

# The geography of Florentine monody

## Caccini at home and abroad

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1 A *festino notturno* in Venice (anon., c1570; thought to be in a private collection, London)

*This article reproduces and translates for the first time a recently discovered contemporary letter that greatly increases our understanding of Caccini's life and personality.*

In the preface to his *Nuove musiche* of 1602, Giulio Caccini attempted to explain what he thought his achievement had been in creating a new kind of music, and in so doing he singled out for praise two men whom he evidently considered to be among the most important influences on his work. The contribution of Count Giovanni Bardi, and of the circle of musicians, intellectuals, poets and philosophers who gathered around Bardi, to the musical life of Florence in the 1570s and 1580s is well known, and it has been studied extensively.<sup>1</sup> Caccini maintained that he had learned more from conversations at

Bardi's house than he had in more than 30 years of studying counterpoint. The most important thing Bardi and his friends taught Caccini, or so wrote the composer, was that music ought to be expressive and affecting—it should move people—and they felt that the elaborate polyphony of their time failed to do just that because it was so apt to obscure the words. The second man Caccini honoured as an important influence on his work, his teacher Scipione del Palla, whose 'noble manner of singing' Caccini claimed was reflected in his own music, is not at all well known. Yet, from what remains of Palla's compositions, and from what we can infer about their character, we can, I think, form a much more vivid picture than we have had of the particular musical tradition from which Caccini's new style developed.

We know relatively little about the life and works of Scipione del Palla.<sup>2</sup> Singer, composer, actor, and perhaps also poet, he was from Siena, but he spent much of his working life in Naples. The earliest notice of him dates from 1545, when the Siense comedy *Gl'Ingannati* was performed at the Palazzo Sanseverino in Naples, and the roles were taken partly by Neapolitan gentlemen—the aristocrats Giovanni Francesco Muscetolla, Giulio Cesare Brancaccio (who was a famous bass), Luigi and Fabrizio Dentice (both composers) and the notary and historian Antonino Castaldo—and partly by professional musicians: the fat abbot Giovan Leonardo Salernitano (better known as Giovanni Leonardo dell'Arpa from his great virtuosity on the double harp), the otherwise unknown Zoppino (who was in charge of the music for the play) and Scipione del Palla.<sup>3</sup> Notices of various other comedies acted by groups of Neapolitan gentlemen mixed with professional musicians can be found from the following decade, and Palla might well also have taken part in some of these.<sup>4</sup>

Certainly, Palla seems to have become a regular part of the musical *ridotti* organized in Neapolitan high society, for he is mentioned again in Luigi Dentice's *Duo dialoghi della musica* (first published in Naples in 1552) at the beginning of the second dialogue, where one of the two protagonists in the treatise explains that he has just returned from a concert (he calls it a 'musica') at the house of Giovanna d'Aragona, wife of Ascanio Colonna and mother of the poetess Vittoria Colonna. There, Dentice's interlocutor heard polyphonic singing to instruments—doubtless of madrigals—performed by four singers and four instrumentalists. The four instrumentalists were Giovanni Leonardo dell'Arpa, Perino da Firenze (the lutenist who published a book of lute music jointly with his teacher Francesco da Milano), M. Battista Siciliano, and M. Giaches da Ferrara (doubtless Giaches Brumel, Ferrarese court organist until his death in 1564). The singers, named presumably in the order of their voice ranges, were the famous bass Giulio Cesare Brancaccio, a second nobleman, Signor Francesco Bisballe, Count of Briatico (probably the tenor), M. Scipione del Palla (probably therefore the countertenor) and a male soprano who is not named because he was not very good. The passage is informative, incidentally, for the glimpse it gives us of performing practice in mid-16th-century Italy: not only does it confirm the fact

that noblemen and professional musicians sang madrigals together in high society, to the accompaniment of instruments, but it also offers Dentice's opinion (at least I assume it is he who is speaking through his interlocutor Soardo) that such *concerti*, in which musicians 'cantano sopra gli stromenti [sic]', seldom give genuine pleasure because something always goes wrong—either the intonation, the diction, the instrumental accompaniment, the embellishments, or the way the singers make their crescendos and diminuendos (presumably that is what Dentice means by 'rimettere e rinforzare la voce quando bisogna').<sup>5</sup>

Scipione del Palla was still in Naples in 1558 when *Alessandro*, a play by the Siense Alessandro Piccolomini, was produced at the palace of the Marchesa del Vasto. The *intermedii* for *Alessandro*, by the famous Neapolitan poet, Luigi Tansillo, included a long scene in which Cleopatra sang a canzone in a manner half way between singing and declaiming—'con un modo mezzo tra cantare e recitare'—a canzone, as it happens, that has survived with a musical setting possibly by Palla.<sup>6</sup> The role of Cleopatra was sung by one of the most famous sopranos of her day, Eufemia, a 'gentildonna napoletana', also known as Femia, Fumia or Fomia,<sup>7</sup> and among the others taking part in the *intermedii*, and singing in the madrigal that closed Cleopatra's scene, were not only Giovanni Leonardo dell'Arpa but also Scipione del Palla himself.

During at least the last ten years of his life, Palla lived in Florence. As early as 1559 he is recorded as a singer for the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and John Hill has recently reported the date of his death, in Florence, as 20 October 1569.<sup>8</sup> Clearly it was as a part of his service to Cosimo I that Palla provided either the music or the poetry for the *mascherata* 'in cocchio di vedove' performed at carnival time in Florence in 1567, and said to have been 'composta' by Palla, although it had 'musica da' Stefano Rossetto.<sup>9</sup>

A 'Giulio musico'—doubtless Caccini—was employed as a singer by Cosimo I as early as 1568.<sup>10</sup> He was not yet on the regular rolls of the Duke's singers, and he was never paid in that year for performances at the cathedral or the baptistry. And while this is the earliest date we have yet found to document Caccini's presence in Florence, he may already have been there for several years, and it is obvious that he studied with Palla then. By 1573 Caccini was able to rent a house in Florence, by 1579 he was on the regular

rolls of the Grand Duke's singers, and by 1588 his salary was considerably higher than those of the much younger Jacopo Peri, or the slightly older Cristofano Malvezzi.

The main point of this biographical excursion is to establish that we can be virtually certain about when and where Caccini studied with Scipione del Palla, and thus we have some tangible way of inferring what sorts of compositions Caccini claimed he took as models. The job of comparing Palla's music with Caccini's is made simpler—but the results more precarious—by the fact that only one, or possibly two, compositions by Palla survive: in a collection of airs edited by the Neapolitan organist and composer

Rocco Rodio and published in Naples by Giuseppe Cacchio in 1577, the *Aeri raccolti [sic] insieme con altri bellissimi aggiunti di diversi, dove si cantano Sonetti, Stanze e Terze Rime*.<sup>11</sup> This 1577 volume is described on its title-page as newly **reprinted**—'nuovamente ristampati'—and so it may even have first been published before Palla left Naples for Florence, an idea made more probable by the fact that it includes a setting of Cleopatra's canzone from the 1558 performance of *Alessandro*, and another composition that was published as early as 1562.<sup>12</sup> Like the comedies performed in Naples in the 1540s and 1550s, the anthology of airs reveals the **active co-operation of a circle of musicians** comprising both aristocrats and

2 A serenade with characters from the *commedia dell'arte*. Engraving from the 17th-century *Recueil Fossard* (Stockholm, National Museum)



Em - pio cor, cru - da vo - - glia, e fie - ra ma - - no C'ha -

ves - ti dun - qu'ar - di - re Col fer - ro di fe - ri - re Il più bel brac - cio

che mai fe na - tu - ra. Hai, sor - te i - ni - qua e du - - ra Per-ch'è tan - ta bel - tà me - no ve -

- ni - sti, me - no ve - ni - sti, O per - che, o per - che al pet - to mio pria non fe - ri - sti.

professionals. The volume is dedicated to the nobleman **Tarquino del Pezzo**, and it includes one of his pieces along with others by Fabrizio and another Dentice (probably Luigi), and compositions by the (presumably noble) Signor Pietro de Ysis, by Palla, by Francesco Menta (who was a madrigalist originally from Brussels), and by Rocco Rodio himself, who may have included a good many more of his own settings in the volume than he acknowledged.<sup>13</sup> The contents of the volume are listed in the **table following** fn.13.<sup>14</sup>

Although the anthology comes from Naples and contains music written in a popular mode of the sort associated with the *villanella alla napolitana*, it is not a collection of frivolous love songs and other light ditties, but rather offers **settings of some of the greatest poetry in the Italian language**. Among its 28 pieces are nine settings of **Petrarch** sonnets and two excerpts from his *Trionfo d'Amore*, sonnets by **Pietro Bembo**, **Luigi Tansillo** and **Giovanni Guidiccioni**, as well as stanzas by **Ariosto**, and other poetry by Tansillo and by **Jacopo Sannazaro**.

The music was published in three partbooks—canto, tenor and basso—but **the tenor volume has not survived**, and it must have contained both the altus and the tenor parts for the handful of pieces in four voices that opens the anthology. The disappearance of the tenor partbook is less of a disadvantage in understanding the sense of the music than one might suppose, since the three-part pieces belong to that 16th-century tradition of Italian song where **the top and bottom lines are the most important**. A reconstruction of Dentice's setting of the anonymous poem *Empio cor, cruda voglia, e fiera mano* for four rather than three voices (as in ex.1) from the

version for solo voice and lute that appears in the volume of solo songs written out by the Florentine musician and businessman, Cosimo Bottegari, about 1574, confirms the character of the music.<sup>15</sup> But even if the version in the Bottegari Lutebook did not exist, it would not be difficult to tell from the canto and basso parts alone the nature of Dentice's setting. The melody consists largely of scale fragments and other formulas strung together to give wholly inadequate support to the passionate words of the sonnet, whose author I have been unable to identify. This **rudimentary melody** is not accompanied by finely wrought counterpoint, but by those stock chordal progressions, identified from their basses, so characteristic of what Pirrotta has called the **'unwritten tradition' of Italian music**.<sup>16</sup> Here, for example, the chordal progressions consist of a series of formulas, best described, I am afraid, by roman numerals, in this case III-flatVII-i-V-i-V, i-iv-V-i, and so on. These are the building blocks of 16th-century tonality, and reflect a tradition in conflict with the more linear concept of mode.

It is within this harmonic context that Palla's setting of four stanzas from Petrarch's *Trionfo d'Amore* (ex.2), can be seen to be a very sophisticated example of its genre, with the standard flatVII-i-iv<sup>6</sup>-V progression that ends the first phrase, for instance, attenuated by the series of chords built on the circle of 5ths that precedes it, with its lack of insistence on the chord of G minor as a single central point, and with its curiously deceptive and then plagal final cadence. It is, however, in many ways a typical example of its genre, especially because of the way its bass line moves in virtually the same rhythms as the melody except at cadences, and because of its

Ex.2 Scipione del Palla, *Dura legge d'a mor*

Du - ra leg - ge — d'A - mor, ma ben ch'o - bli - qua Ser - bar con - vien - si, pe - rò

ch'el - la giun - ge Di ciel in ter - ra, u - ni - ver - sal — an - ti - qua.

formulaic melodic line, organized in uneven and ametrical groupings, so that the irregular barring of my edition best expresses the way in which the text accents fall, and hence the way the poetry must have been declaimed.<sup>17</sup>

The 1577 volume of *aeri* reveals, then, a circle of Neapolitan noblemen and professional musicians interested in devising a kind of music which was based on the techniques of the *villanella alla napoletana* and other genres of the ancient and partly unwritten tradition of native Italian pseudo-popular music; but Rodio and his colleagues used this music to set some of the noblest poems in Italian. However, before we are tempted to read too much meaning into this simple and rather badly printed little set of part-books by using it as evidence of a newly discovered Neapolitan Camerata, we should heed Pirrotta's reminder that **the attempt to combine simple music and a high literary style** was not only old in Italy by the second half of the 16th century, but also **widespread**.<sup>18</sup> Surely Marsilio Ficino's Orphic singing to the lyre at the end of the 15th century—a kind of music we shall probably never be able to reconstruct, but which the philosopher claimed was one of the wonders of his age—related in one way or another to the continuing attempt to set good poetry to music that was simple and affecting.<sup>19</sup> The Mantuan frottolists came sooner or later to the task of devising a kind of music appropriate for setting the lyric poetry of Petrarch, an attempt that was surely one of the approaches that led to the madrigal.<sup>20</sup> And **Vincenzo Galilei** quite purposely and explicitly cited **villottas, villanellas and canzonettas as models for the sort of monody he dreamed of**.<sup>21</sup>

One of the main points I wish to make about these Neapolitan arias, though, is that some of them at least are presumably the sorts of pieces that Caccini too explicitly declared to be among his chief models, and they are not in fact very different in musical style from the arias he himself wrote. Is it too far-fetched, for example, to suppose that the setting (ex.3) of Sannazaro's third eclogue from *Arcadia*, by an anonymous member of the Neapolitan circle to which Caccini's teacher belonged, may resemble Caccini's own setting, now lost, of Sannazaro's second eclogue, which the composer boasted was one of his most successful first attempts to write a kind of music that had the power 'to delight and move' people?<sup>22</sup> Certainly, Piero Strozzi's setting of the song of Night, which Caccini sang to a hidden consort of viols at carnival time in Florence in 1579, resembles the Neapolitan airs, especially in the way its bass moves with the same rhythm as the melody.<sup>23</sup> And the one stanza by Caccini from Rinuccini's *Fere selvaggie* that appears among the canzonettas, villanellas, formulas for *terza rima* and other verse forms 'arranged' for solo voice and lute in the Bottegari Lutebook of 1574 looks and sounds very much like its companion pieces.<sup>24</sup>

Even the highly polished arias in Caccini's 1602 *Nuove musiche* share stylistic features with the simple arias of the Neapolitan circle, and their family resemblance is especially clear when Caccini's melodies are deprived of their embellishment, as in ex.4, where the first few bars of Caccini's setting of Rinuccini's *Ardi, cor mio* appear both as Caccini wrote them, and with the *passaggi* deleted.<sup>25</sup> Here are the same formulaic melodic lines and the same stock chordal progressions accompanying them as in Rodio's anthology.

Ex. 3 Anon., *Sopra'una verde riva*

1. So - pr'u - na ver - de ri - va Di chia - re lu - ci - d'on - de In un bel bos - co  
2. Vi - di di bian - ca o - li - va Or - na - to, e d'al - tre fron - de Un pas - tor che'n su

di fio - ret - ti a - dor - no, l'al - ba a piè d'un or - no 3. Can - ta - va il ter - zo gior - no Del me - se in - nan - zi A - pri - le.

Ar - di, ar - di, cor mi - o, Che non fu vi - sta

ma - i Fiam - ma di più - bei - ra - i (etc)

And if the melody and bass are not yoked together quite so firmly as in the Neapolitan arias, they certainly cannot be described as separate and independent lines.

Caccini, of course, acknowledged his musical paternity in the preface to his 1602 *Nuove musiche*, where he also explained at least four principal ways in which his strophic arias were new and differed from those of his contemporaries.<sup>26</sup>

In the first place, Caccini claimed that he set better poetry than most other composers of canzonettas. The majority of his arias are based on poems either by Ottavio Rinuccini or Gabriello Chiabrera, and the idea of using good modern poetry for music in the popular mode may well have come to him directly from Palla, with his Neapolitan connections. In the second place, Caccini claimed that he co-ordinated his embellishments with the words and with the ideas behind the words much more skilfully than his contemporaries did, an idea I shall return to presently. In the third place, Caccini explained that he sometimes moved his melodies in dissonance against the bass, so that the bass lines were no longer so closely tied to the rhythms of the melody. In his strophic arias, Caccini did write slightly more independent bass lines than his teacher. But in fact there is scarcely a place for expressive dissonances or a really independent bass in most of Caccini's strophic arias,

which are set for the most part to cheerful or emotionally neutral poetry. When he needed to, especially in his madrigal settings, Caccini went to far greater lengths than he did in his arias to unbind the bass from the melody and to violate the rules of 16th-century counterpoint for expressive reasons. And in the fourth place, Caccini claimed that his *Nuove musiche* exemplified a new manner of notating songs. Caccini must simply have meant that he wrote out all his *passaggi*, and that he published his monodies with a basso continuo and without inner parts, although H. Wiley Hitchcock has recently given us the convincing explanation that in his second volume of *Nuove musiche*, published in 1614, Caccini also intended to demonstrate his superiority over his rival, Jacopo Peri. Their contemporaries wrote that it was necessary to hear Peri in order to realize fully the subtleties of his style. Caccini, on the other hand, boasted that with his new way of writing out music 'all the delicacies of this art can be learned without having to hear the composer sing'.<sup>27</sup>

Caccini's statement has even more poignant meaning for us than it did for his contemporaries, for we, of course, can never hear Caccini, Peri or Palla sing, a circumstance that is all the more frustrating because the music in Rodio's Neapolitan anthology of 1577 is, to be blunt, such unimpressive stuff. Some of the arias, like the anonymous setting of Petrarch's sonnet

Pas - ser mai so - li - ta - rio in al - cun tet - to Non fu quant'io, ne fe - ra in al - cun bos - co (etc)

*Passer mai solitario in alcun tetto* (ex.5), are hardly more than chants on a single note.<sup>28</sup> If Palla sang such things in the form in which they have come down to us, it is hard indeed to imagine how he could have been called, even by the most adoring and uncritical student, the 'primo Cantante di quel secolo'.<sup>29</sup>

Caccini, when he mentioned these types of solo song, did not comment on their melodic poverty. He did not sneer—as Cavalieri did about Peri's *Euridice*—that they seemed to him to resemble nothing so much as the dull, dry chanting of the Passion.<sup>30</sup> Instead, Caccini wrote in his preface that canzonettas were not very expressive before his time because solo singers obscured the words with their elaborate ornamentation. The question arises, then: when these Neapolitan arias, and other pieces from the pseudo-popular unwritten tradition, were actually performed, did they sound the way they look, or did they rather function as schemata or skeletal frameworks for virtuoso displays of improvised or semi-improvised embellishment?<sup>31</sup> Doubtless, some were in fact performed more or less unornamented. That would explain why Cleopatra in 1558 was described as performing 'con un modo mezzo tra cantare e recitare'. But such remarks are relatively rare applied to performances before the advent of opera, and it seems likely that Caccini is to be taken at his word. More often than not, villanellas, arias, canzonettas, *napolitane*, and other such strophic pieces became vehicles for demonstrating to appreciative audiences how skilful solo singers could be in varying their embellishments from strophe to strophe. Certainly, that would explain why Bottegari wrote in some ornaments to various songs in his collection.<sup>32</sup> And it would help to explain Palla's reputation.

But, you may well ask, can singers have been disrespectful enough to treat even Petrarch, Sannazaro and Tansillo in so cavalier a fashion? The answer must be an unqualified 'yes', if we are to believe the Neapolitan doctor and amateur of the arts Giovanni

Camillo Maffei, whose letter on singing is not quite the first treatise on embellishment, as he claimed, but is nonetheless an important document in the history of performing practice.<sup>33</sup> Maffei set out a number of simple rules for embellishing written music when it is performed by ensembles and when it is performed by solo singers, and he included three sets of examples to illustrate his remarks: a series of decorated cadential formulas, presumably for use on any occasion, a madrigal with embellishments appropriate to an ensemble performance, and an 'aria' with embellishments typical of those added by soloists. As a paradigm of ensemble ornamentation, he chose an 'antique' piece, a madrigal by Francesco Layolle.<sup>34</sup> As a paradigm of solo singing, he chose the anonymous setting of Petrarch's sonnet *Vago augelletto che cantando vai*, from Rodio's 1577 collection of arias (ex.6).<sup>35</sup> Maffei wrote out only the solo line, and I have supplied the unornamented version and the bass line from Rodio's publication. Maffei's example is helpful not only because it establishes the fact of embellishment, and explains how it was done, but also because it clarifies the way in which the schematic four phrases of music given by Rodio were to be expanded to accommodate all 14 lines of a sonnet. On the other hand, the example is not entirely free from errors, and I have had to emend Maffei's text in several places. But I have taken him literally in the way he has changed the rhythms of some phrases (mm.33-6, 46-9 and 58-61), and I have adjusted the rhythm of the bass line, sometimes quite radically, to accommodate the variations Maffei wrote for the music that sets the later lines of the sonnet. Quite possibly, these rhythmic transformations of the simple schemata on which longer poems were sung explain the origin of strophic variations, and Caccini and the monodists who followed him merely wrote down and refined what improvisers had practised for a long time. And should there be any lingering doubt about the applicability of ornamentation—even quite elaborate ornamentation—to



Ex.6 Anon., *Vago augelletto che cantando vai*

1. First Quatrain

Va - go au - gel - let - to che can - tan - do - - - - va -

Va - go au - gel - let - to che can - tan - do

3  
i, O ver pian - gen - do il tuo - - - - tem - po - pas -

vai, O ver pian - gen - do il tuo tem - po pas -

10  
sa - - - - to Ve - den - do - ti - - - - la - - - - not - - - - te e'l ver - no a - - - -

sa - - - - to Ve - den - do - ti - - - - la - - - - not - te e'l ver -

15  
la - - - - to E'l di do - po le - - - - spal - - - - le e i me - si - - - -

no a - la - - - - to E'l di do - po - - - - le spal - - - - le e i me - - - -

2. Second Quatrain

20  
ga - - - - i, Se, co - me j tuoi - - - - gra - - - -

si - - - - ga - - - - i, Se, co - me j tuoi - - - - gra -

25

vo - si af - fan - ni sa - - - i, Co - si sa - pes - - - si il mi -

vo - si af - fan - - - ni sa - - - i, Co - si sa - pes - - -

- - - o si - mi le - - - sta - - - to, Ver - re - sti in

si il mio si - mi - le sta - - - to, Ver - re - sti in

30

grem - bo a que - sto scon - - - so - - - la - - - to A par -

grem - bo a que - - - sto scon - so - la - - - to A par -

35

3. First Tercet

tir se - co j do - lo - ro - - - si - - - gua - - - i. l' non so

tir se - co j do - lo - ro - - - si - - - gua - - - i. l' non so

40

se - - - le - - - par - - - ti sa - rian pa - - - ri, Che

se - - - le par - ti sa - rian pa - - - ri, Che

45

quel - la cui tu pian - giè for - se in vi - ta

quel - la cui tu pian - giè for - se in vi - ta

Di ch'a me Mor - te e'l ciel son tan - to a - va - ri;

Di ch'a me Mor - te e'l ciel son tan - to a - va - ri;

4. Second Tercet

50

Ma la sta - gion e l'o - ra men gra - di -

Ma la sta - gion e l'o - ra men gra - di -

55

ta, Col mem - brar de dol - ci an - ni e de li a - ma - ri,

ta, Col mem - brar de dol - ci an - ni e de li a - ma - ri,

60

A par - lar te - co con pie - tà m'in - vi - ta.

A par - lar te - co con pie - tà m'in - vi - ta.

this repertory it should be dispelled by Maffei's explicit and unequivocal statement that the true way of singing 'cavalierly' (that is, in a courtly fashion—'il vero modo di cantar cavaleresco') was to sing with *passaggi* ('il cantar di gorga'), and he cited among his authorities on the subject—those who agreed with him wholeheartedly—Giovanni Domenico da Nola and Giovanni Tommaso Cimelli, both famous as composers of *villanelle alla napolitana*, and also 'Signor Rocco', doubtless Rocco Rodio himself.<sup>36</sup>

Being able to connect Caccini so securely with the older unwritten or pseudo-popular tradition makes us better able to understand his innovations, and also the accuracy of his statements. In view of the probability that Rocco Rodio's volume of Neapolitan airs should really be regarded as a set of themes to be varied, of simple sketches to be filled out and brought to life by a colourful virtuoso display, Caccini's remarks that all he did was to cut down the amount of ornamentation, change its character, and make it more suitable to the ideas behind the words takes on new depths of meaning. Even so, regarding Rocco Rodio and his colleagues as virtuoso singers still leaves open the question of whether Caccini's teacher, Palla, had a 'noble manner of singing'—to quote Caccini's 1602 preface—because he was so expert at 'cantar di gorga' of the traditional kind, or because he reduced the amount of tasteless decoration, as his student did, and applied it more selectively and more thoughtfully to the words he sang. If in 1558 Palla did write Cleopatra's song, which was notable because it was delivered in a manner half way between singing and reciting, then perhaps his nobility consisted of omitting improvised embellishment altogether, or using it very judiciously.

It would be fruitless to speculate about whether the Grand Duke of Tuscany summoned Scipione del Palla to Florence just in order to encourage a kind of pseudo-popular monody appropriate for setting serious poetry. But the conclusion seems inescapable that the Roman singer, Giulio Caccini, developed his Florentine monody partly as a result of his studies with a Sieneese teacher, Scipione del Palla, who had himself evolved his own special style only after a long sojourn among the intellectuals of

Naples. And the association of these two musicians makes clear how closely Caccini's art of singing and of composition was connected with the quasi-popular unwritten tradition. It would not, then, be too much of an exaggeration to say that Caccini's *Nuove musiche* is in some sense the Florentine equivalent of the *napolitane*, *veneziane*, *bergamasche* and other local dialects of 16th-century Italian song. But, like the intellectual tone of Florence itself, Caccini's *fiorentine* are not merely frivolous entertainments. They were set to poetry of a high literary standard, the composer's intentions were intellectually ambitious, and his carefully refined melodies were ornamented with rare good taste.

Caccini doubtless came to be regarded, therefore, as a valuable cultural asset, as a symbol of Florence's achievements in music. And some of his trips abroad—to Ferrara in 1583 and 1592 and to Paris in 1603 and 1604—may well have been intended, at least in part, as cultural propaganda.<sup>37</sup> But some of his trips abroad reveal as well another side of Caccini's character: that he was vain, competitive and conscious of his own worth, and that he made enemies and had jealous rivals. His trip to Rome, which he mentioned in the preface to his 1602 *Nuove musiche*, may have been inspired by his unease in Florence immediately following the departure of his powerful patron, Giovanni Bardi, for the papal court.<sup>38</sup> Certainly Caccini's dissatisfaction with life in the Grand Duke's service must soon have come to a head, for he was dismissed by Ferdinando I in 1593; he then considered moving permanently to Rome.<sup>39</sup>

These were not the only times when Caccini decided to leave Florence for good. A letter that has recently come into my possession reveals that he actually went to Genoa in 1595, intending to begin a new career there as a freelance musician, financed by a group of Genoese gentlemen. The letter (reproduced as *illus.3*) was written to him by Piero Strozzi, composer of the carnival music Caccini sang in 1579, one of the interlocutors in Galilei's *Dialogo*, and a member of one of Florence's most distinguished families.<sup>40</sup> The letter gives Strozzi's reasons for thinking Caccini has made a serious mistake. It is interesting enough to deserve quotation in full:

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Al molto Magnifico signore Giulio Caccini suo osservatissimo in Genova

*S'io havessi così la mente scarica di pensieri com'ho la voglia pronta di compiacervi, risponderai alla vostra lettera forse con maggiore*

*To the Most Magnificent Gentleman Giulio Caccini, most worthy, in Genoa*

If only I had a mind as free of cares as I have the desire to please you, I would answer your letter perhaps with greater

sodisfazione. Alla vostra partenza erano (se ben' mi ricordo) nati gli accidenti della morte di mio padre, e di mia madre, onde io posso credere che voi sapeste come inhumanamente l'uno, e l'altro di loro mi trattassero con l'ultima volontà loro, per darmi come havean fatto vivendo travaglio, e guerra eterna. Le quali loro crudeltà mi sono tanto fresche nell'animo che quasi a loro talento tiranneggiano la mia volontà, sì che io non posso secondo 'l vostro, e mio desiderio discorrere con voi intorno alla deliberazione fatta da voi in cambiare la vostra Fiorenza, ove sete (si può dire) nato e allevato, a Genova dove non fusti già mai; o! quanta novità è sotto quelle poche parole: cambiamento d'aria, di vivere, di costumi, di conversazione, d'Amici, di Fortuna, e d'altro ancora che la volesse meglio trattare. Dell'aria e del vivere dianveta in favore, se pur mutando l'una e l'altra voi ne starete in capitale. De costumi, e della conversazione, non so come vi sarà facile a mutarvi in sù quarantacinque anni da una libertà di procedere, che vi eravate presa, e che per le vostre virtù gli amici vostri vi havevano lasciata pigliare, a una ristretta, e reverente maniera di rispetto che vorranno cotesti gentil'huomini che vi comprano. Non vi paia strano il mio dire libero, e ch'io usi questa parola: 'vi comprano', perchè io vo dirvi 'l vero senza maschera, secondo 'l costume dell'affezione ch'io vi porto, e secondo che si conviene a chi consiglia senz'inganno. Vi comprano, sì. Et tutto quel gran partito, e quelle immense speranze che vi hanno sollevato sono il prezzo con il quale si paga la libertà vostra. Ditemi un po', se alcuno di cotesti signori che concorrono allo stipendio che vi promettono vorrà che questa sera andiate a cenare con lui per trattenimento di una sua conversazione, e che per suo piacere vi voglia tutta quella notte con un leuto in mano a dirne quante a lui torneranno bene, non sarete voi tenuto a servirlo? Certo sì, ma vi parrà ben fatica, e la mattina sarete trito, stracco, e indisposto. E potrebbe anche essere che l'altra sera di poi uno di quelli altri ancor egli vi volesse per menarvi à far quattro serenate alle sue Dame, et che così ancor quella notte non vi toccasse a riposar se non quando si riposano i grilli, et anco in questo tempo potre' venire un servitore indiscreto a guastarvi quel po' di sonno, rovinandovi la porta, e gridando 'Venite, venite con la Tiorba,<sup>41</sup> che il mio signor vuol la musica'. E potrebbe anch'essere, se voi non fuste così sollecito a vestirvi, che ei vi dicessi: 'Il signor vi paga, perchè voi lo serviate.' O, ei mi par di vedervi far i brutt'occhi, che vi dolghino le reni, che vi sentiate lo stomaco, e che siate infreddato, sì che a pena vi regghiate in piedi, e più brontolate, che Brontolino.<sup>42</sup>



Ma adagio, che [se] un altro di quelle altezze, che non ha hauto la vostra musica già 4 giorni sono, prepara per la stessa sera un banchetto, e un festino a certe sue parenti, come spesso costumano in Genova, vuol ch'andiate a cantar loro parecchie di quelle vostre

solace. At your departure, if I remember rightly, there arose the misfortunes of the death of my father, and of my mother; therefore I believe that you would have known how inhumanly both of them treated me with their last will, in order to give me distress and eternal war, as they had while they were living. Their cruelty is so fresh in my mind that it tyrannizes my will at their pleasure, so that I cannot have a talk with you, in accordance with your and my desires, about your decision to leave your Florence, where you were (one could say) born and raised, for Genoa, where you have never been. How much innovation is implied in those few words: a change of air, of way of life, of customs, of social relationships ('conversazione'), of friends, and of fortune, and of yet other things that one would like to change for the better. I concede that [a change] of air and of way of life will be advantageous to you if, in changing both, you will gain from it. As for customs and social relationships, I do not know how it will be easy for you to change, at the age of 45, from the free way of behaving, which you are used to having, and which, because of your virtues, your friends have allowed you to keep, to a restrained and reverent manner of respect that these gentlemen, who are buying you, will want. Do not think it strange that I speak freely, and that I use these words 'they are buying you', because I wish to tell you the truth without disguise, in accordance with the affection I have for you, and in accordance with what is appropriate for anyone who gives advice without deceit. Yes, they are buying you, and all of that great gain and those immense hopes which they have raised in you are the prize which is paid for your liberty. Tell me a bit if any of these gentlemen who contribute to the salary they promise will want you to come one evening to dine with him for the pleasure of his company, and then for his pleasure [will] wish you to spend the whole night with a lute in your hands doing what suits him. Will you not be obliged to serve him? Yes, of course, but you will find it very tiring, and the next morning you will be exhausted, worn out and unwell. And it may also be that the next evening yet another of those gentlemen will take you with him to give some serenades to his ladies, and that again that night you will not succeed in getting to bed before the crickets, and then that same night an impudent servant might come to destroy your bit of sleep, banging down your door and crying out: 'Come, come with your theorbo<sup>41</sup> because my master wants music'. And it may even happen that, if you were not eager enough to get dressed, he would say to you: 'Your master pays you because you serve him'. I can see you giving him a black look, because your back hurts, and you have a stomach ache and such a cold that you could scarcely stand on your feet and I can see you grumbling more than Brontolino.<sup>42</sup>

But wait, because [if] another of these most worthy gentlemen, who has not had your music for four days, prepares for the same evening a banquet and an entertain-



*bell'arie per far mostra de' suoi virtuosi, certo che voi non potrete dir: 'Signore, io non posso, io son fioco, io sono stracco', perchè ei direbbe: 'Io ti pago come il signor Tale, e convien che io sia servito come lui'; et harebbe ragione, e nell'atto del pagamento dire forse: 'Ancor io son fioco, e stracco', si che potrebbe passare la cosa di maniera che, circolando il voler di tutti, o a voi non toccasse a far altri mai che cantare, sonare e servire, o che voi non sodisfaceste se non di mano in mano a coloro che si abbattessero a trovarve riposato: delle quali condizioni una non sodisfarebbe a loro, l'altra non piacerebbe a voi. Ma questo mi pare nuovo, che vi siate di modo scordato la fatica che duravate a servire un solo, che pur havea molti altri della vostra professione, onde il vostro servizio potea qualche volta respirare; ve ne siate, dico, di maniera scordato, che hor vi rincoriate di servirne tanti. Mi ricorda pure, quando rimaneste co 'l collo scarico sentirvi celebrare la libertà. Horsù, diciamo che voi vogliate accomodare l'animo a questa Fortuna, e che cotesti signori vogliano usare cortesemente con voi la loro signoria, che e' vi vogliono tenere contento, e farvi ricco e beato. Ascoltate con pace. Havete voi pazienza? Havete voi fermeza in aspettarla? Io credo di no. Horsù, diciam che sì. Io veggio anche alquanti de' pericoli perchè voi sete avvezo dalla cortesia di questi gentil-huomini a trattar con loro quasi che del pari. E con cotesti vi converrà tenervi molto più basso, e più humile stando a loro stipendio. Il che vi parrà malagevole, e vi sarà cagion di disgusto. E ciò è in quanto alla conversazione degli huomini. Venghiam un po' a quella delle Donne, la quale è tanto libera, quanto nel primo ingresso vostro dovete haver già veduto. Elleno son belle, e manierose da smuover un'anima confitta, non che il vostro Genio insaponato, onde io vi veggio in gran pericolo: Dio vi aiuti. Voi mi direte: 'Io scanserò tutti cotesti pericoli che tu avanti mi poni, imparando a vincer me medesimo.' Horsù, bene sta se vi verrà fatto. Ma ce n'è un altro che a superarlo non basterà il saper vincer se medesimo, che bisognerà saper vincer gli altri. A Genova s'usa di non far altro mai che giocare, e voi n'haveste sempre tanto spasimo, che qua dove è proibito, non ve ne sapevate tenere; pensate quel che sarà costà.*

*I Genovesi, per quanto intendo, tutti sono Chiabreri nel giuoco, cioè ne sanno la quinta essenza. E voi non ne sapete, al giudizio del Ghirlanzoni, punto punto,<sup>43</sup> di modo che io discorrendo concludo, che non solamente quello che vi sarà donato [e] quello che vi guadagnerete, ma perderete e perderesti la Flotta dell'Indie; tal che l'esser andato a Genova per guadagnare, et il guadagnato giuocarsi, non farà per voi, né per i vostri figliuoli. Et in conclusione, raccogliendo il mio discorso, a me pare che sottomettiatè l'animo vostro a molti disgusti, il vostro corpo a molte fatiche, la vostra vita a molti pericoli; e che ciò facciate per una speranza fallace, e che pure quando fallace non fosse, e che costì vi venisse fatto il guadagno maggiore che in Firenze non fareste, vi sarà tanto difficile il conservarvelo, che diventerà impossibile, onde non vi tornerà 'l conto. Il disgusto dell'animo sarà l'haver a comportare la maggioranza di troppi padroni; le fatiche del corpo saranno l'esser*

ment for some of his family, as they often do in Genoa, and he wants you to go and sing to them some of your beautiful arias in order to show off his virtuosi, certainly you could not say: 'Sir, I cannot, I am hoarse, I am tired'. Because he could say: 'I pay you as much as Signor So-and-so, and it is fitting that I be served as well as he is'. And he would be right, and perhaps, when he came to pay you, he could say: 'I, too, am hoarse and tired'. So that it might come to pass that in keeping up with the wishes of everyone, either you will never succeed in doing anything but singing, playing, and serving [others], or else you would never give satisfaction except to those who, one after another, would take the trouble to find you at your rest. Of those conditions, one would not satisfy them, and the other would not please you. But it seems to me strange that you have forgotten the hardship that you suffered in serving a single person, who, however, had many others of your profession so that your services could sometimes have a breathing space. I say that you have forgotten to the extent that now you take courage to serve many. I remember, however, when you were free of burdens, hearing you celebrate your liberty.

Well then, let us suppose that you wish to accommodate yourself to this turn of events, and that these gentlemen wish to bestow their lordliness courteously upon you, and that they wish to keep you happy and make you rich and without a care. Listen [to me] in peace. Do you have the patience? Do you have the steadiness to wait? I don't think so. But let us say that you do. I also see some dangers because you are accustomed, thanks to the courtesy of these gentlemen [here], to deal with them almost as with equals; but with those [people there] it will be appropriate to consider yourself much more lowly and of a more humble station, being in their pay, which will seem to you disagreeable and will cause you displeasure. I speak only of your relationships with the men. Let us talk a little of your relationships with the women; their attitude is very free, as you ought already to have seen on your first contact. They are beautiful and stylish [enough] to move [even] a soul that is nailed down, let alone your Genius, so easily moved, which is why I see you in great danger. May God help you.

You will tell me: 'I will escape all these dangers that you place before me by learning to conquer myself'. Well then, it will be good if you are able to manage it. But it is something else when in order to succeed it is not enough to know how to conquer oneself; you will need to know how to conquer others. In Genoa they never do anything else except gamble, which you have always had such a yearning to do, so that here, where it is prohibited, you could hardly keep yourself from it. Think what it will be like there. The Genoese, from what I understand, are all Chiabreras of gambling, that is, they know the quintessence of it, and you don't know anything at all, according to Ghirlanzoni.<sup>43</sup> So that I conclude my argument [by saying] that you will lose, and that you would lose not only all that is given to you

strapazato giorno, e notte dagli humori di giovanotti oziosi e innamorati, che all'età vostra, et alla vostra sanità sarà incomportabile; i pericoli della vita son molti e quasi presso che certi, perchè la vostra complessione cadrà sotto a questi disagi di mangiare a tutte l'ore, non dormir quasi mai, né in tempo né a bisogno, star fuori tutta la notte, e simili. Se sarete menato a far serenate, che vi avverrà quasi ogni notte, farete servizio a colui con cui sarete, et a un altro innamorato, incognito a voi, darete martello, di sorte che, tratto dalla rabbia, se non potrà dar all'asino, darà al basto, e 'l basto sarete voi. Oltre che il vostro maladetto Genio, allettato dalla comune comodità, vi farà rompere il collo, e non potrete guardarvene. A me par che tutto quel ch'io vi ho detto sia più che certo, e più che vero. Qual ragion dunque vi ha mosso a questa risoluzione? Di lasciar Firenze, ove sete vivuto 30 anni, per Genova dove per un pezo sarete novello, i vostri amici antichi, da' quali havete tanti benefizi e tanti honori ricevuti, per nuovi padroni e conoscenti, da' quali altro per ancora non havete che promesse e speranze, e finalmente quella Fortuna, che voi dicevate di voler seguire per buona, con pazienza e fermeza, per tentarne una nuova, che voi stesso non sapete che cosa si sia, né dove si possa terminare se non dove questo mio discorso vi accenna. Altro non saprei che dire per compiacervi, ma infinite altre cose potrei per dir il vero, s'io non mi gardassi da mettervi troppo amaro in un boccone, e questo che v'ho messo l'ho fatto perchè m'havete chiesto il mio parere, et io liberamente ho datovelo, con che vi bacio la mano pregando 'l Signor che vi dia fermeza.

Di Firenze il dì 12 di settembre 1595,

Amico vostro di cuore,

Piero Strozzi



and all that you would have earned, [but even] the Fleet of India. So much so that going to Genoa for profit, and [then] gambling away your earnings will not be good for you or for your children.

And in conclusion, summing up my discussion, it seems to me that you would submit your mind to much offence, your body to many hardships, [and] your life to many dangers, and that you would do this for a vain hope, and that even if it were not vain, and that there you would come to earn more than in Florence, it will be so difficult to keep your profits that it will become impossible, and you will not benefit. The offence to your mind will be having to suffer too many patrons. The hardships to your body will come from being ill used night and day by the desires of those idle and lovelorn young men, which at your age and with your health will be insupportable. The dangers to your life are many and as near as certain because your constitution will fail from the discomforts of eating at all hours, from almost never going to sleep on time or when you need to, from staying out all night, and from similar things. If you would be taken to play serenades, which will happen to you, almost every night, you would be serving whomever you were with, and you would irritate some other lovelorn [gentleman] unknown to you to the point that, driven by anger, being unable to beat the ass, he will beat the saddle, and the saddle will be you. Besides which, your damned Genius, made greedy for the convenience of the community, will make you break your neck, and you won't be able to avoid it.

It seems to me that everything I have said is more than certain and more than true. What reason, then, led you to this decision? To leave Florence, where you have lived for 30 years, for Genoa where you will be a stranger for a long time. [To leave] your old friends from whom you have received so many benefits and so many honours, for new patrons and acquaintances, from whom you have not yet received anything but promises and hopes. And finally, [to leave] that way of life ('Fortuna') that you used to say you wanted to follow earnestly, with patience and steadiness, in order to try something new: [but] you yourself don't know what it is, or where it can lead, if not where my discussion has indicated.

I don't know anything else to say to please you, but I could say many other things to tell the truth, if I would not keep myself from giving you too bitter a pill. But what I have given you I have done because you requested my opinion, and I have given it to you freely, with which I kiss your hand, praying that the Lord will give you steadiness.

From Florence the 12th day of September 1595,

Your friend from the heart,

Piero Strozzi

The letter is fascinating on a number of counts, and not just because it is so obviously an example of the colourful prose of a strong-willed character making a

polemical argument. Along with the new dates so generously supplied me by Tim Carter and Frank D'Accone, the recent researches of H. Wiley



Hitchcock, and the reports of the Este ambassadors in Florence recorded by Anthony Newcomb, it supplies us with a surprising amount of information about Caccini's life and personality.<sup>44</sup> Born in Rome in 1550—as we now know from Strozzi's letter, which refers to Caccini as being 45 in 1595—the composer first studied music in his native city with Giovanni Animuccia, at that time *maestro di cappella* at St Peter's.<sup>45</sup> His musical studies were encouraged by Paolo Falconieri, a member of a distinguished Florentine family living in Rome, and father of Piero Falconieri, the man to whom Caccini dedicated his second volume of *Nuove musiche*.<sup>46</sup> Falconieri may have urged or even enabled the 15-year-old Caccini to go north to Florence about 1565 (Piero Strozzi dates his arrival as 30 years before 1595) in order to study with Palla. Certainly by 1568 the 18-year-old singer was being paid for his services to the Grand Duke, in whose court he came under the powerful protection of Count Giovanni Bardi. But when Bardi left Florence to settle permanently in Rome in 1592, Caccini may have felt helpless against his enemies. For whatever reason, he seems to have paid visits both to Ferrara and to Rome about that time, and soon after he was dismissed by the Grand Duke. Although Caccini threatened to leave Florence and move to Rome permanently as a result, he soon changed his mind. His own version of that episode can be inferred from Strozzi's letter: Caccini claimed that he felt overburdened with work and resented being treated like a servant, but the Ferrarese ambassador reported that he had had a fight with Antonio Salviati and that he thought his salary of 200 *scudi* a year was insufficient, although he had refused an offer of 300 *scudi* a year made by three Florentine gentlemen, who evidently wished to keep him in their city.<sup>47</sup> In any case, Caccini's unhappiness must have continued, and within two years he had settled temporarily in Genoa, where he had been promised a much more lucrative career as a virtuoso supported by a number of Genoese gentlemen. He must have left Florence around July 1595 when, according to Pompeo Litta, Piero Strozzi's father Matteo died.<sup>48</sup> Caccini's Genoese plan soon fell through, however—perhaps Piero Strozzi's predictions came true, or his letter was persuasive—and Caccini returned to Florence to stay for good.

But the letter does more than merely fill in some gaps in Caccini's biography, for its immediate and vivid style illuminates, as few other documents have,

Caccini's personality and his relations with his patrons. It strikingly confirms our previous image of Caccini as, for example, a temperamental and restless man, who yearned for a richer and more glamorous life, who loved to gamble, who was capable of getting himself involved in unfortunate love affairs, and who was sensitive to slights to his dignity and resentful at being treated like a servant.

The letter gives us, too, some insights into the quality of life and working conditions of a musician working at the end of the 16th century. It paints a relatively rosy picture of the stability of life at a court where other musicians could relieve the constant pressures to amuse the courtiers, but it also reveals that Caccini must have had enough financial security even after he left the court to maintain himself and his family in some comfort, even if not at the level he thought he deserved.<sup>49</sup> Evidently the arrangements that he made with the Genoese gentlemen were not unknown in the 16th century; the three Florentines, after all, had come to his aid when he was dismissed in 1593, and service within a northern Italian academy was surely only an institutionalized form of support for musicians by a group of private individuals. Strozzi implied that Caccini would be alone in supplying the entertainment for the Genoese consortium, and he offers refreshingly specific examples, albeit given with a tone of exaggeration, of the kinds of duties such a musical servant would be expected to perform for his masters. Caccini would have had to play and sing at serenades, at formal banquets and at various other kinds of *festini* (of the sort shown in *illus. 1*), and he would have had to perform privately for his patrons on informal occasions, according to no fixed schedule.

The letter offers, too, revealing insights into the relationships musicians had with their aristocratic friends and patrons. Strozzi's iron will shows through his velvet prose. Clearly, he was an outspoken man who tolerated Caccini's foibles quite consciously because of the musician's talents. But there is also a tone of intimacy and of personal concern for Caccini's welfare that reveals more clearly than Strozzi's explicit avowals the extent to which Caccini was, in fact, treated almost as an equal by the Florentine patricians. But that view of the temperamental artist, cosseted by understanding aristocrats and encouraged to dazzle them with his brilliance, must also be tempered by Strozzi's doubtless jaundiced opinion of the quality of life in Genoa, where the noble and the

wealthy patronized their musicians, or treated them with ill-concealed disdain. And Strozzi may have been exceptional; his second wife, after all, was a Caccini.<sup>50</sup>

Even so, some Florentine patricians—or at least one Florentine patrician—claimed to value artistic achievement enough to tolerate idiosyncratic behaviour by a highly talented musician. Whether or not Piero Strozzi believed wholeheartedly in the Florentine myth of a meritocracy, he thought that invoking the myth would be an effective argument in bringing his friend home, and he was prepared to defend it when Caccini threatened to expose himself to the coarseness and imperiousness of the Genoese. Much of Strozzi's letter reflects patriotic astonishment that anyone could even think of leaving the comforts and intellectual stimulation of a Florence that valued even those of her talented sons who were adopted, for the rigours of life in vulgar Genoa.

*A condensed Italian version of this article will appear in the proceedings of the Convegno 'Firenze e la Toscana dei Medici nell'Europa del '500' (Florence, June 1980).*

<sup>1</sup> Caccini's *Le nuove musiche* (Florence, 1602) has been published in a modern edition by H. Wiley Hitchcock (Madison, Wisc., 1970). See there for a list of studies relating to Caccini and his circle. Hitchcock includes an English translation (but not the original Italian) of Caccini's preface, which also appears, after John Playford's 17th-century translation, in O. Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History* (New York, 1950), pp.377-92. The dedication and preface of Caccini's *Nuove musiche* is also printed in A. Solerti, *Le origini del melodramma* (Turin, 1903), pp.53-75. Caccini's second volume of monodies, *Nuove musiche e nuova maniera di scriverle* (Florence, 1614), has also been published in a modern edition by Hitchcock (Madison, Wisc., 1978; reviewed on p.261 of this issue). On this second volume, see also Hitchcock, 'Caccini's "Other" *Nuove Musiche*', *JAMS* 27 (1974), pp.438-60.

Some of the more recent and helpful studies of the intellectual climate in Florentine musical circles in the late 16th century include:

N. Pirrotta, 'Tragédie et comédie dans la camerata fiorentina', in *Musique et poésie au XVIe siècle*, ed. J. Jacquot (Paris, 1954), pp.287-97

—, 'Temperaments and Tendencies in the Florentine Camerata', *MQ* 40 (1954), pp.169-89

C. V. Palisca, 'Girolamo Mei, Mentor to the Florentine Camerata', *MQ* 40 (1954), pp.1-20

— ed., *Girolamo Mei: Letters on Ancient and Modern Music to Vincenzo Galilei and Giovanni Bardì* (Rome, 1960)

Palisca, 'Musical Asides in the Diplomatic Correspondence of Emilio de' Cavalieri', *MQ* 49 (1963), pp.339-55

W. Porter, 'Peri and Caccini's *Dafne*: Some New Discoveries and Observations', *JAMS* 18 (1965), pp.170-96

Palisca, 'The Alterati of Florence, Pioneers in the Theory of Dramatic Music', in *New Looks at Italian Opera: Essays in Honor of Donald J. Grout*, ed. W. W. Austin (Ithaca, NY, 1968), pp.9-28

Pirrotta, 'Early Opera and Aria', in *New Looks at Italian Opera*, pp.39-107

—, *Li due Orfei* (Turin, 1969)

Palisca, 'The "Camerata Fiorentina": A Reappraisal', *Studi musicali*, 1 (1972), pp.203-36

B. R. Hanning, 'Apologia pro Ottavio Rinuccini', *JAMS* 26 (1973), pp.240-62

G. A. Tomlinson, 'Ancora su Ottavio Rinuccini', *JAMS* 28 (1975), pp.351-6

E. Strainchamps, 'New Light on the Accademia degli Elevati of Florence', *MQ* 62 (1976), pp.507-35

J. W. Hill, 'Oratory Music in Florence, 1: *Recitar Cantando*, 1583-1655', *Acta musicologica*, 51 (1979), pp.108-36

Hanning, 'Glorious Apollo: Poetic and Political Themes in the First Opera', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 32 (1979), pp.485-513

<sup>2</sup> On Scipione del Palla, see Pirrotta, *Li due Orfei*, pp.140-41 and 246-52. The fact that he was from Siena is stated in Alessandro Ceccherelli, *Descrizione di tutte le feste e mascherate fatte in Firenze per il carnevale, questo anno; 1567* (Florence, 1567), quoted in F. Ghisi, *Feste musicali della Firenze Medicea (1480-1589)* (Florence, 1939), pp.xxviii-xxix.

F. Vatielli, *Principe di Venosa e Leonora d'Este* (Milan, 1941), pp.54-5, confuses Scipione Stella with Scipione del Palla, a mistake corrected in W. Stalnaker, Jr., *The Beginnings of Opera in Naples* (PhD diss., Princeton U., 1968), p.36, and A. Newcomb, 'Carlo Gesualdo and a Musical Correspondence of 1594', *MQ* 54 (1968), p.417.

<sup>3</sup> The Neapolitan performance of *Gl'Ingannati* in 1545 is described in B. Croce, *I Teatri di Napoli, secolo XV-XVIII* (Naples, 1891), pp.41-2, after A. Castaldo, *Dell'istoria di notar Antonino Castaldo, libri quattro* (Naples, 1769), pp.71-2. See also Pirrotta, *Li due Orfei*, pp.140-42.

The families of Muscetolla, Brancaccio and the Dentices are all listed in F. Bonazzi, *Famiglie nobili e titolate del napoletano* (Naples, 1902). On Brancaccio, see Newcomb, *The Madrigal at Ferrara, 1579-1597*, 2 vols. (Princeton, NJ, 1980), esp. i, pp.185-6. On Giovanni Leonardo dell'Arpa, see Stalnaker, *Opera in Naples*, pp.30-31. R. Giazotto, *Harmonici concerti in aere veneto* (Rome, 1954), pp.38-9, identifies Zoppino as Geronimo Zoppino, a mid-16th-century Ferrarese musician. Giazotto may have reached this conclusion from information supplied in R. Eitner, *Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellenlexikon*, 10 vols. (Leipzig, 1898-1904), x, p.361. On an equally obscure Giovanni Zoppino of Parma, a tenor, see L. Lockwood, 'A Dispute on Accidentals in Sixteenth-Century Rome', *Analecta musicologica*, 2 (1965), p.33.

<sup>4</sup> Croce, *Teatri di Napoli*, pp.42-6.

<sup>5</sup> In the second edition of Dentice, *Duo dialoghi* (Rome, 2/1553), f.H3, the passage reads: 'pochi Musici si trovano che cantano sopra gli stromenti . . . Perche tutti errano in qualche cosa, o nella intonatione, o nella pronuntiatione, o nel sonare, o nel fare i passaggi, o vero nel rimettere e rinforzar la voce quando bisogna: le quali cose, parte per arte, e parte per natura s'acquistano'. I consulted the copy in Chicago, Newberry Library.

On Perino, see E. Wienandt, 'Perino Fiorentino and his Lute Pieces', *JAMS* 8 (1955), pp.2-13. A brief résumé of Brumel's association with the Ferrarese court appears in Newcomb, *The Madrigal at Ferrara*, i, p.169. On the volume of music published by Perino and Francesco da Milano, *Intabolutura de lauto di M. Francesco Milanese et M. Perino Fiorentino* (Venice, Antonio Gardane, 1547), and its reprints, see H. M. Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed before 1600* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965) under 1547<sub>2</sub>, 1562<sub>1</sub>, 1563<sub>6</sub>, and 1566<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>6</sup> See E. Percopo, 'Di una stampa sconosciuta delle "Stanze" del Tansillo per la Duchessa d'Alba (1558)', *Rassegna critica della letteratura italiana*, 19 (1914), pp.73-88; Percopo ed., *Luigi Tansillo: Il canzoniere edito ed inedito* (Naples, 1926), pp.257-61; and Pirrotta, *Li due Orfei*, pp.246-8.

<sup>7</sup> In her translation of Vincenzo Giustiniani's *Discorso sopra la musica* (Rome, 1962), p.69, Carol MacClintock suggests that the singer

may be Eufemia Jozola. For further information on her, see Newcomb, *The Madrigal at Ferrara*, i, p.17. She may be the singer for whom Antonio Allegretti wrote *Fumia la pastorella*, set to music by Monteverdi in his first book of madrigals.

<sup>8</sup> Palla is recorded as a singer for the Grand Duke in 1559 in Florence, Archivio di Stato, Depositeria generale, vol.1515, f.156v; and in 1563 (new style, 1564), in Florence, Archivio di Stato, Mediceo, Filza 616, *Scrittura diverse*, ff.256-61. I owe my knowledge of these documents to the kindness and generosity of Tim Carter and Frank D'Accone.

Palla's death in 1569 is reported in Hill, 'Oratory Music in Florence, I', p.110.

<sup>9</sup> See Ghisi, *Feste musicali*, p.xxviii, who quotes Ceccherelli, *Descrizione di tutte le feste* (1567) as follows: 'La canzone composta da M. Scipione dalle Palla Senese, musico eccellentissimo e la musica da M. Stefano Rossetto a sei, eccellentata con due Tromboni, due Leuti, una Lira, un gravicembalo, un Cornetto e una Traversa'.

<sup>10</sup> 'Giulio musico' is listed as a singer in Florence, Archivio di Stato, Mediceo, Filza 616, f.292. Professor D'Accone, who gave me his transcription of this document, also kindly furnished me with documentation for Caccini's house, his regular employment by the duke, and his salary in 1588, from entries in Florence, Archivio di Stato. The notice relating to Caccini's house appears in Santa Maria del Carmine, *Ricordanze E*, 1572-1618, f.8v.

These new dates confirm the information given in Hitchcock, 'A New Biographical Source for Caccini', *JAMS* 26 (1973), pp.145-7.

<sup>11</sup> Its contents are listed in E. Vogel, rev. and enlarged A. Einstein, *Bibliography of Italian Secular Vocal Music Printed between the Years 1500-1700* (Hildesheim, 1962), pp.690-91. The volume is briefly discussed in Pirrotta, *Li due Orfei*, pp.247-51.

<sup>12</sup> Cleopatra's canzone, *Che non può far donna leggiadra e cara*, is printed in a modern edition in Pirrotta, *Li due Orfei*, p.248. The setting of Petrarch's *Vago angelletto*, first published in Giovanni Camillo Maffei's letter on singing in 1562, is discussed below.

<sup>13</sup> The del Pezzo family is listed in Bonazzi, *Famiglie nobili e titolate*, p.183; the de Ysis family does not appear there. Two volumes of madrigals by Francesco Menta, with many settings of Petrarch's poems, are listed and described in Vogel, Einstein, Lesure and Sartori, *Bibliografia della musica italiana vocale profana pubblicata dal 1500 al 1700 [Il nuovo Vogel]*, 3 vols. (Geneva, 1977), ii, pp.118-19. Menta is identified in the prefatory material as a native of Brussels. On Rodio, see the preface to M. S. Kastner ed., *Rocco Rodio: Cinque ricercate, una fantasia* (Padua, 1958).

AERI RACOLTI / INSIEME CON ALTRI / BELLISSIMI  
AGGIUNTI / DI DIVERSI / Dove si cantano Sonetti,  
Stanze, / & Terze Rime, nuovamente / ristampati.

Naples, Appresso Giosepepe Cacchio dell Aquila, 1577.

fol. Alv Dedication to Signor Tarquinio del Pezzo, signed by Rocco Rodio. Excerpts from the dedication are reprinted in G. Gaspari and others, *Catalogo della Biblioteca del Liceo musicale di Bologna*, 5 vols. (Bologna, 1890-1943), iii, p.205, and in Vogel, rev. Einstein, *Bibliography* (see fn.11), p.690.

1 *Erano i capei d'oro à l'aura sparsi* a 4 Sig. Pietro de Ysis  
Sonnet no.90 by Petrarch (*Opere di Francesco Petrarca*,  
ed. E. Bigi (Milan, 1963) and, in Italian and English,  
in *Petrarch's Lyric Poems*, ed. and trans. R. M. Durling  
(Cambridge, Mass., 1976))

2 *Tu che'l passato mio buon tempo sai* a 4 Dentici  
Text unidentified

3 *Poi che'l mio largo pianto* a 4 Rocco Rodio

Text unidentified

Different settings appear in: (1) *The Bottegari Lutebook* (see fn.15), no.25 (Bottegari); (2) *ibid*, no.79 (Bottegari); and (3) Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Magl.XIX, 66, p.47, and Brussels, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire, MS 704, p.35. See W. Boetticher, *Orlando di Lasso und seine Zeit, 1532-1594* (Kassel and Basle, 1958), pp.501-3, for a discussion of Lasso's setting of the text and a list of many other settings. For still other settings, see *Il nuovo Vogel* (see fn.13). The earliest known to me is that by Marchetto Cara in Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS Cl.IV, 1795-8, no.88, ed. in Prizer, *Marchetto Cara and the North Italian Frottola* (see fn.20), ii, pp.253-5. Boetticher claims that the poet is Petrarch, although the poem does not appear in any edition or concordance of the poet's works.

4 *Speme che gli occhi nostri vel'e fasci* a 4

Sonnet by Pietro Bembo (*P. Bembo: Opere in volgare*,  
ed. M. Marti (Florence, 1961), p.480)

5 *Cantai un tempo e si fu dolce il* a 4 Dentici  
canto

Sonnet by Pietro Bembo (*Opere in volgare*, p.476)

Different setting in *The Bottegari Lutebook*, no.51  
(anon.)

6 *E dove non potea la debil voci* a 3

Heading: "Qui sopra si può cantare ogn'altra  
Stanza"

Canto 10, stanza 25, from Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*

7 *Tutt'il di piango e poi la notte* a 3

Sonnet no.216 by Petrarch

Different setting in *The Bottegari Lutebook*, no.52  
(anon.)

8 *Nel tempo che rinnova i miei sospiri* a 3

Heading: "Qui sopra si può dire ogni sorte di  
capitoli in terza rima"

From Petrarch, *Trionfo d'Amore* (*Opere*, p.267)

9 *Amor fortuna e la mia mente* a 3

Sonnet no.124 by Petrarch

10 *Amor m'impennò l'ali tant'in alto* a 3

Sonnet by Luigi Tansillo (*L. Tansillo: Poesie liriche*, ed.  
F. Fiorentino (Naples, 1882), p.13; this is a different  
poem from Tasso's *Amor l'ali m'impenna*, set by Caccini  
in *Nuove musiche* (1614), no.12.

11 *Che non può far donna leggiadra* a 3 (Scipione del  
e cara Palla?)

Poem by Tansillo for performance of *Alessandro* in  
1558 (*Poesie liriche*, pp.182-4)

12 *Era il bel viso suo qual esser suole* a 3

Canto 11, stanza 65, from Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*

13 *Hor che'l ciel e la terra* a 3

Sonnet no.164 by Petrarch

14 *Menava gli anni miei gioioso e lieto* a 3

Poem by Luigi Tansillo (*Poesie liriche*, pp.172-3)

- 15 *Passer mai solitario in alcun tetto* a 3  
Sonnet no.226 by Petrarch  
Different setting in Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Magl.XIX, 66, p.52, and Brussels, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire, MS 704, p.47
- 16 *Passa la nave mia colma d'oblio* a 3  
Sonnet no.189 by Petrarch
- 17 *Pien d'un vago pensier che mi disvia* a 3  
Sonnet no.169 by Petrarch
- 18 *Ben s'io non er[ro]lo di pietat'un raggio* a 3  
*Secunda pars* of no.17
- 19 *Superbi colli e voi sacre ruine* a 3  
Sonnet by Giovanni Guidiccioni (*G. Guidiccioni: Opere*, ed. C. Minutoli (Florence, 1867), p.71)
- 20 *Sopr'una verde riva* a 3  
*Egloga terza* from Jacopo Sannazaro, *Arcadia* (J. Sannazaro: *Opere volgari*, ed. A. Mauro (Bari, 1961), p.22)  
Different setting in Brussels, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire, MS 704, p.3  
For other settings of this text, mostly as madrigals, see S. Leopold, 'Madrigali sulle egloghe sdruciole di Jacopo Sannazaro', *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, 14 (1979), pp.106-7.
- 21 *Solo e pensoso i più deserti campi* a 3  
Sonnet no.35 by Petrarch
- 22 *Vago augelletto che cantando vai* a 3  
Sonnet no.353 by Petrarch  
For the embellished version by G. C. Maffei, see the discussion below (fn.35) and ex.6.
- 23 *Empio cor, cruda voglia* a 3 S. Fabritio Dentice  
Unidentified sonnet  
An arrangement of Dentice's piece appears in *The Bottegari Lutebook*, no.70, and a composition based on the same musical material and attributed to 'Cavalier' Antinor' appears in the Cavalcanti Lutebook (Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, MS II.275 D, f.52).  
*Empio cor* is mentioned as a song sung by the lower classes ('plebea') in Naples in *Giambattista Del Tufo: Ritratto*, ed. C. Tagliareni (Naples, 1959), f.210, quoted in Cardamone, *The 'Canzone villanesca alla napoletana'* (see fn.36), p.246.
- 24 *Dura legge d'amor* a 3 Scipione del Palla  
From Petrarch, *Trionfo d'Amore* (*Opere*, p.279)  
Different setting in *The Bottegari Lutebook*, no.86 (anon.)
- 25 *Cari scogli diletti e fid'arene* a 3 Incerto Autore  
Sonnet by Jacopo Sannazaro (*Opere volgari*, p.169)  
For other settings of this text, mostly as madrigals, see Leopold, 'Madrigali sulle egloghe', p.119
- 26 *Per pianto la mia carne si distilla* a 3 S. Pietro de Isis  
From *Egloga seconda* of Jacopo Sannazaro, *Arcadia* (*Opere volgari*, p.14)
- Different settings in *The Bottegari Lutebook*, no.12 ('Della . . . Signora Leonora Orsina Duchessa di Segni'), and no.18 (Bottegari). For other settings, mostly as madrigals, see Leopold, 'Madrigali sulle egloghe', pp.104-5.
- 27 *Padre del ciel dopo i perduti giorni* a 3 Francesco Menta  
Sonnet no.62 by Petrarch
- 28 *Ombrosa valle di bei fior dipinta* a 3 Incerto Autore  
Unidentified canzonetta text  
Different settings in (1) Alessandro Merlo, *Il secondo libro delle napoletane a cinque voci con una canzone del medesimo nel fine* (Venice, Girolamo Scotto, 1571), no.21 (as the *terza parte* of the canzone, which begins 'Rose Novelle, amorosette rose'); (2) Pietro Paolo Quartieri, *Madrigali . . . a cinque voci . . . libro primo* (Rome, Francesco Coattini, 1592), no.4 (as a madrigal in two *partes*); and (3) Fabritio Caroso, *Il ballarino* (Venice, 1581), p.129, as a *balletto* with choreography and with music for solo lute. The version by Caroso and the tune quoted in Francisco Salinas, *De musica* (Salamanca, 1577; facs. ed. by M. S. Kastner (Kassel and Basle, 1958)), bk.vi, chap.19, p.362, show some points of resemblance with the version in Rodio's *Aeri raccolti*. *Ombrosa valle* is mentioned as a song sung in Naples, in Del Tufo, *Ritratto*, f.210, quoted in Cardamone, *The 'Canzone villanesca alla napoletana'*, p.242.
- 29 *Quando il dolor mi strugge* a 3 S. Tarquinio  
Unidentified text del Pezzo

<sup>14</sup> The concordances in the table are taken only from the early 17th-century repertory of monodies, except where otherwise noted. Numerous polyphonic settings of the same texts, as madrigals, are listed in *Il nuovo Vogel*. The concordances were made chiefly with the help of the indexes of manuscripts given in Ghisi, *Alle fonti della monodia* (Milan, 1940/R1970), and W. V. Porter, *The Origins of the Baroque Solo Song: A Study of Italian Manuscripts and Prints from 1590-1610* (PhD diss., 2 vols., Yale U., 1962). Pirrotta (*Li due Orfei*, pp.249 and 296) argues that the two pieces attributed merely to Dentice (nos.2 and 5) were probably written by Luigi. The statement, made by the Neapolitan gentleman Giambattista Del Tufo (see nos.23 and 28), that some of these songs were sung by the lower classes of Naples should probably be taken with a grain of salt. Del Tufo includes in his list of popular songs Palestrina's *Vestivi i colli*, and other madrigals that are neither Neapolitan nor related in any way to the 'unwritten tradition'.

<sup>15</sup> Ex.1 sets out the superius and bass as they appear in the 1577 *Aeri raccolti*, no.23. Altus and tenor are adapted from the version for solo voice and lute in C. MacClintock ed., *The Bottegari Lutebook* (Wellesley, Mass., 1965), no.70. On the Bottegari Lutebook, see MacClintock, 'A Court Musician's Songbook: Modena MS C 311', *JAMS* 9 (1956), pp.177-92.

<sup>16</sup> For recent studies of two of the stock harmonic progressions or tunes, see W. Kirkendale, *L'aria di Fiorenza id est Il Ballo del Gran Duca* (Florence, 1972), and J. Wendland, "'Madre non mi far Monica": the Biography of a Renaissance Folksong', *Acta musicologica*, 48 (1976), pp.185-204.

Strictly speaking, of course, this repertory is neither popular nor unwritten. The compositions described in this way all survive in printed and manuscript anthologies, written by highly sophisticated and well-trained musicians. Presumably such music was

intended for the entertainment of musically literate audiences, those members of the aristocracy and the *haute bourgeoisie* who patronized composers and performers and who themselves cultivated secular music assiduously. Many of these gentlemen and ladies sang or played instruments themselves regularly with professional musicians, and some of them even wrote and published their own madrigals and villanellas.

<sup>17</sup> The setting appears in *Aeri raccolti* as no.24. In his modern edition in *Li due Orfei*, p.250, Pirrotta also bars the piece irregularly. Pirrotta states that Palla's name is written into the volume over *Dura legge*, but it is also printed (as 'Scipione delle Palle') in the bass partbook.

<sup>18</sup> Pirrotta, *Li due Orfei*, pp.250-51. In 'Tragédie et comédie', Pirrotta suggests Caccini's indebtedness to earlier Neapolitan and Roman practice.

<sup>19</sup> See D. P. Walker, 'Le chant orphique de Marsile Ficin', in *Musique et poésie au XVIIe siècle*, pp.17-33.

<sup>20</sup> The latest study of the Mantuan frottola is W. F. Prizer, *Marchetto Cara and the North Italian Frottola* (PhD diss., 2 vols., U. of North Carolina, 1974).

<sup>21</sup> See Palisca, 'Vincenzo Galilei and Some Links between "Pseudo-Monody" and Monody', *MQ* 46 (1960), pp.344-60.

<sup>22</sup> *Sopra una verde riva* appears in *Aeri raccolti* as no.20.

<sup>23</sup> Strozzi's piece appears in facsimile in Ghisi, *Feste musicali*, p.89, and in modern edition in Ghisi, *Alle fonti della monodia*, p.46 and in Pirrotta, *Li due Orfei*, pp.253-4.

<sup>24</sup> *The Bottegari Lutebook*, no.35. The version there differs in some details from that in Caccini's *Nuove musiche* (1602), ed. Hitchcock, no.17.

<sup>25</sup> The complete (and ornamented) version of *Ardi, cor mio* appears in a modern edition in Caccini's *Nuove musiche* (1602), ed. Hitchcock, no.15. My unornamented version is not very different from the versions that appear in manuscript sources of the period; see Hitchcock, 'Vocal Ornamentation', pp.394-5, esp. ex.4.

<sup>26</sup> For a modern edition of Caccini's preface, and an English translation, see the studies cited in fn.1.

The direct comparison between Caccini's arias and the Neapolitan arias of 1577 makes it abundantly clear that things were not always quite what they seemed in the 16th century. Much music was printed in a neutral version, as it were, much like sheet music in the 20th century, in a way that made it relatively easy for musicians to re-arrange compositions in the way they found most convenient. Thus, we have already seen that polyphonic madrigals could be performed by unaccompanied groups of singers, by vocal ensembles with the accompaniment of instruments, or by solo singers accompanied either by ensembles of instruments or by a single chordal instrument. And madrigals were even performed by instruments alone, although with the more text-orientated examples that can hardly ever have been a really satisfactory manner of performance.

Similarly, the repertory Caccini described as solo songs, and that I have taken some pains to associate with the unwritten tradition of pseudo-popular Italian music, was normally published in three or four partbooks in the 16th century, with texts beneath each voice. We can legitimately describe them as solo songs, however, in spite of their printed form, because Caccini clearly thought of them as solo songs, because some of the Neapolitan examples come from dramatic *intermedii* where they are described as being performed by a single singer, because other descriptions from the time associate the repertory with solo singing, because such pieces do appear in large quantities in sources like the *Bottegari Lutebook* (which admittedly also contains some polyphonic madrigals arranged for solo voice and lute), and perhaps chiefly because the style of these airs and canzonettas, with their strong emphasis on a single melodic line and an accompanying bass, so strongly suggests the appropriateness of solo performance. Earlier in the 16th century,

such 'solo songs' were disguised in printed volumes as pieces for three or four voices. And, indeed, they were doubtless performed on occasion by ensembles of voices with or without instruments. Caccini himself explained that he had composed his canzonettas, printed in his volumes as pieces for solo voice and basso continuo, in the first place as solos accompanied by ensembles of string instruments.

<sup>27</sup> See Hitchcock, 'Caccini's "Other" *Nuove Musiche*', pp.438-60, and esp. pp.454-9. <sup>28</sup> *Aeri raccolti*, no.15.

<sup>29</sup> As he is called in Antonio Brunelli's dedication to Caccini of his *Canoni varii musicali* (Venice, Giacomo Vincenti, 1612), described and reprinted in Hitchcock, 'A New Biographical Source for Caccini'

<sup>30</sup> See Palisca, 'Musical Asides in the Diplomatic Correspondence of Emilio de' Cavalieri', pp.351-2.

<sup>31</sup> On this point, see Hitchcock, 'Vocal Ornamentation', pp.389-404. That some of the *aeri* of 1577 were intended as schemata is suggested, of course, by the headings on nos.6 and 8 stating that they can serve for any stanza or poems in *terza rima*. Perhaps, then, no.7, the setting of a sonnet by Petrarch, was also intended as a piece to which any sonnet could be sung.

<sup>32</sup> See *The Bottegari Lutebook*, no.12.

<sup>33</sup> The letter is published in Giovanni Camillo Maffei da Solofra, *Libri due, Dove tra gli altri bellissimi pensieri di Filosofia, e di Medicina, v'è un discorso della Voce e del Modo, d'apparare di cantar di Garganta, senza maestro, non più veduto, n'istampato*, ed. Don Valerio de Paoli da Limosano (Naples, Raymundo Amato, 1562), pp.5-81. The letter is discussed and reprinted in N. Bridgman, 'Giovanni Camillo Maffei et sa lettre sur le chant', *Revue de musicologie*, 38 (1956), pp.3-34.

<sup>34</sup> Layolle's madrigal and its embellishments by Maffei are reprinted in E. Ferand, *Die Improvisation in Beispielen aus neun Jahrhunderten abendländischer Musik*, Das Musikwerk (Cologne, 1956), pp.52-6 and 165.

<sup>35</sup> *Aeri raccolti*, no.22. Rodio's volume gives only mm.1-19. Note that the rhythm has been modified in some passages after m.19 to accommodate the additional text or Maffei's embellishments or both. Note, too, that I have kept Rodio's rhythms in some places (for example, mm.27 and 56), even where Maffei's embellishments seem to conflict with the implied harmony.

Bridgman's quasi-facsimile contains some errors, corrected here after Maffei's 1562 volume. I have changed Maffei's version in the following passages (note values are here referred to by their original names; they have been halved in transcription):

m.10 The eight fusae are all semiminims in Maffei.

m.14 A repeat sign appears in Maffei between the two notes.

m.19 Maffei ends the phrase with a semibreve *g'*, a repeat sign, a longa *g'* with fermata, and a double bar.

m.26 Maffei includes an extra *c''* semiminim at the end of the measure.

m.33 A repeat sign appears in Maffei after the *b'* flat.

m.36 Maffei ends the phrase with a semibreve *b'* flat, a repeat sign, a longa *b'* flat with fermata, and a double bar.

m.38 The sixth fusa reads *d'* and not *e'* in Maffei.

m.49 Maffei ends the phrase with a longa *g'* with fermata, followed by a double bar.

m.57 In Maffei, the two fusae are written as semifusae.

m.61 Maffei ends the phrase with a semibreve *g'*, a repeat sign, a longa *g'* with fermata, and a double bar.

<sup>36</sup> Maffei, *Libri due*, p.78. On the origin and early years of the villanella, see D. G. Cardamone, *The 'Canzone villanesca alla napoletana' and Related Italian Vocal Part-Music: 1537 to 1570* (PhD diss., 2 vols., Harvard U., 1972). See also Cardamone, 'The Debut of the *Canzone villanesca alla napoletana*', *Studi musicali*, 4 (1975), pp.65-130; and Cardamone ed., *Adrian Willaert and his Circle: Canzone villanesche alla napoletana and villotte* (Madison, Wisc., 1978).

In 'Tragédie et comédie', p.290, Pirrotta argues that Vincenzo

Giustiniani claimed that *villanelle alla napoletana* began to be ornamented about 1575. In fact, Giustiniani (*Discorso*, trans. MacClintock, p.69) claimed that a new kind of embellishment grew up about 1575, and he associated the new style with a group of male virtuoso singers who sang in both bass and tenor ranges. Giustiniani's treatise is printed in Italian in Solerti, *Le origini del melodramma*, pp.98-128. Caccini wrote some monodies for these men, and published them in his *Nuove musiche* (1614); for further information, see Hitchcock, 'Caccini's "Other" *Nuove Musiche*', pp.447-53.

<sup>37</sup> On Caccini's visits to Ferrara, see Newcomb, *The Madrigal at Ferrara*, i, pp.199-203. On his trip to Paris in 1603-4, see F. Boyer, 'Giulio Caccini à la cour d'Henri IV, d'après des lettres inédites', *La revue musicale*, vol.7, no.11 (1926), pp.241-50 and M. G. Masera, 'La famiglia Caccini alla corte di Maria de'Medici', *La rassegna musicale*, 13 (1940), pp.481-4.

<sup>38</sup> On Caccini's trip to Rome and on his unease after Bardi's departure, see C. Casellato, 'Caccini', in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 16 (1973), pp.25-33.

<sup>39</sup> On his dismissal by Ferdinando I, see Newcomb, *The Madrigal at Ferrara*, i, pp.202-3. According to Newcomb, Caccini was reinstated as from 1 October 1600.

<sup>40</sup> I owe my knowledge of the letter to the good offices of Hermann Baron of London. On Piero Strozzi, see Pirrotta, *Li due Orfei*, pp.252-5. In the transcription of the letter, I have expanded abbreviations without comment, and added punctuation and accents following modern usage. I am grateful to Professor Vanni Bartolozzi and Professor Pierluigi Petrobelli for invaluable help in establishing the text and making the translation.

<sup>41</sup> I am grateful to Douglas Alton Smith for pointing out to me that the letter is apparently the earliest known document which uses the word 'tiorba' to mean 'theorbo'. For further information on the early history of the instrument, see Smith, 'On the Origins of the Chitarrone', *JAMS* 32 (1979), pp.440-62.

<sup>42</sup> I have been unable to find any reference to Brontolino in Florentine sources of the period. He must have been either a traditional character in Florentine folklore, a character in *commedia dell'arte*, or else a friend of Caccini and Strozzi who grumbled a lot. It is just possible that the phrase means: 'and you would grumble more than they grumble'.

<sup>43</sup> While the poet Gabriello Chiabrera, who supplied Caccini with so many of the texts he set, was a well-known poet, 'Ghirlanzoni' was not a famous man. Strozzi must be referring to Lelio Ghirlanzoni, a colleague of Caccini in the Compagnia dell'Arcangelo Raffaello, and apparently associated with him in staging various entertainments at court. I am grateful to Tim Carter for supplying me with this identification. On Ghirlanzoni, see Hill, 'Oratory Music in Florence, I', p.114, n.29, and p.134, document 9.

<sup>44</sup> See fns.8, 10, 29 etc above.

<sup>45</sup> That Caccini studied with Animuccia is reported in Brunelli's dedication, reprinted in Hitchcock, 'A New Biographical Source', pp.146-7.

<sup>46</sup> On Paolo and Piero Falconieri, see Hitchcock, 'Caccini's "Other" *Nuove Musiche*', pp.459-60.

<sup>47</sup> On Caccini's quarrel with Salviati, and the offer of 300 *scudi* by three Florentine gentlemen, see Newcomb, *The Madrigal at Ferrara*, i, p.202.

<sup>48</sup> P. Litta, *Celebri famiglie italiane* (Milan, n.d.), 'Strozzi di Firenze', pl.xix. Litta describes Matteo Strozzi, the father of Piero, as 'uomo di natura inquieta e litigiosa per cui fu in continue contestazioni co'parenti, e morì nel 1595, 16 luglio'.

<sup>49</sup> Some musicians in the late 16th century seem to have acquired enough capital to invest in businesses, or to achieve in some other way at least a modicum of economic independence. I think immediately of Cosimo Bottegari, Adrian le Roy, Jacopo Peri and Palestrina, and other examples could doubtless easily be found.

<sup>50</sup> Litta, 'Strozzi', pl.xix, lists Piero Strozzi's second wife, whom he married in 1607, as Alessandra di Giovanni Caccini.

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