D[on] CLEMENTE CATTANEI di Bologna Abbate Generale della nostra Congregatione Olivetana (che Dio N. S. conservi in sanità) fù sempre zelantissimo in far si, che l’osservanza del Choro fosse solennizzata con quel decente decoro, che si conviene; Laonde à effetto tale concertò meco alcuni mesi sono, acciò reducessi insieme un Direttorio per vso particolare Olivetano, e conforme al nuovo Breviario.’ Ibid., 7. ‘ALL’HORA, che ragionando con la V[ostra] P[adre] R[everendissima] dissi, che per publico beneficio della nostra Congregatione Olivetana, saria stato utilissimo un Direttorio di Canto fermo, registrato alla nuova riforma dell’universal[e] Breviario per prevenire all’offitio diurno in Choro.’ Ibid, 203-204; see also 6 and 201.

<sup>17</sup> Banchieri, *Il direttorio*, 3-4.

<sup>18</sup> The woodcut in Banchieri’s *Conclusioni nel suono dell’organo*, however, portrays the saint differently: here she holds an open book in her left hand and looks towards a seven-reed positive organ on her left-hand side. Banchieri, *Conclusioni nel suono dell’organo*, 2. Although a poem in praise of Santa Cecilia follows both woodcuts, these are not the same.

It is worthy of mention that Sfondrati supported the Bolognese artist Guido Reni (1575-1642), from whom he commissioned three paintings on the theme of Saint Cecilia in the early 1600s. Banchieri was surely familiar with Reni’s work, since he painted a fresco of *Saint Benedict Receiving Gifts from the Farmers* on the wall of the cloister of San Michele in Bosco. R. E. Spear, ‘Reni, Guido’. *Grove Art Online*. Accessed 4 December 2013.

For a discussion of the connection among Banchieri’s *Conclusiones/Conclusioni*, Saint Cecilia and the city of Siena, see Chapter 2, pp. 87-88.

<sup>19</sup> In his dedication to Paolo Emilio Sfondrati, Banchieri explains that Sfondrati’s great appreciation of his *Conclusioni nel suono dell’organo* led him to bring this music print to press in order to demonstrate his thanks, and in the hope that these compositions might not be discarded but remain resplendent: ‘Gradi V. S. Illustrissima & Reuerendiss. l’ Organiche mie Conclusioni dedicate alla comune deuota S. Cecilia, & con tanta compita gentilezza di cortese dimostrazione, si compiacque ella darmi segno le fossero grati, ed accette, che mi sono reputato in obligo particolare, mostrarmi con qualche atto di seruitù conoscente a così pregiato fauore; come faccio nella presente occasione offerendogli questo mio nuovo parto (ò pure Abhorto) di Gemelli Armonici, dandomi à credere, che quando tal fiata si compiacerà fargli concertare nella sua Onoratissima Chiesa, non siano per essergli discari, sperando apresso sotto l’ Illustrissimo suo nome, come deboli colori sotto splendente raggio di sole, siano per essere ravivati quasi fatti belli, & riguardevoli al

As I will show, the allographic poems which follow this dedicatory epistle in the *Conclusiones de musica* expose the broader socio-cultural context in which this musical enchiridion was produced; these further elucidate the motivations behind its dedication to Urban VIII.

c. The two neo-Latin epigrams

The authorship of these allographic epigrams is debatable. While Oscar Mischiati assigned the first Latin epigram to Josse de Rycke (1587-1627) and the second to the poet Giovanni Domenico Lappi, I would argue that, given the evidence in both the peritext and epitext, their authorship could be the converse.<sup>20</sup>

Although Mischiati did not explain his attributions, he surely based them in part on the fact that the name ‘Iustus Riquius’ is typeset at the bottom of the recto side of the third folio, and in part on the fact that Banchieri names Lappi as the author of a Latin epigram in his *Conclusiones de musica* in one of his printed letters (see below).<sup>21</sup> However, the positioning of de Rycke’s name where the catchword appears elsewhere in the musical enchiridion (compare, for instance, its placement with the catchword ‘ad’ on fol. 2r in Appendix 6) and the absence of an ascription to Lappi or another author on this folio suggests that de Rycke might have composed the epigram on the verso side of the folio.

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conspetto di ciascuno.’ A. Banchieri, *Gemelli armonici* (Venice, 1609), *voce superiore* and *voce inferiore* partbooks, fol. 1v. The first composition in *Gemelli armonici* is a soprano and bass duet accompanied by the organ which is set to the text: ‘Sancta Cecilia virgo gloriosa cantantibus Organis apud Christum resonabat dicens Fiat cor meum & corpus immaculatum Alleluia’. Whether Banchieri named this music print ‘Gemelli armonici’ merely in order to allude to the vocal duets which it contained, or also to its twinning with his *Conclusioni nel suono dell’organo* remains uncertain. The consecutive opus numbers of both publications make it clear that the *Gemelli armonici* was printed immediately after Banchieri’s 1609 organ treatise. These two publications seemingly parallel Costanzo Antegnati’s *L’Antegnata intavolatura de ricercari d’organo* (Venice, 1608) and *L’arte organica* (Brescia, 1608), with which Banchieri was familiar (see Chapter 2, pp. 85-86), since their author likewise paired them (see Appendix 2).

<sup>20</sup> *Banchieri*, 128n.195. Josse de Rycke is the Belgian name for ‘Giusto Riquio’ and ‘Iustus Riquius’. See below for more biographical details pertaining to him and Lappi.

<sup>21</sup> In addition, Mischiati might have attributed the first poem to de Rycke, a learned rhetorician, because it contains many Classical mythological images.

Alternatively, although unlikely, since the second poem is in the first person, perhaps Banchieri wrote it himself.

Akin to the peritext, Banchieri's three printed letters which contain information regarding these two epigrams do not entirely clarify their authorship. He addresses one of these to the Vicar-General Angelo Maria Cantoni, another to de Rycke and the third to Lappi. In the first of these, Banchieri states that he has enclosed a copy of his '*Conclusioni Armoniche*, dedicated to his Holiness', which were 'adorned with stylish epigrams by the most excellent Signor, the Belgian Josse de Rycke, a Public Reader at the University of Bologna'.<sup>22</sup> The pluralization of the noun *epigramma* suggests that either the inscription at the top of fol. 3r and the ensuing poem on that page or both poems (perhaps in addition to the inscription) are by de Rycke. In this letter, Banchieri clearly wished to associate the allographic paratext primarily with de Rycke, then a well-known figure connected with the Roman Accademia dei Lincei whose command of ancient rhetoric won him the appointment of Professor of Rhetoric at the University of Bologna in the same year that he was working on the *Melissographia* (Rome, 1625) and *Apes Dianiae* (Rome, 1625).<sup>23</sup> Officially, he was the Accademia dei Lincei's panegyrist. While de Rycke merely prepared the eight eulogistic distichs to the new pope (formerly known as Maffeo Barberini) included on the engraving to the *Melissographia* (see Figure 5.4), he was responsible for

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<sup>22</sup> 'Conclusioni Armoniche, dedicato alla S. S. Ornato di eleganti Epigrammi dall' Eccellentiss[imo] Sign[ore] Giusto Riquio Belga publico Lettore nello Studio di Bologna.' Banchieri, *Lettere armoniche*, 7. For the additional contents of this letter, see Appendix 7.

<sup>23</sup> The Accademia dei Lincei was an eminent association of scientifically minded humanists founded in 1603 by the eighteen-year-old Prince of Acquasparta, Federigo Cesi, of which Galileo Galilei was a member. It is worthy of note that while Galileo had received an injunction in 1616 not to hold, teach or defend the Copernican theory, he was on fairly good terms with Urban VIII in 1625: in the previous year he had six interviews with Urban VIII in Rome, and was given permission to write a book about theories of the universe, but warned to treat the Copernican theory only hypothetically. His Inquisition was to come after the eventual publication of this book, *Dialogo sopra i due massimi sistemi del mondo, tolemaico e copernicano* (Florence, 1632). In the Jubilee year of 1625 the academy also honoured Pope Urban VIII with another separately published work, a huge broadsheet by Francesco Cesi entitled the *Apiarium*. D. Freedberg, 'Iconography between the History of Art and the History of Science: Art, Science, and the Case of the Urban Bee', in C. A. Jones, P. Galison and A. E. Slaton, eds., *Picturing Science, Producing Art* (New York; London, 1998), 274 and 279. *Encyclopædia Britannica Online* (Encyclopædia Britannica Inc., 2014), <<http://www.britannica.com>>, s. v. 'Galileo'. Accessed 12 Feb 2014.

**Figure 5.4:** Josse de Rycke et al., *Melissographia* (Rome, 1625), 1 fol.



the ninety-line elegiac poem of *Apes Dianiae* in honour of Pope Urban VIII. *Melissographia* consists of an engraving by Mathias Grueter (?1564–1638) which is based upon an earlier drawing of bees (as seen under a compound microscope) by the Accademia dei Lincei. Although the different styles of both poems in Banchieri’s *Conclusiones de musica* suggest different authorship, by mentioning only de Rycke in his letter to Cantoni, Banchieri strengthened his publication’s association with this exemplary rhetorician, who had previously carried favour with the Pope.<sup>24</sup>

In the second of these letters, it is clear that the principal purpose of de Rycke’s epigram was to honour the Pope. As Banchieri writes, ‘From the Signor Girolamo Mascheroni I receive the message of Your Excellency including a statement that you will honour my *Armoniche Conclusioni* with a laudatory Epigram on the Sanctity of Our Pope

<sup>24</sup> Freedberg, ‘Iconography’ in *Picturing Science, Producing Art* (1998), 271-296; Freedberg, *The Eye of the Lynx*.

URBAN the Eighth.’<sup>25</sup> This suggests firstly that de Rycke will write only one epigram, and secondly that he is the author of the second epigram, which, in addition to relating the act of bestowing this short music-theory book on the Pope, incorporates a lengthy description of Urban VIII’s commendable deeds.

Scant biographical information is known about Lappi, to whom Banchieri addresses the third of these letters. However, Lappi (who composed and published Latin verse) was evidently an Olivetan residing in Bologna when Banchieri sent him this short epistle.<sup>26</sup> The manner in which Banchieri discusses Lappi’s poem implies its inclusion in his *Conclusiones de musica*: ‘The Epigram that You composed in order to honour my

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<sup>25</sup> ‘Dal Sig. Girolamo Mascheroni ricevo l’ambasciata di V. S. Eccellentissimo con l’essibitione di onorare le mie Armoniche Conclusioni di uno Epigramma d’encomio alla Santità di N. S. Papa VRBANO Ottavo.’ Banchieri, *Lettere armoniche*, 75. See Appendix 7.

<sup>26</sup> In this letter to Lappi Banchieri writes: ‘per relatione di due Prelati insigni della nostra Religione’. Banchieri, *Lettere armoniche*, 49-50. Since Banchieri draws a broad parallel between himself and Lappi, it can be deduced that Lappi was an Olivetan.

Another contemporaneous publication confirms Lappi’s esteemed scholarship and his association with Bolognese musicians. In his opening dedication, Giulio Cesare Croce addresses members of the Accademia degli Ardenti di Bologna and thanks Girolamo Giacobbi, ‘a most excellent musician and your preceptor in musical science’, who had invited Cesare to serve the academy’s ‘illustrious and noble company’. This company ‘is drilled in distinguished virtues, under the discipline of the very Reverend Signor Giovanni Domenico Lappi, in this age a very renowned man on account of his erudition and living goodness, and one not able but to succeed in becoming renowned and famous in every kind of science, and likewise adorned with the most honest morals.’ ‘Ed obbligo grandissimo, certo, e render sempre devo gratie al cielo prima, e poi al Reverendo Signor Don Girolamo Giacob[b]i, musico eccellentissimo e precettor loro nella scienza musicale, essendo stato mezzano, per sua bontà e cortesia, ad introdurmi a prendere [sic prendere] servitù di così illustre e nobil comitiva, la quale, esercitandosi nell’eccelse virtudi, sotto la disciplina del molto Reverendo Signor Giovanni Domenico Lappi, a questa etade per dottrina e per bontà di vita huomo chiarissimo, non può se non riuscire chiara e famosa in ogni sorte di scienza, e parimente ornata d’honestissimi costumi.’ G. C. Croce, *Il mondo alla roversa* (Bologna, 1614), opening dedication. In spite of Cesare’s gushing praise, his description of Lappi as a venerable instructor surely contains some veracity. One of the twenty-four members of the academy listed by Cesare is ‘S.C. Cosimo Medici’, presumably Cosimo de’ Medici (1590-1621), the fourth grand duke of Tuscany (1609–20). For more information regarding this academy, see *Database of Italian Academies* (The British Library, n.d.), <<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/ItalianAcademies/>>. Accessed 6 Dec 2013.

The eighteenth-century biographer Pellegrino Antonio Orlandi described Lappi as follows: ‘Gio: Domenico Lappi eruditissimo, e diligentissimo Professore di Lettere umane, colle quali insegnandole ai Nobili Giovani dell’Accademia degli Ardenti, detta del Porto, merito gloriosa fama. Si leggono varie di Lui prefazioni in versi latini, stampate in diversi Libri’. P. A. Orlandi, *Notizie degli scrittori bolognesi e dell’opere loro stampate e manoscritte raccolte* (Bologna, 1714), 162. These publications include, for instance: G. D. Lappi, *Rime et versi latini nelle felicissime nozze ... di Pietro Emi e ... Polissena Gabriel* (Bologna, 1596); G. D. Lappi, *Poemi volgari, e latini nella partenza del ... sig[nor] Gio[vanni] Carlo Cappello auditore del torrione di Bologna* (Bologna, 1604); and P. A. Ambrosi, *Panegyris ad illustriss[imum] et reuerendiss[imum] dominum D. Maphæum Barberinum S.R.E. card.* (Bologna, 1612). The latter publication not only includes the stemma and portrait of Cardinal Maffeo Barberini (dated 1612), but also Latin epigrams in praise of the Barberini (pp. 55-56), some of which are allegedly composed by Lappi.

From these publications, it is clear that Lappi was a scholar and (akin to de Rycke) possibly a rhetorician at the city’s university. Observe also that Lappi must not have taken orders until 1612, but before 1614.

*Armoniche Conclusioni*, which is dedicated to the Sanctity of Our Lord Urban VIII, has received the worthiest repayment<sup>27</sup> – that is, other than monetary return for the music-theory book’s author or printer. The letter continues:

Because His Beatitude graciously read it all, and enjoyed it with a happy face; and this according to a report by two distinguished Prelates of our Religion who happened to be at the dedication – I tell you, the most Reverend Father Don Angiolo Cantoni, the Olivetan Vicar-Apostolic General, and the very Reverend Father Don Benedetto Fontana, the Attorney General. I deemed it right to convey this information to Your Lordship so that you receive that reward, which is appropriate to him who honours, which is the same honour; in order to commend you further, I will shortly print this Epigram together with that one written by the most Excellent Josse de Rycke in the volume of my *Lettere Armoniche*; and I kiss your hand.<sup>28</sup>

Although the first epigram oozes humanist similes, making it the more elegant of the two, either epigram might have met with the pope’s approval. Even though this letter might support the thesis that Lappi wrote the first epigram and de Rycke the second, who authored which remains disputable.

Banchieri did not fulfil his vow of further commending Lappi: both neo-Latin epigrams are absent from his *Lettere armoniche* (and *Lettere scritte*). Perhaps neither Girolamo Mascheroni nor Nicolò Tebaldini wished to print either epigram, or the monk-musician changed his mind. Instead, it seems that Giovanni Cottunio’s neo-Greek distich was printed again in lieu of both poems (see Figure 5.3 above). Indeed, irrespective of the

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<sup>27</sup> ‘L’Epigramma, che V. S. compose per onorare le mie Armoniche Conclusioni dedicate alla Santità di N. Sig. Urbano Ottavo, hà riceuuto dignissimo contracambio’. Banchieri, *Lettere armoniche*, 49-50.

<sup>28</sup> ‘Poiche da Sua Beatitudine benignamente fù il tutto letto, e gradito con lieto ciglio, e ciò per relatione di due Prelati insigni della nostra Religione, che si trovarono alla dedicatione, dico, Il Reverendiss[imo] P[adre] D[on] Angiolo Maria Cantoni Vicario Gen. Apostolico Olivetano. & il M[olto] Reu[erendo] P[adre] D[on] Benedetto Fontana Procuratore Generale. mi è parso bene darne ragguglio à V. Sig. acciò che lei riceua quel premio, qual si conviene à chi onora, qual è lo stesso onore, sì come à maggior sua lode tal Epigramma insieme con quello dell’Eccellentissimo Giusto Riquio farò stampare in breve, sopra il volume delle mie Lettere Armoniche, e le bacio la mano.’ Banchieri, *Lettere armoniche*, 49-50.

Other letters demonstrate that Banchieri frequently approached literary scholars – and in particular poets – in order to acquire encomia for inclusion in his printed music books and madrigals to which he would set music: see Appendix 7.

authorship of these two epigrams, the distich is essentially an expedient précis of their contents and the ideas presented in them.<sup>29</sup>

d. The neo-Greek distich

Keen to include an encomium to Pope Urban VIII mimicking the Classical language of the Ancient Greeks, Banchieri wrote to a Public Reader (*Publico Lettore*) of Bologna, Giovanni Cottunio:<sup>30</sup>

Our *Conclusioni Armoniche*, translated with vivacious ingenuity from the Italian language into Ciceronian on this honourable occasion, will be dedicated to the immortal name of the most Blessed Pope URBAN the Eighth. I pray to Your most Excellent Signor to honour my toils in your most celebrated way and to honour yourself in honouring the name and merit of the greatest Potentate the world possesses. I know how courteous you are when it comes to virtuous transactions, and since I solicit from you a Greek Distich in praise of his Holiness, I send to you *le conclusioni* [perhaps in manuscript or as a previous edition of the *Conclusiones/Conclusioni*: see Appendix 7], so that you can make use of them; I very much hope to remain perpetually indebted to you as a result of such a mark of kindness.<sup>31</sup>

From this letter, it is clear that Cottunio may have had a reputation for producing dedicatory Greek distichs. Yet whether Cottunio read the two commissioned neo-Latin epigrams before composing his distich is uncertain. Indeed, the order in which the allographic paratext was composed is unclear. Since Banchieri mentions neither Lappi's epigram nor Cottunio's distich in his letter to de Rycke, but does refer to de Rycke's epigram in his letter to Lappi, perhaps de Rycke composed his poem first, then Lappi and then Cottunio. Mischiati probably assigned the first Latin epigram in Banchieri's

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<sup>29</sup> The meaning of 'in breve' in Banchieri's printed letter to Lappi could translate as 'concisely' instead of 'shortly'; this alternative translation – although unlikely, given the context – conveys the idea that the contents of one of the Latin epigrams was condensed.

<sup>30</sup> An inscription dated 15 March 1620 in the Archiginnasio in Bologna reads: 'A IOANNI COTTUNIO NOBILI THESSALONICENSI PHILOSOPHIAE, MEDICINAE, AC SACRAE THEOLOGIAE DOCTORI EXIMIO IN HAC OMNIVM ACADEMIARUM CELEBERRIMA GRAECARUM, HVMANIORVMQUE LITTERARVM PRIMARIO PROFESSORI'. G. G. Forni and G. B. Pighi, *Le iscrizioni dell'Archiginnasio* (Bologna, 1962), 50.

<sup>31</sup> 'Le nostre Conclusioni Armoniche tradotte da ingegno vivace dalla lingua Italiana in Ciceroniana con occasione onorevole vengono consecrate al nome immortale del Beatissimo Pontefice VRBANO Ottavo. A V. Sig. Eccellentissima ricorro pregandola ad onorare le mie fatiche col suo celetratissimo istile ed onorare se stessa, onorando il nome, e merito del maggior Potentato c'habbia il mondo. Sò, quant'ella sia cortese nelle vituose operationi, e perciò la prego d'un Disticon Greco in lode di S. Santità, le mando le conclusioni, accioche possa farne l'applicatione; sperando in tanto di restarle con una perpetua obligatione per un così segnalato favore.' Banchieri, *Lettere armoniche*, 74.

*Conclusiones de musica* to de Rycke and the second to Lappi since the order in which they were written might reflect their layout in the preliminaries.

How did Cottunio ‘make use’ of the *conclusioni*? It seems most probable that Banchieri intended these *conclusioni* to aid Cottunio’s composition of a Greek distich. Clearly the monk-musician expected that this distich would express ideas pertaining to the central arguments incorporated in the main body of his forthcoming music-theory book. However, it is also possible that Cottunio was knowledgeable about musical matters and therefore could apply Banchieri’s *conclusioni* to musical practice, even using them instructively to inform his organ playing.<sup>32</sup>

The Greek couplet is heavily laden with Classical tropes, which reveal the socio-cultural context – both musical and extra-musical – in which the *Conclusiones de musica* was written, and which it underpins. By examining different and overlapping tropes in this distich, throughout the rest of this chapter I explore their significance for, and connections to, the main authorial text and the paratextual material, as well as the way in which they illustrate and emphasize various aspects of widespread early Seicento culture. Ultimately, however, the key to understanding the distich’s socio-cultural meaning lies primarily in the interpretation of the metaphorically buzzing bee.

## 2. The allegory of the bee

The bee mentioned in the first line of this distich is evidently a metaphor for the then pope, Urban VIII. Although Urban’s stemma of a trigon of bees appears on the title page of Banchieri’s *Conclusiones de musica*, the more discernible visual link between the Greek distich and Urban’s bee-image in Banchieri’s publications is surely their placement together in the preliminaries to his *Lettere armoniche*; furthermore, similar to the title page of the *Conclusiones de musica*, here the heading above the Barberini stemma reads: ‘To

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<sup>32</sup> Nevertheless, I cannot find any evidence to support the idea that Cottunio was a music practitioner.

Urban VIII, the highest and greatest Pope, the glory of the world'.<sup>33</sup> The presence of the letter of dedication to Urban on the opposite page in the *Lettere armoniche* (see Figure 5.3 above) also strengthens the macroscopic connection between the *Lettere armoniche* and *Conclusiones de musica*, and the microscopic connections among the various elements in the surrounding content of the distich.

Though often overlooked, the bee-trigon served as visual propaganda for the Barberini in both Maffeo's generation and the next three: it signified the three Roman Barberini brothers.<sup>34</sup> Architecturally, Urban, his brothers and his nephews ensured that their munificence would never be forgotten by attaching the trigon of bees, their triple emblem, 'to every example of their enterprise and intervention'.<sup>35</sup> One of the most notable sculptures by Gianlorenzo Bernini on which this emblem features is the Baldachin in St Peter's basilica. As Urban VIII himself used his stemma for his own political and propagandistic aims, perhaps it is no wonder that those seeking his patronage also did the same.

Referring to the bee-image, David Freedberg remarked, 'Hardly a medical, technical, scientific, or geographical work published in Rome between 1623 and 1644 lacked that symbol of sweetness, industry and power'.<sup>36</sup> Likewise, music prints by contemporary writers who carried the pope's favour included either the trigon emblem or a depiction of a swarm of bees on their frontispieces or title pages. For instance, Domenico Mazzochi's *Poemata* (Rome, 1638) does so on the title page and Giovanni Girolamo Kapsperger's *Poematia et carmina* (Rome, 1624) incorporates this image in three

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<sup>33</sup> 'VRBANO OCTAVO / P[ONTIFICI] O[PTIMO] M[AXIMO] / ORBIS SPLENDORI.' Banchieri, *Lettere armoniche*, fol. 8v.

<sup>34</sup> Rietbergen, *Power and Culture in Baroque Rome*, 129. Also noteworthy here is Rietbergen's observation that the trigon could be used to good effect in the adornment of Maffeo's poems, 'not least because the poet himself composed several poems that either were addressed to the three Barberini brothers or the three nephews, or to other exemplary threesomes who could be taken as their ideological or moral predecessors'.

<sup>35</sup> Freedberg, *The Eye of the Lynx*, 155.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 156.

successive frontispieces.<sup>37</sup> (Significantly, the latter publication was the first on the Italian peninsula to contain Urban VIII's poetry.<sup>38</sup> For a discussion of this pope's poetic output, see below. Kapsperger sets his Latin poems for solo voice with basso continuo.) The presence of the Barberini bee in many books (musical or other) during the papacy of Urban VIII demonstrates not only this pope's indulgence in the arts, but also the image's principal role in seeking the pope's financial support and patronage. Banchieri's *Conclusiones de musica*, then, can be situated in this wider culture of including the image of a bee in its preliminaries as a means to invoke the patronage of Urban VIII.

What superior attributes did the bee embody?<sup>39</sup> Appealing to Urban's beneficence and goodwill, the contemporaneous member of the Accademia dei Lincei Francesco Cesi enumerates the countless qualities of that species and their intertwined relationship with the pope in the scientific print the *Apiarium* (Rome, 1625). David Freedberg effectively summarizes these:

Urban is king and father of bees; we are his offspring, his family and his workers. Like the king bee, he protects us, makes laws for us, organizes us, and sees to our education. He has no self-interest and thinks only of the well-being of his subjects. Everything in the king bee's domain is well-ordered and efficient; everything he does is in harmony with nature ... bees provide proof of all the highest virtues and stand as arguments for the virtues of Urban himself ... Like Urban, bees are studious, inventive, watchful, ingenious, wise, solicitous, diligent, guileless, pious, thrifty, and chaste. As Pliny notes, they have regular hours for

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<sup>37</sup> Rietbergen, *Power and Culture in Baroque Rome*, 134-135. Akin to Rietbergen and other scholars, Ludwig Freiherr von Pastor correctly renders the title of Kapsperger's music print as *Poemata et carmina*. L. F. von Pastor, *History of the Popes*, trans. D. E. Graf (London, 1930), xxix, 420. However, throughout I use the original orthographic rendering of the title.

Giovanni Girolamo Kapsperger (c1580-1651), a composer, lutenist, theorbist and guitarist, had links with Urban VIII and the Jesuits. As Victor Anand Coelho remarks: 'In 1622 his *Apotheosis*, on Jesuit themes, was performed at the Collegio Romano on the canonizations of the first two Jesuit saints, Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier; the most elaborate musical production in Rome before the Barberini operas, it marked the period of Kapsperger's deepening relationship with the papal circle.' V. A. Coelho, 'Kapsperger, Giovanni Girolamo.' *Grove Online*. Accessed 15 Dec 2009.

<sup>38</sup> This fact has been somewhat overlooked. The preceding copies (and some subsequent ones) of the French printers were based on a pirated edition. In his study of Urban's poetry, Rietbergen states that the first edition was produced in Paris in 1620. Rietbergen, *Power and Culture in Baroque Rome*, Ch. 2 (particularly pp. 109-115 and his Appendix, pp. 141-142).

<sup>39</sup> Here I only discuss the attributes of the bee which are particularly applicable to Urban VIII. For a general discussion of the bee's notable characteristics in this historical period, see J. Woolfson, 'The Renaissance of Bees', *Renaissance Studies*, 24/2 (2010), 281-300.

sleeping and for work. They are prudent, temperate, fearless, pure, clean-living, honest, and above all kind.<sup>40</sup>

By de-emphasizing another well-known quality of the king bee – that is, its ability to sting – Freedberg argues that the *Apiarium*'s panegyric reveals the Linceans' desire rapidly to regain the favour of Urban in the Jubilee year of 1625.<sup>41</sup> Indeed, their core members had encouraged and facilitated the publication of Galileo Galilei's *Il saggiaiore* (Rome, 1623) which had been presented to the pope two months after his accession to the papacy.<sup>42</sup>

The emphasis on the pope's magnanimity in the paratext (that is, both in the epitext and peritext) to Banchieri's *Conclusiones de musica* might be for an analogous reason. Throughout his monastic life, Banchieri distanced himself from the madrigal comedies composed in his youth in order to assert his moral-religious integrity. Perhaps he emphasized Urban VIII's generosity in order to ensure the pope's forgiveness, perhaps with the additional hope of being favoured enough to be offered an illustrious music post in his service.<sup>43</sup> The first three lines of the second Latin epigram point to this pope's benevolence. The poet then alludes to Urban's celestial and terrestrial power, and particularly to his undisputed role in allying European powers and resolving feuds among the Italians. In the latter case, perhaps this is a reference to Maffeo's election to the papacy: this had been negotiated by Cardinal Maurizio of Savoy to break a deadlock between the Borghese and Ludovisi factions headed by the cardinal nephews of the two previous popes.<sup>44</sup> However, the meaning of the reference in this epigram to the allying of the European kings is less certain. According to one of Giacinto Gigli's diary entries, before 1635 when Urban VIII

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<sup>40</sup> Freedberg, *The Eye of the Lynx*, 174. Until Charles Butler's *Feminin' Monarchi*' (Oxford, 1634), it was assumed that all bees, including the leader of the hive, were autogenetic males.

<sup>41</sup> This is but one publication that the Accademia dei Lincei brought out that year which incorporated the Barberini bee-image (a device utilized to curry the pope's favour). See Freedberg, *The Eye of the Lynx* (2002), 154-174. The pope's Jubilee year occurred every quarter of a century.

<sup>42</sup> In English, Galilei's publication is known as *The Assayer*. Pietro Redondi has argued that the atomism espoused in this work was incompatible with the doctrine of transubstantiation of the Eucharist. Furthermore, this work deeply offended the Jesuits. P. Redondi, *Galileo eretico*, trans. R. Rosenthal (Princeton, 1987); Freedberg, *The Eye of the Lynx*, 173.

<sup>43</sup> See Chapter 2, n. 16.

<sup>44</sup> Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome*, 18.

lived in health he governed with great prudence; yet his reign is marked by various stages of the Thirty Years' War which underscored the opposition between Catholic and Protestant Europe.<sup>45</sup> To return to the second epigram, however, ultimately it was Urban's Godlike powers together with the toils of himself and his nephew, Francesco Barberini (1597-1679), which led to the harmony that was being experienced during Maffeo's papacy; that is, a harmony both among different European factions and in music that produces peaceful souls.<sup>46</sup>

Industriousness is a well-known, Vergilian-ascribed quality of the bee, and doubtless the foremost reason why Maffeo wished this creature to be associated with the Barberini clan. In Book IV of the *Georgics*, a text widely circulated in the early Seicento, the assiduous activities of bees are elaborated at length.<sup>47</sup> (Furthermore, Vergil instructs the beekeeper to select the 'nobler breed' over that one 'meaner of look', so that there is no rivalry between the two in the hive.<sup>48</sup> And it is of course the gleaming-scaled, noble bee that is emblazoned on the Barberini family's escutcheon – that is, the golden-spotted bee.<sup>49</sup>)

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 25; see also 22.

<sup>46</sup> Francesco was made a cardinal by his uncle, Urban VIII, in October 1623. Maffeo had raised him himself. Francesco became his 'closest and most powerful collaborator during the twenty-odd years of his papal reign', shaping papal cultural policies 'as much as his uncle did'. Rietbergen, *Power and Culture in Baroque Rome*, 101-102. Francesco was familiar with some of Banchieri's music-theoretical output: see n. 12.

It is unclear from the second Latin epigram what type of musical harmony creates the peace of souls. It can surely be assumed that this harmony was produced naturally, but owing to the all-encompassing adjective *omnisonam* and the double meaning of *vocum* (for this could either refer to the pitch or different instrumentation), this universal harmony could refer to the simultaneous sounding of voices and instruments, and/or to the type of instruments (or to the voices) that have the power of producing such a harmonious sound.

<sup>47</sup> See, for example, lines 155-190: 'They alone...in summer, mindful of the winter to come, spend toilsome days and garner their gains into a common store... All aglow is the work, and the fragrant honey is sweet with thyme... At dawn they pour from the gates, no loitering; again, when the star of eve has warned them to withdraw from their pasture in the fields, then they seek their homes... Well-earned sleep seizes their weary limbs.' *Theoi Classical Library*, s.v. 'Virgil, *Georgics* > Book 4'. Accessed 19 Feb 2014.

Many versions of Vergil's *Georgics*, not to mention vernacular translations, were in print in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Italy. The printing house of i Sessa, who published many editions of this classical text in Venice, reprinted Vergil's *L'opere di Virgilio mantoano, cioe, la Bucolica, la Georgica, e l'Eneide*, together with a commentary in Tuscan, in 1623.

<sup>48</sup> *Theoi Classical Library*, s.v. 'Virgil, *Georgics* > Book 4', lines 89 and 100. Accessed 19 Feb 2014.

<sup>49</sup> The nobler breed 'will be aglow with rough spots of gold for there are two sorts: one is better, noble of mien and bright with gleaming scales; the other squalid from sloth, and trailing ignobly a broad paunch.' *Theoi Classical Library*, s.v. 'Virgil, *Georgics* > Book 4', lines 91-94. Accessed 19 Feb 2014.

In the second Latin epigram, Maffeo and Francesco Barberini's hard work is implicitly compared to that of Banchieri's in setting out his *conclusiones*. Unlike in Cottunio's distich, in this poem Banchieri did not require the prompt of Urban VIII's onomatopoeic buzzing in order to be inspired to musical industry. The periphrastic image of Urban as an industrious bee aptly depicted this pope's enduring labours not just in the architectural sphere, but also (as I discuss below) in the fields of poetry and music.

In the *Apiarium*, Cesi also drew classical parallels between Urban bees and the Gods of antiquity: 'they are strong like Jupiter (who derives his strength from his nurture by the honey-bearing nymph Melissa on Mount Hymettus), chaste like Diana, fecund like Venus, and wise as Minerva. They are the mistress of Ceres, conspicuous for their purity.'<sup>50</sup> All of the Linceans' publications of 1625 contain a paradox of the king bee: 'he is entirely chaste, yet immensely fecund'.<sup>51</sup> According to the ancients, bees were especially pleasing to the goddess Diana since they reproduced without any kind of sexual congress. Unlike either Latin epigram in Banchieri's *Conclusiones de musica*, de Rycke's poem in *Apes Dianiae* principally parallels the chastity of bees and that of Urban himself. Here De Rycke observed, 'The world was all the purer because of the chaste and virginal model of the supreme pontiff'.<sup>52</sup>

Although the Barberini pontiff adopted, absorbed and utilized the entire multitude of humanistic virtues of the bee as a political and propagandistic tool, above all it was the analogy of himself as king bee to Apollo incarnate that bolstered his reputation as a devoted patron of the arts.

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With the restoration of the apse mosaic in the basilica of Santi Cosma e Damiano in the *Forum Romanum*, three golden Barberini bees were introduced swarming about a Byzantine flower growing near the foot of Pope Felix IV.

<sup>50</sup> D. Freedberg, *The Eye of the Lynx*, 440n45.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 174

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 165.

### 3. Urban VIII as Apollo

While the second Latin epigram in Banchieri's *Conclusiones de musica* is devoid of any analogy between Urban VIII and a mythological god, the first excels in this area. Here Banchieri's performance of songs is likened to those recited by the Greek God Apollo. The association of Urban as king bee with this god of antiquity – a comparison drawn upon in the coeval publication, the *Apiarium* – links the first epigram to Cottunio's distich.

Perhaps it is no wonder that Urban, a poet and music-lover, appropriated the mythological image of Apollo.<sup>53</sup> Maffeo was an intellectual, skilled in the vernacular, and Greek and Latin verse; before even aspiring to the papacy he was a poet. Collections of his 'graceful and fluent'<sup>54</sup> poetry were published in all of these three languages, and appeared in print as early as 1620.<sup>55</sup> Although little evidence corroborates that the pontiff was a musician, the delight he took in music is documented in Banchieri's opening encomium in his *Conclusiones de musica*.<sup>56</sup> While Maffeo's own musical tastes are difficult to discern,

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<sup>53</sup> As well as being the god of music, song and poetry, Apollo's numerous and diverse functions also included healing and purification, prophecy, and care for young citizens. In iconography, he is always young, beardless, and of harmonious beauty; his weapon is the bow, and his plant the laurel. See S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth, eds., *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd edn. (New York; Oxford, 1999). Urban was not the first to appropriate the image of Apollo. In the 1589 Florentine *intermedi*, Ferdinando I assumed this role.

Early Seicento manuals containing explanations of mythologies and images of the Gods of antiquity, such as Natale Conti's *Mythologiae* (Venice, 1567) and Vincenzo Cartari's *Le imagini con la spositione de i dei de gli antichi* (Venice, 1556), which were re-printed numerous times in early Seicento Padua, and were translated into other languages, record the attributes contemporaneously ascribed to Apollo. Gary Tomlinson asserts that these two mythographies 'were two of the most influential and often reprinted of such works. Indeed, the circulation of these publications was wide, and new editions of them were produced for almost one hundred years after their first date of publication. G. Tomlinson, *Metaphysical Song: An Essay on Opera* (Princeton, 1999), 28.

Barbara Hanning has remarked on the superior position Apollo was given in music, even above and beyond that given to Orpheus. Also worthy of mention is the association of Apollo with the Biblical lyre-player, King David. B. R. Hanning, 'Glorious Apollo: Poetic and Political Themes in the First Opera', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 32 (1979), 485-513.

In the Barberini Palace, visual imagery attesting to this pope's association with Apollo still exists. In Pietro da Contona's ceiling fresco of the grand *salone*, 'Divine Justice crowns the Barberini arms, Religion attaches to them the papal keys, Rome raises the three-tiered crown above them with the laurel wreath of the archetypal poet, Apollo'. The painter Andrea Camassei depicts Urban himself as Apollo elsewhere in the palace. P. Rietbergen, *Power and Culture in Baroque Rome*, 138.

<sup>54</sup> Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome*, 17.

<sup>55</sup> On the chronology and dating of Maffeo's poetry, see Rietbergen, *Power and Culture in Baroque Rome*, 97, 97n5, 97n6 and 141-142.

<sup>56</sup> Banchieri, *Conclusiones de musica*, fol. 2r.

his interest in music can be detected (not least because of his patronage of opera).<sup>57</sup> He always gratefully received musical settings of his own poetry and, according to the Venetian ambassador Alvise Contarini, delighted in hearing his Latin compositions set to music.<sup>58</sup> (For instance, Pedro Heredia (*d* 1648) set Urban's sonnet 'Passa la vita all'abbassar d'un ciglio' to music. This was included on p. 163 of a manuscript copy of Giovanni Battista Doni's treatise *Compendio del trattato de' generi e de' modi della musica* (Rome, 1635), perhaps contributing to the theorist's endeavour to gratify Urban.)<sup>59</sup> Although sycophantic praise of a pope's humane abilities is common in this period, the scholar Frederick Hammond nevertheless concludes that Urban 'possessed an excellent voice, which he employed impressively on liturgical occasions'.<sup>60</sup> Maffeo's purportedly outstanding vocal ability is a quality he shared with Apollo. From line 5 of the first Latin epigram in Banchieri's *Conclusiones de musica*, we learn that, at the least, Urban VIII (as Apollo incarnate) could chant (i.e. recite slowly to the accompaniment of the wave-sounding Aon). Maffeo showed an active interest in the instrument of the organ around the time Banchieri printed his *Conclusiones de musica*. Hammond records the following series of events:

In 1626 the pope visited St Peter's to hear the rebuilt organ of Alexander VI in the Cappella Clementina, which he judged a success. In 1628 the Reverenda Camera Apostolica paid sc. 39 on the pope's behalf for an organ restored by Girolamo Borghese and fitted with protective covers of wax cloth. The instrument was moved to St Peter's for Christmas Eve and later to Castel Gandolfo.<sup>61</sup>

Moreover, it is conceivable that this pope played the organ.

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<sup>57</sup> Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome*, 64-5. It is implied in line 6 of the first Latin epigram in Banchieri's *Conclusiones de musica* that Urban had great musical discernment.

<sup>58</sup> Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome*, 63-4. Hammond cites the Venetian ambassador's report of Urban VIII: N. Barozzi and G. Berchet, *Le relazioni della corte di Roma lette al senato dagli ambasciatori veneti nel secolo decimosettimo* (Venice, 1877), i, 260. The Barberini court musicians Filippo Vitali, Domenico Mazzocchi, Pedro Heredia, Orazio Michi and Giovanni Girolamo Kapsperger provided settings of Urban's poetry.

<sup>59</sup> Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome*, 64. See also G. Gaspari et al., *Catalogo della Biblioteca del Liceo Musicale di Bologna* (Bologna, 1893), iii, 226.

<sup>60</sup> Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome*, 64. Here Hammond (n. 8) cites von Pastor, *History of the Popes*, xxix, 12ff. However, I cannot locate the passage to which Hammond meant to refer.

<sup>61</sup> Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome*, 64-65; see also 294n.9. Urban went on semi-annual vacations to Castel Gandolfo.

Fittingly, Maffeo's appropriation of Apollo accords with an allegory derived from his stemma. Even though Aristotle deemed bees to be deaf, the musicality of these creatures is well established in classical literature: they are 'irrevocably associated with Apollo, and with the muses on Mount Helicon'.<sup>62</sup> Freedberg continues, 'Even Apollo's name had the same root, *ap-*, as that of bees. *Melicus* – derived from *mel*, or honey – also meant tuneful; and *melica* was the name for lyric poetry'.<sup>63</sup> The poet Pindar was the foster child of bees, with whom patrons such as Cesi equated the lyric-poetic talent of Urban himself. In the context of the first Latin epigram in Banchieri's *Conclusiones de musica*, it is also worth noting here that bees come under the tutelage of the muses.<sup>64</sup>

The title pages of coeval prints, such as *L'elettione di Urbano Papa VIII* (Rome, 1628) by Francesco Bracciolini dell'Api, which alludes to Apollo's flaying of the aulos-player Marsyas, who challenged the former to a musical contest, fully develop the potential imagery of the Barberini arms in the context of Apollo's mythological association with poetry and music. In this particular text, the Pope was exalted as the man chosen by Divine Wisdom to represent heaven on earth as the leader of Christ's Church. Indeed, he could also cultivate deference and veneration which subjects should show him as their pope, the divine representative of God, through the political and propagandistic use of his stemma.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Freedberg, *The Eye of the Lynx*, 174.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 174.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 163.

<sup>65</sup> Vergil wrote on the king bee: 'Moreover, neither Egypt nor mighty Lydia, nor the Parthian tribes, nor Median Hydaspes, show such homage to their king [as does the bee]... He [the king bee] is the guardian of their toils; to him they do reverence; all stand round him in clamorous crowd, and attend him in throngs. Often they lift him on their shoulders, for him expose their bodies to battle, and seek amid wounds a glorious death.

'Led by such tokens and such instances, some have taught that the bees have received a share of the divine intelligence, and a draught of heavenly ether; for God, they say, pervades all things, earth and sea's expanse and heaven's depth'. *Theoi Classical Library*, s.v. 'Virgil, *Georgics* > Book 4', lines 210-223. Accessed 19 Feb 2014.

A parallel can be drawn between the daily toils of the king bee and swarm of bees with the hard work undertaken by Urban VIII and his nephew Francesco, as mentioned in the second Latin epigram (line 7) in Banchieri's *Conclusiones de musica*.

a. The sun god and his bird

Marsilio Ficino associated the sun with music because of Apollo's legendary invention of the art.<sup>66</sup> Natale Conti's engraving of the graded mythological cosmos in his *Mythologiae* (Venice, 1567) reveals this contemporaneously conceived connection, one that was repeated and elaborated by most late Renaissance mythographers.<sup>67</sup> The sun elucidated knowledge, and its rays illuminated the true Christian faith and path for a cleric.<sup>68</sup> Furthermore, the sun

holds the midpoint, as of the leader, among the planets, whose motions the Pythagoreans believed to create a harmony of incredible sweetness, whence it is considered the inventor of music. They attributed to it the invention of the lyre, which at first was strung with seven strings....The number of these strings matched the number of the planets.<sup>69</sup>

In his own lifetime, Pythagoras was identified with Hyperborean Apollo. The lyre is of course the musical instrument of Apollo, himself father of Orpheus.<sup>70</sup> Callimachus's 'Hymn to Delos', which depicts the birth of Apollo, gives a different reason why the lyre has seven strings:

With music the swans, the gods' own minstrels, left Maionian Paktolos and circled seven times round Delos, and sang over the bed of child-birth [i.e. of Apollo], the Mousai's [Muses'] birds, most musical of all birds that fly. Hence that child in after days strung the lyre with just so many strings--seven strings, since seven times the swans sang over the pangs of birth. No eight time sang they: ere that the child [Apollo] leapt forth.<sup>71</sup>

The song of the Hyperborean swan, the title to which Callimachus' above hymn is sometimes referred, draws attention to a myriad of interconnections in classical literature

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<sup>66</sup> Apollo's connection with the sun may be traceable to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. J. E. Fontenrose, 'Apollo and the Sun-God in Ovid', *The American Journal of Philology*, 61/4 (1940), 429-444. A translation of Ovid's text is available online: *Theoi Classical Library*, s.v. 'Ovid, *Metamorphoses*'. Accessed 19 Feb 2014.

<sup>67</sup> Tomlinson, *Metaphysical Song*, 28. See also n. 53 above.

<sup>68</sup> Tomlinson, *Metaphysical Song*, 28.

<sup>69</sup> Translation of Natale Conti by Gary Tomlinson. *Ibid.*, 28.

<sup>70</sup> In the Homeric Hymn to the Muses and Apollo it is written: 'For it is through the Muses and Apollo that there are singers upon the earth and players upon the lyre; but kings are from Zeus.' *Theoi Classical Library*, s.v. 'Homeric Hymns > Hymn 25. To the Muses and Apollo'. Accessed 19 Feb 2014.

<sup>71</sup> The translation is by A.W. Mair: see *Theoi Classical Library*, s.v. 'Callimachus, *Hymns* > Hymn 4. To Delos', lines 249-263. Accessed 19 Feb 2014. For a late sixteenth-century version, see the Plantin edition of 1584 which contains a Latin translation of the Greek: Callimachus, *Callimachi Cyrenaei Hymni, epigrammata et fragmenta, quae exstant* (Antwerp, 1584), 60-61. It is likely that the latter edition circulated in Italy: the Plantin firm did business there from the 1560s to early seventeenth century. It might have reached the Italian peninsula through the book fairs at Frankfurt at which the Plantin firm traded with Italian booktraders, booksellers and merchants. L. Voet, 'Sales', id., *The Golden Compasses*.

among the mythological figure Apollo, the sun and the swan.<sup>72</sup> In Greek lore the swan was sacred to Apollo. The lines of the Homeric Hymn to Apollo (XXI) exemplify this:

Phoebus, of you even the swan sings with clear voice to the beating of his wings, as he alights upon the bank by the eddying river Peneus; and of you the sweet-tongued minstrel, holding his high-pitched lyre, always sings both first and last. And so hail to you, lord! I seek your favour with my song.<sup>73</sup>

The first Latin epigram in the *Conclusiones de musica* greatly parallels this hymn, not least because Banchieri seeks the favour of Urban, the earthly Apollo, through the presentation of his music manual. The epigram opens, however, with another classical reference to a bird. The sorrowful, natural quality of the nightingale's song is often recalled in classical literature, often with reference to Procne's transformation into this bird.<sup>74</sup> The poet's choice of adjective, *querulus*, is often cited in music-theory books written in the medieval period when the song of the nightingale is discussed.<sup>75</sup> Surely the reference in the epigram to Apollo's swan, the nightingale and the Muses' lyre is not sheer coincidence. The inherent

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<sup>72</sup> Swans are in general considered to be mute, except just before their death. In Greek lore it was believed that, upon reaching old age, Hyperborean folk would transform themselves into swans after bathing in the bitumen lake. As swans they sang mournfully before dying; theirs was the sweetest of all the bird-songs. See A. J. Atsma, *Theoi Greek Mythology: Exploring Mythology in Classical Literature & Art* (Auckland, New Zealand: The Theoi Project, 2000-2011), <<http://www.theoi.com>>, s.v. 'Hyperborea: Fabulous Land of the Far North'. Accessed 20 Feb 2014. On the nature of swan song, see Plato, *Phaedo*, 85. The translation provided by the Loeb Classical Library Series reads: 'I do not believe they [birds] sing for grief, nor do the swans; but since they are Apollo's birds, I believe they have prophetic vision, and because they have foreknowledge of the blessings in the other world they sing and rejoice on that day more than ever before.' Plato, *Euthyphro; Apology; Crito; Phaedro; Phaedrus*, trans. by H. North Fowler (London, 1913). See also Book VII, lines 698 to 705, of the widely circulated *Aeneid*, in which Vergil compares the tribes and troops called to arms by Messapus to swans: 'In dressed lines they marched and sang to their king: as snowy swans among the moist clouds, when they return from feeding, and from their long throats utter their tuneful strains; the river echoes, and the Asian mead, struck from afar [i.e. from the valley of the Cäyster in Lydia] ... Nor would one think that mail-clad ranks were massed in that vast swarm, but that high in the air a cloud of hoarse-voiced birds was pressing shoreward from the deep gulf.' Vergil, *Aeneid 7-12; Appendix Vergiliana*, trans. by H.R. Fairclough, rev. by G. P. Goold (Cambridge, Massachusetts; London; 1999-2000).

<sup>73</sup> *Theoi Classical Library*, s.v. 'Homeric Hymns > Hymn 21. To Apollo'. Accessed 19 Feb 2014. In 1551, the Venetian Melchior Sessa printed the Homeric Hymns: Homer, *Om rou Odysseia. Batrachomyomachia. Ymni. 32. Homeri Odyssea. Batrachomyomachia. Hymni. 32. Omnia noua recognitione castigata* (Venice, 1551). In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, however, it seems that copies of the Homeric Hymns were printed north of the Alps (for example, in Basle and Geneva) and then circulated throughout the Italian peninsula. Many copies of these texts are now held by Italian libraries (see *OPAC SBN*). To a certain extent, the current locality of these publications corresponds to book-distribution patterns c. 1600.

<sup>74</sup> On the naturalness of the nightingale's song, see Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, X, 43. The Loeb Classical Library Series provides a translation: Pliny, the Elder, *Natural History*, trans. by H. Rackham (London, 1938-1963), iii. For the myth of Procne and Philomela, see *Theoi Classical Library*, s.v. 'Ovid, *Metamorphoses* > Book 6'. Accessed 19 Feb 2014.

<sup>75</sup> I am grateful to Prof. Elizabeth Eva Leach for this observation.

naturalness of the lyre (given the reasons why it was said to have seven strings), together with the kind of song uttered by these two musical birds, implies not only that Urban's music-poetic efforts were in perfect accord with natural harmony, but also that Banchieri's musical melodies were likewise. Indeed, for the mid-sixteenth-century mythographers Vincenzo Cartari and Natale Conti, Apollo's lyre signified celestial harmony; Apollo's placement in the midst of his daughters, the nine Muses in both of their mythographies mirrors 'his place at the center of the heavens and signified the all-diffusive power of his harmony'.<sup>76</sup>

Although we are discouraged from translating μ μ in Cottunio's neo-Greek distich as a proper noun given the lower case of μ, the double meaning of this word should not be lost: Melpomene is depicted in Classical mythology as the muse of singing or of tragedy, or the protector of the arts. Taking the Homeric reading of μ μ as an adjectival participle, however, which has the effect of creating assonance with μ ί, the second line of the distich in practice alludes to the hymns of the pope which are here sung to Apollo's instrument, the lyre.<sup>77</sup> In this way, then, Cottunio's distich embodies the Seicento association of the bee, Apollo and Urban VIII.

Likening Urban VIII to the mythological figure Apollo (the inventor of the lyre) may be the crux to understanding the significance of his stemmata that decorate the outer sides of four marble bases of Bernini's Baldachin in St Peter's. On seven of the stemmata a contorted female face is depicted above the coat of arms upon which crawl the three Barberini bees, while on the eighth stemma Bernini substitutes the head of a woman for

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<sup>76</sup> Tomlinson, *Metaphysical Song*, 28-30. See also n. 53 above.

<sup>77</sup> Maffeo was, of course, later associated with Giovanni Battista Doni's description of the instrument *lyra barberina* (a triple kithara) in a treatise printed posthumously (albeit without the original illustrations) in 1783 by A.F. Gori and G.B. Passeri in Florence. Doni began writing this music-theory book, which is dedicated to Urban VIII, in 1632. Although he probably finished it in 1635, he sent it to the French press only around 1640. For more information, see T. J. Mathiesen, *Apollo's Lyre: Greek Music and Music Theory in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (London, 1999), 267-269; C. V. Palisca, *G.B. Doni's Lyra Barberina: Commentary and Iconographical Study: Facsimile Edition with Critical Notes* (Bologna, 1981); and C. V. Palisca, 'G.B. Doni, Musicological Activist, and His *Lyra Barberina*', id., *Studies in the History of Italian Music and Music Theory*, 467-90.

that of a smiling cherub.<sup>78</sup> Could it be that these eight stemmata do not represent (as legend has it) the arduous labour pains experienced by Urban's favourite niece, but instead the birth of Urban as Apollo incarnate?<sup>79</sup> Philipp Fehl notes that Urban was a disciple of Apollo, and that 'References to the sun, a favourite emblem of Maffeo, also abound on the baldacchino'.<sup>80</sup> As Callimachus depicted it, the labour took seven days, and on the eighth Apollo was born. If the eight stemmata on the Baldachin are a tacit remembrance of the birth of Apollo, the interconnections among this mythological sun-god, the image of the Barberini bee and Urban VIII – the poet and music-lover – are further strengthened.

The poetic imagery contained in the peritext of Banchieri's *Conclusiones de musica* supports this interpretation, as well as the image on the title page of Kapsperger's *Poemata et carmina* (on the latter publication, see pp. 193-194 above). According to Peter Rietbergen, the female figure on this title page is an allegorical representation of the Church sitting on a raised plinth, to whom two Muses are offering their products, text and a musically notated folio, which is a recitative, for it consists of a melodic line to be accompanied by a continuo instrument. The Muse who is offering this gift to the female figure is holding a theorbo.<sup>81</sup> Incidentally, by the other Muse's feet stands a swan, an apt occasion for the presence of Apollo's bird.<sup>82</sup> The escutcheon of the bee-trigon, complete with the keys of St Peter's and the three-tiered crown, appears below the Mother Church's midriff. Perhaps the positioning of this heraldic emblem of Urban VIII signifies the apotheosis of the Pope and his brothers, similar to the apotheosis of God – the Father, Son and Holy Spirit. In addition, the image of the Virgin Mary – the bearer of Christ – is

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<sup>78</sup> P. Fehl, 'The "Stemme" on Bernini's Baldacchino in St Peter's: A Forgotten Compliment', *The Burlington Magazine*, 118/880 (July 1976), 484-491:484.

<sup>79</sup> The scholar Philipp Fehl records this legend. Ibid, 484 and 487; see in particular 487n.1.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., 488n.8.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., 134.

<sup>82</sup> One of the seven libretti for large musical works by the Florentine anti-Marinist poet, Giovanni Ciampoli, is called *I cinque cigni* (composers unknown). It was written specifically to celebrate the anniversaries of Urban VIII's coronation on 29 September in 1625 and 1626. This publication, then, likewise associates Urban with the swan and music. Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome*, 63 and 185.

evoked. The chaste image of the bee was an important emblem for the Jesuits, with whom Urban VIII had early ties: not only was the bee an allegory for the Virgin Mary, but her womb was an allegory for the hive.<sup>83</sup>

b. The moralistic poet

Peter Rietbergen situates Maffeo's Latin verses within the poetic movement of the early Seicento that effected moral restoration in Italian poetry.<sup>84</sup> Indeed, the Pope's didactic poetry was a product of the widespread attempt to propagate the true Christian faith (that is, Catholicism) through moralistic verse.<sup>85</sup> Although Maffeo first composed poems in Italian, most of his moralistic verse was written in Latin.<sup>86</sup> However, from 1635 onwards, he also produced editions of Italian verses – both juvenilia and poems which were manifestly didactic – in order to reach a far wider readership.<sup>87</sup> In addition, many individual poems were translated into various languages.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> Born in 1568, Maffeo was schooled in Catholic-Reformation Italy. As a boy he was first sent to school with the Florentine Jesuits, before moving to Rome in 1584, where he was under the tutelage of his uncle Francesco. He was also schooled in the humanistic curriculum of the Jesuits in the Collegio Romano. Rietbergen, *Power and Culture in Baroque Rome*, 97-98.

Rietbergen points out that it has escaped many researchers that in the sixteenth and seventeenth century 'the Jesuits adapted an age-long, secular tradition of bee emblems to their own purposes, giving them a specific religious and moral-philosophical slant'. Ibid., 128. See also R. Dimler, 'The Bee-Topos in the Jesuit Emblem Book: Themes and Contrast', in A. Adams and A. J. Harper, eds., *The Emblem in Renaissance and Baroque Europe: Tradition and Variety* (Leiden, 1992), 229-246. Dimler, however, fails to mention the Barberini case. It is likely that from Maffeo's ascendancy to the papacy onwards one may well have fed off the other. Whether the Jesuits or Urban VIII first used the bee emblem, what is important here is their mutual appropriation of this image.

<sup>84</sup> Rietbergen, *Power and Culture in Baroque Rome*, 100, 105 and 108.

<sup>85</sup> The two Jesuits Francesco Benci and Antonio Possevino, for instance, promoted the use of poetry as a means to teach religious morals. In Benci's 'Oratio VII' of 1590, as Bernard Weinberg summarizes, poetic verses 'not only move the soul but "impel men to every kind of virtue, deter them from vice, and are very efficacious in exercising and sharpening their minds." Poetry is thus itself a kind of divine force, as useful for the inculcation of piety and religious observance as for the direction of our mundane lives... he commends it warmly for that quality which its Platonic opponents most frequently denied it, its service in religion.' Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism in the Italian Renaissance*, 334. Possevino, author of *Tractatio de poësi et pictura*, took a more austere approach, for he refuses Benci's praise of Greek and Latin poets: 'He approves of the art [of poetry] because of its potential utility; but this must be manifested always in glorification of Christianity, which means that only Christian poetry is acceptable; thus all the poetry of pagan antiquity is condemned and discarded'. Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism in the Italian Renaissance*, 335.

<sup>86</sup> P. Rietbergen, 'Maffeo Barberini – Urban VIII, The Poet-Pope, or: The Power of Poetic Propaganda', id., *Power and Culture in Baroque Rome*, 95-142.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., 115-117.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., 117-118.

The 1629 Bologna pocket-sized edition of Urban's poems was the first produced specifically for educational purposes.<sup>89</sup> The Jesuit teachers of the Collegio Romano in Rome, who were responsible for the luxury edition of Urban's poems brought out by the Vatican Press in 1631, prescribed the Pope's poems to their pupils.<sup>90</sup> The inclusion of introductory commentaries on each poem and a full metrical apparatus made this edition suitable for school instruction. According to Peter Rietbergen, it was perhaps 'the most propagandistically effective of all of Urban's poetic efforts'.<sup>91</sup> In the early Seicento, the college was highly acclaimed as the best educational body and was attended by Italian nobles and foreign students, many of whom later became papal civil servants – the very sector of the populace Maffeo would have wished to inculcate most.

What principles governed Maffeo's composition of poetry? For Maffeo, poetry was inherently amoral, and its propagandistic use for emotional effect could only be justified if it were given a supremely moral content. Instead of expressing a personal aesthetic in his poetry, Urban used it as a 'powerful means ... to propagate his deepest convictions and feelings'.<sup>92</sup> In a letter to his brother, the Capuchin friar Antonio, he first explained these in relation to his 'Ode hortatoria ad virtutem', a poem written to encourage their nephew in his educational studies at the Collegio Romano:

In the last weeks, being moved by the authority of St Basil in his *Homilia ad adolescentes*, 'how benefit can be gained from pagan writings', I composed an Ode, addressing it to our nephew Francesco, in order to animate him through the delightful means of poetic inventions in the acquisition of virtue. And now following in the same footsteps [as St Basil] I have made another one of them, in which I have advanced a step further, because not being content with drawing out of such inventions an inductive sense applying only to moral virtues, I have wished to demonstrate that the pagans in their myths have wished to sketch the continuous battle [of the moral virtues], of which St Paul speaks in these words: 'For flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh' [Galatians 5:17; Douai-

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<sup>89</sup> Ibid., 136. Akin to this, Banchieri's *Conclusiones/Conclusioni* publications were, arguably, produced to aid the musical instruction of Italian church organists charged with the task of performing parts of the Catholic liturgy daily.

<sup>90</sup> This publication, which was formally presented as a gift to Urban VIII, may demonstrate an attempt by the Society of Jesus to placate the Pope, with whom it constantly battled over issues of religious dogma and policy. Rietbergen, *Power and Culture in Baroque Rome*, 113 and 136; see also 136n.125.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., 113.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., 136.

Reims translation], which was first suggested by Job, when he said ‘The life of man upon earth is a warfare’ [Job 7:1]. It ought not to seem far-fetched nor preposterous that so deep yet no less illuminating a meaning may be enveloped in the darkness [i.e. ignorance] of paganism: because the heavenly truth is so abundant and widespread, communicating itself to every creature, a little gleam (of intelligence) cannot but shine through that darkness.<sup>93</sup>

By giving a new ethics to pagan tales, the Pope utilized moral images found in ancient myths (themselves exemplary models of virtues) in his poetry for the purpose of imparting a didactic, moral and Christian message or lesson.<sup>94</sup> For Rietbergen,

the poems of Maffeo Barberini should be seen – and indeed were seen by his contemporaries – as a valid effort to forge a much-needed synthesis between the *eloquentia profana* and the *eloquentia sacra*, between Humanist and Christian culture, of which the Jesuits were the first advocates.<sup>95</sup> They sought to use – and reconcile – pagan rhetoric and poetry with the aims of Faith and formulated by the Council of Trent. Once elected to the papacy, Urban must have deeply felt the need to strengthen this policy. Within the broad context of a *renovatio litterarum et artium* that should restore Rome’s position at least as the moral capital of the Christian world, the Church also should try to re-tune its language, Latin, to adapt it to the need of convincing as wide an audience as possible of its fundamental truths. Neo-Ciceronian rhetoric was considered the proper means to this cause.<sup>96</sup>

The need to convince a wide audience of the fundamental truths arose principally from the Catholic Church’s desire to counter the spread of Protestantism. Followers were to be kept in the fold by using fully demonstrable argument as well as rhetoric, the suasive device employed by heretics.

Music, to which poetic verses were set, could be harnessed as a suasive means to encourage religious fidelity. As the scholar Brian Richardson concluded, ‘A well-judged

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<sup>93</sup> ‘Alle settimane passate composi un’Ode indirizzandola a Francesco nostro nepote, per animarlo col mezzo dilettevole di finzioni poetiche all’acquisto della virtù, mosso dall’autorità di S. Basilio nell’*Omelia ad Juvenes*, “quomodo ex ethnicorum sermonibus fructus percipiatur”; ed ora seguitando l’istessa traccia ne ho fatt’un’altra, nella quale mi sono spinto un passo più avanti, perché non contento di trar da tali finzioni senso induttivo alle sole virtue morali, ho voluto dimostrare che i gentili con le loro favole hanno voluto adombrare la battaglia continua, della quale parla S. Paolo in quelle parole: “Caro concupiscit adversus spiritum, et spiritus adversus carnem”; il che ci era prima stato insinuato da Job, mentre dice “Militia est vita hominis super terram”. Non deve parer inverisimile né absurdo, che senso così alto e puro non meno della luce stia involto nelle tenebre della gentilità, perché la verità celeste è così abbondante e si diffonde col comunicarsi ad ogni creatura, che bene ne può tralucer fra quelle tenebre un piccolo raggio.’ Opening of the letter from Maffeo to Antonio, 12 April 1614, as cited in M. Costanzo, *Critica e poetica del primo Seicento* (Rome, 1970), ii, 110-111. See also Rietbergen, *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome*, 102.

<sup>94</sup> Rietbergen, *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome*, 138.

<sup>95</sup> The Jesuits were not the first advocates of such a synthesis, but instead the successors of the Christian Humanism movement of the early and mid sixteenth century.

<sup>96</sup> Rietbergen, *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome*, 137. See also M. Fumaroli, *L’Age de l’eloquence: Rhétorique et “res litteraria” de la Renaissance au seuil de l’époque classique* (Paris, 1994).

performance of a text could ... be perceived in the Renaissance as capable of achieving more than a written text alone ... in any context, both spoken and sung performance could be perceived as *adding* something to the words themselves'.<sup>97</sup> Yet for the theorist Gioseffo Zarlino, while speech alone can move us, 'Music makes its power greater.'<sup>98</sup> The power of music was not a new idea. Nevertheless, music was an ethical and political force which boosted Urban VIII's moral-educative agenda. Operas, such as *Il Sant'Alessio*, highlight Maffeo's conception of the moralistic and didactic function of vocal music: 'musical drama should not wallow in pagan heroism or arcane mythology, but rather stress the need to leave the wicked world in pursuit of Christian virtues'.<sup>99</sup>

#### 4. Banchieri's *Conclusiones de musica*: Content and rhetoric

The content of Banchieri's *Conclusiones de musica*, together with the rhetorical language which he employs, reflects the Catholic Church's ongoing agenda of reform, including its promotion of moral education. Moreover, the treatise incorporates two often-discussed axioms of Italian literary criticism of the late Renaissance (see Chapter 3, pp. 128-129).

If the *Conclusiones de musica* is compared directly with the *Ceremoniale Romanum*, in which the role of the organ in the liturgy is discussed, it is clear that Banchieri's intent was to provide the organist with the core principles of its chapter 28 (that is, with an understanding of the variety of roles and styles that the organ – and hence the organist – plays in the liturgy; and, most importantly, a grasp of what is appropriate to be played on different occasions).<sup>100</sup> Additionally, though, Banchieri sought in all of his

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<sup>97</sup> B. Richardson, *Manuscript Culture in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge, 2009), 240.

<sup>98</sup> Zarlino quoted in Richardson, *Manuscript Culture in Renaissance Italy*, 237.

<sup>99</sup> Rietbergen, *Power and Culture in Baroque Rome*, 131. See also F. Hammond, 'Delectare et Docere: Barberini Opera, 1628-1644', id., *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome*, 199-253.

<sup>100</sup> For a translation of relevant passages in the Ceremonial of Bishops (*Caeremoniale Episcoporum*), see Hayburn, *Papal Legislation on Sacred Music*, 486-7. For a discussion of the use of the organ in the Italian liturgy as described in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century ceremonials, see E. E. Schaefer, 'The Relationship between the Liturgy of the Roman Rite and the Italian Organ Literature of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries' (D.M.A. diss., The Catholic University of America, 1985), 29-93.

*Conclusiones/Conclusioni* to elucidate some aspects pertaining to the organ that were not covered by papal legislation – for instance, the invention of the organ, and the number of modes and psalm tones and their qualities.<sup>101</sup>

While the title page of Banchieri's *Conclusiones de musica* expresses the author's intention to instruct the reader about the appropriate music to be played on the organ, in his dedication to Urban VIII his musical melodies (*musicas modulationes*), in which Maffeo once delighted, are a metaphor for the music theory contained within this short treatise.<sup>102</sup> It is also implicit that Banchieri's *conclusiones*, akin to his musical melodies, comply with the Catholic's desire to lead a moral-religious life, for Banchieri writes in the next sentence that Maffeo quite often used to sojourn at the Olivetan Monastery of San Michele in Bosco for the sake of his spiritual well-being.<sup>103</sup>

Banchieri used logical persuasion to support the authority of the authors he cited in his *Conclusiones de musica*. For instance, he appeals to the reason (*ratio*) of himself and of music theorists that he cites, such as Zarlino.<sup>104</sup> In other words, he emphasizes the sound judgement of their intellect rather than their senses. Likewise, he refers to the harmony – or harmoniousness – of authors.<sup>105</sup> Here, harmony should be understood as knowledge, one of Apollo's attributes. The effectiveness of Apollo's harmony (as represented, for example, in the Florentine intermedi of 1589) is, Tomlinson argues, a 'conceptualizing trope for knowledge against ignorance, health against pestilence, and generation against

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I discuss specific passages in Banchieri's treatise which correspond to the *Ceremoniale Romanum* later in this chapter.

<sup>101</sup> For more information regarding the content of the *Conclusiones/Conclusioni*, see Chapter 4, pp.161-165.

<sup>102</sup> See pp. 178-182 above.

<sup>103</sup> 'MUSICAS hasce modulationes, quibus olim Tu animum oblectatus, me quoque auctorem summa Tua benignitate complecti non dedignatus es, tum fortè, cùm ad nos in Oliuetano Monasterio sæpius, animi gratia, diuertens, Bononiæ maximi huius Imperij tyrocinia faceres'. Banchieri, *Conclusiones de musica*, fol. 2r.

<sup>104</sup> 'Sed reformasti genitus peremptè, Organa vocis, posse Organum ex calamis contextum ad Musicam reduci, quod Hieronymus Diruta in proemio sui Transilvani astipulatur; Et quidem ni fallor hac rationem mirabilem structuram machinatus est' and 'Idem tamen Zerlinus loco allegato cap. 13. optima ratione Tonos ad Duodenarium numerum ascendere ostendit'. Ibid., fols. 4r and 5r. My emphases.

<sup>105</sup> 'Doctissimus Zerlinus *Armoniae honor, & decus*, modos duodecimo esse, rationibus ex Practica naturali deductis euidenter ostendit, ita enim 5. lib. Diffinitione 14. probat'. And: 'Omnimodè apud *Armonicos Scriptores* prohibitum est, duas Diapentes perfectas subsequentes, ita Franchinus Gaffurius in suà Practica vetat vnam perfectam, & aliam diminutam'. Ibid., fol. 6v. My emphases.

corruption'.<sup>106</sup> Perhaps we could add to this that the musical performance of Apollo's harmony exemplified the profane eloquence that it was thought the sacred orator (that is, the cleric) should adopt in his sermons.<sup>107</sup>

In his *Conclusiones de musica*, Banchieri wrote that prior to clothing a text in music it first must be contemplated in order to ensure that the musical composition will express its mood; music to be played by the organist, then, was adjusted to suit the *oratio*, not vice versa.<sup>108</sup> In a similar vein, Banchieri discussed in the 1611 and 1622 editions of *L'organo suonarino* that although the organ should not be played at the Mass of the Dead and offices (a practice, incidentally, forbidden in the *Ceremoniale Romanum*, Chapter 28.12), 'it is nevertheless customary at the funerals of primary prelates or titled gentlemen, but not as an organ [i.e. not loudly], but for devout replenishment one makes use of the principal organ-stop immediately in plaintive *concerti*, without toccatas or *ricercari*, and with the swell shades covered'.<sup>109</sup> This, then, is an example of how the organist could effectively reflect the prevailing mood of an entire service.

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<sup>106</sup> Tomlinson, *Metaphysical Song*, 30. In spite of Nina Treadwell's argument that testaments of spectator-auditors of the Florentine intermedii reveal that its music (and especially the solo songs) does not seem to embody the text-based aesthetic of musical humanists, she shows that spectator-auditors were conscious of music's power: for instance, the Bavarian attendee reported that in the third *intermedio* the dancers and musicians killed the monster with their singing. (For Treadwell, in the *intermedi* music's aesthetic resonated 'with a *more broadly* construed conception of humanism that entertained a dialectic between classical authority and the insights gained from practical experience'.) N. Treadwell, *Music and Wonder at the Medici Court: The 1589 Interludes for La pellegrina* (Bloomington, 2008), 55 (my emphasis) and 105-6.

<sup>107</sup> For discussion of how sacred oratory served to incite Christian virtues through eloquent speech by drawing on (and by re-introducing) humanist ideals of the perfect orator, all in connection with the Society of Jesus's Collegio Romano, see F. J. McGinness, *Right Thinking and the Sacred Oratory in Counter-Reformation Rome* (Princeton, 1995), particularly 9-28.

<sup>108</sup> 'Etenim [Musicians, nom. pl.] morem antiquorum non imitantur, qui prius Musicam componebant postea verba supponebant, his temporibus non ita sit, sed prius Oratio diligenter, consideratur, deinde Musica vestitur couformi [sic conformi] ipsi Orationi, aut meste [maeste], aut letae [laete] & si in ea error, & dolor exprimitur, Musica pariter, & errorem, & dolorem suo modo exprimat, ita vt Musica Orationi accomodetur, & non è contra.' Banchieri, *Conclusiones de musica*, fol. 6r. Regarding the poor quality of the Latin prose in this passage, see Chapter 2, n.8.

<sup>109</sup> 'Ne gl'offizi & Messa da morti non devesi suonare Organo, Cerim. cap. 28. è però in consuetudine alli Funerali di Prelati Primari, ò Signori Tittolati, mà non come Organo, mà per devoto riempimento alli flebili concerti, servendosi del Principale immediatamente, senza Toccate, ò Ricercate, e con le coltrine coperte.' Banchieri, *Organo suonarino* (1622), 18. Banchieri's description differs slightly in his 1611 edition (p. 10): 'Nelle Messe, & funitioni [sic funzioni] de'Morti non devesi suonare Org.Cer. Rom.c.28. E' però in consuetudine ne gli funerali di Prelati overo Tittolati principali; mà non come Org. ma un si bene grave riempimento à gli flebili & devoti Concerti; con solo Principale, senza ingressi, toccate, ò diminut. & coperta

In the third conclusion of the *Conclusiones de musica*, Banchieri describes how on hearing sweet, joyful and full-sounding music played on instruments, the people become captivated by its sweetness, and they raise themselves up for the purpose of contemplating the harmony of the celestial spirits.<sup>110</sup> In accordance with the casuistry of the pope and Jesuits (as well as contemporary literary critics who believed in the ethical ends of poetry), and also in accordance with the commonplace attitude of many which was voiced in the preliminary deliberations and official pronouncements of the 22<sup>nd</sup> session of the Council of Trent in 1562,<sup>111</sup> Banchieri continues by saying that the reader should guard against vulgar and lewd (*obscenis*) songs being used to stir the congregation in the liturgy: as it is written in chapter 28 of the *Ceremoniale Romanum*, these have been forbidden.<sup>112</sup> It is, however, fitting to play the organ with spirit, something which Claudio Merulo and Gioseffo Guami did in their French canzoni, as well as Costanzo Antegnati and the remaining distinguished teachers of the art.<sup>113</sup> The faithful should be roused according to their devotion (*affectum*), not according to their vanity.<sup>114</sup> Yet such a style should not always be used on the organ:

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la Coltrina, overo sp[a]re li.’ Observe here Banchieri’s omission of *ricercari* but inclusion (and thus prohibition) of introts and diminutions.

<sup>110</sup> ‘Dum enim Arca Dei iussu Regis in templum introduceretur, ipse Organum percutiens, totisque viribus saltans animi iubilum ostendebat. Hinc colligendum est, quod pulsator organorum sono dulci laetique Musicae pleno pulsare debet, vt audientes capti dulcedine ad meditandam se eleuent c lestim spirituum armoniam’. Banchieri, *Conclusiones de musica*, fol. 5v.

<sup>111</sup> C. A. Monson, ‘The Council of Trent Revisited’, *JAMS*, 55/1 (2002), 1-37:7-9.

<sup>112</sup> ‘Cauendum t [tamen] est à vulgari obscenisque cantilenis, prohibitum namque est in Ceremoniali Romano c. 28.’ Banchieri, *Conclusiones de musica*, fol. 5v.

The passage of the *Ceremoniale Romanum* to which Banchieri refers is unclear. It is most likely Chapter 28.11: ‘Care, moreover, is to be taken, lest the tone of the organ be sensuous or impure, and lest the singing which is rendered with it, fail to be adopted to the function which is being performed, much less to use the worldly or ludicrous music. Nor are other musical instruments to be added without the approval of the Bishop.’ Translation by Hayburn, *Papal Legislation on Sacred Music*, 487.

<sup>113</sup> ‘Sonandum igitur est spiritosè, quod Claudius Merulis, Iosephus Guamius in suis Gallicis cantionibus assequuti sunt, Sic constantius Antegnatus, & reliqui huius artis professores celebres’. Banchieri, *Conclusiones de musica*, fol. 5v.

<sup>114</sup> ‘Ad suum etenim affectum, et non ad vanitatem excitandi sunt fideles’. Ibid., fol. 5v. Compare this with a sentence in Banchieri’s *Conclusioni nel suono dell’organo*, on p. 17, in which he writes that one must make sure that the faithful are hearing soft and sweet harmony (‘gli fedeli sentendo armonia dolce, & soave’).

A very similar passage is also found in this vernacular edition from the beginning of the paragraph on p. 16 onwards: ‘This means that one should not hear lustful songs or vulgar words, dance music, and similar instrumental pieces. Organists should avoid such improprieties so that they may not be among those of whom Job speaks in Chapter 21, *Et Gaudent ad sonitum Organi*, for instead of drawing people to the devotions they

‘sometimes it is customary to strike the keys with a certain weight and in sweet harmony and with resolved dissonance’, an art of playing which Banchieri himself learnt from Giovanni Gabrieli and Ottavio Vernizzi.<sup>115</sup>

##### 5. Pico della Mirandola and ‘conclusiones’

In 1486, Pico della Mirandola printed his 900 theses – that is, ‘conclusiones’. Although almost immediately banned by Innocent VIII, his treatise later became a popular text. His opening debate, which was posthumously named *Oratio de hominis dignitate* (*On the Dignity of Man*), provided a new vision of individual selfhood.<sup>116</sup> In section 10 of the second book (which consists of theses according to Pico’s own opinion), the philosopher provides 31 theses on the way of understanding the Orphic hymns according to magic – that is, the secret wisdom of divine and natural things.<sup>117</sup> Did Banchieri draw inspiration from this treatise?

For Banchieri, calling his music-theory books *conclusiones* (or, in Italian, *conclusioni*) – theses which were debated in his Bolognese musical academy – creates an obvious link with Pico’s theses, which were to serve as the introduction to a debate in Rome.<sup>118</sup> Moreover, Banchieri arguably adopts Pico’s syncretistic approach, for in addition to explaining contemporary practice and the customs of the *Ceremoniale Romanum* he reconciles the two. However, unlike Pico, the monk-musician wrote a commentary on each

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may be moved to worldly pleasures.’ Banchieri, *Conclusions for playing the organ* (1609), trans. L. R. Garrett, 13.

<sup>115</sup> ‘Tali tamen stilo non semp[er] vtendum est, aliquando enim quadam grauitate Armoniaque suauis, & dissonantia resoluta non est insuetum tangere, si ex Ioanne Gabriello, & Octauio Vernizzo, percepi.’ Banchieri, *Conclusiones de musica*, fol. 5v.

<sup>116</sup> This treatise was next printed by a Parisian press in 1532, then in Basel in 1557 – the same year that Venetian versions of Pico’s *Opera* went to press. Later reprints of the Basel edition were brought out in 1572 and 1601, and a further one in Geneva in 1619.

<sup>117</sup> The Latin heading of this section reads: ‘CONCLUSIONES NUMERO .XXXI. SECUNDUM PROPRIAM OPINIONEM DE MODO INTELLIGENDI HYMNOS ORPHEI SECUNDUM MAGIAM, ID EST, SECRETAM DIVINARUM RERUM NATURALIUMQUE SAPIENTIAM A ME PRIMUM IN EIS REPERTAM.’ For an in-depth translation and commentary of the original text, see S. A. Farmer and G. Pico della Mirandola, *Syncretism in the West: Pico’s 900 Theses (1486): The Evolution of Traditional, Religious, and Philosophical System: With Text, Translation, and Commentary* (Tempe, 1998).

<sup>118</sup> See Chapter 6, pp. 251-253, where I also discuss the meaning of ‘conclusioni’.

of his theses. Nevertheless, since Banchieri placed significance on certain numbers (particularly if they were holy ones or multiples of them), it is possible that his *Conclusiones de musica* includes only ten theses on account of the section-number in which Pico placed his 31 theses (on the way of understanding the Orphic hymns) in Book II of his treatise.<sup>119</sup>

Another potential connection between Banchieri's *Conclusiones de musica* and Pico's publication further emphasizes the debt that Banchieri's 1627 treatise – itself written in Latin – owes to Classical antiquity. (The allographic couplets in Banchieri's treatise and Pico's contain similar Classical references.<sup>120</sup>) Banchieri quotes Cicero by way of Celio Rodigino in three music-theoretical texts, including the *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo*: 'The supreme orator is a harmonious-sounding man who, in speaking, delights the minds of his listeners and moves them.'<sup>121</sup> Although this quotation does not appear in Banchieri's *Conclusiones de musica*, the language and manner in which he seeks to legitimize and explain the use of music clearly echoes its tenet: indeed, the seventh and eighth conclusion essentially summarize the theoretical content found at the place where Banchieri cites this passage in his *Cartella musicale* (1614; later edition 1615) and *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo*.<sup>122</sup> His frequent adoption of Cicero's words exemplifies one of the main ways

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<sup>119</sup> It is clear that the number of theses in Banchieri's *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo* were significant to him: they correspond to the opus number of the music book. Likewise, since his *Gemelli armonici*, a publication connected to the *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo* (see n. 19 above), was his 21<sup>st</sup> music book in print it contains 21 vocal duets.

<sup>120</sup> The 2nd, 23rd and 28th theses in Book II, Section 10 of Pico's treatise are especially noteworthy: '10>2. Nothing is more effective in natural magic than the Orphic hymns, if there is added the due music, intention of the soul, and other circumstances known to the wise.

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10>23. Anyone who approaches Apollo will mediate a work through triennial Bacchus, and will complete it through the ineffable name.

...

10>28. Whoever does not attract Pan approaches nature and Proteus in vain.' Translation by Stephen A. Farmer in Farmer and Pico, *Syncretism in the West* (1998), 504-515. See below for the relevance of the last two of these theses to Banchieri's *Conclusiones de musica*.

<sup>121</sup> For the original Latin quotation and discussion of the way Banchieri modified Cicero's three-pronged axiom, see Chapter 2, pp. 59-62.

<sup>122</sup> Banchieri, *Conclusiones de musica*, fol. 6r-v. For a transcription of part of the seventh *conclusionione*, see n. 108 above.

through which music theorists sought to legitimate the role of music in the liturgy during this period (and additionally, in Banchieri's case, the use of modern compositional styles). Moreover, Banchieri's modification of this quotation exemplifies the contemporary importance of re-conceptualizing Classical literature in musical thought, especially in light of the Catholic Church's policy of reform from the late sixteenth century onwards (see Chapter 2, pp. 60-62).

#### 6. Hymns, mortals and bees: Unearthing more tropes in Cottunio's distich

In Cottunio's distich, what does it mean for every mortal to pour out hymns? Literally, in the context of the rest of the couplet, *omne* (every mortal) could refer to the entire Italian populace. The contrast between 'all mortal men' and the Urban bee (an analogy of the Divine Godhead) should not be missed. In antiquity, the bees represented the immortality of the soul: emerging from the corpses of animals they were taken to stand for the spirit's ability to rise from the bodies of the dead.<sup>123</sup> Peter Rietbergen suggests that, for the Jesuits who adopted the emblem of the chaste bee, 'Honey could thus become the dew of heaven, Divine Wisdom, that should inspire princes and rulers both temporal and spiritual – most of all, that perfect fusion of the two, the pope, the keeper of the *sacra monarchia*.'<sup>124</sup> Rietbergen's comment evokes a well-known Platonic passage from his *Ion*, which can be applied to the Greek distich.<sup>125</sup> Translating *ἐκχεῖν* as 'to pour out' (rather than 'to sing' or 'to play') supports such an interpretation: the well-known libations of antiquity were particularly associated with the pouring of sweet honey produced by bees, a

<sup>123</sup> See *Theoi Classical Library*, s.v. 'Virgil, *Georgics* > Book 4'. Accessed 19 Feb 2014.

<sup>124</sup> Rietbergen, *Power and Culture in Baroque Rome*, 128-9.

<sup>125</sup> The 16 surviving copies in Italian libraries of a Tuscan translation of Plato's poetry, which includes his *Ion* and was printed in Venice in 1548, suggests that this Classical text was known by Italian literary scholars of the late Renaissance. Plato, *Il lise di Platone de l'amicitia, tradotto da Francesco Colombi; et il furore poetico, tradotto da Nicolo Triuisani in lingua toscana* (Venice, 1548); see also *OPAC SBN*. Accessed 19 Feb 2014.

<sup>126</sup> Plato, *Ion*, trans. by B. Jowett (Blacksburg, Virginia, 2001), available online: D. C. Stevenson, *The Internet Classics Archive* (n.p., 1994-2009), <<http://classics.mit.edu/>>, s.v. 'Browse and Comment > Plato > Ion'.

practice through which the gods gave to man their own inventions. Indeed, ‘For not by art does the poet sing, but by divine power’.<sup>126</sup> Thus, mortals are interpreters of the gods who pour out their hymns. ἄλλοι, then, could refer to all artisans (or perhaps, more specifically, to composers and music theorists) who only via a chain reaction are artistically productive: it is through the fecund pope that every mortal gains the inspiration necessary to pour forth hymns.<sup>127</sup>

However, if the buzzing sound of the bee in the distich acts as a periphrastic trope for chanting, we are encouraged to understand the meaning of the verb in the first line of the couplet as ‘to sing’ or ‘to play’. The first part of the distich, then, might rather refer to the practice of singing alternatim hymns: every mortal (that is, the polyphonic *cappella*, organist or instrumentalists) responds to Urban’s bee (a metonym for all the clerics in choir who, as a swarm of bees, undertook their king’s work).

For Cottunio, the phrase ‘every mortal’ ( ἄλλοι ) most likely acted as a synecdoche for the Arcadian God Pan and thus, by extension, for an organist.<sup>128</sup> Consequently, the first part of the distich refers to the organist’s role in the Catholic liturgy. In antiquity the adjective ἄλλος and the proper noun ἄλλος were homonyms and homophones, which led to Pan (in the Roman period) gaining universal status as the God of All. Furthermore, in the well-known story within Plutarch’s *Moralia* in which a mysterious voice announces the death of ‘great Pan’, the immortality of this God was questioned.<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> Urban’s most visible artistic accomplishments are, as mentioned above, his architectural projects in Rome. David Freedberg has argued that the symbol of the bee marks the enduring presence of the Barberini family not only because it was attached to great works of bronze and stone: ‘Endless poems were written in order to ensure the *immortality* of the Barberini’. My emphasis. Freedberg also remarks how two bees on Bernini’s Tomb of Urban in St Peter’s have ‘flown free of the sarcophagus in order to settle ... above the grim reminder of mortality itself’ – that is, the hooded skeleton inscribing the name of the deceased pope on the black page of death. Freedberg, *The Eye of the Lynx*, 155-157.

<sup>128</sup> In Pico della Mirandola’s *Oratio de hominis dignitate*, Pan represents the whole in the part. E. Wind, ‘Pan and Proteus’, id., *Pagan mysteries in the Renaissance*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1980), 191-217: 191.

<sup>129</sup> Hornblower and Spawforth, eds., *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 1103. A contemporary vernacular translation of *Moralia* (a popular text in the humanist curriculum) was in circulation in early Seicento Italy: Plutarch, *Opuscoli morali* (Venice, 1614).

Although Pan is not mentioned as the inventor of the organ in this small Latin treatise (for once the Old Testament originator Iubal is exclusively given this role), Banchieri cited Pan as the creator of the seven-reed *sampogna*, and hence of the organ, in his two vernacular *Conclusiones/Conclusioni* and his *Lettere armoniche*. Perhaps Banchieri was the sole organist to whom Cottunio meant to refer. Like Pan, he was a mortal (a state which sharply contrasts with that of the celestial God-like Divinity to whose industry he responded).

The content of Banchieri's treatise supports the fact that 'every mortal' in Cottunio's distich signified an organist. In the fourth conclusion (*De modulationibus, sive Tonis in Organis*) of the *Conclusiones de musica*, Banchieri mentions in passing that the eight psalm tones are played on the organ in the practice of alternatim with plainchant.<sup>130</sup> In his *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo*, his eight and ninth *conclusioni* are devoted to discussion of alternatim practice. The first of these concerns the alternation between the organ and plainsong at vespers, the second between the organ and plainsong in sung masses.<sup>131</sup> Within the third *registro* of his *Organo suonarino* (1622) – the third edition of a manual in which the principal guidelines outlined in the *Conclusiones/Conclusioni* are put into musical practice – Banchieri provides the specific rubrics for how to alternate between the choir and the organ for each of the 32 festal hymns and for the *Te deum*. The organist,

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<sup>130</sup> 'Omnesque Organo deservire, primos [octavos tonos] concertibus Cantu plano alternantibus, postremos [duodecimos tonos] concertibus continuatis cantu figurato.' Banchieri, *Conclusiones de musica*, fol. 5r. In spite of the music-theory book's brevity, it is surprising that Banchieri does not refer to this practice elsewhere. Mention of it is even absent from his second conclusion: 'De Missis, Psalmis, Canticis e concertibusque in Organo decantandis'.

<sup>131</sup> Secondary literature on the practice of alternatim in the early Seicento is scarce. Regarding the alternation of organ versets with plainchant in early seventeenth-century Spain, see B. Nelson, 'Alternatim Practice in 17th-Century Spain: The Integration of Organ Versets and Plainchants in Psalms and Canticles', *EMc*, 22 (1994), 239–56. See also B. Nelson, 'The Integration of Spanish and Portuguese Organ Music within the Liturgy from the Latter Half of the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century' (D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1987), particularly chapters 4–6.

Banchieri writes, responds to the first verse of an intoned hymn.<sup>132</sup> In accordance with Chapter 28 of the *Ceremoniale Romanum*, the last verse of a hymn should be sung by the choir.<sup>133</sup> Banchieri also cautions the reader that ‘In those [hymns] which have an even number [of verses], the last two verses are taken by the choir’.<sup>134</sup> In order to assist the organist, he marks all the musically notated hymns which contain an even number of verses with a cross. *Pange lingua* in Figure 5.5 is one such hymn.<sup>135</sup> (Its last verse is erroneously numbered 7 instead of 6.) He notates the organ versets for only verses 2 and 4 of this hymn as *bassi sequenti*. In this way, as Banchieri observes, ‘The understanding of the *Ceremoniale [Romanum]* – which is that the Gloria is heard by the listeners, just as the verse *Tantum ergo* in the Hymn *Pange lingua* and *Te ergo* in the *Te Deum* – is realized.’<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>132</sup> ‘imposto l’Hinno l’Organo risponda al primo verso’. Banchieri, *Organo suonarino* (1622), 45.

<sup>133</sup> ‘Douendosi ponere alla pratica in questo Terzo Registro gl’Hinni Vespertini alternati tra il Choro & Organo procedendo secondo l’ordine di Santa Chiesa significato nel Cerim[oniale] Rom[ano] Cap[itolo] 28. in tutti gl’Himni [sic] deue cantarsi l’vltimo verso in Choro’. Ibid., 45.

The passage from the *Ceremoniale Romanum* which refers to the alternatim practice of hymns is Chapter 28.6: ‘According to rule, whether at Vespers or at Matins, or at Mass, the first verse of the canticles and hymns, and in the same manner the verses of hymns at which a genuflection is to be made, such as the verse *Te ergo quaesumus* is exposed, and others like these, are to be sung by the choir in an intelligible tone, nor are they to be filled in by the organ. The same holds for the verse *Gloria Patri*, etc., even if the verse immediately preceding shall have been sung by the choir in like manner. The same is to be observed in the last verses of hymns. But it should be noted that, whenever something to be sung or to be answered alternately to the verses of the hymns or canticles, is filled in by the organ, that which is not sung because of the playing of the organ is to be pronounced in an intelligible voice by one of the choir. And it would be praiseworthy, if some cantor, accompanied with the organ, should sing the same in a clear voice.’ Translation of the Ceremonial of Bishops (*Caeremoniale Episcoporum*) by Hayburn, *Papal Legislation on Sacred Music*, 486-7.

<sup>134</sup> ‘quelli [inni] che sono [versi] pari toccano al fine dui versi al Choro’. Banchieri, *Organo suonarino* (1622), 45.

<sup>135</sup> Banchieri notates the hymns, including *Pange Lingua*, in both chant and mensural notation on a five-line staff. Thus, unlike most Iberian sources of this period, his *Pange Lingua* is not uniformly mensural. See B. Nelson, ‘Morales’s Contribution to the *Pange lingua* Tradition and an Anonymous *Tantum ergo*’, in O. Rees and B. Nelson, eds., *Cristóbal de Morales: Sources, Influences, Reception* (Woodbridge, 2007), 85-108. Within the entry ‘Hymns and Hymnals, I: Historical Developments’ in the Catholic University of America’s *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd edn. (Detroit, 2003), however, it is remarked that ‘In several chant MSS of the Renaissance the hymns are in measured notation; they were sung in a style different from that of the remaining chant repertory’ Catholic University of America, *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd edn. (Detroit, 2003), vii, 251-259: 254. Banchieri explains in his theoretical texts that *canto fermo* is measurable: see Chapter 4, p. 159.

<sup>136</sup> ‘viene adempita al mente del Cerim: qual è che il Gloria sia sentito dalli ascoltanti, si come nell’Hinno *Pange lingua* il verso *Tantum ergo*. e nel *Te Deum*. *Te ergo*.’ Banchieri, *Organo suonarino* (1622), 45.

**Figure 5.5:** *Pange lingua* in Adriano Banchieri, *Organo suonarino* (Venice, 1622), p. 62

✠ Nella Solemnità del Corpo di N. S. & Domenica seguente.

Choro 1 Pange lingua gloria si Cor poris misterium Sanguinisque  
 3 In supreme nocte cae nae Re cū es cū fratribus Obseruata  
 5 Tantum ergo Sacramentum Ve neremur cernui Et antiquum  
 7 Genitori genito que Laus & inbilatio Salus bonor

Residuo pretiosi Quem in mundi pretium Fructus ventris ge  
 lege plene cibus in legalibus Cibum turbe da  
 documentum nouo cedat ritui Prestet fides sup  
 virtusquoque Sit & benedictio Procedenti ab

Residuo. uerosi rex effudit gentium.  
 odene Se dat suis maxibus  
 plementū/sensuum defectui.  
 utroque Compar sit laudatio.

Org. 2 Nobis datus nobis natus Ex intacta Virgine Et in mundo conuersatus  
 4 Verbu caro panem uerum Verbu carne efficit Fitque sanguis Christi meru

Residuo Sparso uerbi semine Sui moras incolatus Miro clausis ordinis.  
 Et sic sensus deficit Ad firmandum cor sincerum Solo fide sufficit

A men.

## 7. Hymns and hymnody

What might Cottunio mean by the word ‘hymns’? In Ancient Greece this word had numerous meanings: it could be either a song of any kind, any song in honour of a god, or a particular type of song in honour of a god. A paean was the name given to a song addressed to Apollo, which in Archaic and Classical times was used in various religious, political and personal situations. Its common function was to create a dialogue between man and god (and also to petition or thank a god for well-being and salvation). It is striking that the genre of song most associated with Apollo was to be performed in a religious context. Since Urban VIII was responsible for reforming the hymnal and Roman Breviary, a further connection between Urban VIII and this mythological God in connection with the peritext of the *Conclusiones de musica* thus surfaces.

Maffeo himself re-wrote and revised the Latin hymns for the office, aided by four Jesuit collaborators: Famiano Strada, Tarquinio Galluzzi, Girolamo Petrucci and Matthias Sarbiewski.<sup>137</sup> The Congregation of Rites approved the proposed revisions on 29 March 1629 and the revised texts were published that year. In July a newly appointed committee began the task of revising the remainder of the Breviary (published in 1631). Prior to the publication of these newly fashioned religious texts, was the Pope onomatopoeically buzzing as a result of undertaking a busy schedule of hymnal reform? While it might seem that Banchieri's peritext anticipates these revisions, we know that Urban was concerned with the reform of the Roman Breviary from his early years as pontiff.<sup>138</sup> Work on this reform, then, may have commenced before 1627. Moreover, given the overtones of the distich, it seems likely that Cottunio (in addition to Banchieri, his network of patrons and the other two poets who contributed to the prefatory material of the *Conclusiones de musica*) knew that the Pope would soon undertake this task. For Banchieri, Urban VIII would be continuing the work of his predecessor, Paul V.

What did Urban hope to achieve by revising the hymns? In *Hymns of the Roman Liturgy* (London; New York, 1957), Joseph Connelly suggests that Urban and these four Jesuits imposed the Jesuit aesthetic ideal of creating synthesis between Roman classicism and Christian faith – that is, between elegance and spirituality – in the liturgical poetry of the Church. Hammond observes:

As pope, Urban was committed to the Counter-Reformation ideal of purity and decorum in sacred music as embodied in plainchant and the works of Palestrina. His reform of the Roman breviary, resumed in 1629, was based on the principle that “the psalmody of the Church Militant is the daughter of the heavenly hymnody which resounds for ever before the throne of God and...for this reason it should become more and more like that heavenly model and should not, because of any flaws, distract the mind of worshippers from God and the things of God.”<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> Rietbergen, *Power and Culture in Baroque Rome*, 177; Fumaroli, *L'Age de l'eloquence*, 815; von Pastor, *History of the Popes*, xxix, 13-19.

<sup>138</sup> Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome*, 177.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, 66; see also von Pastor, *History of the Popes*, xxix, 12.

However, even though Urban and his committee had these high aesthetic ideals, in practice they were not carried out. Rhythmic hymns of the fifth to the tenth century underwent drastic metrical alterations (arguably because of the revisers' enthusiasm for classic metre); this led to the weakening or even to the loss of nuances in the texts.<sup>140</sup> Furthermore, although Urban wrote of 'the need to present the faithful with a text that could easily be sung and, thus, would facilitate their emotional contemplation of God' in the Bull *Divinam Psalmodyam* of January 1631, since he envisaged a private recitation rather than the communal singing of the hymnal texts, setting the texts to the traditional musical melodies was not a principal consideration in the process of revision.<sup>141</sup> Nevertheless, it was still possible to sing the chant to the new versions. In practice though, Urban's reformed Latin hymnal was not adopted by the Dominicans, Benedictines, Cistercians or Carthusians, nor was it ever accepted at San Pietro, nor at San Giovanni in Laterano; this means that Banchieri, as a Benedictine monk, would have retained the recitation of the ancient hymn texts.<sup>142</sup>

In spite of the application of Banchieri's *Conclusiones de musica* to the performance of sacred music (and hence the obvious conclusion that 'hymns' in the distich refer to the reforms of the hymnal undertaken by Urban), we cannot rule out the possibility that this word could refer to secular musical song. In the latter case, 'hymns' could be a reference to the previously mentioned poems of Urban that were set to music by, for instance, Kapsperger. This meaning of hymns in the context of the second line of the distich is much more plausible than the first. Urban's poems were well received – and not necessarily just because he was the supreme pontiff, but also because of their own artistic

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<sup>140</sup> von Pastor, *History of the Popes*, xxix, 12-19. See also Fumaroli, *L'Age de l'Eloquence*, 815; and V. A. Lenti, 'Urban VIII and the Revision of the Latin Hymnal', *Sacred Music*, 120/3 (1993), 30-33, which is available online: Church Music Association of America, 'Musica Sacra' (Richmond, Virginia, n.d.), <<http://musicasacra.com/>>, s.v. 'Journal > Browse the Archives > Volume 120.3'. Accessed 19 Feb 2014.

<sup>141</sup> Rietbergen, *Power and Culture in Baroque Rome*, 132. *Hymni Breviarii Romani* (Rome, 1629).

<sup>142</sup> Lenti, 'Urban VIII and the Revision of the Latin Hymnal', 32-33.

merit. By failing to distinguish between the sacred and secular hymn, Cottunio allows the reader to interpret the first ‘hymns’ in the distich in the first sense by implicitly referring to Urban’s programme of reform, and the second one in the second sense through implicit reference to the pope’s own poetic compositions that were to be sung to the accompaniment of a lyre. Thus, while Cottunio emphasizes the pleasure that derived from hearing secular hymns, those which were sacred were to inspire the listener to employment.

#### 8. The crux of the distich’s meaning

In relation to the main text of the *Conclusiones de musica*, the distich could be interpreted as follows. Organists, and Banchieri in particular, are to play and invent music, perhaps even both sacred and secular, in response to the Pope (and in accordance with papal legislation) in order to serve the moral duty of educating and conveying to others the Word of God. In this respect, the Pope himself has led by industrious example, for he has composed his own poems which (in the distich) are to be sung to the lyre, Apollo’s instrument; he is also reforming the Latin hymnal. While Urban carries out these acts with the aim of instructing his Catholic congregation, his poetry (which was set to music) has been well received. For the organist to pour forth liturgical music which likewise delights his congregation, they must (as the title of Banchieri’s *Conclusiones de musica* reads) play ‘appropriate music’ – that is, music that will not inspire lustful thoughts but moral values and virtues. How this can be achieved is the main topic of Banchieri’s *Conclusiones de musica*, itself a manual in which the somewhat broad statements contained in the *Ceremoniale Romanum* are illuminated (though arguably to a limited extent).

Cottunio – a rhetorician at the University of Bologna – would surely have been aware of the hidden layers of meaning embedded in his distich. Likewise, it is plausible that a well-versed scholar such as Urban VIII – himself educated in the *studia humanitatis* and by the Jesuits in his youth – would have unearthed all the tropes. However, it is

doubtful whether an early Seicento church organist could have teased out all of the meanings, or whether he even had knowledge of Greek.

## 9. Conclusion

Paratexts act as thresholds to the main text.<sup>143</sup> In this chapter, I have shown not only that they are carriers of the relationships among those responsible for the production of the main text, but also that they greatly facilitate the retrieval of ideas, concepts and rhetorical devices belonging to the culture in which the authorial text was created. By studying the paratext, our understanding of the main text and its publication circumstances increases.

The three allographic poems in the peritext to the *Conclusiones de musica* exemplify the continued nurture of the study of classical texts in the humanist curriculum, which stressed grammar, rhetoric, history, poetry, and ethics. While the first two are Latin elegiac couplets, the third is a Homeric Greek distich. Their content depicts Urban VIII – the dedicatee of this music-theory book – as the music-poetic lover and purveyor of truth by utilizing the mythological image of the God Apollo and the noble characteristics of the Vergilian bee. All three poems establish Urban’s commitment to continuing the reform of the Catholic Church through the advocacy of moralistic verse and the revision of the breviary and hymnal.

In the Catholic world’s political and civic programme of the early Seicento, the eloquence of the sacred orator and the conveyance of the *ratio* of God were of utmost importance.<sup>144</sup> The Catholic Church sought to persuade its followers through rhetoric (if not through reason) that knowledge was still God-given. As church musicians, the organist and church singers both had to take an active role in cultivating the best manner in which

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<sup>143</sup> Similarly to Genette, Mary S. Lewis has remarked that as paratexts are frames that interact with the text itself, ‘dedications and other liminary material aid our understanding of the main text by revealing previously hidden funds of information regarding the main text and its contexts’. Lewis, ‘Introduction: The Dedication as Paratext’, in Bossuyt et al., eds., *Cui dono lepidum novum libellum? Dedicating Latin Works and Motets in the Sixteenth Century*, 1.

<sup>144</sup> McGinness, *Right Thinking and Sacred Oratory in Counter-Reformation Rome*.

the true meaning of religious texts – that is, the Word of the Catholic Church – could be conveyed. For liturgical music, this meant that, in accordance with papal legislation, great care had to be taken to ensure that the meaning of a text was not obscured when it was sung to plainchant, set polyphonically or when it was accompanied by the organ. The main text of Banchieri's *Conclusiones de musica* is concerned with the appropriate function of organ music, a means to inspire devotion within the congregation through its accurate imitation of biblical texts. In the early Seicento, music was a weapon of the sacred orator, a serviceable tool employed to keep those of the Catholic faith in the fold; and music treatises were the instructional means by which this could be achieved. In essence, this study demonstrates the large extent to which the Catholic Church's policy of reform, of which Urban VIII and the Jesuits were two of the chief propounders in the early Seicento, infiltrated coeval writings on music theory. Moreover, it confirms the architextual importance which the Greek distich assumes in Banchieri's *Conclusiones de musica*: its substance embodies the very essence of the peritext, the main contents of this musical enchiridion's authorial text, and the underlying significance of the epitext to this small handbook.