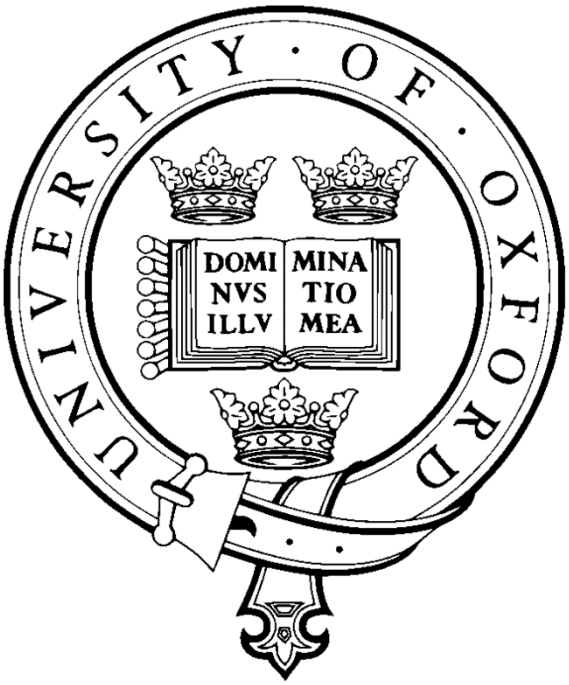
Making ‘Monteverdi’

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This thesis is submitted to the Faculty of Music, University of Oxford, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is entirely my own work and, except where otherwise stated, describes my own research.

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For Enid Corcoran and Robert Page.

Abstract

'The inventor of modern music', 'the father of opera'; how did Monteverdi come to be known as these impossibly momentous figures? The answers, at their root, lie in two places: first, in the brand created by and for Monteverdi during his career; second, through the transmission, dissemination and subsequent treatment of his works. The first enabled the second; in having a brand, Monteverdi gained such renown that substantial interest was generated in his works, which were printed, reprinted, circulated, copied and performed.

Developing a successful brand was important to Monteverdi. He relied on it for the prosperity of himself and his family. Moreover, his employers benefitted from their association with his brand and from it becoming established in the public consciousness, and those who printed his music could yield greater profits from his becoming a 'big name'. The purpose of studying his brand is to illustrate how certain ideas about Monteverdi came to be, and who among Monteverdi's contemporaries influenced and contributed to these ideas.

Monteverdi's music could have been received, performed, copied and collected in total separation from his brand, thus without benefitting any of the above parties. While efforts, such as printing works, were made to prevent this, inevitably, his music spread beyond his (and their) control. Monteverdi's music's dissemination abroad has allowed the musician to be received by an international audience for centuries, and has formed the basis for numerous academic studies from international scholars. More than this, his music's influence in international cultures can be traced (to a certain degree), creating fascinating opportunities to explore routes of transmission, compositional practice, and stylistic development, to name a few topics. Monteverdi's music's survival in international archives and libraries has thus contributed heavily to modern conceptions of his contemporary significance, which in some cases, has enabled a modern view of him to become skewed and overinflated (as titles such as 'inventor of modern music' suggest).

This thesis will first examine the creation of Monteverdi's brand, before assessing his music's treatment 'beyond the brand', looking at dissemination and reception (among other things) of his music abroad. All of this is with the aim of better understanding how Monteverdi's contemporaries conceived of him and his music, as well as introducing the concept of 'brand' to the field of early modern musicology.

Acknowledgements

This DPhil was made possible through the full scholarship I was granted by the AHRC. Their COVID-19 Extension Fund enabled the continuation of my degree through the pandemic, as did the support of the Magdalen College SSF, the Michael and Emma Davies Bursary, and the Robert Lockhart Bursary.

When I was studying my undergraduate degree at the University of Sheffield, I read Professor Tim Carter's *Monteverdi's Musical Theatre* (2002), and there, I happened across a footnote. This footnote stated a need for a critical reception history of Claudio Monteverdi. After embarking on my Master's degree, supervised by Professor Tim Shephard, I was asked what subject I might like to write a doctoral thesis on. I stated, with the kind of confidence only naïveté might allow, that I would like to write a complete critical reception history of Claudio Monteverdi, from around 1590-1750. I was encouraged by Professor Shephard and my partner, Chris, to apply for a DPhil at the University of Oxford.

After my realisation that, if Tim Carter had not produced a critical reception history of Monteverdi, I would probably struggle, the COVID-19 pandemic hit. It was quite clear that a rethink would be needed – my grand plans of sauntering around archives across Europe had been scuppered. With the advice and guidance of my supervisor, Professor Christian Leitmeir, I was able to create a project that engaged my desire to learn what people actually thought of Monteverdi back in his day. This desire stemmed from a musical education which, while replete with excellent lecturers, teachers and tutors, seemed to hammer home the idea that some historical composers (usually dead, white, male ones) were heroes and geniuses. These narratives seemed deprived of a little nuance, and I became suspicious that some clever (and fortunate) branding may have been at play.

Thanks must first go to my supervisor, Professor Leitmeir, whose wisdom, support, patience, kindness, generosity and humour has enabled what transpired to be a difficult five years, to bear fruit. Then, to my previous supervisor, Professor Shephard, who encouraged me down the path of academia, and who continues to generously invest his time and energy into my future, for which I am grateful and fortunate.

I would like to extend thanks to my examiners, Professor Michael Burden and Dr Brianne Dolce. Your insightful comments and suggestions have improved me as a scholar, and helped me to create a thesis that better represents my ideas. Thanks also to my external examiner, Dr Elisabeth Giselbrecht, for inspiring and motivating me down further avenues of research.

The support of Netta Jennison has been central to my ability to continue these studies; thank you Netta, for your mentorship, friendship and care. Thanks also must go to the Magdalen Student Support team, the DAS and the staff at the Faculty of Music.

Thank you to Brepols and Professor Galliano Ciliberti for publishing some of my work, helping me to build a career while undertaking my doctoral degree. I would also like to thank Professor Tim Carter, whose work has inspired me throughout my higher education, and whose advice has been gratefully received. Thanks also go to Julia Ronsenthal of the Otto Haas collection; thank you for sharing your, and your father's, incredible work with me, it is utterly inspiring, and I'm sure will enable future scholarship.

My family, even when from a (social) distance, have been a source of joy and support, particularly when times have been difficult. Words cannot possibly convey how overjoyed I am that Dad will see me complete this thesis. Mum, Dad, Sarah and Mike, thank you for your gentleness, your love and your comfort. I hope this thesis goes some way towards honouring the musical heritage of the Corcorans and the Pages. Sarah, you were right about GCSE music.

I cannot begin to do justice to the support I have received from friends over the course of the DPhil. My Oxford Music 'colleagues', your friendship has been incredibly important and meaningful to me; you have picked me up time and again and are always ready to put the world to rights. My 'home' friends, thank you for being a source of constancy and happiness, no matter where you are in the world. Thank you to the friends whose support manifests as a constant uplifting presence, be it via Zoom, on a mountain or in a well – you are all brilliant. In particular, Mandi – you have changed my relationship with this thesis, and I cannot thank you enough. Special thanks also to Rosemary and Tom for cheering on Chris and me, and for being excellent quizzers.

My partner, Chris Ward, has given constant encouragement and maintained an indelible belief in my abilities, from the early days to the darkest days, and every moment in between. It is incredibly humbling, and I am extremely thankful for such a supportive, steadfast partner and friend. Thank you for helping me to be brave. I so admire your intelligence, creativity and adventurousness. (I'm also sure that, one day, there will be theses written about your musical skills.) Throughout these five years you have sought to bring stability and security to our lives and have made sacrifices to do so. I cannot do justice to your efforts or my gratitude in this small space, but I hope that I can show my thanks over many more years.

Table of Contents

Note to the Reader vii

List of Figures ix

List of Musical Examples ix

List of Tables x

Making 'Monteverdi': Introduction 1

Who was Monteverdi? 2

Making 'Monteverdi' 7

The 'Brand' 8

Transmission and dissemination 10

Structure 12

Part 1: Building the Brand 14

Chapter 1: (Self-)Fashioning 'Monteverdi' through Print 15

Analysing paratexts: terminology and a literary basis 18

Il terzo libro de madrigali (1592): A model of dedicatory tropes 25

Il quarto libro de madrigali (1603) 32

The 'Controversy' 39

Scherzi Musicali: Dichiaratione (1607) 52

Further contributors 59

L'Orfeo and the Vespers 63

Conclusion 66

Chapter 2: Arianna: The Woman who Helped Make Monteverdi 70

Caterina Martinelli: *La Romanina* 72

The libretto 79

Making *L'Arianna* 82

'La Florinda' and the Lament 85

Reception and dissemination 92

Conclusion 97

Part 2: Beyond the Brand 106

Introduction and Model 107

Overview of the transmission and dissemination of Monteverdi's music in German-speaking lands 111

Chapter 3: *Orfeo* in Salzburg: the Patronage of Marcus Sitticus (c.1612-1619) 134

Patronage and cultural transfer in context 137

Patronage: types and terms 140

Orfeo in Salzburg 146

Comparators 161
Towards an explanation for Monteverdi's absence 164
Conclusion 166
Chapter 4: Monteverdi's Music on the British Isles 168
Sources 179
1. A case study on influence: Richard Dering 179
T'amo mia vita, la mia cara vita 182
Se nel partir da voi 187
O com'è gran martire 190
2.1. Print 195
Monteverdi's music 'for sale' 195
Ownership 199
Reception in print 202
2.2. Manuscript 208
Monteverdi's musical model: "Là tra'l sangue" 213
Monteverdi's music in Oxford: a case study in taste and treatment 215
The copying network: Tenbury and Ellesmere 221
Usage 224
Collections 224
Performance 237
Conclusion 240
Making 'Monteverdi': Conclusion 244
Bibliography 247
Primary literature in print 247
Archives 248
Manuscripts 249
Scores 250
Monteverdi scores 252
Monteverdi letters 253
Secondary literature 254
Online sources 265
Appendices 267
Appendix 1: Dedications from *Il terzo libro, Il quarto libro* and *Il quinto libro de madrigali* and the *Studiosi Lettori* (English translations included within body of chapter) 267
Appendix 2: *Scherzi Musicali* dedication and *Dichiaratione* 269

Appendix 3: *L'Orfeo*: *favola in musica* dedication and *Sanctissimae Virgini missa…ac vespere* dedication 276
Appendix 4: Table of Monteverdi's works in British prints..... 277

Note to the Reader

As this thesis refers to several musical works as well as literary works, I have adopted a system with regards to quotation marks. For pieces within works, such as "Cruda Amarilli" from *Il quarto libro de madrigali*, I use double quotation marks. The same is true for chapters within books or journals. For quotations or theoretical concepts, I use single quotation marks.

In general, when referencing printed primary source materials, I will include location: publisher, date information in main body of the text. If I have very recently given this information, I will not repeat it until appropriate. When referencing manuscript materials, I will use their shelfmark, as per their holding institution, in a footnote and their date in the main body of the text. I have used RISM sigla for most library/archive abbreviations.

Quoted text from primary sources generally retains original abbreviations, spellings and idiosyncrasies, such as the spelling of 'Monteverde'. The letters 'v' and 'u' have been distinguished according to modern usage; 'Monteuerde' as written in the source becomes 'Monteverde' in this text.

Italian terms will generally be italicised.

RISM Sigla:

Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica, Gioachino Rossini I-*PESc*
Biblioteca Riccardiana, Palazzo Medici Riccardi I-*Fr*
Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice I-*Vnm*British Library GB-*Lbl* Christ Church College Library GB-*Och*
Dresden, Sächsisches Staatsarchiv D-*Dla*
Durham Cathedral Library GB-*Drc*
Florence, Archivio di stato I-*Fas*
Gent Universiteitsbibliotheek B-*Gu*
Jesus College Library, University of Oxford GB-*Ojec*
London College of Music GB-*Lcm*
Lincoln Cathedral Library GB-*Ll*
Magdalene College, Cambridge University GB-*Cmc*
Trinity College Dublin, Marsh Library EIRE-*Dm*
University of Oxford Bodleian Library GB-*Obl*
University of Glasgow Library GB-*Ge*
Westminster Abbey Library GB-*Wa*
York Minster Library GB-*Y*

Abbreviations:

ASM A.G. Archivio di Stato di Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga
ASMO Archvio di Stato di Modena
B. Busta
Bf. Bifolio
C. Casetta
Ed./Eds. Editor/Editors
Fos./Fol./Fols. Folios
M/Mm. Measure/Measures
N. Footnote
No./Nos. Number/Numbers

Trans. Translated by
Ver. Version
Vol. Volume
V.S. Vostra Signoria/Signoria

List of Figures

Figure I: *Catalogus universalis, hoc est designatio omnium librorum, qui hisce nundinis ... Francofurtensibus & Lipsiensibus anno ... vel novi vel emendatiores & auctiores prodierunt* (Leipzig: Weidmann, Easter 1641), reproduced from: Frankfurt and Leipzig Book Fair Catalogues. Published Online: Georg Olms Verlag, 2018. Oster 1641, D. 116

Figure 3.1: The Orpheus Grotto (Orpheusgrotte) at Hellbrunn Palace. 160

List of Musical Examples

Example 2.1: "Lamento d'Arianna" 'rise and fall' melody..... 91

Example 4.1: Monteverdi's 'T'amo mia vita' motif (mm. 1-5). 183

Example 4.2: Dering's 'T'amo mia vita' motif (mm. 1-5). 183

Example 4.3: Monteverdi, "T'amo mia vita", *Tenore* and *Basso* repeated note homophony (mm. 26-30). 184

Example 4.4: Dering, "T'amo mia vita", repeated note homophony (mm. 39-45). 185

Example 4.5: Dering, "T'amo mia vita", Bass ornamented phrase, (mm. 61-63)..... 185

Example 4.6: Monteverdi, recapitulation of 'T'amo mia vita' motif (mm. 41-45). 186

Example 4.7: Dering, recapitulation of 'T'amo mia vita' motif (mm. 64-73). 187

Example 4.8: Opening phrase of Monteverdi, "Se nel patir da voi" (mm. 1-5)..... 188

Example 4.9: Opening system of Dering, "Se nel partir da voi" (mm. 1-5). 188

Example 4.10: Monteverdi, "Se nel partir da voi" (mm. 6-13). 189

Example 4.11: Dering, "Se nel partir" (mm. 6-10). 189

Example 4.12: Monteverdi, "O com'è gran martire" (mm. 1-11). 191

Example 4.13: Dering, "O com'è gran martire" (mm. 1-5). 191

Example 4.14: Monteverdi, "O com'è gran martire" (mm. 12-22). 192

Example 4.15: Dering, "O com'è gran martire" (mm. 12-25). 193

Example 4.16: Monteverdi, "O com'è[…]", final cadence. 194

Example 4.17: Dering, "O com'è[…]", final..... 194

Example 4.18: Spinck's example from Porter's "Tis but a frown". 205

Example 4.19: Claudio Monteverdi, "Sfogava con le stelle", *Il quarto libro di madrigali*[…], 1603... 205

List of Tables

Table 2.1: Rinuccini's 'Lasciatemi Morire' libretto. 86

Table 2.2: Works in the 'Lamento' genre, created after the premier of Monteverdi's *L'Arianna* (1608). 101

Table I: Monteverdi's Works in German Anthologies 129

Table II: Monteverdi's Works in German Manuscript Collections and Inventories 131

Table 3.1: Record of dramatic works performed under the rule of Marcus Sitticus (1612-1619). 152

Table 4.1: Robert Martin's *Catalogi Librorum* (1633-1640). 198

Table 4.2: All (currently known) British manuscript works made in the 17th century containing Monteverdi. 209

Table 4.3: Comparison of contents in Tenbury and Ellesmere partbooks. 223

Table 4.4: Monteverdi works in the 'Aldrich Bequest'. 226

Table 4.5: Monteverdi works in the 'Goodson Bequest'. 232

Making 'Monteverdi': Introduction

> Signor Claudio composes only in the morning and the evening: during the afternoon he does not wish to do anything at all. I urge him, and I relieve him of such labour — which means taking the work from under his hands, after having discussed and arranged it together; and I find it so intricate and tangled that I give Your Most Illustrious Lordship my word that I labour more than if I were to compose it all by myself; and that if it had to be left to him to write it, it would take time and plenty of it (and if I were not at his heels so much, he would not have done half of what he has done). It is true that the labour is great, and tedious; but still, he is a man who likes to talk things over in company at great length (and about this, I make it a rule to take the opportunity away from him during working hours) - so that I wish to say that my job is no small one, and I say this to Your Most Illustrious Lordship in all calmness and truth.
>
> Antonio Goretti to Marquis Enzo Bentivoglio, 1627.[1]

This account by Goretti of an ageing but ever in-demand Monteverdi is possibly one of, if not, the most candid assessments of the musician that survives.[2] Monteverdi's reputation, during his career in Venice and shortly after his death, was nothing short of celebrity; whether adored, loathed or something in between, 'Monteverdi' was a household name. Goretti's endearing, if unglamourous, depiction of Monteverdi is far-removed from accounts of the musician given in print works and formal letters. Proclaiming the 'glorious name' of Monteverdi was within the interests of several individuals in Monteverdi's various circles, from the beginning of his long career to the end. Making 'Monteverdi', the public figure and famous *maestro*, would garner greater profits for his printers, increased renown for his patrons, and greater opportunities for those associated with him; colleagues, collaborators, admirers and the like. The music of Monteverdi, which has enjoyed dedicated analysis, revivals and reprints, could exist inside and outside of the 'Monteverdi' rubric. Of

[1] Paolo Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, trans. Tim Carter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 213; Letter from Parma, 27 November 1627. Ferrara, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Bentivoglio, Busta 210, fols. 502-3. Italian in Paolo Fabbri, *Monteverdi* (Turin: EDT, 1985), 272.

[2] Goretti had known Monteverdi for the best part of thirty years (if not longer) at this point, having been an influential musician in Ferrara and host of the evening of musical entertainment that led to the 'Artusi–Monteverdi Controversy'. He may have been Monteverdi's anonymous defender, 'l'Ottuso Academico'; see Claude V. Palisca, "The Artusi–Monteverdi Controversy," in *The New Monteverdi Companion*, eds. Denis Arnold and Nigel Fortune, 127-158 (London: Faber and Faber, 1985).

course, it benefitted the brand if the product remained in association with the rubric, but ultimately, music was inevitably transmitted and disseminated in modes beyond the control of composer or printer. Thus, the music could be used in various ways by those with no knowledge of, or interest in, Monteverdi, influencing musical cultures in a way that only now gains the composer recognition and fame, but at the time, served to benefit total strangers. This thesis investigates the synthetic construct of 'Monteverdi'; a brand, a name that came to represent specific ideas and narratives, and that was cultivated by many hands. It seeks also to examine the treatment of the music beyond this brand, namely abroad, both in contexts where there was knowledge of (and interest in) the brand, and where (it appears) there was not.

Who was Monteverdi?

Born in 1567, Claudio Giovanni Antonio Monteverdi was raised in the city of Cremona.[3] His mother, Maddalena Zignani, died when he was seven, leaving Monteverdi in the care of his father, Baldassare, who remarried twice. A fairly wealthy man of some local significance, Baldassare appears to have supported Monteverdi through his career; evidenced most clearly during the Mantua period, despite also having Monteverdi's five younger siblings to consider.[4] Monteverdi's musical education has been subject to speculation. Scholars still know no more than is indicated in Monteverdi's print music, that Marc'Antonio Ingegneri was his tutor (in some capacity, perhaps as a member of the Cathedral's *cappella* or as a private pupil, or in a metaphorical sense). Initiating his public, printed presence at the age of fifteen, Monteverdi created five works for print before he entered the court of Mantua. *Sacrae cantiunculae tribus vocibus* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1582*), Madrigali spirituali a quattro voci* (Brescia: Vincenzo Sabbio, 1583), *Canzonette a tre voci* (Venice: Vincenti & Amadino, 1584), *Madrigali a cinque voci ... Libro primo* (Venice: Amadino, 1587) and *Il secondo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice: Gardano, 1590) – five works that represent Monteverdi's establishment as a composer and his creation of a repertoire. Shortly after printing *Il*

[3] Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, trans. Carter, 6.
[4] Ibid., 6-7; Denis Stevens (ed. and trans.), *The Letters of Claudio Monteverdi* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 13 & 17.

secondo libro, Monteverdi joined the Gonzaga court as an instrumental performer. He worked under the musical direction of Giaches de Wert (1535-1596), a musician he seemed to admire greatly, then under Benedetto Pallavicino (1551-1601), a fellow Cremonese whom, by contrast to Wert, Monteverdi appeared less enamoured with.[5] After Pallavicino's death in 1601, Monteverdi wrote (somewhat pleadingly) to the Duke of Mantua, Vincenzo I, to request consideration for the newly-vacant role. According to his *Quarto libro di madrigali*, (Venice: Amadino, 1603) Monteverdi was not just made master of the ducal *cappelle*, but *maestro della musica*. It is not obvious to scholars now whether this title described anything specific, or was a piece of strategic branding. There were three iterations of *cappelle*: one ensemble (headed previously by Wert and Pallavicino) performed a multitude of sacred and secular musical duties for the Duke; a second functioned as a larger iteration of the first, bolstered in order to perform larger-scale masses; the third was an ecclesiastical institution at the basilica of Santa Barbara, independent of the Ducal household.[6] Monteverdi's letters (the few that survive from this period) indicate that Mantua was a challenging environment, and that, while Monteverdi and his music were in demand, he suffered from being overworked, underpaid and, to his mind, undervalued. Personal tragedy struck Monteverdi more than once during his time in Mantua, such as the death of his infant daughter in 1604, and of his wife, Claudia, in 1607; he returned to his father's house in Cremona on multiple occasions to recuperate emotionally and physically.

After a career of approximately 21 years at the Gonzaga court, Monteverdi was dismissed, alongside his brother Giulio Cesare, who had joined the court in 1604. Monteverdi was scouted to audition for *maestro di cappella* at San Marco in Venice and duly appointed in 1613. Monteverdi was to remain for the rest of his career in this role; one of the most prestigious musical positions in Italy. As details of Monteverdi's career and music will pervade this thesis, this snapshot biography suffices for the

[5] See, for example, Monteverdi's characterisation of Pallavicino as 'competent' while lauding the praises of Wert in his letter to Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga at Kaninzsa, 28th November 1601. ASM A.G., c. 6, fos. 77-8. Bf. 3 pp. Stevens, *The Letters of Claudio Monteverdi*, 30.

[6] Roger Bowers, "Monteverdi at Mantua, 1590–1612," in *The Cambridge Companion to Monteverdi*, eds. John Whenham & Richard Wistreich, 53-75 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 53-6.

moment. Instead, we can turn to conceptualisations of the musician created between Monteverdi's era and ours.

Accounts of 'Monteverdi', the famed musician, appeared in various 17th and 18th-century histories, cultural dictionaries and treatises, both in Italy and abroad. Descriptions of his musical contribution seem to change depending on taste. As solo song and *concerti* eclipsed the madrigal, Monteverdi's operatic works moved to the centre of attention, contributing to his modern association with opera.[7] In the 19th- and 20th-century works, Monteverdi as a historical monument, a figure of Italian greatness, became the prevailing concept;[8] heavily influenced by nationalism in Europe, and of a desire to claim (among other things) opera as an Italian product. Anthony Pryer's chapter "Approaching Monteverdi: his cultures and ours" explains how 19th- and 20th-century ideas on 'progressive trajectory', established for Bach, Mozart and others in the Western musical canon, impacted the concept of Monteverdi's historical position, compared to his contemporaries who perhaps did not fit the 'style-place development model' as neatly.[9] This is an area ripe for further research, but the present study instead looks back to the 17th century as a foundation for four-hundred years of scholarship (as well as non-academic literature, performance and listening) that has ensured Monteverdi's presence in academia and on concert programmes today.

Monteverdi scholarship, particularly over the last century, has been dominated by Anglophone and Italian academics. This correlates with (in the case of Britain, surprisingly) large numbers of sources that survive in British libraries and archives. Efforts to translate scholarship from (in particular) Italian and German have also increased engagement with Monteverdi; two key examples being Alfred Einstein's *The Italian Madrigal* (1948, translated to English in 1971 by Oliver Strunk, Roger Sessions and Alexander H. Krappe) and Paolo Fabbri's seminal biography, *Monteverdi* (1985, translated to English in 1994 by Tim Carter), though there are many others. Gian Francesco

[7] Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, trans. Carter, 2.
[8] Ironically, the complex makeup of early modern Italy technically made Monteverdi a Spanish citizen, thanks to his Cremonese birthplace.
[9] Anthony Pryer, "Approaching Monteverdi: his cultures and ours," in *The Cambridge Companion to Monteverdi*, eds. John Whenham and Richard Wistreich, 1–19 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Malipiero published Monteverdi's complete works (between 1926-1942), making Monteverdi's music significantly more accessible.[10] Particularly significant English-language contributions to Monteverdi scholarship include works by Denis Arnold, Roger Bowers, Tim Carter, Susan Cusick, Iain Fenlon, Anne MacNeil, Susan McClary, Claude V. Palisca, Ellen Rosand, Gary Tomlinson, John Whenham and Richard Wistreich. Some of these scholars were part of a 'new wave' musicological approach to Monteverdi,[11] attempting to apply a more critical lens to the 'poster boy of the Renaissance/Baroque transition',[12] after earlier academics were less than cautious in their claims about his historical significance – Leo Schrade's *Monteverdi*, *Creator of Modern Music* (1950) and Donald J. Grout's, framing of Monteverdi as the father of opera and a 'genius' in works such as *A Short History of Opera* (1947), for example. The notion of Monteverdi's 'genius' has been difficult for scholars to shake off. A musician *with* genius (a very different notion than the 'Beethoven genius' model, apparently) was the best scholars such as Pryer could offer, for example. [13] Though many of these heroizing narratives prevail in some 21st-century scholarship (and even more so in wider musical culture), more nuanced approaches to historical musicians, and the scholarship around them, are being adopted. Critical appraisals have been applied to such works as Grout's. Kirsty J. Swift, for example, produced a thesis identifying the heroized narratives expressed explicitly and implicitly throughout Grout's *History of Western Music* (1960).[14]

Monteverdi's music is still popular, and continues to adapt (or to be adapted) to ever new socio-cultural environs. For some in the UK, it features as part of musical education; madrigals and Vespers

[10] Published as part of a series called 'Il Vittoriale gli Italiani' (The Victory of the Italians), Malipiero's work still exists within a nationalistic frame. *Tutte le Opere di Claudio Monteverdi a cura di G, Francesco Malipiero,* ed. G. Malipiero (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1926-1968).

[11] This is particularly associated with musicology in the US, and in Monteverdi scholarship. There was something of an echo between 'new musicology' and the 'seconda prattica' – see Suzanne G. Cusick, "Monteverdi Studies and 'New' Musicologies," in *The Cambridge Companion to Monteverdi*, eds. John Whenham and Richard Wistreich, 249–60 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

[12] Tim Shephard, "Giovanni Gabrieli: Transmission and Reception of a Venetian Musical Tradition." Renaissance Quarterly 2, vol. 71 (2018): 776-777.

[13] Anthony Pryer, "Approaching Monteverdi: his cultures and ours," in *The Cambridge Companion to Monteverdi*, eds. John Whenham and Richard Wistreich, 1–19. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

[14] Donald Jay Grout, A History of Western Music (New York: W. W. Norton, 1960); Kristy J. Swift, "''Getting the Story Crooked'': Donald Jay Grout, Claude V. Palisca, and J. Peter Burkholder's "A History of Western Music" 1960-2009" (PhD Thesis, University of Cincinnati, 2013).

have become set or suggested works on Key Stage 5 music syllabi.[15] In line with an effort to modernise opera more generally,[16] productions of Monteverdi's operatic works are becoming more ambitious. For example, the recent production *Orpheus* (2022), based on Monteverdi's *L'Orfeo,* featured the original music alongside new music from classical Indian traditions by Jasdeep Singh Degun. The work was performed by classical Indian singers and Italian-trained opera singers, with Indian and early modern Italian instruments.[17] Monteverdi's music, *L'Orfeo* in particular, being an 'access point' for comparisons with non-Western harmony, is an idea proffered and explored in Charulatha Mani's 2022 work "Of Two Arias and Nine Ragas: Analysing Monteverdi through a Karnatik Lens".[18] As Monteverdi's music is brought into a modern context in culture and scholarship, I wish to adopt a seemingly modern approach to the subject of his identity, specifically his public identity. Public identity is relevant to more people today than perhaps ever before, certainly in a different way. Social media offers a platform and the opportunity to reach an enormous online audience, and thus personal branding is more prevalent, appealing and (in some cases) necessary than ever. I want to examine personal branding before the digital age, in the context of Monteverdi's career. Assessing the synthetic nature of Monteverdi's public image, his 'personal brand', I will demonstrate how Monteverdi's public identity was created, and by whom. This will form the first half of the thesis, which will be proceeded by an exploration of how Monteverdi's music was treated 'beyond the brand', analysing different case studies from 17th-century Europe.

[15] For example, "OCR A Level Music H543 specification," ver. 1.8. 2022. https://ocr.org.uk/qualifications/as-and-a-level/music-h143-h543-from-2016/.

[16] By which I mean encourage modern audiences' engagement with opera, and find new ways to make opera feel more relevant and accessible to the public.

[17] The work ran at Opera North (and on tour) from 14th October - 19th November 2022. "Orpheus," Opera North. https://www.operanorth.co.uk/whats-on/orpheus/. I was unable to see the performance live but have since watched segments and an interview online; it is both musically stunning and to me, a very optimistic sign for the future of opera, multiculturalism and the arts.

[18] Charulatha Mani, "Of Two Arias and Nine Ragas: Analysing Monteverdi through a Karnatik Lens," *Music Analysis* 3, vol. 41 (2022): 470-94.

Making ‘Monteverdi’

‘The inventor of modern music’ (Schrade), ‘the father of opera’ (Grout) – how did Monteverdi come to be known as these impossibly momentous figures? The answers, at their roots, lie in two places: first, in the brand created by and for Monteverdi during his career; second, through the transmission, dissemination and subsequent treatment of his works. The first enabled the second; in having a brand, Monteverdi gained such renown that substantial interest was generated in his works. They were consequently printed, reprinted, circulated, copied and performed.

Brand need not be a complex or specifically modern term, particularly in the case of personal branding. All it really describes is how a person wants to be thought of by the public, which is often a more exaggerated, perfected and appealing version of themselves and their skills. Personal brands are summaries of a person’s talent, skills and ideas. They are often most concisely summarised by a name, thus ‘making a name for oneself’ refers to the creation of a personal brand in a public setting that garners attention. Making ‘Monteverdi’ was a task undertaken by various people, both intentionally and less so. Some benefitted from Monteverdi having a brand and so contributed to it. Others benefitted the brand incidentally while building their own brands; those who performed Monteverdi’s works, for example.

Developing a successful brand was important to Monteverdi. He relied on it for the prosperity of himself and his family. Moreover, his employers benefitted from their association with his brand and from it becoming established in the public consciousness, and those who printed his music could yield greater profits from his becoming a ‘big name’. It is therefore worth ruminating on the fact that Monteverdi’s brand was a synthetic thing that received the input of various concerned parties, and needed to achieve specific aims; it is by no means an accurate depiction of the musician, even if it does rely on, or stem from, numerous truths. The purpose of studying his brand is not to ascertain any truths, rather, it is to illustrate how certain ideas about Monteverdi came to be, and who of Monteverdi’s contemporaries influenced and contributed to these.

In certain contexts, audiences were able to receive, perform, copy and collect Monteverdi's music in total separation from his brand, thus without benefitting any of the above parties. While efforts, such as printing works, were made to prevent this, inevitably, his music spread beyond his (and their) control. The dissemination of Monteverdi's music abroad has allowed the musician to be received by an international audience for centuries, and has formed the basis for numerous academic studies from international scholars. More than this, his music's international influence can be traced (to a certain degree), creating fascinating opportunities to explore routes of transmission, compositional practice, and stylistic development, to name a few topics. The survival of Monteverdi's music in international archives and libraries has thus contributed heavily to modern conceptions of his contemporary significance, which in some cases, has allowed a modern view of him to become skewed and overinflated (as titles such as 'inventor of modern music' suggest). Therefore, it is useful, informative and interesting to investigate early instances of the dissemination and reception of his music abroad, to see how the music was received and treated, in order to gain a more accurate understanding of how Monteverdi was considered among close contemporaries. This is a surprisingly understudied field, to the extent that the most in-depth exploration of his music on the early modern British Isles to date is presented in this thesis.

The 'Brand'

The concept of 'brand' is making its way into historical scholarship, particularly in relation to print culture. 'Brand' is by no means a new or modern invention, as Moore and Reid illustrated in their study on "4000 years of branding" (2008). [19] In their words, brands 'act as a conveyor of image or meaning (status/power, value and/or personality)', which have been evident throughout ancient and modern cultures. Studies such as Andie Silva's *The Brand of Print: Marketing Paratexts in the Early English Book Trade* (2019) take concepts such as brand, marketing, consumers and cultural capital,

[19] Karl Moore and Susan Reid, "The birth of brand: 4000 years of branding," *Business History* 4, vol. 50 (2008): 419-432.

and apply them to events in the early modern era.[20] Silva's study analyses non-author paratexts (i.e. texts created by printers and publishers that accompany the main body of a print work) for their role in advertising the work and the printer/publisher themselves. Andrew Pettegree's *Brand Luther* (2015) addresses the methods used by Martin Luther and his printers to establish a brand for the Protestant Reformation.[21] In 18th–20th-century contexts, Eva Giloi's *Monarchy, Myth, and Material Culture in Germany 1750-1950* (2011) examines the branding activities of monarchs, which can be linked to concepts such as fame and celebrity.[22] Kevin Sharpe's work *Rebranding Rule. The Restoration and Revolution Monarchy 1660-1714* (2013) also tackles branding at the level of sovereigns.[23] Branding was essential tool of rulers, and given their access to visual media (portraits, architecture, print; all vehicles for panegyrics), and their public audience (i.e. everyone over whom they ruled), branding is perhaps most obvious in regal contexts. Monteverdi's branding is different in this sense. Often, brand is associated with visual media (from heroic, panegyrical paintings to simple logos), which Monteverdi (and others in his position) did not create (as far as I can tell). Instead, Monteverdi communicated his brand via paratexts that accompanied his music; his 'product'. The music itself could exist and be received separately from his brand, and vice versa, though the two together created benefits for Monteverdi and his printers, such as greater profits, potential career changes (promotions/pay rises) and reputational boosts.

In a study by Gorbatov et. al., 'personal branding' was defined as 'a strategic process of creating, positioning, and maintaining a positive impression of oneself, based on a unique combination of individual characteristics, which signal a certain promise to the target audience through a differentiated narrative and imagery'.[24] Though Monteverdi lacked brand imagery in the

[20] Andie Silva, *The Brand of Print: Marketing Paratexts in the Early English Book Trade* (ProQuest Ebook Central (online): Brill, 2019).
[21] Andrew Pettegree, *Brand Luther* (New York: Penguin Books, 2015).
[22] Eva Giloi, *Monarchy, Myth, and Material Culture in Germany 1750-1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
[23] Kevin Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule. The Restoration and Revolution Monarchy 1660-1714* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).
[24] Gorbatov, S., S. N. Khapova and E. I. Lysova, "Personal Branding: Interdisciplinary Systematic Review and Research Agenda," *Frontiers in Psychology* 2238, vol. 9 (2018).

conventional sense,[25] the narratives communicated through his print works (and the print works of others) established and developed his brand throughout his career. When one considers his public presence, his reputation and his being well-known among contemporaries, one should not imagine this to have been Monteverdi the man, who would have been known to a comparative few, but 'Monteverdi' the brand.

Transmission and dissemination

Transmission and dissemination of music across national borders, in the context of Monteverdi, has typically focussed on German-speaking lands. *Monteverdi und die Folgen* (1998), literally translating to 'Monteverdi and the consequences', is a collection of studies on Monteverdi's music outside of Italy.[26] Edited by Silke Leopold and Joachim Steinheuer, the book contains numerous examples and instances of Monteverdi's music being received abroad, and includes the only study concerning Monteverdi's music on the British Isles in the 17th century (until this present thesis). Peter Wollny, who contributed a chapter on Monteverdi's musical influence in protestant, German-speaking lands, also created a detailed study of the influence of Monteverdi's music on German composition in the 17th century: *Studien zum Stilwandel in der protestantisch Figuralmusik des mittleren 17. Jahrhunderts* (2016).[27] Herbert Seifert produced studies on the transfer of music from Mantua to Salzburg, presented in *Texte zur Musikdramatik im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert: Aufsätze und Vorträge* (2014);[28] a period of 'cultural transfer' that saw musicians, stage architecture and a work referred to

[25] Three portraits and an engraving were created of Monteverdi, but the only contemporary, publicly disseminated visual was the engraving, which appeared on the title page of *Fiori poetici*, the eulogy book created by Marinoni to commemorate Monteverdi's death. Though this title page is visually interesting, full of depictions of instruments surrounding Monteverdi's head, it was probably more a summation of the brand, and part of eulogy convention, rather than an attempt at building the brand further. See Giovan Battista Marinoni, *Fiori poetici raccolti nelfunerale del molto illustre e molto reverendo signor Claudio Monteverde* (Venice: Miloco, 1644).

[26] Silke Leopold and Joachim Steinheuer eds. *Claudio Monteverdi und die Folgen* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1998).

[27] Peter Wollny, *Studien zum Stilwandel in der protestntischen Figuralmusik des mittleren 17. Jahrhunderts* (Beeskow: Ortus Musikverlag, 2016).

[28] Herbert Seifert, "Beiträge zur Frühgeschichte der Monodie in Österreich," in *Texte zur Musikdramatik im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert: Aufsätze und Vorträge*, ed. Matthias J. Pernerstorfer, 17–42 (Vienna: Hollitzer Verlag, 2014); Herbert Seifert, "Marcus Sitticus von Hohenems und Mantua: die Ersten Opern Ausserhalb Italiens in Neuem Licht," in *Texte zur Musikdramatik im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert: Aufsätze und Vorträge*, ed. Matthias J. Pernerstorfer, 43-66 (Vienna: Hollitzer Verlag, 2014).

as ‘Orfeo’ in records, travel from the Gonzaga court to the Prince-Archbishop of Salzburg. Seifert’s study on this period of cultural transfer describes the transfer and subsequent performances of ‘Orfeo’ as reception of Monteverdi, and of the introduction the opera genre beyond the Alps. The concept of cultural transfer as a specific form of transmission and dissemination indicates more an interest in a particular region’s culture or in a whole musical genre, rather than one musician, which presents an interesting dynamic in which to discuss Monteverdi’s music and potential influence.[29]

Transmission and dissemination of music can also be considered in terms of musical style, and the transmission of techniques, ideas and theories. Though looking for stylistic influence is something that could be considered complicated, if not problematic (for the danger of creating a linear, evolutionary and even hierarchical musical-historical narrative), it can also be fruitful and informative, particularly when seeking to establish contemporary views on a musician, and to understand how music is treated when it’s separated from the composer’s brand. In exploring the transmission and dissemination of musical style, as well as music, more can be understood of different musical cultural practices; how one culture emulates and assimilates elements of another is important.

Studying transmission and dissemination can also highlight instances of reception, which, in Monteverdi’s case, has typically been studied in contemporary Italy, or in modern contexts. The

[29] Though ‘cultural transfer’ is used without consideration of its theoretical roots to describe movement of people, objects and ideas from once culture to another, theoretical explanation and analysis can be found in (for example): Rémy Duthille, “Cultural Transfer Theory and Exchanges between Britain and the Baltic in the Eighteenth Century,” in *Medien der Aufklärung – Aufklärung der Medien. Die baltische Aufklärung im europäischen Kontext*, eds. Liina Lukas, Silke Pasewalck, Vinzenz Hoppe, Kaspar Renner, 303-315 (Oldenbourg De Gruyter, 2021); Manuela Rossini, “Cultural Transfer: An Introduction (with Michael Toggweiler),” *Word and Text: A Journal of Literary Studies and Linguistics* 2 (2014): 5-9; Anna Veronika Wendland, “Cultural Transfer,” in *Travelling Concepts for the Study of Culture edited by Birgit Neumann and Ansgar Nünning*, 45-66 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012). It is also worth mentioning the possible pitfalls of using terms such as ‘transfer’. The implication can be of a one-way, hierarchical relationship, where one party is an active ‘giver’ and one a passive ‘receiver’. Studies of Italian music in transalpine settings have tended to be particularly rife with Italo-centric ‘giver, receiver’ narratives; Elisabeth Giselbrecht’s thesis highlights this, and sets out a model for discussing transalpine musical transfer in terms of ‘active’ receivership in German-speaking lands. Elisabeth Giselbrecht, “Crossing boundaries: The printed dissemination of Italian sacred music in German-speaking areas (1580-1620),” (PhD Thesis, University of Cambridge, 2012) 4. I do not endorse the hierarchical aspect of ‘transfer’ and other such terms, but use them in their most literal sense, for want of alternatives and to position my work within other research on similar themes.

study produced by Baroncini et. al., *Giovanni Gabrieli: Transmission and Reception of a Venetian Musical Tradition* (2016), seeks to bring light to the cultural significance of Giovanni Gabrieli, who has typically been overshadowed in modern scholarship by Monteverdi.[30] The work exemplifies a study of reception, focussing heavily on context, addressing the role of (and influence on) other contemporary musicians, and studying various modes of the transmission and dissemination of Gabrieli's music, helping to readjust the imbalanced historical narrative on musicians of the Renaissance/ Baroque transition. While I do not seek to bring any further glory to Monteverdi, I do wish to expose his influence upon musicians in instances that are either hitherto unknown, or scarcely discussed in scholarship, particularly as, in many instances, this influence was purely musical. On the British Isles, for example, often musicians either did not know (or care) who 'Monteverdi' was, they simply used his music as a source of inspiration and instruction; as a model for their own works. What this illustrates is that, beyond Monteverdi's brand, his music was able to be influential and of interest to musicians. While my discussion of the influence of Monteverdi's music upon others abroad could be seen as further evidence of his international popularity and renown, I argue that the music's emancipation from the Monteverdi brand limits the potential for this, and should thus temper modern conceptions of the musician's significance among his contemporaries. Nevertheless, the treatment of Monteverdi's music on the British Isles had contributed to the music's survival. Collection-making and the practice of manuscript-making has enabled the preservation of Monteverdi's music in Britain, allowing exposure to the musician, if only in limited contexts. Effectively, the treatment of Monteverdi's music helped to make 'Monteverdi,' beyond his contemporary brand, by ensuring the longevity of his music.

Structure

This thesis is presented in two halves: the first titled "Building the Brand", the second "Beyond the Brand: Dissemination and Influence of Monteverdi's Music Abroad". The first chapter, "(Self-

[30] Rodolfo Baroncini, David Douglas Bryant and Luigi Collarile (eds.), *Giovanni Gabrieli. Transmission and Reception of a Venetian Musical Tradition* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016).

)fashioning Monteverdi", examines Monteverdi's print works, specifically those produced during his career in Mantua, to understand how his brand was created. This approach was influenced by scholarship on branding in early modern print culture, and the function of paratexts as methods of disseminating specific brand-related narratives to readers. The second chapter, "Arianna: the Woman who Helped Make 'Monteverdi'", looks to Monteverdi's second opera, *L'Arianna*, as an example of how others influenced his brand outside of print culture. This topic was inspired by Monteverdi's association with the lament genre, and the importance of the lament to Monteverdi's brand. The chapter also seeks to bring the influence of the star performer, Virginia Ramponi-Andreini, into focus. Chapter three is preceded by "Beyond the Brand: Introduction and Model", an introduction to the second half, which includes a case study on the transmission and dissemination of Monteverdi's music and style in German-speaking lands. While Monteverdi's music in German-speaking lands has been studied in detail, I felt it valuable to produce a summary of the various examples of his music's transmission, dissemination and reception in German-speaking lands, not only for completeness, but to provide context for the third and fourth chapters. The third chapter, "Orfeo in Salzburg; the Patronage of Marcus Sitticus (c.1612-1619)",[31] provides a case study on a period in which Monteverdi's *L'Orfeo* was, in theory, performed and received in Salzburg. I wish to reframe the period of musical transfer that Seifert described in his work as a fascinating form of patronage, which, in fact, remaining evidence suggests, had very little influence on opera in German-speaking lands, and very little to do with Monteverdi also. The final chapter, "Monteverdi's Music on the British Isles", presents the first in-depth study of Monteverdi's music on the British Isles. Therein, formerly unrecognised examples of musical borrowing will be presented, as well as an overview of how Monteverdi's music was treated by British musicians and music-lovers in the 17th century.

[31] An early version of this chapter features in the book *Music Patronage in Italy*: Annabelle M. Page, "Patronage in Absentia: A Case Study of the Patronage of Marcus Sitticus (c. 1612-1619)," in *Music Patronage in Italy*, ed. Galliano Ciliberti, 369-390 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021).

Part 1: Building the Brand

Chapter 1: (Self-)Fashioning 'Monteverdi' through Print

The first chapter seeks to trace the creation of Monteverdi's personal 'brand' through his public-facing media, namely his printed works. In this chapter, which analyses the construction of Monteverdi's brand, I will address non-musical texts contained within his published works. With the publication of works, he wanted to meet specific ends,[1] but there also seems to have been an effort to create a 'name' for himself more generally. There is also the fact that this effort was concerted. Multiple people influenced the texts, and in some (perhaps even all) cases, authored these texts on Monteverdi's behalf; the influence of others in creating Monteverdi's brand should not be underestimated.

A central element to Monteverdi's brand was his public persona, or in other words: his image (rather, array of images, as there were multiple), which was produced through the interplay of different factors, most crucially his ideal(ised) self ('persona') and his reception by contemporaries (the 'public'). The public image was a fluid, manipulable thing, that had the potential, if well cultivated (and not sabotaged), to lead to success and legacy. A key term throughout this chapter will be 'fashioning' – the act of creating and controlling public image. Through his printed musical works, Monteverdi could be seen to have moulded others' reception of him and his music, self-fashioning a 'bibliographic ego' which was able to exist quite separately from him in his daily life.[2] Of course, the concept of 'self'-fashioning is complicated by the very real possibility that Monteverdi did not author the texts himself, though the intervention of other hands in fashioning his brand only enriches the discussion around the making of 'Monteverdi'. It is important and meaningful to discuss the print works in terms of fashioning, but the degree to which scholars could term them 'self'-

[1] For example, the publication of the Vespers (1610) contributed to his efforts to obtain a place at a good Roman seminary for his son Francesco. In publishing *Il terzo libro*, he wanted to encourage the Duke of Mantua's patronage. There seems often to have been some sort of practical aim connected with each publication.

[2] 'Bibliographic ego' is a term I have borrowed from Lowenstein. It was originally used to refer to English poets in the late-16th century. The term helped Kirsten Gibson to form her arguments for John Dowland's self-fashioning, and therefore I believe it is appropriate here. See J. Loewenstein, "The Script in the Marketplace," in S. Greenblatt (ed.), *Representing the English Renaissance*, 265–78 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).

fashioning is unclear. Although the majority of non-musical texts present themselves as authored by Monteverdi, scholars have also recognised a convention for external authors, such as publishers, to create texts on behalf of clients, such as dedications.[3] Whatever the case, creating a brand was good for Monteverdi, and was good for the business of print and publication. Whether self-authored or not, they serve the purpose of both cultivating and advertising his brand, and they read as if they were in Monteverdi's voice.

The works printed during Monteverdi's Mantuan period (c.1591-1613) are seminal for the construction of Monteverdi's brand. It was during this period that Monteverdi turned from the closed world of the court to the public, when his access to a wider audience outside of court and those who attended his performances was primarily, if not exclusively, through manuscript and print. The latter forms the focal point of this chapter.[4] The paratexts were Monteverdi's opportunity to tell the reader how they ought to receive both the work and its composer. Literary historian Stephen Greenblatt, who coined the term 'self-fashioning', identified a 'heightened investment of professional identity in artistic creation' at the end of the 16th century.[5] Likewise, Monteverdi's paratexts afforded him a welcome opportunity to develop a 'professional identity' and public persona as an artist above and beyond his professional environment. This followed the trend of

[3] Jane A. Bernstein, *Music Printing in the Sixteenth Century: The Scotto Press (1539-1572)* (Online ed.: Oxford Academic, 2011), 147-148.

[4] I have chosen to limit this chapter to an in-depth discussion of the Mantuan prints for several reasons. Despite many of Monteverdi's print works being created after Mantua (and some before), this period represents consistency; in the printer and publisher of Monteverdi's works, the inclusion of paratexts, and in the frequency of prints/reprints being produced. The printed works show a balancing act between necessary adulations to patrons, creation of brand narratives and the development of Monteverdi's brand identity, in response to external factors. The Venetian prints are different; printed over a broader timespan, they are sporadic in their inclusion of paratexts, and they tend to focus less on brand-building, more on the relationship between musician and patron, as they are used to try to obtain specific things for Monteverdi. For example, *Concerto: settimo libro de madrigali, con altri generi de canti* (Venice: Magni, 1619) was dedicated to Caterina de'Medici with the hope of obtaining his pension (see: Paolo Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, trans. Tim Carter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 169-170). The Venetian period has been covered extensively by scholars, and from the paratexts (and reading Monteverdi's letters), one gets the sense that Monteverdi (and his new printers, Magni and Vincenti) was much less concerned with brand-building during this period thanks to the status he achieved in his role as *maestro di cappella* at San Marco. There are specific circumstances where this is not the case, which will be addressed later in this thesis at the relevant moments.

[5] Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 161.

court employees, who used self-fashioning in publications, to move 'out of a narrowly circumscribed social sphere and into a realm that brought them in close contact with the powerful and the great'.[6] Though the term 'self-fashioning' might be impractical, the scholarship around the term, which describes a general social awareness of brand and public identity, is relevant to this study, and has been used to help form a literary basis later in the chapter.

Now, as then, an unbiased account of Monteverdi's reception is not achievable (and perhaps not even desirable). After all, as this chapter will highlight, every critic of Monteverdi, from his contemporaries to those in the present day, are crucially dependent on primary sources that often reflect Monteverdi's intention to craft a particular persona. Generations of musicologists have inevitably construed an 'identity' of the composer from surviving source material and his music's posthumous cultural status. We have situated him accordingly at a critical threshold within our modern conception of music history, as a seminal innovator, a 'creator of modern music',[7] or as a Janus-faced figure, who represented both tradition and progress (the last Renaissance composer).[8] The private Monteverdi was significantly different from the public Monteverdi. By reading Monteverdi's personal letters (Stevens, 1980; De' Paoli, 1973), we gain additional insight into his complex and multi-faceted character and states of mind. While extremely intriguing in their own right, these drastically change our perception of Monteverdi from how his contemporary readership would have received him.[9] By focussing on what Monteverdi (and others) communicated to his audience, and identifying what he wanted an audience to think about him, we can engage with Monteverdi's reception in a more meaningful way. While the man behind the mask may ultimately elude us, we can at least understand him as a fabricator of masks. Thus, we will learn what Monteverdi tried to convey about himself and his work, rather than on trying to discern the 'truth' behind his self-portrayal.

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[6] Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare*, 7.
[7] Leo Schrade, *Monteverdi, Creator of Modern Music* (New York: Norton, 1950).
[8] Gary Tomlinson, *Monteverdi and the End of the Renaissance* (California University of California Press, 1987).
[9] Denis Stevens (ed. and trans.), *The Letters of Claudio Monteverdi* (Cambridge: CUP, 1980); Domenico De' Paoli, *Monteverdi: Lettere, Dediche e Prefazioni* (Rome: Edizioni de Santis, 1973).

Analysing paratexts: terminology and a literary basis

Scholars have taken the approach of analysing paratexts in the search for self-fashioning and attempts by authors to exert control over their public reception. These form part of a broader field of research centred on early modern print culture. A few such studies have proved particularly influential upon my research. The 2008 collection of studies on motet book liminaries, edited by Ignace Bossuyt, Nele Gabriëls, Dirk Sacré, Demmy Verbeke, has provided valuable examples of paratextual analysis and a rich vocabulary to utilise in my study of dedications.[10] Kirsten Gibson's study on the "Authorial Self-Fashioning in John Dowland's Printed Books" (2007) has been particularly instructive. Though perhaps not directly comparable in chronology and geography, her work still provides an excellent example of an early-modern musician using self-fashioning to impact their public reception so as to achieve financial benefits and increase their social status.[11] There are notable distinctions between print culture in England and Italy. Gibson is concerned with the English convention for composers and authors spurning print. Printing one's works was associated with trying to make money and was therefore considered undignified and objectionable. This was certainly not the case in Italy, nor continental Europe in general, where, as the study by Jane Bernstein has shown, musicians actively and frequently printed their works as a means of building a reputation and furthering their career.[12] As Gibson demonstrates, Dowland chose to publish compositions in order to draw attention to 'his position as the originator of his songs and claims […] intellectual ownership of his compositions long before the modern legal concepts of intellectual property rights or copyright had come into being'.[13] This speaks to the struggle for control over Dowland's public image, and to the desire of the musician to be recognised for his works. In much the same way, Monteverdi published works that, through their dedications (which share a similar

[10] Ignace Bossuyt et. al., '*Cui dono lepidum novum labellum?*' *Dedicating Latin Works and Motets in the Sixteenth Century* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2008).
[11] Kirsten Gibson, "'How hard an enterprise it is': Authorial Self-Fashioning in John Dowland's Printed Books," in *Early Music History*, vol. 26 (2007): 43-90.
[12] Bernstein, *Music Printing in the Sixteenth Century: The Scotto Press (1539-1572)*.
[13] Gibson, "'How hard an enterprise it is': Authorial Self-Fashioning in John Dowland's Printed Books," 46.

format with those crafted by Dowland and his contemporaries), express a desire for recognition and authority over his works and over his intellectual property.[14] Gibson borrows from Martha Feldman the concept of 'strategizing of fame'.[15] It describes a shift in publishing fashions, from composer anonymity in musical anthologies, to clear acknowledgement of composer authorship. Through the acknowledgement of their authorship, composers gained the ability to 'confer fame, to construct fame for another or to exchange fame through panegyrics, *sonetti-risposti*, *capitoli*, and other forms of praise and dialogue'.[16] In the context of the texts related specifically to the 'Monteverdi-Artusi Controversy' (see page 39 onwards) this description of 'strategizing fame' is particularly relevant, though, in the case of Monteverdi, is perhaps better applied to the publishers of his works, rather than Monteverdi. Gibson makes it clear that using paratexts within a printed work as a means to disseminate a self-fashioned public persona was a common strategy, not only in England, but in Italy too. She cites Haar's assessment of Orlando di Lasso as a composer whose works were 'published and republished' because of his reputation, a reputation that was based on the 'variety and quality of his music', though paradoxically, 'it was through the medium of print that his international fame was circulated and increased'.[17] Another example, adduced by Gibson, is Gioseffo Zarlino who used printed works to 'for 'self-promotion' and 'as a means of not only enhancing, but shaping, his public image; the evidence suggests he was a masterful manipulator of his printed persona''.[18] Gibson makes fascinating cases for these musicians' self-fashioning, but does not consider the role publishers and printers may have had in promoting works, which often involved their intervention

[14] This is in regard to texts that specifically reference to the 'Artusi–Monteverdi Controversy', which will be discussed later in this chapter.
[15] Martha Feldman, "Authors and Anonymous: Recovering the Anonymous Subject in Cinquecento Vernacular Objects," in *Music and the Cultures of Print*, ed. K. van Orden, 163–99 (New York: Taylor and Francis, 2000), 178.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Gibson, "'How hard an enterprise it is': Authorial Self-Fashioning in John Dowland's Printed Books," 55; James Haar, "Orlando di Lasso, Composer and Print Entrepreneur," in *Music and the Cultures of Print*, ed. K. van Orden, 125-163 (New York: Taylor and Francis, 2000), 126-127.
[18] Gibson, "'How hard an enterprise it is': Authorial Self-Fashioning in John Dowland's Printed Books," 55; C. C. Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory: Hearing with the Eyes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 188.

through the writing of dedications; printers could even outsource this job to a third party, to 'men of letters', as Bernstein describes.[19]

Much of the terminology used to analyse the dedications draws on Demmy Verbeke's systematic study into dedicatory tropes in ancient and in Classically influenced works. As Verbeke notes, in ancient texts, 'formulaic elements started to develop, such as (honest or feigned) modesty towards one's own work or talent, a request for corrections, […] remarks about the structure and content of the work, or the indication that the author only decided to publish this work at the request of the dedicatee'.[20] Many of these elements appear frequently in Monteverdi's dedicatory paratexts. The use of dedicatory tropes situated Monteverdi within a literary culture stretching back as far as Archimedes and, notably, enjoyed its heyday in the 16th century.[21] The adoption of the dedicatory style, though standard practice, can be read as fashioning. Through its adherence to convention, a trope-filled dedication expressed a sense of legitimacy and propriety.

These studies, alongside others referenced in this chapter, reflect a growing interest in the synthesis of public image and celebrity across historical studies in general, providing an apt environment in which to present this study of Monteverdi. Including a case study of (self-)fashioning and the creation of a public persona within a study of brand, reception, transmission and dissemination, as I have chosen to do, provides context and enrichment, creating a fuller historical picture. In the process of reception, for example, the audience need something they can tangibly receive, such as print. The medium of print (and other customised books) allowed Monteverdi to exert control over his reception, more so than through any other medium. Self-fashioning was the primary means of exercising that control, and the dedicatory paratext was a manifestation of self-fashioning. As Mary

[19] Bernstein, *Music Printing in the Sixteenth Century: The Scotto Press (1539-1572)*, 147.
[20] Demmy Verbeke, "The dedicatory epistle in an historical perspective: a brief overview," *De Gulden Passer*, vol. 89, (2011), 269. Verbeke explains 'press to distribute their editions of classical texts and their own works. The dedicatory epistle quickly established itself as an essential part of the printed book during the 16th century, to the extent that contemporaries considered publications without a dedication as 'headless' or 'incomplete' objects'' (271). For more explanation of this claim, see pp. 271-272.
[21] Verbeke, "The dedicatory epistle in an historical perspective: a brief overview," 269 & 271.

S. Lewis wrote: '[p]aratexts certainly influence the reception of the text and the strategies of the author'.[22]

Since Monteverdi's idea of his (implied or intended) 'audience', or 'readership', is central to my investigation, it is therefore worth a closer definition. Audience, in this chapter, refers to anyone receiving Monteverdi's works, the reputational information within printed works (either through reading it or hearing it second-hand), or both. It is a somewhat fluid term, and is interchangeable with 'public', referring to an unknown public audience from the perspective of the author; an approach taken by Gabriëls.[23] Print runs for music during this period tended to be between 400 and 1,000 copies as standard; up to two or three thousand for 'bestsellers'.[24] Books would often be sold by publisher, and distributed to fairs and bookstores. While these would have mostly been in major cities in Italy, print book trade around Europe was booming, and even books that were not sold over Italian borders could still be obtained by foreign clients via agents and intermediaries. Given the many reissues and reprints Monteverdi's works received between 1592 and 1613,[25] a possible (but entirely speculative) 22,000 printed Monteverdi works could have been on sale.[26] A real-terms customer base would likely be far fewer than that figure, given that an individual could own multiple

[22] Mary S. Lewis, "Introduction," in '*Cui dono lepidum novum labellum?*' *Dedicating Latin Works and Motets in the Sixteenth Century*, eds I. Bossuyt, N. Gabriëls, D. Sacré, D. Verbeke (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2008), 3.

[23] Nele Gabriëls, "Reading (Between) the Lines: What Dedications Can Tell Us," in '*Cui dono lepidum novum labellum?*' *Dedicating Latin Works and Motets in the Sixteenth Century*, eds I. Bossuyt, N. Gabriëls, D. Sacré, D. Verbeke, 65-80 (Leuven University Press: Leuven, 2008), 73-75.

[24] Bernstein, *Music Printing in the Sixteenth Century: The Scotto Press (1539-1572)*, 11-12; Paul F. Grendler. *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press, 1540–1605* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), 9.

[25] I.e. the Mantuan period, in which the third (1592), fourth (1603) and fifth (1605) books of madrigals, *Scherzi musicali* (1607), *L'Orfeo* (1609) and the Vespers (1610) were printed and reprinted. In addition, the first (1587) and second (1590) books of madrigals were reprinted (both in 1607). *Il terzo libro* had five reprints (1594, 1600, 1604, 1607, 1611), *Il quarto* had three reprints (1605, 1607, 1611), *il quinto* had five reprints (1606, 1608, 1610, 1611, 1613), *Scherzi* had one reprint (1609), *L'Orfeo* and the Vespers were published once.

[26] This is calculated by adding up the number of editions (produced between 1592-1613) of Monteverdi's first, second, third, fourth and fifth books of madrigals, *Scherzi musicali*, *L'Orfeo* and the Vespers (1610), and multiplying by the upper estimate of print run size (1,000), which is rather unlikely. This is excluding any residual copies of his earlier prints that may still have been on sale, and the print collections containing works by him (such as Antonio Morsolino's *Il primo libro delle canzonette a 3 voci . . . con alcune altre de diversi eccellenti musici*, Venice: Amadino, 1594).

copies of different works.[27] However, conceiving of an audience size based on these figures is impossible, as no matter how many purchased the books, they could change hands, and be used by various individuals, not just the book's initial purchaser. Price is another unknown factor. Carter worked out that Caccini's *L'Euridice* score, published in 1602 (Florence: Marescotti) and sold in Florence in 1603, was valued at 2 Lira (L.) per copy, and that his *Le nuove musiche* (Florence: Marescotti, 1602, sold at Marescotti's shop in 1603) was valued at L.1.13.4 per copy, though each copy would likely have been sold at 10% more by the shop. Carter believed that, in Venice, prices were possibly as much as half that of Florence – a result of the more established and competitive market.[28] Factors such as the number of pages per book and the complexity of its printing would impact the price. Monteverdi's madrigal books, a standard quarto format with minimal complexity, from a printer's perspective, could therefore have been considered affordable to a social class with disposable income (which was still a minority of the population).[29]

[27] Immediately this should be issued with many caveats: we do not know that all prints were sold, we do not know how many customers bought multiple copies of works and/or editions, we do not know how many copies were printed as part of a reissue (indeed, we have no confirmation that 1,000 was the print run size for Monteverdi's works). We know that in Venice, to achieve a privilege, the printer had to commit to 400 prints as a minimum run size; *Scherzi* was the only Mantuan work with a privilege. Regarding the contemporary privilege rules, see Richard J. Agee, "The Venetian Privilege and Music-Printing in the Sixteenth Century," *Early Music History* 3 (1983), particularly p.7. However, for purely speculative purposes, if every work (including reissues, assuming reissues had the same print run size as originals) were sold to an individual, and each individual wanted a copy of as many different Monteverdi works as possible, there would be a minimum customer base of 6,000 individuals. 1,000 customers could have purchased a copy of all eight works (as there was only one reissue of the first and second books of madrigals, and no reissues of *L'Orfeo* or the Vespers during the period); 1,000 customers could have purchased a copy of the third, fourth and fifth books of madrigals and a *Scherzi*; 2,000 could have purchased a copy of the third, fourth and fifth madrigal books; 2,000 could have purchased a copy of books 3 and 5, creating a minimum total of 6,000 customers. There are many issues and assumptions made by this sum, it is merely here to illustrate some potential numbers, given the general ambiguity attached to any discussion of readership/audience size.

[28] Tim Carter, "Music-Printing in Late Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth-Century Florence: Giorgio Marescotti, Cristofano Marescotti and Zanobi Pignoni," *Early Music History*, vol. 9 (1990), 63-64.

[29] The Venetians had some of the highest wages in Europe between 1600-20, according to data on 'unskilled' labourers pay in grams of silver per day. See Jan L. Van Zanden, "Wages and the Standard of Living in Europe, 1500-1800," *European Review of Economic History* 2, vol. 3 (1999): 175–97. Unskilled labourers' wages are theoretically indicative of wages more broadly across the class spectrum. None of this information confirms any facts regarding Monteverdi's potential audience, but it could indicate that Monteverdi's audience may have consisted largely of middle-upper class Venetians, and that his works may have been less accessible in other cities/countries in Europe during this period. Dissemination of Monteverdi works in German-speaking lands increased significantly from 1620 onwards, perhaps in correlation with increased wages, among other factors.

Verbeke introduced the helpful term 'double audience' into scholarly discourse. It is used in his discussion of dedications and paratexts to explain how texts could target two different groups. Firstly, the named dedicatee, and secondly, each and every person who read the dedication.[30] The concept of a 'double audience' highlights how, despite only one audience member being named, the author sought to address the public too, intending the pseudo-private message to be received publicly. Nele Gabriëls described the printed work as functioning 'on the interface of the public and the private domain', and stressed the significance of the public audience in both the eyes of the composer and the dedicatee/patron:[31]

> [T]he public is the actual cause of the patron's need for the composer. As a result, the composer can use this public as a witness of a private yet professional relation with his patron. The public then serves as a counterbalance against the uncertainty of an asymmetrical patron-client relation: the buyers are bystanders to the declaration of this relation.

Gabriël's statement stresses the potential power of a dedication in the public sphere. Not only did the public audience's opinions and perceptions matter to the composer, but to the patron also. A dedication that venerated a patron for their purported greatness, good taste and virtue impacted public opinion. Despite the ubiquity and (probable) inauthenticity of the sentiments expressed therein, a positive narrative still held clout.

In this chapter, I will analyse the paratexts in Monteverdi's published works during the 'Mantuan period': his third (1592), fourth (1603) and fifth (1605) book of madrigals, *Scherzi musicali* (1607), *L'Orfeo* (1609) and the Vespers (1610). The purpose of analysing the paratexts is to identify narratives that construct Monteverdi's brand, and to illustrate how the narratives changed and adapted to real-world factors, such as public criticism. I will show how other individuals influenced, and in some cases, intervened in Monteverdi's paratextual fashioning, subsequently impacting his brand. Similarly, I will give evidence of others using their print works in ways that may have influenced Monteverdi's brand. A defining factor in the Monteverdi paratexts was the 'Artusi–

[30] Verbeke, "The dedicatory epistle in an historical perspective: a brief overview," 270.
[31] Gabriëls, "Reading (Between) the Lines: What Dedications Can Tell Us," 73-74.

Monteverdi Controversy'. The paratexts took on a specific function, particularly in the heat of the controversy, which allows this study to move from an analysis of paratextual tropes to a broader investigation of how print formed Monteverdi's brand during this period. These Monteverdi works have been studied by numerous scholars for their musical and historiographical content, but have never been considered together in the context of their paratexts, for their role in making 'Monteverdi'.[32]

A few themes form a red thread through Monteverdi's dedicatory texts. These themes imply their own significance as part of paratextual fashion, and their perceived success at actually impacting Monteverdi's reputation amongst his audiences. Permanence, both of his work and reputation, is a common theme of Monteverdi's dedications. Treatment of the theme is dynamic; it changes in magnitude between the first dedication to Duke Vincenzo and the final Mantuan dedication to Pope Paul V. The second recurrent motif is that of biological generation and procreation. Monteverdi's texts stress his paternity over his musical pieces by describing them as fruits from flowers, children or offspring. These metaphors, as Gibson had established in relation to Dowland, indicate authorship over his works, whilst also using diminutive terminology to create the sense of innocence and purity in his pieces, that they may not be judged too harshly by critics.[33] The protection of, and association with, a powerful patron was another staple of Monteverdi's dedications, and those of Monteverdi's contemporaries. In her thesis on the madrigals of Giaches de Wert, Treloar shows a similar

[32] Why scholars have not taken this approach in the past is unclear. Perhaps because there is unavoidably a speculatory element to this kind of study involving reputation, (and/) or perhaps because the concepts of brand and fashioning emphasise the synthetic nature of Monteverdi's public image, which could de-romanticise his historical status. There is also the fact that concepts of brand and media are relatively new and are certainly historically removed from the early modern period. However, as discussed in the introduction, these terms help to identify many promotional behaviours that are congruent with, if not identical to, those in action today. Tim Carter, in three particular studies, analysed Monteverdi paratexts in relation to the Artusi Controversy, creating a basis for some of this discussion: Tim Carter, "Cerberus Barks in Vain: Poetic Asides in the Artusi–Monteverdi Controversy," *The Journal of Musicology* 4, vol. 29 (2012): 461–76; Tim Carter, "'E in Rileggendo Poi Le Proprie Note': Monteverdi Responds to Artusi?" *Renaissance Studies* 1, vol. 26 (2012): 138–55; Tim Carter, "Artusi, Monteverdi, and the Poetics of Modern Music," in *Musical Humanism and its Legacy: Essays in Honor of Claude V. Palisca*, ed. Nancy Kovaleff Baker and Barbara Russano Hanning, 171–94 (New York: Pendragon Press, 1992).

[33] Gibson, "'How hard an enterprise it is': Authorial Self-Fashioning in John Dowland's Printed Books," 46.

attentiveness in highlighting the relationship between the composer and his works' patrons.[34] Expression of allegiance, loyalty and dedication to a patron showed the composer's respect for their master. At the same time, it showed a public audience that this work and, by extension, its composer, was under the protection of a high-status individual, impacting the composer's status and warding off critics or copycats.

Using a selection of terminology and critical tools offered by Gibson, Verbeke and others, I will first identify the tropes prevalent in dedicatory texts, using the third book of madrigals as a model. Then, I will turn my attention to the more contextual content in the paratexts, i.e. the material in the texts included for reasons other than necessity or as rhetorical devices. This material was almost entirely aimed at the secondary, public audience, with the purpose of building Monteverdi's brand.

Il terzo libro de madrigali (1592): A model of dedicatory tropes

Between the publication of his second (Venice: Gardano, 1590) and third book of madrigals (Venice: Amadino, 1592), Monteverdi entered the service of the Duke of Mantua. He initially contracted as a string player for the Duke's chapel, one of three musical *cappelle* present in Mantua at that time.[35] The Duke's private chapel was under the direction of Giaches de Wert, and they performed a multitude of sacred and secular musical duties for the Duke and his household. Unsurprisingly, Monteverdi's new employer and patron became the dedicatee of the *Terzo libro di madrigali*. This dedication to Vincenzo Gonzaga sheds light on Monteverdi's brand building in the context of his new environment, which broadly encompassed his new role in Mantua, his new social status and his newly developing social and career networks.

[34] Stephanie L. Treloar, "The Madrigals of Giaches De Wert: Patrons, Poets and Compositional Procedures" (PhD Thesis, Harvard University, 2003), 8.
[35] Roger Bowers, "Monteverdi at Mantua, 1590–1612," in J. Whenham & R. Wistreich (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Monteverdi*, 53-75 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 53-55.

Verbeke stated that 'a powerful patron could add considerable authority to a publication', allowing Monteverdi to draw status and recognition from Duke Vincenzo's reputation.[36] The dedication also allowed Monteverdi to publicly broadcast his new role, alongside other information which, combined with the standard dedicatory tropes, formed a panegyrical device with which to instantiate his brand identity as a musician of status and talent. Dated 27th June 1592, within the heyday of the dedicatory epistles,[37] the dedication to Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga bears many of the typical dedicatory hallmarks. Perhaps the most striking, repeated metaphor throughout the dedication is the one which identifies Monteverdi as a flowering and fruiting plant, and Vincenzo as his 'sun'. It is the first example of the 'biological' motif which recurs across many of the dedications. This, alongside other tropes, will be identified and analysed in this section, before the contextual information is addressed.

> From that day, Most Serene Prince, when to my rare good fortune I came to serve Your Highness, I have had no greater thought, nor more anxious care, than to act in such a way that you can in some way see that you have not proffered your grace to a useless and lazy servant, for just as any plant which is not barren produces fruit after flowers, so in my profession of music, although with the most noble practice of the viola which opened the fortunate gate of your service, I do not fail in offering my due servitude, nonetheless it does not seem to me to have provided in serving you anything but flowers, but these [madrigals], being more permanent, more resemble fruit. I now dedicate them to Your Most Serene Highness with all possible reverence, entreating you that you should deign to accept them kindly even if they are perhaps bitter and insipid to your most refined taste, but yet conceived and made for you and therefore not entirely unworthy of your grace. It pleases me to hope that just as the sun draws a plant's virtue from its roots into flowers, and from flowers into fruit, so Your Most Serene Highness, whom with great reason I should call my sun both for the effects which you produce in me and for the valour which shines in you, should be such that you grant me your customary kindness, for if my skill flowered for you in playing the viola, with its fruits now maturing it can more worthily and more perfectly serve you.[38]

[36] Verbeke, "The dedicatory epistle in an historical perspective: a brief overview," 272. For example, Thomas Luís de Victoria and his dedicatee, Carlo Borromeo On the patronage relationship between Victoria and Borromeo, see Daniel V. Filippi, "Carlo Borromeo and Tomás Luis De Victoria: A Gift, Two Letters and a Recruiting Campaign." *Early Music* 1, vol. 43 (2015): 37-51.
[37] Verbeke, "The dedicatory epistle in an historical perspective: a brief overview," 271.
[38] Translation is taken from Paolo Fabbri, "Mantua," in *Monteverdi*, trans. Tim Carter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) 27-28. For original text, see Appendix 1.1. (page 267).

An exemplar of the botanical trope, this text emphasised Monteverdi's organic relationship with his works or 'produce'.[39] Stressing authorial agency and legitimacy was important to those whose work was being distributed in print. [40] Agency could be achieved by stating the composer's name and relationship with their work, and legitimacy, by stating the patron's name and relationship with the composer. Monteverdi's extended metaphor assigns to Vincenzo in the quasi-divine status of the 'sun', giving life to the plant and enabling its production of flowers and subsequently, fruits.

Biologically speaking, the sun enables a plant to undergo transpiration, opening the stomata for evaporation, which draws up water and nutrients from the soil. From Monteverdi's perspective, the Duke determined which of his employees could benefit from the rich soil that was the court. The opportunities and material benefits available could greatly enhance one's life and career, should one be afforded access.[41] These benefits are not referred to directly (for fear of decimating the careful balance between gratitude, humility and self-promotion, perhaps), rather, the 'virtue' drawn up by a plant through its roots under the light of the sun is described. Importantly, the framing of these benefits, or 'virtue', in a botanical metaphor implied that it was mutually beneficial for Monteverdi to be supported and nurtured through the Duke's patronage, as a plant's increased nutritional intake leads to better-tasting, higher-quality fruits.[42] Virtue also speaks to utility, and the fulfilment of purpose. The purpose of a plant is for it to successfully fruit and reproduce, thus being a good patron to Monteverdi allowed him to fulfil his purpose of creating musical works, making virtue a necessary complement to patronage. This botanical metaphor consistently affirms that, as Monteverdi's master, employer, financer, and patron, the Duke was responsible for the success and protection of Monteverdi's works (and by extension, of Monteverdi). In declaring the Duke's essential role in the

[39] Gibson, "'How hard an enterprise it is': Authorial Self-Fashioning in John Dowland's Printed Books," 46.
[40] Lewis, "Introduction," 3 & 6.
[41] On the fascinating patronage (and employment) activities of Duke Vincenzo, see: Anne MacNeil, "The Nature of Commitment: Vincenzo Gonzaga's Patronage Strategies in the Wake of the Fall of Ferrara," *Renaissance Studies* 3, vol. 16 (2002): 392–403.
[42] It could also be noted that transpiration results in oxygen being released into the atmosphere whilst carbon dioxide is removed and turned into sugars; Monteverdi's good treatment would, therefore, purify the atmosphere and environment of the court. This is, perhaps, overly scientific for Monteverdi's metaphor.

creation of these (and other) works, Monteverdi implied that the Duke had 'skin in the game'. Should he be displeased with Monteverdi's output, then he need only increase his support of the composer.

While the Duke is given the highest authority over Monteverdi,[43] the metaphor identifies Monteverdi as the 'originator' of his music. As well as affirming authorship, the natural imagery gives rise to the concept of his 'natural' talent, which naturally culminated in the production of a work. This is a humanistic trope. Not only was music itself synonymous with the natural order of the world (if only symbolically in early modern Classical thought), but Monteverdi's (implied) natural talent was also part of a humanistic ideal of eloquence. Self-improvement through practice and study (*studia*) combined with natural ability (*ingenium*) were the key ingredients, and both are evoked in this metaphor.[44] The concept of self-improvement is reflected in the dedication with the reference to Monteverdi's fruits 'maturing' under the 'sun' (or rather, through the opportunities granted him by the Duke). His *studia*, synonymous with his improvement as a musician, is implied through his graduation from producing performances (flowers) to producing published compositions (fruits). The display of eloquence, or even simply giving a nod to its general concepts (*ingenium* and *studia*), gave this dedication a humanistic flavour, adhering to fashion rather than articulating anything unique about Monteverdi or his pursuit of eloquence.

The dedication also features some of the other 'formulaic elements' described by Verbeke. Prominently, the 'honest or feigned modesty', which can be seen here in numerous forms. This element was important for sustaining the balance or 'tension' between humility and self-promotion,

[43] The description of the Duke's role in Monteverdi's career conforms to one of Verbeke's 'formulaic elements' found in dedications; 'an account of the relation between the author and the dedicatee'. Verbeke, "The dedicatory epistle in an historical perspective: a brief overview," 270.

[44] See section "The humanist milieu" on pages 157-175 of P. Baker, "The Triumph of Cicero," in *Italian Renaissance Humanism in the Mirror*, 133-83 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015). For Latin terms specifically, see footnote 108 on p.157. This being said, for flowers to become fruits, pollination must occur (not that Monteverdi would know this as pollination was formally discovered in the mid eighteenth century by Kölreuter), meaning that again, impetus is put upon the environment created by the Duke at court to enable the kind of maturation of skills needed for Monteverdi to go from producing flowers (playing the viola) to producing fruits (publishing his compositions).

which Lewis described as 'characteristic of the sixteenth-century dedication'.[45] Coyly musing that his works may be 'bitter and insipid to [the Duke's] most refined taste', the negative speculation over the quality of Monteverdi's works adheres to the necessary modesty quota, rather than expressing real concern.[46] Bitterness, botanically speaking, corresponds with insufficient exposure to sunlight. Therefore, it is implied that a lack of the Duke's patronage (i.e. the sun) would invoke bitter works, while his increased support and patronage would create sweeter works (again, the implication that the Duke had a responsibility to cultivate Monteverdi for the Duke's own benefit). Much the same language of servitude, devotion, gratitude, and dependence (as indicated by the 'sun' metaphor) is present in the dedicatory texts of composers such as Dowland, in order to adhere to convention.[47] In offering a negative pre-conception of the Duke's reception, the dedication provides a caveat. If the audience, specifically Monteverdi's public audience, did not enjoy his compositions, or think very highly of them, then he had already accepted their flaws. His self-purported purpose in composing and printing this work was simply to serve the Duke, after all. Monteverdi allowed himself to be judged by the Duke alone, as his music was 'conceived and made for' him. This strategy of pre-emptive defence was given the name *paratonnerres*, or lightning rods, by Gérard Genette in his iconic study of paratexts.[48]

In addition to the dedicatory tropes are more personal, contextual statements. This was information that would have been known to the Duke, and so clearly serves the purpose of informing the public (as opposed to the 'addressed') audience. The framing of these pieces of information is also important, as it affects audience interpretation. For example, the line 'to my rare good fortune I came to serve Your Highness' informed the audience that Monteverdi had recently entered the

[45] Lewis, "Introduction," 6.
[46] This line is almost identical to one of Dowland's, suggesting the trope's ubiquity; 'these my first fruits, which how they will thriue with your taste I know not'. Gibson, "'How hard an enterprise it is': Authorial Self-Fashioning in John Dowland's Printed Books," 46.
[47] Gibson's characterisation of Dowland's self-depiction bears a strong affinity with that of Monteverdi: 'bound by convention, Dowland, as author, is inevitably presented as a dutiful, devoted, grateful and dependent servant'. Ibid., 75.
[48] G. Genette, *Seuils* (Paris: Seuil, 1987); English translation by Jane E. Lewis as *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 192.

employ of the Duke of Mantua. The framing of this statement could have been seen as a display of humility, though Monteverdi's perceived lack of fortune is a recurrent feature of his personal letters and private self-fashioning. Perhaps it was merely another humanistic flourish, made appropriate by the prevalence of 'fortune' as a long-standing trope in humanist culture.[49]

To further shape his reputation, the author declared that it was Monteverdi's 'most noble practice of the viola which opened the fortunate gate of [the Duke's] service'. As discussed, performance plays a specific role in this dedication, representing ephemerality by comparison to printed compositions. However, the mention of Monteverdi's skills as a performer had an underlying benefit. In singling-out his string playing as the skill which his employment at the court was founded, Monteverdi is defined principally as a performer. Spreading this reputation would have been difficult to do as a relatively small-scale performer in a court environment, where only limited audiences may have seen him play. Creating a brand required publishing works, but it seems Monteverdi did not want to be solely known for his compositions. If he wanted to keep his employment options open, or simply bolster and control his reputation outside of the court, emphasising these performance skills in his published works was one way to do so. Potential patrons could access his compositions and judge those skills for themselves, but they also received the message that Monteverdi was a multitalented musician who had been hired for his excellent string playing. He was attempting to guide the audience's imaginations by creating the subtle promise of even greater skills than those evident in his compositions.

This close reading of the *Terzo libro*'s dedication is useful as a model of dedicatory tropes and it, in part, helps to situate this study within a particular field of research. However, this close analysis tells but one part of the story, and only its more superficial part. Creating a brand for Monteverdi was well within the Duke's reputational interests, as dedicatee and employer, but in addition to this, the

[49] Likely inspired by Petrarch's *De remediis utriusque fortunae* (c.1354); Francesco Petrarca and Conrad H. Rawski. *Petrarch's Remedies for Fortune Fair and Foul: A Modern English Translation of De Remediis Utriusque Fortune, with a Commentary* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991).

Duke may also have provided the funds for the publication.[50] This financial element created a dynamic between the Duke and the publisher. The publisher (and printer, in this instance, Ricciardo Amadino) was paid (at least in part) to publish the work, which would enable him to profit from the work's success. Therefore, it was within the interests of Amadino that the work sold well, which could point to his influence within paratexts, particularly the dedications. Not only was it key that the publisher showed gratitude to the Duke for funding the publication, but that the work then did well, for all parties involved. This meant creating Monteverdi as an icon and developing his brand were within the scope and interests of Amadino.

The (self-)fashioning exhibited here was an attempt at broadening Monteverdi's reputation, likely based on a perceived need to diversify his musical talents as part of his public image. The casual reference to Monteverdi's other musical ability could come under the rubric of 'strategizing fame'. In this example, his strategy prevented him from being pigeonholed as just one type of musician or another by claiming to be particularly skilled at whatever it was that the audience were not currently experiencing, in this case, as a performer of stringed instruments. This is made more significant by the possibility that Monteverdi may not even have been particularly renowned at court as a string player during this period. Monteverdi biographer, Domenico De' Paoli, compared this dedication to a note of 1594 by Giovanni Cossa which described Monteverdi as a 'singer of His Highness'.[51] None of this precludes Monteverdi from having been a string player, but it makes the reference to viol playing particularly noteworthy, given the uncertain makeup of this work's audience. Were Monteverdi to require alternative employment, this book would likely have been used as an example of his skills. As such, its presentation of Monteverdi as diversely talented would be important, and the mention of these viol skills would bear relevance.

[50] Iain Fenlon, *Music and Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Mantua: Volume 1* (Cambridge: Cambrdige University Press, 1980), 85.
[51] De' Paoli, *Monteverdi: Lettere, Dediche e Prefazioni*, 385.

Il quarto libro de madrigali (1603)

It was eleven years before Monteverdi's fourth collection of madrigals was published. There could be many reasons for this extended gap. Monteverdi may have been preoccupied with other events, including a journey to Hungary as 'maestro di cappella' in the Duke's musical retinue (1595), travels to Flanders, Spa and across much of Europe (again as part of Duke Vincenzo's musical retinue, this time during his 1599 'pleasure tour'), and his appointment as *maestro della musica* in 1601.[52] To fill the lacuna between the third and fourth madrigal books, Amadino reissued *Il terzo libro* in 1594 and 1600. In 1594, Monteverdi was asked to contribute four *canzonette* to an anthology of 'various excellent musicians' by Antonio Morsolino.[53] Not only does this indicate the popularity of *Il terzo libro*, but perhaps that Monteverdi (or Amadino) felt he had time before he needed to publish new material. In 1597, Monteverdi's music was also published on the international stage; a selection of his madrigals from books two and three were included in Kauffman's anthology of 'most excellent' Italian composers.[54] The anthology contained a mixture of named and unattributed works. Monteverdi's were successfully attributed to him, suggesting that his name had already garnered enough renown for it to be a relevant detail. Monteverdi's dedication of *Il quarto libro* claims that he had been far from idle during these eleven years, which were spent composing for the Duke of Ferrara. In fact, a letter from Valeriano Cattaneo to the Duke of Ferrara's wife, Margherita Gonzaga, informs us that Monteverdi had been asked to send compositions, and was interested in sending more.[55] Fabbri suggested that Monteverdi was hopeful of receiving a new position in Ferrara, as in 1596, the position of *maestro di cappella* in Mantua was awarded to Benedetto Pallavicino (c.1551-1601), rather than to Monteverdi. However, in 1597, Duke Alfonso d'Este II died, opening a political chasm in which Ferrara came to be annexed to the Papal States in 1598. Despite this, in 1603, Monteverdi dedicated his fourth book of madrigals to a new academy in Ferrara: the *Academia degli*

[52] Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, 30.
[53] Antonio Morsolino, *Il primo libro delle canzonette a tre voci* (Venice: Ricciardo Amadino, 1594).
[54] Paul Kauffman, *Fiori del giardino di diversi eccellentissimi autori* 4–9vv. (Nuremberg: Kauffman, 1597).
[55] Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, 32-33. Four canzonettas were sent from Monteverdi, and the duchess was told that if she sent texts, Monteverdi would set them to music for her.

Intrepidi. The Academy was founded by Francesco Saracini in 1600-1601, alongside other influential Ferrarese families, in an attempt to preserve and continue Ferrara's cultural output after the death of Alfonso d'Este (and subsequent devolution of the court).[56] Prominent among the concerns of the academy was the conservation of the city's musical reputation, including offering patronage to musicians, as the Este family had famously done for centuries.[57] The academy was responsible for many regular musical showcases, and for creating performance spaces, such as the Teatro di San Lorenzo.[58] The academy held lectures, debates and speeches on a range of scholarly subjects, by way of keeping academia, scholarship and the city's cultural relevance alive. All of this is to say that, although not the Este family, the academy was a reasonable substitute as patron of Monteverdi's work.

> Since in past years I was unable to present some of my madrigals in manuscript to the Most Serene Alfonso, Duke of Ferrara, because of the intervention of his death, now that there has arisen in that city a prince and head of a noble gathering of knights, friends and those who carry out virtuous actions gathered within a well-attended academy such as that of your most illustrious lordship; and finding myself not only loving all of you with devotion but also eternally obliged for the many favours received with diverse honourable demonstrations towards me and towards my offspring such as they are, I have thought it fitting not to depart from the same city, to which I am much inclined, and to acknowledge the same knights my lords with all due gratitude, presenting and dedicating to you as I do with all the affection of my soul both them and other new madrigals now printed.[59]

This dedication stands in marked contrast to its direct precursor. This is mainly due to the change in the tone of the language in the text. Though not long after the dedication's 'heyday',[60] there do seem to be distinct changes, namely in how (less) vehemently Monteverdi sought to revere his patrons in this text, though there could be many reasons for this other than the eleven-year time difference. Monteverdi dedicated this work to a collective of patrons rather than a single individual. This has implications for the publication costs. Rather than one patron funding the venture, an

[56] Harriet Apperson Franklin, "Musical Activity in Ferrara, 1598 to 1618," (PhD Thesis, Brown University, 1976). Franklin provides an excellent overview of the activities and function of the academy, and the role it played in sustaining a musical culture in Ferrara after the devolution of the court.
[57] Franklin, "Musical Activity in Ferrara," 230-240.
[58] Ibid., 234.
[59] Translation from Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, 56. For original text, see Appendix 1.2. (page 267).
[60] A period in the sixteenth century that Verbeke noted for the ubiquity of the dedicatory epistle. Verbeke, "The dedicatory epistle in an historical perspective: a brief overview," 271.

academy had done so, necessitating a shift in venerating an individual to paying tribute to a group with their own brand.[61] The one person to receive a named reference was dead, which is pertinent also. There is much less in the way of personal context in this dedication – for example, the text's author chose not to go into detail about Monteverdi's new position as *maestro della musica*, choosing simply to print his new title on the book's title page. This still had the function of prominently advertising his achievement; Gabriëls stated that liminary texts including title pages could function as spaces to advertise information about the composer.[62] Monteverdi's brand, in this text, is instead moulded around his association with the academy.

The concept of audience becomes more complex when analysing this dedication, in comparison to the previous example. Notably, there is not one dedicatee, but a whole academy, and one deceased would-be patron, or so it is implied. In analysing this particular text, there are also multiple levels of public audience to consider, each with more specific contextual knowledge than the last. These levels are by no means exhaustively descriptive, but I believe they are helpful when delving into the potential interpretations of this dedication. I will begin with the most accessible interpretation of Monteverdi's dedication, intended for the least initiated of the public audience (meaning, those with little to no knowledge of the musical culture of Mantua or Ferrara), before discussing two more contextually-dependent readings of the text.

Members of the academy included Enzo Bentivoglio, Don Carlo Malespino, and the Goretti brothers, as well as prominent musicians such as Belli and Luzzaschi.[63] In displaying Monteverdi's gratitude publicly, the author was able to describe the relationship Monteverdi shared (or would like his audience to imagine him sharing) with the academy, without giving specific details. Indeed, this approach was notable for its ability to encourage patrons into living up to the idealised versions of

[61] Dedications to academies were commonplace. See Jane A. Bernstein, *Music Printing in the Sixteenth Century: The Scotto Press (1539-1572)*, 146.
[62] Gabriëls, *Reading Between the Lines*, 67.
[63] Franklin, "Musical Activity in Ferrara," 230-235; Anna Valentini, "Iconografia musicale a Ferrara tra XVI e XVII secolo" (PhD Thesis, University of Padua, 2012), 27.

themselves depicted in dedicatory texts. As Gabriëls remarked, the 'idealised image' of the patron, in this case, the academy, 'functions in the area of tension between image and reality'.[64] The patron '(ideally) will need to live up to this image', lest they lose the reputational benefits gained by receiving such a dedication in the first place.[65] As one of the precepts of an academy such as the *Intrepidi* was to support artists and musicians, it seems plausible to read this dedication as an attempt at fashioning a relationship of support, nurture and protection between composer and patron(s). The group are thanked in the dedication for multiple 'favours' and 'demonstrations' they had bestowed upon Monteverdi. This would inform the public audience that he had enjoyed positive reception from this group, and had their support and protection.

While the author expressed Monteverdi's gratitude in extreme terms, it was by no means beyond the bounds of convention. 'Due gratitude' was offered to the patrons, rather than thanking them through boundless hyperbolic metaphors. This could have been part of an attempt at equating Monteverdi's status with theirs. Whilst dedicatory tradition necessitated a degree of deference, there was also the opportunity to align Monteverdi socially with this affluent and learned group. Through this strategy, Monteverdi was styled as a learned musician, who was friendly with, and backed up by, *cognoscenti* of high social status. It is worth bearing in mind that the academy members are never named, they are simply known as 'a prince and head of a noble gathering of knights, friends and those who carry out virtuous actions' or 'knights', 'lords' and 'illustrious Lordships'. Framing the members this way prevented the dedication from becoming list names that his public audience may well never have heard of. The text describes their status and importance instead, again, as a means to style Monteverdi as their equal. There was also the matter of academic

[64] Gabriëls, *Reading Between the Lines*, 74.
[65] Ibid., 75.

tradition. Often academy members would be anonymous or be given nicknames; naming the members may not have been appropriate.[66]

The dedication states that Monteverdi had composed music for Duke Alfonso d'Este. His death occurred six years before the printing of this work. It is probable that the music intended for the Duke was included within this printed work. The final line certainly indicates this, but one wonders why it was necessary to mention the Duke at all. Perhaps in the context of fashioning, this was an opportunity to namedrop in order to accrue status, perhaps feeling the need to establish Monteverdi as a valued individual outside of the Mantuan court. As discussed, the dedicatees of the work were the Ferrarese academy, hence the appropriateness of illustrating Monteverdi's bonds with Ferrara. We know he sent music to Ferrara, and if Fabbri's suspicions, that Monteverdi aspired to a position at the court, were correct, the musician likely felt some disappointment at the fate of the Duke and his disbanded court. Therefore, and perhaps on a more personal level, mentioning the Duke here was Monteverdi's only opportunity to declare their relationship, if such a thing existed, and hope to encourage whatever amount of increased status he could from doing so.

Other high-status musicians had vied for the patronage of Duke Alfonso II, including one of Monteverdi's predecessors, Giaches de Wert.[67] Wert's actions provide an interesting comparison to Monteverdi's dedication. Wert's dedication to the Ferrarese Duke seems to have been criticised, though indirectly, by his predecessor, Benedetto Pallavicino, in two of the latter's dedications addressed to the Gonzaga Duke(s). Wert then seems to have responded with another dedication, this time to the Gonzaga Duke, justifying his decision to make a Ferrarese dedication. The argument that these dedications would have been written and read in light of each other was made by Treloar in her study of Giaches de Wert's madrigals, in which she employed a close reading of his dedicatory

[66] Palisca touches on the topic of academic nicknames in his evaluation of candidates for 'L'Ottuso Academico', Monteverdi's (probably not so) secret supporter. See: Claude V. Palisca, "The Artusi–Monteverdi Controversy," 136-139.
[67] Haar, "Orlando di Lasso, Composer and Print Entrepreneur," 134.

texts to form a biography of the musician.[68] From Monteverdi's perspective, the reputational benefits of affiliating himself with Ferrara must have been worth any potential risk, as perhaps he anticipated reaching a similar audience to that of Wert. This may well have been a reasonable assumption, given that the Mantuan and Ferrarese cultural and social circles overlapped substantially. However, like Wert, Monteverdi dedicated all subsequent works to the Gonzaga (while still under their employ), retreating to the protection of his ruling family after receiving public critique. Whilst it is unlikely that Wert was a motivation for the Ferrarese dedication, it may well have been a boon to Monteverdi (and his publisher) to know that audience members could be encouraged to draw parallels between the two composers.

There is more still to be said on the dedication of this work to the *Accademia degli Intrepidi*. The Wert parallels would likely have been drawn by audiences following the musical output of the Mantuan court, or who were acutely interested in the music of Wert and his northern Italian counterparts. Audience members with even more specific knowledge are the target of the final subtextual piece of brand fashioning, the analysis of which was first proffered by Tim Carter.[69] Carter agrees that the dedication to the academy, given Monteverdi's recent promotion to *maestro della musica* under Duke Vincenzo, contradicts expectation. However, his justification for Monteverdi's dedication relates to the notorious 'Artusi–Monteverdi Controversy', the birthplace of which was the home of Antonio Goretti in Ferrara, November 1598.[70] A performance of music, including some of

[68] Treloar, "The Madrigals of Giaches De Wert."

[69] Tim Carter, "'E in Rileggendo Poi Le Proprie Note': Monteverdi Responds to Artusi?". Carter's article is dedicated to identifying Monteverdi's attempts (both subtle and not) to respond to Artusi's criticisms, taking into account the musical pieces within the published books as well as the dedications, and the response given by Monteverdi's brother in *Scherzi Musicali* (1607). In terms of Monteverdi's attempts to build and control his public persona, therefore influencing his reception, it is interesting to imagine the different audiences Monteverdi could have borne in mind when writing his dedications. In the example of book 4, Carter makes a compelling argument that Monteverdi was addressing Artusi (and his supporters), even though it is highly likely that many of the book's audience would have no knowledge whatsoever of Artusi's claims against Monteverdi, as the music Artusi criticised had not yet been published.

[70] Antonio Goretti is an interesting figure – Claude V. Palisca argued that he took on the pseudonym 'L'Ottuso Academico' and wrote in Monteverdi's defence in response to Artusi's criticisms. Anthony Newcomb, among others, does not believe this to be the case, and sadly, it seems there is little remaining evidence regarding Goretti and Monteverdi's relationship. Goretti was a musical denizen, a collector and patron of music, and received four compositional dedications from different musicians between 1596-1636. See Palisca, "The

Monteverdi's pieces, was given, and inspired theoretician and critic Giovanni Maria Artusi to create two works discussing the 'imperfections' of the modern music he had heard in Ferrara, one published in 1600, the other just weeks after the publication of Monteverdi's fourth book in 1603. It is difficult to imagine that Monteverdi's fourth book of madrigals would not have been influenced by the initial set of criticisms, and the timing of Artusi's second publication perhaps suggests that this subject was being kept alive and verbally debated amongst musicians and commentators more generally. The dedication to the academy, in Carter's view, was a means to ground Monteverdi in academic discourse by association with the academy's members, and highlight his music's popularity with the intellectual musical elite of Ferrara. This was not only to bolster his reputation, as previously mentioned, but to enter (subtly) into the academic fray with Artusi (and whomever else was involved in the debate more broadly). In Carter's view, Monteverdi encoded this dedication with an acknowledgement of Artusi's claims, associating the work with the very place Artusi's criticisms were born, and fashioning an alliance with the academy.[71] By alluding to the protection granted by the academy, Monteverdi was informing a niche of his public audience that he and his works would be defended in this matter by this group of influential, intellectual patrons. Perhaps it was also to be read as a call to arms by his Ferrarese friends.

The dedication in Monteverdi's fourth book of madrigals painted him as an erudite musician, whose musical talents were in demand. In it, the author claimed Monteverdi to have enjoyed the patronage of the Duke of Ferrara, and subsequently, special privileges from an academic institution, constituting the high-status individuals with power and affluence. It encouraged Monteverdi's audience to perceive him in a new light, as an individual outside of the Gonzaga court, and as a welcome participant in socially exclusive circles. The dedication connected him to Wert, encouraging

Artusi–Monteverdi Controversy," 127–58; Anthony Newcomb, "Goretti, Antonio," *Grove Music Online* 2001, accessed 27 Jan. 2022.

[71] It may seem a far-fetched assumption, but Carter believes the dedication to be a response to Artusi, in line with standard academic sparring. The 'standard' was to preserve anonymity and subtlety; to respond directly was to legitimise the opponent's argument. See: Carter, "'E in Rileggendo Poi Le Proprie Note': Monteverdi Responds to Artusi?" 146.

the audience to elevate Monteverdi's status to that of his renowned predecessor. It also made clear the degree of academic support that Monteverdi's music had attracted, undermining the negative reception his works had received with subtlety, allowing audience members who had no knowledge of Artusi's criticisms to remain in the dark.

In this assessment of Monteverdi's fashioning in print, it is now necessary to (succinctly) outline the Artusi–Monteverdi Controversy. Although the dedication of *Il quarto libro* does not allude to the Controversy explicitly, its publication falls at a key point within the timeline of the debate. I will first present a brief overview of the debate's content, before giving a timeline of events, to help contextualise the later paratexts, without spending too much time describing the debate. I will then discuss the paratexts printed in Monteverdi's name, introducing ideas around the influence of others who, through print, were able to contribute to the creation of his brand.

The 'Controversy'

Scholars such as Carter, Ossi, Fabbri, Cusick, Litchfield, and Palisca have written in detail about this debate, with countless others contributing valuable scholarship on what is an intriguing nugget of musical history. What makes the Controversy so attractive as a point of study is, among other things, that it is generated a lasting paper trail. Historians can draw on two treatises by Artusi, Monteverdi's *studiosi lettori* response and his brother's *Dichiaratione*, let alone other supporting documents. *L'Artusi overo delle imperfettioni della moderna musica* […] (Venice: Vincenti, 1600) is presented as a dialogue, in which 'Luca', one of the two interlocutors, described an evening of musical performances given at a house in Ferrara in 1598.[72] This evening was based on a real event attended by Artusi, which inspired his treatise on the 'imperfections' he believed to be rife within 'modern' music (*moderna musica*). His view, put in drastically simple terms, was that music ought to satiate

[72] Malcolm Litchfield, *Giovanni Maria Artusi's L'artusi Overo Delle Imperfettioni Della Moderna Musica (1600): A Translation and Commentary* (Published Online: Brigham Young University, 1985), 8-9. Accessed: 2nd June 2023. Both treatises are in dialogue form, with the characters 'Vario' and 'Luca'.

the intellect, and that in order to do this, it must make harmonic sense – dissonance ought to be used in a 'regular manner' and resolved correctly, and the bass line ought to drive the piece as it provided harmonic context.[73] By contrast, Monteverdi's (and others') view was that good music reflected the meaning of the words, thereby satiating one's intellect. However, as Artusi saw music as a science and a product of mathematical functions, his empirical approach was not easily brought into accordance with Monteverdi's semantic, expression-based stance. This reductive overview shows only the tip of the theoretical iceberg; the debate between the two figures is print evidence of a much broader musical discussion which was taking place among their contemporaries. Artusi must have been vocal about his opinions regarding this 'imperfect' music, as in 1599, before the publication of the first treatise, he received a letter (from someone anonymised as 'L'Ottuso academico') defending the work by Monteverdi with which Artusi had taken issue. Palisca suggested that this 'obtuse academic' was probably Antonio Goretti, host of the musical festivities which, in 1598, brought Artusi so much consternation.[74]

Monteverdi was not the sole victim of Artusi's ire, for theoretician Ercole Bottrigari took the lion's share of the limelight in *delle imperfettioni*. Bottrigari's *Il desiderio* (Venice: Amadino, 1594) provides another window into the Ferrarese festivities which drew together a host of musicians (and music lovers) in November 1598; although we cannot be sure who was at the house of Goretti, Bottrigari's work names (particularly because he considered them reputed in 'our modern music') Wert, Spontone, della Porta and Merulo among others who were in Ferrara at the time. This gives us a glimpse into the kind of social network Bottrigari and Monteverdi were operating in and attempting to assimilate themselves with. It was this network of 'modern' musicians that Artusi interacted with, and felt moved to criticise, using Bottrigari and Monteverdi as exemplars.

The following timeline identifies, in succinct form, the key events in the Controversy, which will serve points of reference for the further discussion. It follows the example of a 'Chronology of

[73] Ibid., 4-5, 31-2.
[74] Claude V. Palisca, "The Artusi–Monteverdi Controversy," 137-139.

Events' in Artusi's life and career, found in Litchfield's translation and commentary of Artusi's two treatises.[75]

1598: (November) Artusi attended a gathering at the house of Antonio Goretti in Ferrara at which some of Monteverdi's compositions were performed, including "Cruda Amarilli" (Monteverdi may have been present). Artusi (so claimed Antonio Braccino in 1608) wrote to Monteverdi expressing concern at his use of dissonance.[76]

1599: Artusi returned to Ferrara and received a letter from someone he named 'L'Ottuso Academico' defending the works by Monteverdi. L'Ottuso's identity is still unknown; Artusi himself is one candidate, Antonio Goretti another and Giulio Cesare Monteverdi.[77] Goretti has generally been considered the most likely candidate, though the others can not necessarily be ruled out.

1600: Artusi's first treatise *delle imperfettioni della moderna musica*, in which he presented sections of the letter from 'L'Ottuso Academico', and attacked the theory of Bottrigari and the music of Monteverdi (the latter, anonymously), is published by Vincenti.

1603: Monteverdi's fourth book of madrigals is published by Amadino, dedicating the work to the *Academia degli Intrepidi*. He opened with one of the pieces criticised by Artusi, "O Mirtillo". A few weeks later, Vincenti published Artusi's second treatise *delle imperfettioni*, including the second letter Artusi had received from 'L'Ottuso Academico' in full, and criticising the still-anonymous composer (Monteverdi) for not having responded to his previous criticisms.

1605: Amadino published Monteverdi's fifth book of madrigals, returning to the patronage of Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga, including three paratexts, and importantly naming Monteverdi as the creator of the term 'seconda prattica'. The work included the remainder of the pieces criticised by Artusi in books one and two of *delle imperfettioni*. The third paratext promised a treatise which would explain the *seconda prattica*, and identified Artusi by name as his critic, a move which contradicted the debate tradition of anonymity.

1605-6 (date uncertain): 'Antonio Braccino da Todi', a pseudonym of Artusi, replied to Monteverdi's notion of *seconda prattica* in his publication: *Discorso*, now lost.

1607: Giulio Cesare Monteverdi put together *Scherzi musicali*, published by Amadino. A collection of *scherzi* by Monteverdi (and including two of Giulio's own composition), it is appended by the *Dichiaratione*, an 'explanation of the letter printed in the fifth book of madrigals'.

1608: Braccino's second *Discorso* against Giulio's defence of Monteverdi was published by Vincenti.

1610: Amadino published Monteverdi's *Sanctissimae Virgini missa…ac vespere*, which contains a dedication stating that the composer wishes to 'silence those mouths that utter unjust clauses against Claudio' ('claudantur ora in Claudium loquentium iniqua').

1613: Artusi died, and Monteverdi began his thirty-year career at San Marco in Venice.

1633: Monteverdi wrote to Giovanni Battista Doni claiming that, after hearing Giulio's defence of Monteverdi in *Scherzi* (1607), Artusi had 'calmed down' and 'turned his pen in

[75] Malcolm Litchfield, *Giovanni Maria Artusi's L'artusi Overo Delle Imperfettioni Della Moderna Musica (1600): A Translation and Commentary*, 14-15.
[76] Antonio Braccino da Todi [pseud.], *Discorso secondo musicale* (Venice: Vincenti, 1608), 6.
[77] Claude V. Palisca, "The Monteverdi-Artusi Controversy," 137-140. Palisca discusses a few theories on L'Ottuso's identity.

> [Monteverdi's] praise'.[78] He goes into detail about the treatise he had promised on the *seconda prattica*, the title of which as this time was intended to be *Melody, or the Second Musical Practice*, as opposed to *Seconda prattica, overa Perfettioni della moderna musica* (as was promised by Monteverdi in 1605 and by Giulio in 1607).

Reading the debate events in timeline form illustrates the structured and organised nature of the printed elements, particularly when considered alongside the reprints of Monteverdi's madrigals. Tim Carter first suggested that the role of the printers may have been as engineers of the debate, rather than enablers, in his chapter "Artusi, Monteverdi, and the Poetics of Modern Music" (1992).[79] His observations are worth both elaborating upon and weaving into this present discussion of Monteverdian paratexts and brand building. The concept of brand becomes ever more pertinent when placed in the context of marketing, which would have been an essential to ensuring an income for printers. Though there are many unknowns within the discussion of printing and publishing, such as print run sizes and prices, there are several signs that point to the publicising activities of printers/publishers. To call the Artusi–Monteverdi Controversy a publicity stunt might be somewhat reductive, but it is not necessarily without truth. As the discussion of paratexts continues, the role of printers in creating Monteverdi's brand will be brought into focus.

Il quinto libro de madrigali (1605)

After the second treatise from Vincenti and Artusi in 1603, in 1604, Amadino reprinted Monteverdi's third book of madrigals; its third reprint from the Amadino press in Venice. The following year, the fourth book was reprinted also. That same year, 1605, Amadino published Monteverdi's *Il quinto libro di madrigali*, which contained three paratexts, all of which are significant in the context of the 'Controversy'. The first is a dedication to Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga.

[78] Denis Stevens (ed. and trans.), *The Letters of Claudio Monteverdi* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 421; Venice, 22nd October 1633 to Giovanni Battista Doni in Rome. Florence, Conservatorio di Musica 'Luigi Cherubini', fondo Basevi 2438, vol. xv, fos. 7-9. Bifolio: 4pp.
[79] Carter, "Artusi, Monteverdi, and the Poetics of Modern Music."

> I come to present to Your Most Serene Lordship this my offspring of madrigals, entreating you that just as you have not scorned to hear them many times in your royal chambers while they were written in manuscript, and hearing them gave sign of welcoming them with singular favour, whence you honoured me with the task of heading your most noble music, so now may you welcome them in print, which, under the protection of so great a prince, will live an eternal life to the shame of those tongues which seek to bring death to the works of others.[80]

The pithy account of Monteverdi's rise to master of music, which occurred four years previously, is explained here, seemingly, to draw attention to his high-status role, and to create the illusion of an easy succession to the highest musical rank available at the court. The author's intention is to emphasise the relationship between Monteverdi and the Duke. They played with the boundaries between private and public by referring to the 'many times' these works were performed to the Duke in his private 'royal chambers'. The description conjures the image of a relationship which surpassed the professional and strayed into the personal, painting Monteverdi as a friend or a favourite. Perhaps this reflected a need for Monteverdi to appear close to the Duke for the protection of his reputation and his music's reception. Perhaps, too, by fashioning this relationship, the Duke would be encouraged to make such an image reality. This relationship also suggested to the public audience that Monteverdi only published music that had met with the Duke's approval; that he was only publicising his music (and these events) at the behest of the Duke.[81] Therefore, should anyone seek to criticise his music, such as Artusi, they would be insulting the tastes and actions of the Duke of Mantua. Of course, there is the relationship with the publisher to consider. Protecting Monteverdi's reputation meant protecting Amadino's business interests, and were this text to be read as a call for Vincenzo's attention to Monteverdi's plight, Amadino's voice should be heard as an echo.

[80] Translation taken from Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, 59. For original text, see Appendix 1.3. (page 267).

[81] This strategy was part of how Mary S. Lewis characterised 16th-century dedications: 'Such declarations were often preceded by humble protestations that the work was only brought before the public at the request of friends, the patron, or worthy colleagues'. Lewis, "Introduction," 6. Although Monteverdi did not explicitly state this in book 5's dedication (and despite the recent turn of the century), he implied that this was the case with his narrative, and the description of his relationship with the Duke.

There appears a shift in how the text's author referred to the notion of permanence. Here, the author seems to engage with the idea of permanence and legacy, and by extension, with fame and renown, more so than in previous prints. Under the Duke's protection, the author told the reader that Monteverdi's work would live an 'eternal life', indicating that not only did he hope his work would endure in the public consciousness, but his reputation too. The statement appears a mixture of metaphor and intention, and can be explained contextually. This wish for long-term recognition was common – *fama* had been blowing her trumpet throughout the Classical and Renaissance periods, making fame a staple part of early modern, humanism-inspired culture.[82] Print culture opened up the potential for long-lasting fame to more people. In making physical works, bearing the names and self-fashioned reputations of composers, it was as if a part of themselves could live separately and for longer, and was able to exist in more than one place at a time.[83] Referencing one's own increased renown approach was identified by Gibson in Dowland's work. She described him 'self-referencing his increasing fame and celebrity' in a prefatory text, suggesting that this was both a common and affective way to build a reputation.[84]

This text, though perhaps not immediately referencing the conflict between Monteverdi and Artusi, is put into context by the paratext at the back of the *Quinto libro*. It becomes quite obvious whose 'tongue' was being shamed. Artusi's criticisms of Monteverdi's music associated the composer with secularism, which had moral implications and social significance.[85] The criticisms came at a time when Ferrara was occupied by religious Imperialists, as the city had been ravaged by an ideological battle between sacred (the Holy Roman Empire) and secular (represented, in part, by the ducal court). Association with the latter may have been detrimental to Monteverdi's reception by some

[82] See Petrarch's *Trionfi* for images and references to *Fama*, who 'regularly appears as a sovereign (often winged) that greets (to the sound of winged trumpets) the heroes and wise men around her who are famed for their actions and deeds', as is discussed in Gianni Guastella's book *Word of Mouth: Fama and Its Personifications in Art and Literature from Ancient Rome to the Middle Ages* (Oxford: OUP, 2017), 1-2.
[83] See Elizabeth L. Einstein, "Defining the Initial Shift; Some Features of Print Culture," in *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, 43-160 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).
[84] Gibson, "'How hard an enterprise it is': Authorial Self-Fashioning in John Dowland's Printed Books," 82.
[85] Carter, "'E in Rileggendo Poi Le Proprie Note': Monteverdi Responds to Artusi?" 142.

audiences, Carter even suggests that the implied moral 'imperfections' of Monteverdi's compositions could have put him in jeopardy. Artusi's dedication of his first treatise to a leading member of the Congregation of the Roman and Universal Inquisition, in which Monteverdi's music was included amongst other 'imperfect' compositions, may have caused some anxiety.[86]

Some scholars have suggested that the inclusion of dedications was borne out of a need for authors to defend their works from critics. Andreas Pevernage, writing in the 16th century, commented that 'be it men of learning, philosophers, writers or musicians – protection against unjust criticism was the reason to dedicate their work: hence the justifiable establishment of this tradition'.[87] The overall tenor of *Il quinto libro*'s dedicatory text suggests that fashioning protection and legitimacy were the foremost concerns, which makes sense, given that criticisms had been levied against his compositions, all but one of which were printed in this book. This sentiment is epitomised by the final line of the dedication, an embittered warning to critics, stating that Monteverdi intended to thrive (both in terms of his music and his fame) despite negative reception. For those uninitiated, perhaps this statement appeared to generally discourage negative reception, and its dissemination. After all, Monteverdi's earlier paratexts led the audience to believe his work was protected by Duke Vincenzo. For the audience members who were in the know, who had read the criticisms made by Artusi in his published works (1600 and 1603), this message would surely appear to be directed at the critic and his followers.

The second paratext in *Il quinto libro* (though, really, it is two texts) has been subject to detailed analysis in Tim Carter's "Cerberus Barks in Vain: Poetic Asides in the Artusi–Monteverdi Controversy".[88] Therefore, the discussion here can be focussed on its relevance to the fashioning of Monteverdi as a worthy opponent to Artusi. Two poems attributed to Cherubino Ferrari follow the

[86] Carter, "'E in Rileggendo Poi Le Proprie Note': Monteverdi Responds to Artusi?" 145.
[87] Andreas Pevernage, *Cantiones aliquot sacrae sex, septem et octo vocum, quibus addita sunt elogia nonnulla versibus latinis expressa, tam viva voce, quam omnis generis instrumentis cantatu commodissimae* (Douai: Jean Bogard, 1578). The English translation of this quotation was used by Gabriëls in "Reading (Between) the Lines: What Dedications Can Tell Us," 76.
[88] Carter, "Cerberus Barks in Vain: Poetic Asides in the Artusi–Monteverdi Controversy."

dedication in *Il quinto libro* and served to match the poetic content of Artusi's treatises, which between them, contain three sonnets and a Latin 'carmen'; a 'formidable poetic bulwark' in Carter's words.[89] Poetry in this paratextual context was *de rigueur*, though this was the first instance of Monteverdi's works containing such poetic bolstering. *Il quinto libro* was to be Monteverdi's first explicit response to Artusi's criticisms. For five years, there had been seeming silence from the musician. This response needed to strike the balance of communicating the right narratives while also appearing considered, legitimate and professional – worth the wait. These poems play a part in fashioning Monteverdi's response as well as his reputation more broadly, and thus, his brand.

While with his heart the song
CLAUDIO gives you, o true idea of arms,
model of dukes, and great lord of MANTUA,
May you be to his song the echo,
and letting resound with it
love, grace and favour,
accept the gift, an effect of reverence,
a true token of affection,
and the greater one of affection itself,
for he cannot give more who gives his heart.[90]

Carter notes the comparative understated feel of this poem as opposed to the grandiose sonnets found in Artusi's works.[91] The poem is neatly summarised by the final line, which is thematically reminiscent of a madrigal. It is a recapitulation of the call to arms for the dedicatee, Duke Vincenzo, but is also modern in form, personal and modest in tone and length. The choice of Ferrari as the poet was pertinent. Aside from writing poetry, he was a priest and Carmelite friar, and the Gonzaga's theologian.[92] These roles are printed alongside his name, to spell out his significance to the reader. Who could have been more apt a choice, both for morally strong-arming the Duke into aiding Monteverdi, and for countering the potentially hazardous claims of moral imperfection

[89] Ibid, 473.
[90] 'Mentre col cor' il canto/ CLAUDIO vi dona, ò vera Idea de l'armi/ Norma de Duci, e gran Signor di MANTO,/ Siate al suo canto l'Eco,/ E risuonando seco/ Amor[,] gratia, e favore,/ Gradite il don di riverenza effetto,/ Vero pegno d'affetto,/ Et d'affetto il maggiore,/ Che più non può donar chi dona il core.' Claudio Monteverdi, *Il quinto libro de madrigali…* (Venice: Amadino, 1605).
[91] Carter, "Cerberus Barks in Vain: Poetic Asides in the Artusi–Monteverdi Controversy," 473-4.
[92] "Cerberus Barks in Vain: Poetic Asides in the Artusi–Monteverdi Controversy," 465.

insinuated by Artusi? From Amadino's perspective, the Duke's aiding of Monteverdi could translate to future commissions from a wealthy patron, as well as the increase of Monteverdi's (and by extension, the patron's) renown.

The second poem is printed beneath the second Monteverdi paratext, the *Studiosi lettori*, at the rear of the book.[93] Ferrari's poem, another concise accoutrement to Monteverdi's text, centred on an Orphic depiction of Monteverdi, taking the Classical references used in sonnets revering Artusi and applying them instead to the 'true musician of Paradise'. Ferrari's status is once again spelled out to the reader; 'Theologo Predicatore, & dell'Academia de gli Inquieti di Milano detto l'Etereo' accompanies his name. Highlighting Ferrari's membership of the *Academia degli Inquieti* was strategically included by Amadino for the academic legitimacy of Monteverdi's response. Ferrari's poem was short, general and completely non-technical, and evidently required mention of his academic background as justification.[94]

'He who seeks to hear the harmony of Heaven
without departing life,
let him hear MONTEVERDI's sound and song,
for it is an enchantment of souls,
and hearing it, he will say, beside himself,
this is a true musician of Paradise.
And if Cerberus barks, it is because it perceives
that from the Inferno to the celestial spheres
can his [Monteverdi's] sweet notes draw souls.'[95]

Aside from aggrandising Monteverdi and painting him as an Orphic figure, there is the depiction of Artusi as the barking Cerberus; a literal demonisation of the critic. The image of this barking beast is a theme in Monteverdi's later paratexts. The imagery of silencing tongues and closing mouths recurs, and indeed, occurred already, at the end of *Il quinto libro*'s dedication.

[93] The *quinto libro de madrigali*, as with all other madrigal books, comprised partbooks for each voice part; referring to them collectively as 'the fifth book' or 'the book' is simply shorthand.
[94] Carter describes the reference to Dante in the lines 'superne rote…dolci note', hinting at Ferrari's scholarly credentials. See Carter, "Cerberus Barks in Vain: Poetic Asides in the Artusi–Monteverdi Controversy," 474-5.
[95] 'Che l'armonia del Ciel brama d'udire/ Senza di vita uscire,/ Oda del MONTEVERDE il suono, e'l canto/ ch'è de l'alme un'incanto,/ E udendolo dirà da se diviso,/ Quest'è un Music over del Paradiso:/ Et se Cerbo latra è perch'ei scorge,/ Che da l'Inferno à le superne rote/ Ponno trar l'alme le sue dolci note.' Claudio Monteverdi, *Il quinto libro de madrigali…* (Vencie: Amadino, 1605).

The *Studiosi Lettori*, as the first of Monteverdi's paratexts that is not a dedication, has the primary function of entering Monteverdi into the Artusi debate. Addressed to the audience of 'studious readers', really, the text's vagueness suggests that it was intended for all his public audience to read, studious (rather, knowledgeable of the subject) or not. It is by no means overly technical and would not alienate many readers, the designation merely seems to set the intellectual tone. Notably, it is positioned at the end of the book, after the music. The music was allowed to be appreciated in its own right before it was revealed that these pieces had been the subject of criticism. Given its musical contents, the whole book is thus characterised as a confrontation of Artusi, in which the testimony of the integral work seeks to refute Artusi's objections. The positioning of the *Lettera* also speaks to Monteverdi's identity as construed in the later paratexts. He was a man of notes, not letters. This is key to much of the argument given against Artusi, that he was communicating in a different realm to Monteverdi, that Monteverdi was a practical musician, capable and intelligent enough to discuss theory, but who was above petty, nit-picking squabbles about intervals and dissonances (see Appendix 1.3i. for original text).

> Do not marvel that I am giving these madrigals to the press without first replying to the objections that L'Artusi has brought against some very minute details in them, for being in the service of His Most Serene Highness of Mantua, I have not had at my disposal the time that would be required. Nevertheless, to show that I do not compose my works haphazardly, I have written a reply which will appear, as soon as I have revised it, bearing the title *Seconda prattica, overo Perfettione della moderna musica*. Some, not suspecting that there is any practice other than that taught by Zerlino [Zarlino], will wonder at this, but let them be assured that, with regard to the consonances and dissonances, there is still another way of considering them, different from the established way, which, with satisfaction to the reason and to the senses, defends the modern method of composing. I have wished to say this to you in order that the expression 'Second Practice' may not be appropriated by anyone else,[96] and further, that the ingenious may reflect meanwhile upon other secondary matters concerning harmony and believe that the modern composer builds upon the foundation of truth.[97]

The somewhat dramatic opening of the *lettera* reveals the true context of the pieces presented in *Il quinto libro*, that they have been attacked by Artusi, who is unconventionally de-anonymised here. This could indicate Monteverdi's sole authorship over this text. As a man of notes rather than words,

[96] A reference to Artusi's use of the text in his second treatise published in 1603, as well as a warning to others.
[97] Translation in Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, 48.

perhaps this de-anonymising shows his lack of knowledge of the correct debate etiquette. It seems more likely, however, that whoever de-anonymised Artusi here did so knowingly and without accident,[98] in order to thrust Monteverdi into the limelight, using the debate as a stage on which to fashion his brand. This was potentially dangerous. Artusi had not mentioned Monteverdi by name in either of his works, why insert him into the argument and potentially attract further criticism? Until now, this had not really been a debate (in print), merely a theorist criticising anonymous madrigals (among a broader critique of modern music). This *Lettera* brought both Monteverdi and Artusi as individuals into debate, creating a public argument between two people, rather than an anonymous academic exchange behind thin veils. It was an opportunity to control the narrative of this debate, and to direct how audiences viewed Monteverdi, in light of the criticisms.

Monteverdi's *Lettera* attempts both to defend his brand and build it further. First, the author attempted to minimise the criticisms of Artusi, describing the parts to which he objected as 'minute' excerpts ('minime particelle').[99] Justification is proffered for not having dealt with Artusi's criticisms earlier. It is explained that Monteverdi's role in the Mantuan court prevented him from having enough time to respond to Artusi, serving the dual purpose of advertising Monteverdi's import, and emphasising the triviality of Artusi's claims. Were they important or significant enough, perhaps he could have prioritised them. The author homes in on a particular claim of Artusi, that Monteverdi composed in a 'haphazard' way, and framed that as the reason for creating an entire treatise on his compositional practice, which he termed 'seconda prattica'. Singling out of this claim of 'haphazardness' is interesting. Whilst it may, on one level, suggest that it aggravated Monteverdi more than any other (unlikely, given that there were plenty of claims to choose from, including

[98] Etiquette such as this would have been well-known, and Amadino would have caught this error before allowing it to be published, suggesting that it was not erroneous, and probably encouraged by Amadino, if not masterminded by him. It seems to have been an area of some contention, though, as in his response text, Giulio Cesare Monteverdi attempted to rectify the situation in *Scherzi Musicali* (1607), claiming Monteverdi had only meant to reference Artusi's work's title, rather than the theorist himself. See Carter, "'E in Rileggendo Poi Le Proprie Note': Monteverdi Responds to Artusi?" 143.

[99] Monteverdi was similarly minimising of Artusi's criticisms in his 1633 letter to Doni, where he stated that '[Artusi] had been pleased to criticise (in print!) one of my madrigals'; somewhat an understatement, as five pieces of his received criticism by Artusi. See Stevens, *The Letters of Claudio Monteverdi*, 421.

Artusi's loaded characterisation of him and his music as 'imperfect' within the turbulent religious-political context), a more critical view is that this was the lesser of several evils. Being 'haphazard' in compositional style says nothing about the talent or innate ability (or morality) of the composer, necessarily. Rather, it could suggest that the listener merely does not understand the compositional approach, owing to a shortcoming on their (rather, Artusi's) part. By undermining Artusi's ability to comprehend his music, Monteverdi was elevated above Artusi, and aligned with musical (thus, more broadly, cultural) modernity, in which he was fashioned as a pioneer.

There was an intentional binary created with this discussion of modernity versus tradition (or the 'old' way; *stile antico*), and with the ontological concept of truth. In this text, truth was associated with modernity. Monteverdi's text firmly identifies him as modern and as 'true', a key narrative to his brand. It is worth considering this in the broader context of the printers of the debate works, who have been described as rivals by recent scholars, and positioned either side of this 'modern versus old' binary. Artusi's printer, Vincenti, and Monteverdi's Amadino had previously been business partners, before splitting in 1586.[100] Although Thomas W. Bridges described their split as 'probably amicable' due to their shared typefaces, shared type ornaments and collaboration on printing a series philosophy books between 1600-1609, they do seem to have favoured different musical schools of thought, as is indicated by who they were printing.[101] Carter paints them as competitors, the dogmatic, traditional Vincenti versus the forward-thinking Amadino, and there are hints that a rivalry could have existed.[102] For example, Marenzio's fourth book of madrigals was first printed by Vincenti in 1587. Amadino produced a second edition shortly after, with the titlepage advertisement: 'newly reprinted and purged of many errors'.[103] Rivals or not, it may have suited the pair that one be associated with modern music, and the other with the old tradition. Indeed, their

[100] Thomas W. Bridges, "Vincenti [Vincenci, Vincenzi], Giacomo," *Grove Music Online* 2001, accessed 10th May 2023.
[101] It seems Amadino was drawn to composers who composed in a modern style, such as Rubini and d'India; the opposite was true of Vincenti, whose most frequently published musicians were Croce and Viadana, with 55 editions and 53 of each respectively. Bridges, "Vincenti [Vincenci, Vincenzi], Giacomo."
[102] Bridges, "Vincenti [Vincenci, Vincenzi], Giacomo."
[103] Ibid; Luca Marenzio, *Il quarto libro de madrigali…* (Venice: Amadino, 1587).

perceived rivalry could have contributed to public engagement with the debate, and drawn further attention to the print works (thus, increasing profits).

If Amadino were more than influential in the contents of the *Lettera*, then he made a bold call by promoting Monteverdi's *Seconda prattica, overo Perfettione della moderna musica*. The promise of a treatise, that would counter all Artusi's claims and define this new compositional approach, was an example of 'strategizing of fame'. The concept of a new work, that would exonerate him entirely, raised the expectation and anticipation of his audience, who would now consider him as a capable theorist. There is reason to suspect that Monteverdi was inspired to do this by other composers. Judd described a precedent for musicians to use their printed compositions to convey 'in numerous (non-musical) ways that [their] author was not merely a practitioner but a true *musicus*, a theorist of great erudition steeped in humanistic learning'.[104] That Monteverdi's text boasts about his intellectual ability to create a work of theory and, indeed, a different compositional practice, is a blatant act of fashioning. In mentioning this new theoretical (in both senses) work, and the compositional practice that he claimed to have created in line with this method, the audience were guided to equate his theoretical knowledge to that of Artusi and Zarlino (who was referred to frequently by Artusi in his criticisms of Monteverdi). Yet the treatise never appeared, and its absence was noted. In the surviving letters to the theorist Giovanni Battista Doni (1633), Monteverdi answered questions on the treatise and its absence, presumably because it promised to be a fundamental work, and had been keenly anticipated, particularly by music theorists.[105] Perhaps its absence led to Doni's damning assessment of Monteverdi's intellectual capabilities, contained in a letter (in French) to Marin Mersenne, which accompanied a copy of Monteverdi's "Lamento d'Arianna": 'the musician Monteverde, who is, for the rest, as nearly all of them, of little intelligence,

[104] Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory: Hearing with the Eyes*, 188. Judd gives Zarlino as an example in this case, which is poignant given Artusi's comparison between the two composers.
[105] Stevens, *The Letters of Claudio Monteverdi*, 421; 22nd October 1633, Claudio Monteverdi in Venice to Giovanni Battista Doni in Rome. Florence, Conservatorio di Musica 'Luigi Cherubini', fondo Basevi 2438, vol. xv, fos. 7-9. Bf: 4pp.

something which turns out exactly the opposite of the ancients, who were commonly men of distinction and among the most lively and distinguished intellects of that time …'. [106]

As stated in the above timeline, Monteverdi's *Il quinto libro* was responded to not by Artusi (ostensibly), but by a certain 'Antonio Braccino da Todi', accepted widely to be Artusi's pseudonym.[107] The response came sometime between *Il quinto libro* and *Scherzi musicali* in 1607, and sadly, does not survive, though we can extrapolate some information about it thanks to its predecessor. It was likely printed by Vincenti, and titled *Discorso*. Some of its content may be indicated by the next print work under investigation in this study: *Scherzi musicali* and the *Dichiaratione.*

Scherzi Musicali: Dichiaratione (1607)

In the discussion of print as a means of building Monteverdi's brand, the focus has remained upon Monteverdi and Amadino's actions and intentions, expanding to include Artusi, and his potential influence over Monteverdi's brand. *Scherzi Musicali* opens up the discussion further, and initiates a shift in this chapter's focus, toward the print activity of others upon Monteverdi's brand, particularly in the context of the Artusi–Monteverdi Controversy. Though additional Monteverdi paratexts will be studied in this chapter, they will receive less in-depth analysis and more contextualisation.

The *Scherzi musicali* was edited and consolidated by Giulio Cesare Monteverdi (referred to hereafter by his first name, 'Giulio'), the younger brother of Claudio. Giulio had joined the Gonzaga court as an

[106] Sent from Rome, 27th February 1636 (in Marin Mersenne and Cornelis de Waard*, Correspondance du P. Marin Mersenne: religieux minime* VI (Paris: G. Beauchesne, 1933), 30-31); 'du musicien Monteverde, qui est au reste, comme sont presque tous, de peu d'intelligence: ce qui revient justement au contraire des Anciens, qui estoient ordinairement gens de marques et des plus beaux esprits et plus polis de ce temps-là.' The translation is taken from the portion of the letter which is reproduced in English in footnote 157 in Paolo Fabbri, "Mantua," in *Monteverdi*, trans. Tim Carter, 22–125 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 96. Doni had exchanged letters with Monteverdi seemingly regarding theory, the *seconda prattica* and his compositional process over a few years preceding this letter, and as Carter identified, Monteverdi betrays an unusual nervousness in his responses (none of Doni's letters survive, so we do not for certain know why). Perhaps it was because he was afraid of such an assessment as this being made.

[107] Among the various scholars who believe Braccino to have been Artusi's mouthpiece, the Grove Dictionary of Music's entry for Artusi lists 'Antonio Braccino da Todi' as Artusi's pseudonym: Claude V. Palisca, "Artusi, Giovanni Maria," *Grove Music Online* 2001, accessed 3rd June 2023.

organist in 1604, though he also composed secular chamber and dramatic music. The paratexts in the *Scherzi* were written by Giulio (in theory), creating a fascinating dynamic to the work. In becoming his brother's spokesperson and agent, Giulio created distance between the public audience and Monteverdi, effectively elevating his brother above the public's sphere (and to some degree, the debate itself) and limiting access to him, thereby creating an air of exclusivity around his image. The effect of listing these responsibilities through the mouthpiece of Giulio is both emphasising and corroborating. Had Monteverdi responded himself, claims of being inundated with demand for his work may not have been as convincing. With Giulio's relationship to Monteverdi also advertised, there is a greater authority to the author's claims than, perhaps, an anonymous name would command. It was clearly important to the brothers that this debate was not anonymous, but that the name 'Monteverdi' was at its heart. Perhaps their fraternity also echoed the emotional and sentimental themes of Ferrari's poetry in *Il quinto libro*.

The *Scherzi*'s title page advertises the music by Monteverdi first, then Giulio's role as editor and his relation to Monteverdi. It then advertises the *Dichiaratione* in the centre of the page; 'con la Dichiaratione di una lettera, che si ritrova stampata nel Quinto Libro de suoi Madrigali,' advertising the *Scherzi*'s relationship to the Controversy. The work is dedicated to Prince Francesco Gonzaga, the Duke of Mantua's heir, with whom Monteverdi had recently worked in creating the opera *L'Orfeo* (1607), and for whom Giulio would become *maestro di cappella* at Monferrato in 1609.[108] The *Dichiaratione*'s structure and content has given Carter cause to wonder if it was addressing the lost criticism by Braccino. Interesting, too, he notes, is the faulty typesetting on the title page, suggesting that the text could have been a late addition to the *Scherzi*.[109] A particularly notable feature of the *Scherzi* is also advertised on the title page: the privilege, which forbade anyone but Amadino from printing the work. Typically, privileges were used to guard against novel inventions being appropriated by competitors, before the inventor had justly benefitted from the fruits of their

[108] Denis Arnold, "Monteverdi, Giulio Cesare," *Grove Music Online* 2001, accessed 1st June 2023.
[109] Carter, "Artusi, Monteverdi, and the Poetics of Modern Music," 182.

ingenuity.[110] Privileges were part of an ancient legal framework and were easily obtained from the *Senato* (the Senate), though it is interesting to reflect on the early modern arguments for privileges, which were drawn from economic discourse of the Middle Ages.[111] These arguments centred on a need for profits and protecting one's business from competitors, as well as consideration for the 'common good' of the Republic; being able to charge reasonable prices.[112] Though quite unremarkable in and of itself, a privilege contributed to the brand narrative that Giulio, Monteverdi and Amadino worked to create. *Scherzi* was reissued four times (1609, 1615, 1619 and 1628), including once in the year after Braccino's second *Discorso* (Venice: Vincenti, 1608) was published, suggesting that it was sufficiently, if not exceptionally profitable for Amadino. The fact that, in 1607, alongside the *Scherzi*, Amadino reissued Monteverdi's first, second, third and fourth books of madrigals can hardly be a coincidence. It points to a marketing strategy, pushing Monteverdi's name and flooding the market with his works.

Scherzi's dedication is full of the usual tropes and gives no indication of the debate.[113] Giulio makes a reference to Plato, which (perhaps incidentally) gives a clue to the topics discussed in the *Dichiaratione.* The dedication is followed by an 'Avvertimento', which explains the use of *ritornelli* in the following pieces. The use of *ritornelli* here gives the pieces a dramatic effect, reminiscent of the music recently created for *L'Orfeo*, perhaps intentionally so, given the *Scherzi*'s patron. The use of *ritornelli* would become a common musical device across Europe. Giving instructions on how to use the device may have enabled performance of the *Scherzi*'s pieces, while years later, after the device became more prolific, may have connected Monteverdi with the *rintornello*'s popularisation. Evidence of this can be seen in Michael Praetorius's *Syntagma Musicum* of 1619 (Wolfenbüttel:

[110] Catherine Kikuchi, "Competition and Collaboration in the Venetian Book World from 1469 to the Early Sixteenth Century," *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*. English Edition 1, vol. 72 (2018): 179-205.
[111] Catherine Kikuchi has studied this privilege discourse in her article, Ibid.
[112] Ibid. 190; Pierre de Jean Olivi, *Traité des contrats*, ed. and trans. Sylvain Piron (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2012).
[113] For the full Italian text, see Appendix 2.1. (page 269).

Holwein), where Monteverdi's works are used as exemplars of the *ritornello* in secular, dramatic and sacred contexts (citing *L'Orfeo*, *Scherzi* and the Vespers, respectively).[114]

Given the importance of the *Dichiaratione* as a contemporary biography of Monteverdi's musical approach, and as a brand-defining statement (not that it has been termed as such until now), it has been subject to numerous analyses. Claude V. Palisca, Suzanne G. Cusick, Massimo Ossi and Tim Carter have produced insightful studies that grapple with topics of music theory, poetic analysis, gender studies and historiography, to name a few.[115] This study, addressing brand-building and influential figures,[116] will avoid a musical-theoretical analysis. As the *Dichiaratione* is substantially longer than the other paratexts discussed thus far, it will be included in full in Appendix 2.2. The text is organised into small quotations and explanations. Giulio addressed the *Lettera* published by Monteverdi at the end of *Il quinto libro* on a point-by-point basis, elaborating upon each, with references to Artusi and Braccino's criticisms.

Establishing Monteverdi's status, both in terms of contemporary social status and his status as a cultural icon, is central to the *Dichiaratione*. Giulio goes into detail about the many roles and responsibilities piled onto Monteverdi as the *maestro della musica* for the Duke of Mantua, giving these as reasons for Monteverdi's delay in responding to the critic.[117] Monteverdi is described as a figure of too great import to be able to respond to Artusi further than his short *Lettera* at the end of *Il quinto libro*, hence Giulio's intervention. Giulio's elevation of Monteverdi may be read equally as distancing or othering Artusi, as an attempt to place Artusi and Monteverdi on different social and

[114] Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum* III (Wolfenbüttel: Elias Holwein, 1619), 128-129.
[115] Claude V. Palisca, "The Artusi–Monteverdi Controversy,"; Suzanne G. Cusick, "Gendering Modern Music: Thoughts on the Monteverdi-Artusi Controversy," in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 46 (1993): 1-25; Massimo Ossi, *Divining the Oracle: Monteverdi's "Seconda prattica"* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2003); Tim Carter, "Artusi, Monteverdi, and the Poetics of Modern Music," 171–94.
[116] The adjective 'influential' conveys ideas of wealth and status that are not intended here. I use 'influential figures', in the context of Monteverdi, literally – people who had influence over Monteverdi's brand and music.
[117] Giulio's list of Monteverdi's responsibilities includes the typical 'burden' of church and chamber music, but also the extraordinary services required by a 'grand prince', such as creating music for tourneys, creating ballets, creating comedies (i.e. his opera *Orfeo*) and various concerts, finally, with rehearsing the two *viole bastarde*. See Appendix 2.2. (page 270) for full text.

professional planes. As Giulio later wrote, you should only compare purple with purple, two things that are logical comparators, which Monteverdi and Artusi were not, he implied. Tactics such as labelling Artusi the 'opponent' helps to other him, to make him less human. It also reinforces the combat between Artusi and Monteverdi; it does nothing to calm the flames of conflict. Giulio's *Dichiaratione* is impassioned throughout, and claims to have been written from the perspective of a loving sibling unable to abide his brother's public dishonour. Yet there is a sense that tension, conflict and heat between Giulio and his brother's opponent was, if not necessary, at least engaging for the reader. This serves as a reminder that much of the debate (in terms of timings, publicity and even textual content) may have been contrived.

Another way in which Giulio constructs Monteverdi as a public figure, thus contributing his brand, is through comparison to others, notably, to musicians of high renown from antiquity to contemporaries. These lists also mirror Artusi's critiques – he listed notable figures in his treatises, in an attempt at legitimising and contextualising his stance. Giulio lists well-published and disseminated names, including those he associated with the *seconda prattica*,[118] as well as those whose example Monteverdi followed, Giulio claimed, in paying 'no attention to nonsense and chimeras'.[119] The function of calling Artusi's criticisms 'nonsense', and of listing prominent icons of the music world to justify Monteverdi's lack of engagement, was to divert attention towards Monteverdi and his cultural significance, and away from Artusi and his arguments. Although the concept of celebrity (termed as such) comes much later in history, Giulio's listing of names

[118] Cipriano de Rore (a recurrent comparator in this text), Ingegneri, Marenzio, Wert and Luzasco, Peri and Caccini. Interestingly, Peri and Caccini were also renowned for their recent dramatic compositions; could this have had a bearing on their inclusion within this roster? Caccini had also included Monteverdi's madrigals as examples in *Le nuove musiche* (Florence: Marescotti, 1602); perhaps they had identified a degree of usefulness in one another's fame.

[119] These include Signor Prencipe di Venosa (Gesualdo), Emilio del Cavaliere (who died in 1602), Count Alfonso Fontanella (who Palisca considered a possible candidate for L'Ottuso Academico), the Count of the Camerata (presumably Giovanni de' Bardi), the Cavalier Turchi (possibly Nicolò Zoppio Turchi, Bolognese nobleman and musician) and Pecci (Tomaso Pecci, who died in 1604). This is preceded by a fascinating claim made by Giulio, that Monteverdi was inviting Artusi to a war of 'practical performance', being clear that he revered and would yield to all other musicians, and extended this only to Artusi, as he wished to devote himself to music and not to writing (aside from his promised treatise). Throwing down Monteverdi's gauntlet in this way undermined Artusi's musical abilities, and distinguished Artusi as a theorist, dealing solely with writing, from Monteverdi, a practical (read: proper) musician.

effectively emulates celebrity endorsement, as well as being an attempt at aligning Monteverdi with these high-status cultural figures.

Giulio proffers a brief note on Monteverdi's treatise title: *Ovvero perfetioni della moderna musica*, claiming that it was after the Platonic notion of musical perfection. Indeed, Plato is referred to frequently in this text by Giulio. Not only was Monteverdi mentioned in the same breath as all the distinguished and famous musicians listed as members of the *prima* and *seconda* practices, but also as Plato, giving Giulio's argument a classical basis (if in very loose terms). Platonic perfection is an ontological concept, and this endorsement reinforced the idea that there was objective truth to Monteverdi's music. Giulio used Platonic ideas to distinguish *prima* and *seconda* practices. Interestingly, Artusi is not mentioned at all in Giulio's differentiation of the two practices. Perhaps to highlight (and maybe rub in) Artusi's absence, Bottrigari is mentioned alongside Zarlino for their 'noble writings'. Giulio does not seek to position Artusi anywhere; he is not given a role in the musical history presented here. Instead, he is kept as an external commentator, lessening his status and, again, distancing him from Monteverdi.

Elaborating on Monteverdi's statement in the *Quinto libro*, that the term *seconda prattica* was invented by him and not Artusi, Giulio revealed that in 1603, Monteverdi had begun writing a defence against Artusi. Both music and words were still in manuscript; the phrase 'seconda prattica' had 'barely passed [Monteverdi's] lips' when it appeared in Artusi's criticism of the same year. After Monteverdi laid claim to the term in *Il quinto libro*, Artusi responded via Braccino's lost *Discorso*: 'You show yourself as jealous of that expression as though you fear someone would rob you of it'. Giulio openly interpreted that statement as 'you are not worthy of imitation', thus inspiring his retort on Monteverdi's behalf. Giulio claimed that after travelling to Spa in 1599, Monteverdi introduced a new style of singing (and/or melody writing) to Italy. This style, the *canto alla francese*, has caused much head scratching for musicologists, not only for the phrase's ambiguity, but also as Giulio referred to it being in a publication which, 'three or four years ago' (1603/1604) was

marvelled over.[120] Giulio claimed he could go much deeper into a discussion of Monteverdi's originality, but chose not to in the text. Instead, the printing privilege obtained for the *Scherzi* spoke defiantly against the notion of Monteverdi being unworthy of imitation. Originality and imitability were clearly important to the Monteverdi image. These were qualities associated with fame and renown that could tangibly improve Monteverdi's professional life (and by extension, his personal life), as well as draw further profits for Amadino, particularly if he were considered *the* Monteverdi printer. With Amadino consistently having printed Monteverdi's works for (at this point) fourteen years, perhaps printer and composer shared something of a bond between their brands. The Amadino organ, his printer's mark, adorned the title page of each Monteverdi work during the Mantuan era (save the Vespers, 1610), and could have become a visual element of the Monteverdi brand. Without any other form of visual marketing, and with genericness of print type and fonts, there was little else to form a consistent visual for the brand.[121]

Not only is Giulio's *Dichiaratione* combative and impassioned, but it is logical, sufficiently 'academic', and relatively accessible. Giulio's text was engaging, colourful and, with its multiple contemporary references, relevant, but it assumed minimal prior knowledge of either Artusi's criticisms, Braccino da Todi's *Discorso*, any in-depth music theory, or of Monteverdi's music. The necessity of having read Monteverdi's *Lettera* is even removed by Giulio. Whether this latter point was entirely intentional or a biproduct of something else, such as mirroring the structure adopted by Braccino, we do not know. However, the result is still the same – a text that could be read by a wide-ranging

[120] Giulio, in a series of rhetorical questions regarding the *canto alla francese*, asked: 'has he not now composed his *Scherzi*?', which is confusing in context; did he mean to imply there was *canto alla francese* in the *Scherzi*, or that the *Scherzi* was an object of originality, or both? John Whenham claimed that the mystery print of c.1603 was not a Monteverdi work (as nothing in the *quarto libro* could be described as French), but that of another Italian(s), who had 'stolen Monteverdi's thunder' before he could get his works into print. Whenham pointed the finger at Giulio Caccini in the *Le nuove musiche* (1602), but it is also a term that was used in Mantua, presumably after the touring group returned from Spa. Monteverdi used this term several years later in *Madrigali guerrieri, et amorosi* (1638), but otherwise, it remains mysteriously absent from his prints and letters. This is in stark contrast to *seconda prattica*, which he touted frequently. Neither Giulio nor Monteverdi sought to clarify Monteverdi's invention of the term 'prima prattica', perhaps as this term was not one they wanted to be associated with the Monteverdi brand. See: John Whenham, "The Later Madrigals and Madrigal-Books," in *The New Monteverdi Companion* ed. Denis Arnold & Nigel Fortune, 216-47 (London: Faber, 1985), 234.

[121] Bernstein, *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice: The Scotto Press (1539-1572)*, 79.

audience of varying, even minimal, musical literacy. Other factors made the text more accessible. Rather than being printed in partbooks, *Scherzi* is in folio format, a cheaper, more portable format (than partbooks) that was also larger, better for reading text. Though Carter points out that the text itself is visually compact, and that Giulio's writing style does make the *Dichiaratione* a little confusing at times, in a contemporary context, it would have been a far easier undertaking than the Artusi treatises, particularly for a non-specialist audience.

Artusi responded (for a final time) via his mouthpiece Braccino, with Vincenti's 1608 print: *Discorso seconda*. On the title page, underneath 'Discorso Secondo Musicale di Antonio Braccino da Todi', the statement or subtitle 'per la dichiaratione della lettera posta ne'Scherzi Musicali del Sig. Claudio Monteverdi' is printed. The *Discorso Secondo* wastes no time with paratexts or introduction, it dedicates all 15 pages (save the title page and its verso) to discourse. Perhaps the statement was deemed necessary contextualisation for prospective buyers. It could serve a secondary purpose of advertising this in-print conflict too, as it publicised Monteverdi and his *Scherzi*. If buyers wanted the full story, they would have to nip over to Amadino's shop to purchase it. It would not have been too great a journey, as most booksellers and printers had shops in the area between San Marco and Ponte Rialto, along the Mercerie and Frezzerie.[122]

Further contributors

The Controversy caused ripples that are evident in contemporary printed works. Such ripples can be seen in Adriano Banchieri's madrigal comedy *Festa nella sera del Giovedi grasso avanti cena* (Venice: Amadino, 1608), also published by Amadino, 'con privileggio'.[123] In fact, Banchieri's engagement should be considered more a wave than a ripple, for he barrelled into the conversation in support of modernism, creating a dialogue between himself and an old, slovenly man named 'Rigore Antico', a

[122] Gert Jan van der Sman, "Print Publishing in Venice in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century," in *Print Quarterly* 3, vol.17 (2000), 235.
[123] Lee Raymond Garrett, "Adriano Banchieri's "Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo" of 1609: A Translation and Commentary" (PhD Thesis, University of Oregon, 1972), 3.

thinly veiled reference to his fellow Bolognese.[124] Banchieri's foreword to *Festa*, titled 'Diletto Moderno' (modern delight), describes a party, about to be joined by the character 'modern delight'. Before Diletto ascends the stairs to the party, he is met by Rigore Antico, carrying folios on counterpoint. Rigore Antico entreats Diletto not to ascend, for the author (Banchieri) has rejected him (Rigore) as his rightful master, and uses dissonances and irrational things that are entirely objectionable. If Diletto is truly delight, he must turn back.[125] Diletto replies indignantly that he is delight, in fact, he is modern delight as well as the author, and after defending the good taste of modern musicians, poets and sculptors, suggests that Rigore ought to peddle his folios to the fishmonger.[126]

The following year, Banchieri's *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo* (Bologna: Rossi, 1609) included another, more detailed defence of modern music, echoing terms and metaphors used in the Artusi–Monteverdi debate:

> There is no doubt that music, as regards harmony, should be subject to the words, given that the words are that which express the conceit, wherefore if the word seeks out grief, passion, sighs, questioning error or some other such phenomenon, these words should be clothed with equivalent harmony ... And if the intelligent modern composer (sapienti pauca) sometimes here and there throughout the song departs from the mode and uses foreign cadences, one should not therefore say that he hits now the hoop and now the cask, and that this is done without consideration, but rather it is practised industriously [for example, by Tommaso Pecci and Gabriele Fattorini] ... And here so as not to leave a rich feast deprived

[124] The fact that Amadino prints this work, and may have influenced not only when it was published, but the dedication, is worth noting. Amadino announced the work as 'forthcoming' in 1605, but the work was only published three years late. Was this due to the Artusi conflict, was Amadino trying to pace the arguments and control the rate of discourse?

[125] Garrett, "Adriano Banchieri's "Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo" of 1609: A Translation and Commentary," 3; Adriano Banchieri, *Festa nella sera del Giovedi grasso avanti cena* (Venice: Amadino, 1608): 'Fermati ò Diletto ne sagliare a atto alcuno atteso che l'Autore non havendo volsuto me per suo osservante Mastro, che vengo da gli periti Theorici nominato Rigore, a fronte scoperta, posti in oblio, quei Generi Cromatici, e Enarmoniei, che Armonica, e ragionevole, rendono la fondata Musica, si serve in vece, di proportioni, Dure rozze, e irragionevoli Diatonicamente conteste; Però (se tu sei il vero Diletto) ritorna a dietto'.

[126] Banchieri, *Festa*, 1608: 'Io in vero Diletto, ma Moderno, però sappiò Rigore che se l'Autore (al quale per dirtelo sono io)'… 'Mira il pittore, leggi il Poeta, senti il Musico, non si scorge nelle di loro moderne invenzioni un gusto troppo grande? Dimmi un poco, chi veste, o conversa piu alla Filosofica come tu? Deh ti consonda, in scorgendo, che gl'intelletti al giorno d'oggi dincendi, gli novanta si compacciono di quella gran Massima che Omnia nova placent, et in particolare nel Compositore di Musiche havend'egli per scopo il Diletare, si come l'Oratore il persuadere altrui'… 'Però ti conseglio ò Rigore Antico, contratta cotesti tuoi scartafazzi con il pizzicaruolo, che questa futura settimana saranno eccellentissima Triaca per le Sardelle Tonina, Arringhe, e Caviale'.

> of salt, I must not fail to name the most suave composer of music, Claudio Monteverde, head of the music of the Most Serene Lord Don Vincenzo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua (although his worth is known universally to professors of music), in matters of modern composition, for his artful sentiments are truly worthy of total commendation, uncovering therein every affective part of perfect oration, industriously laid out and imitated by equivalent harmony: just as thus and likewise have had and have practised the Lord Prince of Venosa, the Lord Count Alfonso Fontanelli, Signor Emilio Cavallieri, Benedetto Pallavicino and other modern and elevated intellects, whose worth is known within honoured salons and heroic academies.[127]

Banchieri included specific quotations from the debate in this portion of his treatise, titled 'Parere delle musiche gia in uso à quelle, che modernamente vengono practicate' (opinion of the music already in use and modernly practiced), such as hitting the 'hoop and the cask'. This was first used by Artusi, and then appeared in *Dichiaratione*; 'hor sopra al cerchio e hor sopra la botte'. For Banchieri to quote directly from the debate texts intensifies his engagement with the controversy. Before, he alluded to the two sides of the debate, placing himself firmly in the modern camp, but here, he enters the debate. This is significant in the context of Monteverdi's brand. Rather than Giulio's imagined Parthenon of Monteverdi supporters (i.e. his many lists of names), here, a real supporter publicly praises Monteverdi in heroizing terms and recapitulates brand narratives woven through previous paratexts. Amadino's presence as printer should not go unnoticed, even if there is no direct evidence of his intervention or influence.

In a different way, the language of the debate is present in Aquilino Coppini's sacred contrafacta. In his preface to the *Secondo libro della musica di Claudio Monteverde e d'altri autori a cinque voci* (Milan: Agostino Tradate, 1608), Coppini writes:

> The representative music of Signor Claudio Monteverdi's Fifth Book of madrigals, governed by the natural expression of the human voice in moving the affections, stealing into the ear in sweetest manner and thereby making itself the most pleasant tyrant of souls, is indeed worthy of being sung and heard not (as some say out of spite) in the pastures and among the sheep, but in the retreats of most noble spirits and in royal courts. And it can also serve

[127] Adriano Banchieri, *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo* (Bologna: Giovanni Rossi, 1609), 58-60; translation in Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, 106.

> many as an infallible norm and idea of composing harmonically conforming to the best rules madrigals and canzonas.[128]

It was certainly within Coppini's interests to defend Monteverdi's music, given his use of it, but in light of the debate, it perhaps felt useful or necessary for composers to align themselves with one side or another, particularly given the ontological claims therein. Fabbri has argued that Coppini used Monteverdi's name in the title as a promotional device, designed to help sell copies. Many other authors were included in Coppini's contrafacta, but Monteverdi's name was placed in the title, and emblazoned across the title pages of all three editions.[129] This was not (necessarily) solely due to a particular affection for Monteverdi or his music, though the two were friends,[130] but because the Monteverdi brand attracted buyers. Coppini collaborated with Monteverdi on the creation of these contrafacta, and was paying him respect through the titles of the works, but the *maestro* was not the only contributor, and was hardly the only 'talent' involved in their creation. As Banchieri wrote in a letter to Coppini, 'I don't know who merits greater praise, the composers of those Madrigals, the Poets and Musicians; or you, who so skilfully transformed them from the secular into the sacred style, from the vernacular into the Latin language, and did it so masterfully that the music, through your marvellous art, transfers from one sense to the other, profane to sacred, vernacular to Latin'.[131] Banchieri's praise of Coppini illustrates the disjunct created by placing Monteverdi's name in the title, given the labour of Coppini and of the other musicians. Alas, from the perspective of the printer (in this case, Agostino Tradate of Milan) profits were priority, and the Monteverdi brand was clearly something to associate with. Monteverdi was in Milan in the summer of 1607, which Fabbri

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[128] Translation in Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, 105. While complete copies of the first and some partbooks from the third survive intact, the (apparently) only copy of the *Secondo libro* to have survived was destroyed in World War II, having been in held at the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan. The dedication is printed in Emil Vogel, "Claudio Monteverdi," *Vierteljahrsschrift fur Musikwissenschaft* III (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Hartel, 1887), 428.

[129] Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, 75.

[130] Margaret Ann Rorke, "Sacred Contrafacta of Monteverdi Madrigals and Cardinal Borromeo's Milan," *Music & Letters* 2, vol. 65 (1984), 168.

[131] 'Non só chi merita lode maggiore, ò i compositori di essi Madrigali Poeti, e Musici; od ella, che così industremente già hà trasportati dal profano al sacro stile; e dall'idioma volgare, alla latina locutione: e così proportionatamente, che l'armonia con mirabile artifitio applica all'uno, ed all'altro senso, profano in sacro, e di volgare in senso latino.' Adriano Banchieri, *Lettere armoniche* [Bibliotheca Musica Bononiensis V/21] (Bologna, 1968), 120; Agnieszka Budzinska-Bennett, "Musicafatta spirituale. Aquilino Coppini's contrafacta of Monteverdi's Fifth Book of Madrigals," *Interdisciplinary Studies in Musicology* 11 (2012), 274.

suggested may have been in connection with the publication of Coppini's first collection of contrafacta. His presence there may have been part of the promotion of the work, that was also dedicated to a high-status patron (and descendent of a saint, no less), Cardinal Federico Borromeo.[132] As his works were being made sacred, perhaps Monteverdi saw this as an opportunity to confront the gap in his output, and further sure up his stance against Artusi. It is worth remembering the shadow of heresy that Artusi cast over Monteverdi's works that, though seems to have been without consequence in court, was problematic in a sacred context.[133] That Coppini used eleven of Monteverdi's *quinto libro* (1605) madrigals in the first book, opening with none other than "Cruda Amarilli", and the remaining six through the second and third, can be of no coincidence.

L'Orfeo and the Vespers

The final two works printed while Monteverdi was under Mantuan employ are less focussed on building the Monteverdi brand, and more on achieving specific outcomes for the musician in terms of his career and personal life. Amadino printed *L'Orfeo: Favola in Musica* (Venice, 1609) with a dedication that seemed not to pay heed to the recent bout of criticism by Braccino, instead focussing on the relationship between Monteverdi and his potential new master, Francesco Gonzaga. This publication came two years after *L'Orfeo*'s premiere during the 1607 carnival season, where Monteverdi had collaborated (in a sense) with Francesco, the latter taking a directorial role over the work's creation.

From Monteverdi's perspective, the fact of the matter was that Duke Vincenzo was not getting any younger, and Francesco already had his own retinue of musicians working for him at Monferrato. Monteverdi had proven his worth to the Duke time and again, but the groundwork had not been put in with Francesco, which needed correcting in order to create some career permanence. Monteverdi's sense of the situation is indicated by a letter to Alessandro Striggio, Ducal advisor and

[132] Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, 75.
[133] Carter discusses the heretical angle implied by Artusi in "'E in Rileggendo Poi Le Proprie Note': Monteverdi Responds to Artusi?" 142.

L'Orfeo's librettist. Writing from Cremona on 24th August 1609, Monteverdi asked Striggio to present a copy to Prince Francesco, writing:

> […]so I beg Your Most Illustrious Lordship to put in a few words with His Most Serene Highness, conveying to him the great desire I have in my heart to prove what a very devoted and very humble servant I am, and explaining that I give little to His Most Serene Highness (who deserves much) really because of lack of opportunity rather than through any defect of spirit[..].[134]

The one paratext is the dedication, in which the tropes are consistent: sycophantic praise of the dedicatee, fashioning closeness with them though maintaining appropriate subservience, alluding to longevity and permanence for the work necessitated by their continued patronage, and so on. Considering that as the patron and dedicatee, Francesco, may have been responsible for funding the print, a bit of sycophantism was necessary. Francesco may have found an association with the emergent genre of *favole in musica* attractive. It seems the printing of the work was as much about giving Francesco and Amadino the opportunity to be associated with the modern genre alongside Monteverdi, and publicly acknowledging his achievement with *L'Orfeo*, as it was about alleviating Monteverdi's career anxieties.

The following year, Amadino printed the final work of Monteverdi's to be created while at the court of Mantua, the *Sanctissimae Virgini missa senis vocibus ad ecclesiarum choros ac vesperae* (Venice, 1610).[135] This work was dedicated to Pope Paul V, and Monteverdi brought it personally to the Vatican. A key factor in this act was to secure Monteverdi's oldest son, Francesco, a place at a good seminary (and, likely, to advertise himself as a potential *maestro di cappella* at a Roman church, too). However, it seems this was not to be, for after two months in Rome, Monteverdi returned to Mantua, with little to show for his efforts. Whenham argued that the printing of the Vespers was intrinsically connected to the Controversy, that the dedication appears to have issued the 'final

[134] ASM A.G., c. 6, fols. 99-100. 3 pp. Translation in Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, 66. For full Italian text, see Appendix 3.1. (page 276).

[135] Many scholars have wondered why Monteverdi composed this large set of sacred works, given that as far as records show, Monteverdi was never involved in church music at Mantua. The most obvious theory is that he composed these works as a passion project and to aid a career change; he had long been after a role in Santa Barbara church, as opposed to the court *capelle*, and this was likely part of proving that he would befit this environment, or in any other church for that matter. For a discussion of many arguments as to 'why?', see: John Whenham, "The 1610 Print and Monteverdi's Career," in *Monteverdi: Vespers (1610)*, 23–40 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

word' in the debate. Artusi and Monteverdi could debate on the subject of secular composition, with Monteverdi's proven back catalogue for him to stand upon, but in terms of sacred music, Monteverdi had but his first printed collection of sacred canticles, published when he was fifteen (1582), and Coppini's scared contrafacta. He would have been aware of this lacuna in his output, and thus took the opportunity to have Amadino publish the work. He brought it to Rome personally, possibly to help combat any bad press that had reached Rome, promoting the work as he did with the contrafacta in Milan. Instead of Amadino's organ adorning the title page, the papal crest was printed. The dedication, though largely typical and filled with tropes, contains a rationale for his publishing these works: 'so that the mouths of Claudio's wicked detractors might be closed, I bring and offer at Your most holy feet these things of mine, such as they are, the fruits of my nocturnal labour'.[136] Whether written by Monteverdi himself, or by Amadino on his behalf, this statement would surely have resonated with anyone initiated with the controversy that had unfurled over the previous ten years.

In 1613, the *maestro di cappella* at San Marco died, and Monteverdi's name was put forward for a potential replacement. An investigation into Monteverdi's 'worth and competence' was ordered in July of that year, as is evident in a letter from the *Procuratori de dupra* to the Venetian resident in Milan (for Cremona, where Monteverdi was staying, was a Milanese territory).[137] This investigation led to an interview in August, when Monteverdi was summoned to Venice to be assessed. Despite Monteverdi's lack of success in Rome, in Venice, he found a new career, with his prestigious range of printed works credited as a contributing factor to his hire:

> Claudio Monteverde, formerly maestro di cappella of the Lord Duke Vincenzo and Duke Francesco of Mantua, is commended as a most outstanding individual. Their Most Illustrious Lordships are further confirmed in this opinion of his quality and virtue both by his works

[136] John Whenham, "The 1610 Print and Monteverdi's Career." Something about the imagery of the wicked mouths resonates with the poem in Monteverdi's fifth book of madrigals; 'and now in vain does Cerberus bark and bite' *(E in vano homai Cerbero latra e morde*). Finally, Monteverdi was closing the mouth of the man who had hounded him for a decade, even more, if 'Braccino's' claims about the many cordial letters (which preceded his first treatise) are to be taken at face value.

[137] Paolo Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, 123; Denis Arnold, *Monteverdi*, 2nd ed. (London: J M Dent & Sons Ltd, 1975), 202-3.

> which are found in print and by those which today Their Most Illustrious Lordships have sought to hear to their complete satisfaction in the Church of St Mark with its musicians. Therefore they have balloted and voted in unanimous agreement that the aforesaid Claudio Monteverde should be appointed maestro di cappella of the Church of St. Mark.[138]

Conclusion

Print was the primary medium for Monteverdi to communicate with his audiences on a larger scale. As such, his published works presented opportunities to present specific ideas, narratives and information that would allow the reader to hold a specific image of Monteverdi in their minds. The paratexts within prints created and sustained a bibliographic ego, which translated into a brand in a public context. The many reprints of works enabled Monteverdi's name and associated brand to have a sustained presence on the print-music market from 1592-1613. With print being such an important vehicle for communication and brand building, it was within the interests of others to influence the messages contained in the prints. Amadino's profits, reputation and relationship with patrons rested on the success of Monteverdi's brand. Paratexts are informative as reflections of real-world events. Amadino and Monteverdi responded to trends and fashions, but also to criticisms, resulting in a shift in Monteverdi's reputational priorities. This was exhibited through the types of paratexts used, the choice of dedicatee, the inclusion of contextual information (and its framing), the use of tropes, and the use of alternative voices, such as Ferrari's poems and Giulio's *Dichiaratione*. For example, the *Terzo libro*, as Monteverdi's foray into print as a new member of the Gonzaga's musical institution, shows attempts to legitimise Monteverdi on the print market with multiple dedicatory tropes, to fashion his relationship with the Duke, and to enable the reader to form an image of the musician. Primarily, as an adept composer (as is illustrated by the music within), but also an excellent performer, hired principally for the latter skillset. The Monteverdi

[138] Venice, Archivio di Stato, Procuratia de supra, no. 140 (*Decreti e terminazioni 1607—1614*), fols. l48v-i49r (Vogel, "Claudio Monteverdi", 431-2).

presented in *Dichiaratione* is very different. Rather than a humble and enthusiastic young musician, the reader is presented with a figure of significant cultural status.

A marked change in the paratexts occurred during the heat of the Controversy, when spouting dedicatory tropes and subtly self-aggrandising would do nothing to counter Artusi's attacks, nor protect the Monteverdi brand. Artusi's criticisms of Monteverdi seems to have given the musician an opportunity afforded to few other contemporaries. The opportunity to define himself on the musical landscape, to situate himself among the upper echelons of musical culture and history, to have printers invested in the success of his works and thus in the proliferation of his brand. This event was a catalyst and a stage for the making of Monteverdi. The intervention of other figures was pivotal: Giulio wrote Monteverdi's career-defining text, Coppini wrote the sacred contrafacta that helped transform Monteverdi from a composer of madrigals to a composer of sacred music. These seminal works were not just popular in Italy, but across Europe.[139] Amadino gave Monteverdi a platform; he was the printed media megaphone through which Monteverdi's name was projected every year for a decade. As each paratext brings new layers to Monteverdi's brand, reading them together is informative of how 'Monteverdi', the public figure, was created, and indeed, by whom he was created.

It is difficult to know how closely the narratives circulating among the public matched those put out in Monteverdi's prints. The 22 Monteverdi works (including reprints) published during the Mantuan period, and all those published after his time in Mantua, suggest that, at the very least, a demand had developed for his music. In 1607, Monteverdi was invited to join the *Accademia degli Animosi* of Cremona, formally elevating his status to that of the academicians to whom he dedicated his fourth book.[140] He was able to gain an enviable position as *maestro di cappella* at San Marco in Venice in

[139] For example, Coppini's sacred contrafacta were translated into German-language collections, see 'Beyond the Brand: Introduction and Model' in this thesis for more information.
[140] Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, 75.

1613; [141] small wonder, since Amadino had been filling the market with his music for a decade. No doubt Monteverdi's name would have preceded him in Venice, and if the musically inclined populace had engaged with the conflict that Amadino and Vincenti presented, they would have a gauge on his (purported) cultural significance. Amadino's role in promoting Monteverdi should not be underestimated.

It is important to note that not all reprints contained the dedicatory prefaces; for example, the 1615 reprint of *Il terzo libro* in Antwerp, printed by Pietro Phalèse. Phalèse's prints were internationally distributed, and thus the inclusion of paratexts in Italian served little purpose, compared to simply having the name 'Monteverdi' emblazoned across the title page. Exclusion of paratexts likely reduced costs too, which was important, given that the Duke of Mantua would not have reimbursed Phalèse for the print.

The Monteverdi brand encompassed many genres of composition and performance, his skills as a theatrician, a director, an Orphean figure, a man of import and status. It was not entirely successful of convincing some of Monteverdi's intellect as Doni's letter to Mersenne shows. Though it did not seem to cost Monteverdi too greatly, clearly, his lack of engagement with music theory registered with some. Monteverdi's eulogy, written by Matteo Caberloti and published in Giambattista Marinoni's *Fiori Poetici* (Venice: Francesco Miloco, 1644), mentions the works of his that were most moving and renowned. First listed is Arianna's Lament, followed by the madrigals and *Scherzi musicali*.[142] Monteverdi's burial place is described in Francesco Sansovino's *Venetia città nobilissima et singolare* (Venice: Steffano Curti, 1663, p.195): 'In the chapel and tomb of the Milanesi is buried Claudio Monteverdi, maestro di cappella of St Mark's, great theorist of song and sounds. Famous for

[141] This would follow the precedent of Gioseffo Zarlino, who had held the role previously - Judd tells us that his obtainment of the role was thanks in large part to his reputation. See Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory: Hearing with the Eyes*, 188.

[142] Giambattista Marinoni, *Fiori Poetici: Raccolti nel Funerale del Molto Illustre e Molto Reverendo Signor Claudio Monteverde Maestro di Cappella della Ducale di S. Marco….* (Venice: Francesco Miloco, 1644), 5-12.

his worth and for his compositions, which are a great part in print…'.[143] These narratives about the composer are interesting for their correspondence with key messages and works associated with the Monteverdi brand. As well as highlighting the importance of print to Monteverdi's reputation, they illustrate the significance of these works in relation to an early-modern Italian conception of Monteverdi.

As a complementary perspective for this study on brand building in print, I will now turn an event that impacted Monteverdi's brand, in particular, his status as a seminal composer of dramatic works: the creation, premier and reception of *L'Arianna* (1608). The following chapter highlights figures who contributed to Arianna, many of them women, and consequently enriched the Monteverdi brand.

[143] Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, 266.

Chapter 2: Arianna: The Woman who Helped Make Monteverdi

So far, this thesis has traced how Monteverdi, and influential, external figures, contributed to and ultimately created the 'Monteverdi' brand, through the medium of printed publications. By contrast, this case study focuses on a single work and event, which had a wide-reaching impact Monteverdi's reputation, well beyond his death. With the exception of its iconic aria, the music of his opera *L'Arianna* (1608) was never printed, meaning that work's impact upon his brand stemmed primarily from its performance. The one printed element emerged on the market some years later, affirming Monteverdi's authorial relationship with the work.

Monteverdi's second opera, *L'Arianna*, was produced for the wedding celebrations of Francesco Gonzaga and Margherita of Savoy (May 1608). As nearly all of *L'Arianna*'s music is lost, our understanding of the work is dependent on circumstantial evidence, such as the accounts of audience members, and single surviving piece from the opera: the *Lamento*, which was to become central to Monteverdi's reputation.[1] Ottavio Rinuccini's libretto revived the tragic love story of Arianna and Teseo for a large-scale (by comparison to previous efforts in Mantua, namely *Il Pastor Fido* (1598) and *L'Orfeo* (1607)), outdoor performance. In this work, Monteverdi 'outdid himself', according to the Mantuan court chronicler, particularly in the music of the lament, which was a late addition to the opera.[2] *L'Arianna* was, for a long time, considered by contemporaries as Monteverdi's 'greatest' work. In fact, Cusick has credited the success of the lament in particular with

[1] As to why the opera was never printed, we are unsure; I suspect it was never completed to Monteverdi's standards, for the remainder of the opera had to match the dizzying heights of the singular surviving musical element of the work: "Arianna's Lament", but there are arguments to be made that printing operas was simply not the norm given the lack of a market for them. However, it is difficult to imagine that, for the Gonzagas, who were happy to fund the printing of *L'Orfeo* in 1609, *Arianna* would not have been even more appealing, given its popularity.

[2] Feredico Follino, *Compendio Delle Sontvose Feste Fatte L'Anno M.DC.VIII. [1608] Nella Città Di Mantova, Per Le Reali Nozze Del Serenissimo Prencipe D. Francesco Gonzaga, Con La Serenissima Infante Margherita Di Savoia* (Mantua: Presso Aurelio, & Lodouico Osanna Stampatori Ducali, 1608), 30.

Monteverdi's fame and with keeping his name alive during the 17th and 18th centuries.[3] This may be the case due to the vast number of audience members purported to have attended the premier (by comparison to *L'Orfeo* (1607)), the circulation of "Lasciatemi morire" ("Lamento d'Arianna", as it would come to be known) in manuscript form, and the (eventual) publication of the lament in various arrangements.[4] *L'Arianna* was novel for its extended lament, showcasing the vocal talents of a solo female voice. This is not to suggest that the lament as a dramatic or musical form was new. As Leofranc Holford-Strevens has shown, the roots of the lament stretch into antiquity.[5]

This case study illustrates that the Monteverdi brand was not just a product of the printing press, but was shaped by other agents and events. In the context of *L'Arianna*, these include Monteverdi's patron, Duchess Eleonora Gonzaga, as well as the female singers, whose performance, though by no means entirely groundbreaking, would have been novel in this setting. Monteverdi's operas are understudied, yet several scholars have written on the subject of *L'Arianna* and its impact upon the opera genre, particularly on the impact of women in opera.[6] However, when discussing the 'making' of 'Monteverdi', there is great value in revisiting some of these topics, in order to shed more light on the individuals involved with the creation of *L'Arianna*, and its iconic lament. In essence, studying this opera provides a window into the multiple moving parts in an institute such as the court of

[3] Suzanne G. Cusick, "'There Was Not One Lady Who Failed to Shed a Tear': Arianna's Lament and the Construction of Modern Womanhood," *Early Music* 1, vol. 22 (1994), 21.

[4] The account of the audience size was over 6000 according to court chronicler Follino, though he had obvious cause for exaggeration. The circulation of the manuscript is evident in archival materials, such as the *Arianna* manuscript fragments in the British Library (GB-Lbl Add. 30491). These have been dated to around 1617, a year we know fairly little about from Monteverdi's perspective other than the few surviving letters between himself and Alessandro Striggio in January-March. Monteverdi sent the whole opera, slightly revised (though not to his ideal standard, he said), to Mantua in 1620 for the birthday celebrations of Caterina Medici-Gonzaga. See the letter in Denis Stevens (ed. and trans.), *The Letters of Claudio Monteverdi* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 205-7 (ASM A.G., c.6, fol. 224, ff. 2pp.).

[5] Leofranc Holford-Strevens, "'Her Eyes Became Two Spouts': Classical Antecedents of Renaissance Laments," *Early Music* 3, vol.27 (1999): 379–93.

[6] Such as: Tim Carter, "Lamenting Ariadne?" *Early Music* 3, vol. 27 (1999): 395-405; Suzanne G. Cusick, "'There Was Not One Lady Who Failed to Shed a Tear': Arianna's Lament and the Construction of Modern Womanhood," *Early Music* 1, vol. 22 (1994): 21–43; Anne MacNeil, "Weeping at the Water's Edge," *Early Music* 3, vol. 27 (1999): 407–17; Ellen Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice: The Creation of a Genre* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); Ellen Rosand, "The Descending Tetrachord: An Emblem of Lament." *The Musical Quarterly* 3, vol. 65 (1979): 346–59; Edmond Strainchamps, "The Life and Death of Caterina Martinelli: New Light on Monteverdi's 'Arianna'," *Early Music History* 5 (1985): 155-86.

Mantua. It shows just how many others were involved in what is now considered simply a 'work by Monteverdi'. As the slightly scathing letter from Doni to Mersenne suggested, there were more minds involved in the creation of this undoubtedly successful work than just that of Monteverdi.[7]

A fitting starting point for our exploration is the person who should have been the voice of 'Arianna', Caterina Martinelli. While her influence on Monteverdi's music and subsequent success has been widely accepted, it should be viewed through a sceptical lens, considering the limitations of surviving sources on the subject.[8] Second, the opera itself will be discussed in the context of its creation, and events leading to its premier in May 1608. This will lead to a discussion of a key figure of influence, Virginia Ramponi-Andreini. The third and final point of discussion centres on the lament and the genre it created. "Lamento d'Arianna" was so well received that it inspired emulation, both by Monteverdi in later works, and by other composers.

Caterina Martinelli: *La Romanina*

When reassessing the influence of Caterina Martinelli upon Monteverdi, it is necessary to address the surviving literature regarding her life and career at Mantua. From her arrival in Mantua in 1603 until her death in 1608, Caterina Martinelli had the potential to influence both the personal and professional life of Monteverdi. Her presence at court (and possibly in his family home) helped the composer develop his style of writing for female voice; so believed the scholar who devoted most attention to her life in more recent years, Edmond Strainchamps.[9] It is very difficult to quantify the influence Martinelli may have had over Monteverdi's writing, either for *L'Arianna*, or more generally in his compositional style. Monteverdi worked with many musicians in Mantua. He was married to a

[7] Doni's letter (in French) to Marin Mersenne from Rome, 27th February 1636 in *Correspondance du P. Marin Mersenne religieux minime…* vi, ed. C. de Waard (Paris: G. Beauchesne, 1933), 30-1.
[8] Though never described in terms of brand, Martinelli's 'influence' has been attributed to the success of *Arianna*, perhaps even to Monteverdi's writing in *Il quinto libro*, and thus influencing and impacting his reputation and career; I wish to challenge this idea and point out greater influence(r)s, certainly in the case of *Arianna*.
[9] Strainchamps, "The Life and Death of Caterina Martinelli: New Light on Monteverdi's 'Arianna'."

soprano, and there would have been near-constant music-making at court.[10] Martinelli's influence should have been most patent in Monteverdi's second opera, which was composed (at least in part) with the idea that the young soprano would sing the starring role, but sadly, all but the lament is lost, which was written after Martinelli's death.[11] Strainchamps argued that the lament was written with Martinelli in mind,[12] but there may have been far greater influences at play, which becomes apparent when studying the lament and its conception. As Martinelli died before the lament was written, and the music of *L'Arianna* does not survive beyond the lament, the influence of Martinelli over the famous piece must be considered in a different way.

The story of Caterina Martinelli, *La Romanina*, 'the little Roman girl' as she was known in Mantua, is as tragic as any of Rinuccini or Striggio's libretti. Her life in Mantua is glamourised by the image of star-status, and through her depiction as the 'splendid jewel' in Mantua's crown.[13] In reality, the pressure and the implications of being the Duke's favourite are rather unsavoury.[14] On 28th June 1603, Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga received a letter from Paolo Fachino, employed by the Gonzagas to recruit new musicians and scout emerging Roman talents for the Mantuan court. Fachino's letter talks of facilitating the transfer of a young girl 'who sings' from Rome and into the Mantuan court's employ.[15] This triggered the series of letters which were exchanged between various parties

[10] Monteverdi's wife, Claudia Cattaneo, was one of at least three sopranos at Mantua before Martinelli joined the ranks. See, for example, Roger Bowers, "Monteverdi at Mantua, 1590–1612," in *The Cambridge Companion to Monteverdi*, eds. John Whenham and Richard Wistreich, 53–75 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 61.
[11] Carter, "Lamenting Ariadne?" 395 & 401.
[12] Strainchamps, "The Life and Death of Caterina Martinelli: New Light on Monteverdi's 'Arianna'," 165.
[13] Ibid., 156.
[14] The term used to describe the way the Duke treated and collected female singers at the court of Mantua is 'Musical Harem'. It seems to have first been described by Alessandro Ademollo in his 19th century historiographies; he dedicated a full chapter to the subject in *La bell' Adriana [Basile-Baroni] ed altre virtuosa del duo tempo alla corte di Mantova contributo di documenti per la Storia della musica in Italia nel primo oparto del reicento A. Ademollo* (Castello: Lapi, 1888). It is a term echoed by Denis Stevens in *The Letters of Claudio Monteverdi*, 33.
[15] Letter from Paolo Fachoni in Rome, to Duke Vincenzo, 28th June 1603. ASM, Archivio Gonzaga, Busta 976. It seems like context must be missing here – a young girl 'who sings' is hardly a glowing assessment, given the expense and effort that would be necessary to bring her to Mantua, unless the Duke was interested in more than her voice. Compare this with a letter from Francesco Rasi, sent from Florence in 1600, describing two young girls who he thought the Duke would take an interest in: 'Con molto mio contento ho trovato instruite

(including a group of Florentines), all attempting to negotiate a mutually suitable arrangement. Martinelli was originally to be sent to live in Florence and undergo the vocal tutelage of Giulio Caccini. These plans were heavily altered, and almost culminated with the girl being sent to live with Caccini, as he insisted he would not teach her unless she was made his house guest.[16] However, the Gonzagas appeared keen to cut out the middleman, so to speak, and eventually managed to exclude the Florentines by implying potential impropriety at the hands of Caccini, should the girl be kept in close quarters with him. This way, the Gonzagas were able to ensure that the competitive Medici were kept from meddling in and stealing their young star for themselves. Instead, Martinelli was to be brought to live with Claudio Monteverdi and his family, where she would be tutored by him and his wife, Claudia Cattaneo, a provision which seemed to please Roman and Mantuan parties.

Duke Vincenzo's letter, claiming that Martinelli would live in the Monteverdi household, is the only reference to such a thing actually taking place. Yet, somehow, it has been the basis for claims about her and Monteverdi's mutual influence over one another's musical output. Whether she ever did live in the Monteverdi household is uncertain. A similar request had been made to the Monteverdi-

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eccellentre le mie sorelle dal padre Carlo Berti, il quale ha di già havuto l'intimazione di venire a servire V. A. … et ce n'è una di 13 anni bellissima et di nobilissime creanze, la quale canta et canterà divinamente et un'altra di 11 anni, la quale pure ancora canta at suona bene…'. (Ademollo, *La bell' Adriana…*, 32). The divine voice of the 13-year-old is mentioned (but only after Rasi described her as the most beautiful and noble creature); her younger sister (aged 11) 'sings and plays well'.

[16] This was reported by Francesco Rasi in a letter to the Duke, as he had been entrusted with carrying out the Florentine leg of the arrangements. He brought three golden rings to Caccini as a gift for his role in proceedings. Rasi states, however, that Caccini stubbornly insisted that the girl live with him, or he would not teach her. Whether or not this sprung genuine concern in the minds of Rasi and the Duke, or merely angered them into excluding Florence, we are not sure. Strainchamps argues for the events to be read thusly. Firstly, that the Duke was concerned for the safety of the child, and secondly, that he was concerned by Caccini's divided loyalties between the Gonzagas and the Medici. The Duke's emphasis the safety of Martinelli in a letter to her father, notifying him about the ruling out of Florence, which mentions Monteverdi's family and the Duchess as intended guardians, implies that while every care would be taken to ensure her safety in Mantua, the same would not have been done in Florence. In the context of previous letters between the Duke and Martinelli's father, which discuss multiple checks on the thirteen-year-old's chastity, it seems matters of 'safety' equated to ensuring her virginity from being taken by another male predator; Denis Stevens is emphatic that Martinelli's father knew precisely what he was letting his daughter in for. Claiming that Martinelli would be placed in the care of Monteverdi's family served to allay suspicion from the Duke's perspective. See Stevens, *The letters of Claudio Monteverdi*, 33; Francesco Rasi in Arezzo to Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga in Mantua, 9th July 1603: ASM, A.G., busta 1123; Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga in Mantua to Ambassador Lelio Arrigoni in Rome, 26th July 1603: ASM A.G., busta 2258; Edmond Strainchamps, "The Life and Death of Caterina Martinelli: New Light on Monteverdi's 'Arianna,'" 160.

Cattaneo family regarding the (then) young singer, Francesco Campagnolo.[17] Monteverdi refused the burden, which then impacted his finances anyway, as mentioned in his letter of 2nd December 1608. He never mentioned Martinelli in his correspondences, which is rather odd. The imposition of another mouth to feed would have surely made it into this letter, which addressed the many 'misfortunes' inflicted upon him at Mantua. Perhaps she was somehow not burdensome, despite the already crowded household; Stevens suggested that she may been a help to Claudia and even a 'babysitter' while staying with them, perhaps this was the case.[18] However, it could have also been true that she did not spend much time in the care of Monteverdi, rather, was kept at the palace, under the Duke's watchful eye.[19] In 1606, Caterina was granted her own house, in honour of her 'outstanding talent and daily service as a singer', in the Aquilino region of Mantua, adjacent to the palace.[20]

Monteverdi's relationship with Caterina has been described by Strainchamps as that of a father and daughter.[21] This account is largely speculative, as evidence of their interaction and relationship is scant. Perhaps, at the very least, their relationship could be described as of a functional teacher-student nature. She may have sung his music frequently - indeed, Strainchamps believes her to have been a great source of inspiration in terms of writing for the female soprano voice, although again, this is speculative.[22] In making use of the forces available, perhaps Monteverdi would have created music to suit her voice, taking advantage of her range and exploiting every fine quality of her technique and timbre. Martinelli certainly gained a glowing review in the role of 'Venus' in Marco da

[17] Monteverdi does not say when this happened, but it was likely sometime shortly after being made *maestro della musica*, as this is when his pay changed as he described in the letter; ASM A.G., c.6, fos. 95-6, bf 3 pp.
[18] Stevens, *The Letters of Claudio Monteverdi*, 33. Even if she were placed in Monteverdi's family's household accompanied by extra money and rewards for Monteverdi, this would have been perfect fodder for his 'If the Duke blessed me with X, he also cursed me with Y' formula that he deployed throughout that letter.
[19] This refers to the letter sent from the Duke to Ambassador Lelio Arigoni in Rome, who was helping to arrange the transfer of Martinelli. ASM A. G., busta 2258. Original text: 'dove ella starà si può dire sotto gl' occhi nostri'. The Duke stated that Martinelli would live with Monteverdi and his family in this letter, but follows this by noting that she would be 'under our eye, so to speak'.
[20] ASM, Archivio Gonzaga, *Libro dei Decreti*, no. 5 [1605-12], fol. 105; Strainchamps, "The Life and Death of Caterina Martinelli," 164, n. 16.
[21] Strainchamps, 165.
[22] Ibid., 164.

Gagliano's *La Dafne* during the 1608 carnival, her voice filling the theatre with 'delight and wonder'.[23]

Sadly, in the midst of rehearsals for *L'Arianna*, Martinelli fell ill. After two weeks of illness, despite a short period of improvement, she died on 9th March 1608 at the age of eighteen, just four weeks after her performance in *La Dafne*. The official cause of death was recorded as fever and smallpox, of which there was an outbreak in the city at the time. However, Duchess Eleonora wrote to Alessandro Striggio, who was with her son Francesco in Turin, stating that Martinelli's death had been brought on primarily by heavy drinking over the carnival period, causing her a sickness that no amount of medical treatments could alleviate.[24] This letter was scribed for her, but she added a postscript in her own writing, asking that Striggio share this letter only with the prince out of decency, given the details of Martinelli's death. This letter paints a tragic, troubled picture of the young singer.

Martinelli's reputation was such that her death seemed to be felt differently across the court. In a dispatch to the ducal counsellor in Turin, Annibale Chieppio described her as 'an extraordinary singer' whose 'loss is deplored by everyone in the entire city, on account of her having been exceptionally gifted and on account of the ineffable pleasure she gave during the recent carnival'.[25] In a less official context, Chieppio coldly remarked in a letter that preparations for *L'Arianna* were not going well, as 'the death of Signora Caterina has brought so much turmoil that I don't know what will come of it. Certainly this young girl gained so much in the minds of everyone because of the

[23] Marco da Gagliano, *La Dafne* (Florence: Marescotti, 1608).
[24] Duchess Eleonora in Mantua to Alessandro Striggio in Turin. 10th March 1608. ASM, A.G., busta 2163.
[25] Paolo Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, trans. Tim Carter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 82; S. H. Parisi, "Ducal patronage of music in Mantua, 1587-1627: an archival study" (PhD Thesis, U. of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana, 1989), 458; Strainchamps, "The Life and Death of Caterina Martinelli: New Light on Monteverdi's 'Arianna,'" 168. These sources all quote the English translation of the dispatch, but do not reproduce the Italian, which was given in Stuart Reiner, "La vag'Angioletta (and others): i," *Analecta Musicologica*, xiv (1974): 26-88, on p. 55. I have been unable to access this article, and the original letter is not yet digitised. It is held in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urb.lat.1076.pt.1, fol. 171.

performances which she gave at the end of Carnival, that if she isn't wept for, at least her death has caused universal pity'.[26] Strainchamps pondered this comment by Chieppio; perhaps Martinelli was not universally popular at court, influenced in all likelihood by the Duke's treatment of her.[27] Duke Vincenzo made public displays of mourning at Caterina's death, having her remains interred in a marble casket within the Carmine church (Santa Maria del Carmine), inscribed with a poem praising her singing.

> Look, read and weep! Caterina Martinelli of Rome, who by the tunefulness and flexibility of her voice easily excelled the songs of the Sirens and the melody of the heavenly spheres, dear above all to Vincenzo, Serene Duke of Mantua, for that famous excellence, the sweetness of her manner, her beauty, her grace and charm, snatched away, alas, by bitter death, rests for eternity in this tomb, commanded by a most generous prince who still grieves at this sudden blow. Let her name live in the world, and her soul with God. She died in the eighteenth year of her youth, the ninth of March, 1608.[28]

Vincenzo Gonzaga's attitude toward his star singers was 'lionising'. The Duke would forsake all others to please and appease his virtuoso singers, as he believed them to be the key to Mantua's (and his) reputation.[29] Martinelli was the jewel in his crown, and for her to die, particularly as it was just before this enormous showcase of Mantuan musical prowess, was deeply disappointing. The

[26] Annibale Chieppio to Annibale Iberti. 9th March 1608. ASM, A.G., busta 2711, fasc. II, letter 15. 'Qui ogni cosa passa bene da questa favola dell'Arianna in poi, nella quale la morte della S.ra Catherina ha porto tanto scompiglio che non so quello ne riuscira. Et certo questa giovane acquisto tanto nelle attioni che fece all'ultimo di Carnevale nell'animo di tutti, che se non pianta e stata commiserata almeno universalmente la sua morte'.
[27] I refer back to the term 'Musical Harem', which likely bred discomfort and awkwardness on a few occasions, and disgust on others. See Strainchamps, "The life and Death of Caterina Martinelli…," 169-170, n. 28. Ademollo described Martinelli as the 'true Pearl of the Duke's Harem'; 'vera perla dell'Harem ducale', based on his study of Duke Vincenzo and his collection of female virtuosi. See Alessandro Ademollo, "L'Harem Musicale," in *La bell' Adriana [Basile-Baroni] ed altre virtuosa del duo tempo alla corte di Mantova…*, 21-47, 36. To discuss the Duke's behaviour towards Martinelli as an affair is desperately inappropriate by today's morality, as she was a child, virtually trafficked to the Duke. Sadly, it is possibly how some at court saw the situation, explaining Chieppio's coldness towards her passing; the Duchess' comments on Martinelli's drinking could also have come from a place of spite.
[28] ASM, Archivio d'Arco, MS 228 (Carlo d'Arco, "Iscrizioni che furono o sono in Mantova e nel Mantovano trascritte e raccolte da Carlo d'Arco all' anno 1842," 276, no. 34). Inspice, lege, defle! Catterina Martinella romana, quae vocis modulatione et flexu Sirenum cantus facile orbicumque [sic] caelestium melos praecellebat, insigni ea virtute morum suavitate, forma, lepore, ac venustate Ser. Vine. Duci Mant. ap[p]rime chara, acerba heu morte sublata hoc tumulo beneficentiss. principis jussu, repentino adhuc casu moerentis aeternum quiescit. Nomen mundo, deo vivat anima. Obiit adolescentiae anno xvm die ix Martij MDCVIII.
[29] Roger Bowers, "Monteverdi at Mantua, 1590–1612," in *The Cambridge Companion to Monteverdi*, eds. John Whenham and Richard Wistreich, 53–75 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 64.

Duke commemorated Caterina by ordering the Carmelite priests to hold a yearly memorial mass and offices on the anniversary of her death, a tradition carried on long after his own death.[30]

At the Duke's request, Monteverdi composed a cycle of six unaccompanied madrigals (published in 1614 as part of his *sesto libro*, but composed around 1610) which set a sestina lamenting Martinelli's death by Scipione Agnelli.[31] Agnelli's text was given by the Duke to Monteverdi to set; its subject is a shepherd whose nymph has died. Monteverdi used the opening melodic phrase of the "Lamento d'Arianna" in the madrigal, titled "O chiome d'or". The whole cycle is somber and emotive, and the madrigal setting of the lament (also included in the *Sesto libro*) is thought to have been a musical tribute to his wife. Having suffered the loss of Claudia in September 1607, the death of Caterina may well have contributed to what was already a dark and difficult period for Monteverdi, impacting the direction of his private and professional lives. The stress of creating *L'Arianna* contributed to a period of ill health for Monteverdi.[32] He begged for an honourable dismissal in light of his suffering at the hands of Mantua and his lack of 'luck' therein, but was not granted one.[33] Monteverdi did not compose and stage an opera again until he was well into his Venetian career. His lament probably reflected many of his own desperate and sad emotions. The *Sesto libro* (Venice: Amadino, 1614) was the only undedicated print madrigal collection he created, the first and last time Monteverdi would publish madrigals without seeking to obtain something through their printing.

[30] This continued reminder of his affection for Martinelli must surely have left a bitter taste in many mouths, and may have impacted the outcome of Monteverdi's father's plea to Duchess Eleonora for his son's honourable dismissal. See Stevens, *The Letters of Claudio Monteverdi*, 49.
[31] Edmond Strainchamps,"The Life and Death of Caterina Martinelli: New Light on Monteverdi's 'Arianna.'" 171; Claudio Monteverdi, *Il sesto libro de madrigali* (Venice: Amadino, 1614).
[32] He claimed that writing *Arianna* had nearly killed him in a letter to Alessandro Striggio on 1st May 1627: 'quasi alla morte nel scrivere l'Arianna'. ASM A.G., c. 6, fos. 319-20. Bf: 4pp. Stevens, *The Letters of Claudio Monteverdi*, 315-317.
[33] See the letter of 2nd December 1608 from Monteverdi to Annibale Chieppio. ASM A.G., c. 6, fos. 95-6. Bf. 3pp and address. Enclosure: a letter from Federico Follino. See Stevens, *The Letters of Claudio Monteverdi*, 48-54.

The libretto

Negotiating the peaks and troughs of panic, pain, anger, numbness and misery, "Lamento d'Arianna" explores a varied emotional landscape, the breadth and depth of which had not yet been portrayed in the emergent genre. This lament was situated in the ancient myth of Theseus and Ariadne. Rinuccini was publicly recognised for his work, both at the time of *L'Arianna*'s premier, and in later years, evidenced in the Doni-Mersenne letter of 1636.[34] The emotionality of the libretto is both projected and magnified through Monteverdi's music, with the iconic 'Lasciatemi morire' ('let me die') motif setting a new standard for use of the word-painting device. Incisive readings by Cusick have transformed our understanding of the subtext of the libretto. While this is not the place to rehearse their interpretations in detail, it may suffice to say that the myth of Arianna was used as a moralising text. It depicted a woman being punished for disobeying her family, following her heart and sexuality, and when her free spirit 'died' from the pain of her lover's infidelity, what remained was a quiet, obedient woman, ready to become a wife.[35] The lesson to women: obey and conform.[36]

Rinuccini's *Arianna* presents a story of abandonment. Teseo (Theseus) and the Cretan Princess Arianna (Ariadne) are fleeing to Athens from Crete after Teseo had slain the Minotaur, Arianna's

[34] Doni's letter (in French) to Marin Mersenne from Rome, 27th February 1636 (in Marin Mersenne and Cornelis de Waard*, Correspondance du P. Marin Mersenne: religieux minime* VI (Paris: G. Beauchesne, 1933), 30-31); 'Je vous envoyeray un exemple de l'*Ariadne* qui n'est pas tout le drame entier (car il n'a pas esté imprimé), mais sa principalle partie, sçavoir est la *Complainte d'Ariadne* ou la premiere scene, laquelle est veritablement tres bien faicte et la meilleure piece que nous ayons en ce genre, ayant esté fort elabouree, non moins par la continuelle assistance et travail du poete (scavoir du seigneur Ottavio Rinuccini, tres accompli gentilhomme et qui a esté de ceux de la chambre du feu Roy) que du musicien Monteverde, qui est au reste, comme sont presque tous, de peu d'intelligence: ce qui revient justement au contraire des Anciens, qui estoient ordinairement gens de marques et des plus beaux esprits et plus polis de ce temps-là.' The English translation is from footnote 157, in Paolo Fabbri, "Mantua," in *Monteverdi*, trans. Tim Carter, 22-125 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 96. 'I will send you a copy of Arianna, which is not the whole drama (because it was not printed), but its principal part, that is the Lamento d'Arianna or the chief scene, which is truly well done and the best piece that we have in this genre, since it is well developed, no less thanks to the continual assistance and labour of the poet (that is, Signor Ottavio Rinuccini, a very accomplished gentleman who was among those of the chamber of the former king) than to the musician Monteverde, who is, for the rest, as nearly all of them, of little intelligence, something which turns out exactly the opposite of the ancients, who were commonly men of distinction and among the most lively and distinguished intellects of that time…'.
[35] Cusick, "'There Was Not One Lady Who Failed to Shed a Tear': Arianna'a Lament and the Construction of Modern Womanhood," 22-25.
[36] Ibid.

half-brother.[37] Teseo decides he will abandon Arianna, as Venus predicts, because she will not make an appropriate queen of Athens. Despite her loyalty, shown both in her assistance of Teseo in Crete (and therefore her betrayal of her family and homeland), and in following Teseo to Athens, she is abandoned on the island of Dia. The opera, whilst considered a tragedy, features a 'happy and just' conclusion; a *lieto fine*. Bacchus takes pity on Arianna, falls in love with her and makes her his immortal bride. Her final line in the opera, 'beato è il cor che a per conforto un Dio' (blessed is the heart that has a God for comfort), provides a reference to the new marital union between Francesco and Margherita.[38] Reading this libretto through the lens of feminist scholarship makes the *lieto fine* rather dark and heavy. The contemporary audience, already familiar with Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, would have also been familiar with texts such as Ludovico Dolce's *Della istitutione delle donne*, which discussed the need to break a woman's spirit as you would break a horse.[39] In Rinuccini's libretto, the breaking of Arianna's spirit happens over the course of the lament.

The lament focuses solely on one moment. After Teseo leaves Arianna behind on a desert Island, it becomes apparent to her that he had betrayed her forever. Cusick accused Monteverdi as having abandoned Arianna too, for letting her become oppressed by the weight of patriarchal expectations of women, as the character goes from emotional and expressive, to numb and silent, thus ready to be wedded to Bacchus. His music perfectly reflects her retreat and surrender to oppression. At 84 lines, it was, at the time, the longest single piece for solo female (sung) voice in the dramatic repertory, arguably going some way to forefront the talent of women.[40] Witnessing its performance

[37] Rinuccini's libretto is printed in Aneglo Solerti's *Gli Albori di Melodramma* II (Milan: R. Sandron, 1904), 143-188.
[38] Tim Carter studies the libretto given by Solerti within the context of the 'tragedy' genre: Carter, Tim. "Lamenting Ariadne?", 400; the libretto (a combination of the parts, lyrics and small interjections of scene descriptions) is printed in Follino's report and can be found on pages 31-66 – see n. 41 below.
[39] Cusick, "'There Was Not One Lady Who Failed to Shed a Tear': Arianna'a Lament and the Construction of Modern Womanhood," 22.
[40] Tim Carter, *Monteverdi's Musical Theatre* (London: Yale University Press, 2002), 210.

would have been a new experience for the entire audience, though Cusick argues, the oppressive messaging would be abundantly clear to all the women present.[41]

L'Arianna was received with great praise. In reports of the opera's premiere, the lament was highlighted for having tremendously moved the audience. The most detailed, surviving description of the performance was created by Federico Follino, the court chronicler, and as such, its veracity has been called into question. It is certainly an example of the Gonzaga court's self-fashioning, yet it still serves as an instructive piece of reception, even if its report of the opera's general reception may have been exaggerated:

> There was present at this performance princes, princesses, ambassadors, …ladies…and that greatest number of foreign gentlemen that the theatre could seat, which, although it has a capacity of six-thousand and more persons…was not able to contain all those foreigners who sought to enter…[*L'Arianna*] was very beautiful in itself, and for the characters who took part, dressed in clothes no less appropriate than splendid, and for the scenery, which represented a wild rocky place in the midst of the waves, which in the furthest part of the prospect could be seen always in motion, giving a charming effect. But…to this was joined the force of the music by Signor Claudio Monteverdi…who in this work proved to excel himself, combining with the union of voices the harmony of the instruments, disposed behind the scene, which always accompanied the voices, and as the mood of the music changed, so was the sounds of the instruments varied…[and] in the lament which Arianna sings on the rock when she has been abandoned by Thesues, which was acted with so much emotion and in so piteous a way that no one hearing it was left unmoved, there was not one lady who did not shed some little tear at her beautiful plaint.[42]

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[41] Cusick, "'There Was Not One Lady Who Failed to Shed a Tear': Arianna's Lament and the Construction of Modern Womanhood," 36. This is not to say that each woman would definitely have been aware of the oppressiveness of the messaging, more that they would likely recognise the messages as corresponding with the broader cultural/societal context of the regulation of women.

[42] Federico Follino, *Compendio Delle Sontvose Feste Fatte L'Anno M.DC.VIII. Nella Città Di Mantova, Per Le Reali Nozze Del Serenissimo Prencipe D. Francesco Gonzaga, Con La Serenissima Infante Margherita Di Savoia*, 30. For Follino's full description of the opera, including libretto, see pages 30-66. The translation into English is taken from Paolo Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, trans. Tim Carter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 85-6. Original Italian: 'Era quell'opera per se molto bella, e per i personaggi che v'intravennero, vestiti d'habiti non meno appropriati, che pomposi; e per l'apparto della Scena, rappresentante un'alpestre scoglio in mezo all'onde, le quali nella più lontana parte della prospettiva si videro sempre ondeggiar con molta vaghezza. Ma essendole poi aggiunta la forza della Musica dal Sig. Claudio Monteverdi Maestro di Capella del Duca, huomo di quel valore, ch'il mondo sà, e che in quell'attione fece pruova di superar se stesso; aggiungendosi al concento delle voci, l'armonia de gli stormenti collocati dietro la Scena, che l'accompagnavano sempre, e con la variatione della musica variavano il suono: e venendo rappresentata sì da huomini, come da donne nell arte del cantare eccellentissime, in ogni sua parte riuscì più che mirabile, nel lamento, che dece Arianna sovra lo scoglio, abbandonata da Teseo, il quale fù rappresentato con tanto effetto, e con sì pietosi modi, che non si trovò ascoltante alcuno, che non s'intenerisse, nè fù pur una Dama, che non versasse qualche lagrimetta al suo bel pianto.'

Making *L'Arianna*

The process of creating and stitching together the different elements of *L'Arianna* involved several people's input, both creative and practical. Emphasis seems to have been placed on achieving something new: a tragedy in music. The term 'tragedy' relates largely to structure rather than the content of the libretto – the vastly more-tragic *L'Orfeo* of 1607 was not considered a tragedy by genre. There were many elements to contend with in creating this new work, and there was also the issue of contextual appropriateness. As much as novelty was key to the court's image, a tragedy at a wedding did not necessarily send a good message about the union of Francesco and Margherita. Striggio expressed his doubts about performing a tragedy at the nuptial celebrations in a letter to the Duke on 5th March.[43]

The conception of *L'Arianna* flaunts conventional genre classifications. It was not a typical 'tragedy', though it reported itself to be. There were specific rules determining a work's designated genre, and to flout these (as Guarini did) left librettist and composer (and therefore, court) open to criticism. MacNeil explains, quoting from Aristotle's *Poetics*, that the expectation was that 'tragedy should be recited 'in embellished language' and that its poetry should be 'in the mode of action and not narrated''.[44] This is based on Aristotelian principles, and the discussion of tragedy in *Poetics.* According to Aristotle, a tragedy should also contain a beginning, middle and end, all within the period of a day.[45] Rinuccini seemed to recognise this, as *L'Arianna* makes attempts to adhere to these principles by, for example, using the expected timespan, and the narration of off-stage events (as opposed to those on stage).[46] However*, Arianna* is not traditionally structured for a tragedy.

[43] Alessandro Striggio in Turin to Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga in Mantua, 5th March 1606, ASM A.G., busta 2258; S. H. Parisi, "Ducal patronage of music in Mantua, 1587-1627: an archival study," 194, n.92.
[44] MacNeil, "Weeping at the Water's Edge," 409; Aristotle, *The Poetics*, trans. J. Hutton (New York: W. W. Norton, 1982), 50.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Carter, "Lamenting Ariadne?" 397.

Convention dictated that strophic choruses be used to divide the work into five parts, providing the symmetry associated with tragedy.[47] Instead, *Arianna* contains an unconventional six choruses (not to mention the work ending with a *lieto fine*), with further unconventionality at the end of the fifth scene in the form of the two-strophe "Misera giovinetta", followed by Nunzio Primo's three-line announcement.[48] Rinuccini seems to have struggled to maintain a clear sense of identity when trying to fit together the story, the suitability for the occasion, the music and the (initially very tight) timescale in which all these elements had to come together.[49] Monteverdi's music, although lost, would have heavily determined how this structure was experienced by the audience, and therefore determined how unnatural the structure felt.

Clearly, there was some anxiety over the propriety of the work's structure with regards to its genre. Follino's statement, that all the women present cried at the lament, served as a reminder of the work's genre: a tragedy, a characterisation he wanted to hammer home to avoid accusations of flouting well-established customs. 84 lines of lamenting would surely aid the audience in perceiving this work to be a novel tragedy from the great Mantuan court; it is an example of 'guided reception'. Yet, the seemingly-crucial lament had been a late addition to the opera.

Scholars largely agree that the lament's creation came about sometime after a meeting on 26th February 1608, between the organisers of the wedding festivities: Duchess Eleonora (wife of Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga), Rinuccini, Monteverdi, Antonio Maria Viani the stage architect, and Follino. It was agreed that the work needed 'enriching' as it was 'very dry', a curt observation proffered initially by the Duchess.[50] Eleanora was a Medici, born and raised in Florence, surrounded by music

[47] Carter, "Lamenting Ariadne?" 397.
[48] Ibid.
[49] ASM A.G., busta 2712, fasc. 20, letter 6 (Carlo Rossi, 4th March 1608) and letter 7 (Carlo Rossi, 10th March 1608); a transcription of the letter dated lo March is given in Solerti, *Gli albori di Melodramma* I, 94, together with a transcription of Costantini's letter of 18th March (95).
[50] This event was reported in a letter from Carlo Rossi to Duke Vincenzo on 27th February 1608, and is presented (and translated) in Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, 82.

and drama, notably the *commedia dell'arte.* Realising that Martinelli was unlikely to be able to perform for the wedding celebrations (which were, in the end, long-delayed),[51] in the days following, various suggestions were made regarding a replacement were made. In the end, it was Eleonora's suggestion of Virginia Ramponi-Andrieni, a *commedia dell'arte* actress, that came to fruition.[52] This decision would prove hugely influential over the course of the opera, and of Monteverdi's reputation.

By the time of the meeting in which *L'Arianna*'s dryness was discussed, Monteverdi was reported to have written a large portion of the music already; this was noted in a letter dated 2nd February 1608 from Ferdinando Gonzaga to his brother, Francesco.[53] It is hard to imagine that the opera could be deemed 'very dry' if the lament, and, more to the point, its music, already existed at this point. Moreover, the lament is surplus to the storyline. It has no function within the action of the work, it merely offers an opportunity for the singer to indulge in and expand the dramatic moment that is Arianna's realisation of her abandonment. Further corroboration of the lament's late creation is presented through Carter's observation of events and their dates.[54] Virginia Ramponi-Andreini was reported to have learned her lines and music in six days in a letter dated 15th March (it was claimed she had learned it by the 14th). Working backwards, the latest Virginia could have received the music would have been 9th March. The comment on the opera's dryness had come on 26th February, and at that point, they had no soprano capable of singing Arianna. Rinuccini and Monteverdi would not have set about making the lead soprano role even more difficult, given the context. Surely, only after they had secured Virginia, and she had shown herself more than capable of performing the existing music, would they have contemplated developing her role further.

The other contributing factor was that the Duke was loathe to let the star female singers perform publicly, hence (in all likelihood) the all-male cast of *L'Orfeo.* Only in intimate settings with close

[51] Carter, "Lamenting Ariadne?" 402.
[52] Emily Wilbourne, "Ma meglio di tutti Arianna comediante," in *Seventeenth-Century Opera and the Sound of the Commedia Dell'Arte*, 51-91 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 54.
[53] Translated in: Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, 81.
[54] Carter, "Lamenting Ariadne?" 395-6.

friends did he allow them to perform; he seems to have collected them like ornaments and guarded them jealously.[55] He may well not have sanctioned Martinelli's participation if it involved as much exposure as the lament necessitated. Although the late arrival of the lament may now feel a somewhat laboured point, it is important, as it informs the subject of influence. Notably, for the role of women in influencing *L'Arianna*'s success, rather than it being considered dry, confused and somewhat patched-together.

'La Florinda' and the Lament

Though *L'Arianna* impacted Monteverdi's reputation, and became part of his brand as a symbol of his pioneering impact on musical dramas, the work's association with Monteverdi may have been eclipsed (in earlier years) by its association with Virginia Ramponi-Andreini (c.1583–1630/31). She was a Florentine *commedia dell'arte* actress with a 'formidable' reputation.[56] Her nickname 'La Florinda' stemmed from the title of her husband's play (1606), in which she took the titular role. As part of the *Comici Fedeli* acting troupe, she was already in (or at least intended to be in) Mantua for the 1608 festivities. The Duke had tasked them with performing Guarini's *Idropica*, which was set to be the main play of the event. Clearly a capable actress, who had also (reportedly) sung a lengthy lament in her husband's play, Virginia was more than up to the task.[57] Carter suggested that she may have insisted on the lament as part of her agreement to take on 'Arianna', for the sake of increasing her fame.

Virginia performed a stock role as a *commedia dell'arte* actress; hers was the *prima donna innamorata*, the idealised romantic female lead. According to Wilbourne, the *innamorata* had two forms: ardent (representing love desired and consumed) and adamant (representing a woman

[55] Ademollo's was the characterisation of the Duke's jealous guarding of the *Harem Musicale*. Ademollo, *La bell' Adriana* [Basile-Baroni] *ed altre virtuosa del duo tempo alla corte di Mantova…*, 28.
[56] Carter, "Lamenting Ariadne?" 401.
[57] The question is not over the existence of the lament in Andreini's play, but over the musical content thereof.

damaged by or resistant to love).[58] Virginia's oratory style, like her colleagues, was grounded by a general narrative outline, but was largely improvisatory, constituting poetic conventions, literary examples, fragments of existing text, rhymes and repetitions, designed to appear spontaneous.[59] It is this oratory style that links the libretto, the music and Virginia, and suggests her impact upon the lament was more than just enabling it to exist, by virtue of her taking on the role of 'Arianna'. In his famous letter to Doni of 1633, Monteverdi described his need to learn to compose for 'the natural way of imitation' (la via naturale alla imitatione) when writing the music for "Arianna's Lament".[60]

"Arianna's Lament" seems to espouse a 'stream of consciousness' *avant la lettre*. There is a naturalness to the text; it interrupts itself, it repeats itself, yet it still flows. The music follows the text absolutely, from the repetitions to the small expressions made almost as asides or as involuntary ejections, capturing the emotional peaks and troughs. As Carter has suggested off the back of Tomlinson's initial analysis (which effectively gave Rinuccini all the praise), the improvisatory quality of the poetry, matched by the music, bears the mark Virginia's oratory style, and of her *commedia dell'arte* background.[61] The lament's libretto is provided in Table 2.1, and is taken from Wilbourne, "Ma meglio di tutti Arianna comediante", 63-65.[62]

Table 2.1: Rinuccini's 'Lasciatemi Morire' libretto.

Lasciatemi morire.	Leave me to die.
Lasciatemi morire	Leave me to die,
E che volete voi, che mi conforte	And do you want me to be comforted
In così dura sorte,	In this harsh fate,
In così gran martire?	In such great suffering?
Lasciatemi morire.	Leave me to die.
O Teseo, o Teseo mio,	O Theseus, o my Theseus,
Si che mio ti vò dir, che mio pur sei.	I want to call you mine, because you are still mine,
Benche t'involi, ahi crudo, a gl'occhi miei	Although you have fled, ah cruel one, from my sight.

[58] Emily Wilbourne, "A Question of Character: Artemisia Gentileschi and Virginia Ramponi Andreini," *Italian Studies* 3, vol. 71 (2016), 339.
[59] Emily Wilbourne, "A Question of Character: Artemisia Gentileschi and Virginia Ramponi Andreini," 339.
[60] Claudio Monteverdi in Venice to Giovanni Battista Doni in Rome. 22nd October 1633. Florence, Conservatorio di Musica 'Luigi Cherubini', fondo Basevi 2438, vol. xv, fos. 7-9. Bf: 4pp.
[61] Carter, "Lamenting Ariadne?" 402.
[62] Translation from: Emily Wilbourne, "Ma meglio di tutti Arianna comediante," 63-65.

Volgiti Teseo mio,	Turn back, my Theseus,
Volgiti Teseo, o Dio.	Turn back, Theseus, o God.
Volgiti indietro a rimirar colei,	Turn back around to gaze on her
Che lasciato ha per te la patria, e 'l Regno	Who, for you, has left her homeland and kingdom
E in queste arene ancora	And who will leave, on these sands
Cibo di fere dispietate, e crude	As food for ruthless and cruel beasts,
Lascierà l'ossa ignude.	Her bare bones.
O Teseo, o Teseo mio	O Theseus, o my Theseus,
Se tu sapessi, ò Dio,	If you only knew, oh God,
Se tu sapessi, oimè, come s'affanna	If you only knew, alas, how troubled is
La Povera Arianna,	The pitiful Arianna,
Forse, forse pentito	Perhaps, perhaps repentant
Rivolgeresti ancor la prora al lito,	You would turn once more the prow to the shore,
Ma con l'aure serene	But instead with gentle breezes
Tu te ne vai felice, & io quì piango.	You leave happily, and I here weep.
A te prepara Atene	For you Athens prepares
Liete pompe superbe, & io rimango	Happy, sumptuous ceremonies, and I remain
Cibo di fere in solitarie arene.	Food for wild beasts on the lonely shore.
Te l'uno, e l'altro tuo vecchio parente	Both of your aged parents
Stringeran lieto, & io	Will joyfully embrace you, and I
Più non vedrovvi, o madre, o padre mio.	Will never see again my mother or my father.
Dove, dove è la fede,	Where, where is the faithfulness,
Che tanto mi giuravi?	That you swore to me so many times?
Così ne l'alta sede	Is this how you seat me
Tu mi ripon de gli Avi?	On the high throne of your ancestors?
Son queste le corone,	Are these the crowns
Onde m'adorn' il crine?	With which you adorn my hair?
Questi gli scetri sono,	Are these the scepters,
Queste le gemme, e gli ori?	These the gems and the gold?
Lasciarmi in abbandono	To leave me, forsaken,
A fera, che mi strazzi, e mi divori?	To a beast who would tear and devour me?
Ah Teseo, ah Teseo mio,	Ah, Theseus, ah my Theseus,
Lascierai tu morire	Will you leave to die,
In van piangendo, in van gridando aita,	Weeping in vain, calling for help in vain,
La Misera Arianna,	The miserable Arianna
Ch'a te fidossi, e ti diè gloria, e vita.	Who trusted in you, and who gave you glory and life?
Ahi, che non pur risponde:	Alas, he does not respond,
Ahi, che più d'aspe è sordo a miei lamenti	Alas, he is deafer than an asp to my laments,
O nembi, o turbi, o venti	O clouds, o storms, o winds,
Sommergetelo voi dentr'a quell'onde.	Bury him beneath those waves!
Correte orche, e balene,	Hurry whales and sea monsters,
E de le membra immonde	And with his soiled body,
Empiete le voragini profonde.	Fill your deep whirlpools.
Che parlo, ahi, che vaneggio?	What am I saying, alas, am I raving?
Misera, oime, che chieggio?	I am a wretch, alas, what am I asking?
O Teseo, o Teseo mio.	O Theseus, o my Theseus,
Non son, non son quell'io,	I am not, I am not that person,
Non son quell'io, che i feri detti sciolse	I am not that person who spoke those harsh words
Parlò l'affanno mio, parlò il dolore,	My grief spoke, my pain spoke,
Parlò la lingua sì, ma non già il core.	My tongue spoke, yes, but not my heart.
Misera ancor dò loco	Miserable woman, can I still make room

A la tradita speme, e non si spegne Fra tanto scherno ancor d'amor il foco? Spegni tu morte omai le fiamme indegne O madre, o padre, o de l'antico Regno Superbi alberghi, ov'hebbi d'or la cuna: O servi, o fidi amici (ahi Fato indegno) Mirate ove m'ha scorto empia fortuna, Mirate di che duol m'ha fatto herede L'amor mio, la mia fede, e l'altrui inganno Così và chi tropp'ama, e troppo crede.	For betrayed hope, and is it not yet extinguished Among such derision, the flame of love? Extinguish, you Death, finally, these unworthy flames O mother, o father, o sumptuous buildings Of the ancient realm where once I had a cradle of gold: O servants, o faithful friends (alas, unworthy Fate!) See where my pitiless destiny has brought me, See the sorrow to which my love and fidelity And the deceit of another have made me heir! So it goes for she who loves too much and trusts too much!

It has been suggested that Monteverdi's 'natural imitation' could refer to imitation of the 'declamatory speech patterns' used by Virginia when discussing and rehearsing the lament's text.[63] This seems entirely possible, particularly if one imagines her workshopping and rehearsing the lament with Rinuccini. Her intonation could have shaped Monteverdi's conception of the lament's melody. This imitation could also have borne influence over the declamatory style Monteverdi became so famed for in his musical writing (though this was already evident in his work). Wilbourne compares "Arianna's Lament" with other laments delivered (if not, directed) by Virginia in her roles as 'La Florinda' and 'La Sultana' (1622), noting shared use of repetitions, rhythms, and an improvisatory nature. She concluded that 'Claudio Monteverdi's *L'Arianna* was also Virginia Andreini's 'Arianna''.[64] This has been convincingly demonstrated by, for example, references to "Arianna's Lament" in other works performed by Virginia, and by those wishing to put on *L'Arianna* insisting that Virginia play the lead.[65] MacNeil even suggested (to Wilbourne personally) that there had been some monopoly over the performance of the lament, meaning that only Virginia could perform it; such a thing would be remarkable, and could explain why Monteverdi only published a

[63] Wilbourne, "Ma meglio di tutti Arianna comediante," 67.
[64] Ibid., 91.
[65] An example of a work that referenced her role as Arianna can be found in Giovanni Battista Andreini's *La Ferinda*, which references Arianna in its prologue that would most likely have been performed by Virginia, and includes a lament for a male lead, the text of which can be convincingly underlaid to Monteverdi's music, creating a parody. For more on this intriguing work, see Wilbourne, "Ma meglio di tutti Arianna comediante," 85-87. An example of her being asked to reperform the role comes in 1612, in a letter to her from Ferdinando Gonzaga in Rome. I-*Fas*, Mediceo, f. 976, c. 188.

monodic arrangement of the lament in 1623.[66] This was the year after *La Ferinda*'s libretto was published, in which its author, Giovanni Battista Andreini stated: 'Thus I devised that Talia, sitting in majesty on a seashell among the waves, would present the prologue, saying that, as the patron of theaters, she no longer wanted [the audience] to weep for Arianna, but to revive their spirits with new delights, of which she was the carrier.'[67] 'Talia' would likely have been played by Virginia, meaning that she was effectively giving permission for others to perform the role of 'Arianna'. Two editions of the lament were published the following year. Monteverdi's was published by Magni in Venice with a privilege (see Table 2.2). Whether or not there was any such monopoly, Virginia seems to have been intrinsically linked with the opera in 17th-century minds.

The reception of Virginia's performance of 'Arianna' at the premier lauded her, in the lament, as the best part of the opera. Follino's report, which one must read with appropriate caution, describes the impact of her performance. Even Annibale Roncaglia, ambassador to the d'Este, who was often critical of Modena's rival courts, sang her praises:

> Each of the performers [recitanti] had very nice costumes and did their parts well, but best of all was Arianna the commedia actress [comediante]; they did the story of Arianna and Teseo, which, with her musical lament, accompanied by viols and violins, she made many weep with her pain. There was also [Francesco] Raso, a musician [musico], who sang divinely; but Arianna out-did herself in this role, and the eunuchs and others seemed as nothing.[68]

[66] Wilbourne, "Ma meglio di tutti Arianna comediante," 85, n.84.

[67] "Parimente allo stesso Prologo cercai d'andar emulando; poiche si come frà questi super-bissimi Theatri principio d'una di queste Opere famose ad ogni hor fù un Prologo d'invenzione, o nel Mare, o nel Cielo comparendo; così intesi anch'io che Talia, sopra una Conchilgia frà l'onde in maestà, facesse il Prologo dicendo; Che Padrona de' Theatri, non voleva più, che si piangesse per Arianna: ma si rallegrasse per nuovi diletti, com'ella n'era apportatrice." Giovanni Battista Andreini, *La Ferinda* (Paris, 1622); the printer's mark looks to be a royal crest, indicating one of *les imprimeurs do roi*, but I have been unable to identify who specifically.

[68] 'Si fece, poi la commedia in musica, che si cominciò prima dell'avemaria et durò sino alle tre ore di notte, e tutti i recitanti ben vestiti fecero la loro parte molto bene, ma meglio di tutti Arianna comediante: et fu la favola d'Arianna et Teseo, che nel suo lamento in musica accompagnato da viole et violini fece piangere molti la sua disgrazia; v'era un Raso, musico, che cantò divinamente; ma passò la parte Arianna, et gl'eunuchi et altri parvero niente.' Annibale Roncaglia in Mantua to the d'Este in Modena, 29th May 1608. ASMO, Ambasciatori: Mantova, b. 8, fasc. 53, c. 3-4.

It is notable that Virginia is singled out as an actress, and that her *commedia dell'arte* association was recognised, either through her existing reputation or through her performance style. Wilbourne has argued that the role of 'Arianna' was an ardent *innamorata*, but in light of Cusick's perspective, I suggest that 'Arianna' is not a typical ardent *innamorata* as per the *commedia dell'arte*, but that she is both ardent and adamant, and transforms from one to the other over the course of the lament. The key moment for the ardent (loving and consuming/consumed by love) to adamant (damaged by and resistant to love) switch is the line 'Che parlo, ahi, che vaneggio?' (What am I saying, alas, what am I raving about?), which represents a shift in her self-awareness. 'Arianna' asks herself: 'Misera ancor dò loco/A la tradita speme, e non si spegne/Fra tanto scherno ancor d'amor il foco?' (Miserable woman, can I still make room/For betrayed hope, and is it not yet extinguished/Among such derision, the flame of love?); can she still love when there is so much hate in her? She answers herself: 'Spegni tu morte omai le fiamme indegne' (Extinguish, you Death, finally, these unworthy flames). In her marriage to Bacchus, she is not rewarded (for her extinguishing of her 'passionate self')[69] with love explicitly, but 'with a God for comfort' ('beato è il cor che ha per conforto un Dio'). 'Comfort' implies protection and safety, which might be read as conservatorship, part of patriarchal marriage. This transformation of the character was likely the only way that such a tour de force of female expression, talent and intelligence could have been acceptable, certainly in such a high-status and high-stakes setting as the dynastic wedding celebrations.[70]

For enforcing this transformation and abandonment of Arianna, Cusick has laid blame at the feet of Monteverdi and his music. His 'rise and fall' melody, which accompanies the repeated phrase

[69] The death of Arianna's 'passionate self' 'constitutes a public musical chastening of this incautious woman who dared to choose her own mate', in the words of Cusick. See Cusick, "'There Was Not One Lady Who Failed to Shed a Tear': Arianna's Lament and the Construction of Modern Womanhood," 26.

[70] Had 'Arianna' not been the title character, who needed to win over the audience in order for the opera to be a success, she may have been framed as 'mad', or 'immoral', or were this a comedy, perhaps her passion would have been purely comedic, and not required a transformation. On madness and mad-scenes, see Suzanne Cusick, "Re-Voicing Arianna (And Laments): Two Women Respond," *Early Music* 3, vol. 27 (1999): 436-449; and Anne MacNeil, "The divine madness of Isabella Andreini," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, cxx (1995): 195-215.

'lasciatemi morire' represents, to her eyes, Arianna's passion collapsing into submission. The 'hesitant rise', a phrase coined by Tomlinson, for Cusick 'representing Arianna's uncontrollable passion', is expressed by the music moving from $\hat{5}$ to $\hat{8}$.[71] The collapse, or the 'means by which Arianna's public struggle and castigation returns her to appropriate female piety', is represented by the movement through $\hat{3}, \hat{2}$ and $\hat{1}$.[72]

The below example is from Cusick's "'There Was Not One Lady Who Failed to Shed a Tear': Arianna's Lament and the Construction of Modern Womanhood," 25.[73]

Example 2.1: "Lamento d'Arianna" 'rise and fall' melody.



Taking Virginia's influence into account, and the possibility that Monteverdi was reflecting her speech patterns with his 'natural imitation', could scholars assess Monteverdi's role slightly differently? Carter has already posited that Rinuccini had, in response to Virginia's influence, 'had the last word', as it were, by enforcing the death of Arianna's passionate self in the libretto.[74] In light of Virginia's possible influence over the music of the lament (possibly over the text, if she had insisted upon the lament's existence in the first place, as Carter considered), could this 'collapse',

[71] Cusick, "'There Was Not One Lady Who Failed to Shed a Tear': Arianna's Lament and the Construction of Modern Womanhood," 25-26.
[72] Ibid.
[73] In Cusick it is 'Example 1.' Cusick, "'There Was Not One Lady Who Failed to Shed a Tear': Arianna's Lament and the Construction of Modern Womanhood," 25.
[74] Carter, "Lamenting Ariadne?" 402.

based on her speech patterns, not be seen as her enacting necessary protection of herself and her career? Allowing 'Arianna' to die, on oppressive, patriarchal terms, allowed Virginia fame and success.[75] Though this view does not lessen the tragedy and misogyny of the messaging throughout the lament (and the rest of the opera), it at least gives Virginia a little more autonomy and credit for her involvement.

Reception and dissemination

Reception of the opera is documented principally in two forms. First, in contemporary witness accounts, such as Follino's report and Roncaglia's letter. Second, through extant editions of the lament, particularly adaptations and contrafacta produced in response to it. Cusick noted that "Lamento d'Arianna" was one of 'the most emulated, and therefore influential, works of the 17th Century', crediting Monteverdi with creating a vocal genre and operatic trope.[76] As illustrated by the involvement of Virginia Ramponi-Andreini, the lament was already an established feature of the *commedia dell'arte*, thus the addition of the lament occurring after she had taken over the role of 'Arianna' would seem to point to Virginia's influence over the creation of this genre. In essence, the "Lamento d'Arianna" is seen as a seminal work for Monteverdi, because it exerted significant influence upon his contemporaries and his own future compositions. In 1614, he organised the publication of the lament in the form of a five-part madrigal, under the title "Lasciatemi morire". This was followed nine years later by a book containing the lament for solo voice, and two other works of a similar style.[77] Both the *Sesto libro* and the 1623 "Lamento" were printed with privileges, suggesting an attempt on Monteverdi's part to establish both his authorship, and the lament as a genre, providing the first example, followed by two additional romantic pieces 'representative of the

[75] Admittedly, at the expense of her fellows, but one doubts the existence of such feminist scruples in the 17th-century musical theatre world. Virginia's 'Making and Marketing' of her brand has been the topic of a recent thesis by Serena Laiena, "Making and Marketing a Theatre Couple in Seventeenth-Century Italy: Giovan Battista Andreini and Virginia Ramponi" (PhD Thesis, University of Cambridge, 2021).
[76] Cusick, "'There Was Not One Lady Who Failed to Shed a Tear': Arianna's Lament and the Construction of Modern Womanhood," 21.
[77] Claudio Monteverdi, *Il sesto libro de madrigali a cinque voci, con un dialogo a sette* (Venice: Amadino, 1614).

genre'.[78] In 1641, the lament was included in Monteverdi's *Selva morale et Spirituale di Claudio Monteverde* as a spiritual 'lament' of the pietà, with its new title "Lamento della Madonna", and was disseminated widely across German-speaking lands.[79] Perhaps Monteverdi's creation of a sacred contrafacta of the lament was inspired by the success of Coppini's sacred contrafacta of Monteverdi's madrigals. The opera as a whole was revived in Venice in 1640, after a failed attempt in Mantua of 1620.[80]

Cusick suggests that the chamber version of "Lamento d'Ariana" inspired many works, as seen in the reworking of the Rinuccini text by Severo Bonini (Venice: Bartolomeo Magni, 1613), Antonio Il Verso (Palermo: Giovan Battista Maringo, 1619), and Francesco Costa (Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1626).[81] These evidence reception of Monteverdi's treatment of the poetry, as these composers were inspired to emulate his use of this dramatic text, rather than choosing to copy elements of his musical style in application to other texts. Bonini's reception of the lament goes beyond a reworking of the text. He wrote in *Prima parte de' discorsi e regole sovra la musica* (c.1650, manuscript) that 'among foreigners, first it was Signor Claudio Monteverdi who enriched this style with rare ornaments and new ideas in the play entitled *Arianna*…it was so appreciated that there has been no house which, having harpsichords or theorbos therein, did not have its lament'.[82]

Follino's report stated that the audience size at the premier was over six thousand, as the venue was 'not able to contain all those foreigners who sought to enter', and he described the 'dexterity'

[78] Claudio Monteverdi, *Lamento d'Ariana: et con due lettere amorose in genere rappresentativo* (Venice: Bartolomeo Magni, 1623).
[79] See 'Introduction and Model' in Part II of this thesis for more on *Selva morale* in German-speaking lands.
[80] See Stevens, *The Letters of Claudio Monteverdi,* 184.
[81] Cusick, "'There Was Not One Lady Who Failed to Shed a Tear': Arianna's Lament and the Construction of Modern Womanhood," 38, n.4. There were musical laments before *Arianna*, such as "Il Lamento di Olimpia" by Stefano Rossetti. *Arianna* seems to have been the first work that combined the dramatic lament and the musical lament specifically in the setting of a 'musical play'. See Stefano Rossetti, *Il lament di Olimpia* (Venice: Scotto, 1567).
[82] Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, 98; I-*Fr*, MS 2218.

needed to fight one's way through the door to the packed theatre.[83] While we have no reason to doubt the accuracy of this report as such, it is certainly worded this way to emphasise the international significance of a Mantuan event; even an audience of six-thousand was too exclusive. As we have seen, Monteverdi's music was given a similarly dramatic appraisal. MacNeil presented an interesting theory for this, assessing the report beyond a simple act of Ducal self-fashioning. She compares the wedding of 1608 with the Mantuan wedding festivities of Margherita of Austria and Philip II of Spain (1589), also arranged by Follino. Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido* (1598) was given an 'elaborate' performance, and was subject to negative reception due to its unconventional structure and its length.[84] At the same time, Monteverdi produced madrigals from the play, which provoked the infamous public ire of Giovanni Maria Artusi in 1600.[85] The controversy still wore on in 1608. MacNeil's theory is that Follino was worried about the reception of *L'Arianna*, given that Rinuccini and Monteverdi had not followed convention when creating the work. As noted earlier, *L'Arianna* was also the first tragedy to be set to music. Monteverdi's music was praised highly in Follino's report, potentially in response to some anxiety about the work's reception.

The opera's revival at the inauguration of the Teatro di San Moisè in 1639-40 is worth some discussion.[86] The revival likely enhanced the relationship between Monteverdi and *L'Arianna*. In a period of operatic productivity on a large scale, bringing one of the first operas to Venice on a large, public stage would have been excellent publicity for Monteverdi. Particularly so, given the establishment of his brand, his renowned role at San Marco, and the fact that Rinuccini and Virginia Ramponi-Andreini had died, allowing him to take a more central position in the work's history. Indeed, there was a sense of expectation that Monteverdi would contribute to the emergent Venetian opera scene. As Ellen Rosand described, members of the *Accademia de gl'Unisoni* recorded

[83] Follino, *Compendio Delle Sontvose Feste…*, 29-30.
[84] MacNeil, "Weeping at the Water's Edge," 410.
[85] Monteverdi's settings of poetry from *Il Pastor Fido* were performed in Ferrara at the house of Antonio Goretti, on the wedding night of Margherita and Philip (16th November 1598). He was apparently not present for their performance, but comfortable with their circulation. Artusi was, however, present.
[86] Sadly, records of who performed in the revival do not survive, nor how many times the work was performed.

their hopes for Monteverdi to 'step out onto the stage' with a new work, but that if he did not, he would still 'be there in spirit, for he was so powerfully behind the whole business'.[87] Two new editions of *L'Arianna*'s libretto were published to accompany the revival. The first, by Angelo Salvadori, was a copy of the 1608 libretto, lacking Monteverdi's changes to the libretto and published without his name; Rosand suspects without his approval, too.[88] The second, by Antonio Bariletti, is quite the opposite. It contains the alterations made by Monteverdi, a sonnet by the librettist Benedetto Ferrari to 'Signor Claudio Monteverdi, oracle of music' (Oracolo della Musica),[89] and a dedication by the printer. The dedication describes *L'Arianna* as 'the most praised of dramatic compositions in Italian theatres' and Monteverdi as 'the most celebrated Apollo of the century and the highest intelligence of the heaven of harmony'.[90] This publication promoted the Monteverdi brand, despite printed libretti typically glorifying poets. It is one of the few recorded instances of reception of Monteverdi's brand occurring in exclusion from his music, as opposed to vice versa (which, as the second half of this thesis will show, was far more common).[91] The reference to Monteverdi's 'intelligence of harmony' is particularly interesting. It is difficult to read that phrase

[87] Ellen Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice: The Creation of a Genre*, 16-7. 'Dio voglia non se avanzi anco sopra delle scene dove tutti li altri sono per capitare una di queste sere con una Comica, et musicale rappresentatione.' 'Se non vi sarà in atto vi potrà essere in potenza perche haverà consigliato forte il tutto'. "Satire, et altre raccolte per l'Academia de gl'Unisoni in casa di Giulio Strozzi," I-Vm, It. X, 115 [7193], fifth satire, f.61v. Monteverdi was also written to by the librettist for *Il ritorno d'Ulisse in patria* (premiere 1639, Bologna), Giacomo Bodoaro, persuading the musician to give his text a dramatic musical setting for performance in the Venetian opera season. The letter's date is uncertain and it appears not to have been printed, though it was included as a paratext at the start of the manuscript copy of *Il Ritorno*'s libretto. See: Nino Pirrotta, "Early Venetian Libretti at Los Angeles," in *Music and Culture in Italy from the Middle Ages to the Baroque: A Collection of Essays*, 317-324 (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), in particular p.322 and n.22.

[88] Ibid., 17, n.20. *L'Arianna: Tragedia del Signor Ottavio Rinuccini…rappresentata in musica* (Venice: Salvadori, 1639).

[89] Though probably completely coincidental, the symmetry of a 'Ferrari' (Benedetto and opposed to Cherubino, in this case) producing a poem the aggrandise Monteverdi is neat, if nothing else, though it now seemed that Monteverdi had been upgraded to sonnet-status, just as Artusi had been in his treatises. Benedetto Ferrari may well have taken on the role of producer in the Arianna revival. See: Nino Pirrotta, "Early Venetian Libretti at Los Angeles," in particular p.322.

[90] Ibid., 17-8; *L'Arianna del Sig. Ottavio Rinuccini, posta in musica del Sig. Claudio Monteverdi, rappresentata in Venetia l'anno 1640* (Venice: Barilietti, 1640). 'Hora dunque che l'Arianna, Componimento, che fra' Drammatici hà riportati i primi vanti da' Theatri Italiani, ritorna à veder le Scene in Venetia, per opera del Signor Claudio Monteverdi, celebratissimo Apollo del secolo, e prima Intelligenza del Cielo armónico, prendo occasione di non tenerle i miei più lungamente celati…'.

[91] Bariletti probably stood to profit from this print, repaying Monteverdi through the propagandistic paratexts. Exclusion from his music means without the presence of his printed music – his music, musicality and significance to music history are referenced.

without being reminded of the Artusi Controversy, and the concerted efforts to present Monteverdi in precisely the light Bariletti did. Evidently, such was the Monteverdi brand that in touting these claims, the printer stood to reap benefits from the patron and customers, whether or not they were true.

Bonini's statement in his *Discorso* (c.1650), that every musical household owned a copy of "Arianna's Lament", mentioned Monteverdi's modern style in the same breath.[92] His description of Monteverdi illustrated both the ubiquitous association with "Arianna's Lament", as well as with modernness – a key aim of Monteverdi's Mantuan brand-building. Although modern scholars are kept largely in the dark about what contemporaries actually thought of Monteverdi, glimpses such as this tell us which narratives seem to have prevailed, and which of his works were particularly important to his brand. That Monteverdi went to the trouble, at 72 years old, of reviving *L'Arianna* surely signifies a desire to publicly assert his authority over the work (perhaps over the genre, too), and to further his acclaim through its performance. Unlike in his print works, where the influence of the printers could be responsible for much of the brand-building, this revival seems to have been a personal decision by Monteverdi. Monteverdi wrote further operas for the Venetian stage after *L'Arianna*'s revival, perhaps in response to its success. That Monteverdi continued to write laments, including contrafacta of the "Lamento d'Arianna", proves the piece's importance to his brand and, arguably, to him personally. The "Pianto della Madonna", the final piece in his work *Selva morale e spirituale* (Venice: Magni, 1641), was one such contrafactum. The work was dedicated to the daughter of Eleonora Gonzaga (also named Eleonora), whose mother's criticism, intervention and choice of leading lady was foundational to the lament's existence and the opera's success. Perhaps Monteverdi's dedication acknowledged that, to some extent.

[92] Severo Bonini, *Discorsi e regole sopra la musica et il contrappunto* (1649-51, I-*Fr* MS 2218): 'Tra forestieri il primo [fra i cantori, sonatori sublimi e compositori di cantilene più singolari in stile moderno] fu il signor Claudio Monteverdi, il quale arricchì questo stile di peregrini vezzi e nuovi pensieri nella favola intitolata Arianna, opera del signor Ottavio Rinuccini, gentilomo di Firenze; fu tanto gradita, che non è stata casa, la quale avendo cimbali o tiorbe in casa, non avesse il lamento di quella'.

Conclusion

Our knowledge of Monteverdi's *L'Arianna* is largely tentative, due to the loss of the majority of its music. However, the lament, considered to be the work's defining number, which Monteverdi went to the trouble of getting printed on three occasions (twice at his own expense, suggested by the fact that neither the 1614 or 1623 works were dedicated), has survived, and bears the influence and intervention of many different hands. Notably, the musical-theatrical heritage of Duchess Eleonora Gonzaga and her sharp critique, as well as the (potentially) vital intervention of Virginia Ramponi-Andreini. The extent to which Caterina Martinelli, the probable student and theoretical 'surrogate daughter' of Monteverdi, was able to influence the work is uncertain. Her demise may well have given Monteverdi's writing an extra degree of poignancy and pain. Yet, it seems that the *commedia dell'arte* actress was the one who was able to master the poetry of Rinuccini, and inspire the music of Monteverdi through her embodiment of Arianna. The collaboration (if we can call it that) between his music and the oratory style of Virginia was of seminal importance to Monteverdi's style, for in 'finding no book that could show me the natural way of imitation',[93] he found an actress. In becoming Arianna, Virginia may well have made Monteverdi.

There were several *lamenti* produced after Monteverdi's "Lamento d'Arianna". This chapter will conclude by listing as many musical examples as possible (as opposed to those not set to music, appearing in dramas), to illustrate the potency of the Rinnucini, Monteverdi, Ramponi-Andreini combination. The table includes Italian works and does not consider examples of the lament genre abroad (which could be very fruitful). For example, Henry Purcell's "When I am laid in earth" (known as "Dido's lament") from *Dido and Aeneas* (premiere c.1689), exhibits many musical features of the lament genre, in a markedly similar libretto centred on the abandoned-heroine archetype. The examples gathered in Table 2.2 could illustrate the synonymity of laments with the character

[93] A quotation from the letter Monteverdi sent to Doni in 1633 (Florence, Conservatorio di Musica 'Luigi Cherubini', fondo Basevi 2438, vol. xv, fos. 7-9. Bf: 4pp).

'Arianna' and with Virginia Ramponi-Andreini. The data shows that, until 1623, the vast majority of laments were written for 'Arianna'. The opposite is true for those written from 1624 onwards. The year 1623 is significant for two reasons. First, as the previous year saw the publication of Giovanni Battista Andreini's *La Ferinda* (Paris, 1622), which, as discussed earlier, told audiences to no longer weep for 'Arianna'. Second, as Monteverdi's "Lamento d'Arianna" monody was finally printed with privilege, which may have discouraged others from creating similar works for fear of being accused of unoriginality. For example, Costa's "Pianta d'Arianna", published in 1626 (Venice: Vincenti) and seemingly the last instance of an 'Arianna' lament, could have been a strategic naming choice. Evidently Monteverdi's print made an impact, as he firmly tied the "Lamento d'Arianna" to the Monteverdi brand. The statement in *La Ferinda* should also be considered, as *L'Arianna* and the lament seem to have formed a significant part of Virginia's brand for several years; perhaps Monteverdi's 1623 print indicates the first time that the opera and the lament became associated primarily with him rather than with the star performer. This would certainly have been reinforced by *L'Arianna*'s revival on the public stage in Venice.

Monteverdi was remembered as the creator of the 'masterpiece' "Lamento d'Arianna" in Esteban de Arteaga's 1783 work: *Le rivoluzioni del teatro musicale italiano, dalla sua origine…* (Bologna: Carlo Trenti, 1783).[94] That 160 years after the lament's print (in monodic form), both piece and composer were still remembered and noted for their cultural importance demonstrates the significance of the lament upon Monteverdi's brand, particularly in the context of dramatic music. Musically, the lament was influential, as is illustrated by borrowings of the theme in other works. Thematic borrowings could be evidence of Virginia's performance remaining in the minds of contemporaries, creating a conceptual sonic model of a lament. It could also speak specifically to an admiration of

[94] Esteban de Arteaga, *Le rivoluzioni del teatro musicale italiano, dalla sua origine…* (Bologna: Carlo Trenti, 1783), 195-96; 'Capo d'opera dell'arte in quele genere' (195). The *Scherzi musicali* (1607) is also mentioned, as it appeared in Doni's *Della musica scenica* (Rome: Andrea Fei, 1635), which had been a reference text for Arteaga.

Monteverdi's music, and an association between laments and his musical writing.[95] Musical references are made to the opening 'rise and fall' melody of "Lamento d'Arianna" (see Ex.2.1) in a few laments listed in Table 2.2. Examples include Peri's "Lasciatemi ch'io mora" and his "Lamento d'Iole" (both from operas that premiered in 1628), as well as Frescobaldi's "A piè della gran Croce" (Florence: Landini, 1630) and Vittori's "Lagrimiam' sospiriam', compagni fidi" (Rome: Bianchi, 1639). Monteverdi himself recycled his melody in a modified form in "Lamento di Olimpia" (manuscript, see entry in Table 2.2). Perhaps this is evidence of a musical motif becoming part of Monteverdi's brand; a sonic logo to accompany his paratextual persona.

The surge in lament creation does not necessarily indicate that all laments were inspired by Monteverdi's directly (though some clearly were). In presenting this table, I aim to provide a tangible sense of the lament's prevalence, which is informative of Virginia's influence over Monteverdi's brand and thus helps to answer the question: 'who made 'Monteverdi''? I am also responding to Redlich's claim that there were a 'positively incalculable series of lamenti' produced in response to Monteverdi's "Lamento d'Arianna".[96] While the examples I have gathered do not paint the picture of an 'incalculable' number of laments, my list is not exhaustive. I would estimate that most of the dramatic musical works produced in Italy after *L'Arianna* contained a lament in some form, an idea perhaps best demonstrated by the multiple operatic works composed by Francesco Cavalli (see his entry in Table 2.2). There is also the issue that much music has been lost. In some cases, such as Sigismondo d'India's "Lamento d'Armida", evidence shows that laments were created but have not survived, which leads to speculation about other lost laments. Concrete numbers are, therefore, illusive, but the data is still able to help build a picture of the impact that the "Lamento d'Arianna" had upon the musical landscape, and thus the impact of Virginia Ramponi-Andreini, Eleonora Gonzaga, and the other contributing figures upon Monteverdi's brand.

[95] Which, presuming Virginia's speech patterns did influence the melody, still should give cause for her recognition, despite the music having the appearance of being solely 'Monteverdi's'.
[96] Hans Ferdinand Redlich, *Claudio Monteverdi, Life and Works*, trans. Kathleen Dale (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952), 103.

Table 2.2 displays works in the 'Lamento' genre, created after the premiere of Monteverdi's *L'Arianna* (1608).[97]

[97] These have been collated from the RISM database, primarily, as well as sources such as Irving Godt and Giorgio Sanguinetti, "I Casi di Arianna," *Rivista Italiana Di Musicologia* 2, vol. 29 (1994): 315–59, Ellen Rosand, "Lamento," *Grove Music Online*, 2001; accessed 8th June 2023, and Denis Arnold and Nigel Fortune (eds.), *The New Monteverdi Companion* (London: Faber & Faber, 1985).

Table 2.2: Works in the 'Lamento' genre, created after the premier of Monteverdi's *L'Arianna* (1608).

Composer	Date	Piece	Work	Notes
Sigismondo d'India	1609	"Lamento d'Armida"	Lost	He claimed in a letter to Enzo Bentevoglio to have written this in two hours (2nd September 1627).
Claudio Monteverdi	1610	"Lamenti di Ero e Leandro"	Lost	Mentioned in a letter from Casola, transcribed in Vogel, "Claudio Monteverdi", in *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwis senschaft* III, 443-450 (1887) (footnote 10).
Giulio Cesare Antonelli	c.1611/12	"Lamento d'Arianna"		5-voice arrangement.
Claudio Monteverdi(?)	Unknown, first quarter of 17th century	"Lamento di Olimpia"	Manuscript collection. GB-Lbl: Add. 30491.	Copied by Luigi Rossi, contains lyrics 'Voglio, voglio morir' set to the melodic theme of "Lamento d'Arianna".
Giulio Cesare Monteverdi	1611	"Lamento di Cerere" (theoretical)	*Il Rapimento di Proserpina*	(Casale: Pantaleone Goi Stampator Ducale, 1611). The music does not survive, but a lament by the character Cerere, played by Virginia Ramponi-Andreini, is described in *Breve descritione delle feste fatte dal Serenissimo Sig. Principe di Mantova nel giorno Natale della Serenissima Infanta Margherita, etc.*
Severo Bonini	1613	"Lamento d'Ariana"		(Venice: Bartolomeo Magni). Recorded in A. Solerti, *Gli albori del melodramma*, II (Milan: R. Sandron, 1904) xi.
Claudio Pari	1619	"Il Lamento d'Ariana"	*Il Lamento d'Ariana*	(Palermo: Giovanni Battista Maringo) His fourth book of madrigals for five voices.
Antonio il Verso	1619	"Lamento d'Ariana"	*Il decimo quinto libro de madrigali a cinque voci ... opera trentesima sesta*	(Palermo: Giovan Battista Maringo). A parody of Monteverdi's "Lamento d'Arianna".
Giulio Cesare Antonielli	1619	"Lamento d'Ariana"		In manuscript form.

Claudio Saracini	1620	"Lamento della Madonna"	*Seconde musiche*	(Venice: Bartolomeo Magni) The works begins with a dedication to Monteverdi — a madrigal for solo voice: *Udite, lagrimosi*.
Filippo Vitali	1620		*Aretusa*	Operatic work containing many laments in Monteverdi's style.
Claudio Monteverdi	1620	"Un lament di Apollo"	Lost	Part of the ballet *Endimione*?
Pellegrino Possenti	1623	"Lamento d'Ariana"	*Canora Sampogna*	(Venice: Magni) A monodic version of the lament. Dedication dated 28th October 1623.
Claudio Monteverdi	1623	"Lamento d'Arianna"		(Venice: Bartolomeo Magni, with privilege).
Sigismondo d'India	1623	"Lamento d'Olimpia"	*Quinte musiche*	(Venice: Alessandro Vincenti).
Ibid.	1623	"Lamento di Didone"	*Ibid.*	Ibid. Carter has pointed out several similarities between this lament and Monteverdi's "Lamento d'Arianna"; musical borrowing and textual themes, as well as D'India's creation of a polyphonic arrangement (in his eighth book of five-voice madrigals, 1624). Tim Carter, "Intriguing Laments: Sigismondo d'India, Claudio Monteverdi, and Dido 'Alla Parmigiana' (1628)," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 1, vol. 49 (1996), 40-42.
Francesca Caccini and Marco da Gagliano	1624	"Toglietemi di vita"	*La regina Sant'Orsola*	Sacred opera; score lost. Contains many laments in the poetic style of Rinuccini.
Claudio Saracini	1624	"Lassa chi mi consola"	*Quinte musiche*	(Venice: Bartolomeo Magni). One copy bound in a collection (GB-*Och* Mus. 795) alongside Monteverdi's *L'Orfeo* (1615 ed.), among other works. Piece described as 'lamento' in the work's *tavola*.
Francesco Costa	1626		*Pianta d'Ariana*	(Venice: Alessandro Vincenti).

Claudio Monteverdi	c.1627	"Un lament di Armida"	Lost	A work *in genere rappresentativo* based on Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata.*
Marco da Gagliano and Jacopo Peri	1628	"Lasciatemi ch'io mora" or "Fortunate Corilla"	*La Flora*	(Florence: Zanobi Pignoni). Peri composed the music for the role of Corilla. The third iteration of the word 'Lasciatemi' is reminiscent of "Lamento d'Arianna", as "Lascia-" is set to a rising semitone and is rhythmically identical.
'Il Fasolo' (Francesco Manelli?)	1628	"Lamento di Madama Lucia"	*Il carro di madama Lucia*	(Rome: Giovanni Battista Robletti). Collection of arias.
Jacopo Peri	1628	"Lamento d'Iole" or "Uccidimi dolore"	*Iole ed Ercole*	Opera. Musical borrowing in the opening phrases from Monteverdi's "Lamento d'Arianna". The opera seems never to have been completed or performed, and the lament survives in manuscript form. I-Bc Q49. See Peri's entry in *Grove Music Dictionary*, 2001 by William V. Porter and Tim Carter.
Giovanni Rovetta	1629	"Lagrime d'Erminia"	*Madrigali concertati a 2. 3. 4. & uno à sei voci, & due violini con un dialogo nel fine & una cantata à voce sola*	(Venice: Bartolomeo Magni) Rovetta's first book of madrigals, sharing a similar structure to Monteverdi's seventh book of 'concertati' madrigals.
Girolamo Frescobaldi	1630	"A piè della gran Croce"	*Primo libro d'arie musicali*	(Florence: Landini) The opening melodic phrase from "Lamento d'Arianna" is worked into the melody over the words 'Giesù spirante, Scapi gliata cosi pianger s'u diva'.
Antonio Maria Abbatini	1633	"Il pianto di Rodomonte"	*Dramatica cantata*	(Orvieto: R. Ruuli) Arranged for 4 voices.
Claudio Monteverdi	1638	"Lamento della ninfa"	*Madrigali guerrieri, et amorosi*	(Venice: Vincenti) Three parts, the second "Amor, dicea" is the soprano lament
Ibid.	Ibid.	"Ahi, troppo è dura crudel sentenza"	*Il ballo delle ingrate* (published in *Madrigali guerrieri, et amorosi*)	Written for the same festivities as *L'Arianna* in 1608, also starring Virginia Ramponi-Andreini?

Loreto Vittori	1639	"Lagrimiam' sospiriam', compagni fidi"	*La Galatea*	(Rome: Vincenzo Bianchi) Opera. The opening phrase of "Lamento d'Arianna" ('Lasciatemi morire, lasciatemi morire') is quoted in the opening *Soprano* and *Tenore* lines.
Francesco Cavalli	1639 (-1660)		*Le nozze di Teti e di Peleo* (et. al.)	Opera containing many laments in Monteverdi's style. Cavalli produced 33 operas (let alone the ones dubiously attributed to him), all of which contain laments, some of which contain multiple laments. Cavalli was a colleague of Monteverdi at San Marco, and a prolific contributor to the opera genre. To list all of his laments here would be excessive. For a very basic overview, see Cavalli's Grove Music Dictionary entry by Thomas Walker, revised by Irene Alm, 2001. For more detail, see, for example, Ellen Rosand, "Aria in the Early Operas of Francesco Cavalli" (PhD Thesis, New York University, 1971), or Rosand's *Readying Cavalli's Operas for the Stage: Manuscript, Edition, Production* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2017).
Domenico Mazzocchi	1640	"Lamento delle B. Vergine"	*Musiche sacre e morali*	(Rome: Lodovico Grignani) Sacred lament, for four voices, mostly solo voice and 3-voice response (solo voice switches between *Canto*, *Alto* and *Basso*), ending with four-voice chorus.
Claudio Monteverdi	1641	"Pianto della Madonna"	*Selva morale e spirituale*	(Venice: Magni) Scared contrafacta, work dedicated to Duchess Eleonora's daughter.
Angelo Notari	c.1630-70	"Lamento di Olimpia"	*Songs.* Manuscript collection of various pieces. GB-*Lbl*: Add. 31440	One of 134 songs, madrigals and motets by Monteverdi and others. Provenance: Julian Marshall c.19th century.

Orazio Michi	c.1640-1660	"Lamento della Santissima Vergine" or "Sola fra suoi più cari".	Manuscript copy, part of a collection of various pieces. I-Rc: Mss. 2490.	One of 61 songs of varying genre. Likely a copy of a manuscript, as Michi died in 1641. Provenance: Giuseppe Biani, 18th century.
Giacomo Carissimi	1648?	"Pianta della figlia"	*Jephte*. Oratorio, manuscript copy. GB-*Lwa* CG 63.	Oratorio or *Historia sacra*, a genre for which he was renowned. One copy was made by Marc-Antoine Charpentier c.late-17th century. His other *Historia sacra* contain further examples.
Giacomo Carissimi	c.1650-1671	"Lamento di David sopra la morte del Gionata" or "Come ahi come cade o Gionata".	Manuscript copy. GB-*Cmc*: PL 2802.	Guitar accompaniment added by Cesare Monelli. In the Pepys library in Magdalene College, Cambridge.
Maurizio Cazzati	1661	"Lamento di tre amanti"	*Madrigali, e canzonette per camera, a due, e tre, parte con violini, e parte senza, con un lament di tre amanti per il gran caldo … opera XXVI*	(Bologna: Antonio Pisarri).
Maurizio Cazzati	1668		*Lamento di S. Francesco Saverio per la perdita del suo crocifisso in mare, e ricuperato da un granchio marino*	(Bologna, Printer not specified).
Pier Luigi Ferrato	1677	"Lamento di Sileno"	Manuscript copy. I-*PESc*: Rari Ms.b. 15.	Possibly autograph.

Part 2: Beyond the Brand

Introduction and Model

This second half of the thesis is distinguished by a shift in focus, from the making of Monteverdi's brand, to Monteverdi's music 'beyond the brand'. Presented here are case studies on the dissemination of Monteverdi's music, musical style, and influence in areas where the brand was out of context, where it was cut off from Monteverdi and there was no direct influence by him (nor was there any party acting on his behalf to influence the brand, in the majority of cases). While some narratives associated with the brand were transmitted and sustained in specific areas, namely due to person-to-person transmission, Monteverdi's music was disseminated largely without prefaces in later (re)printed editions, and without any additional context, which created little tangible benefit for him. However, in some instances, his name was able to hold such weight as to have the potential for others to benefit from association with it. In the following discussion, this, as well as concepts of dissemination and influence, will be examined through examples from the German-speaking lands and the British Isles.

This thesis does not offer an in-depth analysis of Monteverdi's career in Venice,[1] but it is worth briefly considering this period now, to help explain the idea of 'moving 'beyond the brand'', as well as to contextualise the remainder of the thesis, which references Monteverdi's Venetian career as well as his Mantuan period. The Venetian period complicates the concept of Monteverdi's brand, as 'Venice' and 'San Marco' became so intertwined with 'Monteverdi' that, in some cases, it is very difficult to distinguish one from the other. Monteverdi's career in Venice marked a significant period of his life; he was *Maestro de Cappella* at San Marco for thirty years, composing works for additional financial reward as and when he needed it. He was on a prominent stage, as San Marco was an internationally and historically renowned institution, and this position no doubt drew more audiences to engage with his brand through engagement with his music. Monteverdi described the kind of attention his music attracted in a letter to Alessandro Striggio (dated 13th March 1620); 'Nor is there any gentleman who does not esteem and honour me, and when I am about to perform

[1] For an explanation of this decision, see "Chapter 1: (Self-)Fashioning 'Monteverdi,'" note 4 (page 16).

either chamber or church music, I swear to Your Lordship that the entire city comes running.'[2] As a major trade hub and the capital of a republic, Venice was a cosmopolitan city with multiple international connections. Monteverdi was in the perfect position to garner renown abroad, though he seems to have shown little interest in doing so, as he was (for the large part) content with his setup at San Marco.[3] This changed during the 1630s, when he sought a relationship with the Habsburgs, as Herbert Seifert suggested. Monteverdi's ambitions manifested in his dedication of *Madrigali guerrieri, et amarosi* (Venice: Vincenti, 1638) to Emperor Ferdinand III.[4] Monteverdi gained censure for his Habsburgian proclivities, showing that despite his renown, he was not immune to politics.[5] Although he managed to control ideas about himself and his music in-person, he does not seem to have taken on pupils, as predecessors in the role had done. As a result, most of the narratives about his ideas and his style were communicated through the few publications he created during this period, and through those who worked with him. In fact, Monteverdi indicated that he relied on his colleagues (such as Marc'Antonio Negri, Alessandro Grandi and Giovanni Rovetta) for matters such as teaching and running the choir. These colleagues were also well-known

[2] ASM A.G., c.6, ff. 209-12. Bf: 7 pp.; transcribed by Domenico De' Paoli, *Claudio Monteverdi: Lettere, Dediche e Prefazioni* (Rome: Edizioni De Santis, 1973); …nè vi è Gentilhuomo che non mi stimi et honori, et quando vado a far qualche musica o sia da camera o chiesa giuro a V. S. Ill.^{ma} che tutta la città corre' (149-150). For the translation, see: Denis Stevens (ed. and trans.), *The Letters of Claudio Monteverdi* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 191.

[3] As the aforementioned letter attests. For the full letter, comparing the treatment Monteverdi received in Mantua to that in Venice, see Stevens, *The Letters of Claudio Monteverdi*, 190-194. The narrative spun by Monteverdi seemed, as ever, to change depending on what he wanted or needed. If at any point, it seemed like he may be making progress on the point of his pension, for example, or if things had become particularly busy as oft they did, Venice would suddenly not be painted as a utopia of respect and autonomy as it is in the above-mentioned letter. Compare the letters, both addressed to Alessandro Striggio, of 24th July 1627, where Monteverdi complains of how busy he has been with various engagements in Venice, and of 10th September 1627, where Monteverdi (clearly frustrated by his enforced link with Mantua) venerates the security of his position in Venice (despite admitting that what he really wanted was a canonry in Cremona). ASM, A.G., c.6, ff.346-7. Bf: 4pp; ASM A.G., c.6, ff.355-7, Bf. + f: 6pp.

[4] See Herbert Seifert, "Monteverdi und die Habsburger," in *Claudio Monteverdi und die Folgen*, 77-92 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1998). Also, Margaret Mabbett, "Madrigalists at the Viennese Court and Monteverdi's *Madrigali guerrieri, et amorosi*," in *Claudio Monteverdi und die Folgen*, 291-310 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1998).

[5] Though likely the work of a 'disgruntled underling', Monteverdi was reported in a letter to the Venetian State Inquisitors for apparently giving treasonous statements, wishing the Habsburgian eagle would fly over the piazza, and stating 'to hell with [the clergy] – I am Claudio'; frankly, a rather amusing image. No evidence suggests that this was ever taken seriously, but the letter does show that fraternising with the Habsburgs in Monteverdi's position was not unhazardous. See: Jonathan Glixon's translation of the letter in: "Was Monteverdi a Traitor?" in *Music and Letters* 3, vol. 72 (August 1991), 404–6; Mitchell Cohen, *The Politics of Opera: A History from Monteverdi to Mozart* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018), particularly chapter 6, "The Political Scenario of Monteverdi's Venice" (84-100).

composers, who contributed to the 'San Marco school' of musical styles and ideas. In many contemporary cases, they garnered greater popularity than their *maestro*, both in Italy and abroad, perhaps because they engaged with more individuals.[6] Thus, we see a blurring of lines between what could be considered Monteverdi's brand, and what was that of San Marco's musical institution, and of Venice's musical scene more broadly. It is also worth noting that Ricciardo Amadino, who had consistently printed and reprinted Monteverdi's works from 1584, did not print Monteverdi's *settimo libro* in 1619 (Venice: Bartolomeo Magni), and he died in 1621. It is unclear as to what prompted this change of printer, but perhaps the loss of Amadino's influence affected Monteverdi's approach to branding. Perhaps Amadino had been the main driving force behind the brand all along. Monteverdi's seemingly-lessened interest in branding during this era could explain why some events, that had been incorporated into his brand earlier in his career, became historically and biographically embedded. In an early 18th-century German-language work, *Musicalisches Lexicon* (Leipzig: Wolffgang Deer, 1732), a dictionary of noteworthy musicians from the early modern period, the 'Artusi dispute' was described in the entry for Monteverdi, with little other information other than a list of some publications.[7] This Artusi 'dispute' became a defining feature of Monteverdi's reception and reputation, in part, because it was the most public-oriented piece of branding to appear in print; early (but historically-removed) biographers had little else to go on.

Monteverdi's compositional activity during this period covered the full range of genres: settings of sacred as well as secular texts, and dramatic works. Additionally, his pieces featured in collections and anthologies put together by other musicians, or by publishers themselves.[8] Such collections have dual significance as both indicators and creators of renown. Particularly in collections collated by publishers, the popularity of the composers featured was highlighted, by claiming that these

[6] John Whenham, "The Venetian Sacred Music," in *The Cambridge Companion to Monteverdi*, eds. John Whenham and Richard Wistreich, 199–218 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 199.
[7] Johann Gottfried Walther, *Musicalisches Lexicon* (Leipzig: Wolffgang Deer, 1732) 420-21.
[8] For a full list of Monteverdi's output, see: John Whenham, "The works of Monteverdi: Catalogue and Index" in *The Cambridge Companion to Monteverdi*, eds. John Whenham and Richard Wistreich, 314-338 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

composers were the 'most excellent authors'; their fame could be monetised. When Monteverdi's pieces began featuring in collections, madrigals were the premier genre of choice; this changed to sacred works through the 1620s and 1630s, those for few voices in the *concerto* style. Many of Monteverdi's earlier works (namely, madrigals books 1-6) were reprinted, particularly during the two years after *Concerto: settimo libri de madrigali* was published (Venice: Magni, 1619). These reprints are interesting for the fact that they were disseminated abroad, notably (for this study) on the British Isles. Perhaps this represents an effort by printers to capitalise on the success of the seventh book of madrigals by creating reprints of Monteverdi's earlier works. One may have expected Monteverdi to publish more new music during this thirty-year period. Only one collection of sacred works, *Selva morale e spirituale* (Venice: Magni, 1641), was published, despite the amount of sacred music he had to write as part of his role.[9] It seems that Monteverdi simply did not feel the need to publish unless he wanted to achieve something specific with the publication (building relations with the Habsburgs, for example); in Mantua, he was building a brand and attempting to establish himself, and his role at San Marco, to him, was the culmination of those efforts.

The most rewarding discussion of Monteverdi's music 'beyond the brand' is, arguably, to be had around music transferred to German-speaking lands during the seventeenth century. The in-person connections which linked San Marco, and by extension, Monteverdi to German-speaking lands created routes of dissemination, where ideas about Monteverdi could be transmitted, as well as music. 'German-speaking lands' encompasses an enormous area of Europe and of the Holy Roman Empire, creating an interesting dynamic between protestant and catholic areas, both of which showed an appetite for Monteverdi's musical style. Thanks to their fruitfulness, German-speaking lands have been discussed and explored in the context of Monteverdi by many scholars, and thus

[9] *Selva morale* is a fascinating work in context; it was dedicated to Eleanora Gonzaga, widow of Emperor Ferdinand II, and contained works befitting Viennese tastes and forces, as well as a tribute to her in the form of the *Pianto della Madonna.* This contrafacta of *Lamento d'Arianna* references (I believe) her intervention in the opera, which she called 'dry' during the rehearsal phase, inspiring the creation of the lament in the first place, and, as argued in the previous chapter, significantly influencing Monteverdi's career as a result. For more on the contents and context of *Selva morale,* see: John Whenham, "The Venetian Sacred Music," 203-212.

will feature in specific ways in this thesis. In light of these extensive, if not near-comprehensive previous studies, it will suffice here to give an overview of Monteverdi's music's dissemination in German-speaking lands. The discussion then examines in greater detail the cultural transfer from Mantua to Salzburg that took place between 1612 and 1619 – a period during which Monteverdi's *L'Orfeo* (1607) was exported to the court of the Prince-Archbishop of Salzburg, one of the first known instances of the fledgling genre opera outside Italy.

The fourth chapter of this thesis is concerned with a formerly under-studied subject: Monteverdi's music in 17th-century Britain. Not only is there much to be gleaned from investigating the surviving sources in British collections generally about the absorption of Monteverdi's stylistic features, but I have also discovered musical borrowings of some of Monteverdi's madrigals by English composer, Richard Dering. Previously, connections drawn between Britain and Monteverdi have started and ended with Walter Porter, the self-professed English pupil of Monteverdi.[10] There has been no engagement with the stylistic influence of Monteverdi's music upon British musicians, and only a limited investigation of the surviving sources containing Monteverdi's music, a large number of which are manuscript copies created by British musicians. The final chapter of this thesis seeks to rectify this oversight, by investigating the dissemination of Monteverdi's music in Britain, looking at the culture for purchasing print versus making manuscripts, assessing the sources, and giving suggestions about performance based on contemporary accounts.

Overview of the transmission and dissemination of Monteverdi's music in German-speaking lands

In a seminal study on the distribution and reception of Monteverdi's music in 17th-century Germany, Peter Wollny appraised Monteverdi 'as a stimulus and a "classical master" – that is, as a teacher to his contemporaries and succeeding generations.'[11] This summarises Wollny's view of the position

[10] See: G. P. Arkwright, "An English Pupil of Monteverdi," *The Musical Antiquary* 4 (1913): 236-57; Charles W. Hughes, "Porter, Pupil of Monteverdi," *The Musical Quarterly* 20, (1934): 278-289; Ian Spinck, "Walter Porter and the Last Book of English Madrigals," *Acta Musicologica* 26, issues 1/2 (1954): 18-36.
[11] Peter Wollny, "Distribution and reception of Monteverdi's music in 17th-century Germany," in *Claudio Monteverdi und die Folgen*, eds. Silke Leopold and Joachim Steinheuer, 51-75 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1998), 51.

Monteverdi held in the cultural fabric of the early modern era – it is how we, as musicologists, should 'define his role'.[12] Although I do not wish to challenge this view per se, it belies more nuanced cases of Monteverdi dissemination, both on smaller and greater scales. The two case studies following this introduction move 'beyond the brand', providing more complicated examples of the dissemination of Monteverdi's musical influence, and analysing the potential for there being any such notion of Monteverdi as a 'classical master', contemporarily speaking.

This overview of dissemination in German-speaking lands serves to provide a model of how Monteverdi's brand and music were received abroad. At first sight, the reception of Monteverdi's music among German-speaking composers may appear to be relatively 'straightforward', at least in comparison with the other two case studies that dominate the remainder of my thesis. Perhaps it is only so straightforward as particular instances of works modelled on Monteverdi had been identified in the edited book *Claudio Monteverdi und die Folgen* (1998), which devotes several chapters to the 'consequences' of Monteverdi in the German-speaking lands, including a definitive chapter by Peter Wollny.[13] Building further on the results of this study and many more regarding German reception of Italian musical styles, Wollny's *Studien zum Stilwandel in der protestantisch Figuralmusik des mittleren 17. Jahrhunderts* (2016) gives an in-depth study of the stylistic changes in German music in protestant areas, showing which elements of Monteverdi's style, and of the Venetian style more broadly, were integrated into the German sacred style during this era, and were formative of the sacred concerto.[14]

Yet, while these studies have established a reliable list of works, this may be but the tip of the iceberg, considering the sheer amount of music and musicians travelling across Europe during this period. Mary S. Frandsen's study on musical 'tastes' exposes the scale of the situation, as she explores a wealth of data relating to musical dissemination and consumption across 17th-century

[12] Ibid.
[13] Silke Leopold and Joachim Steinheuer eds. *Claudio Monteverdi und die Folgen* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1998).
[14] Peter Wollny, *Studien zum Stilwandel in der protestntischen Figuralmusik des mittleren 17. Jahrhunderts* (Beeskow: Ortus Musikverlag, 2016).

German-speaking Europe.[15] The movement of musicians between countries and cities comprises the subject of Monteverdi's music in German-speaking lands. As Frandsen's and others' work illustrates, music was transmitted both in print and manuscript, and many subcategories and hybrid formats besides. There is also the topic of collections – works published that contain multiple composers' pieces, selected from 'several excellent authors'[16] (picked, realistically, for their availability rather than their excellence), many of which contain Monteverdi. For their inherent assertion of Monteverdi's (and others') worth, these collections should be classed as reception (or as masquerading thusly). Moreover, there is embodied transmission, when German musicians were sent to Italian regions to 'learn' the latest Italian styles from Italian masters. Elisabeth Giselbrecht's thesis, "Crossing boundaries: The printed dissemination of Italian sacred music in German-speaking areas (1580-1620)", gives a thorough analysis of transalpine Italian musical dissemination in print, but also investigates this embodied transmission of music, via 'musicians, pilgrims, students and merchants'.[17] Some German-speaking musicians were sent to Venice and may have studied with, or (perhaps more likely) in the vicinity of, Monteverdi.

This section will begin by discussing print and collections as methods of dissemination, before providing examples of German-speaking musicians' engagement with Monteverdi's music, starting with the 'poster boy' for Monteverdi's music in German-speaking lands: Heinrich Schütz. It will then identify some of Schütz's students whose secondary experience of Monteverdi influenced their compositions, before discussing composers who were not taught by Schütz, who exhibited traces of influence from Monteverdi's music. This section will conclude with a list of notable sources that were disseminated to or created in German-speaking lands, containing music by Monteverdi.

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[15] One highlight of the study is Frandsen's discussion of the presence of Venetian music in German-speaking pedagogical contexts. Mary S. Frandsen, "Matters of Taste: The Lutheran market for sacred music in the seventeenth century," *Early Music History*, vol. 39 (2020), 170-176. Another work that gives a sense of the scale of musical dissemination in Europe across the early modern is Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl and Grantley McDonald (eds), *Early Printed Music and Material Culture in Central and Western Europe* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2021).

[16] Paul Kauffmann, *Fiori del Giardino del diversi excellentissimi Autori…* (Nuremberg: Paul Kauffmann, 1597).

[17] Elisabeth Giselbrecht, "Crossing boundaries: The printed dissemination of Italian sacred music in German-speaking areas (1580-1620)," (PhD Thesis, University of Cambridge, 2012) 48-51.

Chiefly, 'German-speaking lands' encompasses European cities where German was the primary language spoken; contemporarily, this region would have been termed the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. This incorporates areas now in Austria, such as Vienna, and Poland, such as Danzig (now Gdańsk). The period under discussion here is (generally) the seventeenth century, although most examples happen to occur around the first quarter to the mid-century, coinciding with Monteverdi's time at San Marco, and the generation of musicians proceeding his tenure. In terms of print culture and music print trade, this region benefitted from its Northern cities' links with Venice (such as Hamburg and Vienna), as well as the southern links with printers such as Phalèse in Antwerp.[18] The Frankfurt and Leipzig book fairs increased the accessibility of print music books, catering to a range of consumers, from students to church musicians, tutors to courts, both local and international. That these fairs existed (and do still today) is indicative of a substantial market for print media. The printed catalogues of these fairs are still largely extant, and although none seem to show Monteverdi's works being stocked individually, there are records of many of the anthologies containing his music appearing on the market at various points between 1603 and 1660. The catalogues simply list title names, authors and publishers, and sometimes include dates; sadly, any pricing information is not included (see Fig**.**I).[19] They were created to advertise books that would be available for purchase; publishers would declare the titles they intended to send ahead of the fairs, and could advertise upcoming works, intended to be available for future fairs. One such advert, presented in a catalogue specifically for Masses, was for an edition of Monteverdi's *Scherzi musicali* (which of the two is not clear), by Ambrosius Profe in 1656, though this never seems to have made it to print.[20] Presumably, the books sent by publishers (from across Europe) to the fairs indicated, in

[18] Wollny, "Distribution and reception of Monteverdi's music in 17th-century Germany," 55.

[19] The catalogues in this section are from: "Michaelismesse 1594 - Michaelismesse 1691" (Leipzig: Verlegt von Grosse/Lamberg/Latomus, 1594-1691). Published in the database: *Frankfurt and Leipzig Book Fair Catalogues*. Georg Olms Verlag, 2018. Bookshop pricing is available in Frandsen, "Matters of Taste: The Lutheran market for sacred music in the seventeenth century", although none of the specific sources she looked at contain Monteverdi.

[20] Wollny discusses this advert on page 34 of his *Studien zum Stilwandel.* This advert claimed that Profe had a completed manuscript of *Scherzi* with German (possibly sacred) text, alongside Vecchi's *Canzonette* (again, unspecified), ready for printing. These editions never seemed to appear, and Profe died in 1661. Albert Göhler,

their view, titles that would sell well on an international platform, that they could spare from their local customers/trades, and that would encourage further interest in their publishing house. The catalogues provide insight into the European book trade over 300 years, and represent the international dissemination of works of many kinds, including music.[21]

Verzeichnis der in den Frankfurter und Leipziger Messkatalogen der Jahre 1564 bis 1759 angezeigten Musikalien (Leipzig: Kahnt 1902), Göhler 2, 67, no. 1199 (the individual parts are named Göhler 1-4, following the original).

[21] There are numerous studies on the book fair catalogues, but for an English-language overview of their production and function, see: Ian Maclean, "Chapter 1 The Evolution of the Frankfurt and Leipzig Book Fairs and Their Catalogues, 1564–1700," in *Episodes in the Life of the Early Modern Learned Book* (Leiden: Brill, 2020).

Figure I: ***Catalogus universalis, hoc est designatio omnium librorum, qui hisce nundinis ... Francofurtensibus & Lipsiensibus anno ... vel novi vel emendatiores & auctiores prodierunt*** **(Leipzig: Weidmann, Easter 1641), reproduced from: Frankfurt and Leipzig Book Fair Catalogues. Published Online: Georg Olms Verlag, 2018. Oster 1641, D.**



Jacobi Zevecotii J. V. D. Poematum Editio ultima. Amſtelodami apud Joannem Janſſonium in 12.

Pia Lachryma in IV. fontes, ſeu totidem libros Elegiarum diviſa; authore R. D. Carolo Werpeo è Soc. Jeſ. Colon. ap. Joh. Kinchium in 12.

Gymnaſium Poeticum, continens brevem Proſodiam, Syllabum Syllabarum, & Eluciarium Poeticum, cum Synonymis, ib. in 18.

Joannis Ovveni Epigrammatum, Editio correcta, ib. in 24.

Ejusdem Epigrammatum, Editio poſtrema. Amſtelodami apud Ioannem Janſſonium in 24.

Bartholdi Nihuſii Epigrammatum libri. Colon. apud Johannem Kinchium in 12.

Maphæi S. R. E. Card. Barberini, nunc Urbani Papæ VIII. Poemata. Dilingæ ex Typographia Academica. in 12.

LIBRI MUSICI.

JOhann. Schopen. erſter und ander Theil/ newer *Paduanen, Galliarden, Allmanden, Balletten, Couranten* und *Canzonen*, mit 3. 4. 5. und 6. Stimmen/ Nebe Stimmen, *Baſſo continuo*; In Verlegung Zachariæ Hertels. in 4.

Erſter/ ander und dritter Theil geiſtlicher *Concerten* und *Harmonien* à 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. &c. *Vocibus, cum & ſine Violinis; & Baſſo ad Organa:* Auß den berühmten *Italianiſchen* und andern *Autoribus*, ſo theils neben ihren eigenen mit noch mehren/ theils auch mit andern Texten beleget/ und zu Lobe Gottes/ und Fortpflantzung der edlen Muſic/ auff vieler Begehren und Gefallen/ *colligiret* und zum öffentlichen Druck befördert durch *Ambroſium Profium*, Organiſten zu St. Eliſabeth in Breßlaw. Bey Chriſtoph Jacob/ Buchhändlern in Breßlaw. in 4.

Compendium Muſicum, das iſt: Kurtze Anleitung wie ein junger Menſch in weniger Zeit/ leichtlich und mit geringer Mühe/ ohne einige *Mutation* möge ſingen lernen: Auch was ihme am nothwendigſten darinnen zu wiſſen von nöthen. Aus eigener Erfahrung alſo auffgeſetzet von *Ambroſio Profio*, p. t. Organiſten zu St. Eliſabeth in Breßlaw. Bey Chriſtoph Jacob/ Buchhändlern in Breßlaw. in 4.

Johann Bierdancks/ Organiſten zu S. Marien in Stralſund/ erſter und ander Theil/ darinnen begriffen etliche *Capricci, Canzoni*, und *Sonaten*, mit 2. 3. 4. und 5. Inſtrumenten/ ohne und mit dem *Baſſo continuo*, Roſtock/ bey Johann Hallervord. in 4.

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Wollny identified three major routes of transmission of Italian music into German-speaking lands.[22] The first of these was in-person: court and cathedral musicians were often sent by their employers to Venice (and other cities such as Rome, though Venice was a hub) to study the music, perfect their compositional skills and bring back ideas for their own institutions' music-making activities. The second route operated through printed anthologies, works that would be put together by either a publisher or another musician, combining a variety of works by different composers; specifically, German-made Italian musical anthologies were notable sources of transmission and dissemination. In theory, dissemination via manuscript circulation was another potential route, though in regard to Monteverdi's music in German-speaking lands, it would be a largely speculative discussion.[23] Instead, individual bookshops constitute the third major route. In the case of Monteverdi, this area is less rewarding to study, owing to the lack of archival documentation. Among the few surviving records, we find an entry on Monteverdi's *Selva morale e spirituale* (Venice: Magni, 1641) being sold in the Munich bookshop of Paul Parstoffer, according to the printed stock catalogue of 1653.[24] Parstoffer's shop must have been known for his Italian works, as most of his stock consisted of Italian prints by

[22] Wollny, "Distribution and reception of Monteverdi's music in 17th-century Germany," 52-53. According to Wollny, the stock catalogue, titled 'Indice di tutte le Opere di Musica', is no longer available, but is described and utilised in Johann Gottfried Walther's *Musicalisches Lexicon* (1732); a letter from Walther, dated 6th February 1730, explains that he acquired the catalogue from the estate of Weimar's Kapellmeister, Adam Drese. See: Johann Gottfried Walther, *Musicalisches Lexicon*, "Vorberciht," 2: "Die Auctores Pratici aber, und deren heraus gegebene Wercke sind aus des Paul Parstoffers an. 1653. In München ausegangenem Indice di tutte le Opere di Musica [] leicht zu ershen gewesen". The description of Monteverdi is on pages 420-421 and contains a reference to the Artusi 'dispute' ("grossen *Disput*", 420), among other things. The Parstoffer reference (421) is as follows: "Im Parstofferischen Catalogo wird folgendes Wird von ihm angeführt: *Selva, nella quale si trova Messe, Salmi, Hymni, Magnificat, Motetti, Salve Regina, & Lamento della Madonna, à* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 8 *Voci con Violini,* so an. 1610 herausgetommen ist. Seiner *Scherzi musicali à tre voci* sind an. 1615; und das fùnffte Buch seiner stimmigen Madrigalien ist an. 1612 in Venedig wieber aufgelegt worden: auf diesem Werde wird der *Auctor* ein Capellmeister des herzogs von Mantua gennet." The Italics are used to replicate the font change between German and Italian as in Walther.
For the letter in which Walther gives a clue to the stocklist's provenance, see: Johann Gottfried Walther, *Briefe*, ed. Klaus Beckmann et al. (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher verlag für musik, 1987), 96 & 111.

[23] This is in contrast to British dissemination of Monteverdi's music, as we will discuss in the chapter on the British Isles. In choosing not to focus on Italian manuscript transmission in German-speaking lands, this thesis also emits a discussion of organ and lute tablature, which, as Giselbrecht points out, is neglectful of valuable examples of active receivership. This has the danger of implying a hierarchy between musical genres, as well as between print and manuscript, which was not my intention. Manuscript dissemination is certainly a topic ripe for further investigation, but in this short overview, I considered the print medium a more suitable point of focus, as indeed Giselbrecht did in her systematic study. Giselbrecht, "Crossing boundaries: The printed dissemination of Italian sacred music in German-speaking areas (1580-1620)," 13-14.

[24] Wollny, "Distribution and reception of Monteverdi's music in 17th-century Germany," 53.

musicians such as Frescobaldi, Rigatti and Rovetta, among others. Indeed, due to the similarities between Parstoffer's catalogue and those of Vincenzo Vincenti, the Venetian printer, Wollny has surmised that Parstoffer was, in fact, an agent of Vincenti north of the Alps.[25] Wollny also notes that, despite the poor representation of Monteverdi in surviving stocklists, there must have been a greater dissemination of print than it appears today, as surviving manuscripts suggest wide availability of *Selva morale*, although the anthologies likely did much of the work regarding dissemination of secular works.[26]

The contents of German-made anthologies have been listed in a table below.[27] These are fascinating sources for their blend of sacred and secular genres. Anthologies seem to have become popular for their ability to solve the issue of obtaining Italian music; a result of the Thirty Years' War. The war drastically impacted ties between northern, Protestant cities, such as Dresden, and Italy. By comparison, the southern, Catholic cities, such as Innsbruck, managed to maintain connections fairly stably. This is evident through the appearance of Italian styles in southern German-speakers' music 10 years earlier (c.1630s) than in their northern counterparts'.[28] The loss of Italian connections is also illustrated in the dramatic decline in Italian works stocked in the Leipzig and Frankfurt book fair catalogues in the 1620s. Anthologies could overcome the resultant loss of ties between German-speaking lands and Italian cities, not to mention reduced financial capabilities, by disseminating Italian works. Compilers of these anthologies deliberately selected works that had broad appeal; Donfrid, for example, selected works written for few forces so that most musical institutions could perform them, even after the reduction of musicians brought about by the war. His collections were especially popular in the protestant areas, as is reflected in the Thuringian and Saxon manuscript

[25] Wollny, *Studien zum Stilwandel in der protestntischen Figuralmusik des mittleren 17. Jahrhunderts*, 30. This is based on Vincenti catalogues from 1619, 1621 and 1649.
[26] Wollny, "Distribution and reception of Monteverdi's music in 17th-century Germany," 52-53.
[27] These tables are taken from Wollny, "Distribution and reception of Monteverdi's music in 17th-century Germany," and I have included additional information on the works' presence in Frankfurt and Leipzig book fair catalogues. See Wollny, 70-75. I have also included two recently attributed manuscripts presented in the work of Derek Stauff. See: Derek Stauff, "Monteverdi and Scacchi in Breslau: Madrigal Contrafacta in a Time of Conflict" in *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 1, vol. 25 (2019), specifically, see n. 29 in paragraph 3.13 under "3. Creating Ms. 271: Copyists, Provenance, Sources, Date". Page numbers are not given for this journal.
[28] Wollny, *Studien zum Stilwandel in der protestntischen Figuralmusik des mittleren 17. Jahrhunderts*, 27.

collections catalogued by Wolfram Steude. The anthologies of Ambrosius Profe seem to have gained ubiquitous status in the collections and inventories of German-speaking cities in the mid-17th century into the 18th century; these anthologies (five in total) must have been printed in unusually high numbers, Wollny suspects, due to their wide circulation. Profe is responsible for Monteverdi, and the other composers who featured in the collections such as Gabrieli, Grandi and Rovetta, becoming well-known across German-speaking lands in a short period of time; Wollny stated that 'the importance of Profe's anthologies can hardly be overestimated'.[29] Kristin Sponheim's study on Profe's anthologies, within the context of Italian-German 'musical transfer', sheds further light on Profe's 'systematic' approach to representing Italian music in German-speaking lands.[30]

The presence of sacred contrafacta of Monteverdi's secular pieces in Profe's anthologies illustrates the relationship between secular, concerted Italian music and the sacred concertos created in German-speaking lands. Monteverdi's secular compositions, particularly the later madrigals, and dramatic works (namely *L'Orfeo* and "Lamento d'Arianna") inspired sacred German compositions with particular elements; *ritornelli*, *obbligato* instruments, *Basso Continuo*, declamatory homophony in vocal parts, for example. These are features that 'decisively determine the beginnings and early development of the sacred concert in Protestant Germany'.[31] However, viewed in another way, there was clearly a need at times to convert the secular Italian works into sacred works in order for the Italian pieces to be of practical use, and we see evidence of this practice in manuscripts (see the Dresden, Gotthold, Kassel and Weckmann collections for examples), as well as in the contrafacta anthologies of Ambrosius Profe.[32] Sponheim highlighted Profe's approach to this issue of blending

[29] Wollny, *Studien zum Stilwandel in der protestntischen Figuralmusik des mittleren 17. Jahrhunderts*, 31: 'Die Bedeutung von Profes Anthologien ist kaum zu ubershätzen'.
[30] Kristin Sponheim, "The Anthologies of Ambrosius Profe (1589-1661) and the Transmission of Italian Music in Germany" (PhD Thesis, Yale University, 1995), 2.
[31] Ibid., 36: 'Die stilistischen Entwicklungen der norditalienischen Schule, darunter die Behandlung der Singstimmen im monodischen wie auch im mehrstimmigen Satz, die Verwendung von obligaten Instrumentem sowie die Funktion des Generalbasses, bestimmen damit die Anfange und fruhe Entwicklung des geistlichen Konzerts im protestantischen Deutschland massgeblich.'
[32] On the topic of musical conversion of Italian secular works by German-speaking musicians, see: Stephen Rose, "Patriotic purification: cleansing Italian secular vocal music in Thuringia, 1575-1600," in *Early Music History*, vol. 35 (2016), 203-260. For a detailed case study of this conversion in the music of Monteverdi, see:

sacred and secular, describing the multiple alternative (sometimes vernacular) texts he provided for certain Italian works in the anthologies, in a bid to increase their utility for his Protestant audience.[33] Wollny also discusses a copy of the Vespers (1610), in which the term 'Virgin' is replaced by either 'Jesus' or 'Holy Spirit', minor textual changes as opposed to significant rearrangements and adaptations, which may have been necessary to make works suitable for specific occasions.[34]

In terms of direct personal influence, the pattern for German-speaking musicians studying in Venice was complemented by Italian musicians working in German-speaking courts; there was a network of musical transfer between courts such as Vienna, Dresden and Munich and Venice or Rome.[35] This transfer network was not entirely unique to Italy and German-speaking lands, France and Denmark are two further examples where in-person transfer occurred to and from Italy, though undoubtedly, the German-speaking lands were most prolific.[36]

No individual is more prominently associated with 17th-century German reception of Monteverdi than Heinrich Schütz (1585-1672). A Saxonian, Schütz spent much of his professional life at the court in Dresden, and travelled to Venice twice over his lifetime, first, after having received a travel and study grant in 1609-1612, and second, between 1628-1629 (during the Thirty Years' War). His first stay in Venice was notable for the tutelage he received from Giovanni Gabrieli; the two had a close relationship, and although Schütz claimed to have struggled at first with the rigorous training,

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Derek Stauff, "Monteverdi and Scacchi in Breslau: Madrigal Contrafacta in a Time of Conflict." In it, Stauff notes two manuscript contrafacta of Monteverdi madrigals that have been previously unrecognised. See their entries in Table 2.

[33] Sponheim, "The Anthologies of Ambrosius Profe (1589-1661) and the Transmission of Italian Music in Germany," 21, 91, 129, 148-152.

[34] Wollny, "Distribution and reception of Monteverdi's music in 17th-century Germany," 55; Emil Bohn, *Bibliographie der Musik-Druckwerke bis 1700, welche in der Stadtbibliothek, der Bibliothek des Academischen Instituts für Kirchenmusik und der Kgl. Und Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Breslau aufbewahrt warden. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Musik im 15., 16., und 17. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Albert Cohn, 1883), 288.

[35] See, for example: Gesa zur Nieden and Berthold Over eds*. Musicians' Mobilities and Music Migrations in Early Modern Europe: Biographical Patterns and Cultural Exchanges* (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2016); Helen Geyer and Michael Chizzali eds. *Die Adjuvanten als Brennspiegel des italienisch-deutschen Musiktransfers* (Würzburg: Koenigshausen & Neumann, 2022).

[36] We will explore the example of the musical transfer between Mantua and Salzburg in our first case study. This in-person influence via musical transfer is not seen with Italy and Britain in the same way, as in the majority of cases, any in-person interaction would rarely have involved British musicians – more likely, it would have involved British aristocrats, travelling to Italy for leisure as part of the grand tour. Italian musicians did come to Britain, however.

Gabrieli praised his progress and asked for him to stay on in late 1610. A product of this tutorship was Schütz's 'Opus 1', his *Primo libro de madrigali* (SWV1-19; Venice: Gardano, 1611), a testimony of his stylistic assimilation, which included settings of popular Italian texts, including two also set by Monteverdi.[37] By contrast, his second visit was as an observer (and 'absorber') rather than a student, and he made an oft-referenced comment in a letter to the elector of Saxony: 'everything has changed and the music in use at princely banquets, comedies, ballets and other such productions has markedly improved'.[38] Though we do not know for certain if the two met, Schütz was clearly influenced by the music of Monteverdi specifically, as well as that of Venice in general. This is evidenced in Schütz's *Symphoniae sacrae* (Op.6, SWV 257-276; Venice: Magni, 1629), a collection of sacred pieces in a concerted style, inspired by Venice, which was followed (after an unintentionally long period) by the second part, *Symphoniae sacrae* II (Op.10, SWV 341-167; Dresden: Gimel Bergens Churfürstl) in 1647, and by *Symphoniae sacrae* III (Op.10, SWV 398-418; Dresden: Berg) in 1650. Schütz's *Symphoniae sacrae* II included contrafacta; "Es steh Gott auf" after Monteverdi's "Armato il cor" and "Zefiro torna", as did his *Die Geburt unsers Herren Jesu Christi, Historia, der freuden*, 1664 (SWV 435); "Güldne Haare, gleich Aurore" (SWV 440) is created after "Chi'ome d'oro" (Monteverdi, *Concerto: settimo libro de madrigali*, 1619).

What is perhaps most notable about the contrafacta in *Symphonae sacrae* II is that Schütz declared it outright in the paratext, 'To the Benevolent Reader', at the front of the work.[39] Schütz drew attention to his use of "Amato il cor" and the 'ciacone', inviting those who were familiar with the Monteverdi works to judge the extent to which he 'followed' them, before asking that the reader not seek more musical borrowing in any of the other works in *Symphoniae sacrae* II, for he was not

[37] The two shared-text madrigals are "O primavera, gioventu dell'anno" (SWV 1) (Battista Guarini, set in Monteverdi, *Il terzo libro de madrigali de madrigali*, 1592) and "Tornate, o cari baci" (SWV 16) (Giambattista Marino, set in Monteverdi, *Concerto: Concerto: settimo libro de madrigali de madrigali de madrigali*, 1619).
[38] Letter from Heinrich Schütz to Johann Georg I, 3rd November 1628. D-*Dla*: Loc. 8687/1, Kantoreiordnung so Kurfürt Moritz…1548, fols. 62r-v, 63v. Translated in: Heinrich Schütz and Gregory S. Johhnston, *A Heinrich Schutz Reader: Letters and Documents in Translation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 60-61.
[39] Schütz, and Johnston, *A Heinrich Schutz Reader: Letters and Documents in Translation*, 146-148; Heinrich Schütz, *Symphoniae Sacrae secunda pars* (Dresden: Gimel Bergens Churfürstl, 1647).

in the habit of 'adorning' his pieces 'with foreign plumage'.[40] That Schütz would invite comparison between "Es steh Goff auf" and the Monteverdi works suggests that enough musicians were aware of Monteverdi's *Scherzi musicali* (Venice: Magni, 1632) that to not make the comparison himself would invoke criticism. This is also suggested by the slightly defensive comment on 'foreign plumage'; Schütz paints his contrafacta-making as a rarity. Earlier in the paratext, Schütz had stated the main reason for this work's delay (making only a brief reference to the Thirty Years' War, which must have had a drastic impact on publication) was due to 'us Germans' being unfamiliar with performing Italian works, struggling (yet continuing) to do so and inevitably spoiling the music.[41] For the music to achieve ultimate perfection (Schütz quotes the foreword of 'the astute' Monteverdi's eighth book of madrigals here), musicians must understand how to perform it correctly, and, in Schütz's opinion, that this lack of understanding of Italian style caused criticism of 'German' musicians. Despite Schütz's concerns about the performance of his music, he felt it necessary to produce this print, so as to overrule a network of poorly-copied manuscript versions of his pieces that were in circulation, in the hope that the small number of students at 'good schools' would attempt to perform the music as presented, not being 'ashamed to ask for instruction' on its performance.[42] This letter is revealing of many different facets of music's history; of cultural bias and the position of German-speaking lands within a perceived musical hierarchy; of manuscript culture and composers' awareness and engagement with it; and of the uniqueness and impenetrability of Italian music (to those without an Italian musical education).[43]

Situating 'Germany' (as Schütz calls it) beneath Italy in this sort of musical hierarchy, with Monteverdi at the top and Schütz in the middle, acting as a channel for Italian style into Germany, was not an uncommon image (if a problematic and uncomfortable one in our modern eyes). The

[40] Schütz and Johnston, *A Heinrich Schutz Reader: Letters and Documents in Translation*, 147.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid., 147-148.
[43] Stephen Rose discusses the idea that 'early appropriations of Italian culture were motivated by its exclusivity', which suggests that the music's impenetrability, as I have termed it here, was viewed as a challenge to be overcome rather than as a deterrent, as one might have expected. Stephen Rose, "Patriotic Purification: Cleansing Italian Secular Music in Thrungia," 204.

Dresden court poet David Schirmer, a contemporary of Schütz, described a direct connection between Schütz and Monteverdi, claiming that Schütz was instructed by 'the noble Monteverdi', who 'guided him with joy and happily showed him the long-sought path'.[44] At best, this can be taken figuratively, and could relate Schütz to Monteverdi by way of comparing their contribution to musical culture, at least as it was perceived in Dresden, but it does seem to reinforce a hierarchy, lineage or some other deeply reductive structure. This statement also implies tutelage, direct engagement of Monteverdi with Schütz, and paints Monteverdi in rather a more nurturing light than perhaps he should be.

Wollny, in his study on reception, stated a need for Monteverdi to be understood in terms of 'his role…as a teacher to his contemporaries and succeeding generations'.[45] The problem is that Monteverdi's tutorship is difficult to prove, as records do not show him formally taking on students at San Marco (by comparison to Gabrielli, for example); as we will see in the case study on the British Isles, tutorship meant different things in different contexts, in which Wollny's statement (intentionally or inadvertently) can still be read. In terms of German-speakers, we have hints and clues as to whom Monteverdi could have acted as a teacher in a literal sense.

When Schütz returned to Dresden from Venice in 1629, he brought with him Caspar Kittel (1603-1638), who had been in Italy studying music for five years.[46] Kittel was a student of Schütz who had been sent to Italy to learn composition and performance practices. Kittel composed monody, and made use of ritornelli and passaggi diminution; his only surviving music is a print collection, *Arien und Cantaten* (Dresden: Gimel Bergens Witwe & Erben, 1638), which exhibits these as well as some writing for two, three and four voices.[47] The name *Cantaten* ties Kittel with Venice; Grandi was the first to publish music under this genre rubric, with works by G.P. Berti (organist of San Marco) and

[44] Joshua Rifkin, Eva Linfield, Derek McCulloch, and Stephen Baron, "Schütz, Heinrich," *Grove Music Online* 2001. Accessed 14th Apr. 2023.
[45] Wollny, "Distribution and reception of Monteverdi's music in 17th-century Germany," 51.
[46] "Schütz, Heinrich," *Grove Music Online* 2001.
[47] John H Baron, "Kittel family," *Grove Music Online* 2001. Accessed 14th Apr. 2023.

Monteverdi defining the style, though named differently. Kittel should, therefore, be considered a potential student of Monteverdi and his Venetian colleagues, as well as of Schütz.

Schütz had many students over his long career, and appears to have passed on much of what he had learned in Venice to them, not just compositionally, but contextually too; topics such as the development of the *seconda prattica*. Christoph Bernhard (1628-1692) was one such student, a prominent composer and theorist working first in Dresden, then in Hamburg.[48] He used Monteverdi, his style and his pieces, in his best-known treatise *Tractatus compositionis augmentatus* (c.1657).[49] In it, Bernhard discusses the *seconda prattica*, among many other stylistic and compositional practices, and his *stylus luxurians* (stile moderna) and *stylus gravis* (stile antico). He positions Monteverdi within these stylistic fields, attributing to him the *stylus luxurians*, subcategorised into *communis* and *theatralis* (described below). It is significant that Bernhard had such a concept of Monteverdi's position in musical history; we do not see many examples of this kind of positioning occurring outside of Italy, let alone examples that correlate with the narratives that were developed around Monteverdi's brand. Bernhard did travel to Italy, but only after the death of Monteverdi, and it seems Rome was his single destination; he mentions several Roman composers in *Tractatus*, which was published shortly after his trip. The stylistic lineage presented by Bernhard is fascinating, as he relates Monteverdi to the *stylus luxurians*, subcategorised into *communis* (church and 'table' music) and *theatralis* (theatre). In his description of *communis*, Bernhard names Monteverdi as the founder of the style (though credits 'others that attempted similar things before him'), then his 'followers', Rovetta (and other Italians), as successors to the style, followed by Italian musicians working in Dresden (Albrici, Bontempi – who briefly worked under Monteverdi at San Marco, and Peranda), and finally 'the Germans', Schütz, Kerll (1629-1693), Förster (1616-1673), 'and several others'.[50] That he drew this Monteverdian red thread from Venice to Dresden shows a desire to position German-

[48] Richard David Streetman, "Christoph Bernhard" (PhD Thesis, Texas North State University, 1967), 8. Streetman discusses the two surviving contemporary copies of the treatise (in manuscript) on p. 32.
[49] Ibid., "Appendix A," 76-240. Here, Streetman has transcribed and translated Bernhard's *Tractatus* into English.
[50] Richard David Streetman, "Christoph Bernhard," 168.

speakers' music-making in a historical picture. He depicts the inheritance of a style (and perhaps the role of 'innovators') by German-speaking lands from Venice.

Bernhard names Monteverdi first in a list of composers who 'distinguished themselves' in the *stylus luxurians theatralis*, mentioning Rovetta, Cavalli and Carissimi among a few other Italians, then 'present Roman musicians'.[51] This suggests Bernhard's limited knowledge of theatrical music, the limited scope of his research in Italy at this time, and perhaps also his limited interest in this kind of music; he shows no desire to link Italian theatrical music with musical activity in German-speaking lands, despite efforts of composers such as Schütz and the aforementioned Kerll. Bernhard's work provides an invaluable insight into Monteverdi's position in music history as seen by German-speaking composers. That so much of Monteverdi's brand made it into Bernhard's account of stylistic development and music history shows that not only were musical ideas and styles being transferred and disseminated in German-speaking lands, but these kinds of cultural narratives were, too; there is precious little evidence of this in Britain, by contrast. Wollny described Bernhard's historical account as 'drafting a canon of the "most distinguished authors"',[52] though does not analyse the treatment of Monteverdi within this work in either of his publications (on this subject matter), which is perhaps a little surprising, given this unique and likely influential instance of Monteverdi reception.

Wollny does analyse the work of Bernhard's colleague (and another student of Schütz) Matthias Weckmann (c.1616-1674), whom Alex Silbiger's paper "Monteverdi, Schütz and Weckmann: The Weight of Tradition" (1993) identifies as a source of Monteverdi reception.[53] Silbiger describes Weckmann's "Gegrüsset seyst du, Holdselige" as evidence of Monteverdi's "Possente spirto" having been used as a model, bolstering the 'Monteverdi: teacher' narrative, but also exemplifying this

[51] Richard David Streetman, "Christoph Bernhard," 169.
[52] Wollny, *Studien zum Stilwandel in der protestntischen Figuralmusik des mittleren 17. Jahrhunderts*, 15; 'Unterstützung ein Kanon "der vornehmsten Autorum" entwirft'.
[53] Alexander Silbiger, "Monteverdi, Schütz and Weckmann: The Weight of Tradition," in *Proceedings of the Weckmann Symposium, Göteborg, 30 August – 3 September 1991*, ed. Sverker Jullander (Göteborg, 1993), 123-139.

modelling practice, which can also be seen on the British Isles.[54] There are also numerous examples of Monteverdi works being copied out in Weckmann's hand, as can be noted in Table II.

Schütz certainly seems to have been fundamental in the transference of Monteverdian compositional principles, style and cultural narratives to German-speaking musicians. Naturally, Schütz was not the only mediator. Other composers could themselves forge links with the latest Italian styles, as represented by Monteverdi. One such example (who was, admittedly, an ardent admirer of Schütz) was Samuel Capricornus (1628-1665), who named Monteverdi (among Rovetta, Rigatti, Bertali and Valentini) as an important musical influence on his compositional and improvisational style.[55] He did so in a letter to his employer, the Duke of Württemberg in Stuttgart, while he was in a bitter disagreement with a colleague and seeking to defend his own musicianship. The colleague in dispute with Capricornus was Philipp Böddecker (1607-1683), working also in Stuttgart, who included Monteverdi's "Ecce sacrum paratum convivium" in his collection *Sacra partitura* (Strasburg: Heinrich Mittel, 1651).[56] To what extent the influence of Monteverdi was actually present in Capricornus' works is largely unimportant – the fact that he felt mentioning Monteverdi would have a legitimising effect on his stylistic choices is important, as it shows that a degree of authority had formed around Monteverdi's name in German-speaking lands (Capricornus even using the term 'cum autoritate'), even those not notably linked to Venice or even Italy more broadly.[57]

Capricornus mentioned Valentini as a source of compositional inspiration, which is particularly interesting given that he was among the roster of Venetian musicians at the Imperial court in Vienna. Works by Valentini, and his Venetian colleagues, show evidence of the dissemination of

[54] Ibid., 133-134.
[55] Josef Sittard, "Samuel Capricornus Contra Philipp Friedrich Böddecker," *Sammelbände Der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 1, vol. 3 (1901): 87–128.
[56] Philipp Friedrich Böddecker, *Sacra Partitura.* (Strasburg: Heinrich Mittel, 1651).
[57] Josef Sittard, "Samuel Capricornus Contra Philipp Friedrich Böddecker," 116. This kind of self-legitimisation via the inclusion of Monteverdi's name is not common in surviving evidence, but it does occur, as we will see in the instance of Walter Porter in the chapter on the British Isles; almost the opposite approach is taken in Salzburg.

Monteverdi's style in Vienna.[58] As mentioned in the introduction, Monteverdi engaged with the Habsburgs directly, by sending music to the court. The presence of Venetian musicians, trained in Venetian style, no doubt helped integrate Monteverdi's music into the broader musical culture, by knowing how to perform his music well, and by implementing elements of his style in their own compositions. That Capricornus noted Valentini as an influence indicates that musical styles from Vienna were able to be disseminated across other German-speaking lands, presenting the Viennese court as a nexus for Monteverdi's stylistic dissemination. Margaret Mabbett has argued that Monteverdi designed the music of his eighth book of madrigals to befit the Viennese tastes and resources, which must have catalysed the dissemination of Monteverdi's style in Vienna (and beyond).[59] Monteverdi sent the manuscript form of his *Madrigali guerrieri, et amorosi* in 1633 as a gift for Ferdinando II, which Eleonora had performed; works such as "Hor che'l ciel" were profoundly influential across the court. For example, Giovanni Giacomo Arrigoni (1597-1675), Venetian organist at the Viennese court, created "Hor che l'aria e la terra arde e fiammeggia", a setting of Marino's 'reply' poem to Petrarch's "Hor che'l ciel", in turn, replying to Monteverdi. Mabbett has also noted the significant influence of the *stile concitato*, among other stylistic elements present in Monteverdi's writing, in her study on the madrigal writing of Viennese court musicians.[60]

Monteverdi's setting of "Hor che'l ciel" appears to have been popular in German-speaking lands. Wollny notes the sacred concerto of Johann Rosenmüller (1619-1684), "O welche eine Tiefe" as a source of Monteverdi parody, specifically of "Hor che'l ciel e la terra". Rosenmüller was an organist in Leipzig in his earlier years, but he spent the period between 1658-1682 at San Marco in Venice.[61] His sacred concerto predates his Venetian period, as it was likely composed around 1650 – fascinating, considering that he went on to spend several years at San Marco. Wollny postulates that

[58] For a comparison and analysis of some of Valentini's and Monteverdi's works, see: Steven Saunders, "Sacred music at the Hapsburg court of Ferdinand II (1615-1637): The Latin vocal works of Giovanni Priuli and Giovanni Valentini. (Volumes I and II)" (PhD Thesis: University of Pittsburgh, 1990), 124-126.
[59] Margaret Mabbett, "Madrigalists at the Viennese Court and Monteverdi's *Madrigali guerrieri, et amorosi,*" 295.
[60] Ibid., 295-306.
[61] Kerala J. Snyder, "Rosenmüller, Johann*." Grove Music Online*, 2001. Accessed 27th Jun. 2023.

"O welche eine Tiefe" did not use "Hor che che'l" as a direct model, but the sacred contrafacta, "O du mächtiger Herr" from Profe's *Corollarium Geistlicher Collectaneorum* (Leipzig: Timotheum Ritzsch, 1649).[62] This is due to the word-painting (or lack thereof) in the piece's opening, which in Monteverdi, reflected the sombre stillness of the night; in Profe and Rosenmüller, there is instead an 'abstract affect of devotional piety' as they exclude (or miss) the lyrical imagery.[63] During his Venetian period, Rosenmüller appears to have made another attempt at modelling a work on the same Monteverdi piece, this time likely the original, as the lyrics of "De profundis" are sensitively reflected in the music.[64] While in Venice, Rosenmüller created psalm settings that Wollny described as being heavily indebted to Monteverdi, and that the wide dissemination of Rosenmüller's works in Germany, created a 'second, indirect layer of Monteverdi-reception in Germany'.[65] The lasting popularity of Rosenmüller's music even motivated J.S. Bach to include "Welt ade, ich bin dein müde" completely in his Cantata BVW 27; the taste for Venetian musical styles was present two generations before J. S. with his grandfather Heinrich Bach, who modelled works on Monteverdi's *Selva morale*, most notably "Beatus vir" in his "Ich danke dir, Gott".[66]

Already, this summary of Monteverdi's dissemination and reception in German-speaking lands allows us to see a few clear themes in how his music and his identity were perceived by German-speaking musicians. Monteverdi's pieces were used in multiple German-made collections of Italian works, though became less popular for this print mode from the mid-century onwards, after his death. Monteverdi's music was used as a model; pieces were copied, parodied and had contrafacta made of them, and many of his music's most notable stylistic features also made their way into Germanic music. Elements of Monteverdi's brand transferred to German-speakers, such as his creation of the *seconda prattica* and *stylus luxurians*, painting him as a monumental figure in the

[62] Wollny, "Distribution and reception of Monteverdi's music in 17th-century Germany," 57; Ambrosius Profe, *Corollarium Geistlicher Collectaneorum* (Leipzig: Timotheus Ritzsch, 1649).
[63] Wollny, "Distribution and reception of Monteverdi's music in 17th-century Germany," 57.
[64] Ibid., 58.
[65] Ibid., 57.
[66] Kerala J. Snyder, "Rosenmüller, Johann."; Wollny, "Distribution and reception of Monteverdi's music in 17th-century Germany," 64-65.

development of modern music, as in Bernhard. Monteverdi gained a kind of tutor status in contemporary musical historiography, representing the musical transfer from Venice to courts and churches in German-speaking lands. The purpose of this whistle-stop tour of Monteverdi dissemination and reception in German-speaking lands was to provide a model, a foundation upon which to introduce two case studies on Monteverdi dissemination that are a-typical of current Monteverdi scholarship; the first, as it sits in an uncomfortable position between reception, patronage and dissemination of Monteverdi's music, yet seemingly in total exclusion from him, and the second, though it draws upon themes evident in German dissemination, as it has not been the subject of any major study to date.

Table I: Monteverdi's Works in German Anthologies

1597 *Fiori del Giardino…* Nuremberg: Paul Kauffmann. On sale in the Frankfurt and Leipzig book fair in Michaelmas 1603.[67]

- Non si levava (*secondo libro de madrigali de madrigali*, 1590)
- Dolcemente dormiva (*secondo libro de madrigali*)
- La giovinetta pianta (*terzo libro de madrigali*, 1592)
- Sovra tenere herbette (*terzo libro de madrigali*)
- Stracciami pur il core (*terzo libro de madrigali*)
- Ah dolente partita (*quarto libro de madrigali*, 1603 – Carter believes this to have been one of the madrigals in manuscript described by Monteverdi in his fourth book's dedication; he had intended to present this and others to Duke Alfonso d'Este before his death in October 1597)

1605 Melchior Borchgrevinck, *Giardino Novo… il Primo libro de Madrigali*, Copenhagen: Henrico Waltkirk. On sale at the Frankfurt and Leipzig book fair in Michaelmas 1605.[68]

- Io mi son giovinetta (*quarto libro de madrigali*)
- Quell augellin che canta (*quarto libro de madrigali*)
- Non più Guerra pietate (*quarto libro de madrigali*)
- Ah dolente patita (*quarto libro de madrigali*)

1606 Melchior Borchgrevinck, *Giardino Novo… il Secondo libro de madrigali de Madrigali*, Copenhagen: Henrico Waltkirk. On sale at the Frankfurt and Leipzig book fair in Michaelmas 1606.[69]

- Cruda Amarilli (*quinto libro de madrigali*, 1605)
- Cor mio mentre (*quinto libro de madrigali*)

[67] "Catalogus universalis, hoc est designatio omnium librorum, qui hisce nundinis ... Francofurtensibus & Lipsiensibus anno ... vel novi vel emendatiores & auctiores prodierunt." *Frankfurt and Leipzig Book Fair Catalogues*. Published Online: Georg Olms Verlag, 2018. Michaelis 1603, C3v. The page numbers given for the book fair catalogues are often approximations as they are usually very difficult to make out or are sporadic.
[68] Ibid., Michaelis 1605, C4r.
[69] Ibid., Michaelis 1606, C4v.

1615 Georg Gruber, *Reliquae Sacrocum Concentuum…* Nuremberg: Paul Kauffman. On sale at the Frankfurt and Leipzig book fair in Michaelmas 1615.[70]

- Domine ad adjuvandum me (Vespers, 1610)
- Dixit Dominus (Vespers, 1610)

1622 Johann Dronfrid, *Promptuarii Musici… Pars Prima…* Strasbourg: Paul Ledertz. On sale at the Frankfurt and Leipzig book fair in Michaelmas 1623.[71]

O bone Jesu (first pub. in Promptuarii Musici, 1622)

1627 Johann Dronfrid, *Promptuarii Musici… Pars Tertia…* Strasbourg: Paul Ledertz. On sale at the Frankfurt and Leipzig book fair in Michaelmas 1627.[72]

- Sancta Maria succurre miseris (1619)

1637 *Fasciculus Secundus Geistlicher wolklingender Concerten*, Nordhausen.

- O bone Jesu (first pub. in Promptuarii Musici, 1622)

1641 Ambrosius Profe, *Erster Theil Geistlicher Concerten…*, Breslau: Christopher Jacob. On sale at the Frankfurt and Leipzig book fair, Easter 1641.[73]

- Jesum viri senesque = Vaga su spina acosa (*Concerto: settimo libro de madrigali de madrigali*, 1619)

1641 Ambrosius Profe, *Ander Theil Geistlicher Concerten…*, Leipzig: Henning Köler. On sale at the Frankfurt and Leipzig book fair, Easter 1642.[74]

- Pascha concelebranda = Altri canti di Marte (*Madrigali guerrieri, et amorosi*, 1638)

1641 Ambrosius Profe, *Dritter Theil Geistlicher Concerten…*, Leipzig: Henning Köler. On sale at the Frankfurt and Leipzig book fair, Easter 1642.[75]

- Laudate dominum (*Selva morale e spirituale*, 1641)

1649 Ambrosius Profe, *Corollarium Geistlicher Collectaneorum*, Leipzig: Timotheus Ritzsch.

- Longe mi Jesu = Parlo misero o taccio (*Concerto: settimo libro de madrigali de madrigali*)
- O Jesu lindere meine Schmerzen = Tu dormi? (*Concerto: settimo libro de madrigali de madrigali*)
- O rex supreme deus = Al lume delle stelle (*Concerto: settimo libro de madrigali de madrigali*)
- O du mächtiger Herr = Hor che'l ciel e la terra (*Concerto: settimo libro de madrigali de madrigali*)
- Resurrexit de sepulchro / Veni, soror mea = Vago augelletto (*Madrigali guerrieri, et amorosi*)
- Alleluja, kommet, jauchzet /Freude, kommet, jauchzet = Ardo, avvampo, mi struggo (*Madrigali guerrieri, et amorosi*)

[70] Ibid., Michaelis 1615, D2r.
[71] "Catalogus universalis, hoc est designatio omnium librorum, qui hisce nundinis ... Francofurtensibus & Lipsiensibus anno ... vel novi vel emendatiores & auctiores prodierunt." *Frankfurt and Leipzig Book Fair Catalogues*. Published Online: Georg Olms Verlag, 2018, Michaelis 1623, C3v.
[72] Ibid., Michaelis 1603, C3v., Oster 1627, C3v.
[73] Ibid., Oster 1641, Dv.
[74] Ibid., Oster 1642, B2v.
[75] Ibid.

1651 Philipp Friedrich Böddecker, *Sacra Partitur*a, Strasburg: Heinrich Mittel. On sale at the Frankfurt and Leipzig book fair, Michaelmas 1651.[76]

- Ecce sacrum paratum convivium (first published in Leonardo Simonetti (ed.), *Ghirlanda sacra scielta da diversi eccellentissimi compositori de varii motteti à voce sola*. Libro primo, Venice, 1625.)

1659 Johann Havemann, *Erster Theil Geistlicher Concerten*…, Berlin: Daniel Reichel.[77]

- Confitebor tibi domine (*Selva morale e spirituale*)

Table II: Monteverdi's Works in German Manuscript Collections and Inventories

Inventory Ansbach, 1686

- Selva morale

Bokemeyer Collection, Gottorf and Wolfenbüttel

- Resurrexit de sepulchro (Profe, 1649)

Emil Bohn, Staatsbibliothek Berlin

- Ms. mus 271, 'Herr, schweige nicht so, sey doch nicht so stille' contrafactum of 'Hor che'l ciel e la terra' *(Madrigali guerrieri, et amorosi, 1638)*, from the collection of Michael Büttner, cantor at the St. Mary Magdalena Church in Breslau (c. mid-seventeenth century), believed responsible for lyrics and perhaps also copyist.
- Ms. mus 243*,* '*Freude,uns ist heute gebohren Christ unser Heyland*', contrafactum of '*Ardo avvampo, mi struggo' (Madrigali guerrieri, et amorosi, 1638).* Attribution and provenance as above.

Inventory Braunschweig, c.1700

- Laudate dominum in sanctis (*Selva morale*, 1641, and Profe, 1641)

Danzig (now in Gdańsk), Collection of St. Catherine's Church (Ms. Cath. Q. 28)

- Quam bonus es Deus (ATB)

Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek

- Wie ein Rubin = Una donna fra l'altre honesta (*sesto libro de madrigali*, 1614)

Düben Collection (now in Uppsala)

- Beatus vir (*Selva morale*)
- Resurrexit de sepulchro (Profe, 1649)
- Pascha concelebranda (Profe, 1641)

[76] Ibid., Michaelis, C3r.

[77] The book fair entry for this work is a little confusing, as it states: 'Ioannis Havemanni Geistlicher Concerten I. II. Dritter Theil/ mit 1.2.3.4.5.6.7. Stimmen/ nebenst dem basso continuo, und absonderitchem basso pro violono. Ben Daniel Reicheln/ in fol.' – as far as my search has gone, I have been unable to find any record of a second or third part ('theil') by Havemann. Ibid., Oster 1660. B4v.

Gotthold Collection, formerly Universitätsbibliothek Königsberg (lost since 1945)

- Quam bonum est deus (3 voci)
- O Jesu, mea vita = Sì ch'io vorrei morire (*quarto libro de madrigali*)

Kassel, Hochschulbibliothek

- Laudate pueri (a sei voci)
- Confitebor (a quattro voci)
- Zefiro torna (*Scherzi musicali*, 1632)
- Misero Alceo (an 'early version', later pub. in *sesto libro de madrigali*)
- Presso un fiume (as above)
- Güldne Haare = Chiome d'oro (*Concerto: settimo libro de madrigali de madrigali*)

Inventory Lüneburg, 1696

- Nisi Dominum (6 or 12; CCATTB, *Messa et salmi*, 1650)
- Quam bonus es pater, Dialogus (ATB)
- Salve mi Jesu (2 *Tenore*) = Salve Regina (*Selva morale*)
- Wie ein Rubin (CCAT) = Una donna fra l'altre honesta (*sesto libri*)

Inventory Rudolstadt, c. 1700

- Quam bonus est Deus (3 voci)

Inventory Stuttgart, c. 1695

- Pascha concelebranda (Profe, 1641)
- Venite gentes (SAT, 4 violas)
- Domine quinque (3 voci)

Collection of Matthias Weckmann (Hamburg, 1647)

- Pascha concelebranda (Profe, 1641)
- Laudate dominum in sanctis (*Selva morale*)
- Pianto della Madonna (*Selva morale*)
- O beatae viae (from *Symbolae Diversorum Musicorum*, Venice, 1621)
- Laudate dominum omnes gentes I (*Selva morale*)
- Laudate dominum omnes gentes II (*Selva morale*)
- Laudate dominum omnes gentes III (*Selva morale*)
- Confitebor tibi domine I (*Selva morale*)
- Confitebor tibi domine II (*Selva morale*)
- Confitebor tibi domine III (*Selva morale*)
- Salve Jesu = Salve Regina (*Selva morale*)
- Beatus vir I (*Selva morale*)
- Beatus vir II (*Selva morale*)
- Salve mi Jesu = Salve Regina (*Selva morale*)
- Exulta filiae Sion (from *Quarta Raccolta de Sacri Canti*, Venice, 1625)
- Ecce sacrum paratum (*Messa et salmi*)
- Laudate pueri dominum I (*Selva morale*)
- Laudate pueri dominum II (*Selva morale*)
- Dixit dominus I (*Selva morale*)
- Dixit dominus II (*Selva morale*)

- Magnificat primo (*Selva morale*)

Inventory Weimar, 1662

- Ich danke dem Herrn (6 voci, 3 viol)
- Laudate (5 parts, *Selva morale*)
- Confitebor (1 voc, 4 instr., *Selva morale*)

Chapter 3: *Orfeo* in Salzburg: the Patronage of Marcus Sitticus (c.1612-1619)

This chapter revisits a major early instance of Claudio Monteverdi's reception outside Italy: the performances of an 'Orfeo' at the court of Marcus Sitticus, Prince-Archbishop of Salzburg. Monteverdi scholars such as Carter, Pryer and Fabbri and others have used this supposed Salzburg revival of *L'Orfeo* to credit Monteverdi with no less than disseminating the fledgling genre of opera across Europe.[1] Yet, the archival sources, which so far have been discussed exclusively in German publications by Seifert, document merely the instigation of a cultural transfer by the Mantuan singer and colleague of Monteverdi, Francesco Rasi. He presented musical repertoire, that is said to have included Monteverdi's *L'Orfeo* (1607), to Marcus Sitticus, the Prince-Archbishop of Salzburg. As a personalised transmission of Monteverdi and/or the genre of opera, this case study deserves a closer analysis independent of the more general study of Monteverdi's 'presence' in the German-speaking lands through prints and manuscripts, and the assimilation of his style by German composers.[2] Particularly so, given its modern reputation in Monteverdi and, more generally, musical historiography.

The assumed Salzburg production of *L'Orfeo* is suspect for a number of reasons: To start with, Monteverdi's name is not mentioned in any of the surviving documents relating to seven-year period in question, where ex-colleagues and pupils of Monteverdi travelled to Salzburg to, seemingly, perform his *L'Orfeo* on multiple occasions. This case is also relatively early in terms of Monteverdi's music in German-speaking lands. Although some of his madrigals appeared in print collections as early as 1597 (*Fiori del Giardino*, Nuremberg: Kaufmann, 1597), in-person transfer does not appear

[1] Many secondary sources reference the work of Herbert Seifert, using his research as 'proof' or 'an indication of' Monteverdi's opera having been disseminated beyond Mantua to Salzburg. Secondary works include: Tim Carter, *Monteverdi's Musical Theatre* (London: Yale University Press, 2002), 13; Paolo Fabbri, *Monteverdi* (Cambridge: CUP, 1994), 287; Anthony Pryer, "Approaching Monteverdi: his cultures and ours," *The Cambridge Companion to Monteverdi*, eds. John Whenham and Richard Wistreich (Cambridge: CUP, 2007).

[2] See 'Beyond the Brand: Introduction and Model' (page 107).

to occur until around 1620.[3] The cultural transfer spans a period where Monteverdi, theoretically, could have intervened in the situation, if only to accrue some form of benefit from the transfer. He left Mantua in the summer of 1612, before acquiring his new role in Venice, which he began in October 1613. Yet he did not, and, in fact, seems to have shown no interest in Marcus Sitticus or the performances of *Orfeo*. Another interesting element to this case is that Monteverdi's *L'Orfeo* (Venice: Amadino, 1609) was already in print, and was reprinted again in 1615. Was this reprint an attempt at reaffirming his authority over the work, after it had been taken into a context in which he had no control?

Whereas much of the dissemination of Monteverdi's music in German-speaking lands could be described in terms of reception, it is very difficult to apply that term here, given the lack of Monteverdi's name in any documentation. The work *Orfeo*[4] was clearly received well, as it was reused several times over a seven-year period. Likewise, patronage, which was enjoyed by all the Mantuan musicians who were involved in the transfer in some form, extended not so much to Monteverdi as a person as to his music. Marcus Sitticus' patronage of the arts deserves special attention, as his efforts to patronise *Orfeo* can be understood to champion an entire novel genre of music. His patronage, as far as musical theatre was concerned, appear opportunistic rather than planned; intermediary parties, who assisted Marcus Sitticus in pursuing his interests, became incidental, not to say collateral, beneficiaries.

Crucially, Monteverdi was not amongst these beneficiaries, despite his music being, in all likelihood, *the Orfeo* that received multiple performances during this period, at the request of Marcus Sitticus.

[3] There are early incidences of Monteverdi travelling to German-speaking lands that could speculated about, notably Monteverdi accompanying the Duke of Mantua on his military tour which included German-speaking lands such as Graz, where, theoretically, performances of Monteverdi's works (if they occurred) could have influenced some. As far as surviving evidence goes, until German-speaking musicians were in Venice (during Monteverdi's premiership) and then returned to German-speaking lands, there was no impactful sense of in-person dissemination.

[4] Hereafter, '*Orfeo*' refers to whatever was performed in Salzburg that was given the title *Orfeo* in records; *L'Orfeo* refers to Monteverdi's work, specifically.

The work's attribution is suggested by the cultural transfer from Mantua to Salzburg which occurred in simultaneity with the reported performances of the opera. However, Marcus Sitticus' patronage of *Orfeo* occurred in separation from Monteverdi, undermining his authorial relationship with the work, and preventing him from benefitting personally from the patronage of the work. Monteverdi was not simply the work's composer, he coached and directed the performers involved in its performance, with tailoring the work to fit the voices of individual singers and instrumentals, and even had a directorial role – this suggests a close relationship with the work's production beyond the composition of the score. When the period of transfer was initiated (1612- early-1613), Monteverdi had recently been dismissed from his role as the Gonzaga's director of music. This creates an interesting dynamic, by no means lessening the input Monteverdi had upon the work, though perhaps weakening his authority over it from the perspective of Mantuan musicians.

In this example of the transfer of a seminal Monteverdi work, comes the potential for dissemination of his style and influence via the musicians whom Monteverdi had taught. This is in-person transmission (which was noted to be an affective form of dissemination given the example of Schütz), and ought to proliferate the 'Monteverdi: teacher' narrative described by Wollny, yet it does not, as his 'students' did nothing to make it so. Modes of dissemination besides performance, such as those discussed in the German-speaking lands model, are easier to trace, and in congruence with performance can create a convincing picture of dissemination and influence. Performances in and of themselves, less so, particularly when other options of performance materials appear to have been limited (see Table 3.1). Another area in which this potential dissemination and influence differs in comparison to the German-speaking lands model is in its short-lived nature. The musical institution created in Salzburg was fleeting, and dissipated after the death of Marcus Sitticus. No trend for writing musical dramas or monody in German-speaking lands seemed to come of this brief surge in dramatic musical activity. Compare this to the dissemination of the *concertato* style, of

ritornelli, or *Basso Continuo*, or declamatory homophony in the mid-17th century; such musical devices spread like wildfire.[5]

Frustratingly, Marcus Sitticus, his rule and his activities suffer from a general scarcity in surviving documents, making this an even more difficult subject to study. The purpose of wading into these murky waters is to reframe this cultural event, which has become embedded in modern narratives of the musician, not as reception of Monteverdi, but as an example of a particular kind of patronage. This study will first present context for cultural transfer, seeking an appropriate comparator case for Salzburg, before then discussing a list of patronage types and terms, to be able to best describe the actions of Marcus Sitticus. A recounting of the events between 1612-1619 will follow and will be discussed in light of the context presented earlier. Reasons for Monteverdi's exclusion will be considered in conclusion.

Patronage and cultural transfer in context

Cultural transfers of Monteverdi's music and/or musical style occurred elsewhere in the German-speaking lands, perhaps most notably in Dresden. As discussed in the previous chapter, Dresden boasted a musical institution made up of Italian musicians and German-speaking musicians who studied in Venice, alongside musicians trained in Dresden by Schütz.[6] Although a comparison between the presence of Monteverdi's music in Salzburg and Dresden would be fruitful, I have opted for a comparison between Salzburg, and the court of Emperor Ferdinand II, based from 1619 in

[5] This is evident in musical sources as well as reported in secondary literature. These musical techniques seem to have disseminated from Italy to Germany-speaking lands, helped by works such as Michael Praetorius's *Syntagma musicum* of 1618 (Wolfenbüttel: Elias Holwein), which gave definitions for and discussed techniques such as *ritornelli* (citing Monteverdi's *L'Orfeo and Scherzi musicali* as examples, see p.128). Works such as Schütz's *Kleine geistliche Concerte* (1636–9, Op.8; SWV 282-305), in particular, helped to popularise the concerto term and form, for example. These techniques then spread to Britain (not from Germany, but from Italy; it took longer for some of these techniques to catch on, it seems), where they can be seen in manuscript and print. See, for example, John Blow, *The Theater of Music* (London: 1685, Henry Playford), which contains *ritornelli* and *continuo*, or Henry Bowman, *Songs for 1, 2, & 3 Voyces* (Oxford: Henry Clerke, 1677), containing *ritornelli*. On some of these techniques in British music, see: Stephanie L. Carter, "Music Publishing and Compositional Activity in England, 1650-1700" (PhD Thesis, University of Manchester, 2010).

[6] Schütz even composed opera, as mentioned in the previous chapter; his *Dafne* (1620), now lost.

Vienna (the capital of the Holy Roman Empire). They were two Catholic courts, both within capitals of Archdioceses under the Holy Roman Empire, and both with notable cultural links to Italy.[7] Ferdinand's approach to music patronage helps to contextualise Marcus Sitticus' activities in Salzburg. Herbert Seifert, Margaret Mabbett and Steven Saunders have all studied the musical institution of Ferdinand II and Eleonora Gonzaga, providing a solid base from which to consider their musical patronage.[8] In 1612, before acceding to the Emperorship, Ferdinand II, at court in Graz, also acquired Italian musicians. He developed the musical institution beyond the necessary, perennial institutions such as the *kapelle*, providing a basis for what would be achieved in Vienna. Italian composers and performers made their way to Ferdinand's court, including Francesco Campagnolo (from 1622), a key member of the Mantua-Salzburg musical transfer.[9]

Later in his career, Monteverdi dedicated music to the Habsburgs that was notably designed in instrumentation and themes for the Viennese *hofkapelle*.[10] However, his interaction with the Habsburg dynasty started well before this point, by virtue of Mantua's status as a fiefdom of the Holy Roman Empire. Monteverdi's second son (born 1604) had a Habsburg godparent (whom he was named after), Maximillian Ernst (1583-1618), who visited Mantua in 1602.[11] Music created by Monteverdi could have entered Habsburg ears as early as 1597, during Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga's military tour on which Monteverdi was part of the musical retinue.[12] Before becoming Emperor,

[7] Wollny claimed that specific conditions apply in the case of Monteverdi dissemination in Catholic courts, particularly those in (what is now) Austria, and stuck to a discussion of Protestant reception and dissemination for this reason, though he neglected to explain what the 'specific conditions' are. Peter Wollny, "Dissemination and reception of Monteverdi's music in 17th-century Germany," in *Monteverdi und die Folgen* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1998), 51-52.
[8] Herbert Seifert, "Monteverdi und die Habsburger," in *Claudio Monteverdi und die Folgen*, 77-92 (Kassel: Bäreneiter, 1998); Margaret Mabbett, "Madrigalists at the Viennese Court and Monteverdi's *Madrigali guerrieri, et amorosi,*" in *Claudio Monteverdi und die Folgen* 291-310 (Kassel: Bäreneiter, 1998); Steven Saunders, "Sacred Music at the Hapsburg Court of Ferdinand II (1615-1637): The Latin Vocal Works of Giovanni Priuli and Giovanni Valentini. (Volumes I and II)" (PhD Thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 1990).
[9] Antonio Bertolotti, *Musici alla corte dei Gonzaga dal Mantova in secolo XV al XVIII* (Milan: G. Ricordi, 1890), 101. Campagnolo joined Priuli, Ferdinand II's then *kapellmeister*, at court in Hungary.
[10] Mabbett, "Madrigalists at the Viennese Court and Monteverdi's *Madrigali guerrieri, et amorosi,*" 295.
[11] Claudio Gallico, "Newly Discovered Documents concerning Monteverdi," *Music Quarterly* 48 (1962); 68-72, 68.
[12] Herbert Seifert, "Monteverdi und die Habsburger," 80.

Ferdinand II had the collection *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandeus* (Venice: Vincenti, 1615) dedicated to him by Giovanni Battista Bonometti, which contained Monteverdi's "Cantate Domino canticum novum".[13] Ferdinand II was further linked to Monteverdi through the Empress, Eleonora Gonzaga, who was well acquainted with Monteverdi as a Gonzaga Duchess and daughter of Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga, Monteverdi's long-time Mantuan employer. Monteverdi contributed music to Ferdinand and Eleonora's wedding festivities in 1622.[14] He dedicated his *Madrigali guerrieri, et amorosi* (Venice: Vincenti, 1638) to their son, Ferdinand III, and *Selva morale e spirituale* (Venice: Magni, 1641) to Eleonora. These works were not just dedicated to the recipients, but were designed with Viennese tastes and resources in mind. As Monteverdi altered his style to befit the recipient in Vienna, perhaps cultural transfer could be more accurately described as cultural exchange, in recognition of the two-way channel of influence between Monteverdi and the Viennese court.[15] Interestingly, it is recorded in Marcus Sitticus' court chronicles that Emperor Ferdinand II saw a rendition of the Salzburg *Orfeo* during his visit to Marcus Sitticus in 1619 (see Table 3.1).

Similarities between Marcus Sitticus and Ferdinand II include the prioritisation of music within their rule. Both were educated at the Jesuit University of Ingolstadt and had grown up inspired by Italian music. For Marcus Sitticus, this was as a result of a childhood in Italy moving within noble, erudite circles.[16] For Ferdinand, this was thanks to his father's investment in a musical institution which also included numerous Italian musicians, and his subsequent travels through Italy (perhaps less 'travels' and more 'anti-Protestantism campaigns').[17] Both created musical institutions that went far beyond function relating to their roles. In Ferdinand's case, this was heavily investing in the *Hofkapelle*, and

[13] Giovanni Battista Bonometti, *Parnassus musicus Ferdinandeus* (Venice: Vincenti, 1615).
[14] The letter and music we know to have been sent to Mantua on 20th November 1622; these do not survive thanks (in all likelihood) to the sack of Mantua. See Denis Stevens (ed. and trans.), *The Letters of Claudio Monteverdi* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 245.
[15] Mabbett discusses the idea of Monteverdi making himself aware of the abilities of the musicians in Vienna, with whom he was not acquainted, and gathering information at the printing house of Vincenti in Venice, so as to make his music fit their needs. Mabbett, "Madrigalists at the Viennese Court," 295.
[16] Eva Stahl, *Marcus Sitticus, Leben und Spiele eines geistchlichen Fürsten* (Vienna: Amalthea, 1988), 22-37.
[17] Saunders, "Sacred Music at the Hapsburg Court," 13-14.

in Marcus Sitticus' case, this was a culmination of personnel able to put on dramatic works. Italian tastes did not just influence the kind of music that was performed in their institutions, but was formative. There was an active emulation of Italian musical institutions in their German-speaking counterparts.

One of the key features that defines the Viennese from the Salzburg case was the style of patronage enacted to create, or to encourage cultural transfer. This chapter is weighted towards a discussion of the Salzburg case, but a comparison of the patronage styles between Vienna and Salzburg enriches an understanding of Marcus Sitticus, his activities, his musical institution, and this unique instance of Monteverdi's music's patronage. To enable a discussion and comparison of the different styles of patronage enacted in Salzburg and Vienna, the following section will first identify and explain relevant patronage types and terms.

Patronage: types and terms

Scholarly discourse on patronage is rich and varied, drawing upon modes from a number of different fields; political, fiscal, literary, to name but a few.[18] Patronage of the arts, especially during the Renaissance period, is a popular topic of research, as the fashion for identifying oneself as a 'patron of arts' became notably prevalent.[19] There are many reasons for this fashion to emerge, including the rising importance of the arts in social ideology; the inclusion of music (and other artistic pursuits)

[18] For example, the study of 'Clientelism' has shaped a sociological and political discussion of patronage in Luis Roniger, "Modern Patron-Client Relations and Historical Clientelism. Some Clues from Ancient Republican Rome," *European Journal of Sociology* 1, vol. 24 (1983): 63-95; likewise, a study of the 'Big Man System' in Guy Fitch Lytle and Stephen Orgel, *Patronage in the Renaissance* (New Jersey: Princeton Legacy Library, 1981); and of 'retainer and commission' in the historical analysis of Jon Swords, "Crowd-patronage—Intermediaries, Geographies and Relationships in Patronage Networks," *Poetics* 64 (2017): 63-73.

[19] This is summarised neatly in the 'Conclusions and Questions' section of Jill Burke's book, which analyses self-fashioning and patronage of the arts in the Renaissance; Jill Burke, *Changing Patrons: Social Identity and the Visual Arts in Renaissance Florence* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004), 189. Also, in Jonathan K. Nelson and Richard J. Zeckhauser, *The Patron's Payoff: Conspicuous Commissions in Italian Renaissance Art* (Woodstock: Princeton University Press, 2008), 9.

in the seven liberal arts, and the desire to control and expand one's reputation.[20] By virtue of becoming a patron of the arts, one acquired control over a whole new set of visual and aural media through which to reinforce a patron's wealth and importance. The arts were seen as means for disseminating panegyrics.[21] To be seen as a patron of artistic practices was to be seen as a magnanimous person with elevated tastes and perspectives.[22]

In order to identify the motivations behind patronage of the arts and the employment of musicians, theorist Mark Ledbury proffers two terms to broaden the patronage lexicon. Ledbury differentiates between two modes of patronage, based on the underlying intentions, creating a broader context in which to view patrons and their goals. The first mode is described as 'Vaux', named after the Chateau de Vaux near Paris, and the second, 'Versailles', after the Parisian palace.[23] Ledbury used the palaces' names as shorthand terms for the different motives behind their construction, which are indicative of the different modes of patronage. A 'Vaux' model of patronage describes a scenario in which 'a person of wealth and influence gathers to them the products of advanced and fashionable artists of various types in an immersive cultural milieu often bringing musicians'.[24] 'Vaux' relationships are 'soft' in the sense that 'they operate through the lubricants of money, and through networks of friendship and particular associations between patrons and artists'.[25] By comparison, the 'Versailles' model is large in scale, has specific political and cultural aims, and has permanency.[26] According to Ledbury, 'Vaux' is essentially 'doomed to be the temporary conjunction of talent, money, self-interest, and generosity…but has no political staying power, based as it is around key personalities whose time in the limelight is itself limited by their position in court networks, or by

[20] Mark Ledbury, "Patronage," *The Oxford Handbook of the Ancien Régime*, ed. William Doyle, 388-408 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 393.
[21] Ledbury gives the example of Louis XIV's adoption of the "patron of arts" role. Ledbury, "Patronage," 390.
[22] J. N. Stephens discusses this idea in the context of some of the most notable patrons of the arts: the Medici, in J. N. Stephens, *The Italian Renaissance: The Origins of Intellectual and Artistic Change before the Reformation* (London: Longman, 1990), 99.
[23] Ledbury, "Patronage," 394-395.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid., 395.
[26] Ibid.

social and financial change'.[27] Whilst these terms are based on events that took place in a very distinct social, cultural and geopolitical environment to that of Marcus Sitticus, Ferdinand II and Monteverdi, they still provide a useful framework, that not only accounts for the acts of patronage themselves, but for the intentions and motivations behind them. These concepts help to contextualise Marcus Sitticus' acts of patronage, and to describe the position of Monteverdi within this period of cultural transfer in (more) realistic terms.

Patronage of music took many forms.[28] A patron could commission a composer to produce a single work, or a collection of works, for a certain function, event or purpose. This relied upon the musician having sufficiently high renown in order for patrons to seek them out. Monteverdi experienced this 'patron-artist' or 'commissioner-artist' relationship after establishing himself first in Mantua, then in Venice, as is shown through his letter of thanks for the requests for commissions he received from Caterina Medici Gonzaga.[29] While in the earlier stages of a musician's career, it was their responsibility to disseminate their works, and build their reputation; for this reason the creation of a brand was vital for all those who were financially committed to a musician, such as (in some cases) their publisher. Patrons would not usually approach those with little or no renown for commissions. Instead, therefore, musicians would approach patrons, dedicating completed works to them, or simply gifting them music, in the hope of financial reward. This approach has been termed 'donación remunerada' (remunerated donation)', and was analysed in a study by Daniele Filippi between the composer Tomás Luis de Victoria and Cardinal Carlo Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan.[30] Victoria sent

[27] Ledbury, "Patronage," 395.

[28] Claudio Annibaldi has described the patronage scene in early modern Italy as a 'compessa fenomelogia della committenza musicale fra '400 e '700', therefore choosing to focus his research on the instances of binomial 'musicista/committente', i.e. 'cliente/padrino' patronage. Claudio Annibaldi, *La musica e il mondo: mecenatismo e committenza musicale in Italia tra Quattro e Settecento* (Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino, 1993), 19.

[29] Any requests for commissions from the Gonzaga have complex undertones - Monteverdi was still owed a pension by the Gonzaga, his ex-employers. However, Caterina existed slightly externally to this fraught and long-lasting dispute, and took a marked interest in the career of Monteverdi, in contrast to her husband, Ferdinando Gonzaga. Stevens, *The Letters of Claudio Monteverdi*, 229.

[30] Daniele V. Filippi, "Carlo Borromeo and Tomás Luis De Victoria: A Gift, Two Letters and a Recruiting Campaign," *Early Music* 43, issue 1 (2015): 37-51. This approach to patronage was an effective method for

Borromeo music alongside a letter, in which he mentioned his employment at the Collegium Germanicum in Rome, a seminary that Borromeo had patently emulated in his founding of the Collegium Nobilium in Milan.[31] This established common ground and showed Victoria engaging with the cardinal's special interests. Monteverdi's first five publications are products of this kind of patronage. As far as we know, Monteverdi never went as far as to individualise works for specific recipients, as some did, as part of this patronage system.[32] Donación remunerada could develop into a more stable and permanent association between patron and musician, ensuring continued production of music for said patron. Musicians may even have hoped to find permanent employment with their patron through this mode of patronage, perhaps at their court or in their cathedral choir, although this was not always the ultimate goal of musicians.[33]

It is worth discussing the interplay between patronage and employment. The relationships between patrons and beneficiaries and between employers and employees are distinct, even though they exhibit similar meritocratic features. Drawing a salary, as well as housing, food, drink, clothes and other privileges, and perhaps even a pension, were marked features of a court profession, and it was in the court's interest for their employees' renown to be consistently expanded. Unlike patronage

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disseminating reputation as well as earning financial reward. Although musicians were potentially very vulnerable to losing money, as they would be responsible for covering the cost of printing their works up front, they were not limited to a monogamous patronage relationship. They could, and did, send many copies of their works to a variety of potential patrons, increasing the likelihood of reparations, and expanding the parameters of their reception. In the case of Victoria, Filippi has shown that the composer sent almost identical letters to multiple potential patrons, changing small sections if he believed he could curry favour through mentioning particular details.

[31] Filippi, "Carlo Borromeo and Tomás Luis De Victoria: A Gift, Two Letters and a Recruiting Campaign," 40. The Collegio de'Nobili is referred to as an 'imitation' of the Germanicum, according to this letter from Carlo Borromeo to Grand Duke Cosimo de'Medici on 24 March 1574: 'si è instituito un colleggio ad imitatione del Germanico in Roma per aiuto de figliuoli nobili, che pagano la dozina, et se n'accettano indifferentemente di diverse patrie, purché sieno nati nobili: et s'allevano in lettere, et in costumi christiani, et io n'ho particolar pensiero'. A. Sala, *Documenti circa la vita e le gesta di San Carlo Borromeo,* III (Milan: Z. Brasca, 1861), 538.

[32] A British example of this patronage exemplifies further individualisation of works by dedicating pieces within the work to individuals, on top of the work's dedicatee; Walter Porter's *Motetts of two voyces* will be discussed in the following chapter. In terms of Monteverdi's dedicatees, *Sacrae Canticulae* (Venice: Gardano, 1582) was dedicated to Don Stefano Canino Valcaregno, *Madrigali Spirituali* (Brescia: Sabbio, 1583) to Alessandro Fraganesco, *Canzonette a tre voci* (Venice: Vincenti & Amadino, 1584) to Pietro Ambrosini, *Il Primo libro de Madrigali* (Venice: Gardano, 1587) to Count Marco Verita and *Il Secondo libro de Madrigali* (Venice: Gardano, 1590) to Iacomo Ricardi.

[33] Filippi, "Carlo Borromeo and Tomás Luis De Victoria: A Gift, Two Letters and a Recruiting Campaign," 40.

relationships, employment implied a level of security and permanence, promising to extend the benefits of patronage throughout a contractual period. Whilst it was clearly a statement of appreciation to be invited to join courtly employ, it was not always the preferred choice for a musician. Multiple patronage relationships could allow for more freedom to develop a reputation and to earn more money than a standard position at court, which was something Monteverdi could experiment with a little more in his role at San Marco, as opposed to his courtly role in Mantua.[34] Duke Vincenzo's employment of musicians at Mantua is an intriguing case study in and of itself. Not only would he employ musicians, but in the case of his favourites, he would grant them Mantuan citizenship.[35] While this could seem beneficial to the musicians, it tethered them to Mantua, and enforced their 'loyalty', and that of their family, to the dynasty. While they could acquire patronage outside of Mantua, and travel for work, they would always be subject to fulfilling requests and indulging the wishes of their Mantuan overlords.[36]

Another method of patronising the arts, that became increasingly popular in the early modern period, was the setting up of collections – private libraries or museums of artistic, novel artefacts, from curios to musical scores.[37] These collections were, primarily, physical manifestations of the patrons' artistic interests, and created a legacy, to be passed on and expanded. However, inanimate objects were not the only collectables of interest to these curators. Musicians were also sought out,

[34] See Monteverdi's letter of 13th March 1619 to Alessandro Striggio. ASM A.G., c.6, ff. 209-12. Binion: 7 pp. Research into the courtly power dynamics and the concepts of 'fame' and 'reputation' by Natasha Constantinidou shows that courtly employment was often damaging to musicians. The aspiration of securing a long-term reputation in the future, which many musicians hoped to realise through a court career, was the only compensation for 'the fact that expectations of a career at court did not always correspond to the realities of uncertainty and insecurity prevailing in that environment, where physical violence, recrimination and envy, and more often than not irregular pay were part of everyday life'. This made it necessary for musicians to seek both employment and patronage, if possible. See: Natasha Constantinidou, "On Patronage, Fama and Court: Early Modern Political Culture," *Renaissance Studies* 4, vol. 24 (2010), 598.

[35] Anne MacNeil, "The Nature of Commitment: Vincenzo Gonzaga's Patronage Strategies in the Wake of the Fall of Ferrara," *Renaissance Studies* 3, vol. 16 (2002), 392.

[36] MacNeil, "The Nature of Commitment: Vincenzo Gonzaga's Patronage Strategies in the Wake of the Fall of Ferrara," 400-401.

[37] For example, Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria employed Hans Jakob Fugger as a "Musikintendant", charged with seeking acquiring music, musicians and interesting items for the Duke's collections; see: Dirk Jacob Jansen, *Jacopo Strada and Cultural Patronage at the Imperial Court: The Antique as Innovation* (Boston: Brill, 2018), 112.

and commissioned almost as artists in residence, specifically with a view to performing 'Italian' music in European homes – there are many examples of this in Britain, too.[38] This was a means for nobles and the ruling classes, existing far outside the cultural and geographical perimeters of 'Italy', to obtain the most fashionable music and have it performed by experts. This kind of patronage facilitates cultural transfer, as it creates a market for sustained provision of culture from one location to another. This collection-making and curatorship can be very clearly seen in the behaviour of Marcus Sitticus. Much less so in that of the Habsburgs, whose Versaille approach to creating a lasting musical institution led them to employ musicians in permanent positions, and to create structure with their vast resources, all while encouraging commissioner patronage, accepting one-off works for their musicians to perform, and encouraging the spread of their name in dedicatory texts of printed works.

The identification of these types of patronage brings to light some common themes, helping to determine what makes an action or relationship 'patronage'. This being said, it is not always obvious which, or how many, type(s) of patronage were at play, and what the intentions of each party were. Often, as the case of Marcus Sitticus shows, multiple types of patronage could be utilised as part of a wider scheme of increasing and controlling the patron's reputation, and as a way of encouraging cultural transfer or exchange. This study now turns to the seven-year period in which Marcus Sitticus patronised Mantuan musicians, resulting in his modern reputation as the founder of opera in German-speaking lands.

[38] Jansen, *Jacopo Strada and Cultural Patronage at the Imperial Court: The Antique as Innovation*, 112. A far smaller-scale version of this collection-making patronage was made possible through book dealers, who sold anthologies of Italian works by the most prolific composers of the time. Patrons of music acquired through bookshops, anthologies, or fair catalogues, such as the Frankfurt and Leipzig Book Fairs. Purchasing books was not directly patronising the composers, merely the works themselves. Even so, the composers could benefit from this virtual interaction through the dissemination of their name and reputation. Again, we will see more of this small-scale collection-making in Britain.

Orfeo in Salzburg

Music historiography ascribes to Marcus Sitticus von Hohenems a pivotal role in the dissemination of opera across Europe, for having ordered performances of *Orfeo* to Salzburg.[39] During his short reign as Prince-Archbishop of Salzburg (1612-1619), he initiated frequent operatic productions, including, in all probability, Monteverdi's *L'Orfeo*. Biographical information on the Prince-Archbishop illustrates his noble, socially-elite background, and provides context to his acts of patronage. Born in Hohenems, the seat of the family, on 24th June 1574, Marcus Sitticus was the second son of Jacob Hannibal von Hohenems (1530-1587) and Ortensia Borromeo (1550-1578).[40] He was the namesake of his paternal uncle, Marcus Sitticus von Hohenems (1533-1595), an esteemed cardinal, who came to be known as Marco Sittico (and shall be named thus in this chapter, in order to distinguish him from his nephew), after relocating his family to Rome upon obtaining his cardinalship.[41] On his maternal side, Marcus Sitticus had another powerful uncle, the Milanese Archbishop Carlo Borromeo (1538-1584). Borromeo played a leading role in the post-Tridentine reformation of the Catholic church; his exemplary life earned him a sainthood in 1610.[42] Marco Sittico and Carlo Borromeo were themselves related. They were cousins, whose shared uncle, Giovanni Angelo de' Medici Marignano (1499-1565), was elected Pope Pius IV in 1559. During his pontificate (1559-1565), Pius ensured that both his nephews were installed in strong roles within his papal court and curia, setting a precedent of ecclesiastical nepotism which in turn benefitted their shared nephew, Marcus Sitticus, throughout his career in the Catholic church.[43] Such Papal nepotism within the church was

[39] Herbert Seifert, "Marcus Sitticus von Hohenems und Mantua: die Ersten Opern Ausserhalb Italiens in Neuem Licht," in *Texte zur Musikdrammatik im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert: Aufsätze und Vorträge*, 43-66 (Vienna: Hollitzer Wissenschaftsverlag, 2015), 46.
[40] George L. Williams, *Papal Genealogy: The Families and Descendants of the Popes* (London: McFarland, 1998), 84-85.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Christine Getz, "Canonising San Carlo: Sermonising, The Sounding World, and Image in the Music for Carlo Borromeo," *Early Music History* 34 (2015), 135.
[43] Williams, *Papal Genealogy: The Families and Descendants of the Popes*, 85.

the norm.[44] It positioned Marcus Sitticus in the upper echelons of Imperial European society, and lead to him spend the majority of his adolescence in Italy.

Music was commonplace amongst the aristocratic ancestors of Marcus Sitticus, including Carlo Borromeo. Religious piety and extreme asceticism did not inhibit Borromeo's musical interests, and he became renowned for his patronage of music and the arts.[45] Borromeo's musical activities were diverse, but he was particularly interested in musical education, both for young boys at his aforementioned Collegio de'Nobili, and for seminarians.[46] For the seminarians, this meant attending daily plainchant lessons, as well as lessons in *cantus figuratus* (polyphonic singing), both of which were judged in examinations before the candidates could be ordained.[47] This gives us some insight into the musical education received by Marcus Sitticus, who attended both his uncle's Collegio de'Nobili and the Collegio Germanico in Rome. Borromeo's emphasis on musical education was notable, as it constituted a large portion of his reformative achievements in Milan, which contributed to his canonization.[48]

As mentioned above, Borromeo brought music to his chapel by engaging in a 'donación remunerada' patronage with Victoria, contributing to the composer's reputation by performing the works, and requesting more to be sent.[49] Marcus Sitticus' experience of patronage was comparatively nuanced. Having climbed the ecclesiastical ranks through the persistent nepotism of his family members, Marcus Sitticus was made Prince-Archbishop of Salzburg in 1612. One of the first examples of his patronage of music came late that same year. Marcus Sitticus partook of 'donación remunerada' patronage, but not with a prominent composer, rather, a well-known singer from the Mantuan

[44] Miles Pattenden, *Pius IV and the Fall of the Carafa: Nepotism and Papal Authority in Counter-Reformation Rome* (Oxford: Oxford Scholarship Online, 2013), 113-114.
[45] Emanuele Colombo, "Oxford Biographies: Carlo Borromeo (1538-1584)," accessed Feb. 25th 2016.
[46] Filippi, "Carlo Borromeo and Tomás Luis De Victoria: A Gift, Two Letters and a Recruiting Campaign," 42-43.
[47] Ibid., 43.
[48] Ibid., 42-43.
[49] Letter from Borromeo to Victoria. May 1584. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Ms. f.71 inf., fol.217v. See discussion of this phrase in the previous section of this case study, 'Patronage: types and terms'.

court. This was one Francesco Rasi, otherwise known for playing the titular role in Monteverdi's *L'Orfeo* in 1607. Letters sent by Rasi during the winter of 1612 place him in Prague, Nuremberg and Munich, before he arrived in Salzburg to meet and congratulate the new Prince-Archbishop.[50] According to Rasi's letter to the Duke of Mantua, he had experienced a rough winter in Bavaria, causing him to fall ill and run out of money, despite a productive visit to Prague.[51] Rasi had performed his work *Vaghezze di musica per una voce sola* (Venice: Gardano, 1608) for the recently-crowned Emperor Matthias in Prague, and had received fine gifts including a precious necklace and a medal as a reward.[52] The singer was received in Salzburg in December 1612, where he presented Marcus Sitticus with a work dedicated to the Prince-Archbishop: *Musiche da camera e chiesa* (1612).

Whereas the gift of *Musiche da camera e chiesa*, a book of secular and sacred songs, is a relatively conventional attempt at 'donación remunerada', it articulates the air of uniqueness. The book is in manuscript form, dated 10th December 1612, and ended up in Regensburg, where it lay dormant until the Seifert's 1995 edition in *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Salzburg*.[53] Rasi created (or rather, compiled, for the pieces could have been written at any time) this work especially for the new Prince-Archbishop, electing to give it to him rather than any other eminent and important people he met during his travels, including the Holy Roman Emperor, and Giuliano de'Medici, the man responsible for resolving Rasi's exile from Tuscany and acquitting him of a death sentence.[54] Rather than taking a Victoria-style approach, addressing multiple patrons with the same work, Rasi created

[50] Prague: Cavalière Girolamo Soranzo in Prague to Doge Marc'Antonio Memmo in Venice, 8th October 1612, I-*Fas*, Mediceo filza 4366; Monsignore Giuliano de' Medici in Prague to the Grandduke Cosimo II in Florence, 8th October 1612. Nuremberg: Francesco Rasi in Munich to Duke Francesco in Mantua, 19th November 1612, the letter containing a medical certificate from Hieronymus Faber, doctor of the Duke of Bavaria, ASM A.G., busta 527. Munich: 27th November 1612, Francesco Rasi in Munich to Mantua: ASM A.G., busta 527. Published in Herbert Seifert, "Beiträge zur Frühgeschichte der Monodie in Österreich," *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 31 (1980), 11-12.

[51] 19th November 1612: ASM A.G., busta 527.

[52] Francesco Rasi, "Musiche da Camera e Chiesa," in *Denkmäler Der Musik in Salzburg* eds. Herbert Seifert, Howard Arman and Camillo Orlandi, Bd. 7 (Salzburg: Selke Verlag, 1995), VII.

[53] Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, B 241.I.

[54] Rasi, "Musiche da Camera e Chiesa," VII-VIII.

a unique work for Marcus Sitticus, both increasing the potential for reward through special flattery, and increasing the risk of disappointment through addressing a sole patron.[55]

It is within this patronage interaction that Herbert Seifert, researcher of musical transfer (in particular, opera) between Italy and Austria in the early 1600s, believes that the score for Monteverdi's *L'Orfeo* (1607) is likely to have been transmitted to Marcus Sitticus, in the form of Rasi's personal manuscript. As the titular lead in *L'Orfeo*, Rasi would have had his own ornamented manuscript copy, which on its own would have been a slightly impractical gift. However, Rasi would also have been highly proficient in performing *L'Orfeo*'s arias, such as "Possente Spirto", which he could demonstrate to the Prince-Archbishop, allowing him to experience the opera in part. Given Rasi's depleted means and the opportunity to gain a reputation with this new, wealthy patron, one can imagine him exhausting his repertoire in order to make a positive impression. Seifert argues that this scenario is the most obvious opportunity for the transfer of the score, although he also suggests that it could have happened during the Duke Francesco's visit to Salzburg a couple of months earlier.[56] This is possible, particularly given that the Duke was *L'Orfeo*'s dedicatee and had been involved in its production, although arguably less likely. The Duke and Rasi had parted ways in Prague, and this creates two questions: why would the pair be carrying more than one score of *L'Orfeo*, and why, if there were only one, would the Duke, who as far as records show did not perform, be carrying it? More probable is that he mentioned the opera to Marcus Sitticus, sparking an interest in the score before it arrived with Rasi.

The potential gifting of Monteverdi's *L'Orfeo* creates a new dimension in the analysis of patronage. Rasi's *Musiche da Camera e Chiesa*, even if performed, can be considered a singular rewardable

[55] The work itself survives and no copies have been found or mentioned in primary source materials, although the possibility of copies or slightly adjusted versions having existed cannot be completely extinguished.
[56] Duke Vincenzo died in February that year and was succeeded by his eldest son, Francesco. Francesco was to die shortly after returning from this trip, and thus Ferdinando succeeded his brother in December 1612. Herbert Seifert, "Marcus Sitticus von Hohenems und Mantua: die Ersten Opern Ausserhalb Italiens in Neuem Licht," 50.

commodity, as Rasi was its creator and apparently received reparations.[57] By contrast, the presentation of a whole opera, which Marcus Sitticus would have to put on, extends the potential patronage beyond Rasi and necessitates a sustained and active patronage of the opera itself. This gift invited a musical institution to be created, that would enable performances of dramatic works – an orchestra would be needed, competent monody performers who could also act, stage designers. It is, perhaps, quite a tactical move. Mantua had a high number of musicians in its employ, and not necessarily the means (nor the inclination) to pay them all.[58] By hiring out some of Mantua's professionals, who may otherwise be sitting idle (or planning their escapes to other courts), the court could alleviate some level of financial burden, while keeping their roster of musicians in-tact and summonable, should the Gonzagas require them. [59]

Francesco Rasi had left Salzburg by the time *Orfeo* and other dramas came to be performed (1614-1619), although he did make certain provisions to support the performances.[60] For example, in March 1613, Rasi wrote to Alessandro Striggio, *L'Orfeo*'s librettist and Mantuan court secretary, to arrange the transfer of the Mantuan stage architect, Antonio Maria Viani, to Salzburg.[61] Although the architect himself was busy, he sent some of his students in his place, who would have been involved in the assembly of machinery and staging for these first (and possibly many more) operatic performances. An influx of Italian musicians occurred, who soon made up about half of the

[57] Herbert Seifert, "Marcus Sitticus von Hohenems und Mantua: die Ersten Opern Ausserhalb Italiens in Neuem Licht," 50. Rasi mentioned the generosity of the Duke in a letter to Galileo Galilei dated January 28, 1613.
[58] Mitchell Cohen, *The Politics of Opera: A History from Monteverdi to Mozart* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2020), 64-65.
[59] The musical institute at Mantua struggled after Francesco began tightening the court's belt, by dismissing some members, and cutting back on musical activity. See Roger Bowers, "Monteverdi at Mantua, 1590–1612," in *The Cambridge Companion to Monteverdi*, eds. John Whenham and Richard Wistreich, 53–75 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 74.
[60] Though there is no evidence of Rasi leaving Italy again, it is theoretically possible that he returned to Salzburg to play 'Orfeo' again for some of these performances.
[61] Letter of Francesco Rasi in Mantua to Alessandro Striggio in Mantua, 6th March 1613, ASM A.G. 2728: 'V.S. m'ha sempre amato e faorito piu del mio merito e dalla sua gentilezza hora e sempre in ogni luogo e tempo ho sperato ogni grazia et ogni favore, et occorrendomi al presente di mandare alcuni huomini pratichi di scena e di machine allievi del n.ro S.r Prefetto all'ill.mo Prencipe et Arciv.co di Salspurgh e dovendo sborsars buona somma di denari, percio, ho bisogno di raccorne dounque io possa. onde instantemente la prego a comandare che mi sia fatto il bollettino della paga del mese passato accio che q.ti insieme con altri mi possino sollevare, e farmi eseguire i com.to di quel gran prencipe ch'io n'hauro presi obligo a V.S.'

personnel in the court orchestra as well as the *Hofkapelle*.[62] Italian musicians had been present at the court chapel in Salzburg already several years prior to Marcus Sitticus' reign, thanks to the Italianate, particularly Roman tastes of his predecessor, Wolf Dietrich. However, under Marcus Sitticus, additional Mantuan singers arrived in Salzburg to assist with opera productions, including the bass Fra Fortunato (1612-1616), Bernadino Pasquino Grassi (1617) and possibly Giovanni Gualberto Magli, Monteverdi's original *Euridice* (1615).[63] These singers brought (or represented) the necessary forces to perform *Orfeo* for Marcus Sitticus, and any other music from Mantua. Another Mantuan Tenor, Francesco Campagnolo (who performed the role of Apollo in *L'Orfeo*, 1607), came to Salzburg in 1616. Campagnolo, Seifert argues, offered his musical services: performative, advisory, even directory, in exchange for rewards, and ultimately for employment as a courtier.[64] Campagnolo had accumulated debts in Mantua that he was unable to pay off, and what may have initially been intended as a short excursion to Salzburg, to acquire financial rewards and manage these debts, became an extended period of non-permitted leave. Evidently, whatever Marcus Sitticus was able to offer Campagnolo induced him to risk his career in Mantua to extend the Prince-Archbishop's patronage into employment. The relationship between singer and patron was clearly strong, as Marcus Sitticus even deigned to write to the vexed Duke Ferdinando Gonzaga to defend the disobedient singer.[65]

Table 3.1 details all of the known theatrical productions that were put on at the request of Marcus Sitticus, and recorded by the court chronicler, Johann Stainhauser:[66]

[62] Constantin Schneider, *Geschichte der Musik in Salzburg* (Salzburg: Georg Olms, 1977), 59.
[63] Seifert, "Marcus Sitticus von Hohenems und Mantua: die Ersten Opern Ausserhalb Italiens in Neuem Licht," 53.
[64] Ibid., 51-52.
[65] Letter from Marcus Sitticus in Salzburg to Ferdinando Gonzaga in Mantua, 17th May 1617, ASM A.G., busta 52.
[66] The information has been extrapolated from Seifert, "Marcus Sitticus von Hohenems und Mantua: die Ersten Opern Ausserhalb Italiens in Neuem Licht," 62-64, who provides detailed references for each of these events in German. Where sections are left blank, the information is absent from Stainhauser's accounts. The translation is my own.

Table 3.1: Record of dramatic works performed under the rule of Marcus Sitticus (1612-1619).

Date	Work	Venue	Occasion	Notes
16 Jan 1614	Italian pastoral	Palace of Count Paris Lodron	Carnival	
19 Jan 1614	Latin drama on Charlemagne and his wife Hildegard	Seminary	Carnival	Performed by students of the seminary, 'mit zierlichem apparat' (with graceful/decent apparatus'.
20 Jan 1614	German 'prose drama' about a youth named Mariano	In the old cathedral residence of Nikolaus Freiherr, the canon and governor of Selva and Rodenegg	Carnival	
22 Jan 1614	Repetition of German prose drama (20 Jan 1614)		Carnival	Performed on handsome, movable stage.
27 Jan 1614	Italian tragicomedy	High Court	Carnival	Performed for officers and servants of the court.
1 Feb 1614	Repetition of Italian tragicomedy (1 Feb 1614)	High Court	Carnival	Performed for the city council and other distinguished citizens.
3 Feb 1614	Repetition of Italian tragicomedy (1 Feb 1614)	Theatre of Schloss Mirabell	Carnival	Performed for the cathedral chapter, gentlemen and noblemen.
5 Feb 1614	Repetition of German prose drama (20 Jan 1614)	Old cathedral provost's residence.	Carnival	
10 Feb 1614	*Orfeo* (pastoral)	Court	Carnival	Described as 'musical acting'.
3 Sept 1614	Afternoon: Repetition of Italian tragicomedy (27 Jan 1614) Evening:		Visit of the Archduke Maximilian of Tyrol	Tragicomedy was performed on a large set ('large apparatus') with 'artistic representations'.

	Italian pastoral			
11 Nov 1614	Latin drama of Saint Susanna		Feast of St. Martin	Performed in the afternoon 'with delicate apparatus' by the students of the seminary.
4 Jan 1615	Italian drama of the King Velasca		Carnival	Organised for the Canon Wolf Wilhelm von Schrattenbach, Baron of Heggenberg and Osterwitz.
11 Jan 1615	Repetition of the Italian drama (4 Jan 1615)		Carnival	
21 Jan 1615	*Andria, hoc est virilis homo*, a Latin spiritual drama	Seminary	Carnival	Performed by the 'alumni' of the seminary.
4 Mar 1615	*St Christina*, sacred musical drama	Court	Ash Wednesday	Performed with artificial, 'inverted' staging.
27 Aug 1615	Repetition of *St Christina* (4 Mar 1615)		Visit of the Archduke Maximilian of Tyrol	Performed at 3pm.
'After 27 Aug 1615'	A Comedy and Pastoral	In castles Hellbrunn, Glanegg and a castle in Hallein	Visit of the Archduke Maximilian of Tyrol	
3 Feb 1616	Repetition of *Orfeo* (10 Feb 1614)	Court	Carnival	Performed for the citizenry.
5 Feb 1616	Tragedy of a king of Sicily		Carnival	Performed for the citizenry.
8 Feb 1616	Repetition of *Orfeo* (10 Feb	Court	Carnival	Performed 'in ordinary theatre' for the cathedral chapter, nobility, gentlemen

	1614)			and councillors.
12 Feb 1616	Repetition of the tragedy (5 Feb 1616)			Performed for the nobility.
29 April 1616	Repetition of *St Christina* (4 Mar 1615)		Visit of the Archduke Leopold V of Tyrol	Performed at 2pm.
1 Dec 1616	*Andromeda.* Italian "Play…in Music"		For the return of Count Jakob Hannibal von Hohenems with his wife, and both 'relatives of his wedding'	Performed at 2pm.
3 Dec 1616	Musical tragedy		As above (1 Dec 1616)	Performed in the afternoon for five hours, with the 'sweetest music', lively acting and 'artificially inverse' staging.
5 Dec 1616	Repetition of *St Christina* (4 Mar 1615)	Court	As above (1 Dec 1616)	Performed in the afternoon.
1 Jan 1617	Two Italian dialogues, one 'like a half comedy', the other 'in music'		New Year	Performers: two groups of Italians accompanied by one theorbo each.
27 Jan 1617	Repetition of *Orfeo* (10 Feb 1614)		Carnival	Performed for the nobility with 'artificially reversed theatre'.
5 Feb 1617	Repetition of *Andromeda* (1 Dec 1616)		Carnival	Performed 'with splendid apparatus' for the city council, nobility and the court servants.
6 Feb 1617	Repetition of the tragedy (5 Feb 1616)		Carnival	Performed for the nobility and the court servants.

27 Aug 1617	Repetition of *St Christina* (4 Mar 1615)		Visit of the Elector and Archbishop of Cologne, Ferdinand of Bavaria, and Duke Albrecht of Bavaria.	Performed in the evening.
28 Aug 1617	Pastoral	The Steintheater at Hellbrunn	As above (27 Aug 1617)	
29 Aug 1617	Repetition of *Andromeda* (1 Dec 1616)		As above (27 Aug 1617)	Performed in the evening.
8 Oct 1617	Repetition of *Andromeda* (1 Dec 1616)		Visit of the Archduke Maximilian, the 'German master'.	Performed in the afternoon.
12 Feb 1618	Repetition of the tragedy (3 Dec 1616)		Carnival	Performed for city council and citizenship.
13 Feb 1618	Repetition of the tragedy (3 Dec 1616)		Carnival	Performed for nobility and councillors.
15 Feb 1618	Repetition of *Andromeda* (1 Dec 1616)		Carnival	Performed in the afternoon or evening for nobility and councillors.
16 Feb 1618	Repetition of *Andromeda* (1 Dec 1616)		Carnival	Performed for the citizenry.
17 Feb 1618	Repetition of *Orfeo* (10 Feb 1614)		Carnival	Performed before the evening prayers ('vespers') for nobility, councillors and distinguished citizens.
23 Feb 1618	Repetition of *St Christina* (4 Mar 1615)		Carnival	Performed after the vespers for nobility and noble citizens.

27 Feb 1618	Italian comedy ('commedia dell'arte')	On a cart during the carnival parade	Carnival	Performed by court musicians.
25 Oct 1618	*Triumph laboris*, Latin drama with music	On a stage in the inner large yard of the Abbey of St. Peter	Reward distribution to the students on the day of three Salzburg patron saints	Text' by Andreas Vogt, performed by students of the academic school.
15 Nov 1618	*Il Perseo* (Andromeda?), 'Opera in music'		Visit of the Archduke Leopold V	Performed in the evening.
25 Dec 1618	Musical pastoral about the birth of Jesus	Court	Christmas	Performed privately by valets and court musicians at 8pm in front of the Prince-Archbishop, some gentlemen and court officials.
1 Jan 1619	Italian pastoral with a ballet		New Year	Performed at 7pm by the princely pages for the Prince-Archbishop.
15, 22 Feb, 1, 8, 15 Mar 1619 – the first five Fridays of Lent	Dramatic representation and devotional prescriptions of the five senses of man: De Visu / sight; De Auditu / sound; De Gustu / taste; De Odoratu / smell; De Tactu / touch	On a stage next to the high altar	Lent	Organised by the Brotherhood of Our Lady and St. Monika of Mülln.
19 Jun 1619	*Marie magni Dei gloriosae, parthenicorum coetuum onium firmissimo Asylo, clientumque suorum acerrimae vindici adplausus comicus*, Latin drama	In the old cathedral provost's residence		Performed for the prince archbishop, the cathedral chapter, the chamber and court lords, high prince councils, nobility and other court officials, and performed by spiritual professors of the 'princely' school.

21 Jun 1619	Repetition of Latin Drama (19 Jun 1619)			Performed for the convent of St. Peter, the other religious chaplains and school students.
16 Jul 1619	Repetition of *Orfeo* (10 Feb 1614)		Visit of King Ferdinand II of Hungary and Bohemia	Performed after dinner.

As with *Orfeo*, the composer of *Andromeda* is unknown, although Seifert argues for the Bolognese Girolamo Giacobbi as composer and Ridolfo Campeggi as librettist, due to the 21 surviving libretti from the 1610 performance (at the Bolognese carnival).[67] Marcus Sitticus had Bolognese connections from his time studying at the University, incidentally, after he had studied with Ferdinando Gonzaga at the elite University of Ingolstadt, instigating the Mantua connection.[68]

Marcus Sitticus seems to have gathered musicians and works to Salzburg based on his tastes (and practically, on what he was able to get hold of), indicating a kind of collection-making and curatorial approach – 'Vaux', in the sense of gathering and collecting rather than employing and building, on a broad scale. That is not to say that he did not employ or build at all, merely that he did not do so in a way that would ensure the institution could sustain itself, by employing musicians who could compose and figures who could organise the institution, for example. Obtaining *Orfeo* was in congruence with a broader movement toward integrating elements of Italian culture into Salzburg, which sought to portray Marcus Sitticus as a patron of the arts, and specifically of Italian culture. This would be the impression given to his regal guests, such as Archbishop Leopold V and Ferdinand II, Holy Roman Emperor. Marcus Sitticus was acquiring cultural capital, aligning himself with trends and

[67] Seifert, "Marcus Sitticus von Hohenems und Mantua: die Ersten Opern Ausserhalb Italiens in Neuem Licht," 55.
[68] Herbert Seifert, "The Establishment, Development and Decline of Operatic Institutions in Austria," in *Italian Opera in Central Europe. Volume I: Institutions and Ceremonies*, eds. Melania Bucciarelli, Norbert Dubowy, Reinhard Strohm, 11-20 (Berlin: BWV, 2006), 12.

fashions emerging from the regions where he had grown up, and he was able to express this through the patronage of large cultural features such as an architectural style, or a whole genre of music. The construction of his Hellbrunn pleasure palace is an enduring statement of Marcus' impassioned attitude toward Italian culture. Designed by Santino Solari, Hellbrunn replicates an Italian *villa suburbana*, such as the *Villa Mondragone* where Cardinal Marco Sittico had hosted his nephew.[69] The entire palace, from gardens to grottoes, fountains to theatres, is a dramatic display, with the soundscape at its heart. Platonic principles of symmetry guide the garden's design, and the representation of ancient Greek and Roman mythological tropes contribute to the garden's humanistic identity.[70] There are a plenitude of statues and ornaments relating directly to the myth of Orpheus throughout the garden. The elaborate Orpheus grotto (Fig.3.1) contains a statue of the demi-god playing his lyre, and a statue of the sleeping Eurydice accompanies visitors *en route* to the large Steintheater (stone-built theatre), an outdoor stage, where dramas were performed.[71] These Orphean references could illustrate the extent to which Marcus Sitticus patronised *Orfeo*; he incorporated the work's characters into the garden so that guests could walk amongst the figures who they would also see performed in the Steintheater, expanding the theatrical experience from the stage to the whole garden. Of course, Orpheus was a humanist trope and his presence in a *villa suburbana* is unsurprising, but Marcus Sitticus was actively involved with the garden's design,[72] and the prominence of the Orpheus myth throughout the garden may well have intentionally resonated with the *Orfeo* performances. Hellbrunn's identity as a humanist pleasure palace is parallel with the

[69] Susanne Kronbichler-Skacha, "Hellbrunn, Schloss," *Grove Art Online* 2003, accessed 20th October 2019.
[70] Beatrix Hajós, and Géza Hajós, "Hellbrunn," *The Oxford Companion to the Garden* 2006, accessed 20th October 2019.
For more detail on the house and garden design, see Robert R. Bilger, *Schloss Hellbrunn: Wunderkammer der Gartenarchitektur* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1996).
[71] The only drama explicitly noted in the court records to have been performed in the Steintheater was simply referred to as a 'Pastoral'. This could have been some variant on *Orfeo* (given the Orpheus myth's pastoral setting), or an entirely different work, we do not know. It seems unlikely to me, given the work put into creating Hellbrunn and its gardens, that only one drama was ever performed on that stage under Marcus Sitticus.
[72] One way that this is evidenced is in the inspiration taken from Villa Mondragone, particularly the water features. The 'trick fountains', disguised in seats, along paths, in roofs, would soak his guests unexpectedly, and were inspired by features of the villa in which he spent many summers as a youth. See: Charlene Villaseñor Black and Mari-Tere Álvarez (eds.), *Renaissance Futurities: Science, Art, Invention* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2020), 35.

concept of 'Vaux' patronage. Both pleasure palaces physically encapsulate the types of patronage being enacted within them, but in their design, are also indicative of the value placed on arts and pleasure by their patrons. Marcus Sitticus' nostalgia for the summer villas built and enjoyed by Italian elites, combined with the values that these buildings embodied; humanism, theatricality, pleasure and sensory exploration, are all in evidence at Hellbrunn.

In true 'Vaux' fashion, theatrical activity stopped with the death of Marcus Sitticus on 9th October 1619, which also marked the end of cultural transfer between Mantua and Salzburg.[73] Permanently endowed institutions such as the *Hofkapelle* remained, but there was no structure in place to retain the dramatic musicians, theatrical performers and those who had acted as essential organisational figures. The conjunction of necessary component parts which created a mirage of Italy in Salzburg seems to almost have been a happy coincidence for Marcus Sitticus, and was not consolidated in a way which could create a legacy of theatrical music in the city.

[73] Johann Stainhauser, *Marcus Sitticus: was sich in Regierung des hochwürdigsten Fürsten Marx Sittichen Denkwürdiges zu* (Salzburg: Samson, 2012), 353.

Figure 3.1: The Orpheus Grotto (Orpheusgrotte) at Hellbrunn Palace. [74]



[74] Photograph from Wikimedia Commons, taken by Matthias Kabel on 13th April 2008. Used under license: GNU Free Documentation License. Accessed 23rd May 2023.

Comparators

Like Marcus Sitticus, the emphasis of Emperor Ferdinand II's (r.1619-1639) patronage was inspired by his upbringing, and his studies at the Jesuit University of Ingolstadt. Ferdinand's acquisition of Italian musicians had begun several years before his accession to the Imperial throne, though was expanded upon his accession. The *maestri* of his court chapel were always Venetian: Simone Gatto, Pietro Antonio Bianco, Giovanni Priuli and Giovanni Valentini, and among many other Venetian musicians were two of his most valued *virtuosi*, Giovanni Sansoni and Giovanni Chilesi. Ferdinand's status increased, enabling (or perhaps, necessitating) his expansion of the musical institution. His approach to creating the institution, to patronising and employing musicians was far from opportunistic, happenstantial and (thus) fleeting, as in the case of Marcus Sitticus. As is typical of the 'Vaux' style of patronage, Marcus Sitticus relied upon relationships with musicians to create cultural transfer for him. Francesco Rasi and Francesco Campagnolo were exemplary of this '[network] of friendship and particular associations between patrons and artists' so characteristic of the 'Vaux' phenomenon.[75] This is further illustrated by Marcus Sitticus' reliance upon his friendship with Ferdinando, who became Duke of Matua in December 1612, to enable Campagnolo to stay in Salzburg, despite Ferdinando's explicit commands to the musician. By comparison, 'Versailles' patronage is 'large-scale royal patronage of public art', with '"hard" cultural political aims — explicit agendas, specific audiences and targets, and clearly articulated messages about the power and prestige of the ruling monarch'.[76] Ferdinand II exemplified the 'Versaille' approach. He was methodical in his development of the *Hofmusikkappelle* as well as of local churches, and the public art he invested in served to express his commitment to his religious and political agendas.[77] Ferdinand's 'punctiliousness' in his outward religious acts gave the institution a sacred focus. Described as 'inordinately pious' by Saunders, Ferdinand's justification for heavily investing in

[75] Ledbury, "Patronage," 395; 'through networks of friendship and particular associations between patrons and artists'.
[76] Ibid., 395.
[77] Saunders, "Sacred Music at the Hapsburg Court," 22-25.

musical activity at court was that 'one can never spend too much to honour God'.[78] Perhaps this may be read as 'one can never spend too much to demonstrate that we honour God'. Marcus Sitticus had no such devotional justification for his musical investments; his dramatic music was designed to be pleasurable for humankind, to shine a light on himself as major patron of the arts.

Around the time of Ferdinand's accession, and the demise of Marcus Sitticus along with theatrical activity in Salzburg, the new Emperor imported Italian musicians, who were producing new works inspired by the style of Monteverdi. The Imperial *Hofkapellmeister*, Giovanni Priuli (1575-1626), spent his formative years in Venice at the time of Gabrieli, though may have overlapped with Monteverdi before entering Ferdinand II's service in Graz in 1614. Giovanni Valentini (c.1582-1649) composed *Salmi, hinni, Magnificat, antifone, falsibordoni et motetti concertati* (Venice: Vincenti, 1618), influenced by Monteverdi's Vespers (Venice: Amadino, 1610) and the madrigals of the *Quinto libro* (Venice: Amadino, 1605). Saunders provides a comparison between Valentini's "Domine probasti me" and Monteverdi's "Dixit Dominus".[79] Valentini was himself prolific and stylistically influential – he was named among Samuel Capricornus' musical influences alongside Monteverdi.[80] Priuli, in 1619, created "Canzone in echo" for 12 voices (in *Sacrorum concentuum*, Venice: Magni); possibly also inspired by the Vespers, specifically the echoing in "Audi coelum". This echo work, in turn, could be an example of Gabrieli's influence (his *Sacrae symphoniae liber I* includes one for 12 voices; Venice: Gardano, 1597). With these Venetian musicians, the Viennese court could create an Italianesque soundscape, expressing panegyrics about the Habsburg's cultural prowess as well as their religious intentions. Their interest in sacred and smaller-scale secular genres as opposed to dramas likely helped create a more suitable environment for musical dissemination; the established *Hofmusikkapelle* and multiple churches, invested in by Ferdinand II, performed music frequently,

[78] Saunders, "Sacred Music at the Hapsburg Court," 22-25. This extended to the exemption of musicians from austerity measures; he showed significant favouritism to those involved with musical activity.
[79] Ibid., 125.
[80] Josef Sittard, "Samuel Capricornus Contra Philipp Friedrich Böddecker," *Sammelbände Der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 1, vol. 3 (1901): 87–128.

enabling dissemination of Monteverdi's style through the works of Venetian musicians to local Viennese musicians, and beyond.[81] Still, much of this hints specifically at a Venetian musical influence in Vienna, as opposed to any conscious assimilation of Monteverdi's style. As discussed previously, Monteverdi's Venetian period brought about an enmeshment of his brand and music with that of others at San Marco, and the Venetian music scene more broadly.

However, Monteverdi engaged with the Habsburgs. He dedicated music to them, and composed an *intermezzo* for the wedding of Ferdinand II and Eleanor Gonzaga. Such was their relationship that in 1633, via the mediation of Eleonora, Ferdinand pulled strings for Monteverdi to receive a canonry in Cremona, giving an affectionate assessment of his and Eleonora's relationship with the musician in a letter to Cardinal Infant Ferdinand, son of Philip III of Spain and Margaret of Austria.[82] In contrast, there is no sign of Monteverdi's engagement with Salzburg during the period of Marcus Sitticus' rule, despite the (theoretical) potential for him to have garnered benefits from doing so. Other Italian

[81] Saunders, "Sacred Music at the Hapsburg Court," 28.

[82] 'Claudio Monteverdi, through most pleasing manifestations of [his] zealous devotion towards Our August House of Austria, has earned for himself the privilege of Our generous commendation. He, who has [already] won extraordinary esteem from Her Most Serene Highness and Our most dear wife on account of lengthy, outstanding services, is [now] also greatly commended by Us for other tokens of exceptional worth. Accordingly-since he is asking for a short and summary hearing of a suit which he has pending in Cremona, and indeed before the Most Reverend Cardinal Campori, Bishop of Cremona-he would seek to be assisted by a recommendation from Your Most Reverend Father and Grace so that he might receive more favourable consideration in this matter from this same Cardinal (who is himself considering conferring a canonry in the afore- mentioned city of Cremona); therefore, we kindly ask Your Most Reverend Father and Your Eminence how readily he might be willing to embrace this person in his cause (both on account of his generosity as well as for Our benefit), so that as much as Our patronage trusts, no less will he feel himself to have profited. [And] we shall be obligated, as occasions arise, to demonstrate that this has pleased us, through other commensurate gestures of reciprocal goodwill. Vienna, 19 December 1633'; '*Rever[endissimo] Pergratis Studiosae erga Augustam n[ost]ram Austriae Domum Devotionis documentis benignae Commendationis n[ost]rae Patrocinium sibi conciliauit Claudius Monteverde. Qui apud Serenissimam etiam atq[ue] Charissimam Coniugem n[ost]ram diuturnis praestitis seruitijs singularem gra[ti]am promeritus est, alijsq[ue] eximiarum virtutum titulis nobis multum laudatur. Is itaq[ue] cum brevem et summariam litis, quam Cremonae habet, cognitionem imploret, nec non apud Rev[erendissi]mum Cardinalem Campori Cremonensem Episcopum, Rever[endissi]mae Pater[nita]tis [excised] et Dilectionis V[ost]rae Commendatione iuuari cupiat, ut ab eodem Cardinale qui sibi in ipsa Cremonensi Civitate Canonicatum conferre cogitat, tanto proniorem hac in parte exp[e]riatur voluntatem, hisce Rev[erendissi]mam Patrem et Dil[ectissimam] v[ost]ram quam benevole requirimus, velit ipsius personam in utraq[ue] causa suae benignitatis beneficijs n[ost]ri gratia ita propense complecti, ut nostrum isthoc Patrocinium haud minus quam confidit, sibi profuisse sentiat. Id quod gratum nobis fuisse, paribus, alijsq[ue] mutuae benevolentiae signis datis occasionibus demonstraturi simus. Datum Viennae 19 Decembri 1633*'. Steven Saunders, "New Light on the Genesis of Monteverdi's Eighth Book of Madrigals," *Music & Letters* 2, vol. 77 (1996), 183-184. Despite this letter, and further efforts, Monteverdi never did receive a canonry in Cremona, though did receive holy orders towards the end of his life.

musicians dedicated music to the Prince-Archbishop, including Pietro Lappi in 1613 (who also dedicated a piece to Monteverdi in 1616; 'La Monteverde', the final piece in his *canzone*), Sigismondo D'India in 1615, Aurelio Bonelli in 1616 and Pietro Pace in 1619.[83] Marcus Sitticus was evidently a worthwhile patron to acquire, if only via this kind of 'donación remunerada', which begs the question, why did Monteverdi not seek out the patronage of Marcus Sitticus, when his friends, ex-colleagues and other established musicians did?

Towards an explanation for Monteverdi's absence

If Marcus Sitticus' actions are viewed in the context of a Vaux-style approach to accumulating Italian music, then, likely, he had little interest in pursuing Monteverdi in particular. He did not need to, given that the cast of *L'Orfeo* (among others) seemed to be volunteering themselves for his service. Unlike the Habsburgs, Marcus Sitticus was neither governing an empire nor was he preoccupied with continuing a dynastic legacy (which would have been unbefitting for a celibate cleric). He could afford a less meticulous approach to building and maintaining the Salzburg culture, he seems simply to have enjoyed the products of the cultural transfer without considering its permanence. This said, the seeming disregard (or missed opportunity) for the involvement of Monteverdi contrasts the musician's treatment in German-speaking lands later in the century, and is confusing for a few reasons. The characterisation of Marcus Sitticus as a 'Vaux' patron does not explain everything.

From the perspective of performers and Marcus Sitticus, Monteverdi was surely useful. Despite, generally, singers being given more importance than composers, Monteverdi was more than a composer. He was a teacher, conductor, performer and he directed musical activities. Was it really the case that his value was seen to end after the completion of *L'Orfeo*'s score? It is also unlikely that Monteverdi's absence was due to ignorance about the cultural transfer and performances. He

[83] Cliff Eisen, "Salzburg," *Grove Music Online* 2001, accessed 30th April, 2023; Stevens, *The Letters of Claudio Monteverdi*, 103.

was no longer *maestro*, and may not have been aware of Rasi's presence in Salzburg, nor the export of staging and personnel. However, at the very least, Francesco Campagnolo could have communicated the situation to him, given their lifelong friendship. From the perspective of the Gonzaga, Monteverdi was a Mantuan citizen, so why not request that he, along with the staging and musicians, go to Salzburg? In the early stages of the transfer (early 1613), it does not seem that Monteverdi had any other employment lined up, so he was likely available. In the discussion of patronage types and terms, it was noted that the status of the musician corresponded with the kinds of patronage they may undertake; Monteverdi left Mantua in the summer of 1612, taking up the role of *Maestro di Capella* at San Marco in Venice, raising his profile and making the concept of performing a Monteverdi work theoretically a more notable event. Even if Marcus Sitticus had never heard of Monteverdi in the early stages of the transfer, surely, he would later. The fact that Marcus Sitticus was not concerned with associating with Monteverdi was one thing, but what is arguably more significant is that the court chronicler at Salzburg, Stainhauser, never sought to associate either *Orfeo* or *Andromeda* with any renowned musical names.

One possible reason for the silence between Marcus Sitticus and Monteverdi was internal politics, namely between Monteverdi and the Gonzaga. As briefly discussed, the Gonzaga court was financially strained during the rule of Vincenzo, and when Francesco, his son, took over, he inherited a hoard of frustrated and restless musicians, wanting pay and opportunities to perform, and many began looking to other courts.[84] When the Monteverdi brothers were dismissed in the summer of 1612, the Gonzaga needed to make an example of them, in order to scare the other musicians into submission. Not only could this have impacted Monteverdi's reputation in the eyes of Marcus Sitticus, but Monteverdi may also have thought it unwise to seek patronage from someone with Mantuan links. Indeed, when Ferdinando (friend and peer of Marcus Sitticus) took over from his

[84] Stevens gives the example of Adriana Basile, who complained that she was 'tired of being cooped up indoors' and that she rarely saw her new patron, Francesco. See Stevens, *The Letters of Claudio Monteverdi*, 83.

older brother Francesco, Monteverdi was faced with an even trickier balancing act. Ferdinando did not particularly like Monteverdi, but as a citizen of Mantua, Monteverdi was still technically subservient to him.[85] The Gonzaga court owed Monteverdi a pension, but the court paymaster refused (on multiple occasions) to dispense it. Perhaps Monteverdi believed that any involvement with Marcus Sitticus could jeopardise his acquisition of the pension, and give Ferdinando cause to ignore Monteverdi's plight. Perhaps Francesco Rasi's role is of major significance. If he depicted himself as the opera's leading authority, with the presentation of *Musiche da camera e chiesa* proof of his all-round musical talent, why would Marcus Sitticus look elsewhere for assistance? As shown in the case of *Arianna* (1608) in Chapter 2, star singers could become synonymous with the works they performed, impacting the relationship between composer and work. There were also personal reasons to consider, which could explain a reticence towards Salzburg on Monteverdi's part. Monteverdi did not seem to enjoy working on the early musical dramas. From our understanding of the showcasing of *L'Orfeo* and *L'Arianna*, dramatic productions were deeply stressful, fraught and demanding events which incurred lengthy periods of sustained exertion. Monteverdi claimed that exhaustion brought on by creating dramatic works had nearly killed him in letters to the Mantuan court.[86] The fact that the deaths of Monteverdi's wife, daughter and student had all occurred around the time of these premiers no doubt continued to the trauma he seemed to associate with dramatic works.

Conclusion

This cultural transfer from Mantua to Salzburg represented an opportunity for Monteverdi's dramatic music to have been disseminated into German-speaking lands. However, the opportunistic nature of Marcus Sitticus' patronage, and the lack of a stable musical institution to enable continual

[85] Stevens, *The Letters of Claudio Monteverdi*, 179.
[86] This is stated in a letter to Annibale Chieppio after Monteverdi was demanded to return to Mantua during a period of convalescence at his father's house. ASM A.G., c. 6, ff. 95-6, Bf. 3 pp. Cremona, 2nd December 1608 to Annibale Chieppio at Mantua. See Stevens, *The Letters of Claudio Monteverdi*, 48.

dramatic performances caused this transfer to be fleeting – not even Italy had constructed a dramatic musical institution at this stage. This is an underwhelming image of the 'birth of opera' in German-speaking lands; a homesick noble trying to recreate the cultural experiences he had enjoyed growing up in Italy, acting as an Italian prince in a German-speaking archbishopric, several miles over the Alps. It was also the result of opportunistic Mantuan musicians looking for financial reward with a patron who wanted their skills, in what may have been a less-competitive market for performers than in Italy. Ledbury's concept of 'Vaux' patronage does leave room for a stylistic legacy to be left as an imprint of the patronage, but this seems to have happened in an aesthetic sense only. Paris Lodron, Marcus Sitticus' successor, only had one dramatic work performed during his 34-year reign, and it was performed in the Florentine *stile recitativo*, in honour of the Medici princes who were in attendance.[87] Seifert describes the production of opera in Salzburg of the remainder of the 17th Century as 'sporadic', hardly indicative of a stylistic legacy as a result of *Orfeo* (at least as far as surviving records show).[88]

The performances of *Orfeo* were part of a period of cultural transfer and cultural re-enactment – dissemination was limited, stylistic influence lacking. Instead of dissemination in the ways exhibited in the German-speaking lands model (print dissemination, in-person dissemination), there is only the notional idea of sonic dissemination via performance, beginning with Rasi performing *L'Orfeo*'s "Possente Spirto" across German-speaking lands until arriving in Salzburg. There, finding such an appreciative audience in Marcus Sitticus, he gifted the score, and using his network of colleagues, enabled the full work to be performed two years later. These performers then assumed authority over the work in Salzburg, further complicating the *Orfeo* performances from the perspective of Monteverdi scholarship. They may have added their own music, their own direction and created a work that, though based on Monteverdi's, had evolved into something different and new. Until more documentation, or even a score, can be found, scholars are left to speculate.

[87] Herbert Seifert, "The Establishment, Development and Decline of Operatic Institutions in Austria," 13.
[88] Ibid.

Chapter 4: Monteverdi's Music on the British Isles

The final case study in this thesis investigates the transmission of Monteverdi's music across the English Channel. In order to establish a reliable dataset, it is necessary to take stock of Monteverdi's works that ended up (be it by accident or by choice) in private and institutional British collections or institutions of 17th-century Britain. On this basis, I can explore Monteverdi's music's dissemination, with special emphasis on key figures associated with the collection, dissemination or reception of Monteverdi's music. The multi-faceted assessment resulting therefrom will allow for a deeper understanding of how Monteverdi's music was treated by his contemporaries on the British Isles, and to what extent it impacted compositional practice in Britain. For a variety of reasons, the concept of the 'brand' proves inadequate to analyse Monteverdi's reception in Britain – above all, his music ventured into terrains in which Monteverdi and his aides had lost any (direct) control over his branding and image. Due to the distinct socio-cultural environment, Monteverdi could not count on musicians having a genuine understanding of the music and the musical culture in which he was embedded. For all it seems, many of those who collected Monteverdi's music were spurred on by a general interest in aligning themselves with his Italian cultural heritage at large, rather than with a specific composer. Due to this more haphazard nature, Monteverdi would be unable to realistically benefit from any such brand interactions; all would be for the sole benefit of the interactor. This chapter turns to focus on the absorption of Italian musical style into British musical culture, and investigates the extent to which Monteverdi's music was part of this great cultural assimilation.

Jonathan P. Wainwright, to whom we owe (among other things)[1] the most substantial study of the reception of Monteverdi's music in 17th-century England, is sceptical whether there was any discernible musical influence upon English composers. In his chapter, titled "Dissemination and influence of Monteverdi's music in England", Wainwright rightly draws a distinction between the

[1] Notably, his study on the Hatton family's music collection, which has been central to this study. See J. P. Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605-1670)* (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1997).

ownership of printed books and of manuscripts.[2] The former did not necessarily indicate genuine interest in their contents, as well-produced prints served as status symbols. Manuscripts, on the other hand, were indicative of taste, especially when they were produced or curated by the owner. As they facilitated performance and studies, they provide clues about musical repertoires 'in action'. Nonetheless, within the parameters of a history of the Monteverdi brand, the use of his work as merely a status symbol is no less significant, as it informs us of the ways Monteverdi's music was actually used by the British.

In the British market, Monteverdi's music had to compete against the reputations and works of his Italian colleagues and counterparts, in addition to British composers, notably, those who wrote Italian pastiche. For example, the music of Benedetto Pallavicino was utilised by the composer John Ward (1571-1638).[3] He imitated a generalised Italian musical 'style' in many of his works, while also adapting his pastiche music for the available forces, his patron's tastes, specific religious or poetic content. This Italophilic approach (driven by his patron, Sir Henry Fanshawe) led to Ward's learning of the Italian language, and his imitation of the Italian style (or at least, a Brit's reduction of it) in many of his musical compositions. In a manuscript collection now held at Christ Church, Oxford (Mus. 61-66), Thomas Myriell, musician and copyist (1580-1625), copied out a selection of works by Italian composers (such as Monteverdi) and British composers. This included the John Ward pastiche ("Cor mio deh non languire") of Pallavicino's work "Cor mio", which was presented alongside the original.

Monteverdi, like Pallavicino, Marenzio, Grandi, Carissimi and others, seems to have been a source of inspiration and stylistic instruction, largely because he was a prolific name in Italian musical print. His music became available in Britain due primarily to the links between the printing house of Phalèse and London booksellers. Of course, this is not the full picture, but it is indicative of a fundamental shift in the perception and treatment of Monteverdi, which occurred when his music was placed into

[2] J. P. Wainwright. "Dissemination and influence of Monteverdi's music in England" in *Monteverdi und die Folgen*, eds. S. Leopold and J. Stainheuer, 105-121 (Bärenreiter: Kassel, 1998).
[3] This can be seen in GB-*Och* Mus. 61-66.

the hands of British musicians, who copied out his works for manuscript collections. He was not presented as a great master of the *seconda prattica*, inventor of modern music, nor does he appear to have been considered an emblem of the Venetian school. From a British perspective, Monteverdi was Italian, and his music was thus imbued with a national cultural authority, to whom British composers allied themselves in order to further their own careers.

This study can be split into three sections, with the first two concerning sources, and the last concerning usage. First, a case study on influence, presenting instances of musical borrowing by the British composer Richard Dering. Second, modes of transmission, split into separate discussions of print and manuscripts, exploring notable examples of Monteverdi sources that have survived from the 17th century. Third, the topic of usage, evidencing and speculating on the usage of Monteverdi's music in 17th century Britain. By and large, the latter two sections will shine a light on the notable British appetite for 'Italian-style' music, rather than for Monteverdi's music in particular. In contrast to the German-speaking lands, where a musical red thread seemed purposefully pulled through from Venice to German-speaking hubs by composers, the British scenario features few definitive examples of the music being valued for its aesthetic quality, uniqueness, or cultural significance. Rather, the style is of primary concern to Italophiles seeking to emulate Italian music, and thanks to both the relative accessibility of Monteverdi's works and the practice of manuscript making, several manuscript copies of Monteverdi's music survive. Yet, his music is so de-contextualised by its presence in the British Isles that, generally speaking, rather than evoking specific musical ideas, it appears more to be indicative of 'Italy' or 'Europe', something fashionable.

As in much of Europe, the spread of Protestantism likely impacted how Monteverdi's music was received and used in Britain – there is precious little evidence of Monteverdi's sacred music being transferred to Britain.[4] Madrigals befitted the Elizabethan tastes, which changed to a preference for

[4] Aside from in print collections such as Georg Gruber's *Reliquiae Sacrorum Concentuum* (Nuremberg: Kauffman, 1615); this currently resides in the University of Glasgow's Library, and as we do not have records of this work being sold in book shops in the 17th century (though it is entirely possible that it was), we cannot

instrumental music, meaning that when Monteverdi's music is copied later in the century, it is often to be found textless.[5] The instrumental use of vocal music was congruent with an appreciation for instruments' dramatic capabilities, and for their potential to imitate the human voice; Rebecca Cypess refers to a quotation from Giovanni Battista Doni, given in 1640, expressing these qualities in relation to the violin.[6] As such, instrumental music grew in popularity across Europe in the mid-17th century. The musical forces available in Britain necessitated rearrangement of Monteverdi's works, making the performance of this 'foreign' music somewhat more laborious, no doubt a contributing factor in the rise in popularity of English music throughout the 17th century. While these issues did not deter German-speaking musicians, they could have been a factor in the popularity of Monteverdi's music in Britain, limiting its potential as anything other than a collector's item, to be placed on a shelf and used to bolster the owner's reputation as a cultural connoisseur.

Seventeenth-century collection-making was not limited to Britain, and as seen in the grand-scale example of Salzburg under the patronage of Marcus Sitticus, the practice generally necessitated little engagement with Monteverdi as a cultural figure. Indeed, in German-speaking lands, use of Monteverdi's music without engagement with him as a cultural figure seems to have been limited to the collection-making practice. As was demonstrated in the German-speaking lands model, Monteverdi was treated, on the whole, with a degree of reverence by prominent German-speaking musicians with respect to his cultural position. A cultural position was even created for him in the conception of German music history, as was exhibited by Bernhard in his treatise.[7] Anywhere that Monteverdi had personal connections with was a more fruitful place for dissemination of his works

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verify its provenance as an early example of Monteverdi's music's transfer to Britain. GB-*Ge* Sp Coll R.b.15-15(12).

[5] It is worth mentioning that, as Lorenz Welker has argued in relation to 14th-century 'instrumental' manuscripts, the textless state of historical works is not necessarily confirmation that they were instrumental arrangements, merely that this is how we find them today. Lorenz Welker, "Dufay Songs in German Manuscripts," in *Music in the German Renaissance: Sources, Styles, and Contexts*, ed. John Kmetz, 3-26 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 10.

[6] Rebecca Cypess, ""Esprimere la voce humana": Connections between Vocal and Instrumental Music by Italian Composers of the Early Seventeenth Century," *The Journal of Musicology* 2, vol. 27 (2010), 181-182.

[7] *Tractatus compositionis augmentatus*, c.1657. See Richard David Streetman, "Christoph Bernhard" (PhD Thesis, Texas North State University, 1967), 76-240.

and style (Ferdinand II's court in Vienna or Schütz's *kapelle* in Dresden, for example). In Britain, Monteverdi seems to have had limited personal connections. Unlike in Dresden, where young musicians such as Kittel were sent to study at San Marco in Venice before returning to the court, Britain does not seem to have established these institutional links, which created channels of dissemination in German-speaking lands.[8] By far the more prevalent modes by which Monteverdi's works were disseminated in Britain were print works and British-made manuscripts, which contained little to no biographical information about Monteverdi, nor his brand.

To illustrate the contrast between treatments of print and manuscript, it is worth discussing the context in which each would be kept on the British Isles. Generally, print copies were transferred to Britain via the book markets, which (like in other European countries) would stock shops in major cities, such as London, Newcastle and Edinburgh. Music books would have been available in store, or to order, and were often anthologies as well as single-author books. Print music books were popular with the individual, private buyer, perhaps purchased on behalf of a patron looking to form a collection or library. Collection-making was a largely private affair – Monteverdi's music would likely have been exposed to a limited audience, and would have required esoteric knowledge in order for his name to mean much in the average aristocratic British home. The location of manuscripts, by contrast, suggests more about the audiences who would have heard Monteverdi's music, and whose knowledge of the composer may indicate appreciation. Manuscripts were likely not transmitted from Italy, rather, they seem mostly to have been created by British musicians using Monteverdi's music in practice, but who needed to alter it to suit their needs. These also formed part of large musical collections in private, aristocratic homes, though were seemingly copied, used and owned

[8] Interestingly, Francesco Campagnolo was in England some time between 1609-1610. Though little is known about this, it seems that he had an opportunity to perform for the royal family. As know so little of what he did during this period, it is difficult to speculate about the potential for transmission and dissemination of Monteverdi's music and/or style. However, it would be difficult to imagine that, if given the opportunity to perform, he would not have performed some of Monteverdi's music nor employed some of Monteverdi's style/teachings, given their professional and personal relationship. For all the evidence we have concerning Campagnolo in England, see Susan Parisi, "Ducal Patronage in Mantua of Music in Mantua 1587-1627: An Archival Study" (PhD Thesis, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1989), 424 and footnotes therein, particularly n.166.

by musicians, and subsequently passed on, before ending up in archives or libraries. As its libraries kept incorporating private collections, the University of Oxford became a major repository for Monteverdi's works. The bequests of two music collectors, Henry Aldrich and Richard Goodson Sr, have populated the Christ Church and Bodleian libraries with print and manuscript works containing Monteverdi, which have been central to this chapter.

Music print culture was different in Britain than elsewhere on the continent, and was likely an inhibiting factor in the dissemination of Monteverdi's works. In the early-17th century, British composers' attitudes to print culture were somewhat the reverse of their European counterparts – the notion of printing one's works was decidedly uncouth and overtly money-grabbing. As a result, paratexts often served primarily as a justification for the mere fact that the composer had chosen to publish, leaving little space for a discussion of influence, style or musical choices.[9] English print culture was heavily controlled by patents. From 1575, Queen Elizabeth granted William Byrd and Thomas Tallis full monopoly over the printing of music, which was obtained by Morley in 1598, followed by an uncertain period at the turn of the century before being claimed by William Barely in 1606, and finally given to Edward Allde from 1612-1633.[10]

> Also we straightly by the same forbid all printers, booksellers, subjects, and strangers, other than as is aforesaid … to bring or cause to be brought out of any forren persons into any of our dominions any songe or songes made and printed in any forren countrie, or sell or put to sale, upon paine of our displeasure: And the offender in any of the premisses for every time to forfet to us, our heires, and successors fortie shillings, and to the said Thomas Tallis and William Birde, or to their assignes, and to the assignes of the surviver of them, all and every the said bokes, papers, songe, or songes.[11]

Complicating matters further were the issues of taxation, import and reselling. The religio-political climate during the 16th century had enormous repercussions for the trade and import of European (namely, Catholic-affiliated) works. Italian musical works purchased abroad were heavily taxed upon

[9] See Kristen Gibson's analysis of John Dowland's dedicatory and preface texts for an overview of this culture: "'How hard an enterprise it is': Authorial self-fashioning in John Dowland's printed books," *Early Music History* 26 (2007): 43-89.
[10] Tessa Murray, *Thomas Morley: Elizabethan Music Publisher* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2014), 85-97, 164.
[11] Robert Steele, *The Earliest English Music Printing* (London: Hain, 1903), 26-29; Richard Turbet, *William Byrd* (London: Routledge, 1987).

import, and their redistribution in England was illegal. Even the ruled stave paper, onto which music could be copied, fell under the patent first given to Byrd and Tallis. Considering the popularity of a musical manuscript culture, this may well have been their best-selling item. As such, import and distribution of ruled paper was also illegal. King James I allowed monopolies to continue and grow, and gave particular favour to the Stationers Guild. The dominance of the London-based guild prevented presses from existing anywhere outside of the capital, other than the universities of Oxford and Cambridge.[12] Illegal presses were torn down and the printers fined and imprisoned, such as in the case of Roger Ward of Newark and Shrewsbury.[13] Even the number of master printers was limited, thanks to the intervention of Archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud; he sought to favour newly qualified printers who had undergone apprenticeships with the Guild. These efforts to control the print and publication of works successfully limited the print output of the British Isles.

Music print and publication increased in the latter half of the 17th century, post Reformation. Printed music (and music-related books, such as Playford's theory works) enjoyed a steep rise in popularity, from the print centre of London to peripheral towns.[14] Jennifer Winters' thesis on book-selling in provincial English towns indicates that there was a market for print music books throughout the 16th and early 17th centuries, but as the substantial body of contemporary literature on the post-reformation English print markets shows, a significant demand for print developed in the latter half of the 17th century. Printed music books were some of the most expensive to be sold in provincial bookshops, and Winters gives a stock list from John Foster's York shop as an example. In 1616, an individual music book sheet averaged a price of 2d, more than any other type of book in the shop, which also offered Shakespeare's first folio at 0.85d per sheet, for example.[15] Information on the price of whole music books is scant in the records, but we know for example that in Playford's

[12] Colin Clair, *A History of Printing in Britain* (London: Cassell Publishing Co., 1965).
[13] Jennifer Winters, "The English Provincial Book Trade: Bookseller Stock-lists, c.1520-1640" (PhD Thesis, University of St Andrews, 2012), 52.
[14] Stephanie L. Carter, "Music Publishing and Compositional Activity in England, 1650-1700" (PhD Thesis, University of Manchester, 2010), 13.
[15] Winters, "The English Provincial Book Trade: Bookseller Stock-lists, c.1520-1640," 91.

Musical ayres and dialogues (London: Thomas Harper for John Playford, 1653) was purchased by Anthony Wood for 2s 8d in the 1660s.[16] Winters' work also helpfully gives an idea of the proportion of music books compared to other subject matters stocked in provincial bookshops. The example of Robert Scott's Norwich bookshop, at the end of the 16th century, shows that, over the course of two years, he stocked 217 copies of music books (of only eight different titles). Music books accounted for 4.6% of his stock over that period.[17] Scott's shop was notable for the dominance of poetry over other subject matters, which Winters describes as 'striking', and indicative of an attempt to tailor stock to Scott's local market.[18] There appears to have been an increase in the stocking of music books towards the end of the 16th century, which has been attributed to the growing rate of literacy, thanks to the introduction of grammar schools teaching Latin (the second most-common print language after English). [19] There was an appetite for printed music books, but given the cost for both customers and booksellers, and the issue of language, Monteverdi's print works would have a limited, wealthy, specialist audience, and likely an inappropriate choice for most British printers and booksellers.

By contrast, the culture of creating manuscript music works continued to flourish throughout the 16th and 17th centuries. Although not completely unimpeded by the monopolies (thanks to the laws regarding ruled paper production), this medium was more popular in the British Isles, in large part due to its conventionality, and a lack of true rivalry from print music. Unlike print, which was both a relatively new and very exclusive practice on the British Isles, theoretically, anyone could learn scribal skills and copy music – scribing music was a culturally ingrained practice. With a sufficiently skilled scribe, any music could be reproduced. Better yet (from the patrons' perspective), the music was not mass-produced and could be tailored to suit specific needs, preferences, instruments, and

[16] Anthony à Wood and Andrew Clark, "The Life and times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary, of Oxford, 1632-1695, described by Himself," *Oxford Historical Society* 2: 1664-1681 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1891).
[17] Anthony à Wood and Andrew Clark, "The Life and times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary, of Oxford, 1632-1695, described by Himself," 42-43.
[18] Ibid., 43.
[19] Ibid., 39, 89, 124, 138-140.

thus enable performance in a way that print music could not. The process of changing elements such as the text was known contemporarily as 'Englishing'. This term could often refer to the translation of works (as in Watson's *Italian Madrigals Englished*, London: Thomas Este, 1590) – musically, it is unclear if the term can refer to other alterations made to works to appeal to British audiences and performers.[20] Perhaps the wider practice is better termed 'naturalising'.

The potential downside of manuscript as a medium was its transmissibility. Manuscripts could not be mass-produced. While this could give a work an air of exclusivity, a composer wishing to disseminate their personal brand would struggle to achieve the same reach via manuscript as via print.[21] As Stephanie L. Carter demonstrated in her thesis on the impact of print 17th-century English music, this medium required a standard of formality, consideration of an audience, and a need for the work to create profit for the printers.[22] All of this points to the composers' and printers' need for considered marketing and branding, which less easily achieved in manuscript music. The issues with the political climate, complexities of British-based printing and the prevalence of manuscript making created a poor environment for the proliferation of Monteverdi's brand, particularly as he seems to have lacked many (if any) British connections. Luca Marenzio, for example, was in correspondence with prominent English composer, John Dowland. Whether this contributed to his works' success in England, or was off the back of said success, we do not know. Either way, Marenzio was heavily represented in English print works, such as Watson's aforementioned *Italian Madrigals Englished* (1590).[23] Marenzio's work was very popular in Britain, as is indicated by bookshop catalogues and its survival in manuscript sources such as the 'Great Set'.[24] Manuscript collections would often contain

[20] Thomas Watson, *The First Sett of Italian Madrigalls Englished*[…] (London: Thomas Este, 1590).
[21] Carter, "Music Publishing and Compositional Activity in England, 1650-1700," 13.
[22] Ibid., 15.
[23] Watson, *The First Sett of Italian Madrigalls Englished*[…].
[24] It is interesting that Marenzio was so popular in Britain – his style is compared to Monteverdi's, with the latter said to have taken great inspiration from the former, particularly in the composition of *Cruda Amarilli*. Ossi argues that Monteverdi modelled this work on Marenzio's 1595 *Cruda Amarilli*, in order to further his brand. Perhaps this stylistic association with Marenzio helped to popularise Monteverdi's music in Britain, given their established taste for older master's works. On a comparison between the two composers, see: Massimo Ossi, "Monteverdi, Marenzio, and Battista Guarini's 'Cruda Amarilli'," *Music and Letters* 3, vol. 89 (August 2008): 311-336.

works by a variety of different composers (potentially without attribution), including works by the scribes themselves. They could be created for sale as well as for private ownership – often a print work would be purchased, and a manuscript arrangement created from it.[25] As part of this practice, lack of attribution was common. Frequently, in surviving collections, attributions have been made later by librarians and researchers. As such, there would be little way for the composer of an original work to have benefitted from manuscript-making. Often the scribes could go unattributed – sometimes only the main scribe received credit, and scribal assistants were left anonymous, or no scribe was named. It has, therefore, been left to subsequent librarians, archivists and scholars to identify different hands.

With regard to ownership of Monteverdi's music in Britain, manuscripts were the more common medium, albeit often not independent of printed publications. Much of the surviving music of Monteverdi arrived on the British Isles during his lifetime, but the majority is in manuscript form copied from imported prints (see Table 4.2). As discussed above, import of Italian music was prohibitively complicated and expensive from the perspective of most bookshop owners, and was thus the preserve of wealthy individuals, who would send representatives overseas, or collect works themselves while abroad. The Grand Tour was one such opportunity for aristocrats to discover the cultural riches of Italy, and enabled an informal cultural transfer to transpire over a number of years. Print music could be purchased as a souvenir, and returned to the British Isles with the intent of replicating the music, or simply be displayed in evidence of the owner's cosmopolitanism. The existence of manuscripts suggests that Monteverdi's music would have been performed, and therefore must have appealed to the tastes and interests of a British audience.

In terms of late 17th-century musical tastes, print book catalogues from the first half of the century show an interest in Italian music, particularly madrigals. Robert Martin, who specialised in the

[25] The Hatton collection of manuscripts kept in Christ Church Library Music Catalogue exemplifies this practice. Wainwright's extensive and in-depth analysis the Hatton collection of music explores this practice and has been thoroughly instructive to this chapter. See J. P. Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605-1670)*.

import of Italian books, stocked mostly vocal works, the majority of which were madrigals. By contrast, surviving manuscripts show a preference for single or few-voice pieces, instrumental music, particularly 'fancies' (or Fantasies). These forms could be arrangements of multiple-voice Italian works, or simply the works in full without lyrics. The latter may indicate an interest in specific stylistic elements, but with a preference for alternative forces and textures.[26] Definitive evidence of performances are scant, but thanks to the preservation of manuscripts, we can make reasonable speculations. For example, surviving manuscripts suggest that Monteverdi's vocal works were often performed as instrumental arrangements. We can also make assumptions about Monteverdi's works being performed in certain contexts, such as during the civil war at the Oxford court, which seems to have become a hub of musical activity in which much music copying and performance took place.

The timeframe I have chosen to examine (c.1610-c.1710) is guided by the dates of sources and of notable figures in the history of Monteverdi's works in Britain. The timeframe represents a period of great change and development in British culture. The period began with a sense of suspicion and anxiety on a national level, reflected by rigorous control of the media. It ended with an emergent sense of nationalism, and with enthusiasm for establishing and upholding a musical culture which, ironically, assimilated Italian musical culture. Monteverdi's music, in this tumultuous environment, saw both popularity and ambivalence, from its arrival to its unmarked departure from British bookshops in line with changing tastes. In terms of Monteverdi's life, the timeframe begins at the end of his career in Mantua, and ends at the turn of the seventeenth century, when interaction with Monteverdi's music seems to become particularly limited in Britain. This period shows Monteverdi's music on an international stage, becoming subject to different tastes, needs and traditions than it had done in Italy or Germany. While a fascinating window into the early reception of Monteverdi on the British Isles, it also presents a sobering picture for any Monteverdi devotee; Monteverdi was not

[26] For example, GB-*Och* Mus. 527-30, Mus. 1024 includes three Monteverdi madrigals in a partbook of various works by largely English composers, all without lyrics. The contratenor partbook contains information on chorister pay (dated to the 1720s and 1730s), suggesting these would have been performed vocally; how would they have done so without lyrics? It is a curious collection for that reason, but certainly not the only one of its kind.

as popular as many of his contemporaries.[27] That is not to say that his music was not influential. Although Wainwright is right to note that there does not appear to have been a great surge in musical quotation, parody or self-proclaimed Monteverdianism among British composers,[28] there are a few incidences. There are also obvious links between the style and techniques Monteverdi helped cultivate in Italy, and the music of 17th-century Britain. I will discuss this in detail in the following sections.

Sources

1. A case study on influence: Richard Dering

Richard Dering (1580-1630) supplicated for an undergraduate degree in music at Christ Church, Oxford in 1610. He then spent time in Italy, specifically in Venice and Rome, during which time Monteverdi became Master of Music at San Marco.[29] By 1617, Dering was working as an organist for a convent in Brussels, where he stayed for eight years, before returning to England as the organist in the musical retinue of Queen Henrietta Maria.[30] He composed sacred and secular works, writing in Italian, English and Latin. In particular, his stylistically Italian madrigals (which circulated in manuscripts only, as far as print records show) and canzonettas are patently marked by his exposure to Italian composers. Platt noted that his madrigals were his 'most Monteverdian' works.[31] One of Dering's sacred motets, "Duo Seraphim", contains a reference to Monteverdi's eponymous composition from the popular Vespers (Venice: Amadino, 1610). A comparison of a dissonance shared between the two works is as far as musicologists have gone by way of comparing the two musicians. The prevailing view among current musicologists, such as J. P. Wainwright and Andrew

[27] This is evident from his survival in manuscript and his representation in bookshop stock lists (namely Martin's).
[28] Wainwright, "Dissemination and influence of Monteverdi's music in England," 120-121.
[29] Peter Platt, "Dering's Life and Training," *Music & Letters* 1, vol. 33 (1952): 42.
[30] J. P. Wainwright, "Richard Dering's Few-Voice 'Concertato' Motets," *Music & Letters* 2, vol. 89 (May, 2008), 165-166.
[31] Peter Platt, "Perspectives of Richard Dering's vocal music," *Studies in Music* 1 (1967), 63.

Cheetham, is that Alessandro Grandi was the Italian musical muse of Dering.[32] However, it seems unlikely that Grandi and Dering ever overlapped in Venice. Grandi entered the employ of San Marco on 31st August 1617, while Dering moved to Brussels that year, possibly from Rome rather than from Venice.[33] Wainwright and Cheetham stake their claim in the basis of Dering's uptake of the *stile nuovo* and the *seconda prattica* more generally – two of the things in which Grandi was trained by Gabrieli, Croce and Monteverdi.[34] All the while, the evidence of direct borrowings from Monteverdi demonstrates that, at least on this rare occasion, Monteverdi's music's influence on the British Isles is much more palpable than previously believed.

The subject of influence is admittedly riddled with difficulties and problems. How can we accurately determine that, some 400 years ago, Richard Dering was influenced by the music of Monteverdi, and what does 'influence' really mean? Broadly speaking, musical influence describes a defining or guiding impact on development of style. This can be evidenced in numerous ways, such as musical quotation, 'borrowing', pastiche, and use of similar stylistic techniques that a particular musician

[32] Jerome Roche and Roark Miller, "Grandi, Alessandro (i)," *Grove Music Online* 2001, accessed 20th Feb. 2023.
[33] In Dering's *Cantiones Sacra* (Antwerp: Phalèse, 1617), he claims the works were written in the 'first city of the world', which Platt believed meant Rome. In truth, after a letter stating the Dering had gone from Venice to see more of Italy (GB-Lna SP 99, x, 62) from Sir Dudley Carleton, British envoy in Venice, to Sir John Harrington, we do not know the whereabouts of Dering. However, had he returned to Venice at any time, he is unlikely to have overlapped with Grandi, given that Grandi only arrived at San Marco from Ferrara in August of 1617, and Dering was in Brussels by 1617, if not before, according to Paul Arblaster; see: Paul Arblaster, "The Monastery of Our Lady of the Assumption in Brussels (1599-1794)," *English Benedictine History Symposium* 17 (1999), 65; Roche and Miller, "Grandi, Alessandro (i)". It is entirely possible that Dering met neither musician, but that he encountered music in print and performance form while travelling, which shaped his style.
[34] Of course, Grandi had been at San Marco as a *giovane di coro*, and under the masters Gabrieli and Croce who no doubt heavily influenced his compositional and performance practice with the style of the Venetian school, but the *seconda prattica* was so pinned to Monteverdi's brand (as we have discussed in previous chapters) that it seems likely this idea would have been known to Grandi in the context of Monteverdi's and Artusi's 'dispute'. Monteverdi and Grandi would have worked closely together, and must have had a degree of compatibility as colleagues, as Grandi was promoted to Monteverdi's deputy in 1620. Roche and Miller's biography of Grandi paints him in 1627 as eagerly seeking his own choir to teach in the new ways of music, implying a desire to gain a reputation as an influential force behind the *seconda prattica*. Whether or not this is a fair framing, it is interesting that Grandi wanted to take on his own choir, perhaps he wanted an opportunity to mould a musical institution from the ground up, rather than becoming subsumed by an institution with so much eminence that it outshone its employees. See: Roche and Miller "Grandi, Alessandro (i)."; Andrew J. Cheetham, "The Baroque Concertato in England, 1625–c.1660," vol. 1 & 2 (PhD Thesis, University of Huddersfield, 2014); Wainwright, "Dissemination and influence of Monteverdi's music in England."

was noted for contemporarily.[35] In the case of Dering, there are four works that show specific signs of influence. We know that he is said to have been in Venice for a period overlapping with Monteverdi's premiership at San Marco, therefore, we can speculate that he may have heard performances of Monteverdi's works, or may even have performed them himself. At the very least, it has been demonstrated that Monteverdi's madrigal books were readily available in print in Italy, Britain and Belgium – all places Dering stayed for prolonged periods of time. There is evidence of Dering 'borrowing' from Monteverdi in three works by the same name. I will analyse these works here to create a case study on the influence of Monteverdi upon the works of an English composer who was, themselves, in a position of influence, and able to disseminate Monteverdi's style in Britain.

The first example is known to musicologists and concerns a sacred work: "Duo seraphim clamabant".[36] This work was printed in a posthumous collection by John Playford, dedicated to Queen Henrietta Maria, and published in 1662. A manuscript copy in the hand of George Jeffreys survives in Christ Church library and predates the Playford print; Mus. 887-80.[37] Bars 7-8 of the piece show, to Wainwright, that Dering was inspired by Monteverdi's same-titled work, which forms part of the 1610 Vespers. These appeared in the highly successful publication: *Sanctissimae Virgini missa senis vocibus ad ecclesiarum choros ac vesperae…* (Venice: Amadino, 1610). The dissonant suspension between the top two voices is reminiscent of Monteverdi's, particularly the ascending

[35] See, for example, Meconi's definition of 'borrowing' and discussion of its complexities in: Honey Meconi (ed.), *Early Musical Borrowing* (London: Routledge, 2004).
[36] Richard Dering, *Cantica Sacra I* (London: Godbid for Playford, 1662), no.5; Wainwright, "Richard Dering's Few-Voice 'Concertato' Motets," 167-168. As Wainwright uses 'bars' to describe the pieces, I also use bars to relay his findings. However, I have chosen 'measures' for my own analysis.
[37] Specifically, Mus. 878-880. Described by Milsom as 'a miscellany of manuscript and printed music, assembled in four volumes for Henry Aldrich in the last quarter of the seventeenth century'. Only the Tenor, Bass and *Basso Continuo* partbooks survive (the other Tenor book is missing). The work is estimated to have been copied around 1640, though a pencil attribution at the top of "Duo Seraphin" (a misnomer, presumably a misreading of Jeffreys' handwriting) states 'Dering 1662', possibly alluding to Playford's 1662 print of *Cantica Sacra I*, which the attributer may have incorrectly identified as the copy source. This collection also contains works by Monteverdi, copied by Angelo Notari. Milsom, "Mus. 877-80," Christ Church Library Music Catalogue, John Milsom, design and programming by Matthew Phillips, last modified 2008. See also Wainwright, "Richard Dering's Few-Voice 'Concertato' Motets," 2008.

fourth interval in the second vocal line.[38] There is no reason to suspect that Dering intended these works to be published (Playford had a track record of publishing other people's material without their permission),[39] though in his capacity as a musician in Queen Henrietta Maria's court, it is quite possible that these would have been performed from manuscripts. Other examples of Dering's borrowings from Monteverdi have remained hitherto unidentified.

T'amo mia vita, la mia cara vita

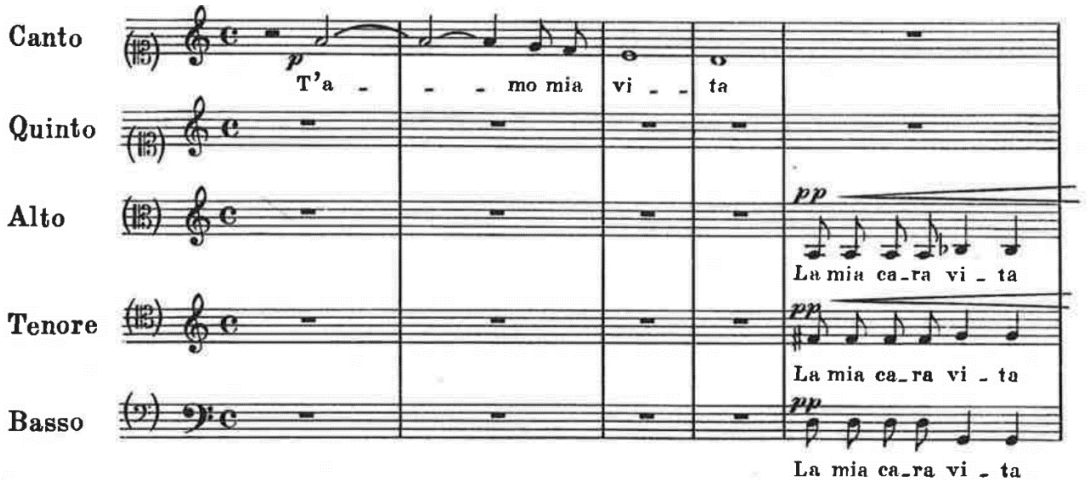
The unpublished madrigals of Richard Dering include a work titled "T'amo mia vita, la mia cara vita", which shares a title of a madrigal from Monteverdi's *Il quinto libro de madrigali* (Vencie: Amadino, 1605), which was reissued in 1606, 1608, 1610, 1611, 1613, 1615 (twice, once in Antwerp), 1620 and 1643.[40] The lyrics are from Giovanni Battista Guarini's poem. Dering's collection of madrigals for three voices survives in a manuscript collection by George Jeffreys, in the St. Michael's College, Tenbury Wells collection (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tenbury MS 1016; scores). The madrigals were also copied in an anonymous work, Mus. 435, which is part of the Aldrich bequest at the Christ Church library; sadly, only the Tenor partbook survives.[41]

Dering's work is for three voices, labelled Tenor I, Tenor II and Bass. Monteverdi, by comparison, wrote for five voices (*Canto*, *Quinto*, *Alto*, *Tenore* and *Basso*) and *Basso Continuo*. The configuration is very much three against one however, as the *Alto*, *Tenore* and *Basso* act as a chorus interspersing solo phrases from the *Canto*, with the *Quinto* only entering in the final section. The pieces cater to different ranges and thus there are clear differences between them. However, Dering borrows certain melodic elements from Monteverdi's madrigal, and appears to make subtle textural

[38] Compare mm. 7-8 of Dering's with m. 5 of Monteverdi's; Claudio Monteverdi, *Vespero della Beata Virgine* (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1949), no.7.
[39] Carter, "Music Publishing and Compositional Activity in England, 1650-1700," 79.
[40] Claudio Monteverdi. *Il quinto libro de madrigali*[…] (Venice: Amadino, 1605), no.11.
[41] Having compared the handwriting in the GB-*Obl* Tenbury 1016 and GB-*Och* Mus. 435, I would like to suggest that they could both the work of George Jeffreys. Mus. 435 looks different for the sheer size of the score by comparison to Tenbury 1016. The handwriting is significantly larger in Mus. 435, but there are distinct similarities that I believe could point to Jeffrey's hand, other than the fact that Jeffreys copied out at least two other instances of Dering's music (GB-*Och* Mus. 877-80 being the other). 'V', 'd', 'q', 'p' and 'm' are Jeffreys most distinctive letters for their flourishes or their shape, and they match across all three documents; Mus. 435 just happens to contain larger examples.

references as well . Dering utilises the same falling scalic motif for the phrase 'T'amo mia vi-'. Dering inverts the texture of Monteverdi's work, which pits the *Canto* voice against the homophony of the bottom three voices in a call and response texture; 'T'amo mia vita' motif in the *Canto*, responded to with 'la mia cara vita' repeatedly in the *Alto*, *Tenore* and *Basso*.

Example 4.1: Monteverdi's 'T'amo mia vita' motif (mm. 1-5). [42]



Example 4.2: Dering's 'T'amo mia vita' motif (mm. 1-5). [43]



[42] All Monteverdi musical reference figures have been taken from the Malipiero editions. Claudio Monteverdi, "V: Il Quinto Libro de Madrigali a 5, 7, e 9 voci," in *Tutte le Opere di Claudio Monteverdi a cura di G, Francesco Malipiero*, ed. G. Malipiero (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1926-1968), 90.

[43] The Dering musical examples have been transcribed from Peter Platt's Universal Edition for Musica Britannica: Peter Platt trans. and ed. *Richard Dering Secular Vocal Music*, Musica Brittanica 25 (London: Stainer and Bell Ltd., 1669). For discussion of "T'amo mia vita", see page 70.

The action is shared equally between Dering's voices generally. In mm. 2 and 3, Dering uses repeated notes on 'la mia cara' as Monteverdi does to create a sense of declamation. Meanwhile, the Tenor I soars over the top with a reiteration of the descending melodic theme to 'vita mi di-'. Dering then seems to miss a section of poetry from the lyrics. Though we see variations in length of piece and thus in the poetry, these works differ in poetic content. For example, Monteverdi's includes the phrase 'dolcemente mi dice' before the phrase 'e in questo sola soave parola', whereas Dering simply leads 'la mia cara vita mi dice' into 'e in questo sola *Dolcissima* parola'. This could be due to the copy source used by Dering (though no Monteverdi print seems to have this textual difference), or could have been an artistic choice (or something to help distinguish his work from Monteverdi's, so as not to appear too similar). Again, Dering inverts the texture of Monteverdi's piece, giving each voice a solo line, one leading to the other. Monteverdi continues with the homophony of the three lower voices. The setting of 'voce di dolcezza'e di diletto' is mirrored by Dering who once again adopts the homophonic, same-note declamatory style used by Monteverdi.

Example 4.3: Monteverdi, "T'amo mia vita", *Tenore* and *Basso* repeated note homophony (mm. 26-30).[44]



[44] Monteverdi, V, Malipiero ed., 92.

Example 4.4: Dering, "T'amo mia vita", repeated note homophony (mm. 39-45). [45]



Another poetic variant comes in m. 35 of Monteverdi and m. 57-8 of Dering. Monteverdi's phrase is 'stampala nel mio petto' as opposed to Dering's 'stampala nel mio core', perhaps this was a choice based on rhyme. Monteverdi's 'petto' rhymes with '[voce di dolcezza e di] diletto' three measures before, whereas Dering emphasised the phrase '[Prendi la tosto] amore' which immediately precedes 'stampala nel mio core'. Dering gives that phrase to the bass and writes a virtuosic passage over the word 'core', as if inspired by "Possente Spirto" or, indeed, "Duo Seraphim".

Example 4.5: Dering, "T'amo mia vita", Bass ornamented phrase, (mm. 61-63).[46]



Monteverdi heavily recapitulates the 'T'amo mia vita' falling motif across all parts in mm. 40-45. A similar approach is taken by Dering in mm. 66-73, who uses the falling fourth motif for his 'l'anima mia' phrase, which features a dotted crotchet, quaver, three crotchets, deviating only slightly from Monteverdi's rhythm, as if Dering was flirting with the Monteverdian original. Then, in mm. 69-70, the bass is given a near-exact rhythm (dotted minim, quaver, quaver, dotted minim) on a descending

[45] Platt, *Richard Dering Secular Vocal Music*, 71.
[46] Ibid., 72.

scale which falls into another iteration of 'T'amo mia vita'. The Tenor lines then respond with 'T'amo mia vita' (mm. 70-73), with the second Tenor singing the falling fourth scale, both parts with a 'long, short, short, long' rhythm, invoking Monteverdi's motif.

Example 4.6: Monteverdi, recapitulation of 'T'amo mia vita' motif (mm. 41-45).[47]



[47] Monteverdi, V, Malipiero ed., 94.

Example 4.7: Dering, recapitulation of 'T'amo mia vita' motif (mm. 64-73). [48]



Se nel partir da voi

Dering's *Canzonette a tre voci*[…], published by Phalèse in 1620, include a piece called "Se nel partir da voi".[49] Print copies are still extant abroad, but the work survives in Britain in manuscript form – Mus. 103-15 in the Christ Church library music catalogue.[50] This canzonetta shares its textual incipit with a madrigal in Monteverdi's first book, first printed in 1587 (and reissued in 1607 and 1621).[51] The pieces use the poem of the same title by Giovanni Maria Bonardo.

Dering's piece is written in G Mixolydian mode, a major-sounding counterpart to Monteverdi's piece in G Dorian. Dering borrows Monteverdi's opening rhythm in the top two voices – the *Canto*s sing the homophonic phrase 'Se nel partir da voi', which Monteverdi's three opening voices, *Canto*,

[48] Platt, *Richard Dering Secular Vocal Music*, 72.
[49] Richard Dering, *Canzonette a tre voci*[…] (Antwerp: Pietro Phelèse, 1620), *Canto*, no.4.
[50] This is a set of three partbooks (Cantus, Alto and Bass) of Dutch in origin, early 17th century, though the four works from Dering's *Canzonette* (1-4 in Dering's work, 4-7 in Mus. 1013-15) were added later in the mid-17th century. These were by an unknown British scribe. See: Milsom, "Mus. 1013-15," Christ Church Library Music Catalogue.
[51] Claudio Monteverdi, *Il primo libro de madrigali*[…] (Venice: Amadino, 1587), no.12.

Quinto and *Alto*, sing; with crotchet, dotted crotchet, quaver, crotchet, crotchet minim (Monteverdi's is tied into m. 3).

Example 4.8: Opening phrase of Monteverdi, "Se nel patir da voi" (mm. 1-5).[52]



Example 4.9: Opening system of Dering, "Se nel partir da voi" (mm. 1-5).[53]

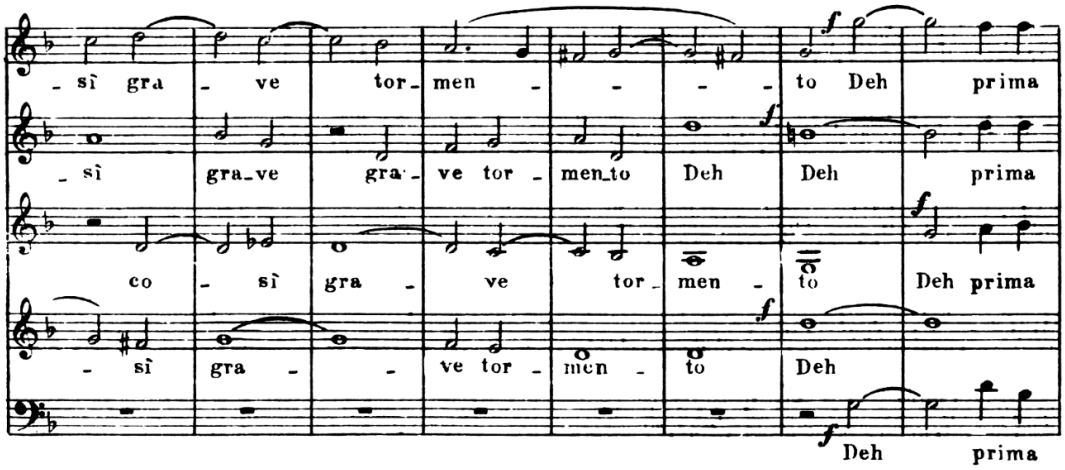


'Vita mia''s rhythm is copied also, though Dering diversifies his texture by syncopating the *Canto* II, and offsetting the *Canto* I's line by a crotchet; dotted crotchet, quaver, crotchet, minim. The works

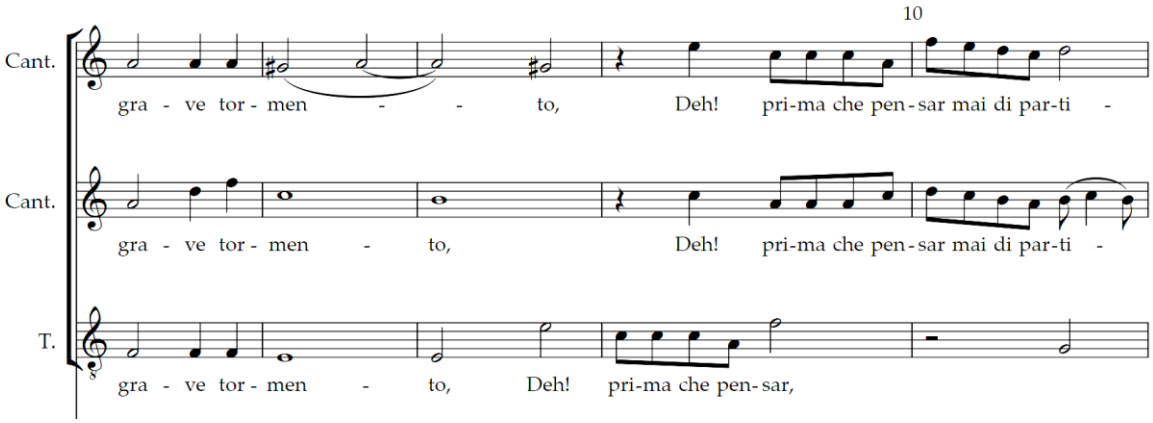
[52] Claudio Monteverdi, "I: Il Primo Libro de Madrigali a 5 voci," in *Tutte le Opere di Claudio Monteverdi a cura di G, Francesco Malipiero*, ed. G. Malipiero (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1926-1968), 36.
[53] Platt, *Richard Dering Secular Vocal Music*, 5.

begin to diverge here, as Monteverdi introduces the *Tenore* voice (and eventually the *Basso*). Dering's work is for fewer voices and is in a higher register to befit the forces, thus makes less of the 'o grave' section to enable the lightness appropriate to the arrangement. However, influenced by Monteverdi's word painting, he uses minims and semibreves to slow the pace of the piece, syncopating the top voice (his Canto I) just as Monteverdi does; compare Dering's (mm. 7-8 with Monteverdi's 10-12. 'Deh! Prima che pensar' exhibits more rhythmic and textural borrowing – the long, short, short, short, short pattern is borrowed by Dering with repeated notes and a declamatory style evoking Monteverdi.

Example 4.10: Monteverdi, "Se nel partir da voi" (mm. 6-13).[54]



Example 4.11: Dering, "Se nel partir" (mm. 6-10).[55]



[54] Monteverdi, I, Malipiero ed., 36.
[55] Platt, *Richard Dering Secular Vocal Music*, 5.

O com'è gran martire

Dering's *Canzonette a quattro voci*[…](Antwerp: Phalèse, 1620)[56] contains two further works that share their words with compositions by Monteverdi: "O com'è gran martire" and "Il mio martir" (nos. 1 and 3 in Dering, respectively). Monteverdi's work was printed in his third book of madrigals of 1592, reissued in 1594, 1600, 1604, 1607, 1611, 1615 (twice, once in Antwerp), and 1621.[57] Here, I will focus the parallel settings of Guarini's "O com'è gran martire". Dering's piece survives in print copies now housed in London and Oxford libraries, as well as in Belgium.[58] Fascinatingly, Dering's work was itself replicated by Playford. Peter Platt identified the Glee, 'Cease thy affections moving' in Playford's manuscript partbooks at the University of Glasgow's library, as an English 'adaptation' of Dering's "O com'è gran martire".[59] Dering's work is for four voices: Canto I, Canto II, Alto, Tenor and Bass, and with *Basso Continuo*. Monteverdi's is for five voices: *Canto*, *Quinto*, *Alto*, *Tenore* and *Basso*. The works share the Aeolian mode in A.

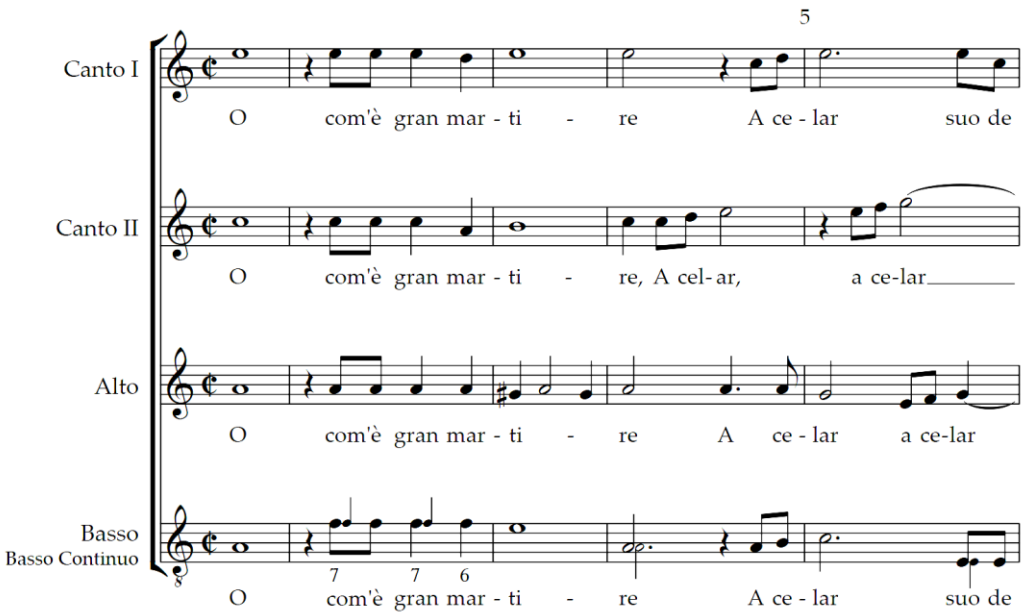
Dering utilises an inverted approach to texture once again, mirroring that which he took in "T'amo mia vita". Whereas Monteverdi this time staggered the vocal entries of "O come e gran martire" and has only three voices until m. 22, Dering opens with declamatory full four-voice texture. Dering replicates the rhythm exactly in opening phrase 'O com'è gran martire', using repeated notes as Monteverdi does over the words 'com'è gran mar-'. Dering makes use of the G# in the Alto line at m. 3, referring to the G# that Monteverdi uses on 'come gran' in mm. 2, 4 & 6 across all voices.

[56] Richard Dering, *Canzonetti a quattro voci*[…] (Antwerp: Pietro Phelèse, 1620).
[57] Claudio Monteverdi, *Il terzo libro de madrigali*[…] (Venice: Amadino, 1592), no. 2.
[58] GB-*Lbl* K.7.b.3.; GB-*Lcm* G26/1-5; GB-Ll (no indication) and three copies in GB-*Och*: Mus. 289-93 (complete), Mus. 320-3 (missing *Canto* II), and Mus. 502-7 (complete, and bound with Monteverdi's third and fourth books of madrigals, among other works). Also, in B-Gu, BHSL.RES.0598/-7.
[59] Peter Platt, "Dering's Life and Training," 44.

Example 4.12: Monteverdi, "O com'è gran martire" (mm. 1-11).[60]



Example 4.13: Dering, "O com'è gran martire" (mm. 1-5).[61]



[60] Claudio Monteverdi, "III: Il Terzo Libro de Madrigali a 5 voci," in *Tutte le Opere di Claudio Monteverdi a cura di G, Francesco Malipiero*, ed. G. Malipiero (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1926-1968), 8.
[61] Platt, *Richard Dering Secular Vocal Music*, 34.

In the *Quinto* part, as in Dering (*Canto* II), the 'A celar' section begins, and is inverted by Dering – in Monteverdi, 'A celar' is a descending three-note scale, from E to C, and is sung by the *Canto* and *Quinto*. Dering inverts this to an ascending three-note scale from C to E in the Canto I and II. His lower voices use an ascending three note scale, but are transposed to add harmony. His section is prolonged and fugal (and he plays with the concept of duets between the Canto I and Bass and the Alto and Canto II), compared to Monteverdi's which is succinct. After their staggered entries in mm. 6 and 8, Monteverdi has the *Quinto* and *Alto* in homophony (in contrary motion) in m. 9 with a syncopated *Canto*. The following section, 'Quando con pura fede' exemplifies more borrowing on the part of Dering, as he writes the phrase in the same declamatory and homophonic fashion as in Monteverdi. The rhythms differ slightly as Monteverdi's is a dotted crotchet followed by a quaver and crotchet, then two further crotchets, compared to Dering's crotchet followed by two quavers and two crotchets. Both Dering and Monteverdi repeat this phrase.

Example 4.14: Monteverdi, "O com'è gran martire" (mm. 12-22).[62]



[62] Monteverdi, III, Malipiero ed., 8-9.

Example 4.15: Dering, "O com'è gran martire" (mm. 12-25).[63]



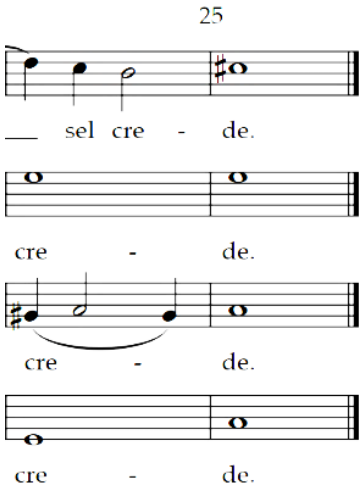
The cadence at mm. 24-25 of Dering mirrors that of Monteverdi in m. 16, as the latter deviates into A major at a climactic point in the piece;[64] it is also how he chose to end the piece. Dering echoes this deviation, as his piece ends on this A major chord, the C resolved to the C# and the G# to the A.

[63] Platt, *Richard Dering Secular Vocal Music*, 34.
[64] I recognise that my labelling chords 'major' or 'minor' is anachronistic, it is purely used as a shorthand to convey a sense of the tonality.

Example 4.16: Monteverdi, "O com'è[…]", final cadence.[65]



Example 4.17: Dering, "O com'è[…]", final cadence.[66]



Of course, it is not always the case that because two works share the same title, they will be in any way related. "Il mio martir", the other shared-incipit work from Dering's *Canzonetta a quattro voci*, illustrates the limits of borrowing. While there are sections where Dering seems influenced by the Monteverdi version, such as the setting of 'nessun crede il mio mal' with its repetition, and swapping between vocal parts (mm. 9-16 of Monteverdi; mm. 15-18 of Dering),[67] it is perhaps more accurate to say that Dering is influenced by the model of Monteverdi's works, rather than by this individual piece. After all, Monteverdi's "Il mio martir" was the sixth piece in his *Canzonette a tre voci* (1584),[68] a work that was not reissued, and is unlikely to have been readily available. Dering was a non-native Italian speaker, who may well have relied upon music by Monteverdi (and possibly other Italian composers) to provide a guide to setting Italian text. Dering's "Il mio martir" is more reminiscent of Monteverdi's madrigals, with declamatory phrases such as 'Il mio martir, tengo celato al core' (mm. 1-5), 'se lo dimostro ohimé' (mm. 10-11) and 'nessun crede il mio mal' (mm. 15-16) emphatically recalling this feature so heavily relied upon in many of Monteverdi's madrigals.

[65] Monteverdi, III, Malipiero ed., 12.
[66] Platt, *Richard Dering Secular Vocal Music*, 34.
[67] Claudio Monteverdi, "Canzonette e Scherzi Musicali di Claudio Monteverdi," in *Tutte le Opere di Claudio Monteverdi a cura di G. Francesco Malipiero*, vol. 10, ed. G. Malipiero (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1929), 9; Richard Dering, *Richard Dering Secular Vocal Music*, ed. Peter Platt (London: Stainer & Bell, 1969), 36.
[68] Claudio Monteverdi, *Canzonette, libro primo*[…] (Venice: Ricciardo Amadino, 1584).

Declamatory homophony, repetition of one note in a phrase, borrowed motifs, borrowed dissonance and borrowed rhythms are just some of the evidence that Dering's music was influenced by Monteverdi. Inverted textures, modal changes and rhythmic alterations are evidence of Dering's knowledge of Monteverdi's pieces, and appear almost deliberate in their difference, as if referencing the pieces by employing the exact opposite approach, or simply making slight alterations to borrowed material.[69] Dering would have been conscious not to borrow so much that he could have been branded a plagiarist or mere imitator, but what he has borrowed betrays his appropriation of these Monteverdi works as compositional models, and his emulation of stylistic as well as material elements of Monteverdi's pieces. Not only does Dering provide one of the only clear-cut examples of Monteverdi's reception by a British musician, but it also provides a case study of Monteverdi's musical influence.

2.1. Print

This section explores the topic of Monteverdi's music in the British Isles. Beginning at the bookshop, we will analyse the surviving information on Monteverdi's music 'for sale' in Britain. We will then explore the topic of ownership, before ending with the subject of reception. While manuscripts are more evidential of taste, print, arguably, contains some of the more concrete examples of elusive subjects, such as reception. For a list of all print works containing Monteverdi from c.17th century in Britain, see Appendix 4.1. (page 277).

Monteverdi's music 'for sale'

The sales of books from specific bookshops are difficult to trace, and music books are particularly poorly recorded. Stocklists may include general information such as what genres of books were stocked, but often do not include details such as author and title. As such, only one source provides details that include the stocking of Monteverdi's works, their names and publication dates, and

[69] Perhaps these would be best referred to as 'quieter types of influence' – a label by Meconi for this sort of subtle, referential non-melodic borrowing. See: Meconi, *Early Musical Borrowing*, 2.

allows us to compare their existence on stocklists over time. The detailed catalogues of Robert Martin, published between 1633 and 1650 (that we know of), are a rare exception. Although Martin did not state retail prices, he indicated the title, name of author and date of publication, and even the number of copies he stocked – in the case of music books, it was usually four.[70] Across the surviving Martin catalogues, we see a combination of old and new Italian works.[71] For example, in the 1633 catalogue, Archadelt's *Primo libro de madrigali* (Venice: Gardano) is listed. Although Martin stocked the 1622 reprint, this was first published in 1539, making it one of the oldest musical works in the catalogue. On the more contemporary end, Monteverdi's 1632 *Scherzi musicali* (Venice: Magni) was one of eleven of his musical works in stock, making him the most represented composer on Martin's list.[72] He was closely followed by Marenzio (spelled erroneously in England as 'Marenzo') with ten works, all books of madrigals. In 1635, Martin no longer had Monteverdi's fifth book of madrigals in stock, but he added the collaborative *Musica de Maddalena* (Venice: Magni, 1617), a *sacra rappresentazione* on a text by Giovanni Battista Andreini, to which Monteverdi had contributed the prologue.[73] Martin also stocked the "Lamento d'Arianna" (as he had done two years

[70] It is interesting how the numbers differentiate between genres, and that sometimes no number is given. For example, in the 1639 catalogue, there were 12 copies of *Il Pastor Fido* (1629, Venice) – this was common; if a number was given for Italian drama, it was most frequently 12. For music, the common number was 4 (in the 1639 catalogue there may be one exception, but it is unclear).

[71] Robert Martin, *Catalogus librorum quos (in ornamentum reipublicæ literariæ) non sine magnis sumptibus & labore, ex Italia selegit Robertus Martine*[…] (London: Augustini Mathewes, 1633); Robert Martin, *Catalogus librorum tam impressorum quam manuscriptorum*[…] (London: J. Haviland, 1635); Robert, Martin, *Catalogus librorum, ex præcipius Italiæ Emporiis selectorum*[…] (London: Thomæ Harper, 1639); Robert Martin, *Catalogus librorum*[…] (London: Thomæ Harper, 1640); Robert Martin, *Catalogus librorum*[…] (London: Thomæ Harper, 1650). I will disambiguate these by date rather than by title, hereafter.

[72] The Monteverdi works listed in 1633 included a curious work named *Motetti a 2, 3, 4 & 6 voci* (1620), which Wainwright claims is likely G. C. Bianchi's motet collection which contained Monteverdi's six-voice litany, which is also listed in the catalogue. Wainwright also claims that it is unlikely that Martin ever had all of these items in stock in his shop, merely that these lists represented stock that he could acquire from the continent, should a customer wish. See Wainwright, "Dissemination and influence of Monteverdi's music in England," 109. Perhaps this is indicated by the stock numbers, or lack thereof; if a work had no published stock number, this could mean it was merely available for order, rather than in the shop.

[73] This is perhaps a surprising choice; it is a sacred musical drama created for the wedding of Duke Ferdinando Gonzaga and Caterina de' Medici, with the prologue by Monteverdi, proceeded by settings from Muzio Effrem, 'Alessandro Guiuizzani Lucchese' (Alessandro Ghivizzani) and Salamone Rossi (a colleague of Monteverdi's from Mantua). Monteverdi's prologue music does include a ritornello, a technique that became popular in Britain in the 17th century, though as mentioned, the content of a printed work didn't necessarily matter to collection-makers. This work is also a rare example of Monteverdi's sacred music in Britain (if, indeed, it was ever properly stocked in-store or ordered for purchase). This is also an interesting work its author – Andreini was the husband of Virginia Ramponi-Andreini, Monteverdi's 'Arianna'.

earlier), dated to 1623 – the catalogue of the previous years indicated the wrong publication date of 1633, possibly by confusing it with the date of the Croatian libretto, printed in Ancona.[74] Moreover, the catalogue misidentified the title as 'L'Aminta D'Arianna', since he mistook the genre (*Lamento*) for the character Aminta, popularised in early modern pastoral.[75] In 1639, Martin listed both collections of *Scherzi* with publication dated 1638 (could these be erroneous dates or evidence of unknown reprints?), 'L'Amento D'Ariano' (1623, Venice, four), and 'Madrigali a 5.voci' (no title, date or quantity; perhaps it was a simplification indicating that customers could order multiple five-voice works by Monteverdi).[76]

Of the five surviving Martin catalogues, four include Monteverdi's works. It seems as though Martin discontinued his stock of Monteverdi by 1650, while Pallavicino, Vecchi, Wert, Porta and Archadelt were still available, owing either to demand and ease of restock, or to a lack of demand. There are many possible reasons for Monteverdi's disappearance from the stocklist, ranging from changing tastes to stylistic ubiquity. If Monteverdi's 'sound' was diffused among British musicians, and his brand unable to make the kind of impact as in other countries, demand for his works would logically fizzle out.[77] It could simply have been due to Martin having sold out of Monteverdi works and, as scarcely any Monteverdi works were printed outside of Italy after the mid-1640s, restocking would have been significantly more challenging. Martin's Italian music stocklist shrunk over the years, with 108 Italian works in 1640 decreasing to 77 in 1650. The general decrease in Italian musical works being stocked coincided with the increase in British works being stocked, showing a growing market for new English works (surviving manuscript collections show a preference for music by English

[74] G. F. Gundulić, *Ariadna* (Ancona: M. Salvioni, 1633).
[75] Martin, 1635, 58.
[76] Martin, 1639, 65.
[77] This statement will be discussed and justified throughout the chapter; it is worth mentioning here that there were stylistic elements of Monteverdi's music that are evident in English compositions – while Wainwright (in "Dissemination and influence of Monteverdi's music in England," *Monteverdi und die Folgen)* does not believe there was any substantial Monteverdian influence evident in English music, I believe the opposite was true in specific examples. In terms of brand, Monteverdi's was utilised by some to accrue benefits, but there is no evidence that it was engaged with or sustained by either Monteverdi himself or by another party; this, I believe, is due to his Italian identity subsuming his brand, and the nuances of the brand meaning less to consumers outside of Italy.

composers around this time, too).[78] In 1650, the older Italian works, pillars of the *prima prattica*, were stocked alongside the seemingly ever-popular Marenzio (whose works represented a seventh of all Italian music works stocked), and other seeming staples from A. Gabrieli, Nenna, and Grandi, with a few new works by, for example, Mechi and Mannelli. A decrease in demand for Monteverdi's print music is no surprise, therefore, as it would ordinarily serve either to be copied and arranged in manuscript form or displayed in a private collection, which would not have needed regular replacement. Table 4.1 shows the Monteverdi works stocked by Martin in the surviving catalogues (1650 is excluded as it does not list Monteverdi).[79]

Table 4.1: Robert Martin's *Catalogi Librorum* (1633-1640).

1633	**1635**	**1639**	**1640**
Monteverde Scherzi musicali a 3 voci fol. Venet. 1632.	Claudio Monteverde 7. Lib. De Madrig. a I. 2. 3. 4. & 6. voci 4. Ven. 1628.	Monteverde Scherzi Musicali a I & 2. voci. 4. 1638.	Claudio Monteverde il primo lib. de Mad. a 5 voci.
Il I libro de Madrigali a 5 voci 4. Venet. 1621.	Scherzi Musicali a I. 2. voci 4 Venet. 1632.	Scherzi Musciali a 3. voci folio Ven. 1638.	Il secondo lib. de Mad. a 5 voci.
Il 2 libro de madrigali a 5 voci 4. Venet. 1621.	Scherzi Musciali a 3. voci folio Venet. 1628.	Madrigali a 5. voci.	Il tertio lib. de Mad. a 5 voci.
Il 3 libro de Madrigali a 5 voci 4. Venet. 1621.	Musica della Maddalena folio Venet. 1617.	L'Amento D'Ariano 4. Ven. 1623.	
Il 4 libro de Madrigali a 5 voci 4. Venet. 1622.	Il 6° Libro de Madrigali a 5. voci 4. Venet. 1620.		
Il 5 libro de Madrigali a 5 voci 4. Venet. 1620.	L'Aminta D'Ariana 4. Venet. 1623.		
Il 6 libro de Madrigali a 5 voci 4. Venet. 1620.	Il Primo libro de Madrigali a 5. voci 4. Venet. 1621.		
Il 7 libro de Madrigali a 1. 2. 3. 4. & 6 voci 4. Venet. 1628.	Il secundo libro de Madrigali a 5. voci 4. Venet. 1621.		
Motetti a 2. 3. 4. & 6 voci a 4. Venet. 1620.	Il terzo libro de Madrigali a 5. voci 4. Venet. 1621.		
Scherzi Musicali a I &	Il quarto libro de		

[78] Manuscript collections seem to contain more British music as the seventeenth century progressed; mixed English-Italian collections evidence this, such as GB-*Och* Mus. 21 from the late 1600s, which shows the Italian works copied in the 1630s being combined with newly copied British music.

[79] This table's data was transcribed verbatim from the four published stocklists, references in note 69.

2 voci 4. Venet. 1632.	Madrigali a 5. voci 4. Venet. 1622.
L'Amento d'Ariana 4. Venet. 1633.	

Ownership

Having documented the repertoire of Monteverdi's work that was available on the English book market, we can turn to Martin's actual and prospective clients. While a definitive answer may prove ultimately elusive, John Milsom and J. P. Wainwright have been able to shed some light on the subject through their analysis of the Christ Church music catalogue, and the surviving documents relating to prominent music patrons in the Hatton family.[80]

The Hattons were a noble family closely allied to the Crown. Christopher Hatton II was a prominent polymath, who was patron to Orlando Gibbons, and under whom a large portion of the family's music collection was acquired and scribed.[81] His son, Christopher Hatton III (first Baron), employed notable musical figures such as Stephen Bing (musician and copyist), Henry Cooke (music tutor and member of the Chapel Royal, reportedly expert in Italian musical techniques), Henry Frost (singer), George Holmes (musician), George Jeffreys (musician and copyist) and John Lilly (copyist).[82] Due to the family's association with the Crown, many of their books and manuscripts were seized by the Parliamentarians during the Civil War, and many others were sold to aid the family's financial recovery in the 1670s.[83] Both the Bodleian Library and Henry Aldrich purchased some of these works, with Monteverdi's works, and works bearing his influence (such as Dering's *Canzonette a quattro voci*, Antwerp: Phalèse, 1620), featuring within the collection.

We can draw a link between these collectors and Robert Martin's bookshop. A bill of sale from 1638 lists 25 musical works purchased by Baron Hatton from Martin's bookshop, all of which ended up in

[80] Christ Church Library Music Catalogue; J. P. Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605-1670)*.
[81] Ibid., 6.
[82] Ibid., 22.
[83] Ibid., 24.

the Christ Church collection.[84] Unfortunately, none of the works are by Monteverdi, but as the surviving print works in the Christ Church catalogue far outnumber these 25, this bill likely points to the Hattons having acquired their Monteverdi works from Martin in a year when Monteverdi's works were stocked (surviving catalogues would indicate either 1633, 1635, 1639 or 1640, though there could have been more). Monteverdi's seven books of madrigals and the 1615 edition of *L'Orfeo* are bound alongside the 1638 print purchases in the Christ Church catalogue, and Wainwright notes the significance of this, stating that Aldrich tended to keep works of the same provenance together.[85] The level of engagement with these works, from the perspective of Baron Hatton, is debated by Wainwright. Baron Hatton's annotations can be seen on the cover of certain works (sadly, not Monteverdi's), indicating engagement.[86] However, Monteverdi's third and fourth books of madrigals were used as copy texts by both Stephen Bing and John Lilly, and the 1615 edition of *Scherzi* contains annotations on the cover by Bing. This means that there's a possibility that these works belonged to the composers/copyists themselves, although as mentioned, their binding with the Hatton purchases does also indicate their association with the Hatton collection.

Signs of use, namely contemporary annotations, in these three publications indicate that they did not merely sit on the shelf as a collector's item, but that Hatton actively engaged with them.[87] It is particularly interesting that *Scherzi* was one of the works which received the attention of Stephen Bing. Bing (1610-1681) was a singer and prominent copyist, associated with notable musical institutions such as St Paul's Cathedral and Westminster Abbey (where he was a colleague of Purcell), and is also thought to have been present at the Oxford court during the Civil War. Monteverdi's *Scherzi musicali a tre voci* was collection of works put together as a means of defining Monteverdi as a composer; the most representative of the *seconda prattica* and of modern techniques such as *ritornelli.* That these works imbued with principles of *seconda prattica*, of *musica*

[84] Northamptonshire Record Office Finch-Hatton: MS 2652. See Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England*, Plate 3, 303.
[85] Ibid., 37.
[86] Ibid., Appendix, 'The Hatton Music Collection', 425 & 428.
[87] GB-*Och* Mus. 267-72; Mus. 273-278; and Mus. 796.

moderna, were used by Bing is significant, as in Bing's career, he was able to influence not only the music consumed by the Hatton family, but later, by the King. Of course, there is no guarantee that Bing read the paratexts. In the Christ Church edition, previously thought to have been part of the Hatton collection, there is no *Dichiaratione* at the end. Indeed, one wonders how much of the Italian text would have been legible to British musicians in general, a particularly key element of Monteverdi's *seconda prattica* compositions. There is no clear sign that Bing could read Italian, although there was precedent for musicians at this time learning in order to better suit the needs of their Italophile patrons. One such example is John Ward, the bilingual musician working under the patronage of Christopher Hatton II's half-brother-in-law, Sir Henry Fanshawe (1569-1616).[88] The Fanshawes' relationship with Ward provides another example of a noble English family with a penchant for Italian music, employing a musician who could enable their engagement with it.

Another owner of Monteverdi's prints was Sir Charles Somerset (c.1558-1665), 2nd Marquess of Worcester. He partook of the Grand Tour between 1611-1612, which greatly inspired his Italianate music tastes.[89] He owned madrigal books 1, 4 and 5, as part of a large collection of Italian and English music.[90] Monteverdi's second (1607 ed.),[91] fourth (1611 ed.) and fifth (1611 ed.) books of madrigals from the British Museum could be traced back to Michael Honywood (1597-1681), Dean of Lincoln Cathedral between 1660-1681. Honywood was exiled to the Low Countries during the Civil War and Commonwealth, giving him the opportunity to collect various books, including his Monteverdi works, before bringing them to Lincoln.[92]

[88] John Aplin, "Sir Henry Fanshawe and Two Sets of Early Seventeenth-Century Part-Books at Christ Church, Oxford," *Music & Letters* 1, vol. 57 (1976), 16.
[89] Michael G. Brennan, "Sir Charles Somerset's Music Books (1622)," *Music & Letters* 4, vol. 74 (November 1993), 505.
[90] Ibid., 514-515.
[91] This particular work is now lost, according to Fenlon.
[92] Iain Fenlon, "Michael Honeywood's Music Books," in *'Sundry sorts of music books:' Essays on the British Library collections, presented to O. W. Neighbour on his 70th birthday*, ed. Chris A. Banks et al. (London: British Library, 1993), 183-200.

Reception in print

Monteverdi's musical renown in Britain is suggested by gaining recognition in non-musical prints. As in famous Italian examples, such as Bonini's *Discorsi e regole sovra la musica* (1649–1650), subject histories, treatises or cultural guides were printed, and would often list significant (possibly just well-known) names associated with a particular field. Monteverdi's name appeared in print alongside other Italian composers in Henry Peacham's *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622), a conduct manual for aspiring gentlemen. In it, Monteverdi is mentioned among 'very excellent' authors such as Pallavicino, Rore, Andrea Gabrieli and de Monte, with Croce receiving a paragraph of praise for his directorship of San Marco in Venice (where he was musical director between 1603-1609), Vecchi likewise for his tutelage of Peacham, and Marenzio, too, for his madrigal writing.[93] Describing Italian musicians as 'tutors' appears to be somewhat of a trope in British music culture at this time, despite little evidence suggesting any such tutelage took place, as will be discussed later in this chapter. The Italian composers listed by Peacham were, he declared, the best of the last thirty to forty years. This pseudo historiography neglected many facts about Monteverdi's purported significance. With no brand to speak of, he was only recognisable by typical use of his music in Britain. Similarly, in Thomas Mace's *Musick's Monument* (London: T. Ratcliffe & N. Thompson, 1676), Monteverdi is portrayed as a writer of fancies and organ music (i.e. instrumental music), reflecting the impact that manuscript copies had had on British perception of him; somewhat ironic, given the fundaments of the *seconda prattica*.[94] It is interesting, however, that Monteverdi is singled out as a 'famous Italian author', and is preceded by the 'famous English men': Ferrabosco, Ward, Lupo, White, Lawes, Dering, Jenkins, Simpson and Coperario. Wainwright suggested that Monteverdi was included in this

[93] Henry Peacham, *The Compleat gentleman, 1634* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906).

[94] Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument* (London: T. Ratcliffe & N. Thompson, 1676). Having said that, perhaps the lack of lyrics presented an opportunity or challenge for the performer to capture the expressiveness of the work as a whole without the aid of lyrics. Cypess' article certainly suggests that instrumental renditions of vocal music could be made with the intention of preserving and expressing the works' emotions, rather than ignoring of them. Cypess, ""Esprimere la voce humana": Connections between Vocal and Instrumental Music by Italian Composers of the Early Seventeenth Century," 2010.

array of musicians, as Mace would have heard instrumental arrangements of his madrigals.[95] Aside from Simpson (who published perhaps the most renowned English music theory books of the century) and Lawes, all of the above-mentioned composers appear alongside Monteverdi (and others) in *Och* Mus. 403-8, a manuscript collection, part of the so-called 'Great Set', copied by Lilly in the 1630s. These composers were part of a movement of Italian stylistic emulators, who leaned heavily on the works of composers like Monteverdi to lend Italian 'flavour' to their compositions. I will explore this emulation throughout the current chapter but, presently, it is worth noting these composers' appearance together in *Musick's Monument* and the Great Set. Could Mace have heard performances of this set of manuscripts? William Lawes was a composer predominantly of viol music, very much in line with the tastes of Thomas Mace. Interestingly, David Pinto believed that Lawes' writing was influenced by Monteverdi, and compared the writing in the latter's fourth book of madrigals, 'where inner voices of the fabric are subordinated to the chamber treble dialogue over a characterful bass line', with Lawes' compositional style.[96] Pinto claimed that Lawes' understanding of the *seconda prattica* was 'at its fullest', and that in England, only George Jeffreys was as much a convert to the approach.[97] Perhaps this was influenced by his position at the court.[98] Evidently, then, Monteverdi's style was becoming integrated within the work of British composers, with his music itself disseminating Monteverdi's compositional ideas, particularly those on the *seconda prattica* in this instance.

Another musician with Monteverdian inclinations was Walter Porter. In fact, Porter is the only British composer who publicly declared Monteverdi as a source of influence. In the preface of his *Mottets for Two Voyces* (London: Goodbid, 1657) Porter described Monteverdi as 'that unparallel'd Master of Musick, my good friend and Maestro', which led late nineteenth and twentieth-century musicologists to identify Porter as the only English student of Monteverdi. Here we find another

[95] Wainwright, "Dissemination and influence of Monteverdi's music in England," 107.
[96] David Pinto, "Lawes, William," Grove Music Online, 2001, accessed 15th Feb. 2023.
[97] Ibid.
[98] See John Patrick Cunningham, "Music for the privy chamber: studies in the consort music of William Lawes (1602-45)" (PhD Thesis, University of Leeds, 2007). In particular, see 'Section A'.

example of the 'tutor trope'. The English musician sought the 'adoption' by an Italian musician (perhaps whose music they copied regularly as an exercise, or who they particularly enjoyed) almost as if to justify their Italian stylisation. While it is technically possible that Porter sought tuition from Monteverdi in Venice, there is no hard evidence for it. Whether he did or not is almost irrelevant, anyway. The reference shows Porter's intent to add clout to his work, and he believed that Monteverdi served this purpose well. The name 'Monteverde' is a late addition, added by hand above the printed text. The same is true of a comment regarding the 'Duke of Vennice', perhaps indicating Porter's ignorance of the republic (not a mistake made by someone who had spent time there, surely). Porter dedicated each motet to a different potential patron; the preface dedicates the work as a whole to Edward Laurence and Edward Spencer. Some copies contained personal addresses to other possible patrons. It seems as though Porter sought remuneration of some kind through personalised presentation copies. Exemplars without addresses were probably intended for sale.[99] Porter probably hoped to accrue as much money as possible with the *Mottets*; a plea to Westminster Abbey in 1658 reports him as living in poverty, suggesting that he had been struggling financially, and that, sadly, his dedications (and reference to 'Monteverde') had not been a success. He died the following year. The *Mottets* do appear to have been purchased and performed, however, as is evidenced in an account on the 4 September 1664 from Samuel Pepys' diary, which describes himself and his son as singing from 'Mr. Porter's Mottets'.[100]

Porter did not just include Monteverdi's name in his *Mottets* preface, he emulated certain elements of his music.[101] He described these in the preface to *Madrigales and Ayres* (London: Stansby,

[99] John Milsom, "Walter Porter's Mottets and the 'Duplicity of Duplicates,'" *Christ Church Library Newsletter* 8, issues 1, 2 and 3 (2011-2012), 4. 10 copies of *Mottets* survive, three of which are in Christ Church library. Sadly, we do not know many interesting details such as size of print run, or how many circulated without addresses.
[100] Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys, V:1664*, ed. Robert Latham and William Matthews (London: Godbid for Playford, 1971).
[101] Spinck, Arkwright and Hughes believe this gives credibility to the idea that he was actually tutored by Monteverdi, with a tentative time period of 'before Jan. 1616-1617' proffered by Arkwright. See: G. E. P. Arkwright, "An English Pupil of Monteverdi," *The Musical Antiquary*, Vol. 4 (Jul 1913); Charles W. Hughes, "Porter, Pupil of Monteverdi," *The Musical Quarterly* 20, no. 3 (1934): 278; Ian Spinck, "Walter Porter and the Last Book of English Madrigals," *Acta Musicologica*, vol. 26, Issues 1/2 (1954). Even the more modern musicologist John Milsom does not question Arkwright's assertion. Given that all of Monteverdi's works Spinck

1632)[102] – major/minor sixths, 'the Trillo', 'toccatas', 'sinfonias', and 'rittornellos' are highlighted.[103] Terming this work of Porter's as the 'last book of English madrigals', Spinck provided a set of comparisons between some of Porter and Monteverdi's musical choices.[104] Unprepared discords and chromaticism (particularly when conveying the theme of love pains) are pointed out by Spinck as typical Monteverdi-isms adopted by Porter.[105] This is exemplified on the unprepared dissonance on 'thou' in Fig.1, an example identified by Spinck. This can be compared with the unprepared dissonance in the *Canto* part (top line) of Monteverdi's "Sfogava con le stelle" over the word 'doloroso'.

Example 4.18: Spinck's example from Porter's "Tis but a frown". [106]



Example 4.19: Claudio Monteverdi, "Sfogava con le stelle", *Il quarto libro di madrigali*[…], 1603. [107]



compares to Porter's were available for purchase in England, that their availability predates his compositions, and that he was a member of the Chapel Royal alongside the likes of Angelo Notari, it seems to me more likely that he engrossed himself in Italian music and musical styles, and felt particularly moved to study Monteverdi's music, either when performing it himself, or when hearing it performed.

[102] Although he does not mention Monteverdi, this work is arguably more reminiscent of Monteverdi's writing.

[103] Walter Porter, *Madrigales and Ayres*[…] (London: William Stansby, 1632).

[104] See note 41.

[105] Spinck, "Walter Porter and the Last Book of English Madrigals," 32.

[106] Ibid.

[107] Claudio Monteverdi, "IV: Il Quarto Libro de Madrigali a 5 voci," in *Tutte le Opere di Claudio Monteverdi a cura di G, Francesco Malipiero*, ed. G. Malipiero (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1926-1968), 15, mm. 8-9. For more

He also highlights the openings of "Come lovers all" and "Anima per donna", which are practically identical. Porter, Spinck informed us, did not make as much use of the monody-inspired declamatory style as Monteverdi (particularly in madrigal books five and six), but he did utilise the *stile concertato*, in line with his 'Maestro'.[108] It is significant that despite citing Monteverdi as his friend and tutor in a later work, Porter merely identifies his novel techniques as 'Italian' in this work. Porter chose to align himself with a broader movement of British composers writing in the 'Italian' way, rather than establish Monteverdi as a musician of any particular notability. Presumably, if he had engaged with Monteverdi's works (and been able to read the paratexts), or indeed, if he had actually spent time with Monteverdi, he would be well aware of how Monteverdi related these techniques to his music and his identity. This could signal the obscurity of Monteverdi's music in the earlier portion of the 17th century, by comparison to the mid-century, although within Porter's circles, Monteverdi is likely to have been known. It could also point to Porter seeing an association with Monteverdi as irrelevant by comparison to an association with the Italian stylistic movement which (if he could illustrate his own significance within this movement), could elevate him above his contemporaries. Others took this Italian identity somewhat further – Giovanni Coperario, for example, was an English composer named John Cooper, who, after purported travelling in Italy, decided to rebrand himself thusly, to emphasise his Italian influence and to distinguish himself from his British contemporaries.[109] It clearly worked for Coperario, as he became 'Composer of Music to the King', and had his own music consort.[110]

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discussion of dissonance in this madrigal, see: Grant Tyler Simms, "Analysis and Impact of Selected Compositions That Endured Criticism." PhD Thesis, Missouri State University, 2016. For more discussion of Monteverdi's use of dissonance, see, for example: Youyoung Kang, "Monteverdi's Early Seventeenth-Century 'Harmonic Progressions,'" *Music Analysis* 2/3, vol. 30 (2011).

[108] Monteverdi, IV, Malipiero ed., 23-24.

[109] John Coperario, *Rules: How to Compose.* Facsimile Edition (California: E.E. Gottlieb, 1952), 1. Roger North described Coperario as 'plain Cooper but affected in termination'; only contemporary referential works state that Cooper changed his name while travelling in Italy, there is nothing to concretely suggest that any such travel took place. Roger North, and John Wilson, *Roger North on Music: Being a Selection from His Essays Written during the Years C.1695-1728* (London: Novello, 1959), 288.

[110] Coperario, *Rules*, 2.

Despite not generating the benefits he had hoped for, Porter's Italianate identity stuck; John Playford (1623-c.1686) paid tribute to him in his *Skill of Musick* (London: Godbid, 1666), listing him 'our late Eminent Professors of Musick, Mr. Nicholas Laneare, Mr. Henry Lawes, Dr. Wilson, and Dr. Colman, and Mr. Walter Porter', who had 'taught' the techniques of 'Trills, Grups and Exclamations'.[111] This section of Playford, entitled 'A Brief Discourse of, and Directions for Singing after the Italian Manner', directly reproduces sections of Giulio Caccini's *Le Nuove Musiche* (Florence: Marescotti, 1601). Playford mentions Scipione delle Palle, in fact, he calls him his 'Master' and claimed he learned these techniques from him in Italy, which is impossible in a literal sense as Palle died in 1569. Once again, this is an invocation of the tutor trope. Palle was Giulio Caccini's teacher, and he referred to his master in the opening lines of *Le Nuove Musiche*'s paratext, 'A i lettori'. Playford mentions the techniques *trilli, gruppi* and *esclamazioni*, and 'increasing and abating' of the voice (*crescere e escemare*), in manner uncanny to their listing by Caccini in his *lettori*.[112] Playford's musical examples are of works by Caccini, namely "Cor mio deh non languire" and "Deh, deh dove son fuggiti", which are both used as musical examples in the *Nuove Musiche*.[113] Playford's section on Italian music performance was not long enough to utilise the other musical examples chosen by Caccini, which would have included Monteverdi, but it contains enough to demonstrate the way British musicians treated their sources of Italian inspiration. This flagrant copying of Caccini, and reference to Porter, who Playford only noted for his absorption of Italian techniques, paints a picture of appropriation. Caccini's *Nuove Musiche* was (arguably) a career and brand-defining work; it was a treatise decreeing objective correctness in musical performance determined subjectively by him, and contained numerous narratives about his life and career. It was hugely influential. Playford, by drawing so heavily from the *Nuove Musiche*, established himself as an authority. Porter appropriated elements of Monteverdi's music (and arguably, his brand) to create his own public image, which was then validated by Playford. The publication of Playford's work corresponds with

[111] John Playford, *Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (London, Godbid for Playford, 1666), 39. It is specifically the 1666 edition that includes these names.
[112] Giulio Caccini, *Le Nuove Musiche* (Florence: Marescotti, 1601).
[113] Ibid. Compare the fourth page of the *lettori* with page 37 of Playford, *Introduction to the Skill of Musick.*

the decrease in popularity of Italian music, and the increased market for English music (with Italian influences).

English musicians, such as Porter and Dering, would not have assimilated Monteverdi's work unless they saw some tangible benefit in doing so. This tells us that Monteverdi's music was, to some extent, well received. Arguably, in assimilating Monteverdi's style and self-proclaimed identity as a musical innovator, the British Italian-styled musicians felt better equipped to achieve successful careers, creating their own personal brands. If Porter ever did go to Italy, he and Dering could well have been 'students' of Monteverdi (or rather, of his musical model) at the same time, and would then have both been serving the English court as musicians between 1625 and 1630.

2.2. Manuscript

The English reception of works by Monteverdi as well as those influenced by him centred on manuscripts. A major collection of these is kept at Christ Church college, Oxford. These partbooks provide tantalising glimpses of musical activity in Britain during the 17th century, through some of the most dramatic social and political events in British history. As Lydia Hamessley wrote in her analysis of two significant manuscript collections, England was the scene of a complex network of manuscript exchange through which Italian madrigals circulated extensively.[114] The question of provenance is tricky and not always conclusive, but has been resolved as much as possible by John Milsom, who had painstakingly inventorised the Christ Church music collection. His task was aided by the work of Wainwright, who investigated one of the most significant early music collections in Britain, most of which (he believes) is represented in the Christ Church library today.[115] Other manuscripts are preserved in the Bodleian Library of the University of Oxford, the British Library, St Michael's Tenbury Wells (now housed in the Bodleian Library), Trinity College Dublin, Westminster

[114] Lydia Hamessley, "The Tenbury and Ellesmere Partbooks: New Findings on Manuscript Complication and Exchange, and the Reception of the Italian Madrigal in Elizabethan England," *Music and Letters* 73, Issue 2, (May 1992): 177.
[115] Milsom, Christ Church Library Music Catalogue; Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England.*

Abbey, Birmingham University Barber Institute, and the Royal College of Music. Where possible, I will provide comment on the provenance of these. Discussion of the manuscripts will begin with a novel example of Monteverdi's music appearing alongside an arrangement in manuscript, illustrating use of his music as a model. It will then move through some notable sources that can tell us more about taste and the treatment of Monteverdi's music, illustrating similarities between sources and highlighting differences, such as attribution, addition of lyrics, arrangement, and so on. We will also look out for copyists and provenance, as well as any signs of the work's purpose or function.

Table 4.2 displays all currently known British manuscript works made in the 17th century that contain Monteverdi.[116]

Table 4.2: All (currently known) British manuscript works made in the 17th century containing Monteverdi.

Shelfmark	Work(s)	Description
Gb-*Bu* MS 5002	• "Al lume dele stelle" • "Ah crudo core" • "Parlo misero taccio?"	Madrigals from book seven. 'Collection of Songs | M.S. | Collection of | Hymns | Mottets | Anthems | M.S.' Collection of English and Italian sacred and secular works, c.1680.
GB-*Obl* Mus. Sch. a 1	"Cruda Amarilli"	Purcell fragment *Benedicite in B flat*, 'Cruda Amarilli'.
GB-*Obl* Music School C 9	• "Tu dormi? Ah crudo core" • "Al lume delle stelle" • "Parlo, miser'o taccio?"	Madrigals from book seven.
GB-*Obl* Music School C 12-19	"Parlo, miser'o taccio?"	One madrigal from book seven.
GB-*Obl* Tenbury 1005	• "Ah dolente partita" • "Cor mio, mentre vi miro" • "Sfogava con le stelle" • "Cor mio, non mori?"	Four 'loose leaf' madrigals from book four.
GB-*Obl* Music School E 415-8	"Là tra'l sangue"	One madrigal from book three (second part of "Vattene pu, crudel").
GB-*Obl* Tenbury 940-4	• "Sovra tenere herbette" • "O come è gran martire" • "O dolce anima mia" • "Stracciami pur il core" • "La giovinetta pianta"	Madrigals from book three.

[116] This data was gathered using RISM, the British Library, Bodleian Archives and Manuscripts, Christ Church Library Music Catalogue and by correspondence with Julia Rosenthal of Otto Haas, and Christine Reynolds of Westminster Abbey.

	• "O rossignuol" • "Rimanti in pace" • "Là tra'l sangue"	
GB-*Och* Mus. 877-80	• "T'amo mia vita" • "Ahi com'a un vago sol" • "Cruda Amarilli" • "Non è di gentil core"	Madrigals from books 3 and 5. See entry in Table 4.4 for more information.
GB-*Och* Mus. 397-400, Mus. 401-2 and Mus. 403-8, Mus. 2, Mus. 436	• "Là tra'l sangue e le morti" • "Sovra tenere herbette" • "O com'è gran martire" • "Voi pur da me partite" • "Luci seren'è chiare"	The 'Great Set', madrigals from books 3 and 4. See entry in Table 4.4 for more information.
GB-*Och* Mus. 67	• "Ond'ei di morte" • "La tra'l sangu'e le morti" • "O com'è gran martire" • "Sovra tenere herbette"	Madrigals from book three. See entry in Table 4.4 for more information.
GB-*Och* Mus. 14	• "Tu dormi, ah crudo cor" • "Al lume delle stelle" • "Non è di gentil core" • "Parlo, miser, o taccio?"	Madrigals from book seven. See entry in Table 4.4 for more information.
GB-*Och* Mus. 21	• "La piaga ch'ho nel core" • "Cor mio, mentre vi miro" • "Volgea l'anima mia" • "Cor mio, non mori?" (opening only)	Madrigals from book four. See entry in Table 4.5 for more information.
GB-*Och* Mus. 44	"Luci seren'è chiare"	One madrigal from book four. See entry in Table 4.4 for more information.
GB-*Och* Mus. 527-30, 1024	• "O com'è gran martire" • "Là tra'l sangue e le morti" • "Luci seren'è chiare"	Madrigals from book 3 and 4. See entry in Table 4.5 for more information.
GB-*Och* Mus. 623-6	• "Vaga su spina" • "Eccomi pronta"	Madrigals from book seven. See entry in Table 4.5 for more information.
GB-*Lbl* Egerton MS 3665		The Tregian Anthology. Collection of madrigals, motets, fantasias, etc., mostly by Italian and English composers of the 16th and early 17th centuries in manuscript, attributed to Francis Tregian (d. 1619). Monteverdi madrigal(s?) in section 8 of 10: 732 madrigals for five voices by a large number of Italian and some English composers, including Agazzari, Gagliano, Gesualdo, Marenzio, Nenna, Pallavicino, and Pecci. ff. 199-502. Linked to other 'Tregian' works: The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book, Cambridge, Fitzwiiliam Museum Mus. MS. 168; New York Public Library, Drexel MS. 4302; and the second part of Oxford, Christ Church, Mus. MSS. 510-514.

GB-*Lbl* Add. 30491	*L'Arianna* fragments	Fragments of *L'Arianna* from c.1617 based on original score. "Lamento d'Olimpia".
GB-*Lbl* Add. 40657-40661		Compositions for two, three, four, five and six viols, in parts, in the hand of William Lawes (d. 1645), by composers of the 16th and 17th centuries. Five volumes, containing respectively the Cantus (Vol. I), Alto (Vol. II), Tenor (Vol. III), Bassus (Vol. IV) and Quintus (Vol. V); the sixth vol., containing the Sextus, is wanting. No information as to which of Monteverdi's were included but it is early-17th century which is reflected in its contents: Marenzio, Bull, Vecchi, Ives, Ford and Pallavicino alongside Monteverdi. Lawes himself, Thomas Lupo, [Robert ?] Chetwoode, Thomas Holmes, John Cooper al Coprario al Coperario, Nicholas Guy, John Ward, Alfonso Ferrabosco, and William White.
GB-*Lbl* Add. 12532	"Io mi son giovinetta"	One madrigal in a collection from book 3.
GB-*Lbl* Add. 31440 (?)[117]	• "T'amo mia vita" • "Lamento di Olimpia" • "Cor mio mentre vi miro" • "Cor mio non mori" • "Luci serene e chiare" • "Ohimè se tanto amate" • "Voi pur da me partite" • "Ahi come a un vago sol cortese giro" • "Era l'anima mia" • "Sì ch'io vorrei morire" • "Troppo ben può questo tiranno amore" • "Ah dolente partita" • Cruda Amarilli che col nome ancora" • "Taci Armelin deh taci" • "Dice la mia bellissima Licori" • "Non vedrò mai le stelle" • "Ohimè se tanto amate" excerpts • "Soave libertate" • "Vorrei baciarti" • "Ch'io t'ami"	27 madrigals copied by Angelo Notari, some in arrangements, between 1630-1668.

[117] Listed as such on RISM but shelfmark brings up a Pietro Reggio work when searched, no sign of the collection under any other rubrics.

	• "Ecco Silvio" • "Ecco vicine o bella tigre" • "Interrote speranze eterna fede" • "Io son pur vezzosetta pastorella" • "O come sei gentile" • "O viva fiamma o miei pensier" • "Perché fuggi tra' salci ritrosetta"	
GB-*Lbl* Add. 31399	"Al lume stelle"	One madrigal from book seven.
GB-*Lbl* Add. 37402-6	• "O come è gran martire" • "Sovra tenere erbette e bianchi Fiori" • "Là tra'l sangue" • "O dolce anima mia" • "Ma dove o lasso me" • "La giovinetta pianta" • "O rossignuol que in queste verdi fronde" • "Stracciami pur il core" • "O primavera bella" • "Perfidissimo volto"	10 madrigals: (copied by Paolo Masinelli?) copied post-1601. At the end of partbook 1 is the name James Pearson, as owner, and at the end of partbook 3, those of Thomas and Elizabeth Babington, all written in early-17th century. Bound in Calf (except book 3) with a crown over a Tudor rose.
GB-*Lbl* Add. 29427	• "Ond'ei di morte" • "Là tra 'l sangue e le morti" • "O com'e gran martire" • "Sovra tenere herbette"	Four madrigals from book three, matching Alto partbook to GB-*Och* 67.
GB-*Lwa* CG 63	"Tu dormi? Ah crudo core"	One madrigal from book seven.

Generally speaking, madrigal books three, four and seven are particularly popular with copyists, perhaps meaning that these sources were most widely available. The most frequently copied individual works seem to have been "O come è gran martire" and "Là tra'l sangue" with 6 copies each, followed by "Sovra tenere herbette e bianchi Fiori" with 5, then "Parlo misero" and "Al lume stelle" with 4 each. There is a mixture of scribal hands responsible for copying Monteverdi's works, some identified, such as Jeffreys, Lilly, Bing, Myriell, and Notari, and some yet to be identified. The vast majority of manuscript works are kept in Oxford libraries and have remained there since the 17th century, with fourteen manuscript works containing Monteverdi versus nine over the rest of Britain.

Monteverdi's musical model: "Là tra'l sangue"

The Manuscript collection *GB-Och* Mus. 2, Mus. 397-400, Mus. 401-2 and Mus. 403-8, and Mus. 436 is commonly known as the 'Great Set', a collection of instrumental partbooks, a score and accompanying organbook. Copied by Stephen Bing and John Lilly in the 1630s, it had originally formed part of the Hatton collection.[118] There are 233 different works represented in the collection, five of which are madrigals by Monteverdi, with the intervening hand of Henry Aldrich providing titles and attributions to the otherwise completely textless, naturalised works. Monteverdi is in such company as Bull, Coleman, Coperario, Ferrabosco the Younger, Gibbons, Jenkins, Lupo, Marenzio, Mico, Pallavicino, Vecchi, Ward and White, all of whom were either Italian, or were British, but writing in the 'Italian' style. The five madrigals are "Là tra'l sangue", "Sovra tenere herbette", "O come è gran martire" (all from the third book of madrigals, nos. 6, 8 & 9 in the Great Set), "Voi pur da me partite" and "Luci serene e chiare" (from book four, nos. 22 & 23 in the Great Set).

The inclusion of "Là tra'l sangue" is perhaps the most notable, as it is a second part to Monteverdi's three-part madrigal ("Vattene pur, crudel, con quella pace" is first, "Poi ch'ella in sè tornò deserto e muto" is third). The seventh work in the Great Set, nestled among Monteverdi's third-book madrigals, is another setting of "Là tra'l", by the English composer Richard Mico. Mico's piece begins with an arrangement of Monteverdi, before mirroring a fugue section in Monteverdi's work, with an ascending chromatic motif to 'reply' to Monteverdi's descending subject.[119] It appears the two 'Latrals' (the Anglicised name), were treated as a pair in two other surviving manuscripts from a similar period. The first example is the GB-*Lbl* Egerton 2485 manuscript, an organ score to accompany five-part instrumental consort music also copied by John Lilly in c.1640-1650s, which contains nine of the fourteen names included in the Great Set.[120] Because Lilly was the copyist, a connection of the manuscript with the Hatton family can be assumed – Lilly and Christopher Hatton

[118] Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England*, 349-65.
[119] J. S. Bennet, and Andrew J. Hanley, "Mico [Micoe, Micho, Meco, Myco], Richard," *Grove Music Online.* 2001, accessed 20th Feb. 2023; Wainwright, "Dissemination and influence of Monteverdi's music in England," 113.
[120] Excluded are Bull, Coleman, Jenkins, Pallavicino and Vecchi.

III appear to both have been based in Cambridge around this time.[121] Three madrigals by Monteverdi are included, “Voi pur da me partite” and “Luci serene e chiare” again (nos. 28 & 29), with “Là tra’l sangue” named ‘Latral Parte Prima’, preceding Mico’s ‘Parte Seconda’ (nos. 42v & 43).

The set of partbooks, inscribed 'A Messelania of / Madrigals Songes Sonets & Villanellas / of fyve partes' (GB-*Obl* Mus. Sch. E 415-8), were copied by Francis Withy in 1641-1642. A contemporary note declares them to have been ‘made for J Withy’ on two Tomkins pavanes in the Bass partbook, with ‘Mr. Thos Tomkins Mr. Humphry Withy 1642’ written on an anonymous work in the Tenor partbook.[122] The work entered the University of Oxford’s Music School’s collection in 1855, according to the Bodleian’s records, despite Francis working as a singing-man at Christ Church, Oxford between 1670 and his death in 1727.[123] The work includes instrumental music once again, this time by Anon., Brown, Ferrabosco ii, Mico, Nicholson, Tomkins, White and Young, with only the one madrigal by Monteverdi, accompanied by Mico’s version. Francis Withy may have been at Oxford earlier than 1670, as Anthony Wood’s diary mentions a ‘Mr Withie’ playing the bass viol during the visit of Cosimo III de’ Medici to Oxford in May 1669, which I will address on page 238.

These three manuscript works and their inclusion of the ‘Latrals’ by Monteverdi and Mico pose several questions. The Mico ‘Latral’ appears to only survive in these three manuscripts. It could well be the case that an original copy(ies) by him existed but did not survive the Civil War, although there is nothing to suggest this, other than that Lilly and Withy would have needed copy sources, and were unlikely to have shared the same one given their different locations, dates and careers. Why did Lilly put them together, twice? Why did Withy do so if he did not know Lilly’s manuscripts? It points to an effort by someone to compare the two works, unless Monteverdi’s ‘Latral’ was so ubiquitous among

[121] Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England*, 47-48.
[122] See the item description in the Bodleian’s archives: Oxford, Bodleian Libraries MS. Mus. Sch. e. 415-8. J. Withy is presumably John Withy, a bass violist and colleague of Tomkins at Worcester Cathedral. Humphry was John’s brother, and uncle to Francis.
[123] It is perhaps slightly surprising, as one may have expected his music collection (and that inherited from his family) to find its way into the Christ Church archives, after 57 years of musical engagement there. See: Robert Thompson, “Withy family,” *Grove Music Online* 2001, accessed 21st Feb. 2023.

17th-century musicians that Mico's version was an obvious counterpart.[124] The prospect of contemporary musicians identifying Monteverdi's model in Mico's piece, thus choosing to pair them, is certainly intriguing.

Realistically, as long as Monteverdi's third book of madrigals had made its way to Sir William Petre's music collection at Thorndon Hall, Essex, Mico could have become acquainted with the works, and become inspired to create an arrangement. Perhaps it was Mico who created the comparison outright – he was the successor to Richard Dering as organist of Henrietta Maria's court,[125] and may have inherited a number of Monteverdi's works upon taking up the position, deciding then to emulate Dering's practice of borrowing and referencing parts of Monteverdi's pieces. Lilly's 'Latrals' were not attributed to either musician, this had to be done later by Aldrich, whereas Withy included attributions for Monteverdi and for Mico. How was Aldrich able to identify the works? There must have been some source which identified Mico as the composer (presumably not just Withy's at this point, as it did not come to Oxford until 1855). Of course, this source could have been performance – perhaps the pieces were performed together, for instance, at the court of Henrietta Maria, and thus became well-known in musical circles. This is purely speculative, but the facts point to an appetite for copying out and emulating Monteverdi's music.

Monteverdi's music in Oxford: a case study in taste and treatment

As indicators of owners' tastes, manuscript collections are particularly revealing. GB-*Och* Mus. 21 is a miscellaneous collection, containing sacred and secular music by English and Italian composers, created and collated at different points between 1620-c.1673. The copyist(s) has not been identified. The collection contains an inscription stating that the book was 'done formerly by that rare Musition, Mr Orlando Gibbons', alongside annotations on his works, suggesting that he, or his close circle, were responsible for the earliest portion of the collection (dated around 1620, described as 'Layer 1'

[124] It could be possible; "Là tra'l sangue"was certainly one of the most-copied Monteverdi works in English manuscripts.
[125] Bennet and Hanley, "Mico [Micoe, Micho, Meco, Myco], Richard."

by Milsom).[126] The second, 'Layer 2', is slightly later (1630s), and contains madrigals by Gesualdo, Monteverdi, Missino, Merulo and Nenna. There is no indication as to their provenance, they are simply distinguished by their distinct yet anonymous scribal hand.[127] The final fascicle, which was appended in the final third of the century, is devoted exclusively works by Benjamin Rogers (1614-1698) in autograph. It was Rogers who made the attribution to Gibbons.[128] The collection was given to Christ Church as part of the Goodson bequest, representing the music collections of two Richard Goodsons – father (c.1655-1718) and son (1688-1741), who were professors of music at Christ Church and organists at the cathedral. All of the 1630s works were attributed as 'Ittalian' or to 'Ittalian compos[er]' in the hand of Rogers. Occasionally, composers' names are given as well; all of Monteverdi's works are correctly attributed. The works from the 1630s fascicle were textless, save for the textual incipit.[129] The Monteverdi madrigals are "La piaga ch'o nel core", "Cor mio mentre", "Volgea l'anima mia" [incomplete] and the first three measures of "Cor mio non mori", followed by missing pages. These are all taken from his fourth book of madrigals. Layer 2's scribe was notably less 'disciplined and fluent' (and experienced?) than the other two.[130] There are scribal errors that have had to be corrected across "La piaga", and the scribe ran out of room at the end of "Cor mio mentre", drawing the final bar in the margin.[131]

The purpose of the work is extremely unclear, the former part containing Gibbons may have been gifted separately to Rogers, as indicated by his annotation: 'Ben: Rogers his booke Aug.t 18: 1673 and presented [to] me, by Mr John Playford Stationer in the Temple London, This Score booke was done formerly by that rare Musition, Mr Orlando Gibbons and this book is of great value to a Composer'. Rogers does not mention the Scribe B fascicles; they could have been acquired by Rogers at any time, though their informality and incompleteness suggest they could have been the work of

[126] Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England*, 370-1, note 'b'.
[127] See the description in the Christ Church Library Music Catalogue: 'Mus. 21'.
[128] Milsom, Christ Church Library Music Catalogue: 'Mus. 21'.
[129] Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England*, 373, note 'r'.
[130] John Harper, "Orlando Gibbons: The Domestic Context of His Music and Christ Church MS 21," *The Musical Times* 1690, vol. 124 (1983), 768.
[131] GB-*Och* Mus. 21, 302-303, 305.

a student. Rogers could have come across these at a time when he would have had access to a collection of students' works or exercises, such as when he became organist and *informator choristarum* for Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1664.[132] They could even have been his work from his musical education at St George's Chapel, Windsor; Rogers would have been between ages 6 and 16 at the time these fascicles are predicted to have been copied. These works' inclusion with the Gibbons et al. book could indicate that they, too, were considered 'of great value to a composer', although it also seems possible that these works were bound after being passed to Richard Goodson Jr, or even after being passed to the Christ Church library, and done so without much consideration for their contents. Speculating over Monteverdi's works in this collection is useful as their condition could provide another angle on how his works were treated in Britain, why Monteverdi's music (and a roster of frequently recurring composers) is so prolific in Oxford manuscripts, and why Withy and Lilly decided to pair Mico and Monteverdi's 'Latrals'. Perhaps it is a question of taste, but it seems also likely that Monteverdi's music could have been used as a teaching aid – something choristers or burgeoning composers were made to (or chose to) copy out, and that this was the practice of individuals and in institutions. The tutor trope contributes to this narrative. It could be that this is how musicians referred to composers whose works they regularly copied out in their younger years. This kind of practice was commonplace in early-modern Britain. Rebecca Herrisone notes:

> The learning process was facilitated by the collection of model passages of writing in commonplace books, which allowed students 'to store away phrases or ideas from their reading for re-use in their own compositions'. Their own invention came about through seeking to vary and transform their models, a process that could include rewriting, commenting on and glossing their source materials, but that ultimately resulted in *emulation*, an attempt to improve on and surpass the model, so that it was no longer detectable.[133]

It would be fascinating to know what a 17th-century musical lecture, tutorial or syllabus would have looked like. Music was not considered an academic discipline at this time, and music degrees were awarded on the basis of composition and performance, though William Heather (c.1563-1627)

[132] Peter Holman, "Rogers, Benjamin," *Grove Music Online* 2001, accessed 22nd Feb. 2023. Theoretically, Rogers, if he did acquire these works himself, could have done so at any of the institutions where he worked, Christ Church, Dublin or Eton, for example.

[133] Rebecca Herissone, "Imitation, Originality and Authorship" in *Musical Creativity in Restoration England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 5.

sought to reform this through an endowment. This brought about the instalment of 'choragi', created the 'Heather' professorship, and provided musical instruments. Formal teaching of practical and theoretical aspects of music to students at the Music School, situated in the 'schools' quadrangle, began in 1636.[134] A 'choragus' was in charge of the teaching, and if no students attended the tutorial, then the two 'singing boys', who had been brought along to assist, would be made to rehearse 3-voice music with the choragus. Choragi in the 17th century were Richard Nicholson, *informator* (organist) at Magdalen (1626–39), Arthur Philipps, who took over from Nicholson at Magdalen (1639–56), John Wilson (1656–61), Edward Lowe, organist at Christ Church (1661–82), and Richard Goodson Sr, another Magdalen organist (1682–1718).[135] The University of Oxford would have had more access to Italian works than possibly any other institution other than the Royal Court, thanks to its various means for acquiring foreign material, including the Bodleian and its suppliers. Perhaps this meant works like Monteverdi's could have been formally studied, if only in the context of the choristers' education, rather than the undergraduates'.

British musical tastes moved from Italian vocal works to lute songs, viol consorts, fantasias and liturgical music (in English), which can be traced in prints as well as manuscripts. Manuscripts in the latter half of the 17th century still contain Monteverdi (seeming to stick around in manuscript long after his print works stopped being stocked by Martin), but we see the quantity of his works surpassed in some collections by later Italian composers (not to mention English composers). Edward Lowe's collection of eight partbooks for voice and instruments is explicitly concerned with taste. He titled it: 'Latine and English Songs... by the best Italian and English Auth'rs', copied c.1663-1677.[136] Sances and Carissimi feature heavily, with only one work of Monteverdi's included: the madrigal "Parlo, miser'o taccio?", from book seven. Both Richard Goodsons copied additional music into the source, suggesting that they added it to their collection at some point. Edward Lowe

[134] P. M. Gouk, "Music," in *The History of the University of Oxford: Volume IV Seventeenth-Century Oxford*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 622-624.
[135] P. M. Gouk, "Music," 622-624.
[136] GB-*Obl* MS. Mus. Sch. c. 12.

(c.1610-1682) was an organist at Christ Church, Oxford and professor of music at the University of Oxford music school, one of the three Chapel Royal organists and a prolific copyist. He also remained at Christ Church during the King's residence there, and was a regular attendee of music meetings during the Commonwealth era. Lowe is an important figure in the discussion of Monteverdi's music on the British Isles, as his role as professor of music gave his opinion an authority in an institution full of musical activity. His interaction with Monteverdi could represent other interactions by members of the Music School. Part of his role was to arrange the weekly recitals given by students at the Music School, and to stock the music library with important musical works.[137] Monteverdi's "Parlo, miser'o taccio?" is in the *concertato* style, and would seem to correspond with the British taste for fewer-voiced works with instrumental accompaniment. Perhaps, too, Lowe's inclusion of Monteverdi could suggest that he was a regular feature of recitals; a popular choice for students? A similar manuscript scorebook (Mus. Sch. C 9, c.1670s) includes this Monteverdi madrigal alongside two more from the seventh book, "Tu dormi? A crudo core" and "Al lume delle stelle", also copied by Lowe, again, possibly pointing to their performance in the Music School.

The notion of a musical nexus that existed outside of the official capacities of the Music School and the cathedral at Oxford is feasible. The Music School closed during the period of Civil War (reopening in 1657), but there still seems to have been great musical productivity, much of which survives in manuscript form. Oxford, like many other cities, had its own official musicians in the form of the waits' band; a group of performers who would take on apprentices, and perform at a variety of events across the city. The University had its own 'band', self-proclaimed 'privileged men musicians and teachers of Musick to many Gents in Collidges & Halles in ye universitie of Oxon', who petitioned the vice-chancellor for the rights to play in colleges and halls in the early 1630s.[138] This is all by way of illustrating that music was part of the fabric of both University and city, and provided an improved environment for the dissemination of Monteverdi's music. This period, where music

[137] Robert Thompson, "Lowe, Edward," *Grove Music Online* 2001, accessed 2nd Mar. 2023.
[138] GB-*Obl* MS. Twyne-Langbaine, iv ff 105-107.

seemed to flourish despite the political and social environment, led to the copying and dissemination of Italian and Italian 'style' music, and likely indicates regular performance of such music, including Monteverdi.

This period can be defined roughly as 1642-1646, and can be characterised by the amalgamation of some of England's most high-status musicians in and around Oxford, in particular at Christ Church where the king lodged, along with other high-status individuals.[139] Figures such as George Jeffreys, John Wilson, Narcissus Marsh, Baron Hatton I, William Cartwright, Martin Lleulyn and Stephen Bing sought asylum within the Royalist stronghold of the city and University of Oxford, and found opportunities to make and experience music unlike any that were to be had elsewhere in England at that time. Four of Monteverdi's madrigals were included in a manuscript created during this period by George Jeffreys and Stephen Bing, the former of whom became organist at the makeshift court, playing in services for the King, as were recorded in an account by John Hawkins.[140] *Och* Mus. 878-880 includes three-part arrangements of "T'amo mia vita", "Ahi com'a un vago sol", "Cruda Amarilli" from book five and "Non è gentil core" from book seven, and were copied by Angelo Notari, who may have sent the music to Oxford or even have joined for a time – he was under the employ of Charles II but does not seem to have gone into exile with him. Monteverdi's works existing in this manuscript score give rise to the idea that his music could have been performed in the Oxford court, possibly at one of the concerts that were in regular occurrence. One particular factor that points to the works being performed is Notari's rearrangement of them for fewer voices – it shows an awareness of the reduced musical forces available at the Oxford court.[141] In addition, Notari includes all of the text for each piece, which was a rarity for Monteverdi's manuscript madrigals in Britain. It is interesting to note that among this collection of works were a large number of pieces by Dering, including "Duo Seraphim" (also copied and included in the 1640s), and a print copy of Walter

[139] Wainwright discusses the potential for such a musical 'centre' to have existed and is cautiously optimistic. See *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England*, 169-178.
[140] J. Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* IV (London: T. Payne, 1776), 323.
[141] Wainwright, "Dissemination and influence of Monteverdi's music in England," 114.

Porter's *Mottets of two voyces* (added some years later), perhaps as their styles were so similar to the other (predominantly Italian) music that it felt appropriate to include them. For Monteverdi's music to have been a part of this period of intense defiance and pride must have meant that his works were of some significance to musicians at Oxford. Monteverdi's music retaining its lyrical content is notable, as it means that the lyrical content was of value; the work was not simply part of assimilation, but it was appreciated in its own right.

The copying network: Tenbury and Ellesmere

Lydia Hamessley has done a great deal of analysis on two significant manuscripts containing the work of Monteverdi. What is notable about these sources is the treatment of Monteverdi by the anonymous scribes who created the manuscript partbooks. Tenbury 940-44 and Ellesmere EL 25 A 46-51 (c.1602) are suspected to originate from the same scribal workshop, due to similarities in their organisation, contents and appearance, and Ellesmere is believed to be a copy of Tenbury.[142] According to Hamessley, 'these manuscripts reveal the existence of a circle of music patrons or performers who chose to preserve the Italian identity of the madrigal and relied on Italian rather than Flemish prints as copytexts'. Perhaps Notari could be tentatively identified as part of this performer-copyist network. It appears, then, that there were two approaches to copying Italian works. The first was to assimilate the works, removing their text and composer, and using them freely. The second was to take a more preservative approach, copying the works with text and correct attributions. Three scribes worked on the Tenbury (one scribe) and Ellesmere ('Scribe A' and 'Scribe B') manuscripts, with Scribe A apparently showing a preference for copying Monteverdi's works.[143] Scribe A, Hamessely believes, was an apprentice, as they made errors in their copying (such as in Monteverdi's "Rimanti in Pace" in the *Tenore* book – Scribe A does correct themselves). "Stracciami pur il core", "O rossignuol", "La giovinetta pianta si fa", "Rimanti in pace (part 1)" and "O com'è gran martire" are included in both Tenbury and Ellesmere, all taken from Monteverdi's third

[142] Hamessley, "The Tenbury and Ellesmere Partbooks: New Findings on Manuscript Complication and Exchange, and the Reception of the Italian Madrigal in Elizabethan England," 179.
[143] Ibid., 202.

book of madrigals. Obtaining all the necessary copy works for the books would have been a significant undertaking, though Hamessely described the context in which manuscript-making as a tradition continued to thrive, allowing this sort of project to take place. She describes a middle-class network of 'Gentlemen and Merchants' who would meet and perform music in private, and exchange manuscripts; this developed to involve patrons sending scribes to copy particular prints and manuscripts.[144]

As to why the works were created, Hamessley postulates that they were likely created for performance, for a patron who did not own the print copies but who wanted to perform Italian madrigals. [145] This was common practice at the time, as Italian music print was not as accessible as it would become later in the century. She also notes that, due to the Scribes' seeming familiarity with Italian music and language as is conveyed by their general accuracy of text and conventions, they may have been Italian immigrants, or well connected with the Italian book trade. This is significant in terms of the notable preference Scribe A had for Monteverdi (seven of the nine Monteverdi madrigals were copied by Scribe A), it could represent a greater appreciation of Monteverdi's works over other composers, if indeed the scribe was Italian, and able to take in the pieces in their entirety. In Ellesmere, there are nine Monteverdi works, more than any other individual composer; in Tenbury, there are seven, which is about average across the individual composers (paling in comparison to Croce's 27, however). Despite Scribe A's predilection for Monteverdi, Tenbury and Ellesmere both print "Rimanti in Pace" as if it were a standalone madrigal, when in fact it is the first part of a two-part work. This may have been done on purpose, but it suggests a lack of understanding of Monteverdi's work, perhaps on the part of the Tenbury scribe.

[144] Hamessley, "The Tenbury and Ellesmere Partbooks: New Findings on Manuscript Complication and Exchange, and the Reception of the Italian Madrigal in Elizabethan England," 210.
[145] Ibid., 212.

Table 4.3: Comparison of contents in Tenbury and Ellesmere partbooks.

Tenbury[146]	**Ellesmere**[147]
33. “Sovra tenere herbette”	3. “O primavera”
39. “O come è gran martire”	4. “Perfidissimo volto”
46. “O dolce anima mia”	[14.] “Stracciami pur il core”
58. “Stracciami pur il core”	[15.] “O rossignuol”
64. “La giovinetta pianta si fa”	[16.] “La giovinetta pianta si fà”
85. “O rossignuol”	[17.] “Rimanti in pace”
90. “Rimanti in pace”	[18.] “Ond’ei di morte”
	[52.] “O come e gran martire”
	[53.] “Là tra ‘l sangu’e le morti”

British manuscripts of Monteverdi works present a mixed picture. On the one hand, it is clear that ‘naturalising’ Monteverdi’s music was common practice, stripping the music of attribution and text and arranging it for different instruments, weakening the authorial power Monteverdi had over the work and obliterating the bond between words and music. On the other, that Monteverdi's music does appear in manuscripts fully texted, showing that his works were sometimes interacted with in a way that could allow for some degree of influence with techniques such as word-painting able to be appreciated, depending on the context. The potential for Monteverdi’s works to have been used for educational practice could signal that his brand had developed a sense of ubiquity or of necessity in order to fully grasp certain ideas or practices. It is clear that Monteverdi’s music was able to be influential as part of a broader consumption of Italian musical culture, but Monteverdi’s relationship with his music was altered and diffused by its transfer to British shores, losing the potency that allowed him to be known in German-speaking lands as a master of music, and ‘inventor’ of the *seconda prattica*.

[146] Tenbury, St Michael's College, GB-*Obl* MSS 940-44. Table includes the partbooks’ numbering. There are 150 works in total, meaning Monteverdi’s music makes up 4.67% of the whole work.
[147] San Marino, Huntington Library, Ellesmere MSS EL 25 A 46-51, Original Layer. Table includes the partbooks’ numbering; square brackets indicate number not written in the partbooks. There are 58 works in total, meaning Monteverdi’s music makes up 15.52% of the whole work.

Usage

'Usage' encompasses a variety of activities, from the ephemeral and assumptive, like performances, to the more concrete and well-evidenced, such as collection-making. Many examples of usage have already been referenced throughout the discussion of print and manuscript scores, but it is worth highlighting a few notable cases and discussing concepts in more detail, in order to build a picture of how Monteverdi's music was interacted with on the British Isles. I will first look at collections, not only as a form of usage in and of themselves, but also for the sources therein which give clues as to other forms of their use. Focus will then turn to the subject of performance, discussing sources and context to gain a greater understanding of where and when Monteverdi's music may have been performed.

Collections

Collection-making is a complex and interesting activity to study from the perspectives of reception, patronage, dissemination, influence and (in this case) usage. Monteverdi's music has been included in collections for centuries, both in collections made public through libraries and archives, and those made privately.[148] In 17th-century Britain, it is difficult to get a sense of what exactly was in private collections, as they could be sporadically recorded, if at all. There are noble English families who one could consider to be likely candidates for including Monteverdi in their collections, due to where they sourced their works from (such as London bookshops stocking Italian music), and a general interest in Italian music; the Cavendish family, for example. Sadly, if any Monteverdi works did enter their collections, they have since either been lost, or are in manuscript form, and have not yet been identified. Another factor in the survival of Monteverdi's music in private collections is the Civil War, in which we know that private collections of royalists (such as the Hatton family) and even of

[148] Perhaps no larger private collection of Monteverdi works and affiliated materials was created (certainly in more recent years) than that of Albi Rosenthal, whose vast collection was passed on to Yale in 2009 by his daughter, Julia. Among the rare and interesting items in the collection was one of the only two (known) surviving copies of the 1623 print of "Lamento d'Arianna", the unique copy of *Andromeda*'s libretto (1620), and the letter from Monteverdi to Marquis Bentevoglio on 18th September 1627, regarding plans for *Dido* in Parma (which remains in the British Library under the care of Christopher Scobie, to whom I am also very grateful).

Cathedrals were seized by the Parliamentarians, complicating the search for music in private English collections. Much of the music that survived this era of turmoil was impacted by the collection-making activities of Henry Aldrich (1648 - 1710), Dean of Christ Church (among other notable roles). His efforts are well documented and have helped to preserve much of Monteverdi's music on the British Isles, and as such, is worth drawing attention to.

Aldrich was an alum of Christ Church college, and became Dean of the College and Canon of the Cathedral, even becoming Vice-Chancellor of the University for a time (1692-95).[149] He was reportedly integral to the musical hub at Christ Church in the 1680s, where he and his circle of musical associates created manuscript copies of works and added to the Hatton music collection, which he took ownership of in 1670. It is not guaranteed that collectors of music will use the scores populating their shelves as anything other than a visual indicator of status. Yet Aldrich did engage with his collection in multiple ways, including taking measure to preserve the works, adding attributions and performing works. Music performance was something he was noted for contemporarily and posthumously.[150] He sang regularly with the Christ Church choir, and weekly rehearsals were a combination of formal practice and informal performance, the latter of which, Robert Shay suggests, would have been of music from his collection.[151] The notion that, at Christ Church, there was a kind of musical institution beyond the Music School and the cathedral, which celebrated the music of composers such as Monteverdi by regularly performing and copying their works, is very appealing. What is certainly clear from the musical sources themselves (print and manuscript) is that Aldrich had a hands-on approach to the works' presentation, preservation and survival. Aldrich was a composer too, creating pastiche works of Carissimi, and influenced by the Italian-stylistic movement, despite being somewhat later in dates than other notable members of this movement (such as Coperario).

[149] Robert Shay, "Aldrich, Henry," *Grove Music Online* 2001, accessed 15th Feb. 2023.
[150] Ibid..
[151] Ibid.

Table 4.4: Monteverdi works in the 'Aldrich Bequest'.[152]

Shelfmark	Name	Description
The 'Great Set'; MSS Mus. 2 a scorebook, (MSS Mus. 397-400 and MSS Mus. 401-2 two partbook sets), MSS Mus. 403-8, a complete set of six partbooks and MSS Mus. 436, an organ-book.	• "Là tra'l sangue e le morti" • "Sovra tenere herbette" • "O com'è gran martire" • "Voi pur da me partite" • "Luci seren'è chiare"	Five madrigals by Monteverdi in a complete set of six partbooks containing English consort music and Italian madrigals, copied by John Lilly, 1630s. Nos. (specifically those given by copyist) 6, 8, 9, 22, 23. No 7 is Richard Mico's version of "Là tra'l sangue e le morti". Titles and attributions of nos.1-24 were added by Aldrich. Mus. 2 omits "Voi pur da me partite", "Luci seren'è chiare", and both Mus. 397-400 and Mus. 401-2 omit all Italian madrigals.
MSS Mus. 14	• "Tu dormi, ah crudo cor" • "Al lume delle stelle" • "Non è di gentil core" • "Parlo, miser, o taccio?"	Four madrigals by Monteverdi among English and Italian madrigals copied by John Blow in mid-1670s. Nos. 26, 28-30. The recto of rear endleaf [iii] bears a pencil drawing of a cloaked figure with the inscription 'Spalle e Cerebro' ('Shoulders and Head'). Thought to be Aldrich bequest due to bookplate, but does contain Goodson annotations.
MSS Mus. 44	"Luci serene a chiare"	One madrigal by Monteverdi. English consort music, madrigal-fantasias and Italian madrigals, copied in score by Thomas Myriell (and later additions by Benjamin Cosyn) in first quarter of 17th century. Italian madrigals include text incipits and a reference to the original source of the madrigals (only 3 Italian madrigals, two of which by Marenzio), also notably neater

[152] Milsom, "Christ Church Library Music Catalogue." The inclusion of 'MSS' for manuscripts is specifically not an approach Christ Church takes (to avoid confusion with their other manuscript collections), simply using 'Mus.' for both print and manuscript; I have included it to differentiate between the two modes. Sometimes Monteverdi's works will be in manuscript form bound alongside print works by other composers; these are still labelled 'MSS', referring to Monteverdi's music, not the collection as a whole. Additional, personal observations have been added in 'Description' column. There are a few general things to note about the collection. The condition of works is very varied; some are in perfect condition; others show signs of wear and tear (very literally). It is not noted anywhere at what point issues like severe water damage or tears happened, so we are left to speculate about when use leading to damage occurred. In the case of Mus. 502-7, the Pallavicino work *Il quarto libro de madrigali* (1607) is in notably poorer condition than the other tracts, suggesting that Aldrich acquired the work in a poor state, and rebound it to help with its preservation. Damage by liquids, food debris, ink stains, tears from turning pages (differentiated from damage incurred during or as a result of the rebinding process), all could indicate use, but dating these incidences is very difficult. Sadly, these are the only signs of use I have encountered so far; there are no obvious signs of performance indicated by, say, numbers in pencil above notes to suggest length of note. In terms of manuscripts, the copyists are all either known or have been speculatively attributed, which is novel in comparison to the Goodson collection, and the Monteverdi manuscripts at the British Library, for example. Aldrich had nothing to do with attributing manuscripts to copyists, it is largely thanks to the Hatton connection that many of the manuscript copyists have been identified. Nonetheless, it makes Aldrich's collection quite special.

		than the other works in the book. Otherwise textless.
MSS Mus. 67	• "Ond'ei di morte" • "La tra'l sangu'e le morti" • "O com'è gran martire" • "Sovra tenere herbette"	Four madrigals by Monteverdi. Organ parts for anthems, madrigals and instrumental consort music, copied by various scribes; Monteverdi copied by Thomas Myriell (or his assistance, tentatively identified as Giles Tomkins); English, c. 1620. Corresponding Alto partbook in British Library, Add. MSS 29427. All other parts lost.
Mus. 264-6	• "Exulta filia Sion" (1) • "Exultent coeli et gaudeant angeli" (25) • "Salve [o] Regina" (38)	Three sacred motets by Monteverdi in Lorenzo Calvi's *Quarta raccolta de sacri canti*[…], Vincenti 1629. Three partbooks (*Canto*, *Alto*, *Basso*) from an otherwise lost set of five (missing *Tenor*e and *Basso Continuo*). The original wrappers are annotated with voice-names and 'Calvi 1. 2. 3. & 4. voci' in an unidentified 17thc. hand.
Mus. 267-72	*…Il terzo libro di madrigali a cinque voci…*	Complete set of six partbooks. Third book of madrigals, Phalèse 1615 ed. Unidentified mid-17th century hand on original wrapper of each partbook says 'Monteverdes 5. Partes' and voice name. The same hand is visible in one of Aldrich's copies of Dering's *Canzonette a quattro voci* (1620; Mus. 320-3), as well as in the following two Monteverdi works (see below).
Mus. 273-8	*…Il quarto libro di madrigali a cinque voci…*	Complete set of six partbooks. Fourth book of madrigals, Phalèse 1615 ed. Unidentified mid-17th century hand on original wrapper of each partbook says 'Monteverdes 5. Partes' and voice name.
Mus. 279-82	*…Il quinto libro di madrigali a cinque voci…*	Four partbooks from an otherwise lost set of six (*Canto*, *Alto*, *Tenore*, *Basso*). Fifth book of madrigals, Phalèse 1615 ed. Unidentified mid-17th century hand on original wrapper of each partbook says 'Monteverdes 5. Partes' and voice name, followed by a decorative spiral flourish.
Mus. 502-7 (tracts 5 & 6)	*…libro di madrigali…*	Books 3 and 4 of madrigals, bound with other composers: Guami, Pecci, Agazzari (x2), [Monteverdi 3 & 4], Vecchi (x2), Rimonte, Dering, Pallavicino. Complete set of six partbooks. 3; Phalèse, 1615 ed. 4; Phalèse, 1615 ed.
Mus. 533-7 (tracts 2-4), Mus. 283 (tracts 1-3)	*Ibid*	Books 3-5 of madrigals, 533-7 bound with Marenzio(1). Complete set of six partbooks. 3; Phalèse, 1615 ed. 4; Phalèse, 1615 ed.
Mus. 581-5	*…Il quarto libro di madrigali*	Five partbooks from an incomplete set of six

	a cinque voci…	– missing *Quinto*. Fourth book of madrigals, Phalèse 1615 ed.
Mus. 795 (tract 1)	*L'Orfeo[.] Favola in musica…*	*L'Orfeo*, Amadino 1615 ed. Bound with other composers: [Monteverdi], Fontei, Bonini, Polidori, Saracini (x2), Merula, Cifra, D'India (x3), Romano (contains multiple composers).
Mus. 796 (tract 5)	*Scherzi musicali a tre voci…*	*Scherzi musicali*, Amadino 1615 ed. Bound with other composers: Fornaci, Caccini (x2), Cecchino, [Monteverdi], Calestani, Orlandi. Part of Hatton collection and thought to have been part of Aldrich, but has not yet been matched with any 18th - c. catalogue entries. The outside upper cover has been annotated by Stephen Bing: 'Amorosi Respiri Musicali di don Giacomo Fornaci'. The *Dichiaratione della Lettera* has been excluded from the end, presumably by printer.
MSS Mus. 877-80	• "T'amo mia vita" • "Ahi com'a un vago sol" • "Cruda Amarilli" • "Non è di gentil core"	Four madrigals by Monteverdi arranged for two ("Non è di gentil core") and three ("T'amo mia vita", "Ahi com'a un vago sol", "Cruda Amarilli") voices with original Italian text. Part of 'Layer 3', speculatively attributed to Notari's hand (which only occurs in 878 and 880); Layers 1&2 are Dering sacred motets copied by Bing, Jeffries and an anonymous hand (878-880); Layers 4&5 are prints: John Wilson, Psalterium Carolinum (London, 1657) (877-880) and Walter Porter, *Mottets of two voyces for treble or tenor and bass* (London, 1657) (878-880); Layers 6&7 are manuscripts of *Basso* parts for Italian madrigals (880 only). In 880 on the front flyleaf's verso, the Aldrich Associate wrote a description of the set's contents: 'Mr Jeffrey's Collection of Songs / Dr Wilson's Psalterium Carolinum / Mr Walter Porter's Mottets / Thorough Base to the Prince of Venosas 5 parts &c'.
Mus. 881-6 (tracts 11-17)	*…libro di madrigali…*	Books 1-7 of madrigals, bound with other composers: Schütz, Vitali, Dering (x2), D'India, Delipari, Cremonese, Bellante, Della Ciaja, D'Inda (again), [Monteverdi 1-7], Bernardi. Complete set of six partbooks. 1; Magni, 1621 ed. 2; Magni, 1621 ed. 3; Magni, 1621 ed. 4; Magni, 1622 ed.

		5; Magni, 1620 ed. 6; Magni, 1620 ed. 7; Magni, 1628 ed.
Mus. 922-5 (tract 5)	• "Exulta filia Sion" (no.1) • "Exultent coeli et gaudeant angeli" (no.25) • "Salve [o] Regina" (no.38)	Lorenzo Calvi's *Quarta raccolta de sacri canti*[…], (as in entry for Mus. 264-6). Bound with other composers. Complete set of our partbooks apart from Calvi which is missing a *Basso*, thus Monteverdi not present in Mus. 925.

The Aldrich collection, which became known as the Aldrich bequest after he donated it to Christ Church upon his death in 1710, was remarkable. In 1798 Charles Burney noted: 'For masses, motets, madrigals, and anthems of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the collection is the most complete of any that I have had an opportunity of consulting'.[153] There were an estimated 8,000 compositions in Aldrich's collection, which were gifted to Christ Church, so many that they had to set up a whole room in the library to contain the works;

> At a Chapt[e]r then held It was orderd that Two persons be employd to make a Catalogue of the Late Dean Aldrichs Books. And that a Room be fitted upp at the Neither end of the Library for the reception of the s[ai]d Late Deans prints & Musick Books (Christ Church Archives, D&C i.b.5, f. 5v).

Milsom, as part of his online cataloguing of Christ Church's music collection, has been able to identify specific features of Aldrich's collection-making that tie specific works to him, as Aldrich did not keep a catalogue of all his works, nor use bookplates. The 'Aldrich binding' has been one of the methods used to identify works from his collection. He had many of the works rebound in brown leather and reorganised (loosely) by genre. Spines read either 'FANT' (fantasias - all manuscripts), 'MAD' (madrigals) and 'MOT' (motets, both majority print works). 'MAD' and 'MOT' are the most elaborate in terms of decoration – their spines are decorated with gold leaf and an elaborate monogram containing all the letters of 'Henry Aldrich'. These three classifications have then been further subcategorised by number of partbooks/voices, to help organise the 100 volumes with this semi-uniform binding, while 30 volumes differ from this type of binding. Reorganising the works like

[153] Charles Burney, *A General History of Music* III (London: J. Robson and G. Robinson, 1789), 601.

this was a complex, time-consuming, and likely expensive process. It involved delicately unbinding printed works and then rebinding them with other prints, or even with manuscripts, and finally, having a decorative cover added.[154] Other features, such as watermarks (which Milsom has analysed), and different binding techniques/tools, have helped identify works as from Aldrich's collection. Aldrich appears not to have worked on his collection alone, there is an unidentified 'Aldrich Associate' who provided a contents list for most of the tract volumes (likely in some cases to have been the one responsible for some of the manuscripts' attributions). The Associate and Aldrich were contemporaries, as Aldrich annotated one of the Associate's lists (MAD C Mus. 611). Although his rebinding project has likely contributed to the preservation and survival of these works, it has removed any vestiges of provenance beyond his ownership. While we know he acquired the Hatton collection (and can cross-reference manuscripts and prints known to have been of Hatton provenance with those apparently owned by Aldrich), everything beyond this unknown, aside one case. Aldrich's annotation in tract 3 (Graziani, 1667) of Mus. 887-92 states 'This set of books I borrow'd of Mr Tim.[othy] Nourse near Paynswick Glou[cester]', providing the only other hint at provenance. Nourse was a contemporary of Aldrich, associated with the University of Oxford before taking up holy orders and controversially converting to Catholicism.[155] He may have acquired Graziani's works through his extended travels to France, Italy and the Low Countries.

Aldrich's collection represents a significant portion of the music in Christ Church's library. It is unknown how much use his collection got after his death. Aside from forming a large part of library, it is unclear if the sources were used practically again, other than by those who have catalogued and re-catalogued the Christ Church music collection since Aldrich's bequest, such as Dowding, Hind, Burney, Malchair and Arkwright, and most recently, Milsom. Monteverdi's inclusion in Aldrich's collection suggests both that his music was an object of desire from the perspective of an Italophile

[154] Milsom, "The Music Collection at Christ Church: resources for research into the provenance history of individual items," Christ Church Library Music Catalogue (last modified 2008). See section on "Aldrich Binding".
[155] David Souden, "Nourse, Timothy (c.1636-1699)," *Oxford Dictionary National Biography* 2004, accessed 20th Feb. 2023.

collector, and that his music was in an environment where it could have been aurally disseminated among music students, amateur musicians and a variety of audience members. In terms of the Monteverdi works in Aldrich's collection, it is notable that he had multiple copies of the same print work. Aldrich owned five copies of the fourth book of madrigals, for example. He collected manuscripts, some that were well-presented such as (MSS Mus. 14), some that were rather messy, full of corrections and errata slips (such as MSS Mus. 44). These facts could indicate that Aldrich was interested in collecting a large quantity of music, rather than any of particular quality or visual appeal. He clearly valued aesthetic, however, as his most intricately decorated bound copies show; the beautiful, gold-plated spines and uniformity of the Aldrich binding befits display on a bookcase. It would be interesting to know which works he obtained from the Hatton collection and which he obtained elsewhere, as this would allow greater insight into his personal taste. Obtaining a job lot of items that happened to contain works by Monteverdi is categorically different from actively seeking out Monteverdi's works. Mus. 267-82, for example, contains three 1615 editions; one each of the third, fourth and fifth book of madrigals, all of which are not thought to have been acquired along with the Hatton collection. Aldrich would have received books 1-7 of Monteverdi's madrigals as part of the Hatton collection, so why was he interested in these works? These also are not bound in the Aldrich fashion. When he owned them, they would have been in original condition with grey paper covers (now with c.20th-century binding). Did he acquire these before the Hatton collection? Were they kept unbound so that they were easier to use? Was he interested in acquiring different editions of the same works? Aldrich's collection-making and possible performance of Monteverdi is a fascinating case study, but perhaps most notable was the care he took to add attributions and titles to the Italian works in the Great Set. This, perhaps more than anything, points to his engagement with the Italian composers specifically, and thus with the music's context and provenance.

Christ Church holds more treasures in a search for Monteverdi's dissemination in Britain. We now turn to the other significant collection of music books and manuscripts at Christ Church, collected in the main by Richard Goodson Sr (c.1655-1718) and bequeathed to the library in 1743 by his son,

Richard Goosdon Jr (1688-1741). Both men were organists of Christ Church cathedral, Professors of music at the Music School, and music teachers of the choristers, as well as of amateur musicians within Oxford. Goodson Sr is described by Milsom as having been a music collector, and his son, though less so, was ultimately responsible for giving the Goodson collection to Christ Church, and has left his mark on many of the works in the collection through annotations. Three of the works in the Goodson bequest contain Monteverdi; all are in manuscript form.[156]

Table 4.5: Monteverdi works in the 'Goodson Bequest'.

Shelfmark	Name	Description
Mus. 21	• "La piaga ch'ho nel core", • "Cor mio, mentre vi miro" • "Volgea l'anima mia" • "Cor mio, non mori?" (opening only)	Four madrigals by Monteverdi. Nos. 109-112 in manuscript scorebook. Three scribal layers – Monteverdi in Layer 2, scribe unknown, c.1630s. Titles and attributions included, as is 'Ittalian', but otherwise textless. Layer 1 contains Gibbons and Coperario (unknown scribe) c. 1620s, Layer 3 contains Benjamin Rogers in autograph, c. 1673-85. Possible provenance before Rogers discussed in manuscript section of main text.
Mus. 527-30, Mus. 1024	• "O com'è gran martire" • "Là tra'l sangue e le morti" • "Luci seren'è chiare"	Three madrigals by Monteverdi. Nos. 5-7 in complete set of five partbooks containing instrumental works and textless madrigals. Copyist unidentified, English, c. 1630-50; later additions by Richard Goodson Jr, c. 1730. Annotations throughout. Discussed in main text in 'Usage' section.
Mus. 623-6	• "Vaga su spina" • "Eccomi pronta"	Two madrigals by Monteverdi. Nos. 16 &17 in complete set of four manuscript partbooks containing Italian madrigals, motets and English anthems, copied by Henry Bowman c.1670-85. Quite formal, neat books. Virtually no attributions of works aside some English composers and one Carissimi. Fully texted, however, and looks as if it could have been copied from a print source given the attention given to the text setting, although the lack of accents on words like 'è' could counter this. Unidentified hand in 623's annotated flyleaf 'Medius Cantoris'. 624 a few corrections to lyrics and music. 625 contains financial jottings by Goodson Jr. Correction to lyrics in Eccomi pronta (5th system), and '17' written over rests at end of 3rd system. 626 incorrectly names "Vaga su spina" 'Vaga sospina'.

[156] Milsom, Christ Church Library Music Catalogue. 'MSS' label not used as all sources are manuscript. Additional, personal observations added in "Description" column.

The four partbooks in Mus. 623-6 contain signs of use, beyond their use as collectors' items. They are also interesting for their date; late seventeenth century, when madrigals were less popular than English sacred and concerto music. The Monteverdi works included are from his more modern-feeling seventh book of madrigals, which contains *ritornelli*, a feature that became popular in English music, and one likely not lost on the partbooks' scribe, Henry Bowman. Bowman seems to have been based in Oxford from birth (fl.1669-1685), and may have been related to the printers Francis and Thomas Bowman.[157] Bowman copied English and Italian music, as well as composing his own; although he did not hold an academic position at the university (nor receive any qualifications), he was engaged with the Music School, having composed a work for a meeting there in 1674. He also created Act songs for university graduations. Bowman manuscripts, which amount to some 18, present a mixture of Italian and English music. His print book *Songs for 1 2 & 3 Voyces* (Oxford: Henry Clerke, 1677) shows signs of Italian influence, namely in the use of *ritornelli* for violins and continuo. It seems natural, then, that Bowman chose works from Monteverdi's seventh book of madrigals to include in Mus. 623-6.

Bowman's hand is very neat, his work seems both competent and confident, and is ultimately clear to read. In the main, he did not attribute works in Mus. 623-6, but he did set the lyrics in full, as if for vocal performance. Another sign that he considered the performance of the works was the inclusion of small numbers over long (and complex-looking to the uninitiated) rests. In Mus. 625's "Eccomi pronta" there is a small '17' written above the cluster of rests at the end of the third system (bar 11). Bowman's was not the only hand present in the works, however; Richard Goodson Jr's is also present. Mus. 625 contains financial jottings by Goodson Jr; it is unclear what these refer to, but could these be relating to the cost of acquiring the partbooks?[158] Alternatively, could they relate to performers and their pay? Why Goodson Jr believed this book an appropriate place for such jottings

[157] Peter Holman, "Bowman, Henry," *Grove Music Online* 2001, accessed 23rd Mar. 2023.
[158] Three prices listed vertically: '01-10-00', '01-00-00', '01-05-00'.

could relate to the work's usage (perhaps as a performance work, with performers' pay being noted). Perhaps it is simply indicative of how Goodson Jr treated his collection.

Some manuscripts from the Goodson bequest contain significant signs of usage. Mus. 527-30, 1024 contain three works by Monteverdi; "O com'è gran martire", "Là tra'l sangue e le morti" (both *terzo libro)* and "Luci seren'è chiare" (*libro quarto*), all without text, but with attribution to 'Claude Montevrde', 'Claud Monteverde' or just 'Monteverde' (these three different spellings were used consecutively in Mus. 530). The book with most signs of use is the 'B[assus]', Mus. 530, which contains pen-trials, doodles, plentiful corrections and cut-outs. There are a few names which give us clues to who used the books. Providing further insight, Mus. 529 contains a list of choristers (identified by Milsom) with pay information, pointing further towards the books' usage.[159] These books are associated with Richard Goodson Jr, due to the reiterations of Richard Goodson F[i]lius written on the flyleaf (verso) of Mus. 530. Goodson Jr's hand writes 'Richard Goodson Eijus Liber Anno Domini 1733', which would have made him about 45 at the time. This is a little late for the present investigation, but this is probably the latest addition to the book (save the 19th-century bookplate). 'Richard Goodson' also appears inside the cover of Mus. 529, though in a different hand (possibly that of his father, although Milsom believes this is still Goodson Jr). Mus. 529 shows signs of whole pages being cut out, with one remaining stub bearing the initials R.P. (and smudged-out writing on the verso). In addition to Goodson(s), a 'John Wheeler' reiterated his name several times over the same flyleaf of Mus. 530, and inside the book cover, alongside some doodles of circles. The name 'Gregory' is crossed out from the top right of the flyleaf (recto), which could link the book to [?Francis] Gregory, a chorister in 1728, mentioned in Goodson Jr's list. The words 'porq' and 'por' are written on the flyleaf (recto), seemingly in a different hand than any other so far (at the very least a different pen).

[159] Choristers identified as: [Thomas] Lee [= chorister, 1724]; [William] Pinkeney [= chorister, 1725, singing man 1732, chaplain 1736]; [Will] Hale [= chorister, 1728]; [?Francis] Gregory [= chorister, 1728]; [William] Jefferies [= chorister, 1729]; [William] Hedges [= chorister, 1729]; [William] Hind [= chorister, 1730]; [William] Pearton [= chorister, 1730]. See: "Mus. 527-30, Mus. 1024," Christ Church Library Music Catalogue.

In Mus. 530, Monteverdi's "O com'è gran martire" has no title (unlike the others which have single-word titles), and begins with a correction – the second and third notes have been scribbled out and replaced by the correct notes (d and c). Such an error is common in these books, although Monteverdi's works fare better than many. Other corrected errors in Monteverdi's works include, in Mus.1024 (Treble part, or Quintus in Monteverdi) "Là tra'l", a smudged out note which looks to have accidentally encompassed the top ledger line in the middle of the first system, and an extra note, scribbled out at the end of the same system. This was the work of the as yet unknown scribe, known as the 'tremulous hand' by Milsom. Despite the much later annotations from Goodson Jr, the books are believed to have been copied between 1630s-1650s. Could these have been a result of the musical hub at Christ Church during the royal residence? The pieces have not only been copied, but slightly changed. For example, when a section of Monteverdi's music is particularly repetitive in order to match the syllables of the lyrics, the scribe will decrease the number of notes by using minims rather than the original number of crotchets. This is likely to enable instrumental performance of the music, which makes the presence of chorister-references seem slightly odd. That is, of course, unless the books were used as teaching aides, and were themselves copy sources, which, given the Goodsons' roles as music teachers, does not seem too unreasonable an assumption.

At the back of Mus. 530, John Wheeler returns with further annotations. His name appears next to some fragmented music written at the end of Thomas Lupo's "Fantasia a5". This music doesn't look to relate to Lupo's piece, though it is difficult to tell as a portion of the page has been cut out. Ink remaining on the edge of this cut-out space suggests there was something occupying this section of stave and margin before it was removed. In the remaining margin, there are what look to be practice attempts at drawing clefs, namely treble clefs. If the identity of John Wheeler were able to be determined, that would surely give more clues as to the use of these books.[160] However, as it stands,

[160] Finding a John Wheeler who aligns with the dates of these books is tricky. The books formed part of the Goodson bequest, though I would argue that they could have been part of Christ Church's collection, or the

it seems possible that the books were used as copy sources themselves, perhaps as an aide to their users' own composition or copying skills.

Although we can assess the quality of manuscripts to attempt to make predictions about their purpose or use, it is virtually impossible, in many cases, to know whether a manuscript was evidence of practice. The Purcell errata slip is, therefore, an unusually evidential work, pointing to the composer's notation or composition practice. The slip is a fragment of "Cruda Amarilli" in Henry Purcell's handwriting – the copy was cut up and a section was pasted into a 'hastily copied' (rather a 'fowle originall', to use a contemporary term)[161] onto his manuscript of *Benedicite in B flat* (1680s).[162] It is attractive to think of Purcell choosing to copy out Monteverdi, particularly as madrigals had fallen out of vogue by this time (1659-1695), although as we have seen in Bowman's work, it was not unheard of. Perhaps it was due to the influence of Henry Cooke, who tutored Purcell in music, and was (as mentioned) employed by the Hattons for a time, thus having access to their Monteverdi collection. I have been able to conclusively identify one of Monteverdi's works which was copied into a manuscript collection now held at Westminster Abbey: GB-*Lwa* CG 63 "Tu dormi? Ah crudo core", from *settimo libro*.[163] Westminster also houses two print copies of the

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Music School's, since their creation, particularly if they were indeed copied in Oxford. The only John Wheeler who corresponds with the dates was commemorated in an elegy by Francis Quarles (1592-1644), poet, London city chronicler and royalist. In the elegy (printed in London, 1637), John Wheeler's musicianship is lauded; he is called 'more than a scholar of that scared art', and his skilfulness at scribal activities is alluded to. Quarles described him as a studier of 'books and men'. These are the only descriptions of what Wheeler did for a living or in a practical sense, the rest of the elegy focusses on his personality and Quarles' mourning, so one assumes these were significant features of his life. Could Wheeler have been the same as in GB-*Och* Mus. 527-30, 1024; could he even have been the scribe? Could Quarles have taken custody of his music books after his death, and handed them to royalists in Oxford during the Civil War? The elegy is hardly enough evidence to make any rational assumptions, but it is, at least, a start. For the elegy, see: Francis Quarles, *An elegie vpon my deare brother, the Ionathan of my heart, Mr. Iohn Wheeler, sonne to Sir Edmond Wheeler of Riding Court neare Windsor, in the County of Buckingham, deceased* (London: Thomas Coates for Alsop and Nichols, 1637). There were a number of John Wheelers matriculated at the University of Oxford in the 17th and early-18th centuries, though none with an explicit link to music. See "West-Wicksted," in John Foster ed. *Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714* (Oxford: University of Oxford, 1891).

[161] Herissone identified this as Purcell's first draft. See: Rebecca Herissone, ""Fowle Originalls" and "Fayre Writeing": Reconsidering Purcell's Compositional Process," *The Journal of Musicology* 4, vol. 23 (2006), 574 & 586.

[162] Wainwright, "Dissemination and influence of Monteverdi's music in England," 116.

[163] Wainwright documented "Tu dormi? A crudo core", CG 63 in his list of surviving British Monteverdi manuscripts, which concludes his "Dissemination and Influence of Monteverdi in England", 121. However, he did not state how he had come by this identification, and Westminster Abbey had not identified a Monteverdi

seventh book of madrigals and one of the posthumous ninth),[164] where Purcell was a chorister (later appointed copyist). Purcell is unlikely to have been responsible for the copy – H. Diack Johnstone suspects the work to have originated in Oxford due to its similarities to other manuscripts, such as GB-*Ob* Mus. Sch. 9.[165] The printed books show some signs of interaction; in CF 38 (1641 ed.) all but the *Alto* partbook have 'Ex libris J. Abdy Mont[j?] 20. 1649' written in the top left corner of the cover. The *Canto* book from CF 37 (1628 ed. which retains paratexts) displays the remnants of an admirer; a large, red-ink heart has been drawn on the cover, possibly the work of a chorister. Speculation aside, that Purcell did make a copy of at least one of Monteverdi's madrigals gives credence to the idea that the latter's music was used by musicians as a learning aide, particularly after the works had gone out of fashion, thus perhaps enabling the scores to be copied as they were not needed for performance.

Performance

Performances of Monteverdi's works could have taken place in the weekly concerts established during the royal residence at Christ Church. It appears that Professor Wilson maintained these concerts even during the Commonwealth era, into the Restoration. When Edward Lowe took over from Wilson, organising the weekly recitals was a significant part of his role. The popularity of weekly concerts seems to have given rise to something more, however. Wilson and Lowe are known

work in CG 63; nor was there any record of one in other literature (as far as I could tell). Johnstone theorised that the piece was by Sances in his report to Westminster Abbey – see note 163 for more information on the report. The manuscript is titled "Tu dormi", and is fully texted. Sections where repeated lyrics are abbreviated with 'ij' in print out are written out in full. There are missing accidentals, some of which correspond with the introduction of barlines in the manuscript, some of which seem random errors. Only one seemingly conscious rearrangement has been made, which is the lowering of a bass note down an octave to create a large leap in the bass line; mm. 24 in the manuscript copy, and between the lyrics 'tosa ah' in the print version(s). Rather than comparing the manuscript with a modern edition, I compared the manuscript to the original 1619 print, and with the 1628 and 1641 editions (housed in Westminster Abbey) to see if there was a link with those particular prints. There is not, as far as I can tell; the textual nuances of the manuscript, including making plurals feminine or singular (pianti becomes piante, beni becomes bene) are unique to the manuscripts and are not seen in the print copies.

[164] GB-*Wa*: CF 37 *settimo libro de madrigali*, Venice 1628 ed.; CF 38 *Concerto: settimo libro de madrigali, con altri generi de canti*, 1–4, 6vv., Venice 1641 ed.; CF 39 *Madrigali e canzonetta…Libro Nono*, Venice 1651.

[165] H. Diack Johnstone, "Westminster Abbey and the Academy of Ancient Music: A Library Once Lost and now Partially Restored," *Music & Letters* 3, vol. 95 (2014): 329-373. The comparison to GB-*Ob* Mus. Sch. 9 was given in a report made by Johnstone and given to Westminster Abbey, expanding upon his article referenced here. I am grateful to Westminster Abbey for their help.

to have attended weekly music meetings at the home (and tavern) of William Ellis, former organist of St John's college before his role was suppressed during the Civil War. Ellis was also a member of the Oxford waits, the official city ensemble of performers. Anthony Wood attended Ellis' meetings, along with other regulars and guest attendees, such as John Gamble and Thomas Baltzar.[166] Another club was set up by Magdalen alum Narcissus Marsh, then fellow of Exeter College, c.1658, and transferred with him to St Alban Hall, where he was principle from 1673. Marsh became Provost of Trinity College Dublin in 1679, and he brought works by Monteverdi to Archbishop Marsh's Library in Dublin.[167] Henry Aldrich, as mentioned, also took on the mantle of hosting weekly music meetings in his home, making the most of his extensive music collection. These clubs, on top of the extant musical institutions of the cathedral, university band and Music School (when it was open), must have provided ample opportunity for the performance of works at the members' disposal which likely included Monteverdi, given his prevalence in the manuscripts of the Oxford Bodleian and Christ Church archives. It is possible that the musical activity associated with the makeshift court made some sort of return during the royal visit in 1665, where, to avoid the plague in London, Charles II, Queen Catherine and the English parliament (along with several other nobles) set up court in Oxford, with Christ Church resuming its role as the King's base.

Another notable account of performances comes from Anthony Wood's diaries of his life at the University of Oxford. According to Wood, in May 1669, Duke Cosimo III de'Medici visited the Music School for performances during a visit to the University of Oxford, and that Withy played a 'division'; a coloratura-style melody built of variations on a theme, layered over a bass ostinato (reminiscent of operatic ornamentation, and a product of the Italian-stylised musical movement).[168] There was also a vocal performance by student named 'Crispine', and the following day, another visit to the music school included a performance from organ and viols, and a Latin song. While Monteverdi is unlikely

[166] Robert Thompson, "Ellis, William." *Grove Music Online* 2018, accessed 26th Mar. 2023.
[167] EIRE-*Dm* Z3.4.6-12.
[168] Anthony à Wood and Andrew Clark, "The Life and times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary, of Oxford, 1632-1695, described by Himself," 156-161.

to have featured in these performances, the inclusion of works in imitation of Italian compositions is notable. It showcases the appropriation of Italian musical culture by British musicians, who displayed their assimilation of the culture to a prominent Italian, which may have been intended as a statement. It could also have served to pay homage to the Duke's native musical culture. To have performed this music at such an important event for the University must indicate a degree of pride in this assimilated identity.

The Royal Court was another place where performance of Monteverdi's music was more than likely to have occurred, thanks to the influence of figures such as Angelo Notari. Notari was a musician and Venetian agent (particularly between 1616-1619 when he served as an informant for the State Inquisitors of Venice), who was noted for his *Prime musiche nuove* (London: Engraved by W. Hole, 1613), as well as his manuscripts.[169] Notari entered the employ of Prince Henry Stuart in 1610, and after the Prince's untimely death in 1612, did not formerly enter again into royal service until 1617 (after likely returning to Venice for a time), when he began working for Prince Charles Stuart. Despite their Protestant religion and an impetus to convey nationalistic sentiments, the royal family seem to have had Italianate musical tastes – Notari was not the only Italian in their service, nor the only member of the court's musical retinue to champion Italian techniques. Henry Cooke, who served as Christopher Hatton III's children's music tutor, was said to have introduced Italian techniques to the Chapel Royal, after, as Wainwright suggested, he had been inspired by the Hattons' music collection (which notably contained some of Monteverdi's works).[170] Charles II, upon his restoration to the throne, formed an Italian ensemble to perform works for him, possibly inspired by his mother's apparent love for Italian music; her hiring of Italian-stylised musicians such as Dering and Mico cannot have been a coincidence.[171]

[169] Alana Mailes, "'Much to deliver in your honour's ear': Angelo Notari's Work in Intelligence, 1616–1623," *Early Music History* 39 (2020): 220.
[170] Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England*, 25.
[171] E. Lebedinski, "'Obtained by peculiar favour, & much difficulty of the Singer': Vincenzo Albrici and the Function of Charles II's Italian Ensemble at the English Restoration Court," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 2, vol.143 (2018), 333.

Conclusion

The transfer of Monteverdi's music to Britain came as a result of the development of Italianate and Italophilic tastes; the dissemination of his works, in turn, was driven by a network of musicians and collectors with such tastes. Having situated Monteverdi's music in the variety of contexts in which it was collected, copied, performed and borrowed from, it is evident that treatment of his music fluctuated, and was connected to usage. For example, Walter Porter's use of Monteverdi as a model to enable his composition in specifically Italian ways, at first unrecognised by Porter, then acknowledged in the hopes of improving his circumstances. Another example, the manuscript editions containing texted madrigals show treatment of the works as whole entities, allowing for their performance vocally and enabling attribution to Monteverdi where his name is lacking from works (see Mus. 623-6). A third, the Purcell errata slip showing Monteverdi's work in the context of learning and practice, torn up and used to correct his own first-draft piece.

Generally, the evidence of usage tends to show Monteverdi's music as a model in some form or another. This is evident in the 'borrowing' compositions of Dering, in the 'Latral' rearrangement by Mico, the tutor trope used by Porter, but also in the manuscript works that betray the informality of a practicing hand, where corrections are rife and there are signs of continued use (for example, Mus. 527-30). The latter form of model is very different, for it does not necessarily imply any musical influence in the sense of composition, nor any knowledge of or engagement with Monteverdi as a musician (by comparison to the first three examples). However, it is significant, as it is a different, more mundane view of how Monteverdi's music was actually used, treated and thought of in 17th-century Britain. The musical culture in Britain during this century of turmoil changed vastly between the first and second halves, but it is worth noting that Monteverdi's music was still being used as a model at the turn of the century. While the music may have become unpopular in a performance context, it was still present in books associated with the education of choristers.

In terms of print as a mode of transmission, we are perhaps left with more questions than answers, owing to the dearth of surviving information. Did demand for specific works ensure their being stocked, or did the booksellers respond to general demand, be it for specific genres, or works for different functions or musical cultures/nationalities? Did they just stock whatever they could get their hands on that would enable a decent markup? Were Monteverdi's works stocked because there was demand for them specifically, or because there were plenty of his print works available at a reasonable price, which could help satiate a general demand for Italian print music books in Britain? Robert Martin demonstrably stocked Monteverdi's works, and the loss of documentary evidence may lead us to speculate that he was not alone in this. The continued presence of Monteverdi on the English book market could point either to a specific demand for them, or a lack thereof, were stock carried over from year to year. Why did Martin stop stocking Monteverdi in 1650? Was it due to supply issues, aggravated by the English Civil War or high storage costs, meaning he could not restock after selling out, or was it because he had struggled to sell the remaining Monteverdi stock in 1640? Could he even have scrapped any copies that were not selling? Nevertheless, there is at least a starting point for further study, and a catalogue of surviving sources that give us interesting case studies on the transmission and dissemination of Monteverdi's music.

Some answers can still be proffered when we consider the use of these print works. Collection-making did not necessitate owning multiple copies of the same work (though some chose to, as in Aldrich's case), thus limiting demand for individual works. Manuscript-making (and possibly performance) technically only called for one print copy of each work. If Hamessley gives an accurate account of the manuscript network of early-modern Britain, very few print works would have been needed to meet demands, as manuscripts could be used in their place (such as Tenbury and Ellesmere – exact copies of prints enabling further manuscript copies). Despite growing literacy rates, the question of musical literacy, and of Italian literacy for that matter, is quite different. Other than in musical institutions such as Cathedrals, the Universities and the Royal Court, where would Monteverdi's print music have had an engaged audience (distinct from a potentially disengaged,

collector audience)? Private homes of musical aficionados likely, but how many of those were there in reality? The limited accessibility of his works for broader audiences could have contributed to a lack of demand. Add to that the overtones of anti-Catholic sentiment and associated suspicion of European culture, and Britain seems a hostile environment for Monteverdi's works. Other Italian music overcame all these potential setbacks, notably, works by his predecessors Pallavicino and Wert, and clearly, Monteverdi's music did too. That is not to suggest that there was any particular 'goal' in the transfer and dissemination of Monteverdi's music. Unlike in Italy, where building the brand was so important to Monteverdi and his quality of life, his music in Britain was utterly distinct from him; he was absent from proceedings once again. Those who benefitted from the popularity of Monteverdi's works were individuals who sold print copies, manuscript copyists with the skills to copy the music (and, if asked, the text), performers who wanted to exemplify the 'Italian style' of singing, and notably, composers who wanted to assimilate the 'Italian style' of composition.

Manuscripts, more often, indicate use – the 'consumption' of the music, taste, an engagement with the music's content, rather than its ability to brighten up a shelf. In Britain, there are 23 known surviving manuscript collections containing Monteverdi's works that were copied in the 17th century. Manuscripts, as discussed, could drive a wedge between composer and work, making them more elusive sources. It is also the case that as tastes changed, the informality (and lack of contextual information) of some manuscripts could lead to their destruction or being discarded – torn up into errata slips, for example. As is frequently the case in the Monteverdi manuscripts, an archivist or librarian was the one responsible for engaging with the authorship of his works, and well after their initial copy dates, attributing them to Monteverdi. This tended to happen in the 18th, 19th and early 20th centuries. A study of the attributors would be fascinating in and of itself. Manuscript collections, such as the Ellesmere and Tenbury partbooks and the Great Set, point to musical performance in private spaces being an important part of upper-class education and entertainment. During the Civil War, Hawkins noted that 'with the frequent hostilities that were carried on in different parts of the kingdom, during the usurpation, had driven music to a great degree out of private families',

highlighting the importance of private music-making.[172] As we know, Monteverdi's music formed a not-insignificant part of some collections, notably the Aldrich collection.

Despite in no way being considered widespread, Monteverdi's musical influence was present in Britain. This is most evident in the work of Richard Dering, whose borrowing shows the most intricate level of engagement with Monteverdi's music. "T'amo mia vita" illustrates a particularly thoughtful collection of references to Monteverdi's same-named piece, most notably during the recapitulation, where the intricate, overlapping borrowed motifs with subtle rhythm changes are written to be both screamingly obvious and deviously conspicuous.

[172] J. Hawkins. *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* IV (London: T. Payne, 1789), 323.

Making ‘Monteverdi’: Conclusion

This study separates the man Monteverdi from brand ‘Monteverdi’, in order to more pragmatically consider his historical position, and broaden the narratives around historical figures. While we are used to recognising the synthetic public personas of modern-day celebrities and public figures, the same cannot yet be said of historical figures. Nevertheless, the work of scholars such as Andie Silva with *The Brand of Print* (2019), Kirsten Gibsen with *“*Authorial Self-Fashioning” (2007) and Andrew Pettegree with *Brand Luther* (2015), among others, certainly offer significant points of departure for future scholarship. Public figures have always required a platform and the ability to market their personal brands; as we have seen, Monteverdi’s platform and marketing were provided by printers/publishers, and his brand narratives, namely his skills as a composer, were made evident through performances by star singers, such as Virginia Ramponi-Andreini (whose influence may have extended beyond performance to the creation of the music itself). Considering historical figures in this way allows for a more open, inclusive and practical view of their status, and for focus to fall onto others who receive less attention and acclaim in modern scholarship.

The importance of personal branding in ensuring the basic elements of recognition over works, let alone in garnering status and ‘making’ Monteverdi, has been reiterated throughout this thesis. In looking at Monteverdi’s music’s dissemination and treatment abroad, in the context of a discussion of the making of Monteverdi, one particular question feels pertinent. Could his music’s treatment ‘beyond the brand’ be considered ‘making’ ‘Monteverdi’ in any sense? As the case studies examined here suggest, the answer is complicated, dependent on the circumstances and mode of reception and transmission. The German-speaking lands model suggests ‘yes’, as through the dissemination of his music, his brand was immortalised in various ways (in Bernhard’s *Tractatus compositionis augmentatus*, for example), which is largely thanks to the transmission of both music and brand narratives by Schütz. Perhaps, then, the music can never truly be said to have moved ‘beyond the brand’ in many German-speaking lands, thanks to its mode of transmission. The Salzburg case suggests the opposite, for Monteverdi seems to have been unable to benefit from his music’s

performances; his name is specifically absent from the proceedings. Yet, it could be the case that the treatment of *Orfeo* subsequently encouraged both the 1615 reprint and further commitment to printing works, to ensure his authorship was aptly recognised, and thus contributing to his 'making'. Britain, too, is a complex case study. It is difficult to get a real sense of how known the Monteverdi brand was in Britain. Walter Porter's reference to Monteverdi could suggest that his name was of some worth. However, as it is a unique example (in the case of Monteverdi), and there is no effort made to explain or contextualise the reference, it seems more likely to have been made in adherence to a trope, intended to garner additional renown for British composers. This is brought into focus when Porter's reference is contextualised within 17th-century British print and paratextual culture. Perhaps 'Monteverdi' was 'un-made' by his contemporaries in Britain, who took the music and made it a part of their own brands, then, was 're-made' during the era of 20th-century revivalism, partially due to the preservation of works and the diffusion of Monteverdi's style in British music. This leads us to conclude that Monteverdi's brand, and contemporary knowledge thereof, was essential to his ability to benefit from his music's dissemination, reception, and popularity. Without the brand, some instances of his music's dissemination (etc.) are limited to forming our modern conception of Monteverdi, having done nothing to increase his contemporary fame or status.

The importance of print culture in the making of 'Monteverdi' has been central to this thesis. Print media was the means by which composers could make something of themselves publicly. Print was also an industry that was complex and multifaceted; from book-selling networks to patrons, paratexts to typefaces, pricing, labour costs; there are many elements to consider when assessing a printed work. Though a lot of information on these elements has not survived, some has, and further research into the role played by print culture in creating famous figures will surely be fruitful.

Studying the two operas, *L'Orfeo* (1607) and *L'Arianna* (1608), has brought to light the value of singers and performers by comparison to composers in the early modern era. It almost seems to

have taken Virginia Ramponi-Andreini growing bored of being 'Arianna' for Monteverdi to be able to publicly celebrate his authorship of the famous lament. This is despite the piece's influence on musical culture, the initiation of a musical genre, which took near-instant effect after the opera's premiere. The case of *Orfeo* in Salzburg shows, too, the ability for performers to eclipse and exclude composers from their own music. In a sense, performers are responsible for creating the works live on stage, and therefore are imbued with a sense of authority over the works, challenging that of the composer. This tension between performers and composers is worth further investigation; it challenges the persistent view of historical composers' significance as music's innovators and 'geniuses'.

Monteverdi's musical influence upon other composers, particularly those in different cultures, is fascinating to study. Discovering the musical borrowing of Richard Dering highlights the potential for further research, not only of Dering's music (to see if any other musicians were borrowed from, for instance), but into the multitude of other early-modern composers who created works inspired by 'foreign' pieces they copied out in manuscript. Of course, the danger of studying musical influence in this way is of perpetuating a 'linear progression' narrative or even implying a 'hierarchy' of music. This was certainly not my aim; musical borrowing and influence serve as interesting points of study to enable better understanding of compositional practices, the status of particular musicians, modes and methods of musical (and even cultural) dissemination and assimilation. From a personal perspective, it is also satisfying to shed new light on Monteverdi, a musician about whom many think there is nothing new to say.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Dedications from *Il terzo libro, Il quarto libro* and *Il quinto libro de madrigali* and the *Studiosi Lettori* (English translations included within body of chapter)

1.1. *Il terzo libro di madrigali*

Monteverdi, Claudio. *Il terzo libro de madrigali.* Venice: Ricciardo Amadino, 1592.

Al Serenissimo Signor
Et padron colendissimo
Il Signor Duca di Manova. Etc.

Da quell dì Serenissimo Principe. Che par mia rara ventura io venni a servire l'A. V. non ho mai havuto maggior pensiero, ne più sollecita cura, che d'operarae in modo ch'ella possa in qualche parte conoscere di non havere collocate la gratia sua in servidore inutile et ozioso, che si come ogni pianta che non sia sterile, dopo i fiori produce i frutti, cosi nella professione mia della Viuola che m'aperse la fortunate porta del suo servito, non manchi tuttavia di prestarle la debita servitù, nientedimeno e' non mi pare h'aver fatto fin quì servendola se non fiori: et che questi per esser più permanenti, a frutti più s'assimigliano, i quali hora con ogni riverenza possibile dedico a V. A. Serenissima supplicandola che si degni di benignamente gradirli: acerbi forse et insipidi al suo finissimo gusto, ma però conceputi et fatti per lei, et perciò non del tutto indegni della sua gratia: giovandomi di sperare che come il sole et per gli effetti che'n me produce, et pel valore che splende in lei, a gran raggione debbo chiamare, tanto sia per concedermi della sua usata benignità, che se 'l mio ingegno nel suono della Viuola per lei fiorí, per lei ancora maturando i suoi frutti possa più degnamente et più perfettamente servirla. Col qual fine humilmente inchinandomele resto pregando Di oche habbia sempre la Serenissima persona di V. A. in suo sentissima guardia. Di Mantova il di 27 giungno 1592.

Di V. A. Serenissima
Humilissimo e devotissimo Servitore
Claudio Monteverde.

1.2. *Il quarto libro di madrigali*

Monteverdi, Claudio. *Il quarto libro de madrigali.* Venice: Ricciardo Amadino, 1603.

Alli Illustrissimi
miei Signori, & Patroni osservandissimi

li Signori Accademici Intrepidi
di Ferrara.

Poichè gli anni passati io non potei presentare alcuni miei Madirgali à penna al Serenissimo Alfonso Duca di Ferrara, per la sopravegnente sua morte; Hora ch'è risorso in cotesta Città un Principe, e Capo d'una nobilissima schiera di Cavallieri amici, e operatori d'attoni virtuouse, raccolti dentro à numerosa Accademia, quale è cotesta di Voi Signori Illustrissimi; e trovandomi io non pur devotamente affetionato à tutti voi, ma perpetuamente obligato per li molti favori ricevuti con diverse honorate loro dimostrationi verso di mem e de miei parti quali si siano, ho stimato convenirmisi il non dipartirmi dalla medesima Città, alla quale sono molto inchinato, e riconoscere I medesimi Cavallieri miei Signori con dovuta gratitudine, presentando e dedicando loro come fò con tutto l'affetto dell'animo mio, i medesimi, e altri novi Madrigali hora stampati. Si degnino perciò le SS. VV. Illustrissime d'accettare, e gradire il dono, benchè picciolo, con quella grandezza d'animo, che è propria della virtù, del nasciamento, e della profession loro, illustrando con la chiarezza de lor nomi, e differndendo con la felice loro protettione, questi miei canti. Et io prego Dio, che par corrispondenza di tanto favore ogni dì accresca, e longamente mantenga l'ornamento, e splendore di così virtuosa, e fausta ragunanza, e alle gratie delle SS. VV. Illustrissime di vivo core mi raccomando. Di Mantova il dì primo di Marzo 1603.

Delle SS. VV. Illustrissime
Affetionatissimo, e obbligatissimo servitore
Claudio Monteverde.

1.3. *Il quinto libro de madrigali*

Monteverdi, Claudio. *Il quinto libro de madrigali.* Venice: Ricciardo Amadino, 1605.

Dedica:

Al Serenissimo Signore
D. Vincenzo Gonzaga
Duca di Mantova, et di Monferrato;
mio Signore.

Vengo à presentare a V. S. questo mio parto di Madrigali, supplicandola che si come non isdegnò d'udirli più volte nelle sue Regie Camere, mentre erano notate à penna, et udendoli diede segno di singolarmente gradirli, onde m'honorò del carico sopra la nobillissima sua Musica: così gran Prencipe vivranno eterna vita ad onta di quelle lingue, che cercano dar morte all'opere altrui. Sò resguardi al dono; ma all'affetto con che dono, che s'uno è picciolo l'altro è grande, anzi stenda l'orecchio della

benignità sua, che dalla picciolezza dell'uno, et dalla grandezza dell'altro sentirà un'armonia di basso, e di Sovrano, che à gara cantano gli honori, et le sue glorie cui l'eternezza bramo, et riverente m'inchino. Di Vinegia il di 30 di Luglio 1605.

Di V. A. Serenissima
Devotissimo servitore
Claudio Monteverde.

1.3i. *Il quinto libro de madrigali*

Studiosi Lettori

Non vi mervagliate ch'io dia alle stampe questi Madrigali senza prima rispondere alle oppositioni, che fece l'Artusi contro alcune minime particelle d'essi, perché send'io al servigio di questa Serenissima Altezza di Mantoa non son patrone di quell tempo che tal'hora mi bisognarebbe: hò nondimeno scritta la risposta per far conoscer ch'io non faccio le mie cose a caso, e tosto che sia rescritta uscirà in luce portando in fronte il nome di SECONDA PRATICA overo PERFETTIONE DELLA MODERNA MUSICA del che forse alcuni s'ammireranno non credando che vi sia altra prattica, che l'insegnata dal Zerlino; ma siano sicuri, che intorno alle consonanze, e dissonanze vi è anco un'altra consideration differente dalla determinata, la qual con quietanza della ragione, e del senso diffende il moderno comporre, e questo ho voluto dirvi si perché questa voce SECONDA PRATICA tal'hora non fosse occupata da altri, si perché anco gli ingegnosi possino fra tanto considerare altre seconde cose intorno al armonia, e credere che il moderno Compositore fabrica sopra li fondamenti della verità. Vivete felici.

Appendix 2: *Scherzi Musicali* dedication and *Dichiaratione*

2.1. *Scherzi Musicali*

Claudio Monteverdi, *Scherzi Musicali.* Ed. Giulio Cesare Monteverdi. Venice: Ricciardo Amadino, 1607.

Dedica:

Serenissimo Prencipe
Sig. et Patron Mio Colendissimo
[Prince Francesco Gonzaga]
E Antico, e con l'istesso culto introdotto costume d'offerire à Dio non solo preghiere mà donativi ancora. Ond'io, che dall' A. V. (che con Platone posso chiamar humano Dio) con qualche segno

d'offervanza vorrei farmi conoscer tale, quale in effetto mi sono, Vengo con questo picciol dono di SCHERZI MUSICALI à presentarmele inanzi, fiori, che nel bel Giardino delle regie camera di V. A. furono da Claudio mio Fratello seminati, e colti, offerendole con essi alcune mie picciole fatiche ancora, che nel mio povero horticello nutrite dalla natura, anzi che aiutate dall'arte sono in questa giusa cresciute. Sicuro che dalla magnanimità di V. A. nella picciolezza del dono, gradirà la grandezza del affetto del donatore, che ad altro fine per se stesso non tende, che a dedicarle con essi loro la sua povera persona, che all' A. V. inchinandosi, con ogni riverenza prega da Dio nostro Signore il colmo d'ogni prosperità.

Di Venetia il dì 21 di Luglio 1607.
Di V. A.
Humilissimo et devotissimo Servitore
Giulio Cesare Monteverde

2.2. *Scherzi Musicali*

Claudio Monteverdi, *Scherzi Musicali.* Ed. Giulio Cesare Monteverdi. Venice: Ricciardo Amadino, 1607.

Dichiaratione Della Lettera Stampata nel Quinto Libro de' suoi Madrigali

Fu dale stampe (alcuni mesi adietro) publicata una lettera di Claudio Monteverde, mio Fratello; la quale diede materia, onde altri s'affaticassero, sotto finto nome di un Antonio Braccini da Todi, di farla parer al mondo una chimera e vanità; ond'io spinto si dall'amore che porto a mio Fratello, ma molto più dalla verità, che in essa lettera si contiene; vedendo lui compiacentesi d'attendere a fatti, poco prezzar l'altrui parole; nè potendo soffrir che l'opere sue fossero a sí gran torto biasimate, ho voluto per questa volta rispondere alle opposition fattele; dichiarando di parte in parte, più largamente, quell tanto che mio Fratello ha in detta lettera sotto brevi termini ristretto; affinchè quegli conosca, e chiunque il segue, la verità che in lei si contiene, esser molto differente da quell ch'egli nel suo discorso dimostra. Dice adunque la letta cosi.

Non vi maravigliate ch'io dia alle stampe questi Madregali senza prima rispondere a le opposition che fece l'Artusi.
per l'Artusi si ha da intendere; l'Artuisi over delle imperfettioni de la moderna musica; libro che porta in fronte questo titolo; che nulla prezzando quell civil precetto d'Oratio.
nec tua laudabis studia, haud aliena reprendes;

e senza alcuna causa dattali, al torto perciò, dice quel peggio che può di alcune compositioni musicali di Claudio mio Fratello.

Contro alcune minime particelle d'essi.
quelle particelle dette dell'Artusi passaggi, e che si veggono cosi lascerati dal detto Artusi, nel raggionamento secondo; son parte dell'armonia del Madregale Cruda Amarilli di mio Fratello, e l'armonia di esso, parte de la melodia ond'è composto, perciò in rispetto al tutto di che consta la melodia, particelle ha quelli nominate, e non passaggi.

Perchè essendo io al servitio di questa Serenissima Altezza, non son padrone di quell tempo che tall'hora mi bisognerebbe.
ciò ha detto mio Fratello, non solo per il carico de la musica tanto da chiesa quanto da camera che tiene, mà per altri servitii non ordinarii, essendo che (Servando a Gran Prencipe) la maggior parte del tempo si trova occupato hora in Tornei, hora in Balletti, hora in Comedie, e in varii Concerti, e finalmente nello concertar le due Viole bastarde, il quale carico, e studio, non è forsi cosi comune come si portrebbe dare ad intendere l'oppositore; e non tanto per la detta ragoine, e vera scusa prodotta, ha tardato a va tardando mio Fratello, ma perchè conosce ancora che; *properante omnia perverse agunt*; e che il bene non sta con il presto, conciosia cosa che, la verità della virtù vol tutto l'homo, e tanto più cercando di tartar di cosa a pena tocca di lontano da intelligenti da intelligenti Teorici armonici, e non come ha fatto l'oppositore, di cosa Nota Lippis atque tonsoribus.

Ho nondimeno scritta la risposta per far conoscere ch'io non faccio le mie cose a caso.
dice mio Fratello, che non fa le sue cose a caso; atteso che la sua intentione è stata (in questo genere di Musica) di far che l'oratione sia padrona del armonia e non serva; e in questo modo, sarà la sua compositione giudicata nel composto della melodia, del che parlando Platone, dice queste parole, Melodiam ex tribus constare, oratione, harmonia, Rithmo e poco più a Basso Quin etiam consonum ipsum et dissonum eodem modo, quando-quidem Rithmus et Harmonia orationem sequitur non ipsa oratio Rithmum et Harmoniam sequitur, dopo (per dare più forza all'oratione seguita con queste parole); quid vero loquendi modus ipsaque oratio non ne animi affectionem sequitur? e poi, orationen vero cetera quoq; sequuntur, ma in questo l'Artusi, da bon maestro piglia certe particelle, o passaggi (come lui dice) del Madregale Cruda Amarilli, di mio Fratello, nulla curandosi dell'oratione, tralasciandola in maniera tale, come se nulla havesse che fare con la musica; mostrando di poi detti passaggi privi de la sua oratione, del tutto de la sua armonia e del suo Rithmo, ma s'havesse nelli passaggi notati da lui per falsi, sposta l'oratione loro, il mondo senza altro havrebbe conosciuto dove è trascorso il suo giudicio, e egli non harebbe detto che fossero chimere, e castelli in aria, per non essere osservanti interamente de le regole de la prima prattica; ma bella

ragione sarebbe certo, se si facesse il simile anco de li Madregali di Cipriano; dalle belle contrade: se ben il duol. Et se pur mi mantieni amor; poiche m'invita amore; Crudel acerba, Un'altra volta; e finalmente altri, l'armonia de quali serva esattamente alla sua oratione, che certo rimarebbono come corpi senz'anima rimanendo senza questa più importante e principal parte de la Musica, significando l'oppositore col sindicar senza l'oratione questi passaggi, che tutto il buono e il bello, si stia nella conservation esatta de le dette regole di prima prattica, li quali pongono l'armonia signora del oratione, (come ben farà vedere mio Fratello) il quale sapendo al sicuro la musica (in tal genere di cantilena come questa sua) versar intorno alla perfettione de la Melodia, nel qual modo l'armonia considerata, di padrona diventa serva al oratione, e l'oratione padrona del armonia, al qual pensamento tende la seconda prattica overo l'uso moderno, per tal fondamento vero, promette mostrare contro l'oppositore, che l'armonia del Madregale Cruda Amarilli non è fatta a caso, ma si bene a bel arte, e a buono studio non inteso da l'Aversario, e non conosciuto, e perchè mio Fratello promette mostrare con la prosa, contro l'oppositore in rispetto alla perfettione della melodia, che le cose scritte, da l'Aversario non sono fondate nella verità del arte, l'oppositore anch'egli, contro al Madregale di mio Fratello, con armonia osservante le regole de la prima prattica, cioè non risguardante alla perfettione della melodia, nel qual modo considerata l'armonia, di serva divien padrona, mostri l'errore d'altri, per mezzo delle stampe con simile atto pratico; perché: purpura iuxta purpuram diiudicanda; che per dir solamente parole contra a fatti d'altri.

Nil agit exemplum litem quod lite resolvit

Et lasci all'hora che il Mondo sia poi giudice, e non mostrando egli fatti, ma dicendo solamente parole, e i fatti essendo quelli che lodano il Maestro, mio Fratello ritroverassi a meritar la lode e non egli, che si come l'amalato non predica la intelligenza nel Medico per udirlo solamente trattare d'Hippo. e di Galeno, ma si bene all'hora quando per mezzo del suo ragionamento ottiene la sanità, così il Mondo non predica la intelligenza nel Musico, per udirlo far maneggi di lingua, sopra gli honorati Theorici armonici, che Timoteo non mosse Allessandro all'armi in cosi fatta guisa; ma si bene col canto, A questo atto pratico invita mio Fratello l'oppositore e non altri poichè a tutti cede, tutti honora, riverisce; e a questo l'invita per sempre, perciò che vole attendere al canto, e non alla prosa, fuori che l'una sol volta promessa, seguitando il Divino Cipriano Rore, il Sig. Prencipe di Venosa, Emiglio del Cavagliere, il Conte Alfonso Fontanella, il Conte di Camerata e il Cavalier Turchi, il Pecci, e altri signori di questa Eroica scola, e non attendere altre ciancie, e chimere.

Et tosto che sia rescritta uscirà in luce portando in fronte il nome di seconda prattica

perchè intende l'oppositore far contro alla moderna Musica, e diffendere la vecchia, le quali veramente trovansi differente fra di loro (nel modo di adoperar le consonanze e dissonanze, come

ben farà vedere mio Fratello) non conosciuta cotal differenza dal oppositore, per maggior chiarezza adunque del vero, sia intesa da tutti qual sia l'una, e qual sia l'altra, amendue honorate da mio Fratello, riverite, e lodate; alla vecchia ha posto nome prima prattica, per essere primo uso pratticale, e la moderna ha nominato seconda prattica, per essere secondo uso pratticale; prima prattica intende che sia quella che versa intorno alla perfetione del armonia; cioè che considera l'armonia non comandata, ma comandante, e non serva ma signora del oratione, e questa fu principiata, da que' primi che ne nostril caratteri composero le loro cantilene a più di una voce, seguitata poi, e ampliata, da Occhegem, Josquin de pres, Pietro della Rue, Iouan Motton, Crequillon, Clemens non Papa, Gombert, e altri di que' tempi perfettionata ultimamente da Messer Adriano con l'atto prattico, e dal Eccellentissimo Zerlino con regole giudiciosissime; Seconda prattica, della quale è stato il primo rinovatore ne nostri caratteri il Divino Cipriano Rore, come ben farà vedere mio Fratello, seguitata, e ampliata, non solamente da li Signori detti, ma dal Ingegneri, dal Marenzo, da Giaches Wert, dal Luzzasco, e parimente da Giaccopo Peri, da Giulio Caccini e finalmente da li spiriti più elevati, e intendenti de la vera arte, intende che sia quella che versa intorno alla perfettione della melodia, cioè che considera l'armonia comandata, e non comandante, e per signora dell'armonia pone l'oratione, per cotali ragioni halla detta seconda e non nova; ha detto prattica e non Theorica percioche intende versar le sue ragioni intorno al modo di adoperar le consonanze e dissonanze nel atto prattico, non ha detto Institutioni Melodiche, percioche egli confessa non essere soggetto di cosi grande impresa, ma lascia al Cavaglier Ercole Bottrigari e al Rever. Zerlino il componimento di cosi nobili scritti, che perciò disse institutioni Armoniche perchè volle insegnare le leggi et le regole del armonia, ma mio Fratello, ha detto Seconda prattica, cioè secondo uso pratticale, perchè vol servirsi delle considerationi di questo uso, cioè delle considerationi melodiche, e ragioni sue, adoperando quel tanto di loro solamente, che a lui apartiene per diffendersi dal oppositore.

Overo perfetioni della moderna musica.
chiamaralla perfettioni della moderna musica, mosso dal l'autorità di Platone che dice; Non ne et musica circa perfectionem melodiae versatur?

Del che forsi alcuni si ammireranno non credendo che vi sia altra prattica che la insegnata dal Zerlino.
ha detto alcuni, e non tutti, per solamente intendersi l'oppositore, e suoi seguaci, ha detto si ammireranno, perchè sa al sicuro mio Fratello questi essere privi non solamente della cognitione della seconda prattica, ma gran parte ancora della prima (come ben farà vedere) non credendo che vi sia altra prattica che la insegnata dal Zerlino, cioè non credendo che vi sia altra prattica che quella

di Meser Adriano, che d'altra prattica il Rever. Zerlino non s'intende trattare come bene afferma dicendo. non fu mai, ne anco è mia intentione di scrivere l'uso de la prattica, secondo il modo de li Antichi, o Greci, o Latini, se bene a le fiate la vo adombrando, ma solamente il modo di quelli, che hanno ritrovato questa nostra maniera, nel far cantare insieme molte parti, con diverse modulationi e diverse arie, specialmente secondo la via e il modo tenuto da Messer Adriano; Si che dunque l'istesso Rever. Zerlino confessa, non essere quel una verità? e sola de la prattica la sua insegnata, e perciò mio fratello intendo servirsi de le ragioni insegnate da Platone, e pratticate dal Divino Cipriano, e da l'uso moderno, differentemente dalle insegnate, e determinate dal Rever. Zerlino, e pratticate da Messer Adriano.

Ma siano sicuri che intorno alle consonanze e dissonanze
ma l'oppositore e suoi seguaci, siano sicuri, che intorno alle consonanze, e dissonanze, cioè che intorno al modo di adoperar le consonanze, e dissonanze;

Vi è anco una consideratione differente della determinata, per la consideratione determinata
che versa intorno al modo di adoperar le consonanze, e dissonanze, intende mio Fratello, quelle Regole del Rever. Zerlino, che nel terzo delle sue institutioni si vedono; le quali tendono mostrare la perfettione pratticale del armonia, e non de la melodia, (come ben si scopre questo da li esempi musicali suoi in quel luoco) liquali mostrando in atto prattico, il contenuto de li detti documenti, e leggi, si vedono senza risguardo di oratione; perciò mostrano l'armonia essere signora, e non serva; per il che proverà mio fratello all'oppositore, e a suoi seguaci, l'armonia serva all'oratione, nel modo di adoperar le consonanze, e dissonanze, non essere determinate nel modo sudetto, perciò questa differente da quella in questa parte.

La quale con quietanza della ragione, e del senso, diffende il moderno comporre.
con quietanza della ragione, percioche appogierassi sopra le consonanze e dissonanze dalla mathematica aprobate, perciò ha detto intorno al modo di adoperarle, e appogierassi parimente sopra il comando del oratione, signora principal del arte nella perfetione della melodia considerata, (come afferma Platone, nel terzo de R. P.), perciò ha detto seconda prattica, con quietanza del senso, perciòche il composto di oratione comandante di Rithmo e armonia servienti a lei (e dico servienti che non vale il composto solo a perfetionare la melodia) movono le affetioni del animo, e ecco Platone: sola enim melodia ab omnibus quotcunq; distrahunt animum retrahens contrahit in se ipsum; e non l'armonia sola, sia purre perfetta quanto si vole, e lo confessa il Rever. Zerlino con queste parole. Se noi pigliamo la semplice armonia senza agiongerle alcuna altra cosa, non haverà possanza alcuna di fare alcuno effetto estrinseco; e aggionge più abasso, prepara, e dispone, ad un

certo modo intrinsicamente alla allegrezza, overo alla mestitia, ma non induce però ad esprimere alcuno effetto estrinseco.

Et questo ho voluto dirvi si perchè questa voce seconda prattica tall'hora non fosse occupata da altri. ha fatto sapere al mondo mio fratello questa voce essere sicuramente sua, aciochè si sappia, e si concluda che quando l'aversario disse nel secondo Artusi queste parole; seconda prattica che si può dire con ogni verità essere la feccia della prima, che ciò disse per dir male de le opere di mio fratello e che fu nel anno 1603, nel qual tempo propose mio fratello, d'incominciar a scrivere per diffendersi dal oppositore, che apena questa voce seconda prattica, ei si era lasciato uscire di bocca, indicio vero, che vorebbe potere l'aversario lacerare nella istessa aria, non che in iscritto, le parole di mio fratello, e le sue notte insieme; e per qual causa poi? diccalo chi lo sa, vedalo chi lo può trovare in carta, ma perchè si stupisse l'aversario in quel suo discorso, sopra a ciò dicendo. Vene mostrate tanto geloso di questo nome, che temete non vi sia rubbato; Quasi voglia dire in suo linguaggio, non occorre che temiate di rappina tale, perchè non sete sogetto meritevole da essere imitato, non che rubbato; li faccio sapere che se si havesse a considerare la cosa per questo verso, haverebbe non pochi argomenti in suo favore mio fratello, in particolare per il canto alla francese in questo modo moderno che per le stampe da tre o quattro anni in qua si va mirando, hor sotto a parole de motetti, hor de madregali, hor di canzonette, e d'arie, chi fu il primo di lui che lo riportasse in Italia di quando venne da li bagni di Spà, l'anno 1599? e chi incominciò a porlo sotto ad orationi lattine e a volgari nella nostra lingua, prima di lui? non fece questi scherzi all'hora? dunq; vi sarebbe che dire in suo prò; e di più ancora (s'io volessi) per altre cose; le quali mi taccio perchè come ho detto, la cosa non si ha da intendere per questo verso; chiamaralla seconda prattica in quanto al modo di adoperarla, che in rispetto al origine si potrebbe dir prima.

Si perché anco l'ingegnosi possino fra tanto considerare altre seconde cose intorno all'armonia. Altre, cioè non star fermi nel credere, che tutto il bisogno del arte, in altro luogo non sia per ritrovarsi, che solamente nel comando de le regole di prima prattica, perchè l'armonia sarebbe sempre una in tutti li generi de cantilene, essendo terminata, e cosi non potrebbe servire al oration perfettamente, seconde cose, cioè cose versanti intorno alla seconda prattica overo alla perfetione della melodia; Intorno al armonia, cioè intorno non alle particelle o passaggi della cantilena solamente ma allo suo frutto; che se havesse in tal guisa pensato l'oppositore l'armonia del Madrigale o Mirtillo di mio Fratello, non haverebbe in quell suo discorso detto quelle esorbitanze intorno al tuono di esso, se ben pare che parla in generale, havendo detto. Ha parimente ragionato l'Artusi e dimostrato, la confusione che apportano alle cantilene quelli che incominciano di un tuono; seguitando in un altro al fine terminano di quello che totalmente è del primo e secondo pensiero

lontano, il che è come sentire un pazzo ragionare il quale dia un colpo, come si dice, hor sopra al cerchio e hor sopra la botte; poverello e non s'avede, che mentre vol mostrarsi al Mondo regolato precettore, cade nel errore del negare li tuoni misti, li quali se non vi fossero l'Inno de li Apostoli che

incomincia del sesto, e finisce del quarto, non darebbe hor sopra al cerchio, e hor sopra la botte? e parimente l'Introito Spiritus Domini repleuit orbem terrarum? e maggiormente il Te Deum laudamus? Iosquino non sarebbe stato un ignorante, ad haver incominciato la Messa sua Fait tant Regrez del sesto, e finita del secondo? Nasce la pena mia del Eccel. Striggio, l'armonia del qual canto (nella prima prattica considerata) ben si può chiamar divina; non sarebbe una chimera, essendo fabricata sopra d'un Tuono che consta di primo, di ottavo, di undecimo, e di quarto? Il Madregale del Divino Cipriano Rore, Quando Signor lasciaste, che incomincia del undecimo nel mezzo scorre nel secondo, e decimo, e la fine conclude nel primo, e la seconda parte nel ottavo; non sarebbe stata questa di Cipriano a vanitate ben leggera? e Misser Adriano che si chiamerebbe egli ad haver principiato, ne proicias nos in tempore senectutis (Motetto a cinque che si trova nella fine del suo primo libro) del primo tuono, e il mezzo fattolo del secondo, e la fine del quarto? ma che legga il Rever. Zerlino l'oppositore nel quarto de le Institutioni a cap. 14 che imparerà.

Et credere che il moderno Compositore fabrica sopra li fondamenti della verità e vivrete felici.
questo ha detto mio Fratello ultimamente, perchè sapendo che il comporre moderno non osserva, e non può osservare; in virtù del comando del oratione, le regole de la [prima] prattica; e purre cotal modo di comporre, vien dal mondo abracciato, in maniera tale che uso con giusta ragione si può chiamare, perciò non può credere, ne crederà mai, quando anco le ragioni sue, non fossero bone, per sostentamento de la verità di cotal uso, che il mondo s'inganni, ma si bene l'oppositore e vivete felici.

IL FINE.

Appendix 3: *L'Orfeo*: *favola in musica* dedication and *Sanctissimae Virgini missa…ac vespere* dedication

3.1. *L'Orfeo: favola in musica*

Monteverdi, Claudio. *L'Orfeo: favola in musica.* Venice: Ricciardo Amadino, 1609.

Serenissimo Signore mio Signore
et Patrone colendissimo

La favola d'Orfeo che già nell'Academia degl'Invaghiti sotto gl'auspiti di V. A. fù sopra angusta scena musicalmente rappresentata, dovendo ora comparire nel gran Teatro dell'universo à far mostra di sè

a tutti gl'huomini, non è ragione che si lasci verdere con altro nome signata, che con quello dell'Altezza V. glorioso, e felice. A lei dunque humilmente la consacro, affinch'ella che à guise de benigna stella le fu propitia nel suo nascimento, con i Serenissimi raggi della gratia sua, si degni di favorir il progresso della sua vita, la quale posso sperare, mercè dell'Altezza Vostra chè sia per esser durabile al pari dell'humana generatione. Supplico V. Altezza à gradir questo segno della divotione mia, con quell'animo grande che, è, proprio di lei, e che lega gl'animi di chiunque hà ventura di trattar seco, E qui inchianandomi con sommessa riverenza all'Altezza V. prego il Signore che d'ogni suo desiderio la facia contenta. In Mantova li 22, d'Agosto, 1609.

Di V. Altezza Serenissima,
Humilissimo, et obligantissimo servitore
Claudio Monteverdi.

Appendix 4: Table of Monteverdi's works in British prints

4.1. This table shows the print works either by or including Monteverdi that were created in c.17th century and made their way to Britain. Although it most of the cases their date of arrival in Britain cannot be ascertained, this data at least gives us a starting point with regards to painting a picture of the transfer of Monteverdi's music to Britain in the 17th century. As much information as possible regarding details such as provenance has been given in the 'Description' column, and where works overlap with those mentioned in Table 4 in Chapter 4, the reader is directed check the entry there.

Shelfmark	**Title**	**Description**
GB-*Lbl* B.252.	*Canzonette a tre voci[…]*	Copy of the first and only book of canzonettas by Monteverdi, published 1584. *Basso* partbook only.
GB-*Lbl* K.6.a.2.(1.)	*Primo Libro de Madrigali[…]*	First book of madrigals by Monteverdi, 1621 edition. Imperfect condition; wanting pp. 3-6, 15-18 of the *Tenore* part in place of which there occur duplicates of pp. 4-10, 11-14 of the *Quinto.*
GB-*Och* Mus. 881-6	Books 1-7 of madrigals	See entry in Table 4.4.
GB-*Lbl* B.252.a.	*Il secondo libro de madrigali a cinque voci*	Second book of madrigals by Monteverdi, first edition (1590). *Quinto* only.
GB-*Lbl* D.195.d.	Ibid	Second book of madrigals by Monteverdi, 1607 edition. Printed by Alessandro Raverii. No paratexts.
GB-*Lbl* K.6.a.2.(2.)	Ibid.	Second book of madrigals by Monteverdi, 1621 edition. Complete set of 5 partbooks.
GB-*Drc*	*Il terzo libro de madrigali[…]*	Third book of madrigals by Monteverdi, 1594 edition. Possibly from Philip Falle (1676 -

		1742), an Anglican priest who gave his collection to the Cathedral in 1722.
GB-*Lbl* D.195.	Ibid.	Third book of madrigals by Monteverdi, 1604 edition. *Basso* part only, no paratexts. Italian annotation; largely crossed out and difficult to read, roughly transcribed as: '[crossed-out sentence, could read 'pregidamento della compozizione'] come si vagga la compozizione con Tono; [crossed-out sentence] con nuov[o?] [crossed-out words] viflessi circa le candenze, e del modulare. This translates approximately as: ['prediction of the composition'] 'how tonally vague the compositions; with new reflections (assuming 'riflessi rather than viflessi') on the cadences and modulations'.
GB-*Ojec* I Arch.1.7(1).	Ibid.	Third book of madrigals by Monteverdi, Phalèse 1615 edition. Linked to Herbert of Cherbury, Edward Herbert, Baron (1583-1648). Bequest plate: "Hunc librum olim suum Collegio Iesu legauit Eduardus Herbert Baro De Cherbury A.D. MDCXLVIII" on inside of upper board.
GB-*Och* Mus. 267-72	Ibid.	See entry in Table 4.4.
GB-*Och* Mus. 502-7	Madrigal books 3&4	See entry in Table 4.4.
GB-*Och* 533-7, Mus. 283	Madrigal books 3-5	See entry in Table 4.4.
GB-*Lbl* D.195.c.	*Il terzo libro[…]*	Third book of madrigals by Monteverdi, 1621 Magni edition. *Quinto* part book only.
GB-*Lbl* Hirsch III.942.	*Il quarto libro de madrigali[…]*	Fourth book of madrigals by Monteverdi, 1603 first edition. Complete set of partbooks.
GB-*Lbl* D.195.g.	Ibid.	Fourth book of madrigals by Monteverdi, 1611 Amadino edition. Missing *Tenore* part. No paratexts.
GB-*Och* Mus. 581-5	Ibid.	Fourth book of madrigals by Monteverdi, 1615 edition. See entry in Table 4.4.
GB-*Och* Mus. 273-8	Ibid.	Fourth book of madrigals by Monteverdi, 1615 edition. See entry in Table 4.4.
GB-*Lbl* K.6.a.2.(4.).	Ibid.	Fourth book of madrigals by Monteverdi, 1622 Magni edition. No paratexts.
GB-*Lbl* D.195.a.	*Il quinto libro de madrigali[…]*	Fifth book of madrigals by Monteverdi, 1605 first edition. *Basso Continuo* book only. Studiosi lettori only; no dedication.
GB-*Lbl* D.195.h.	Ibid.	Fifth book of madrigals by Monteverdi, 1610 Amadino edition. *Alto* part only. No paratexts.

GB-*Lbl* D.195.i.	Ibid.	Fifth book of madrigals by Monteverdi, 1611 Amadino edition. Imperfect: *Canto*, *Basso* and *Quinto* parts only. No paratexts.
GB-*Och* Mus. 279-82	Ibid.	Fifth book of madrigals by Monteverdi, 1615 Phalèse edition. See entry in Table 4.4.
GB-*Lcm* G47/1-4	Ibid.	Fifth book of madrigals by Monteverdi, 1615 Phalèse edition.
GB-*Lbl* D.195.e.	Ibid.	Fifth book of madrigals by Monteverdi, 1615 edition. *Canto* only. No paratexts.
GB-*Ojec* I Arch.1.7(2)	Ibid.	Fifth book of madrigals by Monteverdi, 1615 Phalèse edition. Linked to Herbert of Cherbury, Edward Herbert, Baron, 1583-1648. Bequest plate: "Hunc librum olim suum Collegio Iesu legauit Eduardus Herbert Baro De Cherbury A.D. MDCXLVIII" on inside of upper board.
GB-*Lbl* K.6.a.2.(5.)	Ibid.	Fifth book of madrigals by Monteverdi, 1620 Magni edition. Complete set of partbooks.
GB-*Lbl* D.195.b.	*Il sesto libro de madrigali[…]*	Sixth book of madrigals, Magni, 1620 edition. Complete set of six partbooks.
GB-*Lbl* D.195.f.	*Concerto: Il settimo libro de madrigali[…]*	Seventh book of madrigals, 1628 edition. *Basso Continuo* part book only.
GB-*Wa* CF.37	Ibid.	Seventh book of madrigals, 1628 edition. Lacks *Quinto* partbook.
GB-*Wa* CF.38	Ibid.	Seventh book of madrigals, Magni, 1641 edition.
GB-*Y* SC 23 Box 4 (P 281/1-7 S)	*Madrigali guerrieri, e amorosi[…]*	Eighth book of madrigals, 1638 first edition. Complete set of 7 partbooks.
GB-*Wa* CF.39	*Madrigali e canzonette[…]*	Ninth book of madrigals, published posthumously, 1651.
GB-*Och* Mus. 795(1)	*L'Orfeo: favola in musica*	*L'Orfeo*, Amadino 1615 edition. See entry in Table 4.4.
GB-*Lbl* R.M.15.c.6.	Ibid.	*L'Orfeo*, Amadino 1615 edition.
GB-*Lbl* Hirsch III.943.	*Scherzi musicali a tre voci […]*	*Scherzi*, 1609 edition, includes paratexts.
GB-*Och* Mus. 796(5)	Ibid.	*Scherzi*, Amadino, 1615 edition. See entry in Table 4.4.
GB-*Lbl* K.8.h.17.	Ibid.	Scherzi, Magni, 1628 edition. Imperfect; missing the last leaf (p. 43). Includes only the first page of the 'Dichiaratione della lettera stampata nel Quinto libro de suoi Madregali', the others are missing.
GB-*Lbl* K.3.i.16.	• "Io ardo sì, ma 'l fuoco è di tal sorte" • "Occhi miei, se mirar più non debb'io" • "Quante son stelle in ciel e in mar	Three-voice works by Monteverdi in *Il primo libro canzonetta* by Antonio Morsolino, 1594. Three complete partbooks.

	arene” • “Se non mi date aita”	
GB-*Lbl* R.M.15.d.1.(4.)	• “Io mi son giovinetta” • “Quel augellin che canta” • “Non piu Guerra” • “Ah dolente partita”	Monteverdi madrigals from book four in Melchior Borchgrevinck’s 1st *Giardino nuovo[…],* printed in Copenhagen, 1605.
GB-*Lbl* R.M.15.d.1.(5.)	• “Cor mio, mentre vi miro” • “Cruda Amarilli”	Monteverdi madrigals from books four and five in Melchior Borchgrevinck’s 2nd *Giardino nuovo[…]*, printed in Copenhagen, 1606.
GB-*Lbl* C.72.	• “Domine ad adiuvandum” • “Dixit Dominus”	A versicle and response, and a psalm; the first two works in Monteverdi’s Vespers (1610). In a collection edited by Georg Gruber; *Reliquiae sacrorum concentuum Giovan Gabrielis, Iohan-Leonis Hasleri, utriusque praestantissimi musici,* Nuremburg, 1615.
GB-*Ge* Sp Coll R.b.15-15(12)	Ibid.	Ibid.
GB-*Lcm* G32/1-5	“Lumi miei cari lumi”	Madrigal from Monteverdi’s third book, in ‘Il Helicone, madrigale de diversi eccellentissimi musici a cinque voci novamente raccolti’. Phalèse, ed. Samuele Dunio. Dedication is dated 12th April 1606.
GB-*Lbl* C.203.(1.)	“O bone jesu”	Sacred work for two sopranos and *Basso Continuo* in a collection edited by Johann Dronfried; *Promptuarii musici concentus ecclesiasticos 2–4 vv cum Basso Continuo & generali, organo applicato, e diversis, iisque illustrissimis et musica laude praestentissimis hujus aetatis authoribus, collectos exhibentis*. *Pars prima*, Strasburg, 1622.
GB-*Lbl* D.242.	“Laetaniae della Beata Vergine”	A sacred motet for six voices in a collection: *Rosarium litanarium beatae V. Mariae 3–8 vocibus concinendarum una cum basso ad organum*, Lorenzo Calvi, Venice, 1626. Paratext lists the composers included in the volume; Monteverdi is mentioned alongside his position at San Marco, and some others alongside their respective churches (Grandi, for example, is listed but with no church affiliation).
GB-*Lbl* C.203.(3.)	“Sancta Maria succurre miseris”	Sacred work for two sopranos and *Basso Continuo* in a collection edited by Johann Donfried; Vox *Tertia (Quarta) Promptuarii Musici, Concentus Ecclesiasticos ... ii. iii. & iv. Vocum. Cum Basso Continuo & generali, Organo applicato, e ... praestantissimis Germaniae Italiæ & aliis aliarum terrarum*

		Musicis collectos exhibens, Pars Tertia, Strasbourg: Paul Ledertz, 1627.
GB-*Och* Mus. 264-6	• "Exulta filia Sion" (no.1) • "Exultent coeli et gaudeant angeli" (no.25) • "Salve [o] Regina" (no.38)	Lorenzo Calvi's *Quarta raccolta de sacri canti*[…], 1629, see entry in Table 4.4.
GB-*Och* Mus. 922-5(5)	Ibid.	Ibid.
GB-*Lbl* Music Collections C.4		A Monteverdi work (unspecified) in Nikolaus Duncker: *Fasciculus Primus Geistlicher ... Concerten, mit 1. vnd 2. Stimmen, sampt dem basso continuo pro Organis, aus den vornembsten und besten Componisten, von etlichen der edlen Music Liebhabern fleissig comportirt in der ... Stadt Northausen ... Jetzo aber andern Philomusis zu gefallen ... zum Druck verfertiget*. Gosslar: 1637-8.
GB-*Ge* Sp Coll R.b.18-18(6)	"Jesum viri senesque"	Sacred contrafacta of 'Vaga su spina ascosa' in: *Erster Theil Geistlicher Concerten und Harmonien à 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. &c. vocibus, cum & sine sinfoniis, & Basso as organa : ausz den berühmbsten italianischen und andern Autoribus, so theils neben ihren eigenen mit noch mehren/ theils auch mit andern Texten beleget/ und zu Lobe Gottes/ und Fortpflanzung der edlen Music*, Ambrosius Profe, Leipzig: 1641. Attributed to Monteverdi. Other pieces in work are attributed to Rovetta and Grandi.
GB-*Lbl* B.121.	Ibid.	Ibid.
GB-*Lbl* B.121.a.(1.)	"Pascha concelebranda"	Sacred contrafacta of "Altri canti di Marte / Due belli occhi" in Ambrosius Profe (ed.), *Ander Theil geistlicher Concerten und Harmonien*, Leipzig, 1641. Attributed to Monteverdi.
GB-*Lbl* B.121.a.(2.)	• "Laudate Dominum in sanctis ejus" • "Iam moriar mi fili" • "Spera in Domino" • "Heus bone vir" • "Haec dicit Deus"	5 sacred contrafacte of Monteverdi pieces in Ambrosius Profe (ed.), *Dritter Theil geistlicher Concerten und Harmonien*, Leipzig, 1642. Attributed to Monteverdi.
GB-*Lbl* K.4.a.13.(1.)	"Venite videte martirem"	Solo soprano motet in *Motetti a voce sola de diuersi Eccelentissimi Autori. Nouamente stampati. Libro Primo. Partitura.* 1645; Venezia; Gardano

GB-*Lbl* G.32.	"Confitebor tibi Domine II"	Concertato for three voices, strings and *Basso Continuo* in Johann Havemann's *Ersten Tiel…Geistliche Konzerte.* Berlin, 1659.