

LARS BERGLUND & MARIA SCHILDT (EDS)

Translatio Musicae

VANITAS

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Circulation
and Use of Music in
Early Modern Europe

KUNGL. VITTERHETS HISTORIE OCH
ANTIKVITETS AKADEMIEN HANDLINGAR
HISTORISKA SERIEN 43

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Abstract

This volume contains contributions from the conference ‘*Translatio musicae*: French and Italian music in Northern Europe, c. 1650–1730’. The different chapters examine the circulation of music in early modern Europe, focusing on the Baroque period (c. 1600–1750). “Translation” is a central key concept for the volume, as used in the early, equivocal sense, referring both to transferring as displacement and to translation as adaptation, modification or reworking. Translation describes both the displacement of music and its adaptations for new uses and purposes at its new location. The various chapters present a wide range of themes and topics with no geographical bias, apart from Europe, dealing with circulation between distant parts of the Continent, but also within one and the same region or city. The chapters share a particular interest in the processes of how French and Italian music was translated to Northern Europe.

Keywords: 17th century musical culture, cultural transfer, early modern music, musical collections, musical exchange, musical sources, reception



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Introduction

TRANSLATIO IS A LATIN term deriving from the verb *transfere*: to transport or transfer something, to carry or bring over something and, more specifically, to carry something *across* something. In English, both *transfer* and *translate* originate from the Latin *transfere*. *Transfer* still conveys the original sense of bringing something over, or across. From the 17th century onwards it has often taken on the more specific meaning of transferring property or money, while retaining the more general sense of transportation or replacement, a sense used in social theory in the concept *cultural transfer*. *Translate* retains the sense of bringing something across something—be it geographical borders or boundaries of a more socio-cultural kind.

Translation has at least two meanings in current English. An old meaning is the removal of holy relics from one location to another, signifying displacement and transfer in a very literal sense. The other meaning, more common today, is the “rendering of a text from one language to another”.¹ Still, the root of these significations is the same: the narrower linguistic form of translation metaphorically refers to a carrying across, a “transfer of meaning”.² In recent translation studies, against the background of increasing awareness of the complexity of this apparently simple concept, the definitions of translation have both broadened and to some extent returned to the original meaning of carrying across, replacing or creative reworking.³

1 *Online Etymology Dictionary*, ‘Translation’; <https://www.etymonline.com>, accessed May 2023.

2 *Online Etymology Dictionary*, ‘Translation’; <https://www.etymonline.com>, accessed May 2023.

3 Reynolds 2016; 2019.

This volume is one of several outcomes of ‘*Translatio musicae*: French and Italian music in Northern Europe, c. 1650–1730’, a research project funded by Riksbankens Jubileumsfond from 2019 to 2023. In the project, we deliberately used the concept of translation in the early, equivocal sense, referring both to transferring as displacement—an act of carrying across—and to translation as adaptation, modification or reworking. Our point is that no relocation can occur without inducing some sort of change or transformation, i.e., translation. *Translatio*/translation thus describes both the displacement of music and its often creative adaptations for new uses and purposes at its new location, emphasizing the persistently transformative nature of such processes. This double turn of displacement and modification described by the term engenders new perspectives on and new insights into the transnational circulation and use of music during this period. It describes the integrated process of transnational displacement and relocation through adaptation—what Michel Garner has called “tradaptations”.⁴

Recent decades have witnessed an irruption of studies in this field, often conceptualized as cultural transfer or migration. In the process, a repertoire of more or less theoretical concepts has circulated, concepts that have been travelling between different fields in a constant process of adaptation and transformation—for example, *cultural transfer*, *migration*, *cultural exchange*, *cultural encounters*, *transnational interchange*, *localization*, *domestication*, *dissemination* and *reception*. Some of these concepts have a theoretically more rigid, or even ideologically charged, background, such as *appropriation* and *hybridization*. Others are seemingly more innocent and descriptive, such as *circulation*.⁵ Many of these terms are still useful, and it is hoped that this variety in terminology can help add nuance and precision to descriptions of such processes. Nevertheless, it is always important to be aware of which kind of agency is implied or presupposed by the terms used. This project draws inspiration from the sociology of translation, also referred to as actor-network theory, without strictly adhering to it.⁶ We sympathize with the desire to keep questions of agency open until late in the analysis, and to look

4 Burke 2007.

5 Berglund 2017.

6 Callon 1986; Latour 2005.

at network relations and exchanges in an unbiased way, in which the terms used to describe actions and events are unprejudiced, and interpretations and conclusions are not presupposed by the concepts used. We have attempted to trace, map and describe the connections and concatenations in the actor networks studied, and only then to problematize the intentionality and possible agendas underlying different agencies.

This volume examines the circulation of music in early modern Europe, from the late 16th century until the late 18th century, but with some digressions into the 19th century. The various chapters are principally chronologically organized. They present a wide range of themes and topics with no geographical bias, apart from Europe, dealing with circulation between distant parts of the Continent, but also within one and the same region or city. The chapters share a particular interest in the processes of how French and Italian music was translated to Northern Europe.

Translation as transfer or transmission is addressed in all of the chapters, including the circulation of music manuscripts and prints in a material sense as well as musical works in an intangible sense. Such processes usually concern dissemination forward in time, expanding geographically, but sometimes also involve tracing provenances with the chronology reversed. Some texts also discuss translation as adaptation and reworking, always in combination with some kind of geographical and cultural displacement. Human actors are part of these processes, as mediators or intermediaries, but also different institutions, organizations and enterprises. So are also, implicitly, non-human actors such as means of transportation, printing equipment, paper and quill. When individual actors acted as mediators, they were often creative recipients who took an active part in the processes of decontextualization and recontextualization.

Klemen Grabnar studies transfer from the northern to southern parts of the Holy Roman Empire through considering a Magnificat setting composed by Michael Praetorius. The piece is included in the Hren choirbooks, originating in Graz and dating from the first decade of the 17th century. The strong Italian ascendancy of the contents of these choirbooks is evident not only from the names of composers but

also from the Italianate musical style of the included non-Italian composers. This was in line with the repertoire in Inner Austria, which was characterized by a preponderance of Italian Catholic church music. Grabnar highlights the curious presence in these choirbooks of the Magnificat by Praetorius, coming from the Protestant north, and provides context for the inclusion.

Margaret Murata looks at the known existing copies of three Roman chamber cantatas, two by Giacomo Carissimi, who never left Italy, and one by Carlo Caproli, whose *Nozze di Peleo e di Theti* was staged in 1654, as a semiopera. Potential points of transfer appear to be musicians in Paris, Dresden and Stockholm, although we lack concrete documentation. What stands out is the longevity of these works, well past the 20-year mark that the English Concerts of Ancient Musick considered “old”—from time of composition or the death of the composer—and their transformations into music for non-professional singers.

Lars Berglund focuses on the local and global aspects of the circulation of Carissimi’s sacred works in the 17th century. He uses a catalogue of music manuscripts from Chiesa del Gesù, preserved in the Jesuit Archives in Rome, and compares this list with works preserved in manuscripts and contemporary printed editions from Rome and abroad. These comparisons suggest that Carissimi’s music was highly restricted in its accessibility during the composer’s lifetime and in the decades following his death, not only abroad but also within Rome itself. Nevertheless, manuscripts appear to have circulated within the Jesuit circles of Rome. He also uses some case studies to demonstrate how the catalogue from Chiesa del Gesù can be used to resolve questions of attribution.

Valentina Trovato also addresses issues of the circulation of Carissimi’s music. She studies French sources of Carissimi’s oratorio *Jephthe*, taking as a starting point the praise of its final chorus, ‘Plorate filii’, in Athanasius Kircher’s *Musurgia universalis* (1650). Because of the lack of autographs and Italian sources, the French manuscripts are of great importance, being chronologically close to the time of composition. Trovato discusses different French manuscripts, among them the ones owned by Marc-Antoine Charpentier and Sébastien de Brossard, as well as French manuscripts preserved in Lyon and Hamburg. The last

manuscript is particularly interesting since it was probably copied from an Italian antigraph. By analysing the French sources, Trovato reveals the context in which these were circulating, emphasizing the importance of specific mediators.

Nicola Usula deals with the history and surviving sources of the opera *Dario in Babilonia* by Francesco Beverini (libretto) and Giovanni Antonio Boretti (music). While the full score of the opera is lost, several of the arias have been preserved in a volume belonging to the music library of Leopold I in Vienna. This chapter traces the details surrounding the productions and performances of the opera in Italy and the subsequent role of the manuscript collection of its arias in the courtly context in Vienna. In this case, rather than reflecting public consumption, acquiring and collecting Italian opera music were activities arising from the private and personal interests of the emperor.

Peter Wollny brings new perspectives to bear on Johann Jacob Froberger's journeys and works by examining the context of his 'London Autograph'. This autograph manuscript, auctioned in 2006 by Sotheby's in London and now held in a private collection, sheds new light on Froberger's last decade and has fascinating implications for the distribution of his music. Froberger was a remarkable figure in the 17th century, born in Protestant Stuttgart and receiving his education at the imperial court of Vienna, the heart of Catholicism. Later travelling to Rome, Paris, Dresden, Brussels, London, Regensburg and other towns, he became one of the first truly international figures of his age. Wollny puts his Froberger case in a wider context, in which the distribution of music largely relied on travelling mediators, crossing geographical, confessional and social boundaries.

The transfer and translation of French music are explored in two chapters. French sacred music is the focus of Louis Delpech. Although the dissemination of French music in Northern Europe is often seen through the lenses of theatre and ballet, this does not account for the great diversity of musical transfers between France and its Lutheran neighbours. Delpech notes that music historians often have prioritized Italian sacred music and overlooked more general evidence of the travels of its French counterpart. The chapter explores the hitherto unknown astonishing degree of circulation of sacred music between

France and various Lutheran courts around 1700. He examines the diffusion of printed and manuscript musical sources in 17th-century Germany, bringing new and varying types of evidence to bear on this question while also considering the migration of French musicians in German-speaking lands.

Maria Schildt addresses the issue of French secular music in Northern Europe, focusing on the early circulation of music from Jean-Baptiste Lully's operas and ballets. Although difficult to obtain, Lully's music was already circulating outside the French court before his death in 1687: for example, it was purchased by the social and intellectual elite to signify status, was acquired by courts outside France, and travelled with French musicians. The few and fragmentary music manuscripts from this early circulation have often survived in places geographically distant from Paris, such as Sweden. Schildt examines the preserved manuscripts, representing different modes of circulation, and relates these modes to the mediators' financial and social resources, their networks, rank and degree of access.

Stephen Rose addresses issues related to the acquisition and cultivation of Italian music in England around 1700. He shows how members of the social elite indicated their status not simply by acquiring foreign rarities, but also by cultivating these rarities in a new environment. The chapter examines the negotiations to acquire and cultivate Italian music, as undertaken by the Sherard brothers, who supplied the social and intellectual elite with rarities such as exotic plants, scholarly books and continental music. One of their clients was Wriothesley Russell, second Duke of Bedford, who helped introduce and promote Italian music by importing manuscripts and hiring resident Italian musicians. James Sherard used a commonplace book to study this repertory and to teach himself the musical syntax of the Italianate trio sonata, enabling him to compose sonatas that he presented to Russell. Rose explores the financial and symbolic value that the English elite placed on Italian music and its cultivation, partly through the study of musical manuscripts annotated by James Sherard.

Huub van der Linden deals with issues related to the provenance and circulation of printed Italian music, taking as a case a sacred cantata, *Quid arma, quid bella*, by Giovanni Battista Bassani and the collection

printed in Bologna in 1690, *Metri sacri resi armonici*, in which it was first published. The collection was reprinted twice in the Low Countries before the end of the century and the music circulated widely in Europe. The broader context of how *Quid arma, quid bella* came to be “Bassani’s most celebrated mottet” in England involves printed editions produced by music publishers in four countries, full manuscript copies of the collection as well as individual pieces, and traces of early owners of the music. Taken together, the material provides an example of the patterns and pervasiveness of the circulation of Italian sacred music in Europe during the long 18th century.

Giulia Giovani also deals with Italian printed music of the 17th and 18th centuries and its network of printers, sellers and buyers. She examines a variety of sources, manuscripts and printed scores, contemporary catalogues, account books, private papers and letters, as well as documents related to individuals, institutions and guilds. A recent and significant dictionary project devoted to Italian printers and publishers has provided considerable information on relationships between composers, dedicatees, printers, publishers, sellers and buyers, making studies of the commercial and social aspects of circulation more feasible. This chapter focuses on Bologna, included in the commercial network that linked several Italian and European centres during the early modern era. Giovani disentangles the networks of Bolognese printers, enriching her argument by looking at purely economic studies of the city in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Like other authors in this volume, Rudolf Rasch uses provenance as a means to study the circulation of music, rather than simply the location where the music is found. He sketches a model of how to identify the various routes the copies of printed music followed from their first sale until the present day. Various actors operated in this mapping of routes: the composer, dedicatees, subscribers, individual buyers, and institutions such as musical societies. Later buyers include collectors of different kinds and libraries. As a case study, Rasch investigates the provenances of copies of early 18th-century editions of the works of Francesco Geminiani.

Rosa Cafiero’s chapter examines the relationships and exchanges among manuscript music collectors in the first half of the 19th century.

She maps the routes of an autograph score of a cantata by Emanuele Imbimbo, travelling from Paris to Naples and thence to Vienna and eventually to Berlin. Composed in Paris in 1817, the cantata manuscript was owned by Gaspare Selvaggi and later donated by Selvaggi to Masseangelo Masseangeli, and by the latter to Aloys Fuchs. Cafiero follows the cantata on its travels in Europe and discusses the mediators of this transfer in the world of 18th-century music collectors, archivists and librarians.

This volume includes revised papers presented at a conference in Stockholm at the Royal Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities (Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien), held on 17–18 October 2019. The editors would like to thank those who have participated in the double-blind peer review of the individual texts.

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KLEMEN GRABNAR

From the northern to southern Holy Roman Empire

Michael Praetorius's earliest Latin Magnificat in Bishop Hren's choirbook

MICHAEL PRAETORIUS (1571–1621) was a polymath and polyglot scholar who published, for example, now lost theological writings. He is today remembered, especially among musicologists, primarily as an important music theorist, his most important achievement being *Syntagma Musicum*—the most encyclopaedic source of the period on performance practices and numerous other musical subjects.¹ Nevertheless, he was also one of the most versatile and prolific German Lutheran composers of his generation. Praetorius's music is known to us almost exclusively from his printed music. This chapter is dedicated to Praetorius's early music preserved in manuscript originating from his own time and will reveal how his early repertory migrated to the southern, Catholic part of the Holy Roman Empire. In the early 17th century, Italian music permeated European lands, including Protestant ones, crossing national and confessional boundaries. Although much of this dissemination was clearly from south to north, this direction was not exclusive, as the case of Praetorius's earliest Latin Magnificat shows. I will attempt here to examine when, how and why his Magnificat setting found its way into an Inner Austrian choirbook.

With the death of Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand I in 1564, the Habsburg lands were divided between his three sons: Maximilian II,

This chapter is an outcome of the research programme 'Researches in the History of Music in Slovenia' (P6-004) and the project 'Digital Presentation of the Long-Sixteenth-Century Church Music Connected to Carniola' (J6-2586), both financed by the Slovenian Research and Innovation Agency (ARIS).

- 1 It was published in three volumes between 1615 and 1619. Several facsimile editions of this monumental work are available, as well as English translations of all three parts.

who became emperor, was granted Upper and Lower Austria; Ferdinand II got the county of Tyrol and Further Austria; and Karl II inherited Inner Austria and established his seat at Graz. Inner Austria included the archduchies of Styria and Carinthia, the county of Gorizia, the free city of Trieste, and finally Carniola, with its capital Ljubljana, a duchy extending over the territory of much of the modern Republic of Slovenia.² Inner Austria, especially its capital Graz, soon became one of the prime musical centres in Europe, due to the special care for music of both its rulers Karl II and Ferdinand III.

Archduke Karl (1540–1590) was known for his fondness for music. His musical patronage is attested to by the large number of works dedicated to him.³ His spouse, Maria of Bavaria, was a great music lover herself; she is believed to have received musical instruction from Orlando di Lasso at the court of Munich and showed continuing interest in his works even after her move to Graz. The preference of Archduke Karl for Italian, mainly Venetian, music is apparent not only from the repertory performed at the Archducal Chapel in Graz but also from his choice of musicians for employment in the chapel. The most distinguished Italians during this period were undoubtedly Annibale Padovano, organist and subsequently court chapel master and Francesco Rovigo, organist and music teacher to the archduke's children.⁴

With the arrival of many musicians from the territory of Veneto, the artistic links that had existed between Graz and Munich, stemming mainly from Maria's interest in music, were gradually replaced with ties to Venice, which strengthened under the rule of Karl and Maria's son, Archduke Ferdinand III, later Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand II. Ferdinand was the dedicatee of many musical works, several of which originated from Italy.⁵

Music performed at the court in Graz also spread to other important musical institutions in Inner Austria. It was through the agency of the

2 For an introduction to the history of Inner Austria, see, for example, Novotny & Sutter 1968.

3 See, for example, Lindell 1990, p. 257.

4 On the interest in Italian music at the Graz court, see the fundamental study by Federhofer 1967.

5 Federhofer 1967, pp. 46–47.

Prince-Bishop of Ljubljana, Tomaž Hren (Thomas Chrön), that repertory from Graz found its way to Carniola. Hren, Bishop of Ljubljana from 1597 to 1630, was closely connected with the court in Graz, especially from 1614 to 1621, when he served as Governor of Inner Austria and was residing at Ferdinand's court (see *Figure 1*). Hren was a great music lover and personally provided repertory for his musical establishments at both the cathedral of Ljubljana and the co-cathedral of Gornji Grad.⁶

The Hren choirbooks

The most important musical sources connected with Bishop Hren are the so-called Hren choirbooks,⁷ which were compiled by the Graz court singer Georg Kuglmann in the first decade of the 17th century. Nowadays they form part of the Manuscript Collection at the National and University Library in Ljubljana.⁸ Hren was unquestionably the former owner of at least two of the choirbooks, but very likely of all six. In MS 341 we find a flyleaf with his coat of arms and his motto plus name written at the top and bottom of the page, respectively. The other volume once indubitably in his possession is MS 344, which contains a dedication stating that the volume was presented to Hren in 1616 by Karl Kuglmann, son of the Graz court bass singer and court music scribe Georg Kuglmann, who had written out the choirbook.

These manuscripts contain a large repertory of exclusively liturgical music for vespers and mass. A strong Italian ascendancy is evident not only from the names of composers but also from the Italianate musical style of the included non-Italian composers. As is well known, the early 17th-century repertory in Inner Austria was significantly characterized by a preponderance of Italian Catholic Church music.⁹

The primacy of Italian music is especially evident in MS 343. This is a large codex in two volumes, one for each of the two choirs. The codex

6 Basic information about Hren is available, for example, in Dolinar 1996, and about his activities in connection with music in Škulj 2001.

7 For more on the Hren choirbooks, see Škulj 2001; Kokole 2012; Grabnar 2015.

8 They are shelfmarked MSS 339–344.

9 Federhofer 1967.



Figure 1. Tomaž Hren, Prince-Bishop of Ljubljana (c. 1625–1630; Archbishop's Palace, Ljubljana).

retains its original leather-over-wood binding in white, blind-tooled leather. Since the choirbooks of Graz originate from the same period, those preserved in the Graz University Library display similar blind-tooled bindings, and since there were bookbinders active in Graz, MS 343 and all the other Hren codices were probably bound in that city. Although we do not know who actually bound the Hren choirbooks, they may well have been the work of Georg Wagner, who in 1610, for instance, received payment for binding Kuglmann's choirbooks.¹⁰

According to its original order, MS 343 contains 38 psalms, 17 Magnificat settings, 31 hymns and two masses (see *Appendix 1*). All the pieces are for eight voices distributed between two choirs, except for the last two Magnificats, one for 9 and the other for 10 voices, and the last mass for 14 voices. Thirty-six unica are present in this manuscript: three psalms by Bartolomeo Spontone, active in northern Italy, a complete cycle of 31 vesper hymns for the liturgical year by the Graz court organist Francesco Stivori, and the *Magnificat secundi toni* and *Missa Exaudi Deus* by Lambert de Sayve, active in the Habsburg lands and for a while also in Graz. Praetorius held de Sayve in high esteem: he mentioned him approvingly in his *Syntagma Musicum*,¹¹ and even reissued his collection of *Teutsche Liedlein*.¹²

The only non-Italian composers represented in this manuscript are Orlando di Lasso, Paul Sartorius, Lambert de Sayve, and finally Michael Praetorius. The last is the only composer from the Protestant north, so the presence of his music in this codex is somewhat surprising. In fact, MS 343 is the single known Inner Austrian manuscript source that transmits Michael Praetorius's music.

¹⁰ Grabnar 2015, pp. 45, 55.

¹¹ See Praetorius 2004, pp. 23, 101.

¹² The collection was printed in Wolfenbüttel in 1611.



Figure 2. Title page of Michael Praetorius's *Musarum Sioniarum: Motectae et Psalmi Latini* (Nürnberg, 1607).

SERENISSIMO,
POTENTISSIMO, AC
Sapientissimo Principi
ac heroi, Dño Chri-
stiano. IV. regi Daniæ, Norue-
giæ, vandolorum, & Gotho-
rum Duci Schleswigæ, Hol-
statiæ, Stormariæ, & Dith-
marsiæ, Comiti in Olden-
burg & Delmenhorst.
Clementissimo meo regi ac Domino.
hasce Musicarum
compositionum
— meas
primitias
humilima. animi
deuotione offero
Michael Praetorius C.

Figure 3. Michael Praetorius's dedication of *Musarum Sioniarum: Motectæ et Psalmi Latini* to Christian IV.

Michael Praetorius's *Magnificat quinti toni a 8*

The composition by Praetorius in question is the *Magnificat* [*quinti toni*] for eight voices. It was published in Praetorius's *Musarum Sioniarum: Motectae et Psalmi Latini* of 1607 printed in Nürnberg by Abraham Wagenmann (see *Figure 2*). The preface to this edition was, however, dated January 1605.¹³ In his dedication to Christian IV, King of Denmark and Norway and Duke of Holstein and Schleswig, Praetorius described these compositions as his *primitiae* (see *Figure 3*). Furthermore, the two introductory poems included in the edition indicate that Praetorius made his public debut with these compositions before the Reichstag delegates.¹⁴ As is known from the archival documents, in 1603 Praetorius was a scribe and negotiator in the Wolfenbüttel Reichstag delegation at the Imperial Diet in Regensburg.¹⁵ These facts indicate that at least some of the music presented in this print must have been written before that year.¹⁶

By comparing the printed and manuscript sources of the *Magnificat*, one quickly notices some differences between them: examples include (1) the text underlay is sometimes different and, for example, the manuscript source makes greater use of the *idem* sign (see *Figure 4*); (2) a few of the words have different endings (see *Figure 5*); (3) there are more *diesis* signs in the printed version (see *Figure 6*); (4) the proportional signature for triple meter is different (the printed version uses the signature 3, whereas the manuscript uses 3/2); and (5) there is a slight discrepancy in the notation of the plainchant intonation (see *Figure 7*). However, the most interesting difference between the printed and

13 It is believed there existed an earlier edition printed in 1606 that has not been preserved. Blume 1963, pp. 251–252.

14 Blume 1963, p. 248; Forchert 1986, p. 111. The relevant excerpts from both texts are reproduced and commented on in Elsner 2017, pp. 63–68, 76–79.

15 Deeters 1971, p. 120.

16 Notwithstanding the date of the preface, it should not simply be concluded that all the music must have been written before January 1605. One must bear in mind that Praetorius on several occasions discussed works that were not yet composed, for instance, in the third part of his *Syntagma Musicum*. See Praetorius 2004, ch. 8, pp. 195–213.



Figure 4. The beginning of the “Et exultavit” section, upper part of the first choir, printed (above) and manuscript version (below).



Figure 5. The words “in progeniem/in progenies”, upper part of the first choir, printed (left) and manuscript version (right).



Figure 6. The words “in brachio”, upper part of the first choir, printed (left) and manuscript version (right).



Figure 7. A plainchant intonation, printed (left) and manuscript version (right).

manuscript sources is the use of different signatures: the c signature in the manuscript and c in the printed version.

The use of signatures

Praetorius was equally composer and theorist, so he provides us with a unique opportunity to explore the implications of the usage of these two signatures. In the third volume of *Syntagma Musicum*, he wrote:

Duple meter [*Æqualis*], or spondaic, is either slower or faster according to the variation of the signatures. The signature indicating slower [motion] is c , with which madrigals are marked; the signature for a faster [motion] is c , with which motets are marked. [...] Earlier musicians called the meter signature c *tempus perfectum minus* or *signum minoris tactus* in which one semibreve or two minims occur per beat and which the Italians referred to as *alla semibreve*. However, the c was called *perfectum majus* or *signum majoris vel totalis tactus*. They occurred in compositions in which the c meter signature indicated two semibreves or two smaller beats [*tactus minores*] at a rather slow tempo [*Tact*], called *alla breve* by the Italians. One semibreve or two minims are sung on the downbeat [*depressione*], the other semibreve or two minims on the upbeat [*elevatione*]. This was common in Orlando's day and is used even now in various excellent chapels and schools [...].¹⁷

According to this statement, the manuscript version—using the same note durations—should be about twice as fast as the one above. So, does this mean that musicians using the manuscript source took a much faster tempo than the musicians using the printed version? This is not likely. Later in the chapter he wrote:

When I examine the compositions by contemporary Italians that in just a few years have been arranged in a completely unique and new style, I find very great discrepancies and diversity in the way in

¹⁷ Praetorius 2004, pp. 68–69.

which the duple and triple signatures are used. Giovanni Gabrieli, for instance, has used the ϕ signature throughout all of his concertos, sinfonias, canzonas, and sonatas with and without texts. [...] A number of composers, however, only use the ϵ signature. Claudio Monteverdi prefers the ϕ signature in motet-style works that can be performed *alla breve*. But in all works that have more black notes than white, he prefers the ϵ signature. Lodovico Viadana uses the ϕ signature in all of his texted works, but in the sinfonias without texts he has retained the ϵ signature. Several composers make no distinction in their use of signatures, employing ϕ in one work and ϵ in the next, and no distinction can be ascertained from the notes or the entire composition.¹⁸

As the case of this Magnificat shows, Praetorius also saw no significance in his choice of signatures. As Gordon Paine noted, the decision between using ϵ and ϕ appears to have been primarily driven by the desire for consistency within a particular collection, regardless of the music it contained. By comparing the note values employed in book 1 of the *Musae sioniae* with those in books 2–4, he concluded that there is no significant difference. However, book 1 exclusively bears the signature ϕ , while the others are solely marked with ϵ . The *Motectae et Psalmi Latini* of 1607 includes several pieces by Palestrina, Handl, Aichinger and others, all written in the 16th-century, long-note notation, yet each composition is marked with the signature ϵ .¹⁹ Indeed, these compositions—*Laudate Dominum in sanctis eius* by Gregor Aichinger,²⁰ *O quam metuendus est locus iste* by Jacobus Handl-Gallus,²¹ and *Laudate Dominum in sanctis eius*, which is actually not by Palestrina but

18 Praetorius 2004, p. 71. A similar observation can be discerned in other theoretical writings from around 1600. See, for example, DeFord 1996, p. 156; see also Bank 1972, pp. 250–255.

19 Paine 1988, p. 188.

20 It was published in his collection *Liber tertius sacrarum cantionum* (Nürnberg: Paul Kauffmann, 1597).

21 This composition was printed in his *Tertius tomus musici operis* (Prague: Georg Nigrinus, 1587). Marko Motnik has already noted the use of the ϵ signature in Praetorius's print. See Motnik 2012, p. 116.

Ruggiero Giovannelli²²—are, in fact, in printed and/or manuscript sources all signed with ϕ .²³ Given the Habsburg–Italian style around 1600 of Praetorius’s Magnificat and his own words—“I would almost prefer the use of the ϕ signature for motets set in the style of Orlando di Lasso”²⁴—it would seem that he originally used ϕ for this Magnificat and later used ϵ for the sake of consistency within the collection of *Motectae et Psalmi Latini*. In any case, pieces contained in MS 343 display the same notational practice as in the concordances (mostly the signature ϕ is employed), which strengthens this hypothesis.

Based on these facts, it appears that the Magnificat of MS 343 was not copied from the print but from an earlier manuscript source that in all likelihood originated from the circle close to the composer. Yet, how would this manuscript source have found its way to Inner Austria?

The Regensburg Diet of 1603

The perfect venue for Praetorius to disseminate his music at the start of his career as a composer was unquestionably the Regensburg Diet of 1603.²⁵ All the important rulers of the Empire and many of their musicians were present there. Praetorius must have been fully aware of the potential of this event to broaden the recognition of his compositional abilities. Although we do not know whether Archduke Ferdinand III was present during the performance of Praetorius’s music, he was indeed interested in current trends in music and was thoroughly familiar with them. By around 1600, Magnificat settings in *alternatim* technique had gone out of fashion. Instead, double-choir, through-composed settings that are not based on any previous polyphonic composition became the norm, as is also apparent from the settings contained

22 This motet was first published in Giovannelli’s *Sacrarum modulationum* [...] *liber primus* (Rome: Francesco Coattino, 1593). See Motnik 2012, p. 152.

23 The notation of two other pieces not by Praetorius—*Jubilare Deo* by an unknown composer and *Ecce nunc benedicite* by one Gedeon Lebon—could not be compared to other manuscript or printed sources, as they seem not to have survived. For the extant sources of the pieces by other composers contained in this collection of Praetorius, see, for example, the RISM database.

24 Praetorius 2004, p. 71.

25 Schmidt 2016, p. 69.

in the same choirbook in which Praetorius's Magnificat is found. Although this piece could have reached Inner Austria by means of *musicalia* exchange between the Inner Austrian and one of the other Habsburg courts present at the Diet, the person responsible for its inclusion in the Inner Austrian repertory may well have been Archduke Ferdinand himself, who might have heard and been attracted to this composition in Regensburg in 1603. Nevertheless, it appears that the Regensburg Reichstag of 1603 was indeed the place where Praetorius's music reached the southern fringes of the Holy Roman Empire, Graz being among the first cities to receive it, followed by Carniola. It is interesting to observe that Praetorius's parody Magnificats connected with the Regensburg Diet of 1608 that were published in his *Megalynodia Sionia* of 1611 did not find their way into the Graz repertory.²⁶ The reason for this likely must be sought in the use of parody technique, which was already outmoded in Magnificat settings by the early 17th century. Parody Magnificats had flourished in Graz in the late 16th century.

The Magnificat is clearly one of the genres that could quite easily cross confessional boundaries. Many Lutheran churches continued to use music with Latin texts, and Lutheran cantors often drew on Catholic repertory. It has to be said that the whole collection of Praetorius's *Motectae et Psalmi Latini* likely reflects musical practice in the Gröninger Schlosskapelle, where Praetorius's employer Heinrich Julius resided and where worship, as regards language and other characteristics as well, in some ways closely resembled Catholic practice.²⁷ On the other hand, music by Protestant composers could also become part of the Catholic repertory of Counter-Reformation courts, as long as it fitted the current Catholic taste. This is shown by the example of Praetorius's Magnificat, with which he reached a broad music market, even in the Catholic south.

The Imperial Diets were an important venue for cultural exchanges, including the circulation of musical works and ideas, between different

26 Praetorius also included in this collection a reworking of the discussed Magnificat.

27 Heinrich Julius was a close advisor to Emperor Rudolf II, and it was in his political interest to mitigate the differences between Catholics and Protestants. Forchert 1981, pp. 625–633.

territories within the Holy Roman Empire. Although as regards music the direction of these exchanges was predominantly from south to north, the example of Praetorius's Magnificat indicates that they could also move in the other direction. Routes from Regensburg can therefore be seen as yet another pathway by which musical works were disseminated and shared across the confessional divide at the beginning of the 17th century.

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Appendix 1

The contents of SI-Lnr, MS 343

Giulio Belli, <i>Deus in adiutorium</i> a 8	Camillo Cortellini, <i>In convertendo</i> a 8
Giulio Belli, <i>Dixit Dominus</i> a 8	Camillo Cortellini, <i>Domine probasti me</i> a 8
Giulio Belli, <i>Confitebor</i> a 8	Camillo Cortellini, <i>Beati omnes</i> a 8
Giulio Belli, <i>Beatus vir</i> a 8	Camillo Cortellini, <i>De profundis</i> a 8
Giulio Belli, <i>Laudate pueri</i> a 8	Camillo Cortellini, <i>Memento Domine</i> a 8
Giulio Belli, <i>Laudate Dominum</i> a 8	Camillo Cortellini, <i>Confitebor tibi Domine</i> a 8
Giulio Belli, <i>In exitu Israel</i> a 8	Giovanni Gabrieli, <i>Magnificat</i> a 8
Giulio Belli, <i>Laetatus sum</i> a 8	Claudio Merulo, <i>Magnificat</i> [primi toni] a 8
Giulio Belli, <i>Nisi Dominus</i> a 8	Claudio Merulo, <i>Magnificat</i> [quinti toni] a 8
Giulio Belli, <i>Lauda Ierusalem</i> a 8	Claudio Merulo, <i>Magnificat</i> [sexti toni] a 8
Giulio Belli, <i>Credidi</i> a 8	Francesco Stivori, <i>Magnificat primi toni</i> a 8
Giulio Belli, <i>In convertendo</i> a 8	Francesco Stivori, <i>Magnificat</i> a 8
Giulio Belli, <i>Domine probasti me</i> a 8	Orlando di Lasso, <i>Magnificat sexti toni</i> a 8
Giulio Belli, <i>De profundis</i> a 8	Lambert de Sayve, <i>Magnificat secundi toni</i> a 8
Giulio Belli, <i>Memento Domine</i> a 8	Asprilio Pacelli, <i>Magnificat</i> [sexti toni] a 8
Giulio Belli, <i>Beati omnes</i> a 8	Serafino Cantone, <i>Magnificat quarti toni</i> a 8
Giulio Belli, <i>Confitebor</i> a 8	Luca Marenzio, <i>Magnificat</i> [short version] a 8
Bartolomeo Spontone, <i>Dixit Dominus</i> a 8	Michael Praetorius, <i>Magnificat</i> [quinti toni] a 8
Bartolomeo Spontone, <i>Confitebor tibi Domine</i> a 8	Simone Molinaro, <i>Magnificat</i> [primi toni] a 8
Bartolomeo Spontone, <i>Beatus vir</i> a 8	Camillo Cortellini, <i>Magnificat octavi toni</i> a 8
Andrea Feliciani, <i>Laudate pueri</i> a 8	Tiburzio Massaino, <i>Magnificat quarti toni</i> 'In ecco' a 8
Andrea Feliciani, <i>Laudate Dominum</i> a 8	Oratio Colombani, <i>Magnificat secundi toni</i> a 9
Camillo Cortellini, <i>Dixit Dominus</i> a 8	Paul Sartorius, <i>Magnificat</i> a 10
Camillo Cortellini, <i>Confitebor tibi</i> a 8	Francesco Stivori, [Conditore alme siderum] a 8
Camillo Cortellini, <i>Beatus vir</i> a 8	Francesco Stivori, [Christe redemptor omnium ex Patre] a 8
Camillo Cortellini, <i>Laudate pueri</i> a 8	Francesco Stivori, [Salvete flores martyrum] a 8
Camillo Cortellini, <i>Laudate Dominum</i> a 8	Francesco Stivori, [Hostis herodes impie] a 8
Camillo Cortellini, [In exitu Israel] a 8	Francesco Stivori, [Lucis creator optime] a 8
Camillo Cortellini, <i>Laetatus sum</i> a 8	Francesco Stivori, [Ad preces nostras] a 8
Camillo Cortellini, <i>Nisi Dominus</i> a 8	Francesco Stivori, [Vexilla regis prodeunt] a 8
Camillo Cortellini, <i>Lauda Ierusalem</i> a 8	Francesco Stivori, [Ad coenam agni providi] a 8
Camillo Cortellini, <i>Credidi propter quod</i> a 8	

Francesco Stivori, [*Jesu nostra redemptio*] a 8
 Francesco Stivori, [*Veni creator spiritus*] a 8
 Francesco Stivori, [*O lux beata trinitas*] a 8
 Francesco Stivori, [*Pange lingua gloriosi*] a 8
 Francesco Stivori, [*Quodcunque vinclis*] a 8
 Francesco Stivori, [*Doctor egregie*] a 8
 Francesco Stivori, [*Ave maris Stella*] a 8
 Francesco Stivori, [*Ut queant laxis*] a 8
 Francesco Stivori, [*Aurea luce*] a 8
 Francesco Stivori, [*Lauda mater Ecclesia*] a 8
 Francesco Stivori, [*Petrus beatus*] a 8
 Francesco Stivori, [*Quicumque Christum
quaeritis*] a 8
 Francesco Stivori, [*Tibi Christe splendor
patris*] a 8

Francesco Stivori, [*Christe redemptor omnium
conserva*] a 8
 Francesco Stivori, [*Exultet coelum laudibus*] a 8
 Francesco Stivori, [*Tristes erant apostoli*] a 8
 Francesco Stivori, [*Deus tuorum militum*] a 8
 Francesco Stivori, [*Sanctorum meritis*] a 8
 Francesco Stivori, [*Rex gloriose martyrum*] a 8
 Francesco Stivori, [*Iste confessor*] a 8
 Francesco Stivori, [*Jesu corona virginum*] a 8
 Francesco Stivori, [*Huius obtentu*] a 8
 Francesco Stivori, [*Urbs beata Jerusalem*] a 8
 Pietro Lappi, *Missa super Iubilare Deo* a 8
 Lambert de Sayve, *Missa super Exaudi Deus* a 14

MARGARET MURATA

Three Roman cantatas north of the Seine

ITALIAN CANTATAS BEFORE *c.* 1680 typically offered close musical readings of highly literary poetry, which would make this repertory unlikely for dissemination for listeners not fluent in Italian. But as Italian opera began to be staged across Europe, travelling Italian musicians brought about a rise in copies of their virtuoso repertories in opera and cantata, from places as far apart as Madrid and Hamburg. Our knowledge of the activities of Italian musicians north of the Alps from the 1640s, such as in the courts of Prague, Vienna, Dresden and Copenhagen, continues to develop. Northern European manuscripts preserving Italian cantatas have often not been well studied, since as sources for making critical musical editions, they may appear distant from their origins. Two of the case studies in this chapter concern two cantatas by Giacomo Carissimi (1605–1674), who never left the Papal States, but whose music both sacred and secular was widely disseminated in Northern Europe. Copies of one work include a north German manuscript today in Lüneburg and a version with guitar accompaniment made in London. The third case study assembles copies of a two-voice cantata widely attributed to Luigi Rossi (?1597/8–1653) in northern sources but is more certainly by Carlo Caproli (1614–1668), a Roman composer present in Paris in the mid-17th century, after Rossi had left Paris to return to Rome.

The legacy of historical philology and, by extension, the relatively newer discipline of musicology pointed its practitioners ever backwards in search of original texts. This acknowledged basis for critical editions has served in music as the grounding principle behind the numerous Collected Works from Vivaldi to Rossini to Verdi. Such tunnel—or tunnelling—vision has encouraged music historians to separate out and set aside collateral branches of any stemma of sources.

Music editors do collect concordances, but usually in order to identify useful groupings or orderings that may lead backwards to a premiere performance or version. A first useful ordering of copies is often roughly chronological—though with varying degrees of approximation (see *Table 1*). Furthermore, work on a critical edition often proceeds from the inside out, with comparison of often minute internal changes, a procedure that may be followed even when the exemplars do not constitute coherent sets. But hunting for originals is rarely easy for, as has been observed by many, the composer is quite often not identified in many 17th-century sources. This is quite often the case with copies made in Rome under the direct auspices of the composer or his patron.¹ Singer and composer Marc'Antonio Pasqualini (1614–1691) only began to put his monogram on his self-made copies of his own works in the later 1650s. The holographs of Marco Marazzoli (b. c. 1602–1605, d. 1662), now in the Chigi Collection in the Vatican Library, do not bear his name. A large, holograph folio anthology of cantatas by Luigi Rossi, ordered after 1640 by his patron, Cardinal Antonio Barberini (1608–1671), does not name him anywhere.²

Carissimi, *Suonerà l'ultima tromba*

In the case of Carissimi's well-known *Suonerà l'ultima tromba*, five known extant copies (Vatican, Grottaferrata, two Casanatensi and Borromeo) are anonymous in their respective Roman collections.³ The Campori manuscript purports to be a collection of all Carissimi, but

¹ See Murata 1990; 2015.

² The volume is BAV Barb. lat. 4374; 30 cantatas are all unusually scored with C4 (tenor) clef and basso continuo; see Lindgren & Murata 2018, pp. 504–508. Folio 1 is reproduced on p. xciii.

³ On the Grottaferrata manuscript, see Gialdroni 2014, pp. 159–171. Among manuscript copies of Baldini's poem, one bears the title "La morte" (V-CVbav Chigi L.IV.94, ff. 312v–317), another the caption "Si deplorano l'humane miserie" (V-CVbav Ferraioli manuscript 1, ff. 207v–210v). Incidentally, the subject title of the cantata *Del giuditio universale* with the same text incipit is listed as "cantata a 3" in a mid-17th-century Bolognese oratorio inventory in Mischiati 1962, p. 156, n. 293. It is not known whether this could have been a different scoring of Carissimi's music or a different musical setting, or even a different poem.

since they are presented in possibly as many as eight different hands, it appears to be a dedicated copybook of some kind. The book's copy dates do not appear anywhere, but the presence of Carissimi's cantata on the execution of Charles I of England in 1649 serves as a very rough point of reference. (See *Table 1*.)

Table 1. Giacomo Carissimi, *Suonerà l'ultima tromba*, cantata—concordant sources,⁴ roughly chronological.

Manuscript copy	Comments
I-GR Crypt. it. 2	Anonymous; Roman, c. 1640–1660?; see Clori scheda no. 4649. ⁵
I-MOe Campori a.L.11.9 (App. 1696)	"Tromba. Del Carissimi"; Roman, after 1649.
V-CVbav Barb. lat. 4136	Anonymous; Roman, 1653–1558.
US-LAuc fC697M4	Anonymous and "Carissimi" for one aria; English, before 1669, in RISM. ⁶ Continuo part and French lute tablature. Manuscript of Pietro Reggio.
I-Rc 2486	Anonymous; Roman, c. 1650–1675, see Clori scheda no. 8047.
F-Pn Rés. Vmf 14	Anonymous; Italian, after 1656, in RISM.
I-MOe Mus. G.43	"Carissimi"; Modenese, dated 1662.
I-Rc 2477	Anonymous; Roman, after c. 1660.
I-IBborromeo Misc. 2	Anonymous; Roman, not dated. ⁷
D-Hs ND VI 2276	"Carissimi"; RISM notes Italian c. 1700.
GB-Lbl Add. 14229	Anonymous; c. 1723–1732, in RISM.
I-MOe Mus. E.281	Miscellany of mixed fascicles on different papers.

4 Except for the Borromeo manuscript, this list corresponds with the sources used in the critical edition by Gialdroni & Muccioli 2010, pp. xxvii, xxxv (poetic text), lviii–lxvi (all variant readings), and 17–24 (edition), with some differences in dating and other details.

5 Clori refers to the *Clori archivio della cantata italiana* website database <https://cantataitaliana.it/>, directed by Teresa M. Gialdroni and Licia Sirch.

6 RISM here and hereafter refers to the online database catalogue of the Répertoire International des Sources Musicales.

7 The miscellany of 19 cantatas is inventoried in Boggio 2004, pp. 100–102. Composers named in the volume include Antimo Liberati, Carlo Caproli and Carissimi, but not for *Suonerà l'ultima tromba*.

Carissimi's cantata on the Last Judgement appears outside Italy around the same time, in a volume once owned, if not completely compiled, by the Genoese Pietro Reggio (1632–1685), and today held in the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). Reggio made his way to England by 1664, by way of Stockholm, where he had been among the Italians at the court of Queen Christina (1652–1654).⁸ Gloria Rose's introductory biography of this expatriate musician places him in Metz and Paris in 1657,⁹ with a gap between that year and the earliest notice of him in London. The fact that in the UCLA volume fascicles of this cantata are separated and misbound indicates that the order of the Los Angeles manuscript is likely not very chronological; and since we cannot document Reggio's presence in Italy after 1652, it is a stretch to speculate when, where and how he may have acquired a version of *Suonerà l'ultima tromba*. But even if the cantata was at some time performed from a copy owned by Reggio, the UCLA compilation does not appear to have been used for performance. The vocal and continuo staves, at any rate, are in a typical English vertical format and, below them, unexpectedly, is an accompaniment in French lute tablature. Rose does cite Samuel Pepys' (1633–1703) recollection of an "evening singing the best piece of music counted of all hands in the world, made by Signor Charissimi, the famous master in Rome".¹⁰ There were other Italian musicians in London at the same time, known by their performances for or service to men such as Pepys and John Evelyn (1620–1706). Evelyn mentions one "Bartolomeo" whom Rose identified as Bartolomeo Albrici (b. c. 1640), and "Signor Morelli"—Cesare Morelli, a guitarist whom I will mention later in connection with another Carissimi cantata in London.

Musically, the opening of Carissimi's cantata evokes the trumpet of the Last Judgement. Some copies of its text or music bear the subject titles "Death", or "On the Last Judgement", and "One deplores human misery",¹¹ and a version of the work may have been heard in oratories in Italy. So to imagine it accompanied by lute, in a domestic setting, is a bit

⁸ Kjellberg 1979, vol. 1, p. 472, and vol. 2, p. 664.

⁹ Rose 1965.

¹⁰ Entry from Pepys' diary for 22 June 1664, Rose 1965, p. 211.

¹¹ See *Note 3*.

of a surprise. Reggio's role as an agent of transmission is obvious, and one would like to speculate that he could have obtained the score in Stockholm or in Paris—and arranged the lute part upon request, though the possibility is not ruled out that he first received it while in the north from a musician who had already intabulated it. Another scenario would be Reggio's receiving the cantata in London, in the 1660s, from a traveller or a travelled musician. However, these scenarios are but speculation.

The copies of *Suonerà l'ultima tromba* that we do have, however, are mostly, if not always, in intentional compilations; that is, none is likely to have been a single cantata passed from one musician to another.¹² We also do not know the circumstances under which Carissimi might have received and set this poem by Sebastiano Baldini (1615–1685), better known for his satirical cantata texts. Like the Campori manuscript, most—but not all—of the Barberini volume contains music by Carissimi, in different hands, bound together for Cardinal Fabrizio of the Roman Savelli family (who died in 1659).¹³ But the size of the fascicles, c. 7 × 15 cm, makes them too small to sing or play from, even though the continuo part is figured. The earlier of the two Casanatense volumes (2486) contains all spiritual and moral cantatas in Italian, in the hand of a single copyist, and may be considered an intentional collection. The late Additional miscellany in the British Library was an 1843 bequest from an English family that had acquired part of the music library of Gaspare Selvaggi (1763–1856), a Neapolitan abbot and collector of letters and musical interests who was even more peripatetic than the musician Pietro Reggio.¹⁴ Thus, despite where the copies lie today, two works that went north attached to Italians who crossed the Alps, Reggio and Selvaggi, might not have been acquired by them in Italy.

Suonerà l'ultima tromba serves to introduce a partial landscape of

12 An exception might be the Hamburg copy, which the present author has not seen. It is the only one to correctly identify Sebastiano Baldini as the poet, albeit in English, and is bound with only one other work, *Quando il cor mi saettaste* (its music does not correspond with the aria from the Cavalli opera *Artemisia*, I:6).

13 See Lindgren & Murata 2018, pp. 65–73.

14 For the manuscript, see RISM Online, no. 806155103. On Selvaggi, see Fabris 2018.

surviving cantatas not only because it is one of Carissimi's better-known works then and now, but it also serves to illustrate that each musical genre in the mid-17th century had its own needs and demands for notated scores. Prints were by definition not unique, and furthermore could be impersonally acquired through sales, from booksellers or book fairs. Whether printed or in manuscript, church music, including motets, clearly had a wide market constrained only by the number of musical establishments with capable performers—this would include convents. Scores to complete operas, in contrast, would be wanted in only two kinds of cases—as potential consideration for a production or as a non-practical addition to a special private collection, such as those of the Chigi in Rome, the Este in Modena and the Contarini in Venice. Except for the extremely few cases of printed opera scores, music for operas was not for sale,¹⁵ and so depended for circulation on networks of patrons, *impresari*, singers and, probably to a lesser extent, composers themselves. Singers and single-line instrumentalists would rarely have seen or possessed complete scores of such large works.¹⁶

Although vocal chamber music did appear in print before the 1660s,¹⁷ after the 1620s, in Italy, most chamber airs and cantatas for one, two or three singers with basso continuo circulated in manuscript. Interestingly, of four collections that contained Carissimi cantatas or *ariette* printed in his lifetime, one appeared in Rotterdam and one in London; another was issued in 1679 in London. Some handwritten scores were practical copies for the continuo player or players, and one for the singer—though it is not clear that professional singers typically learned or sang from music with the continuo part present.¹⁸ As I have written elsewhere, the closer a piece of sheet music is to its first intended per-

¹⁵ See Mischiati 1984.

¹⁶ The case of scores for oratorios is the most mysterious of all. Relatively few exist as complete scores; and excerpted arias from oratorios are rarely found in anthologies, although conceivably more people would have heard oratorios than would have attended operas.

¹⁷ For a comprehensive survey, see Giovani 2017.

¹⁸ Nicola Usula discussed notated parts for singers in an unpublished paper, '*Parti scannate*: i.e., How singers learned and rehearsed operas during the second half of the seventeenth century', given at the 18th Baroque Biennial Conference, Cremona, Italy, 12 July 2018.

formers, the less likely it is to need any form of identification on it.¹⁹ Whether legible holographs or professional copies, such practical scores remained with the musicians—or possibly were returned to the composer; we have so few composers' libraries that no clear practice can be determined. Such copies most often do not have headings—that is, no names of composers or poets, and only rarely subject titles. We can assume that such information was unnecessary in domestic executions or could have been mentioned orally. Fine copies might then be made from “l'originale” for the composer himself, or for the patron, should he or she either want copies or honour a request from someone, for example, a relative or a peer. Since they were often given away as gifts, those copies that we rely on for attributions are thus more often than not from outside the immediate social circle of the original performance(s), as would copies of such copies.

It is impossible, clearly, to describe this mechanism for every copy of every cantata that has survived, whether single fascicles, copybook entries or anthological fine copies. The latter in fact are often too clean, lacking figures for the continuo part, instrumental ritornelli or vocal graces. We also cannot assume that the contents of large anthologies were all copied from single originals. Evidence to even speculate is lacking. The two sumptuous volumes of Roman cantatas in the Paris Bibliothèque nationale are a case in point.²⁰ A little more than a decade or so later are the large folio-sized anthologies of “Autori diversi romani” in Bologna, I-Bc Q.44–46–47–48, whose possible source-copies have not yet been determined.²¹

19 Murata 2015.

20 A recent study of them is Ruffatti 2019. For such a fine set, however, the two volumes bear no dedication or indication that they were a gift.

21 A basic examination of the palaeographic features of the I-Bc set is in Ruffatti 2007, par. 6.2.

Table 2. Hypothetical modes of transmission for Italian vocal chamber repertory.

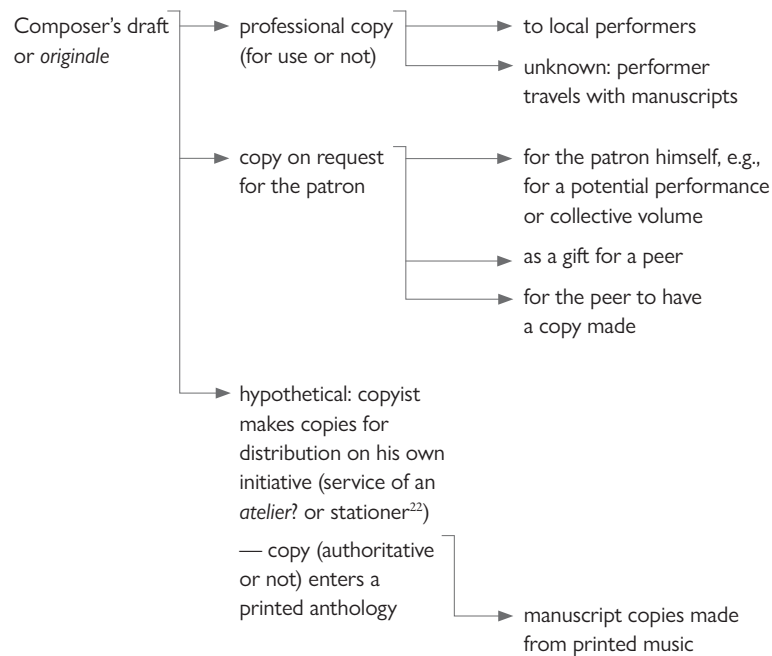


Table 2 posits hypothetical types of transmission for the Italian vocal chamber repertory. Each one would need a concrete investigation and case study, which is beyond the scope of this essay. But the work of Arnaldo Morelli and Paola Besutti offer some instances, for example, of the Duke of Modena requesting *ariette* from Rome, or the brother of singer Marc’Antonio Pasqualini, a colonel in the papal army, asking for some motets and songs.²³ In a postscript to a 1689 letter from the Countess of Arona (near Stresa) (1660–1740) to her brother Cardinal Francesco Barberini (1662–1738) in Rome, she notes “I forgot to tell

22 Saverio Franchi uncovered the preparation and sale of music manuscripts by the Roman stationer Sebastian Testa (1657–1729), whose shop was under the sign “del Cimbalo”; see Franchi 2022, p. 82.
23 BAV ArchBarb Ind. II, 1563, Carlo Pasqualini to his brother Marc’Antonio, no place, 29 July 16[63], asks for “un paro di motetti e cansone bella per un personag[i] di consideratione”, cited in Murata 2016, p. xxxix.

you about the arias”, and promises that she can send four without much inconvenience, “so that they can be copied without putting them into notes” (“di poterle far copiare, senza metterle nella nota”), the meaning of which is not quite clear—meaning the cardinal can have the texts but not the music?²⁴ Two months later she sends him some opera arias in a box along with some silk stockings for him to give to someone else.²⁵ Valeria De Lucca uncovered a large quantity of payments for arias and cantatas, recognizable by text incipits. They were copied for the Roman nobleman Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna (1637–1689), whose music library itself was eventually dispersed. Not only have the titles resisted being located in present-day library holdings, but the question also remains whether the payments were for Colonna’s music being copied for someone else or whether they were being copied from music that was on loan to him.²⁶

Musicology’s traditional focus on sources, moreover, overlooks the fact that the same notated score may not have been performed in the same way in, let us say, different countries. An early article by Alessio Ruffatti cites a 1670 letter by Constantijn Huygens (1596–1687) to Pierre de Nyert (1597–1682) as evidence that outside Italy, Rossi’s airs were interpreted in a manner different from the Italian.²⁷

Carissimi, *Lament over the Death of Jonathan*

Another, shorter set of manuscripts for another Carissimi work demonstrates its anonymous existence in two Roman sources and its existence in two English sources and one German source (see *Table 3*). In

24 Letter from Camilla Barberini Borromea, Countess of Arona, to her brother Cardinal Francesco Barberini in Rome, 11 September 1689, BAV Archivio Barberini, Lettere vol. 225, unfoliated.

25 Letter from Camilla Barberini Borromea to Cardinal Francesco Barberini in Rome, 1 November 1689, *loc. cit.*, unfoliated.

26 See De Lucca 2025.

27 Ruffatti 2006b, pp. 296–298: “Huygens loue, lui aussi, la capacité de Nyert à chanter les airs de Rossi, en insistant sur sa capacité à les modifier avec bon goût. Il ajoute en outre des détails intéressants pour la transmission de ces airs, en faisant référence à différentes versions d’un même air. [...] Ces modifications n’affectaient pas seulement l’ornementation, mais pouvaient altérer l’effectif vocal.”

this, as in so many cases, we have the results of transmission over the Alps, but no concrete clues to the nature of the transmission itself.

Table 3. Copies of Carissimi's cantata *Come, ahì, come cade o Gionata*.

Manuscript copy	Comments
V-CVbav Barb. lat. 4136	Anonymous; Roman, 1653–1658, E minor. ²⁸
I-IBborromeo Misc. 8	Anonymous; Roman.
PL-Kj Mus. ant. pract. P 970	<i>Lamento di Gionata</i> , "Del Sig. ^r Carissimi"; English, 1660s. ²⁹
D-Lr Mus.ant.pract. K.N. 145	Anonymous; <i>Lamento di Davide sopra la morte del Gionata</i> , 1661–1674, in the hand of Matthias Weckmann, F minor, in RISM.
GB-Cmc 2591 & 2802	Arrangement for bass (Samuel Pepys) and 5-string guitar by Cesare Morelli, both in RISM. ³⁰

The Barberini volume is the same small one that contains *Suonerà l'ultima tromba*. The other Roman copy is in the collection of the Borromeo family, in their present archive on Isola Bella.³¹ Given Carissimi's reputation north of the Alps, and especially in England, the English copies do not surprise. The two versions for Samuel Pepys are arrangements for singer and guitar, attributed to his guitar teacher, Cesare Morelli (fl. late 1660s–1686), who left England in 1682, and recall *Suonerà l'ultima tromba* performed with lute. The Lüneburg copy, in the hand of Matthias Weckmann (?1616–1674), chose to transpose the work to the more lachrymose key of F minor and accords it a more ac-

²⁸ A facsimile edition of Barb. lat. 4136, n. 15, is in Carissimi 1986, no. 6. The cantata has the same text incipit as an "oratorietto a 4" with the subject title "David che piange la morte di Gionata", in a mid-17th century Bolognese inventory (Mischiati 1962, p. 154, n. 252), which may be an entirely different musical setting.

²⁹ Johnstone 1997 identifies the copy as English.

³⁰ Attributes the original to Carissimi.

³¹ Boggio 2004, p. 117. The volume is a miscellany, with fascicles in different hands. It was likely bound after 1654, since it contains a duet from the Roman opera *Dal male il bene* (on ff. 40–42). Most of the contents are anonymous, and most have not been identified; but among other composers are the Romans Carissimi, Antimo Liberati, Marco Marazzoli, Marc'Antonio Pasqualini and Luigi Rossi.

curate title. Here one could plausibly speculate that Weckmann, having made friends with his contemporary Johann Jacob Froberger (1616–1667) in Dresden during the mid-century, received a copy that Froberger could have acquired or made himself in Rome, in one of his sojourns there between 1637 and 1649. One of the Italian musicians at the Dresden court could also have supplied a version.³² The Lüneburg, Krakow and the Barberini copies fall, at any rate, within the years *c.* 1649 to 1674, during the composer's lifetime. Morelli's arrangements for Pepys represent the first, posthumous, generation of a spiritual work by Carissimi, obviously destined for domestic, amateur performance.

Carlo Caproli, *Vorrei scoprirti un di*

Another geography of a single cantata involves uncertainty over its authorship. The duet with basso continuo *Vorrei scoprirti un di* exists today in at least 18 copies dating from before 1653 to possibly the 1730s.³³ Table 4 lists anonymous manuscript copies in the two keys we find it in, B-flat and G major.

Table 4. Six anonymous copies of *Vorrei scoprirti un di*.

Key	Manuscript copy	Comments
In B-flat major	GB-Och 377	Italian hand, Bartolotti manuscript dated 1653.
	Ch-Zz Q.902	French, after 1678, in RISM.
In G major	D-Sw 4718b	French, <i>c.</i> 1700, in RISM.
	F-Pn Vma 967	French, Babel manuscript 1700–1723, in RISM.
	GB-Ob Mus. Sch. E.393	Babel manuscript, 1700.
	GB-Lcm 2054	French, mostly Lully, <i>c.</i> 1700.

This preliminary grouping suggests two manuscript traditions, both outside Italy. The earliest of these copies, and the key version, is in the Christ Church College, Oxford volume, which originated with the

³² I thank Stephen Rose for pointing out this possibility.

³³ Only nine copies of the cantata appear to be inventoried in RISM.

Italian musicians at the court of Queen Christina of Sweden. It most likely arrived in England with the ambassador Bulstrode Whitelocke (1605–1675), who received it as a gift from the Italians.³⁴ The G-major copies in *Table 4* arise c. 1700, are connected with French volumes, and can be grouped with appearances of the duet in two Ballard prints of 1701,³⁵ as well as other late French manuscript copies not listed in *Table 4* but with attributions to Luigi Rossi.³⁶ Alessio Ruffatti opens his discussion of “la vogue des cantates de Luigi Rossi” in France with a mention of this duet by Madame du Sévigné (1626–1696) in 1675; she found it charming.³⁷ The earliest of these French copies is S-SK 466, in G major, and in fact dated 1676, when it would have been circulating.³⁸ Two copies associated with England can also be dated after 1680—one (in G major) is GB-Lbl Harley manuscript 1863, datable to the 1690s; the other brings up Pietro Reggio again, in a collection he assembled c. 1681 for one Monsieur Didie, Harley manuscript 1501, this version in B-flat major.³⁹

Clearly the proliferation of *Vorrei scoprirvi* seems like an early manifestation of an *aria antica*, with many of the French copies in the lower key. Indeed, the 19th-century repertory of Baroque “airs” and “arias” with piano arrangements of their continuo parts was very much a North European phenomenon, radiating from the later years of the

34 Berglund & Schildt 2024, p. 100.

35 *Recueil d'airs sérieux et à boire de différents auteurs. Pour l'année 1701*, Paris: Christoph Ballard, 1701 (in B-flat major) and *Recueil des meilleurs airs italiens qui ont été publics depuis quelques années. Livre second. On donnera un pareil tous les deux ans*, Paris: Christoph Ballard, 1701.

36 See *Note 38*.

37 Ruffatti 2006b, pp. 302–307.

38 Apart from the Skara manuscript, these include F-Pn Vm7 4 (a Brossard volume); F-Pn Vm7 53 (1700–1730); F-V Philidor-Fossard Mus. 138 (lost?); D-BFb MS C-ha 60 (dated 1699), of Countess Amalie-Luise von Hornes (see RISM entry); as well as an appearance in an abridged version of a *Méthode* to learn singing and playing (F-Pn Rés Vmd ms. 48, in a section after 1695, in RISM). For the diffusion of music attributed to Luigi Rossi in the north see the several studies by Alessio Ruffatti, beginning with his unpublished dissertation (2006a) and in articles in addition to 2006b cited above, including Ruffatti 2015.

39 Both of these have RISM entries.

Concerts of Ancient Musick in London, and spreading to Munich, in part via a *repetiteur*, along with the recovery of old music by François-Joseph Fétis in Paris from the 1830s.⁴⁰ The Neapolitans brought out a modern series of arias by Alessandro Scarlatti between 1853 and 1856, but that repertory hardly overlapped with the arias attributed to Scarlatti that were already circulating in the north. Parisotti's first two collections of *arie antiche* were in fact largely pirated from that Naples imprint and generations of versions of *arie antiche* from London, Paris and Munich. What he initially offered his fellow Italians was a North European representation of "italianità", as projected by the different accompaniments created for the piano.

And who might have been the composer of *Vorrei scoprirti*? The late copies that do bear an attribution point to "Luigi", who would be Luigi Rossi, who had travelled to Paris from Rome in preparation for the staging of his opera *Orfeo* there in 1647. The only Italian copy, however, that also names "Luigi" is I-Fc D.2357 (ff. 121v–23v), where it is in B-flat major,⁴¹ but in a volume with no material evidence of a central Italian origin. Opposing that attribution, though not in quantity, is a copy in a miscellany made up of several Roman hands on different, but Roman papers. In I-Rc 2464 (ff. 227–230v), *Vorrei scoprirti* is the last item in the volume, with two different hands writing out the texts for stanzas 1 and 2.⁴² This copy, in B-flat major, attributes the duet to Carlo "Del Violino" [Caproli], who had also been in Paris, arriving there in late 1653 after Rossi's death in Rome and returning to Rome in 1654. One is tempted to focus on Paris and attempt to triangulate the sojourns of Rossi, the theorbist Angelo Michele Bartolotti (of the Christ Church volume) and Caproli there, but we do not have enough links to hypothesize a plausible transmission network.

As it turns out, three duet cantatas attributed to Caproli in I-Rc 2464

40 See Murata 1999; 2004.

41 See Caluori 1981, vol. 2, no. 265; Ruffatti 2006a, pp. 379–392.

42 Thirty-two of 33 cantatas in the volume are scored in two C1 clefs with basso continuo. Other composers represented, all Roman, are Gregorio Allegri, Luigi Rossi, Arcangelo Lori, Giacomo Carissimi, Antimo Liberati, Marco Marazzoli, Mario Savioni, Antonio Francesco Tenaglia, Carlo Rainaldi and possibly Giovanni Marciani. Six works remain anonymous.

have conflicting attributions to Luigi Rossi in I-Fc D. 2357 (see *Table 5*). A fourth attributed to Caproli in a Bolognese anthology bears a Rossi attribution in the Florence manuscript.

Table 5. Conflicting attributions to Caproli and Rossi between the manuscripts I-Rc 2464 and I-Fc D. 2357, and other attributions.

Title	I-Rc 2464	I-Fc D. 2357	Other attributions
<i>Se in me tal'hor volgete</i>	ff. 17–21 “Carlo Caproli” Affortunato no. 107 ⁴³	ff. 29v–31 “Luigi” Caluori no. 434 ⁴⁴ (Rossi unreliable)	I-Bc Q.44: Caproli
<i>Non ti fidar mio core</i>	ff. 21v–26v “Carlo Caproli” Affortunato no. 81	ff. 52–53v “Luigi” Caluori no. 422 (Rossi unreliable)	I-Bc Q.46: Caproli
<i>Occhi miei, voi parlate</i>	ff. 137–138v, anon. Affortunato no. 85	ff. 94v–95v “Luigi” Caluori no. 424 (Rossi unreliable)	I-Bc Q.46: “Carlo Caproli”
<i>Vorrei scoprirti un di</i>	ff. 227–230v “Carlo del Violino” Affortunato no. 132 ⁴⁵	ff. 121v–123v “Luigi” Caluori no. 265	Several to Luigi, see text.

The comparison in *Table 5* shows that for three cantatas, Tiziana Affortunato accepted the Caproli attributions and that in a different three cases, Eleanor Caluori rejected the “Luigi” attributions in the Florentine volume, probably in view of the Bolognese confirmations of Caproli. Caluori’s rejection of Caproli for *Vorrei scoprirti*, however, may have been swayed by the number of later attributions to Rossi, which, as we have seen, are all much later than the sources given in *Table 5* and belong to its circulation in the north. The Florence volume poses other conflicting attributions as well. For example, it attributes *Pensieri, che fate? Amor se ne viene* (ff. 67–69v) to “Luigi”, whereas manuscript 2464 correctly attributes it to “Marco Marazzuolo”. The latter is backed up by Marazzoli’s name in the copy in I-Bc Q.50 and

43 From the ‘Catalogo tematico’ in Affortunato 2011, no. 107, p. 343.

44 From Caluori 1981. The thematic catalogue of vol. 2 supersedes the Wellesley Cantata Index Series (WECIS), vols 3a–b.

45 From the ‘Catalogo tematico’ in Affortunato 2011, no. 132, p. 353.

confirmed by an anonymous holograph in the Marazzoli manuscripts in the Chigi Collection (in BAV Chigi Q.VIII.177). Similarly, D. 2357 attributes a work to Cesti which is given to Giovanni Marciani (c. 1605–c. 1663) in both I-Bc Q.44 and Q.50 and was left anonymous in manuscript 2464.⁴⁶ In sum, however it was that *Vorrei scoprirti un di* became known as a work by Luigi Rossi in the north, there is no reliable Italian exemplar that attributes the cantata to him.⁴⁷

Aspects of transfer

The three cases outlined above deal with roughly mid-17th-century cantatas attributed to two Italian composers whose music became highly esteemed in the north of Europe, whose works joined arias and cantatas by Italians writing in the later part of the century. Apart from Carissimi's continuing dissemination in Latin compositions, we can plausibly attribute the northern survivals in part to the singability of certain works by Rossi and Carissimi, neither primarily an opera composer, whereas in the later 17th century, Italian cantatas and opera arias became more and more virtuosic. What is also characteristic of chamber works by Rossi, Caproli and Carissimi is their expressiveness, nuanced and equally ardent and flexible. *Vorrei scoprirti* has but one passage of recitative, and two clear, lyric halves; the first treasures a secret love, the second suffers for having to remain in silence ("Quel che parla il dolor la lingua tace"). Its inclusion in an abridged manuscript version of an earlier print teaching manual, the *Méthode claire, certaine et facile, pour apprendre à chanter la musique*, indicates its popularity and level of difficulty.⁴⁸ Both Carissimi works above require skilled and dramatic singers, though Samuel Pepys wasn't dissuaded by that.

It appears that certain Italian works or repertories circulated in the north of Europe, and less so within Italy itself, where professional chamber

46 I-Rc 2464, ff. 99r–104v. A 2. *Mio core, mio bene languisco per te*, SS-bc, C minor, bipartite aria. Attributed to Giovanni Marciani in I-Bc Q.44, ff. 6–8 and Q.50, ff. 146v–48v. Attributed to Luigi Rossi in GB-Lbl R.M. 23.f.4, ff. 87–88 and to Cesti in I-Fc D.2357, ff. 64–66v. Anonymous in I-Nc 22.2.22, ff. 31v–34v.

47 See Note 38.

48 See Note 37.

performances were more elite occasions and repertories were more jealously guarded. Certainly, there was little to no vocal traffic going from north to south. Non-professional singing by Italian gentlemen or nobles also seems to die out in the Italian courts by the mid-17th century. Children in Italian noble families were often given keyboard, Spanish guitar or lute lessons, but we read little of their performing as adults. Young men learned a number of instruments and how to dance in typical Jesuit college curricula, but awards ceremonies do not present them as singers. One of the avenues for further research offered by the three instances here is the importance of musical transmission among and for non-professional musicians. We have yet to assess the extent to which informal circulation in the north determined the non-operatic pieces that we find later assembled in the large vocal anthologies in England or France.

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The circulation of Giacomo Carissimi's sacred music, in Rome and abroad

STUDYING THE CIRCULATION of the music of Giacomo Carissimi (1605–1674) poses some challenges, largely related to problems of attribution and authorship. Those problems result from the restricted accessibility of Carissimi's music during his lifetime—a consequence of both the limited access to the composer's autograph scores and the absence of self-published printed editions. This limited availability manifested itself not only north of the Alps; it seems it was just as prevalent in Italy and in the composer's hometown of Rome, even in his lifetime.

As a result, there are very few works preserved in manuscript that have an assured origin from the composer himself and his inner circle, and only a small number of works published in printed editions with a similar provenance. There are a large number of posthumous manuscripts preserved at distant locales and of obscure provenance. Consequently, many problems of attribution remain, regardless of various efforts to sort them out.¹

This text attempts to shed some new light on questions of the circulation and attribution of Carissimi's sacred works with the help of a source that has not been considered in this context: a music catalogue from Chiesa del Gesù in Rome.

The dispersal of Carissimi's autographs

The reason for the lack of Carissimi autographs is quite well known, but has been recounted in different versions. On his deathbed, Carissimi told his confessor, Gasparo Gioacchini, that his music should remain in the house of the Jesuit college where he lived and worked, the German College (Collegium Germanicum). The preservation of these

1 See, for example, Jones 1982; 1988.

manuscripts was clearly considered of great importance at the college. Later the same day, the confessor Gioacchini testified to Carissimi's wish before a notary, who drew up a legal document stipulating that the music composed by Carissimi should stay in the church and at the college and that he wished that his estate should found two chaplaincies and pay the salary of two soprano castratos for the Church of Sant'Apollinare.² Only two weeks later, the superiors of the college procured a quite remarkable brief from Pope Clement X. It stated that removing Carissimi's musical works from the college and church, or lending them to any person or religious institution, should be punishable by excommunication.³

This papal decree immediately led to controversy. An undated document in the college archives refers to a great many requests to at least allow people to make copies of the music. In the document, the copying of the scores is referred to as something that would do great harm (*pregiudizio*) to the college, and it is suggested that the pope should issue an additional brief also prohibiting copies from being made and taken out of the college. The reason indicated for these concerns is that the music had been composed "not without great expense to the college" ("non sine magna impensa del Collegio") and that the college should be relieved of the obligation to prove that it had paid for the music. The document concludes that as long as the music of the Church of Sant'Apollinare was not too dispersed in copies, it would retain its value (*peggio*).

It is not self-evident whether *peggio* here refers to value of a more symbolic kind, or rather to economic value. Possibly, it could imply the benefit of having a unique repertoire, not accessible elsewhere, by such a highly esteemed composer available for performance at the church. This could draw larger crowds to the church services—which was clearly an important reason for spending so much on music in Sant'Apollinare.⁴ Still, the reference in the document to threats of a

2 The documents are published in Culley 1970, pp. 338–339, with an English translation, pp. 193–194.

3 Published in Culley 1970, pp. 358–359, with an English translation, p. 195.

4 This argument is made explicitly in documents in the college archive, discussing the function of music at the college and church; see Culley 1970, pp. 95–104.

lawsuit by the composer's heirs indicates that the value referred to was also of an economic kind.⁵ A contemporary example substantiates this: the efforts taken by Bonifacio Graziani's heirs to secure the publishing rights to his works confirm that a musical estate of this kind was considered to have important economic and commercial value.⁶

It has repeatedly been claimed that Carissimi's autograph scores were already dispersed in connection with the suppression of the Jesuit Order in 1773, when the German College was allegedly closed and plundered. This is arguably erroneous.⁷ The Carissimi manuscripts most likely stayed at the college and its church at least until 1798.

According to Andreas Steinhuber's history of the German College, the suppression of the Jesuit Order did not at all result in the closure of the college. On the contrary, teaching continued more or less as usual after the publication of Clemence XIV's breve dissolving the Order, but now under the supervision of the Dominicans and some ex-Jesuits.⁸ There is no evidence that the college or church was pillaged at this point. It was not until the French occupation and the so-called Roman Republic of 1798–1799 that the college was closed and plundered. At this point, treasures, furniture and other items of the college and church were auctioned off.⁹ It seems likely that the music collection of the church was taken away at the same time. It is not known whether the Carissimi autographs were kept in the college, or instead were housed in the choir library of the church. Giocchini's testimony mentions that the musical works that he had composed for the institution should stay "in the Church and College" ("alla Chiesa e Collegio").¹⁰

5 Carissimi's heirs were rather distant relatives: the two cousins Girolama and Caterina, daughters of his mother's brother Alessandro, and Barnaba Ruina, the grandson of his sister Polinnia; Cametti 1917, pp. 409, 412, 417.

6 Berglund 2011, p. viii.

7 This is already implied in Bainsi 1828, p. 311, and then repeated in Cametti 1917, p. 385, with reference to Alfieri 1845, pp. 55–56; however, Alaleona 1908, p. 253, instead identified the French occupation as the moment when the manuscripts became dispersed; Culley 1970, p. 196, and Jones 1982, vol. 1, pp. 42–43, refer to both Cametti and Alaleona, but leave the question open.

8 Steinhuber 1906, pp. 179–185.

9 Steinhuber 1906, pp. 205–208.

10 See *Note 2*.

Soon after the French troops left, the college was reconstituted in 1800 by Pope Pius VII. According to Giuseppe Baini, Canon Massajoli, auditor of the new college protector Cardinal Luigi Valente-Gonzaga, tracked down a large number of the college's books and musical scores from a junk dealer and repurchased them.¹¹ There is no way to tell whether the Carissimi manuscripts were part of that transaction, although it seems possible. In any case, the subsequent fate of the autographs is not known.

Survival of Carissimi sources, in manuscript and in print

This lack of autographs is far from unique to Carissimi. The situation is similar for most of his contemporaries in Rome, such as Bonifacio Graziani and Francesco Foggia. However, unlike Carissimi, these two composers of sacred music published printed collections of their works, which they personally oversaw. Graziani stands out in this respect, with 16 printed editions published during his lifetime and even more published posthumously by his relatives.¹² No such publications of Carissimi's music were issued in Italy during his lifetime. The posthumous *Sacri musicali* was compiled by Giovan Battista Caifabri after the death of the composer, and published in 1675. Carissimi's compositions that appeared in printed editions during his lifetime were instead published in a number of anthologies compiled by Florido de Silvestris and others, and in the 1666 *Missa a cinque* [...] and the 1670 *Arion Romanus*, both published north of the Alps.

There are very few 17th-century manuscripts of sacred music by Carissimi preserved in Rome and only a few such manuscripts on the Italian peninsula. The vast majority of manuscripts of Carissimi's sacred music are found in France, England, Germany and Sweden. According to currently available catalogues and lists, there are about 30 of his sacred works (including motets or dialogues) in Italian libraries and archives, although there are very few manuscripts in Rome.¹³ Roughly half of the Carissimi works preserved in manuscript in Italy are also

¹¹ Baini 1828, p. 311.

¹² Shigihara 1984, pp. 75–102.

¹³ At Biblioteca Casanatense and at the library of the S. Cecilia Academy.

found in contemporary printed editions, and were possibly copied from them. The rest appear in manuscript dissemination only.

This raises some intriguing questions. First, how widespread was the circulation of Carissimi motets in manuscript in Rome during and just after his lifetime? Second, how many works circulating in Rome or on the Italian peninsula in the 17th century are now lost, and what do these circumstances imply for the remaining challenges and issues of attribution regarding the sacred repertoire? And third, how does the known dissemination within Italy relate to the dissemination north of the Alps?

A music catalogue in the Jesuit archives in Rome

In the Jesuit historical archives in Rome, there is a document that has thus far received little attention but offers some insight into these questions. It is a music catalogue originating from the Jesuit mother church, Chiesa del Gesù (commonly called Il Gesù), and prepared some time in the late 17th century. It comprises 62 folios, apparently listing the musical works contained in the music library of the so-called Cappella Farnesina.¹⁴ Anna Pia Sciolari Meluzzi drew attention to it in an article published in 1993,¹⁵ and Bernhard Schrammek treated it briefly in his dissertation on Virgilio Mazzocchi,¹⁶ but no one seems to have worked more systematically on this interesting document. Sciolari Meluzzi associated the document with Giovanni Battista Giansetti, who was a pupil of Bonifacio Graziani. Giansetti was an organist at the church under Graziani in the 1660s, and was also its *maestro di cappella* from about 1675 until 1704.¹⁷

I am currently working on this catalogue, with the aim of publishing a complete transcription. In the following, I will focus mainly on its relevance for studying the circulation and problems of attribution of Carissimi's sacred music.

14 Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI), Rome, Chiesa del Gesù 1049; in the catalogue of the archive, it is designated *Elenco di Inni sacri*.

15 Sciolari Meluzzi 1993.

16 Schrammek 2001.

17 Rostirolla 2017, p. 344.

The catalogue lists more than 1 600 compositions and names about 46 composers.¹⁸ Schrammek called it an inventory (*Notenininventar*), but strictly speaking it is structured more like a catalogue, because the works are ordered according to scoring, genre or text set. First it lists motets, organized by the number of voices, from solo voice to twelve voices. Then come categories such as various Psalms, *Dixit Dominus*, *Magnificat*, *Confitebor*, *Beatus vir*, et cetera, and at the very end mass compositions. It thus appears to be a catalogue meant for practical use, ordered to find the right repertoire in relation to both scoring and occasion.

The catalogue records a repertoire covering much of the 17th century, including a few 16th-century pieces by, for example, Palestrina and Luca Marenzio. There is a great deal of music by composers active during the first three decades of the 17th century, before Carissimi came to Rome. Abundio Antonelli, *maestro di cappella* at Il Gesù and the Roman seminar during the first decade of the century, is represented by no fewer than 235 works. Among the composers from those early years we also find the two Anerio brothers, Paolo Agostino, Archangelo Crivelli, Ruggiero Giovanelli and the two Nanino brothers, all of them represented by at least ten works each. From Carissimi's time, there is music by the leading church musicians in the city, such as Andrea Maria Abbatini (6 works), Tullio Cima (26), Stefano Fabri (19), Pedro Heredia (64), Bonifacio Graziani (20), Domenico Massenzio (33) and Virgilio Mazzocchi (10). All of them were at some point *maestro di cappella* at Il Gesù and at the Roman seminar. In the list, we also find a number of leading musicians in the city who were not associated with Il Gesù, such as Orazio Benevoli, Francesco Foggia, Stefano Landi and Paolo Quagliati. Those four are only represented by a few works—Benevoli, Foggia and Quagliati by only one work each and Landi by three.

The only composer in the catalogue who is represented by a large number of works without having served at the church and seminary is Giacomo Carissimi. He is represented by about 40 pieces in the list and ranks third in the number of works per composer represented, after the outstanding Antonelli, and Heredia.

18 Schrammek 2001, pp. 54–57, 333–337.

Why is Carissimi so well-represented in the music library of Il Gesù? Two possible explanations present themselves: either because of the great respect for Carissimi and popularity of his music in general, or because for 44 years he had been employed at a Jesuit sister institution of Il Gesù and the Roman seminary—the German College and the adjacent church of Sant’Apollinare. Presumably both explanations are valid. Still, the fact that composers with a history at Il Gesù are overrepresented in the catalogue suggests that the association with the institution and possible connections within the patron network could have been of particular importance for the specific music found in the music collection of the church.

Anna Pia Sciolari Meluzzi claimed that the catalogue is “most probably in the hand of Giansetti”.¹⁹ Giovanni Battista Giansetti was a pupil of Bonifacio Graziani and *maestro di cappella* at Chiesa del Gesù from about 1675 until 1704.²⁰ He was also the organist at the church in the 1660s, during Graziani’s tenure.

Comparisons with samples of his handwriting from the archive of the S. Cecilia Academy reveal this to be less than likely.²¹ There are also at least two different hands in the catalogue. Sciolari Meluzzi’s assumption that the catalogue should be attributed to Giovanni Battista Giansetti can therefore not be proven at this point, although it cannot be ruled out.

It still makes sense to assume that the catalogue was put together in the 1670s, or somewhat later. The latest composer found in the list, according to year of death, is Foggia, who died at a great age in 1688. Apart from him we find Abbatini (d. 1679), Tullio Cima (d. 1675), Carissimi (d. 1674), Benevoli (d. 1672), Ceccharelli (d. 1668) and Graziani (d. 1664). This suggests that little music was added to the list after the death of Bonifacio Graziani, when an attempt was made to reorganize and stabilize the musical organization of the church. This is reflected in a 1666 document entitled *Libro di Consuetudini* (Book of Customs), which starts with a brief history and summary of the musical

19 Sciolari Meluzzi 1993, p. 73.

20 Rostirolla 2017, pp. 344–345.

21 Reproductions in Giazotto 1970, pp. 221, 295.

organization and then stipulates the customs for the future.²² The catalogue could have been prepared at the same time. That two works included in the Carissimi edition *Sacri concerti musicali* from 1675 are found in the catalogue could indicate that it dates from 1675 or later. Still, these works could also have been acquired in manuscript for Il Gesù before the printed edition. At this point, the more precise dating of the catalogue must remain open.

In all, I have been able to identify 39 titles in the catalogue that are explicitly attributed to Giacomo Carissimi.²³ There are also 15 titles that follow after a title explicitly attributed to Carissimi, but that are marked with a plus sign (“+”) instead of the composer’s name. These plus signs are common in the catalogue and could be ditto signs. However, there are strong arguments against such an interpretation. For example, investigating those 15 titles reveals no known Carissimi concordances among the titles. Moreover, in the case of Bonifacio Graziani, there are several titles marked with such signs following after pieces explicitly attributed to him, but none of them have concordant titles among his preserved works. Considering that more than 400 works by Graziani were published in printed editions by himself and his descendents, this speaks strongly against interpreting the plus signs as ditto signs. There are also several cases in the list in which plus signs are interspersed with a recurring composer name. For example, in folio 1v, we find the name Abundio [Antonelli] listed several times, with plus signs between them, which does not make sense if they were used as ditto signs.

In some places the plus sign has been crossed out and replaced with a composer’s name. For example, in folio 9v we find a plus sign cancelled and replaced with the name Zoilo. This strongly suggests that the plus signs were used to indicate that the composer is unknown to the compiler, and that the work is marked as unattributed in the list.

For this reason, I will not consider the titles indicated with plus signs

22 ARSI, Rome, Chiesa del Gesù 2053; published in Rostrolla 2017, pp. 430–432.

23 Schrammek (2001, p. 336) counts 41. Still, the number depends, for example, on how variants are counted. In my list, *Cum ingredientur* and *Cum reverteretur* and *Summi regis puerpera/Omes Sancti quanta passa sunt* are counted as two versions of the same work with different texts.

in the following discussion, but only the 39 works explicitly attributed to Carissimi.

Concordances between the catalogue and works by Carissimi in printed editions and preserved manuscripts

Crucial for the circulation and preservation of sacred repertoire, especially small-scale motets by Roman composers of that period, were the large number of works published in printed anthologies during Carissimi's lifetime, not least by the diligent anthologist Florido de Silvestris. About 30 works by the composer were published in one or more such anthologies. Many of the preserved manuscripts of his sacred music arguably derive from those printed publications.

Thirteen of the 39 titles attributed to Carissimi in the catalogue appear in music prints from 1675 or earlier. Eight of them are found in printed Italian anthologies published during Carissimi's lifetime. Two titles are found in the 1675 *Sacri concerti musicali* and six in *Arion Romanus*, a collection of music attributed to Carissimi, published in Konstanz in 1670.²⁴ As *Table 1* makes clear, several of these works appear in two or more printed editions.

Twenty-six of the 39 titles in the catalogue do not appear in any preserved printed editions published 1675 or earlier. This suggests that about two thirds of the titles in the catalogue were available in manuscript transmission only.

Sixteen of the 39 works attributed to Carissimi in the catalogue have concordances in 17th-century manuscripts, according to currently available catalogues. Nine of those 16 works also have parallel concordances in music prints. This leaves seven titles found in the catalogue that are only preserved in manuscript (see *Table 2*).

²⁴ Jones 1988.

Table 1. Concordances between the Il Gesù catalogue and printed editions from 1675 or earlier.

Title in catalogue	Scoring in catalogue	Concordance in printed edition
Ardens est cor nostrum ò bone Jesu	à 4	Silvestri 1664 (RISM B I:1, 1664 ¹) <i>Arion Romanus</i> 1670 (RISM A/I C 1221)
Audite Sanctis audite Justi &c.	C.C.B.	Silvestri 1645, 1651, 1656
Cum ingrederetur N./Cum reverteretur David	à 3 canti 3 canti	<i>Sacri concerti musicali</i> 1675
Ecce sponsus venit egredere letare	C.A.	Silvestri 1652 <i>Arion Romanus</i> 1670
Himnum iucundatis cantimus Deo nuovo	2 canti	Silvestri 1645 <i>Arion Romanus</i> 1670
Laudemus virum gloriosum et S[antissim]us decus	à 2 canti	<i>Scelta</i> , Rotterdam 1656 <i>Arion Romanus</i> 1670 <i>Sacri concerti musicali</i> 1675
Nigra sum sed formosa o filiae Jerusalem	à 2 canti	Silvestri 1650
Omnes gentes gaudete cum Maria	A 3 canti	<i>Arion Romanus</i> 1670
O quam mirabilia sunt	2 canti	<i>Scelta di motetti</i> 1675
Quis est hic vir beatissimus &c.	à 3	Poggioli, Loreto 1646 Poggioli 1647
Sicut mater consolatur filios suos, ita consolabor vos &c.	à 2 canti	<i>Arion Romanus</i> 1670
Suscitavit Dominus sup[er] Babylonem &c.	A.T.B.	Cavalotti 1665 <i>Missa a 5</i> , Cologne 1666
Veni dilecta mea	à 2 canti	Roscioli 1643

Table 2. Titles in the catalogue that have concordances in preserved manuscripts with no printed concordances.

Title in catalogue	Scoring in catalogue	Manuscript concordances, library sigla
Ecce nos reliquimus omnia &c.	T.T.B.	GB-Lam, Ob, Och, Y, S-Uu
Magnificat	[A 8]	GB-Lbl (?) ²⁵
Quasi stella matutina et quasi sol	3 Canti et A	F-Pn, I-Bc
Si linguis hominum loquar et Angelorum	3 Canti	F-Pn, GB-Och, Y, I-PS, S-Uu; Cz-KR?
Simile est Regnum caelorum homini quarenti bonas magarentis	[a 2] à 2 Canti ²⁶	S-Uu
Summi regis puerpera/Omnes Sancti quanta passi sunt	2 Canti 2. Cant	GB-Och, GB-Y I-PS
Super flumina Babylonis illici sedimus &c.	2 Cant A T	F-LYm, Pc, GB-T, Y, I-Bc, S-Uu

Consequently, there remain 19 unique titles in the catalogue that are not found in any preserved music prints or manuscript, according to currently available catalogues (see *Table 3*).

The source material for the Carissimi entries in the catalogue is quite limited, so one cannot draw any definite conclusions; it is still possible to consider some tentative ones, however.

First, the observations based on the catalogue suggest that there was a considerable number of compositions by Carissimi that are now lost but that were in circulation during his lifetime. In the case of the Il Gesù catalogue, half of the works in the list have not survived. Second, it shows that there are works by Carissimi that circulated in Rome during his lifetime but are not known from any surviving musical sources outside the city. The considerable number of unique titles in the catalogue is arguably because it derives from the Jesuit mother church and thus from a sister institution of the college where Carissimi was active.

25 Since both the title and text and scoring of the piece are so generic, the identification with the work preserved in the British Library, G-Lbl, Add. 31478, must remain tentative.

26 *Simile est regnum* occurs twice in the catalogue, once with the scoring “à 2 Cant”, and once under the heading “mottetti a 2”.

It could even be explained by the close contacts, possibly even friendship, between Carissimi and Bonifacio Graziani.

Apart from these more general questions of the preservation and circulation of music manuscripts in Rome and abroad, the catalogue from Il Gesù is also potentially helpful for the attribution of some works preserved in European libraries. In the following, I will consider several such cases, both to illustrate the kind of information obtainable from the catalogue and to present some new observations regarding sacred works attributed to Carissimi.

Concordances between the catalogue and the Düben Collection, Uppsala

The Düben Collection in Uppsala contains manuscripts of 38 works attributed to Giacomo Carissimi. Twenty of these date from 1663 or later, the year when Gustav Düben took up the positions of chapel master at the royal court and organist of the German church. Most of these post-1663 manuscripts were copied either from music prints or from manuscripts that were in turn copied from printed editions. There are some exceptions, but in those cases, the attribution can be disputed.²⁷

The remaining 18 of the 38 Carissimi manuscripts in the Düben Collection are early sources, dating from the 1650s. They derive from the visit of an Italian ensemble of singers and musicians to the court of Queen Christina in Stockholm and Uppsala in 1652–1654. Its musical leader was a pupil of Carissimi's from the German College, Vincenzo Albrici. These 18 works must have been brought from Rome to Sweden by the Italian musicians, meaning that these pieces were composed in 1652 or earlier. Moreover, they seem likely to derive from the close circles of Carissimi himself.²⁸

²⁷ Berglund, forthcoming b.

²⁸ Berglund & Schildt 2024.

Table 3. Titles attributed to Carissimi in the II Gesù catalogue that do not have known concordances in either manuscript or printed editions from 1675 or earlier.

Title in catalogue	Scoring in catalogue
Ad cantus, ad plausus, ad sonos, ad melos &c.	2 Canti
Adest nobis	voce solo con sinfonia per la Natività della B. Virg.e
Benedicite gentes Deus nostrum	à 3 Canti
Diligam te Domine	à 4 soprani/4 Canti ²⁹
Fugite fugite mortis umbrae c	[A 5]
[...] ornatus agros [...]	[A 5]
In sole posuit tabernaculum suum	Voce sola/Voce sola con sinfonia concertante ³⁰
Incipite Domino in Timpanis	à 3 Canti
O dulcissime Jesu ne memineris iniquitatem morandum	à 2 Canti
O dulcissime Jesu transfige cor meum	à C.A.
Plaudite celestes o gentes	
Quasi stella matutina et quasi sol per un Sa[n]to	3 Canti et A
Regnum mundi et omnem ornatum seculi contempni	Alt.
Reminiscere orate sic fama iubet	[A 4]
Sancta et venerabilis Hostia	à 2 Soprani
Si Deus pro nobis quis contra nos	à 3 Canti
Surge [...] inimici Christi [...]	à 2 Canti
Veni Domini et noli tardare, relaxa fascinora	Cant. [Adu]
Venite gentes	con organo e violino con canto

²⁹ The title occurs twice in the catalogue.

³⁰ The title occurs twice in the catalogue, with two different scorings indicated.

Table 4. Eight works preserved in the Düben Collection that are included in the Il Gesù catalogue.³¹

Title	Scoring	Düben Collection, S-Uu, Vmhs	Music print
Audite Sanctis audite Justi	C.C.B.	53:10 (dated c. 1654–1655) 11:3, 77:95	Silvestri 1645 Silvestri 1651 Scelta 1656
Cum reverteretur David	3 Canti	53:10 (dated c. 1654–1655) 11:6, 83:2	<i>Sacri concerti musicali</i> 1675
Ecce nos reliquimus omnia &c.	T.T.B.	53:10 (dated c. 1654–1655)	—
Omnes gentes gaudete	à 3 Canti	53:10 (dated c. 1654–1655) 11:15, 80:115	<i>Arion Romanus</i> 1670
Si linguis hominum loquar et Angelorum	3 Canti	21:1, 83:67 (dated 1665)	—
Simile est Regnum	2 Canti	53:10 (dated c. 1654–1655) 12:2	—
Super flumina Babylonis	2 Canti AT.	12:13 (dated 1652 or earlier) 78:80	—
Suscitavit Dominus	A.T.B.	12:5, 79 (both dated 1664)	<i>Scelta</i> 1665 <i>Missa</i> 1666

Eight of the 38 works in the Düben Collection are found in the catalogue from Il Gesù (see Table 4); six of them belong to the early group of 18 manuscripts dating from the 1650s.

Half of these early Carissimi manuscripts in the Düben Collection (nine out of 18) have concordances in 17th-century music prints. As is clear from Table 4, this concerns four of the eight works found in the catalogue. Interestingly, three of them predate the printed editions by several years. *Cum reverteretur David* appeared in *Sacri concerti musicali*, published in Rome in 1675,³² and *Omnes gentes gaudete* is found in *Arion Romanus*, published in Konstanz in 1670. The Düben Collection

³¹ All manuscripts are available online at The Düben Collection database Catalogue, eds Lars Berglund *et al.*, <https://catmus.musik.uu.se>.

³² This work is found with two different texts in *Sacri concerti musicali*: *Cum ingrederetur N in paradisi Gloriam* and *Cum reverteretur David percusso filisteo*. The Düben Collection manuscript contains the former. See Carissimi 2015, pp. xxiii–xxiv.

manuscript in which those two works are included, Vmhs 53:10, was copied much earlier, in the mid-1650s. This means that they predate the printed editions by 15 to 20 years. The manuscript in question is a set of partbooks with the shelfmark Vmhs 53:10, prepared by the young Gustav Düben and three other copyists in 1654–1655. The paper can be dated with some accuracy thanks to the watermarks.³³ The originals from which this and similar manuscripts were copied must have been brought by the ensemble of Italians that Christina had recruited for her court, most of whom came directly from Rome, including Carissimi's pupil Vincenzo Albrici and other members of the group that had been affiliated with the German College in Rome, such as the impresario Alessandro Cecconi.

There are several possibilities for how these works could have come into the hands of Albrici and his co-musicians. Albrici could have copied them when he studied with Carissimi at the German College in the 1640s. He could also have copied them during his short sojourn as an organist at Il Gesù in 1649–1651.³⁴ It is also possible that Carissimi himself provided some of his music for the musicians who were about to embark on their journey to Sweden. Christina may actually have tried to recruit Carissimi for her court, as a maestro of her Italian ensemble, and even though he turned down the offer, he could have helped in recruiting the ensemble.³⁵

The motet *Suscitavit Dominus* appeared in both *Scelta de' motetti* published in Rome in 1665 and in *Missa a cinque* published in Cologne in 1666.³⁶ Gustav Düben acquired it in a tablature score that probably originates from Lübeck. He prepared a set of parts of the piece and dated both the tablature and the parts to 1664, a year or more before the printed editions were published. In this last case, there could be a lost printed publication earlier than the 1665 *Scelta de' motetti*. Of course, it can generally not be excluded that works published in now lost printed editions from Rome were used as copy texts both by the musicians and for non-Italian prints such as the *Arion Romanus*.

33 Rudén 1968, pp. 132–133, and app., pp. 1–2.

34 Berglund 2010, pp. 198–199.

35 Berglund & Schildt 2024, pp. 88–91.

36 RISM B I:1 1665¹ and C 1220.

Two of the Düben Collection's 18 manuscripts from the 1650s attributed to Carissimi are works unique to the Düben Collection: *Simile est Regnum* and the two-choir setting of *Salve Regina*.³⁷

The presence of two unique Carissimi compositions transmitted in manuscript in a place so remote from Rome inevitably raises questions of possible misattribution. Still, the particular provenance of these sources makes the case much stronger. *Figure 1* shows the second soprano part of the motet *Simile est Regnum*, scored for two sopranos and basso continuo, in the Düben Collection manuscript. It is preserved in the partbooks with the shelfmark Vmhs 53:10. The originals from which this and similar manuscripts were copied must have been brought by the ensemble of Italians that Christina had recruited for her court. The catalogue from Il Gesù gives additional support. *Figure 2* shows a detail from the catalogue, listing a piece with exactly the same Latin text: *Simile est Regnum caelorum homini quarenti bonas magarentis*.

This title occurs twice in the catalogue, both times with an attribution to Carissimi. In folio 3r it is found under the heading "A 2", and indicated with the scoring "à 2 Canti", which is the same as for the piece in the Düben Collection. This title, however, has been crossed out. It appears again in folio 55r, this time under the heading "Mottetti à 2", but without the scoring specified. There are several instances in the catalogue of titles that have been crossed out—usually, it seems, because they were first mistakenly entered under the wrong heading. In this case the catalogue from Il Gesù confirms that a motet by Carissimi with this text and scoring was present in Rome, in the circles around the composer himself, so it strongly supports the attribution to Carissimi in the Düben Collection.

Another case in which the catalogue sheds some light on Düben Collection sources is the motet *Omnes gentes gaudete cum Maria*, scored for three sopranos and basso continuo. It is preserved in the same partbooks in the Düben Collection, Vmhs 53:10. This composition is also found in the 1670 *Arion Romanus*.³⁸

37 This eight-part *Salve Regina* is preserved without the text underlay. Regarding questions of the attribution to Carissimi, see my introduction to the edition, Berglund forthcoming a.

38 For a detailed and clarifying study of this publication, see Jones 1988.



Figure 1. Second soprano part of Carissimi's *Simile est regnum*, S-Uu, Vmhs 53:10 (12).

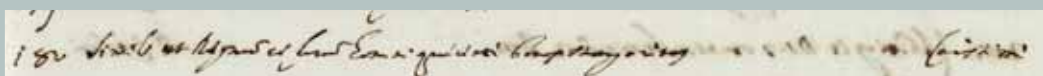


Figure 2. A detail from the Il Gesù catalogue, folio 55r, with the entry for *Simile est regnum*, including the attribution to Carissimi.

Omnes gentes gaudete cum Maria is a shortened adaptation of a longer piece entitled *Quasi columba speciosa*, which is preserved in full in a manuscript in Bologna.³⁹ The version entitled *Omnes gentes* consists of sections two and three of the three of that work, but lacking the first part. Andrew Jones carefully compared the different versions and concluded that the Uppsala version and the *Arion Romanus* version must, independently of each other, derive from an earlier adaptation.⁴⁰ It was not possible for Jones to decide whether this was an adaptation made north of the Alps or in Italy, or even whether it originated from Carissimi himself.

A work with this title is included in the catalogue from Il Gesù, with an attribution to Carissimi. This title also appears twice in the list, and in both instances has been crossed out. The first time it appears is in folio 3r, under the heading “A. 2”, indicating works scored for two voices, but with the scoring given as “à 3 canti”. The misplacement seems to explain why this entry has been crossed out. It then appears again in folio 7r, again with the scoring indicated as “à 3 Canti”, and again with the attribution to Carissimi. This time it was entered under the heading “A. 3” at the top of the page and with other works scored for three voices. It is not clear why the title was crossed out here.

The fact that a piece with this title and scoring is listed in the catalogue from Il Gesù implies that the shortened version of the work is not an adaptation made by a northern musician, but that it originates from Rome. It is likely that this version was actually prepared by Giacomo Carissimi himself.

As can be seen in *Figure 3*, at the end of staves one and two, Gustav Düben at some point altered the text from “gaudete cum Maria” to “gaudete cum Victore”. This kind of modification of Marian texts to adapt them to Lutheran dogma was common in Lutheran countries. This modification was likely made later, in the 1660s, and not in Queen Christina’s time.⁴¹ The work is preserved in two later-dated manuscripts in the Düben Collection, both copied by Gustav Düben: one set of parts, Vmhs 11:15, and an organ tablature score, Vmhs 80:116, which is

39 Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica di Bologna (I-Bc), Q 45.

40 Jones 1988, pp. 175–182.

41 On Düben’s retexting of Catholic texts, see Schildt 2014, pp. 322–327; 2020.

1. 53.10 a 3 del Sig^o Jacomo Crisimi. 1. Vox.

Om nes gen tes gaudete gaudete cum Maria Victore

om nes gen tes gaudete gaudete cum Maria Victore

gaudete

hodie in Coelis plauden

tibus choris angelorum glori

Figure 3. Omnes gentes gaudete in the Düben Collection manuscript Vmhs 53:10.

found in one of Düben's large tablature volumes. The title page of the set of parts is dated 1664 by Düben. The tablature dates from the same time.

Lucifer caelestis olim and a conflicting attribution

If we leave Sweden and the Düben Collection and move to the British Isles, we find another interesting case. In the second book of the printed anthology *Harmonia sacra*, edited by Henry Playford and published in London in 1693, we find two compositions attributed to Carissimi. One is a curious solo motet, *Lucifer caelestis olim*.

This piece is preserved in a large number of manuscripts in England and in France. There are at least 17 different manuscripts of the motet in England.⁴² Ester Lebedinski has described it as one of the most copied and most popular pieces of Italian vocal music in England in the late 17th century.⁴³ At least some of the English manuscripts predate the 1693 Playford music print, and it can be assumed that a circulated manuscript provided him with the copy text. The piece is preserved in a number of different versions. Most of them are scored for solo bass and continuo, but a number of them are instead for solo soprano, including the version printed in Playford's *Harmonia sacra*.

A work with this title is included in the catalogue from Il Gesù (see Figure 4), with the full text incipit *Lucifer caelestis olim Hierarchi princeps &c.* The vocal type is not specified in the record, but the title is included under the heading "A voce sola". In the catalogue it is not attributed to Carissimi, but to Odoardo Ceccarelli, a bass singer and composer born in Umbria. He was active as a singer at the German College and the church of Sant'Apollinare in the 1620s.⁴⁴ In 1628 he became a supernumerary of the *Cappella musicale Pontificia*, and in 1633 a full member of the papal chapel.

⁴² Lebedinski 2014, p. 170, n. 580.

⁴³ Lebedinski 2014, p. 160.

⁴⁴ Culley 1970, pp. 156–157.

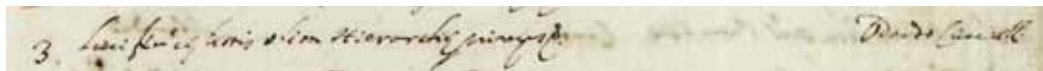


Figure 4. *Lucifer caelestis olim* in the Il Gesù catalogue, folio 1r, with the attribution to Odoardo Ceccarelli.

These conflicting attributions merit some consideration. It is not impossible that we are concerned with two different settings of the same text. Still, the text is very rare: these are the only occurrences of a text or a title with this particular wording in available catalogues or inventories. This suggests a strong connection between the works, if we are really concerned with two different compositions. Ceccarelli was active as a singer at Sant'Apollinare during Carissimi's tenure, and they could both have set the text to music. The text could even have been composed by Ceccarelli himself. According to Fétis, he wrote texts for Latin motets.⁴⁵

The fact that this piece has only survived in comparatively late sources, and is only preserved in the UK and France, makes the attribution to Carissimi relatively weak. There are also stylistic traits in the composition that are not fully compatible with an attribution to Carissimi. For example, there are two triple-meter sections notated in 6/8 and 3/4, with the first meter in particular not normally being found in motets by Carissimi.⁴⁶ Moreover, the piece contains harmonic schemes that are not typical of Carissimi's contrapuntal textures, but point to a composer employing a more modern stylistic idiom.⁴⁷ Also atypical are the triple-meter arias, which employ aria melodies of a kind not characteristic of Carissimi. The composition also lacks any of Carissimi's signature traits, such as transposed phrases,⁴⁸ expressive suspensions and third-inversion seventh chords.

Unfortunately, almost none of Ceccarelli's music is preserved; the only known piece attributed to him is a secular canzonetta in a manu-

45 Fétis 1867, p. 232; Culley 1970, pp. 156–157.

46 An exception is *O quam pulchra es* for solo soprano, preserved in two manuscripts in the British Library and at the Royal College, but in fact that piece should be considered spurious as well.

47 Berglund 2011, pp. viii–ix.

48 Stein 1994, pp. 26–28.

script in Biblioteca Casanatense.⁴⁹ It does not give much guidance in terms of his compositional habits, not least since it is in a different genre and generic style. Nevertheless, considering the conflicting attributions from the catalogue, the uncertain provenance of the preserved sources and the stylistic divergences, the attribution to Carissimi of *Lucifer caelestis olim* must definitely be considered spurious.

A work by Graziani, or Carissimi—or both?

After Bonifacio Graziani died in 1664, his brother and nephew managed to secure exclusive rights from the pope to publish his music for a period of ten years.⁵⁰ Thanks to this, they could continue to publish posthumous printed editions of Graziani's musical estate. Between 1665 and 1678, they published at least 16 volumes of his works (Opuses 11–25) and at least 14 reprinted editions.⁵¹

In 1673, nine years after the composer's death, his relatives put out a collection of 14 motets for two to five voices and basso continuo, numbered Opus 12. This 1673 edition may have been a reprint from an earlier publication. The relatives also published a collection of Litanies as Opus 11 in 1665 and a collection of Antiphons as Opus 13 in the same year. This suggests that the first edition of the motet collection with Opus number 12 had already been issued in 1665.

The last piece in the Opus 12 collection is a motet with the text *Fugite, fugite mortis umbrae*, scored for five voices (two sopranos, alto, tenor and bass) and organ. In the catalogue from Il Gesù, in the section listing motets for five voices, we find the same title, *Fugite fugite mortis umbrae &c.*, but in the catalogue it is attributed to Carissimi.

This raises some intriguing questions. The title could, of course, also in this case refer to two completely different compositions, with the same text and a similar scoring for five voices. Just as in the case of *Lucifer caelestis olim*, the text is unique: these two instances are the only ones that can be found in currently available catalogues. Of course, Graziani's motet could be an imitation of a Carissimi model—or the

49 Biblioteca Casanatense (I-Rc), Ms. 2472.

50 Shigihara 1984, pp. 59–61, 65.

51 Shigihara 1984, pp. 75–102.

reverse. However, it seems more reasonable to assume that we are dealing with one and the same piece. There are no other known *imitatio* associations between Graziani and Carissimi.

If we assume that the piece is the same, it raises the question of which attribution is correct: that of the catalogue or of the music print? Scholars tend to put a lot of trust in the attributions of printed editions, but in this case things are more complicated. Graziani's Opus 12 is a posthumous publication. The brother and nephew of Graziani arguably used his remaining autographs for the printed editions, and if Graziani had a copy in his own hand of a motet by Carissimi without an attribution, they could have assumed that it was composed by Graziani.

In compiling the posthumous printed collections, Graziani's relatives were assisted by his former pupil, Giovanni Battista Giansetti. Giansetti would arguably have had access both to Graziani's preserved autographs and to the music library of Il Gesù.⁵² This makes the conflicting attributions even more peculiar.

The printed Graziani collection was published before Carissimi's death. This would be valid for both a hypothetical first edition from 1665 and the preserved reprint from 1673. It seems unlikely that the heirs of Graziani would have deliberately published a work by Carissimi under Graziani's name. There are three possible scenarios: 1) that Graziani's heirs mistakenly attributed a Carissimi piece to their relative; 2) that the attribution to Carissimi in the catalogue is erroneous, or 3) that there actually existed two different works with this rare text and for the same number of voices.

Stylistically, this composition is written in a comparatively modern style, based on harmonic schemes, cadence patterns, and a structure of short, regular, and periodic phrases. This clearly points to Graziani rather than Carissimi,⁵³ and there is much to suggest that it is actually by him. If correct, this could serve as a reminder not to take the attributions in the catalogue at face value: they always have to be contextualized and be substantiated by additional evidence.

52 As already noted, Anna Pia Sciolari Meluzzi identified Giansetti as the probable creator of the catalogue, even though this assumption has not been substantiated and is not supported by examination of the handwriting.

53 Berglund 2011, pp. viii–ix.

Summi regis puerpera and Omnes sancti quanta passi sunt

Two manuscripts in British libraries preserve a composition with the text *Summi regis puerpera, o quam pulchra es*, scored for two sopranos, two violins and continuo. One is found in the library of Christ Church College in Oxford, and was possibly copied by William Dingley (c. 1673–1735), fellow of the college from 1698.⁵⁴ In this source, the attribution reads “Luigi”, and in RISM A/I it is attributed to Luigi Rossi. The other source is in the library of York Minster, in a manuscript comprising about ten works attributed to Carissimi and bearing the attribution to “Jacomio Carissimi” on the organ part.⁵⁵ Andrew Jones asserted that it has Italian provenance, based on the copyist styles and the paper;⁵⁶ he also attributed the piece to Carissimi, disregarding the reference to “Luigi” in the Oxford manuscript.

Jones also observed that the same piece was found in a fragmentary manuscript in Pistoia,⁵⁷ preserving only the first violin part. It is identical to the music in the Oxford and York manuscripts, but in the Pistoia source, another text is indicated: *Omnes sancti*. The indicated scoring is the same, “à dua [sic] Canti”, and the attribution reads “del Sig:^r Iacomo Carissimi”.⁵⁸ Thus, we seem to be dealing with one and the same musical composition, but with two different texts. The violin part in the Pistoia manuscript has text indications that give away more of the text: apart from “*Omnes sancti*”, they read “*Ut secure*” and “*Quanta passi sunt*”.

The catalogue from Il Gesù includes both these titles. In folio 4v, we find a work indicated as *Omnes Sancti quanta passi sunt 2. Cant.—Carissimi*. In folio 45r, we find *Summi regis puerpera 2 Canti—Carissimi*. The longer text incipit indicated for *Omnes sancti* corresponds to the text indications in the Pistoia violin part. It refers to an antiphon text for the mass, dealing with the torments of the martyrs: *Omnes sancti quanta passi sunt tormenta ut securi pervenirent ad palmam martyrii*.⁵⁹

⁵⁴ Lebedinski 2014, p. 163.

⁵⁵ Library of York Minster, M. 35.

⁵⁶ Jones 1982, vol. 1, p. 92.

⁵⁷ Jones 1982, vol. 2, p. 107.

⁵⁸ I-PS, *Archivio e biblioteca capitolare*, Padua, Ms. B 25:3.

⁵⁹ *Cantus Database*, <https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca>, accessed September 2022.

The two entries in the catalogue indicate that two motets attributed to Carissimi and scored for two sopranos with those texts existed in the choir library of Il Gesù. First, this means that the attribution of *Summa Regis* to Carissimi in the York manuscript is supported by the Il Gesù catalogue, and can thus likely be confirmed, even though the two British sources are relatively late and of unclear provenance. Second, it suggests that the two different text versions originated with Carissimi himself, or at least from his closest circles in Rome.

Summi regis puerpera appears to be the text for which the music was originally composed. It fits the music slightly better: note, for example, the expressive setting of the words “o quam pulchra es”, and not least the jubilant melismas presenting the words “in gloria Domini”. Nevertheless, it is also fully possible to use the antiphon text of *Omnes sancti* as the text underlay to the music, in accordance with the text indications in the violin part in the Pistoia manuscript.⁶⁰ The very first words *Omnes sancti* demand some rhythmic manipulation, but the rest of the text fits smoothly. The “quam pulchra” passage with its affecting rhythmic figure and expressive melodic leaps in that version present the words “quanta possi sunt tormenta” (“what torments [the martyrs] endured”), replacing the sweet affect of bridal mysticism with the agonies of martyrdom. The “in gloria” passage instead presents the words “ad palma martyrii”, resulting in a joyful celebration of sainthood.

The catalogue makes no mention of violins, but such indications are actually rare in the catalogue. Only three of the 39 titles attributed to Carissimi refer to violins or to a *sinfonia*. The violin parts of *Summi regis/Omnes sancti* not only consist of a *sinfonia* and *ritornelli*, but the violins also engage with the voices in parallel passages and dialogic interplay. It therefore appears likely that the setting for two voices and two instruments is an original composition, even though the violins are not mentioned in the Il Gesù catalogue.

60 On the challenges of similar retextings, see Berglund 2020.

Titles in the catalogue attributed to Carissimi without known concordances

As noted above, for 19 of the 39 titles attributed to Carissimi in the catalogue, I have been unable to find concordances in printed editions or manuscripts (see *Table 3*). These titles are of interest for several reasons. As already argued, they give a hint to the scope of lost music by Carissimi that circulated in his close circles in Rome, as well as to local circulation more generally. Apart from this, they could potentially be used in identifying unattributed works that could be by Carissimi. A preliminary search in currently available catalogues has given very few matches of this kind. Here, I will restrict myself to one example.

The catalogue lists a piece attributed to Carissimi with the incipit *In sole posuisti tabernaculum suum*, indicated for “voce sola”. An anonymous motet for solo soprano, violin and continuo with this text is indeed preserved in the Karl von Lichtenstein-Castelcorno Collection in Kroměříž.⁶¹

A study of this anonymous piece reveals that it is probably not an original composition by Carissimi, at least not in the version preserved in Kroměříž. The work includes an unusually virtuosic solo violin part, having long sixteenth-note passages with thirty-second-note figurations, organized in melodic sequences and reaching high notes such as d''' and e'''-flat and also including some double stops. Such techniques are not found in music by Carissimi or his contemporaries in Rome, but are much more typical of Bohemian violinists, such as Johann Heinrich Schmelzer.

The vocal part of the piece shows some stylistic traits that are consistent with Carissimi's motet writing. For example, it opens with a melodic phrase delineating an interval of a fifth, which is immediately repeated transposed a fourth higher.⁶² Also, the general melodic and harmonic approach is fairly reminiscent of Carissimi's preserved works,

61 Sehnal & Pešková 1997, p. 776; Cz-Kr, Ms. A 294. This collection is usually referred to as the Lichtenstein-Castelcorno, even though it appears more likely that it was originally the collection of the court trumpeter Pavel Vejvanovský.

62 Stein 1994, pp. 28–61.

but with more figurations in the vocal part than are typical of his style, and not the least a more modern harmonic language based on cadential schemes and harmonic sequences, with a bass line mostly moving in crotchets and quavers. The composition concludes with a relatively long alleluia section in triple meter over a four-bar bass ostinato. All things considered, this is not likely to be an original work by Carissimi. Still, it could arguably be an adaptation or imitation of a Carissimi piece, in the spirit of an *emulatio*—an attempt to compete with and surpass the model in refinement and complexity. Such imitations of Italian works were very common north of the Alps.⁶³ Based solely on the title in the catalogue and in the absence of a preserved model, this possibility of course remains highly tentative. Still, it is significant that the text is so rare, only being found in the anonymous work in Kroměříž and in the Il Gesù catalogue.

The catalogue from Il Gesù with its approximately 1600 titles is still a potentially important source for attribution attempts, not only for Carissimi but for all the named 46 or so composers. As stated, I intend to publish an edited transcription of the entire catalogue in the near future.

Concluding remarks

This essay has been an attempt to illustrate the importance and potential use of the music catalogue from Chiesa del Gesù, focusing on the case of Giacomo Carissimi. Although some observations have been tentative or preliminary, a number of conclusions can be made.

As already observed, it can be inferred from the catalogue that a fair number of now lost compositions by Carissimi circulated in Rome, probably mainly in the close circles of the composer himself. Approximately half of the titles attributed to Carissimi in the catalogue lack preserved concordances. It is important to remember that Il Gesù had very close ties to the institution where Carissimi worked. For this reason, the *Cappella farnesina* of Il Gesù was not representative of Roman church chapels more generally. Bonifacio Graziani and his predecessors and successors at Il Gesù could have had direct access to pieces by Caris-

63 Wollny 2016, pp. 329–398.

simi thanks to their privileged position that *maestri* at the other larger churches lacked. The large number of now lost works could thus hint at the number of now lost works in the collection of autographs Carissimi left to the German College, but arguably does not reflect the contemporary circulation of his music in Rome more generally. The measures of the German College to restrict access to the manuscripts, measures described at the beginning of this essay, instead suggest that Il Gesù could have been an exception. It actually appears that the dissemination of Carissimi's sacred music in the rest of Rome, as well as in Italy more generally, was exceptionally restricted and reflected the situation in the rest of Europe.

At the same time, it must be observed that there are comparatively few preserved manuscripts of motets and sacred vocal works in Rome and Italy in general, a paucity concerning not only Carissimi's work. Future studies of preserved catalogues and inventories, both this one from Il Gesù as well as others, could hopefully cast more light on questions regarding the circulation and accessibility of Carissimi's sacred music.

Still, the limited examples presented here illustrate something important: that geographical proximity is not necessarily decisive for the access to authoritative copies of music. Somewhat surprisingly, we find some of the earliest and most reliable manuscripts of Carissimi's sacred music in Uppsala. This is thanks to the resources and networks of Queen Christina, which enabled her to bring a group of leading singers and musicians from Rome to Sweden.

England is comparatively distant from Rome too, but this is not the reason why the manuscripts preserved there have a different status. It has rather to do with the lack of direct network connections and distance in time.

And finally, even in Rome, in the close vicinity to the German College where Carissimi lived and worked, geographical proximity did not necessarily help. What was important for access was rather networks, mediators and status.

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VALENTINA TROVATO

The French sources of Giacomo Carissimi's *Jephthe*

GIACOMO CARISSIMI'S *JEPHTE* is emblematic among the oratorios of the composer. In musical historiography, it has been considered Carissimi's best-known work and masterpiece, both by his contemporaries and by later scholars. This opinion is supported by the abundant dissemination of *Jephthe*, comprising more than 50 musical sources, including manuscripts and printed editions.¹

As is well known, Carissimi's autographs were lost sometime after the suppression of the Jesuit Order, possibly in connection with the French occupation of Rome in 1698–1699.² Therefore, the historiographic and philological reconstruction of the oratorio *Jephthe* presents challenges in establishing questions of authenticity. Considering the importance of *Jephthe* in Carissimi's oeuvre, and, more specifically, the authority of the French sources for the question of authenticity, this paper is dedicated to an in-depth examination of the French manuscripts from the 17th and 18th centuries. They comprise a group of six manuscripts:³

MS I	Charpentier	F-Pn, VM ¹ -1477
MS II	Versailles	F-V, Manuscrit musical 58
MS III	Paris	F-Pn, Rés. F. 934 a
MS IV	Lyon	F-Lym, Rés. FM 134025
MS V	Brossard	F-Pn, VM ¹ -1475
MS VI	Hamburg	D-Hs, ND VI 2425

1 See Trovato 2021.

2 See the chapter by Lars Berglund in this volume.

3 The notion of authenticity in Carissimi's music in relation to some French manuscripts was examined by Andrew Jones in the early 1980s. In particular, Jones referred to the Parisian (Rés. F. 934 a-b, Rés. Vm^b. ms.6) and Lyonnaise (n. 28329, 134025) manuscripts. See Jones 1981.

Before turning to the French musical manuscripts, it would be useful to relate the account presented by the Jesuit Athanasius Kircher in his treatise *Musurgia Universalis*, published when the composer was still alive (see *Figure 1*). Its importance is twofold: first, it is a reliable contemporary testimony that provides a description of the first performance of *Jephthe*, published at the climax of the composer's activity, the jubilee year 1650, providing a *terminus ante quem* for the composition; second, the score printed in *Musurgia Universalis* begins the autonomous tradition of independent copies of the final chorus of the oratorio, and was used as the copy text for a number of English sources.⁴

In his treatise, Kircher held Carissimi to be the most excellent, famous and renowned *symphoneta*, for many years the worthiest *maestro di cappella* at the church of Sant'Apollinare of the German College, exalted above others by his genius and the success of his compositions.⁵ Kircher especially praised the music in *Jephthe's* final chorus, which struck him with its dramatic power. The musical score was published in Kircher's treatise as example of *musica pathetica*, accompanied by a description:

When he had begun the dialogue with a festive and dancing tone, such as the eighth [mode], and had continued this lamentation in a very different tone, that is, he instituted the fourth [mode], mixed third; that he who would present a tragic history, in which joys would welcome intense pain and anguish of mind, in fact, there can be no patience for presenting similar sad events and tragic events, which are always followed by different emotions.⁶

4 The English manuscripts that derive from the final chorus published in Kircher's *Musurgia Universalis* are: GB-Lbl, Add. 17840, Add. 31477 / Harley 7338; GB-Lcm, RCM MS 791-1 / Ms 1101-34 / Ms 4092-3; GB-Ob, Ms Tenbury 900 / MS Tenbury 1260; GB-Och, Mus.12 / Mus.13 / Mus.16 / Mus.614.

5 Kircher 1650, p. 603.

6 Kircher 1650, p. 603 (translation by Valentina Trovato). "Nam cum dialogum festivo, ac tripudiante Tono, qualis octavus est, incepisset, continuassetque hunc planctum suum in Tono differentissimo, videlicet Quarto, Tertio misto, instituit; ut qui tragicam historiam exhiberet, in qua gaudia vehemens animi dolor et angustia exciperet quo quidem ad similes tristes

Marc-Antoine Charpentier's manuscript

The French sources listed above bear witness to the dissemination of the music of *Jephthe* in France during the 17th and 18th centuries. Among them, the manuscript (MS I) copied by Marc-Antoine Charpentier (1643–1704)—a pupil of Carissimi's in Rome during the 1670s—plays a prominent role, due to its chronological proximity to Carissimi's lifetime and because Charpentier was in direct contact with the composer. Charpentier could have copied his manuscript from a copy coming from the circles around Carissimi. The Italian experience formed the basis of Charpentier's training and influenced his compositional style. As Graham Sadler pointed out, "it is hardly surprising, therefore, that Charpentier was demonstrably proud of his distinctive Italian credentials."⁷ His Italianate style was already conceived as a distinguishing quality by the end of the 1670s, and was, for example, noted by the French *Mercurie galant* in 1678: "He lived for a long time in Italy where he often saw Carissimi."⁸

Charpentier's manuscript provokes some questions. First, long after the manuscript was copied, it was bound, probably when it entered the Bibliothèque nationale de France in the 19th century. Probably for this reason, the last pages of the final chorus are missing. The length of the final chorus is a pressing question in the historiography of *Jephthe*. This is an issue to which historians have returned since the late 19th century, starting with German music historian and critic Friedrich Chrysander (1826–1901), who added some sections to the final chorus. These last pages of Charpentier's manuscript would have been useful in order to resolve the "chorus issue" and reconstruct a version of the chorus based on a source close to Carissimi.

The manuscript provides us with some additional information about the original copy text to which Charpentier had access. Added notations in folio 3r appear to prove that Charpentier's copy originated

eventus, tragicasque res, quas affectus differentes semper sequuntur, exhibendas nil aptius esse potest."

⁷ Sadler 2010, p. 46.

⁸ "Il a demeuré longtemps en Italie, où il voyoit souvent le Charissimi." *Mercurie galant* January 1678, p. 231. For the Italianate style in Charpentier, see Sadler 2010.

Amami questo
 esempio, m'è
 il timore della
 figlia di Iephte

Soprano
 Plorate omnes virginem, & filiam Iephte vni-

Alto
 Plorate filij Isra el plorate omnes virginem & filiam Iephte vni-

Tenore
 Plorate filij Isra el plorate omnes virginem & filiam Iephte vni-

Basso
 Plorate omnes virginem & filiam Iephte vni-

Ballate
 Plorate filij Isra el plorate omnes virginem & filiam Iephte vni-

geni tam in carmine do lo ris doloris

genitam in carmine do lo ris

geni tam in carmine dolo ris dolo ris

ge ni tam in carmine do lo ris do lo ris

genitam in carmine dolo ris do lo ris

genitam in carmine dolo ris dolo ris

lamentamini lamen ta mi ni lamentamini ij. lamen-

lamentamini lamen tami ni lamentamini lamentamini ij.

lamen tā mi ni lamen tamini lamentamini ij.

la men ta mi ni lamen tamini ij. lamen-

lamentamini lamen tami ni lamen tamini ij. lamen-

la men tā mi ni lamenta mi ni lamenta-

t mi ni ij. lamen ta mini.

tami ni lamentamini ij.

lamentamini ij.

tami ni lamen tamini ij.

tami ni tamen tamini ij.

mi ni la men ta mini. Qui segue il resto, &c.

Figure 1. Final chorus of Carissimi's *Jephthe*. Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia Universalis*, Rome 1650, pp. 604–605.

from an autograph, or at least a manuscript in Carissimi's possession. The additions present an alternative reading, consisting of a rhythmic modification that Charpentier in this way pointed out but did not incorporate in his copy (see *Figure 2*). It is likely that he had copied it from a manuscript belonging to Carissimi and that he reported the two readings for accuracy.

Other manuscripts preserved in France

The MS II Versailles manuscript (F-V, Manuscrit musical 58) is preserved at the Bibliothèque municipale in Versailles. It is part of the corpus of manuscripts copied by an unidentified copyist who was given the name "copyist Z".⁹ This copyist was seemingly active outside the royal music librarian André Danican Philidor's (c. 1652–1730) *atelier* and, according to Edward Corp, could have derived from the British court of the exiled Stuarts, playing a part in their complex relationship with the French court.¹⁰ The court included the Italian composer Innocenzo Fede (1661–1732), a musician from Pistoia who was active in Rome until the 1680s, before reaching England.

The manuscript MS III Paris (F-Pn Rés. F. 934) was earlier at the Bibliothèque du conservatoire royal in Brussels but is now at the Bibliothèque nationale de France. As Andrew Jones has shown, the two volumes of the manuscript were copied by the same hand.¹¹ In the first volume, the cover page has the following inscription: "Collection of several holy pieces and motets set to music by Monsieur Carissimi Maître de Musique de S.t Pierre de Rome Volume I 1649."¹² The manuscript has attracted attention because it contains a portrait long thought to be of Carissimi, but was later proven not to be the case.¹³

The manuscript raises some important questions regarding the authenticity of the musical content, due to the presence of numerous er-

⁹ Massip 1983; Herlin 1995, p. cxiii.

¹⁰ Corp 1998.

¹¹ Jones 1981, p. 177.

¹² "Recueil de plusieurs pièces saintes et motets composez en musique par Monsieur Carissimi Maître de Musique de S.t Pierre de Rome Tome Ier 1649."

¹³ Rose 1970.



Figure 2. Carissimi, *Jephte*, MS I Charpentier (F-Pn, VM1-1477). Detail from folio 3r.

VIII^o *Carissimi.* a 6. Voc. CCC. A. B. et organo. *Passion d'Auteurs: Jéparce. Tome II. N^o VIII^o*

Historia di Jephte

Quia vocatus est proleum filius Jephthae Rex Ammonitarum miseris et iustis

Jephthae agnus exivit voluitque faceret eis super Jephthae spiritus Domini et pro-

cedit ad filios Ammonitarum iustis et iustis

Vin 1475

Vin 149

Figure 3. Carissimi, *Jephte*, MS V Brossard (F-Pn, VM1-1475), first page.

roneously attributed pieces and because of the year on the cover, 1649.¹⁴ As Andrew Jones has pointed out, it is impossible that the manuscript was copied at that time.¹⁵ Some of the music in one of the two volumes was copied from the French manuscript preserved at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. Vm^b. ms.6, which was copied by Philidor long afterwards and dated 1688. I agree with Jones, who claimed that the manuscript instead dates from the 1680s.¹⁶ The note “1649” could, as suggested by Jones, be some kind of reference number.

The manuscript MS IV Lyon (F-Lym Rés. FM 134025) takes us away from Paris and brings us to the Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon. The collection of manuscripts in Lyon is interesting due to a corpus of about 20 Italian oratorios that was the subject of studies by the French scholar Pierre Guillot.¹⁷ Thanks to the presence of an important Italian, and in particular Florentine, community, including the Strozzi banking family, Lyon had been at the crossroads of Italian musicians since the 16th century. Instrumentalists such as Francesco Layolle, Simon Dayma, Antoine Froyssart, Thomas Lavigne and Demaki, as well as dealers in musical instruments such as Orlandini, all settled in Lyon.

There are two main fonds of the Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon important for Italian music. As Guillot recalled, “the first is that of the Jesuit college of the Holy Trinity [...] which reigned supreme over all education in the city of Lyon and its surroundings, from its foundation in 1565 until the suppression (provisional) of the Society of Jesus in France in 1762.”¹⁸ The Lyon manuscript of *Jephthe* belongs to a second collection, that of the Lyon Académie du Concert, as reported in the Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon catalogue. It includes the bequest of a Lyon amateur, Antoine Hédelin, *inspecteur général de la monnaie et conseiller du roi Louis XIV*, probably incorporated shortly after the foundation of the academy in 1713.

The manuscript MS V Brossard (F-Pn VM¹–1475) is part of Sébastien de Brossard’s collection, donated to the French royal library in

14 For the pieces with incorrect attributions, see Jones 1981, p. 178.

15 Jones 1981.

16 Jones 1981, p. 183.

17 Guillot 2002.

18 Guillot 2002, p. 58.

1724 along with other music by Carissimi, as confirmed by Brossard's own catalogue (see *Figure 3*).¹⁹ This manuscript is number eight of a corpus of Carissimi pieces, bound together in a volume. The volume, entitled "Tome II" by Brossard, includes, according to the entry in his catalogue:²⁰

I. Historia di Job	[= F-Pn VM ¹ -1468]
II. La Plainte des damnez	[= F-Pn VM ¹ -1469]
III. Historia di Ezechia	[= F-Pn VM ¹ -1470]
IV. Il giudicio di Salomone	[= F-Pn VM ¹ -1471]
V. Historia di Balthazar	[= F-Pn VM ¹ -1472]
VI. Historia Davidis et Jonathae	[= F-Pn VM ¹ -1473]
VII. Historia di Abraham et d'Isaac	[= F-Pn VM ¹ -1474]
VIII. Historia di Jephthé	[= F-Pn VM ¹ -1475]
IX. Il novissimo giudicio	[missing]
X. Historia divitis	[= F-Pn VM ¹ -1476]

The Hamburg manuscript and 19th-century collectors

The content of "Tome II" of oratorios in the Brossard Collection can be compared to the list of oratorios of the *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique* by the Belgian music historian François-Joseph Fétis (1784–1881). Fétis listed the Carissimi oratorios that he had consulted in the French national library:²¹

Histoire de Job, à trois voix et basse continue

La plainte des Damnés, à trois voix, deux violons et orgue

Ézéchiàs à quatre voix, deux violons et orgue

Balthazar à cinq voix, deux violons et orgue

David et Jonathae à cinq voix, deux violons et orgue

Abraham et Isaac à cinq voix et orgue

Jephthé à six et sept voix, deux violons et orgue

Le Jugement dernier, à trois chœurs, deux violons et orgue

Le Mauvais Riche à deux chœurs, deux violons et basse

Jonas à deux chœurs, deux violons et basse

¹⁹ Brossard 1994.

²⁰ Brossard 1994, p. 462.

²¹ Fétis 1837, p. 51.

There are, however, discrepancies between Fétis's list and Brossard's volume. Fétis excludes *Il giudizio di Salomone* since he considered this oratorio to have been composed by Antonio Cesti. In addition, *Jonas* and *Judicium extremum* are not included in Brossard's 'Tome II'. *Jonas* is included in another manuscript, the abovementioned MS III Paris, while *Judicium extremum* is not found anywhere else in the library.²² *Judicium extremum* is preserved in a volume of Carissimi's music in the Bibliothèque du conservatoire royal in Brussels.²³ Fétis was the director of the conservatory from 1832 until his death in 1871. The music manuscript came from the private collection of Aristide Farrenc (1794–1865), collaborator of Fétis in his *Bibliographie universelle des musiciens*.

The history of the Hamburg manuscript is complicated, and interesting for helping us understand the diffusion of the sources of Italian music in France, but not only for that. The manuscript belonged to Friedrich Chrysander. Along with other manuscripts kept in Chrysander's library, this particular source constituted the basis of the printed edition published in 1876, including one of the first editions of *Jephthe*.²⁴ The manuscript came into the possession of Chrysander in 1866, when he purchased it from Farrenc's collection, which was auctioned that same year. Chrysander himself described in an article in *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* how he acquired the precious manuscript. He presented several contributions dedicated to Carissimi and his oratorios in this journal, which he founded.²⁵ The Farrenc auction took place in mid-April 1866, and Chrysander described the operation in these words:

²² F-Pn, Rés. F. 934.

²³ B-Br, 1056–1057.

²⁴ Chrysander's library, now at the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek 'Carl von Ossietzky', holds the following *Jephthe* manuscripts: M B/1979, ND VI 435, ND VI 438. At the time, some printed editions of *Jephthe* had been published, such as: Carissimi, Giacomo – Pauer, Ernst (ed.) 1880. *Jephthe*, English adaptation by the Rev. J. Troutbeck, London: Novello; Carissimi, Giacomo – Wolters, Gottfried (ed.) 1969. *Historia di Jephthe a 6 voc. et organo*, Generalbass-Aussetzung: Mathias Siedel, Wolfenbüttel, Zürich: Mösseler-Verlag.

²⁵ Chrysander 1876.

I commissioned a young music dealer in Paris, whom I knew, to go up to 1,050 francs first, then to make an agreement with the opponent and to let him have the book on the condition that he would give me a copy of it, but in the event of refusal, to buy the number at the tout price.²⁶

According to Chrysander, his rival at the auction was no less than François-Joseph Fétis. To Chrysander, it was significant that the Belgian musicologist was his greatest competitor, and the most industrious buyer at that auction. In the end, the Carissimi manuscript came into Chrysander's hands.²⁷ Fétis actually purchased numerous works included in the Farrenc catalogue at the auction, now preserved in the library of the conservatory of Brussels.²⁸

Chrysander purchased the Hamburg manuscript from Farrenc's rich and varied private collection, containing materials related to many aspects of music, theoretical works as well as music scores.²⁹ Farrenc had been a collaborator of Fétis for the second edition of the *Biographie*, but due to an omission he was not credited in the new edition. Farrenc died in 1865, just before the publication of the last encyclopaedic volume. Fétis attempted to publicly repair this wrongdoing in a long obituary he wrote in memory of his colleague:³⁰

His kindness, his devotion to the new edition of the *Biographie universelle des musiciens* knew no bounds: not only did he read the proofs, for typographical errors, but when he found facts contradicted by others works, he gave himself no respite until he discovered on which side the truth lay. He had the necessary knowledge for research of this kind, and, moreover, his patience was indefatigable.

Following Farrenc's death, as we have seen, his private collection was auctioned in Paris in 1866. The printed auction catalogue had come

²⁶ Translation by Valentina Trovato.

²⁷ Chrysander 1876, pp. 68–69.

²⁸ See Becquart 1972/1973.

²⁹ The catalogue is divided between *musique théorique* and *musique pratique*.

³⁰ Ellis 2008, p. 63.

into the hands of the German musicologist in the spring of that year. According to an entry in the Farrenc auction catalogue, the manuscript contained a substantial number of Carissimi oratorios.³¹ It was described as a beautiful manuscript, dating from the 17th century and missing the last pages of *Diluvium universale*.³² Inspection of the end of the manuscript suggests that the last pages had been torn out.³³ Some aspects of this manuscript deserve special attention, starting with its original owner and the iconography of the title page, which provides us with some information regarding its context and dating.

The owner of the manuscript was Joseph Marie Terray (1715–1778), *conseiller au parlement* at the court of Louis XV, as identified by the *ex libris* inside the front cover. Terray was born in 1715 and was not a contemporary of Carissimi, as claimed by Chrysander in the article dedicated to the Hamburg manuscript in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*.³⁴ He was appointed *contrôleur général des finances* by René-Nicolas de Maupeou, chancellor of King Louis XV, in December 1769, but was dismissed in 1774, after the king's death. Given the unusually rich and elaborate manuscript, it may have been acquired on a particular occasion, perhaps on his appointment.

31 The terms “histoires” and “oratoires” are used in the index for different works. I will not dwell on the definition of “oratory”, but it is necessary to keep in mind that the works focusing on the stories of biblical characters are in the category “histoires” (*Jonas, Jephthe, Ezechias* and *Balthazar*) while among the “oratoires” are *Judicium (extremum)*, *Diluvium universale*, *Judicium Salomonis*, *Lamentatio damnatorum*, *Felicitas beatorum*, *Martyres* and *Dives malus*, choral works expressing more general feelings and ideas.

32 “766. Carissimi. Un vol. gr. in-fol., mar. rou. tr. dor., contenant, en partition, le copie des ouvrages suivants: Jonas, Judicium extremum, Balthazar, Jephthe, Felicitas Beatorum, Dives malus, Judicium Salomonis, Damnatorum lamentatio, Martyres, Ezechias, Diluvium Universale. Les derniers feuillets du Diluvium universale ont été déchires. On sait que les ouvres de Carissimi sont rares. Ce curieux manuscrit, d'une belle copie du XVII siècle, a appartenu à Jos.-Marie Terray, conseiller au parlement et dont les armes sont collées à l'intérieur.”

33 See Capuano 2010.

34 Chrysander 1876.

The design of the Hamburg manuscript

The iconography of the attached engraving is interesting and peculiar for a French manuscript. The artist of the painting that served as the original for the engraving (see *Figure 4*) was Pietro da Cortona (c. 1596–1669), a favourite painter under the patronage of the Barberini family. He had frescoed different parts of one of their palaces in Rome, the one at the Quattro Fontane. The name of the painter is found at the bottom of the engraving, to the left: “Eq. Petrus Berrettinus Corton. Pinx”. To the right, the name of the engraver is given: “Fr. Spier del. et Sculp”. This refers to the French painter and engraver François Spierre (1643–1681), who was active in Rome from 1659 to 1681 in the workshops of da Cortona and Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598–1680).

The painting by da Cortona portrays the Archangel Gabriel as guardian of the Holy See, holding the kingdom and the keys on one side under his arms while trampling on a multi-headed dragon, with the Most Holy Trinity appearing in paradise above. It had been commissioned from the painter in June 1655 by Fabio Chigi (1599–1667), the new pope Alexander VII, according to the pope’s own design, which he wanted to see in colour as soon as possible.³⁵ Da Cortona worked on the painting in the second half of 1655. In early January the following year, the nobleman Lelio Alli wrote to Cardinal Carlo de’ Medici about how he had seen the painting, which he said was 20 palms high (about 150 cm). According to Alli, it depicted the guardian angel of the Church driving out the monster of the “Epocalypse” [*sic*], with the golden city and glory of the Eternal Father above, and around it a carved and gilded cornice.³⁶ The hydra that da Cortona depicted was part of 17th-century iconography and had already been represented by the Flemish painter Peter Paul Rubens in the *Cycle for Maria de Medici*, and in the engraving *Apollo and Python* by the Italian painter Antonio Tempesta. In such representations, the hydra generally alluded to the attributes of false religion and the ability of the mythological monster to regenerate two more heads after one was cut off. This represents, through a simple al-

35 For further information on the iconography relating to the painting by Pietro da Cortona, see Gallavotti Cavallero 2011.

36 Gallavotti Cavallero 2011, p. 545.



Figure 4. MS VI Hamburg (D-Hs, ND VI 2425): the engraving attached to the music manuscript.

legorical reading, the difficulties encountered by the Church of Rome in eradicating the ever-rising heresies.³⁷

The representation of the hydra attacked by Archangel Gabriel should probably be seen in relation to the alliance against Jansenism of Pope Alexander VII, who had already found himself dealing with the Lutheran issue when he was secretary of state. Despite the difficult relationship between the papacy of Alexander VII and the French crown, the two powers joined forces in the fight against Jansenism. The heads of the hydra are crowned and, as Daniela Gallavotti Cavallero pointed out, “they could also allude, in addition to the German princes, to the Lutheran Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, although already deceased, and to Chigi’s difficult relations with the king of France in the aftermath of the papal election, the result of which had not had the approval of the Paris government.”³⁸ In the drawing there are also symbols linked to the papacy, such as the *tiare* and the crossed keys, with an implicit connection to the Trinity and to the action of the archangel holding a large key in his hands.

The engraving has its origins in a Roman missal, according to the title included in the picture. More precisely, this missal was published by the apostolic printer in 1662.³⁹ It was a liturgical book of extraordinary beauty and grandeur, embodying the care with which it was prepared, presenting the new breviary office according to the dictates of the Tridentine Council.⁴⁰ The year 1662 was important for the relations between the Rome of Alexander VII—whose appointment was unpopular with the French—and Louis XIV’s France. During that year, a

37 Gallavotti Cavallero 2011, p. 545.

38 Gallavotti Cavallero 2011, p. 548. Translation by Valentina Trovato.

39 ‘Messale Romanvm ex decreto sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini restitvum, Pii 5. iussu editum, Clementis VIII. & Urbani papae VIII. auctoritate recognitum. Additis etiam missis sanctorum ab Innocentio X., et Alexandro VII. pont. max. ordinatis, Romae: Ex Typographia Reuerendae Camerae Apostolicae, 1662.’

40 Pope Alexander VII was committed to enforcing the dictates of the Council of Trento, especially in the liturgical musical field, and he soon did so during his papacy, with the bull of 1657. Following this, an edict was published about the music promulgated by the Congregation of the Holy Apostolic Visit.

diplomatic incident exacerbated the already tense relations between the two nations. The incidents of 20 August, provoked by the Corsican Pontifical Guard against the staff of the French embassy, determined the violent reaction of France, which rendered Pope Alexander VII a series of grave humiliations. The title page from a Roman missal of Carissimi's time fits a manuscript of his oratorio. A title page connected with the Catholic controversy of Jansenism would have made sense in the 17th century, although not in the following century.

This manuscript has a story to tell about its context, which could help to reveal the answers to some of the questions. Based on the 'Table des pieces' in French and the calligraphy of the manuscript, I would suggest that the volume was copied in the *atelier* of Philidor. From a comparison of the hands of the copyists in Philidor's service, the copyist of the Hamburg volume seems not to have been among those accounted for as in royal court circles.⁴¹ This would not, however, rule out that this copyist was working in Philidor's *atelier*.⁴²

The Hamburg manuscript points to new aspects of the relations between France and Italy in Paris in the 17th and 18th centuries, although some questions remain. What is the significance of the resumption of the engraving from the 1662 *Messale Romanum*—recalling the difficult relations between Rome and Paris—in a music manuscript of the French élite in the mid-18th century?

This excursus of French sources of *Jephthe* highlights, above all, the way in which Roman music, and music by Carissimi in particular, invaded French musical culture to the detriment of the Francocentric image that had prevailed during the reign of Louis XIV. In this game of influence, the court in exile of James II certainly played an important role, as one of the manuscripts came with his retinue. The great number of manuscripts dedicated to Carissimi and his oratorios seems to provide evidence of this development, in which the Roman master was identified as one of the most prolific composers of a particular style: the Roman style of the mid-17th century.

41 Denis Herlin and Laurence Decobert provided fundamental contributions to the study of copyists. Herlin 1995; Decobert 2007.

42 See Herlin 1995. For example, Decobert 2007 demonstrated the existence of another copyist, which had not been reported by Herlin and Massip.

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NICOLA USULA

The music for *Dario in Babilonia* by Francesco Beverini and Giovanni Antonio Boretti (Venice 1671) in the music collection of Leopold I in Vienna

A HANDWRITTEN ANTHOLOGY containing arias from *Dario in Babilonia* by the poet Francesco Beverini (1635–1671/1674) and the composer Giovanni Antonio Boretti (c. 1638–1671) recently came to light in the Austrian National Library in Vienna. This opera, for which no extant music source was previously known, premiered in Venice at the end of January 1671 and became famous for being a failure. The discovery of this aria anthology among the books of Emperor Leopold I spurs considerations of the relationship between the imperial collection and the contemporary Italian operatic milieu. Why did Leopold I obtain a music source from an operatic failure? In the collection of an emperor one would expect to find only the best and most popular music, but a close look at the surviving musical manuscripts of Leopold I reveals a very different and more nuanced situation. The following pages are devoted to examining the extant music source for *Dario in Babilonia*, and its authors, to shed light on the processes of acquisition and use of the music books from Italy in Leopold I's collection.

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From Venice: The authors

Giovanni Antonio Boretti wrote at least eight operas, all staged in Venice, and *Dario in Babilonia* is one of his later ones, with which his career ended on a downward turn. We know only little about his life.¹ However, it is evident that his operas encountered as many successes, e.g., *Eliogabalo* in 1668,² as failures, e.g., *Zenobia* and *Alessandro amante* in 1666 and 1667, respectively.³ For the opening of the 1670–1671 carnival season, Boretti composed one of his most successful operas, based on the poet Aurelio Aureli's reworking of *L'Ercole in Tebe* by the playwright Giovanni Andrea Moniglia. The drama was originally written in Florence in 1661 and performed with music by Jacopo Melani.⁴ In December 1670, the opera premiered at the San Luca theatre, known also as the San Salvatore theatre and Vendramin theatre, and was followed a month later by *Dario in Babilonia*, based on a dramatic text by the poet Francesco Beverini from Lucca.

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- 1 On Boretti, see Bianconi 1973a; Zoppelli & Bianconi 2000; Rosand & Glixon 2001; also Rosand 1991; Glixon & Glixon 2006; Selfridge-Field 2007.
 - 2 The dramatic text for Boretti's *Eliogabalo* is by Aurelio Aureli, who reworked a libretto by an unknown poet, also titled *Eliogabalo* and set to music by Francesco Cavalli but never staged. See Calcagno 2000; 2005; 2006, also Bianconi 1976, pp. 264–265; Zoppelli & Bianconi 2000; Rosand & Glixon 2001; Glixon & Glixon 2006, pp. 61–62, 168.
 - 3 The dramatic text for *La Zenobia* (San Cassiano theatre, 1666) is by Matteo Noris, who published it in Venice (Camillo Bortoli, 1666) with a dedication to Filippo Giuliano Mazzarino Mancini dated 10 January 1666. Contrary to previous hypotheses (Rosand & Glixon 2001), this opera does not coincide with *La Zenobia di Radamisto* performed in 1662 in Vienna, with dramatic text by Carlo de' Dottori and music by Antonio Bertali. See Schnitzler & Brewer 2001; Seifert 1985, p. 450 and *ad indicem*; 2014, *ad indicem*. The identity of the poet of *Alessandro amante* is unknown. This opera, performed for the first time at San Moisè theatre, is a reworking and completion of the libretto to *Gli amori di Alessandro Magno e di Rossane* by Giacinto Andrea Cicognini (Venice 1651). See Alm 1996, cit. in Glixon & Glixon 2006, pp. 15 n., 192 n., 194 n., 209 n., 336 n.; Glixon 2001.
 - 4 The printed libretto for the Venetian premiere, published by Nicolini in 1671, bears a dedication to Alessandro Molino signed by Aureli on 12 December 1670. See Bianconi 1976; Weaver & Weaver 1978, pp. 130–131.

As in the case of Boretti, we have very little information on Beverini's life.⁵ The poet wrote at least four *drammi per musica*, which, except for the text set to music by Boretti, were all performed in Palermo and Rome.⁶ Although performed in Venice, *Dario in Babilonia* also had a strong connection with the Roman operatic milieu. Indeed, from Rome, Beverini sent a letter to his brother Bartolomeo in Lucca on 7 June 1670, writing:

Last week the Contestabile sent a letter to Venice in favour of me for the performance of the Opera that I mentioned to him; and he sent there the first act. It is true that my misfortune wants that the said Lord is disgusted by, nor does he negotiate with those Grimani, who have the most famous theatre [i.e., Ss. Giovanni e Paolo] and who would certainly have been able to have my opera performed. He would rather extort the operas from them than provide them with those works; so that in a certain way it seems convenient that, knowing this, I remain somewhat committed to not sending my opera to the Grimani brothers by some other hand. I will wait for your reply and then perhaps I will seek my own advantage.

[Il Sig. Contestabile la passata settimana scrisse per me a Venetia per la recita dell'Opera che gli accennai e mando [*recte* mandò] il primo atto. Bene è vero che la mia disgrazia vuole che con quei Signori Grimani, che hanno il teatro più famoso [i.e., Ss. Giovanni e Paolo] e che haverebbero del certo possuto farla recitare, il detto Signore vi è disgustato, né tratta con loro, e vorria piuttosto levarli le Opere che dargliele; sicché in certo modo pare che per convenienza io sa-

5 Information on Beverini's life relies entirely on his works' surviving printed editions, together with a Latin elegy that his brother Bartolomeo dedicated to him in his 1674 *Carminum libri septem*, and on some histories of literature in Lucca published in the 19th and 20th centuries. He was born in Lucca in 1635, and died in Padua some time between 1671 and 1674; see Beverini 1674, pp. 94–96 (copy in D-Mbs P.o.lat.1666.d); Lucchesini 1825–1831, vol. 6, pp. 53, 55–57; Sforza 1879, pp. 390–398; Pellegrini 1914, p. 120.

6 See the list of Francesco Beverini's works in *Appendix 1*.

pendo questo resti come mezzo impegnato a non procurare di dargliela per altra mano. Basta: starò attendendo la risposta e poi forse cercherò il mio vantaggio.]⁷

Between the last week of May and the first one of June 1670 (“la passata settimana”) the dedicatee of Beverini’s 1669 *Demofonte*,⁸ Grande Contestabile Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, wrote from Rome to some of his contacts in Venice looking for an impresario or theatre that might be interested in the poet’s last *dramma per musica*, and probably attached Act I of the dramatic text. From this part of the letter, we discover that in June 1670 there was still no music for *Dario in Babilonia*, although in the end it premiered eight months later, in January 1671. The letter includes important information concerning the now bad relationship between Colonna and the brothers Giovan Carlo and Vincenzo Grimani, who had managed their family theatre in Venice, the Ss. Giovanni e Paolo theatre, since 1668.⁹ Because Colonna was sickened (“disgustato”) by the Grimani brothers, although they managed the most famous theatre in Venice (“teatro più famoso”), he would not send them the text of *Dario in Babilonia*.¹⁰ Eventually Colonna managed to reach an agreement with the Vendramin di Santa Fosca, who ran the San Luca theatre, and likely handled the search for a composer to set Beverini’s text to music.¹¹

Other information from the Roman side of the agreement to perform *Dario in Babilonia* in Venice comes from another surviving letter, preserved in the library of the Abbey Santa Scolastica in Subiaco among

7 Edition in Sforza 1879, pp. 395–396. Sforza writes that the letter was preserved at the time in the “[Regia] Biblioteca Pubblica, cod. 1946 c. 72”; today the library, formerly dubbed “Governativa”, is called Biblioteca Statale (RISM siglum I-Lg); see also De Lucca 2020, p. 112, n. 37.

8 See *Appendix 1*.

9 See Mancini *et al.* 1995–1996, vols 1 & 2, *ad indicem*; Talbot 2001; Glixon & Glixon 2006, *ad indicem*.

10 See De Lucca 2020, *ad indicem* for details on the relationship between the Constable and the Grimani family.

11 The theatre was managed by the Venetian noble Vendramin family; in the 1670s Andrea Vendramin, after converting it from a theatre for comedies to an opera theatre, was in charge of running its seasons. See Mancini *et al.* 1995, pp. 209–293; Talbot 2002; Glixon & Glixon 2006, *ad indicem*.

those of Colonna.¹² The author of this communication is the Venetian nobleman Lorenzo Tiepolo,¹³ who appears as a dedicatee in the printed libretto of Beverini and Boretti's opera.¹⁴

Most illustrious and most excellent Sir and most distinguished Lord. Your Excellency's commands were pressing motivations for me to employ myself in the service of the said Lord [Beverini?] in order to obtain the production of his opera; but mentioning Your Excellency's protection was sufficient to achieve the outcome desired by this Lord; since this year it has been decided that it [i.e., the opera] will be staged at the San Luca theatre. With this good occasion I bring Your Excellency the news, and just as I have served with all my spirit those who bore your revered name on their foreheads, so kindly allow me, for a reverent inclination, to take the title of Your Excellency's most humble and most obliging servant Lorenzo Tiepolo. Venice [no day] November 1670.

[Illustrissimo et eccellentissimo signor e padron colendissimo | I commandi di Vostra Eccellenza furono a me mottivi pressantissimi per impiegarmi in servizio del Detto Patron [Beverini?] per procurarli la recita della sua opera; ma il nome solo della protectione di Vostra Eccellenza fu quello ch'impetrò per questo signore l'esito desiderato; mentre quest'anno resta fermata da recitarsi a San Lucca. Io con questo buon incontro ne porto à Vostra Eccellenza la notitia, e come con tutto il spirito ho servito chi portava in fronte il suo riverito nome, così benignamente mi permetta per una riverente inclinatione prenda anch'io il titolo di Vostra

12 See De Lucca 2009; 2020.

13 In the Venetian handwritten genealogies titled *Arbori de' patrizi veneti* (Barbaro *Arbori*, fols 79r, 85r) begun by Marco Barbaro in the 16th century, and carried on up to the 18th century, the only Lorenzo Tiepolo to be found in this time is Lorenzo Tiepolo q. Marin (1638–1719). I thank Beth Glixon for pointing out Barbaro's tools for this research.

14 Dedication to Lorenzo Tiepolo dated 24 January 1671 in the libretto (from now on Beverini 1671). See *Appendix 2* for the transcription of the libretto's title page (from the copy in I-Rig), and for the list of surviving copies.

Eccellenza umimilissimo obligatissimo servitore Lorenzo Tiepolo. Venezia [no day] 9mbre 1670.]¹⁵

We know almost nothing about Tiepolo, although it appears that he acted as a mediator between the theatre and Colonna. He wrote that he “obtained the production of Beverini’s opera”, letting us believe that the Contestabile directly promoted it. Moreover, it is clear that Colonna still exerted a certain influence on the Venetian operatic world since his sole protection “was sufficient to achieve the outcome desired by this Lord”. The nobleman also added: “this year it has been decided that it [i.e., the opera] will be staged at the San Luca theatre”, closing the letter with the usual praise of the Contestabile. Boretti had very likely already set the libretto to music by then, since the opera was already scheduled for the following months. *Dario in Babilonia* eventually premiered between 24 and 31 January 1671, and the love affairs of the Persian king in his attempt to reconquer Babylon could take place on the stage of the San Luca theatre.¹⁶

Arriving at Leopold I’s collection: The music manuscript

No complete score of *Dario in Babilonia* survives, but 24 arias out of the 51 pieces present in the printed libretto survive in a music source recently identified in the National Library in Vienna (see *Table 1*).¹⁷

15 Letter in I-SUss, Arch. Colonna, *Corrispondenza di Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna*, busta 1670, n. 8. See De Lucca 2009, p. 267, n. 7.

16 See the inventories of scene settings and machines for the season 1669/1671 at the San Luca theatre in Mancini *et al.* 1995, pp. 265–266. Among others, some entries of 16 January 1670 (= 1671 *more veneto*) refer directly to the production of *Dario in Babilonia*, as, for example, “12 scarpe alla Turchesca” (“12 shoes in Turkish [i.e., oriental] style”), “doi leoni fanti” (“two elephants”), “barbe e mustachi per il balo dei Turchi” (“beards and moustaches for the ballet of the Turkish dancers”, i.e., ballet of “Soldati Assiri e Persiani” between Acts I and II), and also “maschere 18 [?] per il balo dele statue” (“18 masks for the ballet of the statues” between Acts II and III).

17 The arias are copied on 14 duernions (fols 1–56) and 1 bifolium (fols 57–58) according to their position in the libretto’s three acts (except for one, *Speranze, se in alto*, which appears slightly postponed). A vague reference to a complete score with the music from a *Dario* appears in a 1681–1683 opera score inventory likely referred to the Contarini Collection (Walker 1984,

Table 1. Arias from *Dario in Babilonia* in the music manuscript Mus. Hs. 17759 in the National Library in Vienna. The names of the characters and the indication of the scene refer to the libretto. The arias missing in the music manuscript, here indicated with a grey background, are also from the printed text. The textual *incipites* of the first strophe correspond to the ones found in the anthology of arias, while the ones of the second strophes are from the libretto. The scoring column includes the *basso continuo*.

Fols		Character, First line	Scoring ¹⁸	Scene ¹⁹
	–	Zopiro, Aspasia, Aria a 2, <i>Bella mia, non lacrimare</i> [2nd strophe: <i>Deh mio ben, non mi lasciare</i>]	–	I.4
	–	Aspasia, Zopiro, A 2, <i>O dolor, che ogn'altro eccede</i> [2nd strophe: <i>Deh mio ben, non mi lasciare</i>]	–	

pp. cxliv–cxlv). Today the only score with a similar title surviving in this collection is *L'incoronazione di Dario* by A. Morselli and G.D. Freschi, which, however, premiered only in 1684 (San Angelo theatre). Thomas Walker hypothesizes that the inventory's entry could refer to Beverini's and Boretti's opera (1671), or to *Dario ravivato* with a libretto by "il Sonnoletto Tassista" [Novello Bonis] (I Saloni theatre, 1675). See Walker 1984, p. clix, n. 68; Saunders 2002.

- 18 The clefs in the vocal parts very likely reveal the voices of the cast that performed *Dario in Babilonia* in 1671. In the anthology, we find only arias for soprano (20) and for bass (4). The soprano clef appears in the arias for the characters "Preto, re di Corinto sotto finto nome d'Arideo", "Dalinda, figlia d'Ottane", "Zopiro, Grande persiano", "Aspasia, sorella di Dario", and even "Neria vecchia". The arias for bass are the ones for the character "Ottane, Grande persiano padre di Dalinda". No arias survive for the protagonist "Dario, re di Persia" or for "Cassandra, moglie di Dario repudiata", "Artabano, ribelle di Dario zio di Cassandra", "Oronte, capitano d'Artabano" and "Globo, servo d'Arideo". The printed libretto does not include an aria for "Un soldato d'Artabano", although he appears in the list of characters (Beverini 1671, p. 7). A list of singers in a letter from Francesco Maria Massi to Duke Johann Friedrich of Brunswick-Lüneburg dated 20 August 1670 has been linked to the 1670/1671 winter season at the San Luca theatre (Selfridge-Field 2007, entry 1671/2), but it actually refers to the cast of the Ss. Giovanni e Paolo theatre (Glixon 2011).
- 19 In the printed libretto there are several errors in the scenes' numbering here corrected in Table 1: I.10–22 are indicated as I.9–21; II.13–16 are numbered as II.14–17; II.17 appears as II.7.

1r–1v	1.	Arideo, <i>Nume arcier, rigido dio</i> ²⁰ [2nd strophe: <i>Sospirar per chi non cura</i>]	S	I.6
2r–3r	2.	Dalinda, <i>Non amate, pensieri, no, no</i> [2nd strophe: <i>D'un ingrato che fede non ha</i>]	S	I.8
3v–4v	3.	Ottane, <i>Speranze, se in alto</i> [2nd strophe: <i>Pensieri, che andate</i>]	B	I.3
5r–8v	4.	Ottane, <i>Tanto scherzi a mio danno, empia Fortuna</i>	B, 2 vl	I.9
9r–11r	5.	Zopiro, <i>Adorata rimembranza</i> ²¹ [2nd strophe: <i>Amor fia che messaggiero</i>]	S, 2 vl	I.10
	–	Globo, <i>Che bel colpo che saria</i> [2nd strophe: <i>Né il padron, ch'in queste trame</i>]	–	I.12
	–	Artabano, Cassandra, A 2, <i>Guerrieri, che fieri</i>	–	I.13
	–	Cassandra, <i>Spiriti miei, gioite sì</i>	–	I.14
	–	Zopiro, Costanza, <i>mio core, se vincer presumi</i> ²² [2nd strophe: <i>Fermezza, mia fede: dal nume Cupido</i>]	–	I.15
11v–12v	6.	Arideo, <i>D'un inganno nacque già</i> [2nd strophe: <i>Sol di furto ebbe il natal</i>]	S	I.16
	–	Dario, <i>Aspasia, così</i> [2nd strophe: <i>Ch'inalzi sul trono</i>]	–	I.17
	–	Aspasia, <i>Chi amante si sta</i>	–	I.17
	–	Aspasia, <i>Iniqui traditori</i>	–	I.18
13r–14v	7.	Aspasia, <i>Non amo più: già quel laccio</i> [2nd strophe: <i>Non ardo, no: già la face</i>]	S	I.19
15r–17r	8.	Neria, <i>Ch'io non ami, ch'io non spero</i> [2nd strophe: <i>Ch'io non arda, ch'io non brami</i>]	S	I.20
17v–20r	9.	Arideo, <i>Cieli, fate ch'un di</i> ²³ [2nd strophe: <i>Numi, fate che almen</i>]	S, 2 vl	I.21

20 In the libretto this aria's textual incipit is *Crudo Amor, rigido dio* (Beverini 1671, p. 13).

21 This aria is not related to *Adorata rimembranza* sung by Isifile (scene I.13) in the 1666 Venetian reworking of the opera *Giasone* by Giacinto Andrea Cicognini and Francesco Cavalli, premiered in Venice 1649. For information on the first Venetian performances of *Giasone* and its revivals, see Bianconi 1973b; Glixon 2013.

22 “Costanza, mio core” is a first line for many 17th-century compositions (e.g., one cantata by Alessandro Stradella, see the entry in *Clori. Archivio della cantata italiana*, n. 5266, at http://cantataitaliana.it/query_bid.php?id=5266), but the text in *Dario in Babilonia* does not agree with any of the ones I was able to detect.

20v–21v	10.	Aspasia, <i>Qual per me stella sì rea</i> ²⁴ [2nd strophe: <i>Ah, ben fu rigida e fiera</i>]	S	l.22
	–	Zopiro, Aspasia, A 2, <i>O soave, o dolce nodo</i>	–	ll.2
22r–23r	11.	Zopiro, <i>Chi non sa come severo</i> [2nd strophe: <i>Chi non sa come spietato</i>]	S	ll.3
23v–24r	12.	Dalinda, <i>Di fortuna l'empia rota</i> [2nd strophe: <i>De la sorte l'empio volo</i>]	S	ll.4
	–	Dario, <i>Non son tante del cielo le stelle</i> [2nd strophe: <i>Non son tante de l'acque le stille</i>]	–	ll.6
	–	Dario, <i>Bella destra a cui consente</i> [2nd strophe: <i>Forse a l'or quando natura</i>]	–	ll.8
24v–28r	13.	Dalinda, <i>Dite, stelle, chi mai fu</i> [2nd strophe: <i>Dite, o numi, chi trovò</i>]	S, 2 vl	ll.9
	–	Aspasia, <i>Morirò, ma vedrò pria</i> [2nd strophe: <i>Morirò ben sì, ma solo</i>]	–	ll.10
	–	Arideo, <i>La speranza è un laccio fier</i> ²⁵ [2nd strophe: <i>Fortunato anco in amor</i>]	–	ll.12
28v–32v	14.	Zopiro, <i>Che si trova tra i mortali</i> ²⁶ [2nd strophe: <i>Che pioesser tanti affanni</i>]	S, 2 vl	ll.13
33r–34r	15.	Aspasia, <i>Ch'io vi chieda più pietà</i> [2nd strophe: <i>Io non bramo più mercè</i>]	S	ll.15
	–	Artabano, <i>Quanto è dolce l'imperar</i> [2nd strophe: <i>Quel bel serto quanto va</i>]	–	ll.16
	–	Dario, Dalinda, A 2, <i>Ti stringo, T'abbraccio,</i> [2nd strophe: <i>Del nume guerriero</i>]	–	ll.17
34v–38v	16.	Ottane, <i>Bella coppia, ch'il destino</i> [2nd strophe: <i>Mai non turbin cure infeste</i>]	B, 2 vl	ll.17
	–	Dalinda, <i>Di tua frode quanto gode</i>	–	ll.18

23 In the libretto this aria starts with the line *Fate, stelle, che un dì* (Beverini 1671, p. 29).

24 This aria starts with the first three lines from a *canzone* by the poet Francesco Balducci, printed among his *Rime* in Rome in 1646 (pub. Manelfi) and already set to music by Stefano Landi in 1637 in his *Quinto Libro d'Arie da cantarsi ad una voce* (Venice, Magni, p. 19).

25 The text of this aria's first strophe appears as a second strophe for the aria *La bellezza è una tiranna* sung by the protagonist in the Neapolitan 1693 production of *Flavio Cuniberto* by Matteo Noris and Alessandro Scarlatti (premiere in Venice 1681, with music by G.D. Partenio) (Lindgren & Murata 2018, pp. 121–128).

26 In the libretto this aria starts with the line *Che si trovi un tra i mortali* (Beverini 1671, p. 43).

	–	Dario, <i>La beltà del tuo sembiante fa più cauto il pensier mio</i> ²⁷	–	II.18
	–	Oronte, <i>Purché il crin s'orni d'allori</i> [2nd strophe: <i>Che di Marte infra le risse</i>]	–	II.20
	–	Dalinda, <i>Vendetta farò di chi mi tradi</i>	–	II.21
	–	Dalinda, <i>Ho vinto, sì, sì, le stelle e la sorte</i>	–	II.21
39r–43v	17.	Zopiro, <i>Numi rei, volete più?</i>	S, 2 vl	III.3
44r–45r	18.	Ottane, <i>Chi pene non vuole</i> [2nd strophe: <i>È legge degl'astr]</i>	B	III.5
45v–50r	19.	Dalinda, <i>Versate in rivi amari</i>	S, 2 vl	III.6
50v–52r	20.	Dalinda, <i>Dolce speme, che vita mi dà</i> [2nd strophe: <i>Di quest'anima dolce ristoro</i>]	S	III.6
	–	Artabano, <i>Chi nel crin la fortuna non prende</i> [2nd strophe: <i>Chi non ferma la sorte incostante</i>]	–	III.7
	–	Aspasia, <i>Se tra tanti spirti amanti</i> [2nd strophe: <i>Se per fato dispietato</i>]	–	III.8
	–	Aspasia, <i>Fuggite, sparite da l'alma, dal core</i> [2nd strophe: <i>Fermate, sgombrate da l'alma, dal petto</i>]	–	III.9
52v–53v	21.	Arideo, <i>Tra i numi severi</i>	S	III.10
	–	Ottane, <i>Viscere del mio seno</i> [2nd strophe: <i>Crude insegne di morte</i>]	–	III.11
	–	Dario, <i>Bella Dalinda amata</i>	–	III.13
54r–54v	22.	Zopiro, <i>Diami i lacci il dio d'Amor</i> [2nd strophe: <i>Per avincere il lor piè</i>]	S	III.15
55r–56r	23.	Zopiro, <i>Sospiri, uscitene</i> [2nd strophe: <i>Sgorgate, o lacrime</i>]	S	III.15
56v–57v	24.	Cassandra, <i>Dimmi, o cor, sperar dovrò?</i>	S	III.18
	–	Zopiro, <i>Amanti, che ognora nel duolo penate</i>	–	III.23

These 24 arias appear in a manuscript whose origins, date of copy and context of preservation are not obvious, since it does not bear any inscription referring to the copying process, and bears neither the title of

27 *La beltà del tuo sembiante* is also the first line of the second strophe of the aria *D'ostro vivo d'ambra fina* from the oratorio *Santa Geneviefa* by Giovanni Andrea Moniglia, written in Florence in 1689 and printed in 1690. However, this aria's lines and structure do not correspond with those in the aria from *Dario in Babilonia*. See Abbado 2016, esp. pp. 152–154, 295–296, 304, 331–332.

the opera nor the names of the poet and the composer. However, although its watermark is hard to decipher, as it appears heavily cut on the upper or lower edges of the folios,²⁸ the handwriting in the manuscript proves the volume's geographical origins. It corresponds to the hand of a copyist who worked for Francesco Cavalli at least until the 1670s. His hand appears on no fewer than twelve scores, such as the Venetian copy of *Giasone* and the score including the second version of *Erismena* (1669–1670), which are preserved in the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice among Cavalli's holdings, merged into the Contarini Collection (see *Figure 1*).²⁹ This copyist is called "D" by Jane Glover, and Jennifer Williams Brown proposed to identify him with Don Lorenzo Rossi, collaborator of Cavalli around 1671–1676.³⁰

During the 19th century, the imperial music collections were transferred to the court chapel's archive, and then became part of the National Library in Vienna. However, although the anthology is preserved there and bears the 20th-century label "Leopoldina" on its front plate (see *Figure 2a*), it does not include any of the original elements that mark Leopold I's music volumes. I refer to the binding in white parchment with the gilded portrait of the emperor (see *Figure 2b*), and the old "Leopoldina" shelfmark in binary form, with the number of the bookshelf followed by another number, indicating a section of it (e.g.,

28 The watermark consists of an unidentified symbol in a shield, with a typically Venetian trefoil between the letters "B V G" as a countermark. Another element that suggests the Venetian origins is the layout of the manuscript, since it presents visible lateral vertical lines, marked in pen to delimit the length of the staves. See Jander 1969, p. 68; Jeffery 1980; Usula 2022.

29 For information about the Venetian copy of the score to *Giasone* (I-Vnm, It. Cl. IV, 363 = 9887) see Jeffery 1980, pp. 111–118; Brown 2013, pp. 81–82; Conti & Usula 2021 (article and appendix 1.IV); and the forthcoming critical edition of Cavalli's opera by Nicola Badolato, Lorenzo Bianconi, Valeria Conti and Nicola Usula (Cavalli & Cicognini forthcoming). The most up-to-date study about *Erismena* (the score of the second version is in I-Vnm It. Cl. IV, 360 = 9884) is the recent critical edition by Beth Glixon, Jonathan Glixon, Nicola Badolato and Michael Burden (Cavalli & Aureli 2018). The Contarini Collection is studied in Glover 1978; Jeffery 1980; Walker 1984; Brown 2013.

30 See Glover 1978, pp. 69–72; Brown 2013, pp. 71, 80–81. See *Appendix 3* for the list of the other works by Boretta preserved in the music collection of Leopold I in Vienna.

N.1 N.2; see *Figure 2c*).³¹ In fact, this volume appears to be foreign to the Viennese context, because of its red leather binding and the unusual shelfmark “No. V” very likely added by a late 19th- or 20th-century hand on the *recto* of the first folio (see *Figure 3a*).

However, comparison with another music manuscript proves that this volume indeed belonged to Leopold. Among the imperial music sources, we find a twin to this Venetian aria anthology: Mus. Hs. 17758, a manuscript copied by a Roman hand on Roman paper,³² containing cantatas by Bernardo Pasquini, Alessandro Stradella, Alessandro Melani, Lelio Colista and Ercole Bernabei.³³ The two anthologies share the same type of binding, both having covers in red leather,³⁴ as well as the same paper used in the binding process, as in their flyleaves they both present a watermark in the shape of a sickle in a shield (see *Figures 3b* and *3c*).³⁵ Finally, they also share another element: the late shelfmark preceded by “No.”, which in the Venetian one is “No. V”, and in the Roman volume is “No. IV” (see *Figure 3a* and *3d*).

No 17th- or 18th-century catalogue of the emperor’s music collection has survived.³⁶ However, a handwritten inventory from the 19th

31 See Gmeiner 1994; Haenen 2020, pp. 430–431; Usula 2022.

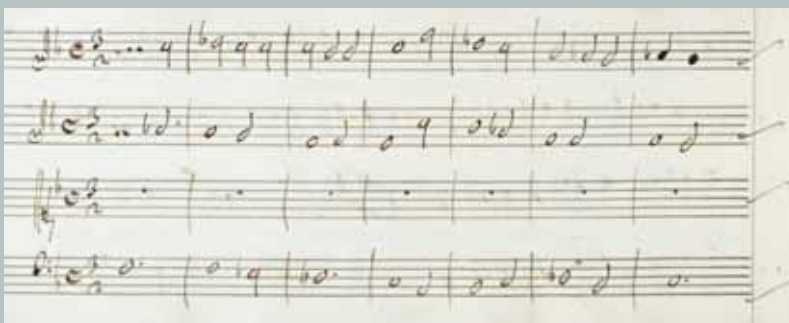
32 The paper presents three different watermarks depicting a kneeling saint. For some samples of this watermark, see Ruffatti 2008.

33 The cantata anthology Mus. Hs. 17758 (N.4 N.2) presents 94 folios with music (on 26 different quires), all copied by the same hand. It contains ten cantatas, all for soprano and continuo, and all bearing an explicit attribution: ‘Ferma, o tempo, il ratto volo’ (Bernabei; fols 1r–10v); ‘Del mio ben la lontananza’ (Pasquini; fols 11r–16v); ‘Chi non sa che la costanza’ (Stradella; fols 17r–24v); ‘Vaganti pensieri’ (Stradella; fols 25r–39v); ‘Al tramontar del giorno’ (Pasquini; fols 41r–48v); ‘Che volete da me, vani pensieri?’ (Al. Melani; fols 49r–58v); ‘Più tacer non si può’ (Al. Melani; fols 59r–68v); ‘Ho poca fortuna | e pur sono amante’ (Colista; fols 69r–74v); ‘Doletevi di voi’ (Colista; fols 75r–82v) and ‘Ier mi venne la fortuna’ (Bernabei; fols 83r–94v).

34 Moreover, the two sources show almost the same dimension: the Venetian one is c. 109 × 295 mm, while the Roman manuscript is c. 110 × 265 mm.

35 This watermark appears in the Venetian and in the Roman manuscripts respectively at fols II, 59–60 and I, 97.

36 The only surviving 17th-century catalogue from the imperial collections is the *Distinta specificazione dell’archivio musicale per il servizio della cappella e camera cesarea* (A-Wn AN.45 D.56) which, however, refers to the music of



a



b

Figure 1. Correspondence between the graphic features of the handwriting in a) the anthology with arias from *Dario in Babilonia* (instrumental incipit of the aria *Versate in rivi amari*, III.6, Dalinda, fol. 45v), and b) the score for the second version of Cavalli's *Erismena* (incipit of the aria *Vivi lieto sù, sù*, I.13, *Erismena*, I-Vnm It. Cl. IV, 360 = 9884, fol. 23v).

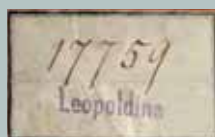


Figure 2a. Front plate (and detail of the label) of the anthology of arias from *Dario* (A-Wn Mus. Hs. 17759).



Figure 2b. Sample of Leopoldinian front plate from another aria collection (A-Wn Mus. Hs. 17764).

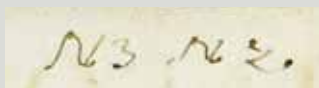
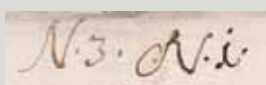


Figure 2c. Leopoldinian call numbers from two Venetian scores in A-Wn (Mus. Hs. 16452 and 16657): N.3. N.1 *Egisto* (Faustini-Cavalli); N.3.N.2 *Giasone* (Cicognini-Cavalli).

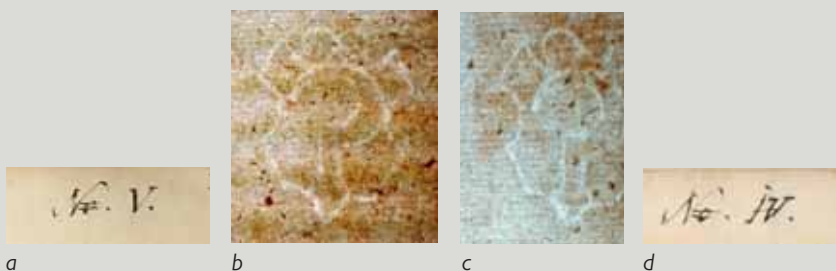


Figure 3a–d. Late shelfmarks and watermarks in the shape of a sickle in a shield (c. 20 × 30 mm) on the flyleaves, in the anthologies Mus. Hs. 17759 (arias from *Dario*, fol. 1r and fol. 1l) and Mus. Hs. 17758 (Roman cantata anthology, fol. 97 and fol. 1r).

century, held in the National Library in Vienna, lists his musical belongings as they appeared in 1825.³⁷ This inventory is not always entirely reliable—for example, it lists books copied or printed even after Leopold I's death. Still, usually it accurately indicates the corresponding Leopoldina shelfmark. In its section dedicated to *kleine Bücher* ("little books"), we find entries for two volumes which have been connected by a bracket:³⁸

[N.]4 [N.]2	Ve[r]schiedene Arien Cantaten à 1 voce von Bernabei, Pasquini, Stradella, Melani, Lelio Colista
[N.]4 [N.]3	Verschiedene Cantaten ohne Nahme

The first Leopoldian shelfmark, N.4 N.2, is still clearly legible in the Roman cantata anthology Mus. Hs. 17758 (fol. IIIv); however, when looking among Leopold I's volumes for the next shelfmark, N.4 N.3, only a large manuscript (so not a *kleines Buch*) is found: the score for a "servizio di camera" entitled *Raguaglio della Fama*.³⁹ On the title page of this manuscript, a 17th-century hand—perhaps that of Leopold I⁴⁰—wrote that the music was by Giovanni Battista Pederzuoli. The same

the Hofkapelle and not to Leopold I's private collection. The catalogue, copied after 1684, lists a series of compositions for the church and for the chamber (almost all lost), arranged by composer. The first ones are by Leopold I and Ferdinand III (1r–9v), the following are by Antonio Bertali (10r–41v), Giovanni Felice Sances (42r–79v), Johann Heinrich Schmelzer (80r–98r), in addition to five sacred pieces by Giovanni Battista Pederzuoli, Giuseppe Tricarico and "Ziani" (probably Pietro Andrea) indicated on fol. 50v. On this topic see also Haenen 2020, p. 429.

37 The anonymous 'Verzeichniss jener Musikalien aus der Privat-Sammlung wei[land] Allerhöchst[er] S[einer] M[ajestät] Kaiser Leopold I' presents around 400 titles: sacred and secular, complete and incomplete works (manuscript in A-Wn Mus. Hs. 2478). According to the former vice-director of the Musiksammlung of the National Library, Josef Gmeiner, the officer, man-of-letters and musician Moritz von Dietrichstein (1775–1864) compiled it while working on the recovery of the collections of Leopold I and Charles VI (see von Dietrichstein 1825; Eitner 1900, *ad vocem*; Gmeiner 1994, p. 209).

38 See von Dietrichstein 1825, fol. 14v. The same bracket does not appear anywhere else in this manuscript catalogue.

39 Shelfmark Mus. Hs. 16886.

40 For this topic, see Gmeiner 1994, pp. 204–205.

hand also added that the composition was performed on 18 November 1680 for the birthday of the emperor's third wife, Empress Eleonore Magdalene of Neuburg.⁴¹ The fact that we find the shelfmark N.4 N.3 on this score does not mean that the 1825 catalogue is in error in the *kleine Bücher* section. In fact, among Leopold I's books we find many other cases of the assignment of the same shelfmark to more than one volume, as the second number does not indicate only one book but a section of the bookshelf.⁴² Consequently, the small miscellaneous volume marked N.4 N.3 could be lost, or could have lost its shelfmark together with a flyleaf between 1825 and today; this has happened to many other volumes in the collection.⁴³ The second hypothesis appears to be correct. The analysis of the quires and binding of the two volumes confirms it. In fact, both manuscripts present a pastedown and three back flyleaves before and after the quires with music, indicating that a duernion (resulting in 4 folios) was added for the binding before the first page and after the last one. However, in the Venetian aria anthology, the opening duernion has only the pastedown and two front flyleaves (fols I–II) and therefore lacks the third one. It is fairly safe to assume that its original shelfmark N.4 N.3 was still visible when the 1825 catalogue was produced.

41 See Seifert 1985, p. 500; 2014, p. 312. The volume with Pederzuoli's music is listed in the 'Pederzuoli' entry of the 1825 catalogue. See von Dietrichstein 1825, fol. 8r.

42 For example, shelfmark N.1 N.1 appears on four surviving manuscripts: one Venetian opera score, one oratorio and one cantata both by Draghi and both composed in Vienna in the 1670s, and finally a volume containing some secular pieces of uncertain origin, traditionally attributed to Leopold I. See *Appendix 4* for details about these volumes.

43 This happened, for example, to the score to *Il ritorno d'Ulisse in patria* by Badoaro and Monteverdi (Mus. Hs. 18763), which today has lost the front flyleaf that bore the shelfmark N.1 N.1. This shelfmark was somehow still legible two centuries ago, since the librarian wrote it down in the entry for the Venetian score of the 1825 catalogue, and it appears in a 19th-century/early 20th-century handwriting on the front cover of the volume. See von Dietrichstein 1825, fol. 10v; Usula 2022.

Why in Vienna?

A letter sent from Venice on 31 January 1671 by the abbot, polymath and poet Domenico Federici (1633–1720) to his patron Leopold I documents that the emperor knew about the Venetian premiere of *Dario in Babilonia* and its failure. Federici scouted the Italian peninsula in search of artworks and singers for Leopold I, and he also kept him up to date about the musical life of the cities he visited. At that time he was carrying out diplomatic business in Venice on behalf of the emperor, and, as confirmed by the following letter, he usually carried out such communications, and provided his patron with music and librettos from Italy:

Venice 31 January 1671. Holy Imperial Royal Majesty and Most Clement Lord, I place in the hands of the Lord of Waldstein all the music of *Ercole* [*in Tebe*], which was delivered to me by Boretti, a Jew converted to Christian, and an acclaimed musician. But, this silly man did two foolish things: getting married, and composing the bad music for *Dario* [*in Babilonia*], which, performed after *Ercole*, did not succeed in anything, and as soon as it was born, it was buried, *et fuit, tanquam non esset*. Yes, it is true that one can compose one beautiful work, but only the true masters can do it with regularity; and therefore Draghi, by composing one opera better than the other, and proceeding in dozens, must either have a great deal of knowledge or an elf [that suggests him what to write]. Here some of his arias have made a big clamour. He and Minato have been excellently matched to make Your Majesty's Theatre excellent, and here everyone feels that way. I send you here the [libretto of] *Dario*, but without any comments, so as not to consume my money, which is my time wasted on a subject that is not and never was. And with the annexed grateful sonnet, I make a profound bow to Your Majesty.

[Venezia 31 Gennaio 1671. Sacra Cesarea Regia Maestà mio signore Clementissimo | In mano del Cavaliere di Waldstein rimetto tutta la musica dell'*Ercole* [*in Tebe*], che mi ha consegnata il Boretti,

d'Ebreo divenuto Cristiano, e musico applaudito. Ma il poverlino ha fatte due sciapitelle [sciapitezze?], una il prender moglie, l'altra la brutta musica del *Dario* [*in Babilonia*], che recitatosi dietro all'*Ercole*, non è riuscito buon da nulla, e subito nato, è rimasto sepolto, *et fuit, tanquam non esset*. Sì che il comporre una rara comedia può farsi, ma continuare, bisogna che sia opra solo da maestri; e però il Draghi componendone una meglio dell'altra, e procedendo a dozzine, terrà adosso o gran sapere o qualche folletto. Qua alcune sue ariette hanno fatto uno strepitone da negromante. Egli e il Minato si sono egregiamente sposati a rendere eccellente il Teatro della Maestà Vostra, e qua tutti sentono in questa maniera. Mando quì aggiunta l'opra del *Dario*, ma senza annotazioni, per non consumare il mio patrimonio, ch'è il tempo in manifattura sopra soggetto, che non è, e non fù. E coll'annesso non ingrato sonetto, faccio alla Maestà Vostra profondissimo inchino.]⁴⁴

After addressing the “Holy Imperial Royal Majesty and Most Clement Lord”, Federici wrote that he had handed over the complete score of *Ercole in Tebe* (“tutta la musica dell'*Ercole*”) to Count Waldstein, having received it directly from Boretti, here described as a Jew converted to Christianity.⁴⁵ Waldstein was evidently in charge of bringing the score of *Ercole in Tebe* to Vienna (although it is now missing from the imperial collections) as the opera had been performed in December 1670 at the San Luca theatre.⁴⁶ Moreover, Federici called Boretti an “applauded musician”, continuing: “this silly man did two foolish things: getting married, and composing the bad music for *Dario*”. He was clearly referring to *Dario in Babilonia*, which had premiered only a few days before. He then specified that the opera was not as good as *Ercole in Tebe* because “it is true that one can compose one beautiful work, but only the true masters can do it with regularity”. Federici added that *Dario in Babilonia* “as soon as it was born, was buried, *et*

44 The letter is published in Ferretti 2000, pp. 454–455.

45 This is the only surviving mention of Boretti's conversion from Judaism to Christianity (I thank Beth Glixon for pointing this out in private correspondence).

46 See Note 5.

fuit, tanquam non esset [i.e. it was as if it had never been],” and continued talking about the rarity of musical genius, praising the ability and value of the imperial “perfect match” of Nicolò Minato and Antonio Draghi.⁴⁷ After this evident *captatio benevolentiae*, he finally repeated that he would send the printed libretto (“opera”) of *Dario in Babilonia* without any comments (“annotazioni”), so as not to waste his time on a “subject that is not and never was”.

The Czech copy of the libretto to *Argia* by Giovanni Filippo Apolloni and Antonio Cesti printed in Venice for the 1669 production clarifies what Federici was referring to as “annotazioni”.⁴⁸ This libretto contains an interesting series of handwritten comments about dramatic, musical and performance-related issues addressed by Federici to the emperor.⁴⁹ The now lost copy of the libretto of *Dario* sent to Leopold I did not contain the usual comments by Federici, because he thought the topic was not worth it.⁵⁰ However, for us it is important that eventually an anthology containing arias from that opera reached the imperial collection, even though the opera was described to the em-

47 Among Federici’s letters we also find references to other imperial musicians, such as Pietro Andrea Ziani. See Ferretti 2000, pp. 451–457.

48 The copy held in CZ-Pu (STT) (000140778).

49 See Marcaletti 2022. Marko Deisinger attributes to Federici another complete report sent from Venice and held in Vienna among the documents of the Harrach family. In this case a complete “relazione” about the 1675 premiere of *Eteocle e Polinice* by Giovanni Legrenzi (San Luca theatre) was sent to Vienna, likely to Ferdinand Bonaventura von Harrach (see Deisinger 2020).

50 Federici’s judgement of Boretti’s opera, however, cannot be taken at face value. There are frequently cases of reports of works that are antithetical depending on who formulated them and who received them. See, for example, the case of *Orfeo* by Aurelio Aureli and Antonio Sartorio (Venice 1672/1673) as it appears in the letters sent from Venice to the court of Hanover. While Francesco Massi gave it a positive appraisal, Nicola Beregan called it “un’opera stracciata” (“a ruined work”); on the other side Pietro Dolfín distinguishes between the music by Sartorio (“mirabile”) and the dramatic text by Aureli (“pessima”—“very bad”). See three letters sent to Duke Friedrich of Brunswick-Lüneburg from Venice: from Francesco Maria Massi dated 16 December 1672; from Pietro Dolfín dated 23 December 1672; from Nicola Beregan dated 30 December 1672 (Vavoulis 2010, letters 153, 156, 158, pp. 211–212, 214–215, 217, respectively).

peror as a complete failure. Federici's letter does not mention any shipment of a music source of *Dario*, so we must assume that he did not send the anthology to Vienna, or, at least not on that occasion.

It is very likely that Leopold I retained some interest in Boretti's work, and perhaps he himself was responsible for acquiring the anthology. Some elements seem to confirm this hypothesis. During his reign, which started in 1658, the emperor built a complex network of international relationships that allowed him to get hold of music materials from all over Italy, in particular from Venice, as documented by the surviving letters between the Serenissima and the diplomats Humprecht Jan Černín and Federici.⁵¹ Moreover, his extant books in Vienna also help us to understand his love for Venetian music and the rationale behind his collecting.

The third bookshelf of Leopold I's collection is the only extant one to contain a number of "foreign" items,⁵² and, although today it clearly lacks some volumes,⁵³ it allows us to see the kind of music the emperor obtained from Venice. Having gathered all the manuscripts that still bear the old Leopoldina shelfmark starting with N.3, we can conclude that at least five of the 30 extant items undoubtedly originated in the Veneto. The graphic layout, watermarks, handwriting and contents prove the origins of two opera scores by Francesco Cavalli, one oratorio by Carlo Francesco Pollarolo, and two serenatas, one of which is attributed to Giovanni Antonio Boretti.⁵⁴ Other music sources in the third bookshelf present Venetian music and are of significance: four aria and cantata anthologies with the Leopoldina shelfmark. All four volumes have a Viennese binding in the Leopoldinian style discussed above (*Figure 2b*) and therefore externally resemble the volumes copied in

⁵¹ See Kalista 1936; Ferretti 2000, pp. 451–457; Glixon *et al.* 2020.

⁵² The bookshelf N.3 is not the only one comprising music from Italy. Italian items appear also in N.1 and N.2, among others.

⁵³ The loss of material affected all bookshelves. See Haenen 2020, *vide infra*. A Swiss National Fund research project entirely devoted to the cataloguing of Leopold I's music books and librettos has taken place at the University of Fribourg in 2021–2023 under the leadership of A. Garavaglia and N. Usula: *L'opera italiana oltre le Alpi: La collezione di partiture e libretti di Leopoldo I a Vienna (1640–1705)* (project no. 100016_197560).

⁵⁴ See *Appendix 5* for the list of works from Veneto held in the third bookshelf.

Vienna, though they are foreign to the court context in terms of structure and content. They are miscellaneous anthologies of arias copied at different times and in different places, bound together once they reached Vienna. Two contain only material from the Veneto, while the other two are made up of music sheets from all over the Italian peninsula, some of which originated in Venice or at least in the Veneto.⁵⁵

These musical offcuts, which I have elsewhere called “crumbs of the emperor”,⁵⁶ take on an unexpected importance in the imperial collection, since Leopold I seems to have been interested in even the smallest scraps from the Italian entertainment world. Moreover, his interest in both full operatic scores and single sheets seems to have stemmed from his profound love of Italian music, even in its apparently minor expressions. Therefore, gathering single arias and transforming them into precious anthologies, as well as collecting material linked to purported operatic failures, as in the case of *Dario in Babilonia*, seems to be entirely justifiable in Leopold’s view. Consequently, it is safe to believe that Boretta’s arias were not included in his collection for their quality, but rather because they were living, direct testimonials of the Italian—and more specifically Venetian—operatic world, which the emperor knew so well and in which he somehow wished to participate.

This craving for Italian music is as evident in his collection as in the impulse he gave to Viennese operatic life to move in an Italian direction.⁵⁷ Under his leadership, the capital of the Holy Roman Empire became the main centre of production for Italianate music beyond the Alps. It never became a true foreign centre for the consumption of music from Italy, however, with Viennese productions being conceived as properties of the imperial court, unavailable for circulation in foreign theatres. In Vienna, productions of works originating from Italy, apart from oratorios and sacred dramatic compositions,⁵⁸ were so rare that

⁵⁵ See *Appendix 6* for details about these four aria collections.

⁵⁶ See Usula 2014.

⁵⁷ See the Viennese “Spielplan” in Seifert 1985, pp. 429–585 and its update in Seifert 2014, pp. 263–279. For the contemporary musical life in Vienna see also: Muraro 1990; Sommer-Mathis 1994; 2003; 2016; Noe 2004; 2011; Rode-Breymann 2010; Weaver 2020.

⁵⁸ See Deisinger 2006; 2010; 2013; 2014; Page 2014; Kendrick 2019.

Italian opera revivals at Leopold's court can be counted on a single hand.⁵⁹ This makes the process of acquiring Italian material even more interesting, since it appears to have been very private and personal, and unrelated to any public consumption. The arias from *Dario in Babilonia* with their—in Federici's words—"bad music" survive in one of the few places where they would have been appreciated after the failure of the 1671 Venetian premiere. They ended up in the home of a foreign composer who loved Italian opera more than anything else, but, by way of also being an emperor, missed no opportunity to enjoy it, although from afar.

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59 There only seem to be three operatic works from Italy revived at the Habsburg court during the reign of Leopold I (see Seifert 1985, pp. 502, 561, 571–572 and *ad indicem*): 1) 1681 *Amor non vuol inganni* [= *Gli equivoci nel sembiante*], libretto by D.F. Contini, music by A. Scarlatti, performed in Linz (premiere in Rome, 1679, Palace Contini). This is the only work for which the music did not change for the Austrian revival. 2) 1699 *Il Narciso*, libretto by F. de Lemene, music by C.A. Badia, performed in Laxenburg, premiered, with music by C. Borzio, in Lodi 1676. 3) 1702 *Il carceriere di sé medesimo*, libretto by L. Adimari, music by "Musici di S.M.C.", performed in the Hoftheater, premiered, with music by Al. Melani, in Florence 1681.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Dramatic texts by Francesco Beverini besides *Dario in Babilonia*⁶⁰

1) *L'amante inimica*

Lib. Rome, P. Moneta, 1668, ded. 28 July 1668 to Tommaso Rospigliosi, nephew of Pope Clemens IX.⁶¹

Palermo, 1669 (performance cited in the 1669 Palermo libretto to *La Flavia imperatrice*; see below).

Lib. Palermo, G. Epiro, 1684 "a spese di A. Giardina", ded. to Francisco IV de Benavides y Dávila (Viceroy of Sicily from 1678–1687) (music by F. Quesada).

2) *Il Demofonte*

Lib. Palermo, Bua e Camagna, 1669, ded. dated 24 January 1669 to Antonino Llanes (music by C. Rienz).

Lib. Rome, P. Moneta, 1669, ded. dated 23 June 1669 to Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna.

3) *La Flavia imperatrice*

Lib. Palermo, Bua e Camagna, 1669, ded. dated 27 March 1669 to Juana Francisca de Díez de Aux Armendáriz (music by M.A. Sportonio).

60 Copies of Beverini's librettos are available at *Corago online*, <http://corago.unibo.it/risultatolibrettiautore/Beverini%20Francesco>.

61 A handwritten libretto with the Roman version of *L'amante inimica* is in I-Rc, ms. 5156, see Murata 1977, p. 88, n. 12.

Lib. Rome, with the title *L'onestà trionfante nei successi di Flavia imperatrice*, P. Moneta, 1669, ded. dated 23 June 1669 to T. Rospigliosi, nephew of Pope Clemens IX.

Bibliography: Franchi 1988, pp. 283, 408–409, 419–420. Contrary to what Franchi states, the text of *Il Demofonte* printed in Milan by C.F. Gagliardi in 1698 and in Florence by V. Vangelisti in 1699 is not by Beverini, but by Pietro d'Averara. Tedesco 1992, pp. 21, 64–65, 70, 261, and update in Tedesco 2005, pp. 215–216, 225.

Appendix 2

Title page and surviving copies of the printed libretto to *Dario in Babilonia*

Title page of the libretto (copy in I-Rig):

‘DARIO | IN | BABILONIA. | *drama per musica* | Di Francesco Beuerini, | *Da rapresētarsi nel Teatro VEN-* | *DRAMINO à S. Salvatore | L'Anno 1671.* | *CONSA-* | *CRATO* | ALL'ILLVSTRISSIMO, | ET ECCELLENTISS. SIG. | LORENZO | TIEPOLO | [decoration] | *In Venetia, 1671. cō Licēza, e Priu.* | Per Francesco Nicolini.’

Extant copies of the libretto (the items consulted for this study are listed in italics):⁶²

B-Bc; *C-Tu MZ0.008*; CZ-Kzk 28 A 5873 [4]; I-Bc Lo.6170; *I-Mb Racc. dramm.3026*; I-Ms; *I-MOe 70.H.14* [2]; I-Nc Rari 10.3.18/01 [*olim* 5.8.18/a]; I-Pci; I-Rc Comm.141/4; *I-Rig Rar. Libr. Ven. 130/133#132*; *I-Rn 35.5.D.15.1*, 40.9.D.15.7; I-Rsc Carv. 4124; I-Rvat Chigi Stamp.Chig.VI.1147 [2]; I-Vcg CORRER S.SALVATORE 88; I-Vgc; I-Vnm DRAMM. 1155.5, DRAMM. 3475.4, DRAMM.938.6; US-CA GEN *IC7 A100 B750 v.12; US-LAum 1671-72/03; *US-Wc ML48 [S1217]*.

62 The OPAC of the Italian National System for Libraries (SBN) shows another copy in Rome, in the library of the Curia generalizia dei Padri Domenicani (S. Sabina). From the SBN online catalogue the Dominican institution seems to preserve at least 194 Italian librettos dated from 1653 to 1794; however, the library's printed catalogues bear no trace of this material, and the institution claims it has never possessed such material (personal research, January 2019).

Appendix 3

Music works by Giovanni Antonio Boretti in the music collection of Leopold I in Vienna besides the arias from *Dario in Babilonia*

- A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 18668 (N.3 N.2): *Serenata* (incipit ‘Risvegliatevi, amanti’) for five characters: Notte, Amante, Sirena, Tritone, Cupido. The first page of music presents a 17th-century caption cancelled in a later hand, which Greta Haenen deciphered as “*Serenata a 4 di Don Antonio Boretti | con violini*” (private correspondence). The graphic layout and the folios’ watermark are typically Venetian; therefore, the attribution to Boretti is realistic. If correct, the manuscript could be dated around Boretti’s Venetian period, from 1666 to 1672.⁶³

- Two arias in A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 17760 (N.3 N.12): *Che tenti, che spero* attributed in the 17th-century inscription “Del Signor Giovanni Antonio Boretti” (aria from *Eliogabalo*, Flavia, III.8, absent from the Venetian libretto, but present in the complete score held in I-Vnm) and *Io non t’intendo, Amor* (from *Eliogabalo*, Eliogabalo, I.8, only in the Venetian score). These two *ariette* for soprano and continuo are copied on the two sides of a single folio bound together with other quires of different origins in the miscellaneous anthology Mus. Hs. 17760. The insertion of this piece of paper inside the anthology is evident since it does not share the same dimensions with the other quires. While they all are in an oblong format (c. 100 × 270 mm), the folio with Boretti’s music is almost squared (c. 230 × 265 mm) and needs to be folded to fit inside the closed volume.⁶⁴ The two arias are copied on Venetian paper by a Venetian hand, and watermark and handwriting are firmly connected to the volume with arias from *Dario in Babilonia*. The hand that copied the two pieces corresponds to the one of the main copyists of the undated Venetian score for Cavalli’s *Didone* (lib. G.F. Busenello, Venice, 1641), named “U2” by Jennifer Williams Brown.⁶⁵ This score, now in the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice,⁶⁶ also shows some quires by the same copyist “D” (Lorenzo Rossi?) who copied *Dario*’s arias. Finally, the folio with the two Boretti arias presents the lower part of the same watermark in the shape of a trefoil surrounded by “B V G”, present in the volume with arias from *Dario*.

⁶³ See Usula 2022, appendix 2.

⁶⁴ For details about the anthology Mus. Hs. 17760, see Bacciagaluppi & Collarile 2009, pp. 42–43, 50–51, 204, 233–234; Usula 2022, appendix 2.

⁶⁵ See Brown 2013, pp. 80, 83; Conti & Usula 2021, appendix 1.I.

⁶⁶ I-Vnm, It. Cl. IV, 355 = 9879.

Appendix 4

List of volumes marked N.1 N.1 in the music collection of Leopold I in Vienna

Il ritorno d'Ulisse in patria (opera), lib. by G. Badoaro, mus. by C. Monteverdi, performed in Venice in 1640 [Mus. Hs. 18763 (N.1 N.1)].⁶⁷

S. Agata (oratorio), lib. by L. Ficeni, mus. by A. Draghi, performed in Vienna in 1675, 1678 and 1688 [Mus. Hs. 18949 (N.1 N.1)].⁶⁸

Lo specchio (cantata), lib. by anonymous, mus. by A. Draghi, performed in Vienna in 1676 [Mus. Hs. 16299 (N.1 N.1)].⁶⁹

Anonymous secular music compositions (two 'Dialoghi', two 'Serenate' and one 'Madrigale'), mus. attributed to Leopold I [Mus. Hs. 16589 (N.1 N.1)].⁷⁰

Appendix 5

List of volumes from Veneto in the third bookshelf of Leopold I's music collection in Vienna

1) *Egisto* (opera), lib. by G. Faustini, mus. by F. Cavalli, premiere in Venice in 1643 [Mus. Hs. 16452, (N.3 N.1 shelfmark in *Figure 2c*)].⁷¹

2) *Giasone* (opera), lib. by G.A. Cicognini, mus. by F. Cavalli, performed for the first time in Venice in 1649 [Mus. Hs. 16657 (N.3 N.2 shelfmark in *Figure 2c*)].⁷²

3) *Jefte* (oratorio), lib. by G. Frigimelica Roberti, mus. by C.F. Pollarolo, performed for the first time in Venice in 1702 [Mus. Hs. 16561 (N.3 N.8), and handwritten libretto in A-Wn 39327].⁷³

67 Among the most important studies on *Il ritorno d'Ulisse in patria*, see Carter 2002; Alan Curtis' introduction to Monteverdi & Badoaro 2002; Rosand 2007; see also Sergio Vartolo's introduction to the facsimile edition of the score, Monteverdi & Badoaro 2006; and the recent analysis of the score in Usula 2022.

68 See Seifert 1985, pp. 482, 492, 524; Deisinger 2010, pp. 93, 97, 109–110, 113.

69 See Seifert 1985, pp. 485–486.

70 See Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensis 1897, no. 16589; von Weilen 1901, no. 1004; Brosche 1975, pp. 68–69, 74–76; Usula 2022.

71 See Jeffery 1980, mainly pp. 165–168; Brown 2013; Jeanneret 2013; Conti & Usula 2021, appendix 1.II; Usula 2022.

72 See *Note 30* and Jeffery 1980, pp. 219–220; Brown 2013, pp. 67–68; Usula 2022.

73 See Deisinger 2014, pp. 51, 56.

- 4) *Il trionfo della pietà* (serenata), lib. by L. Malacreda, mus. by unknown composer, composed for the birth of Joseph I (= after July 1678), and dedicated by Count Andrea Zabarella. With four characters: Gloria, Invidia, Mondo, Pietà (incipit “Trombe guerriere, | fendete l’Etera”) [Mus. Hs. 16539 (N.3 N.1)]. The text of this serenata appears in the 1678 publication *Compositioni delli signori Academici Ricovrati, per la nascita del serenissimo principe Giuseppe, [...] archiduca d’Austria*.⁷⁴ In the score and in the printed text the work is described as “Applausi divoti del conte Andrea Zabarella | composti dal signor Lorenzo Malacreda accademico”.⁷⁵ Malacreda published an *Introduzione per musica* among the 1679 *Applausi dell’Accademia de’ Ricovrati alle glorie della serenissima Repubblica di Venezia* with the characters: Fama, Testò, Apollo, Roma (incipit: “In Pindo risuona, | mia tromba sù sù”).⁷⁶ Count Andrea Zabarella appears also as a promoter of the 1696 *Serenata nel passaggio per Padova del serenissimo Ferdinando gran prencipe di Toscana. Consecrata al serenissimo Cosmo III [...] dal conte Andrea Zabarella*.⁷⁷
- 5) Serenata (incipit “Risvegliatevi, amanti”) [Mus. Hs. 18668 (N.3 N.2)] mus. by A. Boretti according to Greta Haenen.⁷⁸

Three other oratorios could have come from the Veneto, but some elements suggest caution in stating they originated in Venice or in the Veneto.

- I) *Giuditta* (oratorio), mus. by D. Freschi [Mus. Hs. 16557 (N.3 N.9)]. The content is from Veneto but graphic layout and handwriting seems to be Viennese.
- II) *Il giudizio di Salomone* (oratorio), mus. by M.A. Ziani, performed in Venice in 1698 and in Vienna in 1701 [Mus. Hs. 19335 (N.3 N.15)]. Graphic layout and handwriting look Venetian, but the paratext looks Viennese.⁷⁹
- III) *Il martirio di S. Sinforosa* (oratorio) with no indication of author or date [Mus. Hs. 18694 (N.3 N.16)]. Although I could not study the watermarks in this volume, and although the handwriting and the page layout do not look traditionally Venetian, this item deserves a position among the doubtful

74 Patin 1678, pp. 7–13.

75 Patin 1678, p. 7.

76 Patin 1679, pp. 7–12.

77 *Serenata nel passaggio per Padova del serenissimo Ferdinando gran prencipe di Toscana. Consecrata al serenissimo Cosmo III [...] dal conte Andrea Zabarella*, Padua, stamperia Pasquati, 1696, ded. signed by Zabarella: Padua, 10 March 1696 (copy in I-Fn V.MIS 1157.3, absent from *Corago online*).

78 See *Appendix 3*.

79 See Deisinger 2014, pp. 50, 55, 58.

sources for it contains a note on the last page with music: “Carlo Timermans scrisse l’anno 1699 in Verona” (“copied by C. Timermans in Verona in 1699”).⁸⁰

Appendix 6

Four aria and cantata anthologies with music materials from the Veneto in the music collection of Leopold I in Vienna

Two anthologies with compositions from the Veneto only:

Mus. Hs. 17766 (N.3 N.2) is a miscellaneous manuscript consisting of quires copied by three different hands: the 34 folios with music all present watermarks typically Venetian, depicting crescents, and trefoils between letters. No author’s name appears in the source, however, besides three arias by unknown composers, it includes nine arias from *Muzio Scevola* by N. Minato and F. Cavalli (premiere in Venice, 1665), and one *canzonetta* by C. Grossi, ‘Vaghe luci, mio tesoro’, which was first published in Venice in 1675, in Grossi’s anthology titled *L’Anfione*.⁸¹

Mus. Hs. 17764 (N.3 N.17). Among its 40 folios with music this volume presents only one watermark in the shape of three crescents plus a trefoil between the letters “qS” (“gS”?). One hand copied the music on all quires except for the first two folios, and among its 13 pieces, we can identify at least four arias (2, 3, 6, 12) that appear in the libretto printed in Verona for the 1686 Mantuan revival of *Il Roderico* by G.B. Bottalini and C.F. Pollarolo (premiere in Brescia in 1684).⁸²

Two miscellaneous anthologies containing some quires from Veneto:

Mus. Hs. 17762. Although without the front flyleaf that bore the Leopoldinian shelfmark, this volume probably corresponds to N.3 N.6.⁸³ It is one of the most complex anthologies in Leopold’s collection, for it presents 45 compositions on 52 quires with different handwritings and watermarks.⁸⁴ Its 44th quire seems to come from Venice. It is a duernion (fols 222–225) presenting a watermark in the shape of a trefoil between “V” and “G” (?), plus crescents, and it contains the two-strophes aria ‘Gran tiranna è la bellezza’ (2nd strophe

80 I thank Greta Haenen for sharing some pictures from this volume with me.

81 Grossi 1675. See Usula 2022, appendix 1 for a detailed description of this anthology.

82 See Bizzarini 2015.

83 See von Dietrichstein 1825, fol. 147.

84 Details about the binding and date of this anthology in Usula 2022, mainly appendix 2.

‘Bella chioma inanellata’) which we find in the printed libretto to *Perseo* by Aurelio Aureli and Andrea Mattioli (Venice, 1665, scene I.15, sung by Fineo).

Mus. Hs. 17760 (N.3 N.12). This second miscellaneous manuscript that presents some Venetian material is the already mentioned anthology of eight cantatas and arias Mus. Hs. 17760 (N.3 N.12), with the two arias by Boretti presented above in *Appendix 2*. It comprises five different hands on eleven quires of different origins; among the compositions it contains works by A. Masini and M. Marazzoli on Roman paper, a piece by C.D. Cossoni (perhaps an autograph) on Lombard paper, and other compositions.⁸⁵

85 See Bacciagaluppi & Collarile 2009, pp. 42–43, 50–51, 204, 233–234; Usula 2022, appendix 2.

PETER WOLLNY

New perspectives on Johann Jacob Froberger's biography

Implications of the 'London Autograph'

THE PAST 30 YEARS have been a fortunate period for research on the life and works of Johann Jacob Froberger (1616–1667), for they saw the discovery of three major manuscript sources that contain an abundance of new information yielding valuable insights, challenging hypotheses and a wealth of implications that will inspire future investigations. In 1999, the so-called 'Bulyowsky Manuscript' resurfaced in Dresden and was subsequently acquired by the Sächsische Landes- und Universitätsbibliothek.¹ It was evaluated and edited by Rudolf Rasch the following year.² In 2001 another hitherto unknown source showed up, which apparently had originated in Hamburg and was transmitted among the long-lost holdings of the Sing-Akademie zu Berlin.³ A facsimile edition and transcription of this manuscript appeared in 2004.⁴ And finally, the year 2006 marked—so far—the climax in this succession of discoveries: in the November auction of that year, Sotheby's London announced the sale of a substantial volume containing mostly unknown

1 Today shelved under D-Dl, Mus. 1-T-595.

2 Rasch 2000; Rasch & Dirksen 2001, pp. 133–153.

3 D-Bsa, SA 4450; see Wollny 2003, pp. 99–115.

4 Wollny 2006; the manuscript came into the possession of the Sing-Akademie from the collection of the Berlin cantor and music director Johann Georg Gottlieb Lehmann; see *Verzeichniß | der | von dem Königl. Ober-medizinalrath Herrn | Klaproth, Musikdirekt. Hrñ. Lehmann | und andern | hinterlassenen | Bücher, | [...] | welche | nebst einer ansehnlichen Sammlung von Musikalien für verschiedene Instrumente. | [...] | den 1ten Juli u. f. T. d. J. | Vormittags 9 Uhr | am Dönhofsplatze Nr. 36. | durch | den Königl. Auctionskommisarius | Bratring | gegen gleich baare Bezahlung in kling. Preuß. Cour. | meistbietend versteigert werden sollen. | [...] | Berlin, 1817; copy in D-B, Ap 12101, fasc. 2.*

compositions by Froberger written in his own hand.⁵ I was able to examine the manuscript prior to the auction and assisted in gathering information for the catalogue entry; subsequently, the present owner allowed me to study the source a second time. In this report I present the preliminary results of my current research on the history of the manuscript and discuss its implications for Froberger's biography.⁶

The manuscript and its repertoire

The manuscript has the unusual size of 8.5 × 2.4 cm in oblong format and thus is surprisingly small. Similar formats and dimensions are frequently found in manuscript collections of Italian cantatas. They are very uncommon for keyboard music, however.⁷ The Froberger volume is lavishly bound in red morocco with elaborate gilt ornaments, displaying the imperial coat of arms of Emperor Leopold I on both covers. Strangely, the autograph contains no title or dedication and there is indeed no indication whatsoever that it was ever presented to the emperor. At a later time, probably after Froberger's death, a makeshift title in rather awkward French was added by an unknown hand: "Livre Premiere Des Fantasies, Caprices, Allemandes, Chigues, Couranttes, Sarebandes, Meditations. Composées par Jean Jacques Froberger. Organist de la chambre de sa Majeste Imperiale." Before addressing the problem of the missing dedication in more detail, the repertoire and matters of chronology will be considered.

5 See the separate catalogue: *Johann Jacob Froberger: A Hitherto Unrecorded Autograph Manuscript Volume Containing Thirty-five Keyboard Pieces, Eighteen Completely New, Undocumented and Unpublished* (London: Sotheby's, 2006). The manuscript is also described in the catalogue of the sale of Continental Manuscripts, L06409, London, Thursday, 30 November 2006 (lot 50).

6 This source is also known under the name the 'Montbéliard Manuscript'; I prefer to use the term 'London Autograph' as the manuscript first appeared in London and because I wish to prevent speculation about its still-obscure provenance.

7 See, for example, the volumes A-Wn, Mus.Hs. 17754 (c. 12.5 x 29 cm), Mus.Hs. 17756 (c. 11 x 25 cm), Mus.Hs. 17759 (c. 10 x 29 cm) and Mus.Hs. 17768 (c. 11 x 26 cm); all four manuscripts belong to the Schlafkammerbibliothek of Leopold I.

Like the three other surviving Froberger autographs—the ‘Libro Secondo’, the ‘Libro Quarto’ and the ‘Libro di Capricci e Ricercati’, all three preserved at the Austrian National Library in Vienna⁸—the London Autograph comprises several distinct sections separated by autograph part titles (for a complete inventory see *Appendix 1*): The ‘Premiere Partie’ contains six ‘Fantasies’, not one of which is transmitted elsewhere, and the ‘Second Partie’ presents six equally unknown ‘Caprices’. The concluding ‘Troisiesme Partie’ consists of five suites and three lamentos. It is here that we find the first hints of a chronological frame. Four of the eight pieces can be dated securely, and they all originated within a period of just five years. Emperor Ferdinand III died on 2 April 1657 and the “Tombeau, la quelle se joue lentement avec discretion, faict sur la tres douloureuse Mort de Sa Majeste Imperiale le Troisiesme Ferdinand” (no. 19) certainly originated soon after. Sixteen months later, on 1 August 1658, his son Leopold was crowned in Frankfurt am Main. The Allemande of the Suite in A Minor (no. 13) in the present source contains the note “faicte sur le Couronnement de Sa Majesté Imperiale à Franckfurt”. The date of Froberger’s Meditation “faict sur ma mort future” (no. 17) can be gleaned from the Sing-Akademie manuscript: “à Paris 1 May Anno 1660”. Duke Leopold Friedrich of Württemberg-Mömpelgard (1624–1662), whose death is commemorated in the last piece (no. 20), died on 15 June 1662.

There is reason to assume that the three pieces dedicated to Duchess Sibylla (1620–1707) (nos. 14, 16 and 18) were also composed around that time, i.e., after Froberger had left Vienna and the service of the imperial court and moved to the court of Leopold Friedrich and his wife Sibylla in Montbéliard. I would in fact like to go one step further and suggest that Froberger arranged the first six pieces in the ‘Troisiesme Partie’ in exact chronological order, followed by the two tombeaux. This would imply that the suites in G minor (no. 14), C minor (no. 15) and F major (no. 16) were written between August 1658 and May 1660, while the Meditation for Sibylle (no. 18) was obviously composed after May 1660 as its title is modelled after the famous Meditation “faict sur ma mort future”. We know from another source that Sibylla was

8 A-Wn, Mus.Hs. 18706, Mus.Hs. 18707, Mus.Hs. 16560.

especially fond of this piece, so it is all the more plausible that she may have commissioned a similar work for herself.⁹ The two tombeaux at the end appear to form a separate subgroup within the ‘Troisiesme Partie’ and thus stand outside the strict chronological order of this group.

If this implicit chronology is accepted, we may assume that soon after attending the coronation of Emperor Leopold I in Frankfurt, Froberger moved to Montbéliard and became Sibylla’s music teacher.¹⁰

Biographical implications

Froberger’s affiliation with Leopold Friedrich and his court provides a welcome explanation for Froberger’s travels in those years. Following the Battle of Nördlingen in September 1634—one of the major battles of the ‘Thirty Years’ War—the eight-year-old Prince Leopold Friedrich had been taken under French protection. Between 1641 and 1645 he and his younger brother—and later successor—Duke George II (1626–1699) were educated at the French royal court in Paris. Not much is known about the further life and reign of Leopold Friedrich, but Zedler’s *Universal-Lexikon* claims that he “undertook costly journeys to France, Germany, and Italy almost every year”.¹¹ In 1653 Leopold Friedrich was granted a seat and the right to vote in the Imperial Diet.¹² It may thus be assumed that he attended the coronation of Emperor Leopold I in Frankfurt in August 1658. Perhaps this was the occasion when Froberger met the ducal couple from Montbéliard, if indeed he was present at the coronation in Frankfurt as well. His journeys from now on thus may have been made possible or even instigated by his new patrons. Froberger’s stay

9 See Sibylla’s letter to Constantijn Huygens, 23 October 1667; published in Rasch n.d., p. 20.

10 Even if one regards the order of pieces in the ‘Troisiesme Partie’ of the London Autograph as more or less random, it is still highly probable that the three works dedicated to Sibylla were composed close in time to the tombeau for her husband.

11 See Zedler [1999], vol. 17 (1738), col. 395 (“kostbare Reisen, die er fast alle Jahre in Frankreich, Teutschland und Italien gethan”).

12 Zedler [1999], vol. 17 (1738), col. 395 (“Im Jahre 1653. erhielt er wegen Mümpelgard Sitz [und] Stimme auf dem Reichs-Tage”).

in Paris in the spring of 1660 could be seen as connected with one of the duke's journeys as well.

All this does not exclude the possibility that Froberger remained in one way or another affiliated with the imperial court in Vienna. This assumption is supported by the fact that even after he had left Vienna he continued to be addressed as "Imperial Chamber Organist" on more than one occasion. Even though after July 1658 Froberger did not render any active musical services at the Viennese court, there must be a reason for this official title. A plausible explanation would be that, instead of being a member of the court chapel, he served as a diplomat, political observer or correspondent, travelling under the guise of his musicianship. On the other hand, a remark transmitted by the lexicographer Johann Gottfried Walther (1684–1748), according to which Froberger had fallen into disgrace at the imperial court after the death of Ferdinand III on 2 April 1657, should also be taken seriously.¹³

Was there any particular reason for the journey to Paris in the spring of 1660? With regard to the major political occurrences of that year, it becomes clear that the main event was the forthcoming wedding of Louis XIV (1638–1715) and the Spanish princess Maria Theresa of Spain (1638–1683). Preliminary negotiations for this marriage had begun as early as 1656 and must be seen in the context of the diplomatic attempts to end the devastating war between France and Spain that had already lasted more than 20 years.¹⁴ The preparations for this wedding did not proceed smoothly. At first the Spanish king, Philip IV (1605–1665), refused the proposed plan as he feared that, since all his sons had died before reaching adulthood, his territories might eventually be inherited by Louis. The background for this reasoning is that the old Merovingian *Lex Salica*, which excluded women from the succession to the throne ("terram salicam mulieres ne succedant"), did not apply in Spain.

With the birth of Philip's son Felipe Próspero on 28 November 1657 this fear became less acute, but the weakness and constant poor health of the child, who eventually died on 1 November 1661, did not promise

¹³ Walther 1732 [1953], p. 264.

¹⁴ For an overview of the war between France and Spain, see Lynn 1999; for the biographical context, see Malettke 2009; the general political and historical background is discussed in Schilling 2010.

much security. In the meantime, the young Louis had fallen in love with Maria Mancini, the niece of his chief minister, Cardinal Jules Mazarin (1602–1661), and seriously considered marrying her. To make things even more complicated, Princess Marie-Thérèse had already been promised as a child to the oldest son of Emperor Ferdinand III, the young Ferdinand IV (1633–1654). After the latter's death on 9 July 1654 (at the age of barely 21), the emperor tried to transfer this promise to his second son, Prince Leopold, who showed a keen interest in marrying his Spanish cousin. All this eventually came to nothing, but the decisive breakthrough for the proposed match between Louis XIV and Marie-Thérèse was reached only in the second half of 1659 in the course of negotiations that took place on the Île des Faisans on the French–Spanish border. It is not necessary in the given context to go into the complicated wedding preparations and procedures, but it should be noted that there was again some delay. The couple eventually married in June 1660 in St-Jean-de-Luz on the Spanish border and did not return to Paris before late August 1660.

All this was not foreseeable, and in Paris the entire court and citizens had to be very patient. Mazarin, for example, had commissioned the Venetian composer Francesco Cavalli (1602–1676) to write a new opera for the occasion. Cavalli came to Paris in April 1660 and was soon caught up in all sorts of difficulties. His wedding opera *Hercole amante* was in fact staged only in February 1662.¹⁵

Judging from the date of his Meditation “faict sur ma mort future”, we may suspect that Froberger came to Paris in the spring of 1660 expecting the royal couple to return to the capital shortly and probably hoped to report about this event to the imperial court back in Vienna. We do not know what inspired him to compose such a reflective piece on 1 May 1660—perhaps frustration about the prolonged stay, sudden melancholy, and lack of money and perspective. In any case, if Froberger fulfilled his assumed mission, he probably stayed in Paris for at least half a year.

Before resuming consideration of this Paris sojourn, it is necessary to first explore whether a similarly convincing reason for another major

¹⁵ Walker 2002, pp. 302–313, esp. p. 304.

journey is documented in the London Autograph, i.e., the remarkable addition of “faict à Madrid” to the title of the Meditation for Sibylle. As discussed earlier, Sibylle’s Meditation must have been composed after the first Meditation of 1660, the Meditation “faict sur ma mort future”.

If it is true that this piece was intended as a solace for the duchess after the sudden death of her husband in June 1662 and her precarious situation as a widow, it may have been composed in the second half of 1662 or in the first half of 1663.

Looking at the history of the royal Spanish court in these years, it is easy to spot a set-up that was similar in importance to the wedding of the French king. After the peace treaty and ensuing wedding negotiations between France and Spain produced concrete results sometime in 1659, the newly crowned Emperor Leopold I began to make advances to the Spanish king with plans to marry his youngest daughter, Princess Margarita Theresa. Born in September 1651, the princess was only eight years of age when official negotiations about her future marriage began. From a detailed study undertaken by the historian Alfred Francis Pribram in 1891, we know that these negotiations were very slow to yield any results.¹⁶ Long stretches of time passed without any progress. Only in October 1662 did matters begin to move, and by April 1663 the official engagement between the 22-year-old emperor and his 11-year-old Spanish cousin was proclaimed. It took almost another four years before the couple was actually married. The wedding celebrations were performed with great splendour in Vienna, beginning in December 1666 and lasting for almost a year. When in September 1666 Froberger mentioned to his friend and colleague Constantijn Huygens (1596–1687) that he planned to be in Vienna shortly (“sta per tornarsi in breve alla Corte Cesarea”), he most certainly had the return of the imperial couple in mind.¹⁷

In the years 1662 and 1663, the negotiations for the projected wedding were conducted by the Bohemian count Franz Eusebius von Pötting (1627–1678), who served as an ambassador in Madrid for more

¹⁶ Pribram 1891.

¹⁷ See Rasch, *Duizend brieven over muziek van, aan en rond Constantijn Huygens* (<https://huygens-muziekbrieven.sites.uu.nl>), Huygens aan Froberger – 8 oktober 1666 (6583); 1917, p. 199.

than a decade, from 1662 to 1673. It is thus quite plausible that for a certain period Froberger belonged to the retinue of Count von Pötting, probably assisting him in his complicated mission.

Further research will be necessary to, it is hoped, confirm the ideas just sketched here in a very rough and preliminary way. However, it is safe to say that these political events—starting with the coronation of Leopold I in 1658 and extending to the wedding of Louis XIV with Maria Theresa of Spain in 1660 as well as to the engagement and eventual wedding of Leopold I with Margarita Theresa of Spain in 1666—provide a convincing frame for Froberger's travels and professional engagement in the last decade of his life. The established narrative that sees him as a failed and exiled artist or even a displaced vagabond will have to be revised. Instead, his various journeys may be interpreted as an indication of his activities as a diplomat.

Concordances

Let us now consider Froberger's sojourn in Paris in the first half of 1660 and the repertoire of the London Autograph. In his article 'A new Froberger manuscript', Bob van Asperen pointed out thematic relationships between two works in the London Autograph and two pieces in François Roberday's collection *Fugues, et Caprices a quatre parties [...] pour l'Orgue*, published in Paris in 1660, suggesting that Froberger actually borrowed thematic material from Roberday.¹⁸ A close examination of the London Autograph shows, however, that van Asperen's assessment is in need of revision.

François Roberday (1624–1680) was a goldsmith and amateur musician who in 1659 had managed to secure the position as a valet to Queen Anne of Austria. The collection *Fugues, et Caprices a quatre parties* is his only contribution to music history. In his preface, Roberday states that his anthology contains one piece each by Girolamo Frescobaldi, Wolfgang Ebner and Johann Jacob Froberger. The remaining works he claims to have composed himself on subjects given to him by famous composers such as Louis Couperin, Antonio Bertali, Francesco Cavalli, and, again, Froberger. Gunther Morche pointed out the strik-

¹⁸ van Asperen 2007.

ing discrepancy between the self-confident preface to the collection and the remarkably poor, even faulty contrapuntal skills displayed in the pieces themselves.¹⁹ Besides, Roberday failed to complete his initial plan of combining twelve fugues with an equal number of caprices on the same subjects—in the end, only six of the fugues were paired with caprices. One may add that the pieces in this collection are remarkably variable in quality. While some of the fugues display large, complex and multi-sectional structures, others are quite short and barely explore their thematic material and contrapuntal potential. Altogether one gains the impression of a rather hurried job. In addition, there is another, even more acute problem: For six of the altogether 18 works we find partial concordances in Froberger's oeuvre. The term "concordance" is used here not in its strict meaning, but rather indicates identical subjects and considerable similarities of musical substance.

One of these correspondences has been known for a long time: the fifth fugue is largely identical to the first *ricercare* of Froberger's 'Libro Quarto' of 1656. But in fact there are five other fugues in Roberday's collection that are closely related to pieces in the London Autograph (see *Appendix 2*). It is not easy to determine the exact relationship between Roberday's fugues and their versions in the original Froberger sources, however. Regarding the *ricercare* from the 'Libro Quarto', Siegbert Rampe considered the version published by Roberday to be a genuine later revision by Froberger, to which the composer added a rather long *tripla* section.²⁰ I personally doubt this explanation.

In Roberday's Fugue no. 5, the entrances of the fugue subjects (*recto* and *verso*) are exactly the same as in Froberger's *ricercare* (see *Figures 1* and *2*). But while the readings in the 'Libro Quarto' follow the rules of strict counterpoint very faithfully, Roberday presents us with some awkward voice leading (see, for example, measures 4–5, soprano: f#–b-flat–f; and measure 5: resolution of the tritone e / b-flat), and in several instances he introduces diminished intervals, which—at least in the frequency they appear—are foreign to the strict style. In addition, the final *tripla* section is merely a variant of the first 35 measures.

19 Morche 2005, cols 214–215.

20 Rampe 1995, pp. 18ff. and 106ff.

None of these characteristics is found in authentic works by Froberger, while Roberday's *Fugues, et Caprices a quatre parties* are full of them. On the other hand, there are numerous indications contradicting the idea that Roberday may have published here an otherwise unknown earlier version of Froberger's piece, for not even Froberger's earliest known compositions display faults of this kind. We can therefore safely conclude that Roberday wilfully corrupted Froberger's piece. Similar observations can be made when analysing the five pieces related to works in the London Autograph.

Turning to the question of how Roberday may have gained access to Froberger's works, the most likely scenario is that, during his stay in Paris, Froberger made a number of his compositions available to Roberday. This may have been a friendly, collegial exchange (as van Asperen suggested), but the possibility should also be considered that, due to his unexpectedly long stay in Paris, Froberger ran into financial difficulties and was forced to sell a number of his works. It is also quite possible that Roberday received the subjects or models for other fugues from Froberger as well. How else could he have gained access to unpublished pieces by the Viennese court musicians Wolfgang Ebner and Antonio Bertali?²¹

The impression that Roberday assembled the works for his collection rather hurriedly, using a favourable opportunity, is supported by his claim to have used a subject, unidentified, by Francesco Cavalli, for the Venetian composer arrived in Paris in April 1660, only half a year before Roberday's collection was placed on the market.

Fortunately, with his irreverent treatment of these fine works by a great composer, Roberday provides a valuable clue to the chronology of the 'Premiere' and 'Seconde Partie' of the London Autograph. At least five of the twelve pieces must have been composed by early 1660. In view of the other dates we have established for the works assembled in the 'Troisiesme Partie' of the London Autograph, I would like to suggest that—like the suites—all the fantasies and caprices stem from the five-year period between 1657 and 1662.

21 If Roberday received these models, or fugue subjects, from Froberger, we may gain some insight from his music library.

The fate of the Autograph

Froberger's plans regarding the London Autograph will now be considered. From the morocco binding displaying Leopold's coat of arms it is obvious that the composer planned to dedicate the volume to the emperor. Since no later compositions are found in the manuscript, the volume was likely assembled in 1662 or 1663. Froberger first copied the music onto unbound fascicles. This is evident from the trimming the manuscript underwent during the binding process, causing occasional cuts of caption titles. A fragment of a watermark helps to identify the paper as probably being of Viennese origin. It can be assumed that after concluding his mission to Madrid, Froberger returned to Vienna, made a fair copy of his most recent works, and supervised the binding.

A look at the other three autograph volumes by Froberger, kept in the Austrian National Library, reveals that for the substantial 'Libro Secondo' and 'Libro Quarto', the composer only copied out the music, while the title pages, the dedications and all the caption titles were added by a calligraphic artist. As Siegbert Rampe was the first to point out, in the case of the 'Libro Quarto' this artist hid his name in one of the decorated initials: "Iohannes Fridericus Sautter Stuttgardanus".²² Sautter may also have been responsible for decorating the 'Libro Secondo'. Regarding the undated 'Libro di Capricci e Ricercati', dedicated to Emperor Leopold I, Froberger wrote not only the music, but also the captions. What has gone unnoticed so far, however, is that the title page and dedication were again entered by a calligrapher. After taking a look at other dedicatory manuscripts of the time, it is clear that this was the standard procedure.²³

As the evidence of the London Autograph confirms, in the process of preparing a manuscript, the additions by a calligrapher always represented the very last stage. It may thus be asked why in this volume this last step towards completion was not taken. At present only a speculative explanation can be given: the process of dedicating a manuscript to the emperor must have involved protracted bureaucratic formalities.

²² Rampe 1995, preface.

²³ See, for example, the dedication copy of Giuseppe Tricarico's "Opere a capella" (A-Wn, Mus.Hs. 19067).

Fugue 5me

F. Roberday

1

1 5

5

5 5

8

8 8

12

12 12

16

16 16

Ricercar [I]

J. J. Froberger

The image displays the first system of a musical score for 'Ricercar [I]' by J. J. Froberger. The score is written for two staves, Treble and Bass, in common time (C). The key signature has one sharp (F#). The first system contains measures 1 through 4. The second system contains measures 5 through 8. The third system contains measures 9 through 12. The fourth system contains measures 13 through 16. The notation includes various note values (quarter, eighth, sixteenth notes), rests, and accidentals (sharps, flats). The piece is marked with a '1' at the beginning of the first measure.

Figures 1 and 2. Roberday's Fugue no. 5 and Froberger's ricercare. The entrances of the fugue subjects (*recto* and *verso*) are exactly the same.

Probably a written permission was required. For some unknown reason in the case of the London Autograph, this official courtly permission was not granted. It cannot be ascertained whether this would have been a downright refusal of the favour asked or whether the notorious Viennese bureaucracy was slower than Froberger had expected, while in the meantime he was sent on his next diplomatic mission. In any case, one can assume that the volume remained in Vienna. Perhaps Froberger deposited it with a friend and left instructions about how to proceed with it should the permission for the dedication eventually be granted. It is also possible, however, that Froberger was forced to sell the volume after he finally realized that his plans would not meet with success. Be that as it may, the manuscript never reached its prospective dedicatee.

There is no indication why the manuscript was rejected by the emperor. Could it be that the private nature of the pieces related to Sibylla, Leopold Friedrich and Froberger himself made them unsuitable? Did the suites perhaps not meet Leopold's taste? In this case, the 'Libro di Capricci e Ricercati' may represent another—this time successful—attempt to approach the emperor. Likewise, it is not known whether the failed dedication had any specific consequences for Froberger's life or had anything to do with the obscure biographical event hinted at by Walther ("fallen into disgrace"). From the present perspective, we are all the more grateful that the manuscript has survived, for it sheds light on a hitherto completely obscure period in the biography of one of the most fascinating composers of the 17th century and reflects with remarkable clarity some of the decisive occurrences of European politics.

Brief thoughts regarding the general topic of the dissemination, use and adaptation of music in early modern Europe may be pertinent here. When attempting to study how French and Italian music was circulated and used all over Europe, particularly in the north, there is a need to take a close look at travelling musicians. Froberger may be an extreme case, but he was certainly not the only virtuoso who almost constantly travelled from court to court. A similar case two decades later is that of the German violinist Johann Paul Westhoff (1656–1705), who embarked on journeys to London, Paris, Milan, the Netherlands and the Baltics. Following the routes of these figures and tracing the pieces they

had in their luggage may contribute to a new understanding of cultural relations in early modern Europe.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

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LOUIS DELPECH

French sacred music in Lutheran Germany, 1660–1730

THE HISTORY OF musical migration and artistic mobility in early modern Europe has received considerable scholarly attention over the last 20 years, representing a particularly dynamic field of interdisciplinary research.¹ The intersections between artistic migration and the circulation of musical repertory have, however, proved somewhat more elusive subjects, and ones that need to be explored in more depth. It is true that the investigative methods and sources are quite different in each case and that the results do not always intersect, nor do they always produce a coherent picture or allow us to go beyond a few typical case studies. Nevertheless, some contributions on early modern Germany have already sought to combine both levels of investigation to expand the body of evidence and revisit some well-established assumptions as to the hybridization between musical, cultural and confessional identities.²

This contribution bears upon such issues and demonstrates, through three case studies using different methods of investigation, that the joint examination of artistic migration and musical circulation can still produce a lot of fresh data and new perspectives. In uncovering new musical sources and biographical material on French musicians in Germany, my research covers a broad range of institutions from court chapels to private music practices and pays attention to confessional and cultural hybridization in early modern court and city life. This in turn helps to point out the varying political, confessional and cultural contexts as well as significations of the French motet and other church music written by French musicians in German-speaking lands.³

1 Goulet & zur Nieden 2015; Over & zur Nieden 2016; Beaurepaire *et al.* 2018.

2 Frandsen 2006; Ahrendt 2011.

3 Delpech 2020.

Music historians have often assumed an implicit division of labour between Italian and French musicians in German territories during the 17th and early 18th centuries. While studies of the reception of Italian music have mainly focused on sacred music and opera, French musicians are primarily associated with the production of dance and theatre music.⁴ This certainly holds largely true, and even the prominent writer Johann Mattheson, who presented himself as an expert on French musical style in the early 1710s, did not seem to have held French church music in particularly high esteem:

The contemporary French composers to this hour almost indiscriminately call all their church pieces *des Motets*. One must willingly permit them such freedom, although the ignorance in the denomination of a thing gives some well-founded suspicion that one does not properly know or understand the matter itself.⁵

It would be tempting to assume that Mattheson's irony reflected a more general lack of interest in French sacred music in Lutheran Germany, and to think that the dissemination of French music in Northern Europe was strictly limited to secular or instrumental genres, in stark contrast to the spread of Italian sacred music and church singers all over Europe. This contrast, however, is accurate only to a certain point. In this article, I challenge the clear-cut dichotomy between French secular music and Italian sacred music by taking a closer look at various sources of French sacred music and the context in which they originated. Going beyond instrumental, dance and stage music, I show that various German courts, Lutheran and Catholic alike, relied on French sacred music to a surprising degree, and that some members of French bands were even charged with the execution and composition of music

4 See, for example, Frandsen 2006; Robertson 2009; Scharrer 2014; Fogelberg Rota 2018.

5 Mattheson 1739, p. 223: "Die heutigen Frantzosen nennen zwar noch bis diese Stunde alle ihre Kirchen=Stücke, fast ohne Unterschied, *des Motets*: Man kann ihnen auch solche Freiheit gerne gönnen: wiewol die Unwissenheit in der Benennung eines Dinges keinen übel gegründeten Argwohn gibt, daß man auch das Ding oder die Sache selbst nicht recht kenne oder verstehe." My translation.

for the church. Tracing the circulation of printed and manuscript sources of French church music in German territories, we can find new and varying types of evidence bearing on this question while also considering the European migration of French musicians.

From theatre to the church: Stéphane Valoy

There is no question that the bulk of the repertory of French music that was circulating in Northern Europe around 1700 consisted of secular, largely instrumental music. With a few notable exceptions such as Anne de La Barre, Louise Dimanche or Marie Rochois, French musicians active in Scandinavia or Germany were mostly instrumentalists or dancing masters employed to reinforce French troupes of actors. In some cases, the employment of French musicians in German court chapels was gradually accompanied by the secularization of their musical duties. The court of Hanover provides a good case in point. When the Catholic duke Johann Friedrich died in 1679, all Italian musicians from Venice who had previously served in the Catholic chapel under the direction of Antonio Sartorio were fired within a few months. Instead, the new duke Ernst August and his wife Sophie of Hanover hired seven French musicians in August 1680, under the direction of Jean-Baptiste Farinel:

For his recreation, Ernst August will enjoy the violinists whom his son [i.e., Georg Ludwig, who was then in Paris] has chosen for him and brought here. They are not as expensive as Italian music.⁶

In the Hanover court records, the Italian musicians were listed in the section “Bey der Hofkapelle” along with the Catholic clergy and other staff of the church.⁷ From 1680 onwards, French musicians are listed in a separate section (“Denen Musicanten”) without any relation to the personnel of the court chapel.⁸ This striking laicization of the musi-

6 Letter from Sophie of Hanover to Karl Ludwig von der Pfalz, 5 August 1680. Bodemann 1885, p. 432: “E[rnst] A[ugust] se va recreer un peu par des violons qu’il a fait venir, que son fils luy a choisi, qui ne coutent pas tant que la musique Italienne.” My translation.

7 Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv Hannover, Hann. 76c A No. 99, 1679–1680, p. 347.

8 Delpech 2020, pp. 89–90.

cians' position within the court was in line with the liberal religious attitude of the new rulers. Sophie of Hanover professed a Cartesian rationalism that could at times border on a radical Enlightenment hostile to any form of religion and obscurantism. In her correspondence with her brother, she repeatedly boasted about reading Spinoza (who was highly controversial at the time, if not banned by ecclesiastical authorities) during church services.⁹

Even though the new rulers of Hanover were not devout Lutherans, the need for church music did not disappear overnight. The French musician Stéphane Valoy, born in Paris, was primarily active as a musician in French acting troupes.¹⁰ Before moving to Belgium and Darmstadt in the early 1700s, he was active at the court of Hanover between 1680 and 1698 as a member of the French orchestral band. Starting in 1691, he took over the position of chapel master left vacant during the absence of Jean-Baptiste Farinel.¹¹ In Hanover, he composed music for the court ballets and theatrical divertissements, as shown by several librettos.¹² Some of his secular instrumental music has been transmitted in several manuscripts copied between 1688 and 1690 by French musicians of Hanover (i.e., Guillaume Barré, Charles Babel and Gilles Héroux) and today kept in Darmstadt.¹³ Late in his career, Valoy worked in Darmstadt as a musician to the French theatrical troupe from 1712 until his death in 1715.¹⁴ He must have brought the Hanover manuscripts with him, and they were probably passed to the court library upon his death in the absence of an heir.

Stéphane Valoy—sometimes referred to as Étienne, another form of

9 Israel 2001, pp. 84–85.

10 Delpech 2020, p. 45.

11 Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv Hannover, Hann. 76c A No. 100, 1680–1681, p. 406.

12 See, for example, D-HV1, C 15842 No. 7, *Prologue sur l'heureuse naissance du jeune Prince Frederic August*, Hanover 1685, p. 16: "Monsieur Valois [a composé] toute la musique." D-HV1, C 15842, No. 8, *Le Triomphe de la Paix, balet dance sur le grand theatre de Hannover*, Hanover 1685, p. 24: "Mr. de Valois a composé toute la musique."

13 D-DS, Mus. ms. 1221, 1226, 1227, 1230. Schneider 1986; Albertyn 2005; Delpech 2020, pp. 226–227.

14 Noack 1967, p. 187.

his name—had also composed sacred music for the Lutheran court chapel in Hanover. The Bokemeyer Collection, kept in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, features one short mass by Valoy copied by Georg Österreich.¹⁵ A Magnificat attributed to Valoy also appears in the collections of the Royal Music Library in London.¹⁶ It was written on English paper by an anonymous copyist who probably followed the court of Hanover to London in the wake of George I's ascent to the British throne, as suggested by Peter Wollny.¹⁷ For different reasons, both the Bokemeyer and the Royal collections feature quite extensive segments from the Hanover court repertory at the end of the 17th century. While in both works of Valoy the title and scoring are labelled in Italian, all subsequent indications (e.g., *lentement*, *hardi*, *grave* and *tous*) are given in French throughout the scores.

In both works, the composition of the string ensemble reflects the French tradition of orchestral scoring, especially when one considers the presence of two viola parts written in the French clefs for “haute-contre de violon” (C₁) and “quinte de violon” (C₃). The use of two viola parts was admittedly very common in northern Germany at that time, including in manuscript sources from the Bokemeyer Collection.¹⁸ In this case, however, the scoring is indisputably based specifically on a French model, since instead of being notated in the C₃ and C₄ clefs, as is overwhelmingly the case in northern German church and printed music, they are notated in the C₁ and C₃ clefs. The same characteristics are also found in other sources from Hanover, such as in the Darmstadt manuscripts or some operas composed for the court by Agostino Steffani. In Hanover, Steffani used the same scoring as did Valoy with two viola parts in C₁ and C₃, occasionally labelled “haute-

15 D-B, Mus. ms. 30293, “Missa à 9 et più. 5 Istromenti è 4 Voci, con Organo Valoy.” Further details from Kümmerling 1970, p. 131 (No. 1034). Another manuscript from the Bokemeyer Collection features a suite by Valoy, along with compositions by Agostino Steffani, Georg Caspar Schürmann, Antonio Lotti, Reinhard Keiser, Francesco Bartolomeo Conti and Alessandro Scarlatti: D-B, Mus. ms. 30274.

16 GB-Lbl, R.M. 24.a.1, “Magnificat à 4 Voci et 4 Instrumenti e Continuo. Di Signor Valoy.”

17 Wollny 1998, pp. 68–69; Delpech 2020, pp. 227–229.

18 Haenen 2015.

contre” and “taille”, as well as French playing indications for the orchestra, whereas he provided Italian dynamics for his singers.¹⁹ Another common feature is the extensive use of wind trio sections for two oboes and bassoon, another French habit. All of this reflects the performance practice of French players in the Hanover court orchestra.

Another striking element of Valoy’s church music is the use of a choir of soloists in alternation with the full choir—a procedure reminiscent of the French use of the *grand chœur* and *petit chœur*, in the genre of the grand motet. On the whole, however, the musical style of both works is best described as international or mixed, rather than specifically French. Valoy displays a solid contrapuntal technique, which is not usually a focus of French composers, and he makes great use of melodic and harmonic sequences which contemporary French composers tend to avoid and which are typical of a modern concerto-like style.²⁰

Beyond those two fairly exceptional large-scale pieces, Hanover musicians were also performing genuine French church music. A few printed leaves from the court chapel’s collections emerged in the 1980s in a small village near Hanover, where they served to seal off the pipes of a church organ.²¹ Among them were two original prints of motets by Henry Du Mont.²² It is likely that the French musicians employed from 1680 onwards were performing those motets at the Lutheran chapel of the court. Several other fragments of printed sacred music are preserved across northern Germany. In Wolfenbüttel, one part (‘Dessus du grand chœur’) of the original 1684 edition of Jean-Baptiste Lully’s motets has been preserved, possibly indicating that a complete set of separate parts was once present in the ducal collections.²³ A manuscript copy of Lully’s *Te Deum* has also been preserved in Schwerin, but only includes instrumental parts, again hinting at the presence of a now lost set of parts in the court collections.²⁴

¹⁹ Sadler 2017, pp. 70–73.

²⁰ Delpech 2020, pp. 227–229.

²¹ Sievers 1979, pp. 61–67.

²² Henry Du Mont, *Meslanges à II, III, IV & V parties*, vol. 2, Paris: Robert Ballard, 1657; Henry Du Mont, *Motets à deux voix avec la Basse-Continue*, Paris: Robert Ballard, 1668.

²³ D-W 123 Mus. div.

²⁴ Waczat 2002.

Finally, it should be noted that the Düben Collection preserved in Uppsala also features a number of manuscript copies of French sacred works, most notably three *petits motets* by Campra and one by Brossard, as well as one *motet à grand chœur* by Nicolas Bernier and no fewer than 19 works by Henry Du Mont, two of them unpublished. Even though large portions of this repertoire were available in print, the vast majority of the Dumont copies preserved in the Düben Collection present significant differences from the printed versions and must therefore have been circulated as manuscripts.²⁵ A short piece composed for the funeral of Queen Ulrika Eleonora the Elder in Stockholm in 1693 by Pierre Verdier, a French musician active in Stockholm from 1647 until his death in 1706, reinforces the point already made with Valoy, namely that the musical duties of French musicians employed at Lutheran courts could very well include the performance and composition of church music.²⁶ As Lars Berglund has shown, Pierre Verdier's short dialogue for two voices (*Kristus är mitt liv*) was performed alongside an arrangement in Swedish of a Latin motet by Daniel Danielis (1635–1696), former chapel master at the court of Güstrow and at the time *maître de musique* at the cathedral of Vannes.²⁷

French motet as royal emblem: The Dresden court

A parallel situation occurred in Dresden in the wake of August the Strong's conversion to Catholicism and his election to the throne of Poland in 1697. The numerous French musicians hired in the Dresden court chapel from 1699 onwards participated in the music-making at the Catholic court chapel inaugurated in 1708. The journal of the Jesuits in charge of the Dresden Royal Chapel documents several performances by French musicians and shows that at least one of them had composed a mass, perhaps Louis André who was hired as a composer of French music between 1720 and 1733.²⁸ As Gerhard Poppe has pointed

25 Decobert 2011, pp. 209–212.

26 S-Uu, Vmhs 54:1. On the context of this composition see Berglund 2020.

27 Berglund 2020, pp. 252–257.

28 Reich 1997, pp. 315–380. See, for example, the entries on 22 November 1711 ("Musicam pro Sacro cantato fecerunt Galii Regii Musici in honorem Sanctae Caeciliae Virginis et Martyrae quod recenter composuit Dominus

out, Jan Dismas Zelenka's output for the Catholic court chapel also reveals that he might have been composing for a specific, French-trained ensemble, in contrast to Giovanni Alberto Ristori and Johann David Heinichen, whose scoring and writing habits point towards more important, Italian ensembles.²⁹

The court collections in Dresden also feature several printed and manuscript copies of French motets (see *Table 1*). Among them, three are of particular interest. One set of partbooks to Robert's *Motets pour la chapelle du Roy* in the 1684 edition from Ballard are bound in the light blue wrappers typical of the music used at the Catholic chapel, and are partly relabelled to fit the usual scoring and practices of the chapel. This set is almost complete and is one of the three known exemplars preserved worldwide. Although most of the string partbooks show little or no trace of use, possibly because they were copied and duplicated instead of being directly distributed to the musicians, some vocal partbooks and above all the continuo parts bear numerous manuscript corrections, hinting at a regular performance of at least a selection of motets.³⁰ The two late manuscript copies of Lully's *Motets pour la chapelle du Roy* suggest that the original printed set of parts must have been present at some point in the court collections. One of them bears a note written by Franz Schubert, a court musician in Dresden around 1800, stating that the original set of parts was sent directly by King Louis XIV to August the Strong as a gift.³¹

This note, as well as the presence of at some point both editions from 1684 in Dresden, is particularly interesting from both a confessional and a political perspective. Both editions were specifically commissioned by Louis XIV just after having moved his court to Versailles, as a way to commemorate the two composers who had served at the Royal

Zelenka, pariter Musicus Regius"), 30 November 1712 ("Sub Sacro cantato musicam solennem fecerunt Galli Musici Regii et diu ante probaverunt") and 14 June 1722 ("Hora 11. Sacrum cantatum, composuit aliquis Gallus [Louis André?] hoc Sacrum et cum Regiis Musicis illud produxit").

²⁹ Poppe 2005, pp. 329–339.

³⁰ Delpech 2017.

³¹ DDI, Mus. 1827-D-2, inner cover: "Ist unter August dem 2^{ten} König von Pohlen und Sachsen nach Dresden von König Ludewig dem 14^{ten} von Frankreich an König August den 2^{ten} zugeschickt worden. Franz Schubert."

Table 1. French sacred music in the Dresden collections (D-DI).

Call No.	Composer	Title	Format	Provenance
Mus. 1718-E-01	Pierre Robert	Motets pour la chapelle du Roy	Ballard 1684	Katholische Hofkirche
Mus. 2012-E-01	Paolo Lorenzani	Motets à 1–5 parties	Ballard 1688	Königliche Privat- Musikaliensammlung
Mus. 2116-Q-1	Michel Richard de Lalande	Motets, Books 2 and 3	Boivin 1729	Königliche Privat- Musikaliensammlung
Mus. 2124-E-1	André Campra	Motets à 1, 2 et 3 voix	Ballard 1700	
Mus.1827- D-1	Jean-Baptiste Lully	Motets a deux Chœurs	Ms. copy of Ballard 1684	Late copy, 2 vol- umes
Mus. 1827-D-2	Jean-Baptiste Lully	[Motets pour la chapelle du Roy]	Ms. copy of Ballard 1684	Late copy, first volume missing
Mus. 1-B-104	André Campra	Exsurge Domine	Ms. copy of Ballard 1695, 1699 or 1700	Copy from one of the first editions in a miscellaneous ms.

Chapel in the Louvre during the first 20 years of his reign.³² On the title page of those lavish editions, the motets were explicitly labelled “for the chapel of the king”. And yet in Dresden as well, the transformation of the old court opera into a newly consecrated Catholic chapel in 1708 played a crucial role in August the Strong’s strategy to retain his royal prerogative. To maintain his claim to the Polish throne, which had been seriously shaken in the wake of the Great Northern War, August the Strong had to court the favours of the Holy See, to persuade the pope that he had remained a faithful Catholic, and to urge him not to recognize the new ruler installed by Sweden in 1705.³³ The directives for the new Royal Chapel published in 1708, written in French, also provided for the organization of the music, showing the concern to em-

32 Guillo 2009, pp. 281–284.

33 Ziekursch 1903, pp. 122–127.

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Kar-Freitag-MUSIQUE,
 Welche
 zu seliger Betrachtung der Erlösung
Jesus Christi,
 So für unsere Sünde geschehen ist,
 Von dem berühmten Monf. de Lully,
 Ober-Capellmeister
 Ihro Königl. Maj. in Frankreich ꝛc. ꝛc.
 componiret.
 Alleine auf gnädigsten und hohen Befehl
 Des
 Durchlauchtigsten Fürsten und Herrn,
 H E R R N
Ernst Friedrichs, II.
 Herzogen zu Sachsen,
 Jülich, Cleve und Berg auch Engern und Westphalen, ꝛc.
 In Hoch-Fürstl. Schloß-Capelle
 nicht sonder viele Erweckung derer Seelen aufgeführt,
 und ausgetheilet worden
 den 15. April. 1740.

Hildburghausen,
 Drucks Johann Melchior Venhold, Fürstl. Sächs. Hof-Buchdrucker.

Figure 1. Lully's Miserere (LWV 25) as Karfreitagsmusik: Libretto from 1740, Hildburghausen. D-HAu, Hs.-Abt. Pon We 2494, 4°.

ulate the “splendour of Catholic Kings and Rulers”.³⁴ In this context, the use of *Motets pour la chapelle du Roy* made perfect sense. The motets are a sonic manifestation of the royal ambitions of August the Strong, as well as a significant departure from the Italian patronage of sacred music cultivated decades earlier by his Lutheran predecessors.

Although motets by Pierre Robert and Jean-Baptiste Lully could already have seemed antiquated by 1708, this French sacred repertoire apparently held sway well into the 18th century in other Lutheran courts in the region. A newly discovered libretto shows that Lully’s *Miserere* LWV 25, a motet first published in the 1684 anthology, was performed as *Karfreitagsmusik* on Good Friday 1740 in the Lutheran court chapel in Hildburgshausen (*Figure 1*).

This parallels a similar process in 18th-century France of canonizing Lully’s music, a phenomenon that has been studied with great insight by William Weber.³⁵ The title page of the Hildburgshausen libretto states that the performance happened at the request of Duke Ernst Friedrich II. He travelled in France during his youth in 1722–1723, where he attended the coronation of Louis XV, before moving to Geneva and Utrecht where he studied. It is puzzling to think that the exact same afternoon, a mere 200 kilometres away, a passion by Johann Sebastian Bach, probably a reworking of the St Matthew Passion, was being performed at the Thomaskirche in Leipzig.³⁶

Manuscript dissemination beyond the court

Besides being present in the most important and rich court collections, French motets were also circulated among music lovers in more private settings. This point is well illustrated by the presence of numerous musical prints of French sacred music in the private music collection of Count Rudolf Franz Erwein von Schönborn (*Table 2*).³⁷ Born in Mainz as the fifth son of a large and prominent Catholic family, Rudolf

34 Theiner 1894, vol. 2, pp. 75–78, at p. 76: “ces jours la on chantera une Messe solennelle avec la Musique à voix et Instruments du Roi et avec la splendeur accoutumée des Roix et Souverains Catholiques”. My translation.

35 Weber 1984.

36 Wolff 2000, p. 457.

37 Zobeley 1967.

Table 2. French sacred music in the collection of Rudolf Franz Erwein von Schönborn.

Nr	Composer	Title	Printer	Date	Ms. Annotation
34	S. de Brossard	<i>Prodromus Musicalis Seu Cantica Sacra</i>	Ballard	1695	Paris 26. Juin 1699
35	S. de Brossard	<i>Elevations et motets</i>	Ballard	1698	Paris 26. Juin 1699
39	A. Campra	<i>Motets à 1, 2, et 3 voix</i> , vol. 1	Ballard	1695	Paris 26. Juin 1699
40	A. Campra	<i>Motets à 1, 2 et 3 voix</i> , vol. 3	Ballard	1711	v.S. [von Schönborn]
48	Henry Du Mont	<i>Motets à 2, 3 et 4</i>	Ballard	1681	Paris 5. Sept. 1699
49	Henry Du Mont	<i>Récit de l'éternité</i>	Ballard	1699	Paris 7. Sept. 1699
55	Edmé Foliot	<i>Motets à 1, 2 et 3 voix</i>	Auteur	[1710]	1711
76	Nicolas Le Bègue	<i>Motets pour les principales Festes</i>	Ballard	1687	Paris 7.7.1699
77	Nicolas Le Bègue	<i>Motets pour les principales Festes</i>	Ballard	1708	
93	Pierre Menault	<i>Vespres à deux chœurs</i>	Ballard	1693	1699
98	Jean-Baptiste Morin	<i>Motets à une et deux voix</i>	Ballard	1704	

(1677–1754) was first sent to the Jesuit German College (Collegium Germanicum) in Rome before going to the University of Leiden. He then spent a few months in Paris, where he purchased eight printed scores of sacred music between June and September 1699, as indicated by the dates of acquisition reported on the copies. These acquisitions marked the beginning of an ongoing interest in church music, as Schönborn purchased no fewer than 20 oratorios, 90 masses, 318 motets and 420 psalms and hymns, with the total number of scores of sacred music amounting to more than 800 by the end of his life.³⁸

Equally intriguing is the diffuse presence of French motets in private manuscripts. One small motet for bass and two violins by André

³⁸ Zobeley 1967, p. xiii.

Campra found its way into an anonymous miscellaneous manuscript from the early 18th century, apparently copied by a professional musician, together with several anonymous overtures, dance movements and keyboard pieces by Emanuele d'Astorga.³⁹ The manuscript copy of a more complex work by Lalande held in the Bokemeyer Collection in Berlin also provides a fascinating case study of the manuscript circulation of large-scale French sacred music.

The Bokemeyer Collection features one of the earliest motets by Michel Richard de Lalande, which was never printed: *Audite caeli quae loquor* (see *Figure 2*).⁴⁰ As in the case of Valoy, the manuscript was copied by Georg Österreich himself, probably during his time as a singer at the court in Wolfenbüttel between 1686 and 1689, or during his tenure as a chapel master in Gottorf between 1689 and 1702.⁴¹ The copy was realized on paper produced by Johann Wilhelm Cast, active as a paper maker in Hasserode near Wernigerode, some 50 kilometres south of Wolfenbüttel.⁴² The music was presumably already composed before 1683, when Lalande first took up the position of chapel master at the court of Versailles. The only other source transmitting this work is a manuscript copied by André Danican Philidor, completed in 1689 and kept in Versailles to this day.⁴³ This manuscript features two different versions of the same motet: the table of contents lists a later and an earlier version, the latter described by Philidor as “in the way that Mr. de Lalande composed it the first time” (“de la manière que Mr. De la Lande l'avoit fait la premiere fois”).

The version copied by Österreich is a reworking of the earlier version (see *Figure 2*). He retains not only the French title, but also the traditional denominations and clefs of the typical five-part French string orchestra: “Premier et Second Dessus” (G1), “Haute-contre” (C1), “Taille” (C2), “Quinte” (C3) and “Basse de Violon” (F4). By contrast, the vocal parts are subjected to an extensive reworking process. First, the two five-part choirs (“grand et petit chœur”, i.e., full choir and choir

39 D-Dl, Mus. 1-B-104.

40 D-B, Mus. ms. 30222.

41 Kümmerling 1970, p. 119 (No. 590); Lange 2004.

42 Delpech 2020, p. 232.

43 F-Vm, Ms. 12.



Figure 2. Georg Österreich's copy of Michel Richard de Lalande's *Audite caeli quae loquor* (first page). D-B Mus. ms. 30222.

of soloists) with four male voices and only one soprano voice each are melded into one standard single choir with three higher voices, two soprano and one alto. This in turn leads to the complete rewriting of several passages, especially contrapuntal ones. The original, typical French nomenclature of the two choirs is thus blended to achieve a more normal nomenclature under German standards. One can also observe that no part is divided in Österreich's copy, and that this German version could then possibly be sung with one voice per part.

How Österreich could have had access to the music of Lalande's *Audite caeli* is an intriguing question. He must have realized his copy from a manuscript, since no print was available, but the channel of transmission is unclear. A manuscript version could have been brought to Wolfenbüttel by some French musicians active in one of the Braunschweig courts. In 1684, August Wilhelm may have brought home some French musicians on his way back from Paris, together with the dancing master Nanquer.⁴⁴ It is also worth noting that the chapel master in Güstrow, Daniel Danielis, engaged with Lalande in the competition to recruit a new chapel master for the Royal Chapel in Versailles in 1683. A third person coming into consideration was Johann Sigismund Kusser, an expert in French music who was also active in Wolfenbüttel between 1689 and 1692 and (although he might in fact never have studied in France, contrary to a common assumption) was well-acquainted with French methods of composition.⁴⁵ This last supposition is reinforced by the fact that Österreich also copied two otherwise unknown fairly early motets by Kusser.⁴⁶

The two motets by Kusser, *Dilata me* and *Quis det oculis*, form a contrasting pair. The first seems to adopt an Italian style whereas the second is written in a clearly French idiom.⁴⁷ The violins are notated in the G₂ clef in the first case, as was customary in Germany and Italy, and in the G₁ clef in the other, following the French custom. The harmonic rhythm, very lively and regular in the first motet, is much slower and more irregular in the second one. The melodic writing is also very dif-

44 Ahrendt 2011, pp. 41–44.

45 Owens 2017, pp. 28–45; Delpech 2020, pp. 253–255.

46 D-B, Mus. ms. 4238, 4239.

47 Delpech 2020, pp. 258–261.

ferent: where the violins play a few solo, virtuosic figures in the opening ritornello of the motet in Italian style, the two flutes have a much more rigid, contrapuntal and ornamented line in the motet in French style. Even more striking are the differences between the vocal lines of both works. While the vocal line is quite florid and ornamented in the Italian motet, the stiffer, declaimed prosodic style in the second denotes a tentative French style. Both motets by Kusser copied by Österreich bear the original call number typical of the Bokemeyer Collection (1225 and 1228), fairly close to the call number of the motet by Lalande (1227), which could indicate either the proximity of those three scores on the shelves of Bokemeyer's music library or the chronological proximity of the copy process. The *Dilata me* is also copied on the same paper as Lalande's *Audite caeli*.

When brought together, these scattered pieces of evidence offer a consistent picture showing that the dissemination of French sacred music up to 1700 in Lutheran territories was far from insignificant. Building on those sources and integrating them into a broader narrative could help music historians gain a more complex and nuanced view of the dissemination of church music in early modern Europe. The dissemination of the peculiar genre of the motet, crossing confessional boundaries, opened the way to various copies, performances, adaptations and reworkings. It also followed the routes of human migration, in the footsteps of French musicians hired in German courts, Lutheran and Catholic alike.

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MARIA SCHILDT

Early circulation of Lully's music in the north, 1680–1690

IN 1700, 13 YEARS after his death, Jean-Baptiste Lully (1632–1687) was described in France as “one of the grandest geniuses that France has ever admired in its art” and “the greatest man that France has had in music”.¹ Outside France as well, Lully's stage music attracted considerable and prolonged attention.² Lully's great impact on European composers was shown in the implementation of his style by non-French composers, Johann Sigismund Kusser (1660–1727) and Georg Muffat (1653–1704) being among the earliest and most significant of these.³ The longstanding popularity and use of Lully's music has also left a large corpus of musical sources, both in European collections and libraries and in other parts of the world. An overwhelming majority of the preserved manuscripts and printed editions date from the late 17th and 18th centuries. Only a very few surviving sources were part of the early circulation during Lully's lifetime and the years immediately following his death on 22 March 1687. No autographs in Lully's hand seem to have survived. In addition to the editions published by the royal printer Christophe Ballard (1641–1715), the main manuscript sources of Lully's stage music date from the 1690s and onwards. The principal surviving sources include the scores from the *atelier* of André Danican Philidor (c. 1652–1730), music librarian and copyist of Louis XIV, and the music dealer Henri Foucault (fl. 1690–1719/20). No traces are left of music performance material used at the French court or the Académie royale de musique during Lully's lifetime, those that in all probability were consulted by Philidor when he copied his full

1 “[U]n des plus grands Génies que la France ait jamais admirés dans son Art”; “plus Grand Homme, que la France ait possédé pour la Musique”. *Nouvelles parodies bachiques, mêlées de vaudevilles, ou rondes de table recueillies et mises en ordre par Christophe Ballard* (Paris, C. Ballard, 1700).

2 Irving 2012.

3 Robertson 2009.

scores.⁴ Consequently, few of the manuscripts and printed editions listed in the modern catalogue of Lully's work (LWV) were in circulation during Lully's lifetime.⁵

This chapter aims to bring together details of the early circulation of Lully's stage music and its transfer routes to northern parts of Europe, to identify transmission patterns, and to capture the different modes of circulation in operation, in relation to processes of the adaptation and reshaping of the music. Taken together, this chapter contributes to a broader portrayal of cultural transfer in early modern Europe.

Early circulation of Lully's music

The circulation of *full versions* of Lully's stage works was undoubtedly very restricted before 1690, both inside and outside France. The French composer and music collector Sébastien de Brossard (1655–1730) recalled that it was very difficult to acquire full versions of Lully's ballet music in the 1680s. When he put together the catalogue of his music cabinet in the 1720s, he commented that since these ballets had never been printed, they were still at that point very rare. They were only found in manuscript in some *cabinets de curieux*, and they had been even rarer 40 years earlier when he had them copied.⁶ Brossard reported that it had cost him one pistole (one gold coin, 10 livres) just to access the original from which the copyist made the copies. Converted to today's purchasing power, this would be approximately EUR 200.

In his full-score edition of *Achille et Polixène* printed in Amsterdam in 1688, the Dutch printer Antoine Pointel (fl. 1680s–1690s) wrote in his "Avis du libraire" that he had long dreamt of having the opportunity

4 On André Danican Philidor, his *atelier* and the different Philidor collections, see Massip 1983; Decobert 2007; Herlin 2009.

5 Schneider 1981. Additional findings listed in Schmidt 1987.

6 "Comme ces ballets n'ont jamais esté imprimez ils sont à l'heure qu'il est encore assez rares. Ils ne se trouvent en manuscrit que dans les cabinets de quelques curieux, mais ils l'estoient encor plus il y a 40 ans lorsque je les fis copier pour Strasbourg, c'est tout dire qu'il m'en coûta une pistolle pour avoir seulement la communication de l'original sur lequel ils furent copiés, de sorte que y compris l'écriture et la reliure qui a la verité est tres belle et fort correcte ce l. Tome me coûta pour lors plus de 60 lt". Brossard 1994, p. 502. The volumes in question are preserved in F-Pn Mus Vm6 6.

to print Lully's operas but had had problems obtaining full versions of the music, quite apart from his difficulties with the movable type printing technique.⁷ *Achille et Polyxène* was the only full-score opera that Pointel managed to reissue in the Dutch Republic. The opera had appeared in a full score printed by Ballard the previous year and the Dutch publisher had new printing equipment at hand.

There were several reasons for this seemingly restricted early circulation of Lully's stage works in full versions. The most obvious is that when Lully died in 1687, few of his operas and ballets had appeared in print. Of the sixteen operas, the first eight appeared in print only after the composer's death, some as late as in the 1710s (see *Table 1*).

Table 1. Lully's operas, date of their first performance, and the year they first appeared in full printed score.

Work	LWV	1st performance	Full version in print
<i>Les fêtes de l'Amour et de Bacchus</i>	47	1672, November	1717
<i>Cadmus et Hermione</i>	49	1673, April	1719
<i>Alceste</i>	50	1674, January	1708
<i>Thésée</i>	51	1675, January	1688
<i>Atys</i>	53	1676, January	1689
<i>Isis</i>	54	1677, January	1677, ⁸ 1719
<i>Psyché</i>	56	1678, April	1720
<i>Bellérophon</i>	57	1679, January	1679
<i>Proserpine</i>	58	1680, January	1680
<i>Persée</i>	60	1682, April	1682
<i>Phaëton</i>	61	1683, January	1683

7 "Il y a long-temps que j'ai rêvé aux moyens de réimprimer ici les Opéra qu'on publié tous les ans à Paris. Je voulois par-là donner occasion aux Curieux de se satisfaire à peu de frais; mais le manque de Musique propre pour ces Ouvrages, & la difficulté de la Correction, ont été les deux premiers & principaux obstacles qui ont reculé mon dessein [...] Voici le premier Opéra que je publié par ses soins. Si le célèbre MONSIEUR DE LULLY vivoit encore, j'aurois commencé par un de ceux qu'il a achevé avec toute l'approbation des Connoisseurs". *Achille et Polixene* [...] *Sur la Copie de Paris* (Amsterdam: A. Pointel, et se trouve chez H. Desbordes, 1688).

8 Printed in the form of partbooks.

<i>Amadis</i>	63	1684, January	1684
<i>Roland</i>	65	1685, January	1685
<i>Armide</i>	71	1686, February	1686
<i>Acis et Galatée</i>	73	1686, September	1686
<i>Achille et Polyxène</i> [with Collasse]	74	1687, November	1687

In addition to the operas, many of Lully's ballets (here including *ballets*, *comédie-ballets*, *églogue en musique*, etc.) were never printed during his lifetime.⁹ Moreover, Lully's stage music in manuscript, from both the royal court and the Académie royale de musique, appears to have been highly restricted. This is also suggested by the very few copies of surviving performance material originating from these institutions.¹⁰

At the same time, there was a manifest demand for Lully's music, both within and outside France. Extracts from Lully's stage works were already being used extensively for courtly entertainment in Central and Northern Europe in the 1670s and 1680s. In 1684, the Dutch publisher Abraham Wolfgang (fl. 1658–1694) wrote in his preface to his first volume of librettos of Lully's works that the reason for publishing them was that "there is nothing more noble, or presently more used at all courts in Europe".¹¹ Although Wolfgang had the aim of promoting his product, this points to the early circulation of Lully's stage music during Lully's lifetime.

What were the consequences of this great demand for Lully's music in combination with the limited access to it? How were the transmission routes shaped? What characterized the modes of circulation?

9 *Le triomphe de l'amour* (Paris: Ballard, 1681), *Le temple de la paix* (Paris: Ballard, 1685), *La grotte de Versailles* (Paris: Ballard, 1685), *Idylle sur la paix* (Paris: Ballard, 1685) and the airs from *Psyché, tragédie-ballet* (Paris: Ballard 1670). On the source situation for Lully's ballets, see Harris-Warrick 1999.

10 La Gorce 1990.

11 "Comme il n'y a rien de plus noble, ni présentement de plus en usage dans toutes les Cours de l'Europe que les Balets & les Opera, je me suis attaché à faire un recueil de ces pieces qui depuis quelques années one eu le plus d'aprobation; & de toutes ces pieces j'ai choisi celles de l'Académie Roiale de Paris [...]" in *Recueil des opera, des balets, & des plus belles pieces en musique, qui ont été représentées depuis dix ou douze-ans jusques à présent devant Sa Majesté Tres-Chretienne. Suivant la copie de Paris, Tome I* (Amsterdam: A. Wolfgang, 1684).

Who were the agents, in what roles did they operate, and in what social strata? In this circulation, two different nodes can be distinguished. On one hand, there were the mediators, whose level of access to and means of acquiring the music determined what types of material were put into circulation. On the other hand, there were the various characteristics and properties of the musical material in circulation, shaping the musical practice of the receiver.

Studies of the extant sources of Lully's music have an obvious starting point in Herbert Schneider's catalogue (1981), the addenda provided by Carl B. Schmidt (1987) and Schmidt's catalogue of the opera libretti (1995).¹² In addition to these catalogues, several studies of Lully sources were conducted in the late 20th and early 21st centuries, many of them as preparatory work for the various volumes of the Lully Complete Edition, starting in 2001.¹³ Other French sources, such as manuscripts preserved in libraries and collections in the French provinces, are treated in a number of studies.¹⁴ The sources of Lully's music outside France have been considered in a more limited way and often with another focus. Michael Robertson has studied the French suite in German-speaking lands, and also how Lully's style was implemented by German composers.¹⁵ Carl B. Schmidt, Rudolf Rasch and Rebekah Ahrendt have treated the prominent role of the Low Countries in the circulation of Lully's music outside France.¹⁶ In particular, Amsterdam was a central node with its strategic location on the transfer routes to the British Isles, Scandinavia, Flanders and northern Germany.

The study of the circulation of early Lully sources entails challenges, as very few manuscripts from before this time have survived. Sources preserved in Sweden are in focus in this chapter, and none of these has attracted more than limited attention in previous research.¹⁷

12 Schneider 1981; Schmidt 1987; 1995.

13 Lully 2001–.

14 These studies include music by Lully in collections such as that of Sébastien de Brossard and in libraries, for example, in Marseille and Lyon.

15 Robertson 2009.

16 Schmidt 2000; Ahrendt 2011; Rasch 2010. Regarding the early circulation of Lully's music in the British Isles and especially the Panmure Collection, see Cadell 1984; 2007; Corp 1998; 2007; see also Irving 2012.

17 See also other early Lully sources surviving in Skara and Norrköping, treated in Schildt 2024.

The Düben Collection

The music manuscripts under study in this chapter are all part of the Düben Collection, which provides one of the largest and best-preserved music collections from early modern Europe. The collection is the music library of three Swedish chapel masters from the same Düben family. It contains music performance material used by Swedish court musicians over a period of 85 years, from 1640 to 1725. As recently established, the Düben Collection includes much French stage music, and many of the sources include music by Lully.¹⁸ As almost all these prints and manuscripts date from after Lully's death, they will not be considered here. There are, however, another 20 manuscripts in the Düben Collection dating from the 1680s and including music by Lully. Although they contain but extracts, and several are incomplete, fragmentary, and lacking heading and text, they can provide information on the circulation of the music.

A full tracing of the transfer route would run from the time and place of the historical performances at the French court or the Académie royale de musique to the final destinations where the music items are preserved today. These routes might often include various modes of circulation at different stages, and could thus be composed of sections characterized by different modes. The early Lully manuscripts in the Düben Collection can be divided into two groups: the first contains fragments of single vocal and instrumental airs, occasionally complemented with a bass line;¹⁹ the second includes sources with several movements of certain stage works in full scoring.²⁰

¹⁸ Schildt 2014, pp. 31–82; Berglund & Schildt 2015.

¹⁹ S-Uu Vmhs 164:2:1, 164:2:2, 164:2:3, 27:17, 18:11, 29:20. The airs were drawn from *Ballet des muses*, *Thésée*, *Amadis*, *Cadmus et Hermione*, *Trios pour coucher de Roi*, *Le bourgeois gentilhomme*, *Atys*, *Proserpine* and *Bellérophon*.

²⁰ S-Uu Imhs 10:9, 134:43–46, Vmhs 18:8, 18:10, 18:11, 19:4, 19:7, 19:12a, 29:19, 38:7, 42:20, 69:10, 164:12. The airs were drawn from *Le triomphe de l'amour*, *Ballet de Flore*, *Le divertissement Royal*, *Psyché* (*Tragédie-Ballet*), *Phaëton*, *Armide* and *Amadis*.

Single-line transmission

The earliest manuscript in the Düben Collection containing music by Lully seems to be a single basso continuo partbook (S-Uu Vmhs 164:2:1) that can be dated to approximately 1680.²¹ This partbook was probably one of a set of at least three partbooks. It contains the basso continuo part for 26 songs, almost all for two soprano voices and basso continuo, as indicated by the headings. The partbook includes eight airs by Lully: six drawn from *Thésée* (1675), one from *Cadmus et Hermione* (1673) and one from *Trios pour coucher du Roi* (1665) (see Table 2).

Table 2. Pieces by Lully contained in the basso continuo partbook S-Uu Vmhs 164:2:1.

Air	Identification
Aimons tout nous	<i>Thésée</i> , LWV 51/65
Gardez vos tendres	<i>Thésée</i> , LWV 51/63
Pour se tirer de peine	<i>Thésée</i> , LWV 51/50–51
L'amour plaist	<i>Thésée</i> , LWV 51/67
Pour le peu	<i>Thésée</i> , LWV 51/42
Il est bon	<i>Thésée</i> , LWV 51/50–51
Heureux qui peut plaire	<i>Cadmus et Hermione</i> , LWV 49/14
Dans nos bois	<i>Trios pour coucher du Roi</i> , LWV 35/4

The partbook was mainly copied by the Swedish royal chapel master Gustav Düben (c. 1629–1690). What were the originals from which Düben copied the Lully airs? No possible originals from before 1690, the year Düben died, are preserved in the Düben Collection. None of the music was printed until after Lully's death. The *Trios pour coucher du Roi* were not included in any contemporary printed edition, *Thésée* appeared in print in 1688, and *Cadmus et Hermione* not until 1719. Düben must then have had access to manuscript versions, possibly larger master copy collections. The six airs from *Thésée* have a consistent theme of love and humour, seemingly not selected randomly or merely on the basis of what music happened to be accessible. Rather,

21 For details of this manuscript, see Schildt 2014, pp. 437–439.

Gustav Düben, or some copyist earlier in the chain of dissemination, was in a position to select from a larger number of movements from a more extensive collection.

In the case of the airs drawn from *Thésée*, Düben's basso parts differ considerably from those included in the full score published by Ballard in 1688. Düben's parts are generally simpler and less elaborate than the corresponding parts in the Ballard print. There are several minor inconsistencies, such as dotted versus undotted notes, but there are also a number of more fundamental differences. Bridge passages in the last measure before the repeat, especially in quavers, and the rhythmic driving force at the end of the measures, also especially in quavers, found in the Ballard print are lacking in Vmhs 164:2:1. Intervals, especially thirds, are frequently filled in in the continuo parts of the Ballard print, while not in Vmhs 164:2:1. Common cadences are IV–V–I in the Ballard editions versus (II)–V–I in Vmhs 164:2:1. In the case of 'Heureux qui peut plaire' from *Cadmus et Hermione*, the version in Vmhs 164:2:1 lacks the melodic bridges in the last bar before the repeat. Moreover, the air 'Aimons tout nous y convie' appears in different keys: Bb major (Vmhs 164:2:1) and C major (Ballard print). In the Ballard print, 'Gardez vos tendres' has two different musical settings of stanza one (solo) and stanza two (duet). Only the music of Ballard's first stanza is included in Vmhs 164:2:1, in which it is scored for two *dessus* parts. Likewise, 'Pour se tirer' is scored for one voice in the Ballard print but for two vocal parts in Vmhs 164:2:1. In the Ballard print, the bipartite air 'L'Amour plaist' appears first as a solo, then the music is repeated by a chorus; in Vmhs 164:2:1 the air is scored for two vocal parts.

Due to the differences between the Düben partbook and later Parisian versions of the airs, it is unlikely that they were copied directly or indirectly from performance material used in France. Düben's partbook would instead have been part of the circulation of single-line airs. Especially in the case of ballet music, there was a long tradition of such single-line transfer by dance masters.²² The basso parts for the six pieces from *Thésée* included in Vmhs 164:2:1 are all different from the bass lines in Ballard's later printed edition, clearly pointing to single-line

22 Robertson 2009, pp. 39–40.

circulation. In the case of the air 'Pour le peu' from *Thésée*, Düben's basso continuo part can easily be combined with the melody as in Ballard's print, showing that the same tune was probably used in Stockholm. Düben's bass line is, in contrast, completely different from the one in Ballard's version (see *Figure 1*).

The basso parts in Düben's partbook are all composed in a similar way, for example, with a striking similarity in the recurrent anticipation of the last note parallel to that of the melody. This suggests that they were composed and added by the same composer. The most likely candidate would be Gustav Düben in his position as chapel master. The quite inferior bass lines are in accord with the quality of his extant musical output, characterized by a compositional technique notably unskilled for a courtly chapel master.²³

Another example of the circulation of Lully's music in reduced scoring is drawn from a manuscript volume preserved in Sweden, drawn up and copied by the Swedish musician and occasional poet Michael Zethrin (d. 1731).²⁴ The volume contains occasional poems and also notated music for some of the lyrics. One of Zethrin's New Year's poems from the 1680s was to be performed to the tune of the air 'Le malheur qui nous' from Lully's *Bellérophon*. He apparently had a reliable original for the tune and the basso part, as these are in accord with the full score printed by Ballard in 1679. Zethrin also entered the inner parts: *haute-contre*, *taille* and *quinte*. These inner parts differ considerably from those included in Ballard's score. Undoubtedly, Zethrin composed and added the inner parts, as confirmed by a note on the same sheet as the music.²⁵ Zethrin had likely not had access to a copy of the full score printed in 1679, but rather to a manuscript including only the tune and the basso part. Another option would have been access to printed collections and anthologies issued in the 1680s and 1690s in the Low Countries, containing single opera airs in reduced scoring. Although these editions had an important role in the transmission of Lully's airs from Paris to other parts of Europe, this

23 Schildt 2014, pp. 540–562.

24 S-Uu Nordin 1135.

25 "[B]y Battista Lully, but with the middle parts added" ["af Battista Lully men medelstämmorna tillsatta"].

Ballard 1688
(transposed)

Pour le peu...

Ballard 1688
(transposed)

Vmhs 164:2:1

The image displays a musical score for the air 'Pour le peu' from the opera Thésée. It compares two versions of the basso part: the Ballard 1688 (transposed) and the S-Uu Vmhs 164:2:1. The score is written in 6/8 time and features a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The Ballard 1688 (transposed) part is shown in the top two staves of the first system, while the S-Uu Vmhs 164:2:1 part is shown in the bottom two staves of the first system. The Ballard 1688 (transposed) part is written in a higher register than the S-Uu Vmhs 164:2:1 part. The lyrics 'Pour le peu...' are written above the Ballard 1688 (transposed) part in the second system. The score consists of six systems of staves, with the Ballard 1688 (transposed) part in the top two staves and the S-Uu Vmhs 164:2:1 part in the bottom two staves of each system.

Figure 1. The air 'Pour le peu' from *Thésée*; basso parts from the Ballard print of 1688 and S-Uu Vmhs 164:2:1.

particular air seems not to have been included in any of the Amsterdam editions.²⁶

Music manuscripts in the Düben Collection attest to the practice of performing music by heart. Airs from Lully's stage works were circulating as texts, without any attached notated music. Librettos and text collections, both printed and in manuscript, were probably often used in connection with singing and playing. The Dutch printer Hendrick van Dunwalt (fl. 1680s) published a collection of librettos from five of Lully's operas in Antwerp in 1683. These were not only the first known printed texts from Lully's operas outside France, but also one of the first known text compilations from different Lully works.²⁷ Although Dunwalt's collection includes only the text and no music notation, it is Lully who has the main role and is the prime object of praise in the preface, demonstrating the significant role of the music for the publication.²⁸

On many sheets of music, Gustav Düben occasionally inserted short music incipits comprising only the first bars of a piece. These incipits likely refer to melodies that he knew by heart and for which he did not need any notated music. Only the beginning was necessary for him to be reminded of the tune, as shown by his note "no books" in the case of an allemande from *Amadis*.²⁹ Oral transmission is also attested to by Zethrin's volume.³⁰ To a wedding poem from the 1680s that was to be sung to the tune of 'C'est l'Amour' from Lully's *Roland* (1685), Zethrin attached Lully's tune in music notation. At the same time, Zethrin pointed out that he had not seen the music on paper, but had "transposed" it from only having heard it.³¹

26 Extracts from *Bellérophon* are included in two publications: *Les trios des opera de Mr de Lully, mis en ordre pour les concerts* (Amsterdam: Blaeu 1690–1691) RISM L 3061, L 3062, and *Bellérophon tragedie mise en musique par Monsieur De Lully [...]* (Amsterdam: Le Chevalier, 1692) RISM L 2975. See the catalogues provided in Schmidt 2000, pp. 128–165 and Rasch n.d.

27 Another early publication was the volume of six librettos printed by Ballard in 1676.

28 The preface is included in Schmidt 1995, pp. 484–485.

29 "Kein[e] Bücher" in S-Uu Vmhs 18:11. See also S-Uu Vmhs 42:20 and Vmhs 164:12.

30 S-Uu, Nordin 1135.

31 "NB This air was written and transposed by the ears [i.e., by heart] and not seen on paper" ["NB Denna air war skrifwen och transponerad effter öronen och ej sedd på pappret"].

Transmission of full-score versions

The second group of early Lully sources in the Düben Collection date from the second half of the 1680s. Of these, fragments of two different sets of partbooks will be considered here. The partbooks include instrumental airs from Lully's *Flore* (1669), *Le divertissement Royal* (1670) and the *tragédie-ballet Psyché* (1671). There are four extant partbooks (S-Uu Imhs 10:9) with airs from *Flore* and *Le divertissement Royal*, i.e., [dessus] (g1), *contra* (c1), *taille* (c2) and *basso* (f4), and only one surviving *haute-contre* partbook (S-Uu Imhs 134:44) in the case of the airs from *Psyché* (see *Table 3*).

These surviving partbooks were originally included in sets of five partbooks, as shown by the heading "a 5" (S-Uu Imhs 10:9), the part designated "haute-contre" (S-Uu Imhs 143:44) and the fact that the Düben parts are more or less concordant with Philidor's full scores.³² Minor inconsistencies primarily concern rhythm (i.e., dotted/undotted rhythms and rests). Two substantial discrepancies are found: The nameless 13th movement of *Le divertissement Royal* in the Düben partbooks only partly coincides with the concomitant movement in the Philidor manuscript, headed "Les Voltigeurs". The fourth movement of *Flore* comprises the same number of bars, is set in the same key, and is a gavotte in both Philidor's and Düben's manuscripts. The music is, however, completely different. In this case, it was certainly not Düben who composed the alternative gavotte, as this tune has also survived in other European libraries.³³

The Düben partbooks were copied in Stockholm, partly by Gustav Düben and partly by his assistant copyists, dating them to before 1690. No originals from which they could have been copied are extant in the

32 F-Pn Rés F 601 "Jeux Pithiens. Ballet Mis en musique par Mr de Lully Sur-intendant de la Musique du Roy. Et Donné à sa Majesté l'Année 1669. Copié par Mr Philidor l'ainé", F-Pn Rés F 515 "Ballet Royal De Flore Dansé par sa Majesté le mois de février 1669. Recueilly et Copié par Philidor l'ainé en 1690" and F-Pn Rés VMA MS-1206 "Psyché Tragedie et Ballet Dansé devant sa Majesté au mois de Janvier 1670. Recueilly par Philidor en 1690".

33 For example, the Babel manuscript D-Hs / ND VI 2762 (Nos 1–31), "BALETS DE LULLY Tous les Anciens Ballets de feu Monsieur Jean Baptiste de Lully Remis en Ordre par Charles Babel, A la Haye en 1696".

Table 3. Music by Lully contained in the Düben partbooks
S-Uu Imhs 10:9 and Imhs 134:44.

Movements from <i>Flore</i> (Imhs 10:9)	Movements from <i>Le divertissement Royal</i> (Imhs 10:9)	Movements from <i>Psyché</i> (Imhs 134:44)
Ouverture 1. Air pour la suite de Flore 2. Air sarabande 3. Air gavotte 4. Air bourrée [5.] Procedure [6.] Air 7. Air	Ouverture Entrée des Pescheurs de corail Entrée pour Neptune La suite de Neptune Les Pantomines Les Driades Menuet pour les Faunes [Air des Statues] Les autres Pantomines Preludium de la Grande Entrée Les Porteurs de hache [Les Voltigeurs] Suite de Voltigeurs Les hommes et femmes armez Prélude d'Apollon Apollon Les Trompettes du Grand Ballet	Entré des Cyclopes Entrée des Fées Entrée des Zéphirs Entrée des Furies et des Lutins [Prélude d'Apollon] [Prélude pour Bacchus] Entrée de la suite d'Apollon 2d air ensuite Entrée de la suite de Bacchus 2e Air Entrée de la suite de Mome Prelude de Trompettes Rondeau des Enseignes 2e Air

Düben Collection. No printed editions were accessible at the time when they were copied, so they were part of a manuscript transmission. In addition to the élite, both French and non-French, who often had the means and position to acquire printed editions from the Ballard shop and lavish manuscripts, there was likely exchange between musicians close to the initial performances at the French court and other musicians and chapel masters. To cast light on the issue of possible means of transfer, other contemporary manuscripts with full scoring, such as Sébastien de Brossard's scores and the Lully partbooks in the Panmure Collection, would be potentially fertile ground for comparative study.³⁴ The inclusion of the name Verdier in the Panmure partbooks is especially intriguing. A violinist of the name Pierre Verdier

³⁴ Brossard's two *recueils* F-Pn Vm6 2 and F-Pn Vm6 6, and the Panmure partbooks GB-En Ms 9459–9461.

(1627–1706) from this French family of musicians was active at the late 17th-century court in Stockholm, and a suite by him is included in one of Düben's partbooks (S-Uu, Imhs 10:9).

The close concordance between Düben's and Philidor's parts suggests a close link between Paris and Stockholm. We know that Düben also had access to other Lully music, for example, a copy of the full score of *Le Triomphe de l'amour* printed by Ballard in 1681.³⁵ From the beginning of the 1680s, Düben's oldest son Gustav Düben Jr (1660–1726) spent about three years in Paris for his musical education.³⁶ As the influx of these full-version sources in the Düben music library approximately coincides with the son's return in the mid-1680s, he might have had an intermediary role in the transfer of the music.

The music of Lully was carried via transmission routes crossing not only spatial and but also social distances. Music by Lully that was at first restricted to courtly and aristocratic milieus in Sweden soon appeared in other social contexts. The late 17th century saw the nobility of Sweden rapidly undergoing a significant shift, as a number of non-noble families were eventually ennobled on their own merits and not based on their descent. In Stockholm, it seems to have been primarily these families that engaged royal court musicians to perform music at their weddings. The Lully pieces in the first group of Düben sources, such as the basso continuo partbook with pieces from *Thésée*, were in all likelihood copied before such wedding celebrations among burghers in Stockholm.³⁷ The participation of the royal court musicians and the royal chapel master himself in these burghers' weddings, bringing their repertoire with them, provides an example of upper-class culture permeating the lower social strata of society.

35 Kjellberg 1979, p. 440; Schildt 2014, pp. 522–523.

36 Kjellberg 1979, p. 405–406.

37 See the discussion of the repertoire for late 17th-century weddings in Stockholm in Schildt 2014, pp. 414–449.

Concluding remarks

This chapter considers the early circulation of Lully's opera and ballet music. In addition to the very few known extant manuscripts dating from before Lully's death, this chapter cites additional previously unconsidered sources. Future studies also incorporating other known and possibly newly uncovered early Lully sources in the British Isles, the Spanish peninsula, and Central and Eastern Europe could provide a more complete picture. Although often fragmentary, the early sources reveal different modes of circulation, operating in differing sections of the transmission routes of the sources, from the French court or the Académie royale de musique to their final destinations, transgressing not only geographical but also social boundaries.

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STEPHEN ROSE

Musical transfer and elite distinction

English attitudes to Italian music c. 1700

THE TRANSFER AND translation of music across borders is a highly productive topic for musicological research. Manuscripts and printed sources can be studied as witnesses of how music moved over geographical boundaries, and sometimes these sources themselves were the vehicles that carried music between territories. Surviving compositions can be scrutinized for features that show the cross-currents of styles or the use of specific compositional models from other regions. Yet beyond the study of sources and styles, musical transfer can testify to the interplay of social, economic and political power. In some locations the social elite used foreign musical styles to signal their status. Elsewhere, foreign styles could meet with resistance or even xenophobia, as with the French opposition to Italian opera in the late 17th century.

This chapter examines how English patrons, collectors and amateur musicians around 1700 cultivated Italian music as a sign of their social distinction. The initial section focuses on the experiences of English tourists in Italy, using theoretical models of Norbert Elias and Pierre Bourdieu to understand how the acquisition of knowledge and collectables on the Grand Tour could signal elite status. The chapter then explores the role of James Sherard and William Sherard, two English botanists who supplied the elite with precious commodities, including exotic plants, rare books and foreign music. A final section investigates how James Sherard collected Italian instrumental music and assimilated its style via a commonplace book, before writing his own trio sonatas. In the years around 1700, certain genres of Italian music had rarity value in England, comparable to that of the tender plants that the Sherard brothers helped aristocrats cultivate in their gardens.

The Grand Tour and elite distinction

During the 17th and 18th centuries, a large number of Englishmen and some Englishwomen travelled to Italy as part of their Grand Tour. Extensive documentation survives from these journeys, in the form of correspondence and financial accounts held in various English archives. This section analyses the letters of two tourists to Rome, men of different social status. Wriothesley Russell (1680–1711) was one of the foremost aristocrats in England. Holding the title of Marquis of Tavistock, he visited Italy in 1698–1699, shortly before he would inherit the lands and title of Duke of Bedford. John Jackson (1673–1723), by contrast, was the son of a farmer and the nephew of the civil servant and diarist Samuel Pepys. Jackson benefited from his relation to Pepys, attending Cambridge University and then visiting Italy in 1699–1700. The letters of Russell and Jackson show how tourists' encounters with Italian art and music were complex processes that could reshape their notions of status, identity and cultural value.

Sociologists have developed various models for understanding the cultural and social behaviours through which power and elite distinction are cultivated and displayed. In his study of the 17th-century French court, Norbert Elias examined how its members indicated their status via etiquette and ceremony. Courtiers cultivated a code of civility and self-restraint in their deportment, gesture, table manners and conversation. This etiquette differentiated courtiers from those of lower status, yet was also emulated by those hoping to rise socially.¹ Elaborate rituals at court indicated the gradations of rank between different members—for instance, the king's dressing ceremony (*levée*), which certain groups of courtiers were permitted to observe as a sign of their intimacy with the monarch.² Elias further highlighted how the elite felt an "obligation to spend on a scale befitting one's rank,"³ pursuing a sumptuous lifestyle that included lavish clothing, feasts and entertainments. Here Elias adapted the notion of "conspicuous consumption"—originally developed by Thorstein Veblen with reference to American

1 Elias 1983, pp. 103–111.

2 Elias 1983, pp. 83–85.

3 Elias 1983, p. 67.

bourgeois society of the late 19th century—to an earlier, pre-bourgeois mentality.⁴ Elias's model remains helpful for its attention to the specifics of the 17th century, and for fostering awareness of how rituals of demarcation were used at several levels, by courtiers to differentiate themselves as a group, and within this group to create further hierarchies of rank.

Also useful for understanding elite distinction in the early modern period is Pierre Bourdieu's theory of capital. The explanatory power of Bourdieu's theory is in his recognition that capital (defined as the accumulation of labour) exists in multiple forms, including economic capital such as wealth and property, social capital such as a network of acquaintances or membership of a specific social group, and cultural capital.⁵ Cultural capital may exist in embodied forms such as an individual's education or taste, or in objectified forms such as cultural products that indicate taste. Different forms of capital can be exchanged to assert elite distinction in multiple ways: thus, a refined musical or artistic taste is not a disinterested aesthetic category but a form of cultural capital asserting the power of a dominant social group.⁶ However, Bourdieu's theory of capital derives from his work on 1960s France and may not be fully appropriate for different European regions around 1700. Given its ahistorical nature, Bourdieu's work can encourage top-down or reductive accounts that overlook the complexities arising from the interlocking actions of individuals. Bourdieu has also been criticized by John Guillory for neglecting the economic structures through which capital circulated in different historical eras, a criticism to which I return below.⁷

In Bourdieu's terms, the Grand Tour can be analysed as the exchange of economic capital for cultural capital. By spending on travel, accommodation, and cultural objects and events, the traveller gained experience of continental practices, thereby acquiring knowledge and taste that would enhance his or her status back in England. The conversion of economic capital into cultural capital is illustrated by the Grand

4 Elias 1983, p. 67; Veblen 1899, pp. 68–101.

5 Bourdieu 1986, pp. 241–258.

6 Bourdieu 1979, pp. 59–60; English translation as Bourdieu 1984, p. 56.

7 Guillory 1997, pp. 386–387.

Tour of Wriothesley Russell to Rome. Russell belonged to one of the wealthiest families in England, the Dukes of Bedford, and in 1695 he married Elizabeth Howland, heiress to substantial estates east of London. On inheriting the lands and title of his grandfather in 1700, Russell estimated that his annual income exceeded £22,000.⁸ This figure was eight times greater than the typical annual income that the statistician Gregory King ascribed to the 160 leading aristocratic families in 1688.⁹ Because Russell was only 17 when he began his Grand Tour, his wealth at that point was held in trust for him, and payments for his Italian journey were carefully disbursed by his mother Lady Rachel Russell. Yet Russell still expected to spend on a scale in keeping with his aristocratic status.

Russell was keen to collect cultural objects, in an acquisitive manner that accords with Bourdieu's theories of the accumulation of cultural capital. In a letter of 8 March 1698, Russell rejected his sister's request that he buy "in every town something", but assured his mother that "where I meet with any thing that is very famous, I shall not fail to buy it".¹⁰ In Rome he spent heavily on collectables, including books and music. Trying to justify this expenditure to Russell's mother, his tutor William Sherard wrote: "I find he does not care to be denied any thing he has a fancy to, but what he lays out besides necessary expenses, will be of some use or diversion at least to him when in England, as musick, prints, designs, books ... etc. w[hi]ch are all usually bought here."¹¹

Further expenditure was incurred by Russell on gifts such as watches and decorative ribbons for cardinals and other members of the Roman elite with whom he wished to socialize. Writing to his mother, he explained: "It is absolutely necessary the expence should be great here & when it is for my honour & profit I am sure your La[dy] will not grudge it."¹² Here he voiced the obligation felt by the elite to spend heavily, as

8 Thomson 1940, p. 101.

9 King 1688.

10 Letter from Wriothesley Russell to Lady Rachel Russell, 8 March 1698. Chatsworth House, CS1/73.10.

11 Letter from William Sherard to Lady Rachel Russell, 27 September 1698. Chatsworth House, CS1/99.5.

12 Letter from William Sherard to Lady Rachel Russell, 27 September 1698. Chatsworth House, CS1/99.5.

observed by Elias; in this case, such expenditure would buy him social capital with the elite of Rome. Yet despite his family's wealth, Russell began to run out of funds in late 1698. Spending cash behind Sherard's back, he drew money from his mother's accounts and eventually took out a loan to pay his gambling debts.¹³ Thus conspicuous consumption had its limits, even for a member of one of England's richest aristocratic families.

The Grand Tour allowed English visitors to acquire the courtly manners that Elias identified as a mark of social distinction. For many English travellers, the first stage in this process involved learning the etiquette used by the French elite and the Francophile courts in Northern Europe. At the start of his Grand Tour, Russell visited Francophile courts in German-speaking territories, including Wolfenbüttel and Berlin. When in Berlin, he boasted to his mother: "As for my French, here being nothing spoke but that in these Courts, I think I am justly well used to it now."¹⁴ William Sherard reported to Lady Rachel that her son "has been received at all the courts, w[i]th ye greatest respect and civility imaginable", including at a banquet and ball at the Wolfenbüttel court.¹⁵ By learning the etiquette required by Francophile courts, Russell indicated his high rank and ensured that he could hold his own with members of the European nobility.

On arriving in Italy, English tourists learned another set of manners to signal their social distinction. Describing his stay in Rome to his mother, Russell praised the "civility" of life there,¹⁶ singling out the *conversazioni* (assemblies) held in the palaces of cardinals and nobility.

13 Schwoerer 1987, pp. 210–212. Towards the end of his Grand Tour with Wriothesley Russell, Sherard complained about such spendthrift behaviour: "There is ten times the trouble w[i]th persons of distinction, especially where they sett up for equipage & figure w[hi]ch they are not willing to pay for." Letter from William Sherard to Hans Sloane, 11 April 1699. British Library, MS Sloane 4037, fol. 246v.

14 Letter from Wriothesley Russell to Lady Rachel Russell, 8 March 1698. Chatsworth House, CS1/73/10.

15 Letter from William Sherard to Lady Rachel Russell, 12 March 1698. Chatsworth House, CS1/99/3.

16 Letter from Wriothesley Russell to Lady Rachel Russell, 9 August 1698. Chatsworth House, CS1/73/12.

Other English travellers complained that the *conversazioni* could be dull,¹⁷ but Russell boasted of his ability to enjoy these occasions:

I think indeed we have in England one of the falsest Noceans of Rome in the world, we generally think that there is no such thing as Conversation & that all The Italians live so retired among themselves, that there is no seeing any of them, but this is one of the falsest things in the world, for I never saw any people use such excessive civility.¹⁸

He claimed that his successful initiation into the *conversazioni* reflected his aristocratic status: “a Gentleman may come to Rome and live there and not see anybody, but if he be of any quality it is his own fault”.¹⁹ Analysed in Bourdieu’s terms, Russell was learning the codes of behaviour through which he could display and accumulate the social capital expected of his aristocratic status.

The Grand Tour also allowed visitors to develop their artistic taste, or embodied cultural capital, through their immersion in the visual arts and music available in Italian states. Almost all tourists attended the opera, not simply for entertainment, but also to develop their appreciation of Italian vocal and theatrical styles. Visiting Naples, Russell declared: “By this one may see part of the Carnival at Naples where the Operas are the finest of any part in Italy, Mr Sherrard thinks it will be much better than to see it at Venice”.²⁰ Many tourists purchased librettos or manuscript scores to take home as souvenirs of the opera and as tokens of cultural prestige.²¹ A significant number of visitors had lessons with Italian musicians: Russell had weekly violin lessons with Arcangelo Corelli, according to Sherard,²² while other aristocrats had flute

17 Sweet 2012, pp. 138–139.

18 Letter from Wriothesley Russell to Lady Rachel Russell, 9 August 1698. Chatsworth House, CS1/73/12.

19 Letter from Wriothesley Russell to Lady Rachel Russell, 9 August 1698. Chatsworth House, CS1/73/12.

20 Letter from Wriothesley Russell to Lady Rachel Russell, 20 September 1698. Chatsworth House, CS/73/15.

21 McGeary 2021, p. 123.

22 “Corelli who comes once a week to my Lord”. Letter from William Sherard

lessons.²³ Some English writers warned men of high rank to avoid music lessons at advanced levels, fearing that such accomplishments would undermine their masculinity or risk associating them with the lower status of occupational musicians.²⁴ Yet Russell's violin lessons suggest an effort to gain a degree of skill, and perhaps to bask in the reflected prestige of a famed musician such as Corelli.

In their encounters with Italian culture, travellers typically followed the advice of guidebooks, tutors, previous tourists or opinionated family members. Wriothesley Russell benefited from the cultural capital of his tutor, William Sherard. As he explained to his mother, "[Sherard] knows perfectly the ways of travelling, & carries one to the best company always, & besides knows the places where it is most usefull to stay long or not".²⁵ John Jackson received instructions from James Houblon, the merchant son of one of Samuel Pepys's friends, giving advice from his own experience on travel routes and unmissable sights such as the Holy Week ceremonies in Rome.²⁶ Pepys himself had never visited Italy and took "great satisfaction" in hearing about his nephew's activities there;²⁷ he nonetheless still offered advice to Jackson. On 11 March 1700 Pepys wrote to Jackson in Rome: "Since I have named musick, I hope you won't omit to hear the performance thereof at the Pope's Chappel, much celebrated for the voices unassisted by instruments".²⁸ Such recommendations could help build consensus about which cultural acts carried prestige or fame, as well as allowing those at home to flaunt their knowledge of Italian culture.

Yet for some English tourists, their first experiences of Italian culture could lead to incomprehension or uncertainty. Jackson followed Pepys's advice to attend the Sistine Chapel, but considered that the music did not match its reputation:

to Humfrey Wanley, 13 September 1698. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ballard 27, fol. 7r.

²³ McGeary 2021, p. 113.

²⁴ Leppert 1988, pp. 19–20, 122–129.

²⁵ Letter from Wriothesley Russell to Lady Rachel Russell, 8 March 1698. Chatsworth House, CS1/73.10.

²⁶ Pepys 1926, vol. 1, pp. 181–187.

²⁷ Pepys 1926, vol. 1, p. 291.

²⁸ Pepys 1926, vol. 1, p. 299.

This morning (after Mass) being, by publick advertisements, fixt for the Pope's giving his Benediction, wee went about 6 with Cardinal Sacrapanti to Chappell, where I heard once more the vocal musick you were pleased to recommend to my observation; but cannot think it, though fine, to answer entirely the characters given of it,— I fear for want of judgment on my part.²⁹

Jackson diplomatically queried his own judgement, perhaps to avoid offending his uncle, or perhaps from uncertainty about the quality of the specific performance he had witnessed. His conflicted response shows that the process of gaining cultural capital involved negotiations between an individual's experience and the knowledge or practices that carried fame. The complexities of such negotiations are captured neither by Elias's model of individuals emulating elite practices, nor by Bourdieu's reductive theory of capital acquisition.

A further criticism of Bourdieu is his lack of engagement with the economic concepts and mechanisms that underpin the acquisition or exchange of different forms of capital.³⁰ In the case of English tourists to Italy, their letters and financial accounts document the transactions required to fund travel, accommodation, cultural activities and collectables, as well as the elaborate arrangements to transfer and obtain foreign currency. As a commoner, John Jackson's Grand Tour was funded largely by his uncle Samuel Pepys, who gave him cash payments before he left England, and ensured that letters of credit drawn on Italian merchants were honoured.³¹ A network of contacts, partly reflecting Pepys's social capital, was necessary to supply Jackson with ongoing funds for his Grand Tour. Sometimes these transactions were reciprocal, as when Jackson acquired rare books or engravings for Pepys or his friends.³² Further research into the specific transactions would help clarify the diverse meanings of capital at the end of the 17th century.

The letters of English tourists show how their acquisition of Italian culture served several interconnected purposes. The models of Elias

²⁹ Pepys 1926, vol. 1, p. 313

³⁰ Guillory 1997, pp. 386–387.

³¹ Pepys 1926, vol. 1, pp. 193, 284, 291.

³² Pepys 1926, vol. 1, pp. 249, 281, 287–288, 299, 301.

and Bourdieu illuminate how such activities could assert social distinction and economic power. Yet it is also important to emphasize the role of individual agency, including the varied reactions of tourists such as Jackson to the music they encountered, and the consequences of personal inclinations, such as Russell's tendency for extravagant expenditure. Furthermore, different individuals attributed varying levels of cultural capital to activities such as opera-going or music lessons. The individual stories of Grand Tourists thus stand in counterpoint to wider patterns for the acquisition of cultural capital.

Traders in rarities: William and James Sherard

Back in England, objects from overseas cultures such as Italy could be powerful symbols of social distinction. For scholars, Italian printed books and manuscripts were essential for their intellectual pursuits, as well as signalling their learned credentials. For aristocrats, collectables such as engraved art prints and sheet music could denote taste and wealth. The ongoing demand for foreign collectables was served by specialist agents who procured such items from their own travels and their networks of correspondents. This section focuses on the role of two such agents, the brothers William and James Sherard.

In modern biographies, the Sherard brothers are usually listed as botanists.³³ William Sherard (1659–1728) is known as author of *Schola botanica* (1689) and a contributor to several other botanical works of the period; he endowed the Sherardian Chair of Botany at Oxford University. James Sherard (1666–1738) cultivated a famed garden at his country residence of Eltham, where his collection of rare plants was described in the *Hortus Elthamensis* (1732) by the German botanist Johann Jacob Dillenius. In 1706 James was elected as a fellow of the Royal Society (the London club for scientific inquiry), and William was likewise elected in 1718. The brothers' extensive correspondence connected them with many leading botanical and scientific figures of the period, including the London physician Hans Sloane, the apothecary and botanist James Petiver and the Yorkshire botanist Richard Richardson, plus naturalists overseas such as Johann Philipp Breyne in Danzig, Jan

33 Allen 2013; Webb & Mandelbrote 2013.

Frederik Gronovius in Leiden and Mark Catesby in Virginia and Carolina.³⁴ In collecting and classifying botanical specimens from across the world, the Sherard brothers deployed skills and networks similar to those they used to obtain rare cultural objects.

For almost two decades, William Sherard lived or travelled overseas, where he identified and extracted valuable commodities for export to the elites of England. He gained experience of the Continent on trips in 1686–1688 and 1694–1696, during which he spent time in botanical gardens in France, the Low Countries and Italy. This knowledge of continental travel gave him the necessary cultural capital to act as tutor to Wriothesley Russell on his Grand Tour in 1698–1699. From 1703 to 1716, William was consul in Smyrna for the Levant Company, which regulated English trade with the Ottoman Empire. At Smyrna he oversaw the activities of English merchants, who traded manufactured goods such as textiles, steel and clocks for raw materials including silk and spice. His duties required skills of negotiation and diplomacy, upholding English interests in an Ottoman-ruled territory; he also collected coins and medals, and searched the local area for classical inscriptions and Mediterranean plants.³⁵ Thus many of William Sherard's activities involved gathering scientific knowledge to support the growing English trading empire in the late 17th century.

James Sherard, by contrast, was mainly based in London, where his work connected the artisanal knowledge of herbalists with the emerging science of botany. He was an apothecary—a predecessor of the modern pharmacist—using his knowledge of botany and chemistry to prepare medicines. Following an apprenticeship in the Chelsea Physic Garden, in the 1690s he set up business in Mark Lane, close to the River Thames and the Tower of London. Apothecaries were renowned for their far-reaching mercantile connections enabling them to obtain medicinal herbs from the British Isles and further afield. Sherard held a contract to supply the Royal Navy with medicine,³⁶ and he used his apothecary business to support his botanical interests, hosting displays

34 Letters received by William Sherard are preserved in London, The Royal Society, MSS 252–256.

35 Pasti 1950, pp. 121–169.

36 Rose 2014, p. x.

of rare plants and gatherings of botanists at his shop.³⁷ The botanical expertise of both James and William Sherard was in demand from the English elite, for whom it showed how the natural world could be harnessed to generate wealth and social distinction.

English aristocrats had long regarded their gardens as locations for pleasure, recreation and the contemplation of natural beauty. From the 1680s onwards, aristocrats were increasingly keen to include tender and exotic plants in their gardens.³⁸ According to a guide of 1706: "A Florist's Curiosity is not to be confin'd to his own Country, nor to such flowers as he might find there."³⁹ Displays of exotic plants indicated not only England's commercial and naval power in obtaining such rarities, but also the owner's ability to sustain such foreign flora in a cool climate with gardeners, enriched soil and heated glasshouses. Starting in 1689, heated greenhouses were constructed for Queen Mary's garden at Hampton Court, allowing the cultivation of "most rare plants from the Indies".⁴⁰

Epitomizing this interest in the exotic was the English elite's fascination with the pineapple. In August 1661 John Evelyn commented on "the famous *Queene-pine*" brought from the English colony of Barbados and presented to King Charles II.⁴¹ Seven years later, Evelyn commented on how "that rare fruit called the King-Pine" was served at a banquet for Charles II and the French ambassador.⁴² A well-known portrait of Charles II shows him in a formal garden being presented with a pineapple, although this was probably a fruit from an imported plant or one ripened in England rather than wholly grown there (see *Figure 1*).⁴³ The difficulty of obtaining tropical fruit such as the pineapple—and the fleeting pleasure gained on eating it—made it a potent symbol of conspicuous consumption by the social elite.

37 For an invitation to "a publick show of plants &c. where will meet most of the curious in those affairs" at Sherard's shop, see British Library, MS Sloane 4067, fol. 146r.

38 Drayton 2000, pp. 34–36.

39 Wise & London 1706, p. 295.

40 Mary Evelyn's account from 1691, quoted by Laird 2006, p. 158.

41 Evelyn 1955, p. 293 (9 August 1661).

42 Evelyn 1955, p. 513 (14 August 1668).

43 On the interpretation of this image, see Beauman 2005, pp. 49–52.

The letters of the Sherard brothers show how they enabled aristocrats to cultivate gardens replete with rare plants and fruits. In 1700–1701, William Sherard worked for the Beaufort family at their country seat at Badminton in Gloucestershire, where he helped the Duchess of Beaufort develop her gardens. He boasted: “Truly in a few years they will outdo any yet in Europe being furnisht w[i]th all ye conveniences imaginable, & a good stock of plants, to w[hi]ch I have added above 1500, & shall daily procure more from my correspondents abroad”.⁴⁴ These included seeds from Sicily, Rome, Florence, Nuremberg, Holland and France.⁴⁵ James Sherard similarly showcased his ability to cultivate tender plants in his gardens and heated greenhouses at Eltham. William reported: “His Garden is in excellent state, ripe Coffee, ripe Papaia, Ananas, & a great number of plants not to be seen elsewhere in Engl[an]d.”⁴⁶ William even claimed: “So far Eltham outdoes the King’s garden.”⁴⁷ That Sherard’s head gardener, Thomas Knowlton, subsequently cultivated pineapples for James Brydges, Duke of Chandos, reinforces how the cultivation of tropical plants and fruit was regarded as a marker of social distinction.⁴⁸

Alongside their trade in exotic plants, the Sherard brothers supplied rare books, manuscripts and antiquities. During his travels with Wriothesley Russell, William visited book dealers and attended auctions of the libraries of recently deceased collectors. He sent scientific books to Sloane and botanists such as Richardson, and acquired rare books for Humfrey Wanley and Wanley’s patron the Earl of Oxford.⁴⁹ Although William told Sloane, “I design no profit”,⁵⁰ his trade was evidently

44 William Sherard to Richard Richardson, 1 March 1701. Bodleian Library, MS Radcliffe Trust c.1, fol. 46r.

45 William Sherard to James Petiver, 11 December 1700. British Library, MS Sloane 4063, fols 54v–55r.

46 William Sherard to Richard Richardson, 6 October 1724. Bodleian Library, MS Radcliffe Trust, c.5, fol. 70v.

47 William Sherard to Richard Richardson, 2 November 1723. Bodleian Library, MS Radcliffe Trust, c.5, fol. 23r.

48 Henrey 1986, pp. 36–44.

49 Royal Society, MSS 252–6, letters 454, 456, 648, 650.

50 William Sherard to Hans Sloane, 9 May 1698. British Library, MS Sloane 4037, fol. 64r.



Figure 1. *Charles II Presented with a Pineapple*, c. 1675–1680. Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 406896.

lucrative. The physician Tancred Robinson claimed that when William returned to England from the Grand Tour with Russell, he sold “above 900 vol[umes] by publick Auction, which went of very high [prices] [...] besides he sold 500 vol[umes] more privately at excessive rates”.⁵¹ Sheet music too was procured by William. In 1698 he wrote from Rome to Wanley: “As to musick, I sent last time from Italy as much as cost me above 30 pistolas.”⁵² In 1720 William was offered a music library by Giuseppe Monti, professor of natural history in Bologna, including treatises by Bononcini, Gasparini and Penna, and printed music by Boni, Marcello, Torelli and Vivaldi.⁵³

James Sherard’s connections were essential for this trade in rarities. At Mark Lane he was in regular contact with boats arriving at and leaving London’s docks. Through the docks he received raw materials for his apothecary’s shop and dispatched medicines to the Navy.⁵⁴ He also acted as an intermediary for his brother’s trade in botanical specimens and rare books, forwarding shipments to and from English collectors. In 1698 James received parcels of books sent from Italy by William, passing them to Sloane and other clients.⁵⁵ Between 1703 and 1716 James organized shipments to William in Smyrna, writing to Sloane to obtain books requested by his brother: “There is now an opportunity of loading and [I] therefore beg if they are ready that you’ll please to let them be sent to my house by first occasion for I am told the ships are almost full & will be going in a little time.”⁵⁶ Although few of James’s letters survive, these glimpses of his mercantile connections suggest his ability to import rarities of interest to an elite clientele. Books and music thus circulated in the same networks used to share scientific know-

51 Tancred Robinson to Martin Lister, 26 March 1700. Bodleian Library, MS Lister 37, fol. 26r.

52 William Sherard to Humfrey Wanley, 13 September 1698. Bodleian Library, MS Ballard 27, fol. 7r. The pistola is a Spanish gold coin.

53 Giuseppe Monti to William Sherard, 22 December 1720. Royal Society, MS 254, letter 369.

54 Kew, National Archives, ADM 99/2, 19 August 1702.

55 William Sherard to Hans Sloane, 9 and 16 May 1698. British Library, MS Sloane 4037, fols 64r, 75r.

56 James Sherard to Hans Sloane, 26 June 1705. British Library, MS Sloane 4041, fol. 165r.

ledge and to transport commodities and botanical specimens across England's expanding trading empire.

James Sherard and Italian music

James Sherard was not only involved in the import of rarities; he was also a recreational musician, who “played finely on the violin,”⁵⁷ and was a viola da gamba player and an accomplished composer. Many of his music manuscripts are preserved in the Music School Collection of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, although these have few indications of provenance and can be identified only through careful study of handwriting and concordances. They include repertory for viola da gamba associated with the musician Gottfried Finger's activity in England around 1690.⁵⁸ By the late 1690s Sherard's interests turned towards the trio sonata in Corellian style, and in 1701 his *Opus 1* trio sonatas were published by Estienne Roger in Amsterdam, with a dedication to Wriothesley Russell. They are among the first trio sonatas in Corellian style to be written by an English musician. Elsewhere I have outlined new discoveries regarding Sherard's activities as a music collector.⁵⁹ This section summarizes the ways in which Sherard obtained Italian instrumental music and assimilated its style. He regarded the Italian trio sonata as a set of models that could be emulated, and he compared his own enterprise composing in this style to that of raising exotic plants in an English climate.

Central to understanding Sherard's musical collection is his commonplace book, currently preserved as Bodleian Library Mus. Sch. A.641. It consists of nine foolscap sheets of manuscript music, each with 16 five-line staves.⁶⁰ These sheets contain over 150 extracts from trio sonatas, mostly unattributed apart from those that Sherard marked as his own work with his initials (see *Figure 2*). The “J. S.” initials and their similarity to the handwriting in Sherard's letters are the main rea-

57 Hawkins 1853, vol. 2, p. 186.

58 Rawson 2002, pp. 39–42.

59 Rose 2020.

60 In the English paper trade of the early modern era, the term ‘foolscap’ denoted a sheet measuring approx. 320 × 420 mm, often with a watermark containing the fool's cap. See Thompson 2012, pp. 22–23.

sons for ascribing the commonplace book to him. The excerpts are organized according to headers for 14 keys from G minor to E-flat major, generally indicating the key of the sonatas from which the extracts were taken. By copying extracts and organizing them under headers, Sherard was using the same principles recommended by humanists and 16th-century educationalists to students for collecting, filing and retrieving excerpts from their reading. Such a commonplace book could be the starting point for the technique of literary *imitatio*, whereby students created their own inventions modelled on the works of renowned authors.⁶¹

Over 50 of the excerpts in Sherard's commonplace book can be identified, despite the lack of ascriptions.⁶² Many come from influential and widely circulated publications of trio sonatas of the early 1680s: Arcangelo Corelli's *Opus 1* (Rome, 1681), Giovanni Battista Bassani's *Opus 5* (Bologna, 1683) and Henry Purcell's *Sonnata's of III Parts* (London, 1683). Other extracts are from works available in manuscript in England during the 1680s, such as Corelli's Sonata in A major WoO5, the Sonata in A major 'La Rospa' ascribed elsewhere to Corelli or Lelio Colista, and a Sonata in D major attributed to Carlo Ambrogio Lonati. Further excerpts in Sherard's book come from lesser-known Italian publications of the 1690s, including Antonio Luigi Baldassini's *Opus 1* (Rome, 1691), Ippolito Boccaletti's *Opus 1* (Venice, 1692) and Giovanni Maria Ruggieri's *Opus 4* (Venice, 1697).⁶³

Sherard's choice and ordering of extracts in his commonplace book show how he assimilated and emulated the harmonic formulae of the Italianate trio sonata. Typically each section of his notebook starts with unattributed excerpts, followed by Sherard's exercises using the same harmonic or contrapuntal devices. *Figure 2* shows folio 28v, containing extracts from sonatas in E minor. The header ("E") is at the top of the page. The page starts with a modulatory passage from Purcell's 1683 Sonata No. 7, which moves via a downward sequence from D major to the dominant chord of E minor. This extract is immediately followed by an excerpt that Sherard identifies as his own, which similarly modulates via

⁶¹ Moss 1996.

⁶² Rose 2020, pp. 364–367.

⁶³ Rose 2020, pp. 364–367.

a descending sequence from E minor to G major. On the second and third systems are four extracts from Baldassini's Opus 1 no. 3, including an ascending sequence in which each note in the bass is figured 5 then 6; this harmonic pattern is copied by Sherard in the extract he identifies as his own work on the fourth system. The 5–6 sequence was one of the formulae crucial to the Corellian style, being identified as such by Francesco Gasparini's *L'armonico pratico al cimbalo* (Venice, 1708). Other pages of the commonplace book similarly show Sherard extracting and practising sequential and modulatory passages. It is likely that these exercises were in preparation for his composition of his own trio sonatas Opus 1, although there are few direct parallels between the passages sketched in the commonplace book and the finished sonatas.

By indicating the music available to Sherard, his commonplace book permits identification of other printed and manuscript items associated with him and now preserved in the Bodleian Library. As mentioned above, his commonplace book contains extracts from Boccaletti's Opus 1, a printed version of which survives in the Bodleian's Music School Collection.⁶⁴ This is the only extant UK copy of this collection (and one of only six surviving copies worldwide),⁶⁵ and is therefore likely to be Sherard's exemplar. It is preserved in thick grey paper covers; details of the composer and work are inscribed in a neat, unknown hand on the violin 1 part, and in Sherard's hand on the organo part (identified by his distinctive shaping of the letters "B", "S" and "L"). About 40 partbook sets of Italian printed instrumental music in the Music School Collection have similar grey paper covers bearing inscriptions indicating the composer's name and the work's title; often these inscriptions include Sherard's hand on the violoncello or organo part (which perhaps he used in performance). The repertory includes collections printed in Bologna between 1673 and 1695. It seems likely that this group of about 40 partbook sets was a bulk purchase from Italy in the late 1690s, and subsequently owned by Sherard.⁶⁶

Dedicating his Opus 1 trio sonatas to Wriothesley Russell in 1701,

64 Bodleian Library, Mus.Sch.D.356–359.

65 Details of surviving copies from *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales* (RISM Online).

66 For a list of these partbook collections, see Rose 2020, pp. 376–377.



Figure 2. James Sherard's commonplace book, extracts in E minor. The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, Mus.Sch.A.641, folio 28v. Initials "J. S." denote extracts of his own invention.

Sherard said that the pieces had been performed before Russell, and he claimed they were an indirect result of Russell's Italian trip: "since by my Brother's attendance on your Grace abroad, I was furnish'd with Books, and other Materialls, which gave me the first taste and acquaintance with the Italian Musick".⁶⁷ It is plausible that the large group of partbooks would be among those "Books and other Materialls" that strengthened Sherard's acquaintance with Italian instrumental music, and his commonplace book enabled him to assimilate the musical styles within it.

In the dedication of his Opus 1 collection, Sherard adapted a conventional metaphor about how the climate and soil of Italy and England shaped their respective cultures: "Your Grace will find indeed as great disparity betwixt [the Italian Musick] and what is here offer'd you, as betwixt their fruits, and such as we raise from their Stocks, but I know your Grace will make allowances for the difference of Soil, and Climate, and not wholly blame the industry of the Planter." With this horticultural metaphor, Sherard evoked a long tradition of comparing musical collections to flowers or gardens.⁶⁸ Titles such as *Fiori musicali* or *Hortus musicus* suggested not only how music could contribute to the multisensory pleasure associated with gardens, but also how a musical collection required careful acts of cultivation and pruning. Sherard's metaphor of transplanting Italian flora to England emphasized his "industry" involved in developing the Corellian style for Wriothsley Russell, similar to how his botanical experiments showed how human artifice could harness the natural world for the benefit of individuals.

Sherard's horticultural metaphor also suggests the novelty of the Corellian style in England around 1700. For present-day listeners, the musical language of the Corellian trio sonata may sound highly conventional in its delineation of strongly tonal phrases and cadences. Yet in the late 1690s, English attempts to emulate this style were associated with aristocratic patrons displaying their appreciation of the latest continental taste.⁶⁹ Sherard's metaphor implies that trio sonatas were as exotic as the oranges and pineapples that aristocrats aspired to grow in

67 Sherard 1701, dedication.

68 Cypess 2022.

69 Cunningham 2018.

their garden hothouses. Listening to them would be a similar sensual pleasure—intense but fleeting—to eating exotic fruit. Transplanted to English soil, these rarities were intended to arouse awe at the status of the patrons who cultivated them.

Conclusion

This chapter has related the English taste for Italian music in the late 1690s to broader ways in which the elite signalled their distinction. English travellers on the Grand Tour acquired musical materials and knowledge alongside other accomplishments, including the etiquette of civility and an ability to discuss classical and contemporary visual art. More widely, the acquisition of Italian music can be compared to the importation of rarities such as exotic plants and tender fruits, commodities obtained for English aristocrats through the nation's trading empire and naval power. The theoretical models of Norbert Elias and Pierre Bourdieu illuminate how the elite defined their status via acts of conspicuous consumption, emulation of etiquette and the accumulation of cultural capital. However, these models are less successful in accounting for the diverse ways in which individuals responded to their encounters with foreign cultures.

This chapter has shed new light on the routes and mechanisms through which Italian music reached England. The transfer of music depended on intermediaries, including those who guided tourists during their visits to Italian cities, and on agents such as William Sherard who scoured continental bookshops and auction sales for material requested by clients in England. Also significant were those involved in operating postal systems and the merchants and bankers who enabled financial transactions across borders via letters of credit and bills of exchange. Further research into these financial transactions would add historical and material specifics to Bourdieu's broad assertions about how economic capital was transformed into social or cultural capital.

Insights have also been gained into the process of *imitatio* whereby musicians emulated praiseworthy styles. Sherard's commonplace book shows him using long-established humanist techniques to assimilate the Corellian style through collecting, ordering and imitating excerpts,

in preparation for composing his own trio sonatas. Sherard described himself as “no profest Musician”⁷⁰ and he therefore may be unrepresentative of wider practices, but his book shows one way in which musicians used compositional models. The discovery of his commonplace book should encourage musicologists to re-examine other manuscript miscellanies of extracts, in case these also show an ordering system such as tonal headers that would suggest they too functioned as commonplace books. Close study of archival and manuscript material will thereby enable a greater understanding of how music was transferred and emulated within broader displays of elite distinction.

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70 Sherard 1701, dedication.

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The European dissemination of G.B. Bassani's *Metri sacri resi armonici*

Editions, manuscripts and owners of a 17th-century motet collection

AT SOME POINT, probably in the 1720s, an unidentified English printer produced a song-sheet edition of a single motet for soprano solo, two violins and basso continuo by the composer Giovanni Battista Bassani (c. 1650–1716). The publisher promoted the work, *Quid arma, quid bella*, as “Bassani’s most celebrated mottet” (see *Figure 1*).

This chapter investigates how this particular motet—a Latin-language sacred cantata consisting of a sequence of arias and recitatives—by a composer who never left Italy came to be celebrated in England, and how its popularity fits into the broader dissemination of the set of twelve motets from which it derives. The separate edition of *Quid arma*¹ and its popularity are just the tip of the iceberg of the dissemination of Bassani’s *Metri sacri resi armonici* and his music in general.² This broader story involves printed editions produced by music publishers in four different countries, full manuscript copies as well as in-

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1 *Quid arma, quid bella: Bassani’s most celebrated mottet*. [s.l., s.n.]. RISM A/I B 1185. On the intricacies of the music publishing business in London in this period, see Hunter 1991.

2 See also van der Linden 2016.

35.

1

Quid Arma Quid Bella Bassanis *most Celebrated Mottet*

Ritornello

Allegro

Quid arma quid Bella quid ar - - - - - quid arma quid ar -

an quid arma quid Bella & Cecos furo - - - - - res per fida Tonas

per fida Tonas & La - - - - - ceras me & Laceras me & per fida Tonas & per fida

Pia.

Ritornello

Tonas & La - - - - - ceras me & Laceras me & Laceras me Ut Su - pra

Solo

Depone Barbara tella o Sclerum Parens satis in Vulnere ferox Fata cru - da. Li - a in com -

Largo

me o de si - mi - nés. Cui o cruda cruda Tace o fatalis in pia vox Cui o

cruda cruda Tace o fatalis in pia vox o fata - - - - - lis in pia vox o fata -

Figure 1. Giovanni Battista Bassani, *Quid arma, quid bella* (RISM A/I B 1185). The edition, perhaps by John Walsh, is undated and consists of five engraved pages, four with the voice and basso continuo parts and one with the first and second violin parts. British Library, G.311.(28).

dividual pieces extracted from them, and traces of early owners of the music.

Taken together, the material provides an illustrative example of the patterns and pervasiveness of the dissemination of Italian sacred music in Europe during the long 18th century. For although the popularity of Italian music at the time is well known in general terms and much is known about the broader patterns, many details remain to be filled in. Ideally, these details ought to derive from different angles of observation and different methodologies. Without studies of the dissemination of specific repertoires and genres, the fortunes of the music of individual composers, the influx of music into certain towns or geographic areas, as well as the circulation of specific compositions, we remain in the dark about the numerous individual stories that add up to the larger-scale patterns and tendencies.³ One of the ways to gain such a finer-detailed picture is to trace the (early) circulation and ownership of specific editions.⁴ The availability of online resources such as the RISM database and the rapid expansion of the number of digitized books have created new heuristic possibilities. It is possible to quickly search through enormous amounts of printed material and thus find more needles in the ever-growing haystack than ever before.

Bassani never worked outside Italy, but a great deal of his music—sacred and secular vocal music as well as instrumental works—appeared in print during his lifetime.⁵ The motet *Quid arma, quid bella* was the second piece in Bassani's *Metri sacri resi armonici*, opus 8, a set of four solo motets each for soprano, alto and bass, accompanied by basso continuo and a pair of violins.⁶ The set first appeared in print in 1690, published in Bologna by the firm of Monti.⁷ Within a year, the *Metri sacri* was reprinted in Antwerp by Hendrik III Aertssens with the mangled,

3 Previous work on the circulation of early modern Italian music includes Strohm 2001; Rasch 2008; zur Nieden & Over 2016. For cases of individual composers and genres, see, for example, Riedo 2013; Giuggioli & Groote 2018.

4 For non-music books, see Gingerich 2002 and West 2003; for music e.g., Greer 2015. See also Rudolf Rasch's chapter in this volume.

5 On Bassani's life and work, see Haselbach 1955.

6 The individual motets are listed in *Appendix 1*.

7 On the firm, see Cipollone 2010.

and grammatically nonsensical, title *Resi armonici*. This was one of a number of Italian editions that was quickly reprinted by Aertssens during these years.⁸ In 1696, Monti's successor Marino Silvani produced a second Italian edition of the *Metri sacri*, and yet another edition was printed by the Amsterdam music printer Estienne Roger in 1698, again with the title *Resi armonici* and therefore almost certainly based on Aertssens's edition.⁹ Finally, in 1708 the London printer William Pearson produced an edition under the new title *Harmonia festiva*, mirroring the title of Bassani's opus 13, *Armonie festive*, which Pearson also reprinted. *Harmonia festiva* was sold by John Cullen and John Young.¹⁰

Besides these different printed editions, there is also ample evidence of manuscript circulation of music from the *Metri sacri*, all of which appears to derive from the printed books. These manuscripts are of interest, among other reasons, because they point to a deliberate engagement with the music. Whether a printed copy was unavailable or copying was just cheaper, and whether the whole set or only specific motets were selected, these copying efforts imply, if not necessarily a performance, at least explicit choices and conscious selection. Manuscript copies offer more flexibility to adapt, revise and adjust the music to local needs or tastes. In fact, a number of *contrafacta* of music from the *Metri sacri*—versions with new texts to Bassani's music—testify to this practice.

The *Metri sacri* in the Dutch Republic, Flanders and France

The mangled title of Aertssens's and Roger's reprints of the *Metri sacri resi armonici* ('Sacred verses rendered harmonious') as *Resi armonici* ('Rendered harmonious') provides a useful diagnostic element, beyond the fact that it points to some error on the part of Aertssens and to the

⁸ See Spiessens 2004.

⁹ On Roger, see Rudolf Rasch's website *The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger and Michel-Charles Le Cène* at <https://roger.sites.uu.nl>.

¹⁰ Both a score and parts were published. On Pearson, see, for example, Krummel 1975, pp. 137–142.

reliance of Roger on Aertssens's edition.¹¹ The distinctively erroneous title also allows us to distinguish between Aertssens's and Roger's editions, on one hand, and the two Italian editions, on the other, when music books are mentioned in early inventories. The difference between the titles, along with the difference in format between Roger's folios and Monti's, Silvani's and Aertssens's quartos, enables us to narrow down specific editions referred to in archival documents, even when, as is often the case, they are described in little detail and the books themselves no longer exist.

This helps us trace the actual dissemination during the early modern period not only of the music as such, but also of these different editions. For although there is an overall correlation between the place of printing and the later dissemination of the books, there are also many exceptions. For example, it seems not unreasonable to expect buyers to have bought editions produced in their immediate vicinity. Indeed, we find that a copy of Aertssens's edition was bought the same year it was published, probably by Jacques Lelong, chapel master (*phonascus*) at the collegiate church of St Martin in Liège.¹² A second note shows that a year later his name had already been crossed out and the books were part of the library of the collegiate church of Our Lady in Tongeren (see *Figure 2*).¹³

It is likewise unsurprising that the *collegium musicum* in Hasselt owned Aertssens's and Roger's editions of the Italian music they collected. Given that they are listed among the folio-sized books, a number of the works by Bassani and other Italian composers cited in a 1721

11 What led to Aertssens's error is not clear. It seems unlikely, but possible, that he worked from a set of 1690 partbooks in which the top part of every partbook happened to be torn off. A compositor's glaring mistake seems equally unlikely.

12 B-Lc, 24/3Go8 has a note on the title pages of the basso continuo and voice partbooks with the date of acquisition "Empt[us] G R [?] hac 22a May 1691" in the top right corner, and lower on the page "Ex libris Jacobi Lelong phonasci S[anc]ti Martinis in Monte Leod[iensis]". Lelong had been appointed at St Martin's in December 1685, see Quitin 1967, p. 31. For music at the church, see Quitin 1990.

13 "Fabricae Tongrensis 1692". On music in the church in this period, see Schreurs 1989.

inventory of the *collegium* are likely Roger's editions. However, among the books in quarto we find: "Da Gio[vanni] Batt[ista] Bassani metri sacri resi armonici opera 8va a voce sola lib. 4". Given the title and format, this was clearly a complete copy of the 1690 or 1696 Italian editions.¹⁴ The inventory further notes that, like much of its other music, these partbooks had been a gift from a member of the society.¹⁵

In fact, the notion of a correlation between the place where editions were printed and the location of their early owners does not appear to hold in the case of Aertssens (in Antwerp) and Roger (in Amsterdam). In the city of Groningen, in the far north of the Dutch Republic, the *collegium musicum* had a music collection similar to the one in Hasselt. An 18th-century inventory of its library shows that it, too, owned music by Bassani, including a complete set of partbooks of the *Metri sacri*, but in this case it was a copy of Aertssens's edition.¹⁶ Conversely, Roger's edition of the *Metri sacri* appears to turn up in a church in Flanders. An inventory of the music books of St Michael's church in Ghent from around 1730 includes among the folio-size books 'Bassani opus octavum', which, given the folio format, was presumably Roger's edition, or possibly a manuscript.¹⁷

Besides these two Northern European editions, there is also some evidence that the Italian editions were for sale in the Dutch Republic. When the property of the music bookseller Nicolas Selhof was sold in The Hague in 1759, almost all of Bassani's printed music could be found in the catalogue, including the *Metri sacri resi armonici*. Given the correct title and the fact that the catalogue includes Italian editions of Bassani's music that were never reprinted in Northern Europe, this was

14 Hasselt, Stadsmus, 1992.0095.00: *Inventaris van de musieck-boecken toebehoorende het Collegie van S. Cecilia binnen Hasselt, gemaect door mij M. Janssens in decembri A[nn]o 1721 als meester des voorsch[even] Collegie*, folio 22.4v. Also listed in Schreurs 2018, pp. 147, 156, no. 102.

15 "Dono experti D[omini] Jo[ann]is Petri ab Hillen huius colleg[i] confr[at]ris".

16 Spellers 1874–1881 provides a full transcription of the list. See p. 26, no. 29 for 'G. B. Bassani, Motetti a voce sola con violini, opera ottava. Antverpia, 4 volum.'.

17 van der Linden 1964, p. 214.

Parte che Canta.

*empt. 6 R. hac
26. a. ellag. 1691*

RESI ARMONICI
IN
MOTETTI

A Voce sola con Violini.

DA GIO. BATTISTA BASSANI

Maestro di Capella della Cathedralre, e dell' Illustri-
ssima Accademia della Morte di Ferrara,
& Accademico Filarmonico.

OPERA OTTAVA.

*Ex Libris Jacobi
Thonassii
de Montem
Lad*



Fabrice Tongeren
1692

IN ANVERS,

Per HENRICO AERTSENS, Stampatore di Musica, all'
Insegna del Monte Parnasso. 1691.

Con Privilegio.

Figure 2. *Resi armonici*, printed in Antwerp in 1691 (RISM A/I B 1181), Aertssens's reprint of Bassani's *Metri sacri resi armonici*, opus 8, first printed by Monti in Bologna 1690. The copy was once part of the library of the collegiate church of Our Lady in Tongeren. Liège, Conservatoire Royal de Musique, bibliothèque, 24/3Go8.

probably one of the two Italian editions.¹⁸ Beyond such relatively clear examples, numerous uncertain cases exist, such as an anonymous solo motet for an unspecified voice type entitled *Pompae vanae* included in a 1755 list of music belonging to the church of St Jacob in Antwerp.¹⁹ This may have been Bassani's motet for bass from the *Metri sacri*, but there is no way to be certain.

Early testimony of the *Metri sacri* in France comes from the library of the music publisher and seller Jean-Baptiste Christophe Ballard (c. 1674–1750). A copy of the 1696 edition of the *Metri sacri* printed by Silvani was in his library from at least 1730 and probably already before 1712.²⁰ Sébastien de Brossard (1655–1730) is documented as having consulted the Ballard copy, and it was in all likelihood the source of the bass motet *Pompae vanae* that was included in the second volume of Ballard's *Recueil de motets de différents auteurs italiens et françois* from 1712.²¹ Further evidence of the popularity of the *Metri sacri* in France appears from no fewer than three major manuscript sources. A three-volume set of manuscripts in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris contains all twelve motets from the *Metri sacri*, with a separate volume of four motets for each of the three voice types (i.e., soprano, alto and bass). The title pages of the three volumes make it clear that they were “copied by monsieur Philidor senior” in 1705,²² that is André Danican Philidor (1652–1730), Louis XIV's music librarian and copyist. The original destination of these volumes is not certain. Although the contents are very similar to manuscripts that Philidor produced during these years for Louis XIV's son Louis-Alexandre de Bourbon, Count of Toulouse, there is no direct evidence that these volumes were made for

18 Selhof 1973, p. 194, no. 1906.

19 Spiessens 1998/1999, p. 32.

20 Guillo 2004, p. 336 for the item in the 1750 post-mortem inventory of the library.

21 Guillo 2005, p. 197, nos 520–528 for Brossard's consultation of this item in the Ballard library. The motet is on pp. 39–59 of the *Recueil*.

22 F-Pn, Rés. F. 1722, see Grand & Massip 1999, p. 177, nos 794–796. The first volume states that it was “recueillie” by Philidor, the other two explicitly state they were “copié par M.^r Philidor L'ainé”. All title pages are explicitly dated “1705”. On Philidor, see Waquet 1980.

him too.²³ They may have been copied for the Royal Chapel at Versailles.²⁴

Given the characteristic full-score format and the division into three separate volumes of four motets for each of the voice types, there may well be a direct connection between the Philidor manuscript from 1705 and a very similar set in Toulouse. The latter is also a set of three—undated but from the first half of the 18th century—in which each manuscript contains the works for a single voice.²⁵ A third set, again composed in the same way although currently lacking the second volume of the four motets for alto, is in Tours and originates from the library of the Basilica of St Martin in that city. It dates from the same period as the previous two.²⁶ This remarkable density of sources suggests that Bassani's *Metri sacri* had particular appeal in France as well.

Although this chapter is structured by geographic regions, these divisions are of course somewhat artificial. The repertoire circulated across Europe, musicians travelled, and the borders themselves were not clear-cut either. A copy of Monti's first edition of the *Metri sacri* from 1690 at the Bibliothèque nationale illustrates this. It belonged to Hartwig Zysich (1630–1712), chapel master of the Protestant Neue Kirche (New Church) in Strasbourg from 1685 until his death, as an autograph note repeated on the title pages of each of the partbooks shows: “Partes 4 in usum Hartwich Zisich”.²⁷ Zysich studied in Berlin in his

23 The volume is not mentioned in Massip 1983, which lists all the known Toulouse–Philidor manuscripts.

24 The manuscript was bought in 1992; see BNF 1992, p. 70, which states that it was copied for the chapel at Versailles but does not give clear evidence. The manuscript is not mentioned in Decobert 2007, who focuses on the part of Philidor's production for Louis XIV that ended up at the Paris conservatory and subsequently at F-Pn.

25 F-TLm, Res. Mus. Cons. 900 (1–3).

26 F-TOm, Ms. 170: *Bassani Mottets à voix seule et violons tome premier* (the four soprano motets) and Ms. 171 (the four bass motets): *Mottets à voix seule et violons tome troisième Bassani*. The pairs of old shelfmarks are consecutive, which means that the middle volume is long gone. Both volumes have the annotation “Ex Bibliotheca insignis ecclesiae S[anc]ti Martini Turonensis”, RISM id 840002004 and 840002009. See also Coutenceau-Gruet 1995, p. 90 nos 424–425.

27 F-Pn VM¹–1062.

youth and reportedly travelled to Italy around 1655. Like other musicians of his generation, he apparently developed a taste for Italian music during his formative years, which he maintained throughout his career.²⁸ Strasbourg was situated in a true borderland, a strategic area between France and its German neighbours, and the city had been annexed by Louis XIV in 1681.

The *Metri sacri* in Germany, Central Europe and Scandinavia

Monti's and Silvani's two editions produced in Bologna were bought by Italian users, too, of course, such as the Basilica of San Giovanni in Laterano in Rome, which to this day owns a copy of the 1696 edition.²⁹ At the same time, the Italian editions were also traded across the Alps. The town of Merano, north of Bolzano, lies in that direction, still being on the Italian peninsula but part of the County of Tyrol and under direct Habsburg rule. Between 1696 and 1711 the town's parish church bought "motetti" by Bassani consisting of four partbooks: probably the 1696 edition of the *Metri sacri*.³⁰ Farther into Central Europe, a *collegium musicum* in Zürich bought almost all of Bassani's available music around the turn of the century. In 1710 they ordered music directly from Italy, including the *Metri sacri*.³¹ This is the copy of the 1696 edition now in the Zentralbibliothek in Zürich. Other early traces of the Italian editions include the copy of the 1690 edition that belonged to the Gymnasium in Frankfurt am Main, and the modest music library of the parish church in Wallerstein, some 75 kilometres north-west of Augsburg, where in 1745 the *Metri sacri* was listed as one among a few items of Italian music. Given that the inventory lists the correct full title, this must have been one of the two Italian editions.³²

28 Samuel Hartlib wrote in early 1655 that "Hartwich Zisich [...] is travelling into Italy and other parts to perfect himself in his musical endowments". The University of Sheffield, Hartlib Papers, 29/5/9A.

29 Rostirolla 2002, vol. 2, p. 966, no. 8940.

30 Lunelli 1962; van der Linden 2016, p. 288.

31 Bacciagaluppi 2012; 2017, pp. 103–104, 114–115.

32 See Israël 1872, pp. 10–11 (this copy is now in D-F); Haberkamp 1976, p. xviii.

Other owners in the region were the Benedictine abbeys at Michaelbeuern, near Salzburg, and at Ottobeuren, 100 kilometres east of Munich.³³ At the former, an inventory from 1714 lists several pieces by Bassani among its manuscript music, including the motets *Audite reges* for bass and *Mortalis, o mortalis* for alto from the *Metri sacri*.³⁴ In Ottobeuren, the collection still includes not only a copy of Silvani's 1696 edition of the *Metri sacri*, but also a manuscript with seven of the eight soprano and alto motets from the edition.³⁵ Another example, also from Central Europe, is the convent of the Order of the Sisters of St Elizabeth in Prague, which among a collection of musical manuscripts from the second quarter of the 18th century owned one that includes Bassani's *Ave verax honor castitatis* and *Quid arma, quid bella*.³⁶ Another manuscript, originally at the Piarist monastery at Podolíneč in current-day Slovakia, also includes these first two motets from the *Metri sacri*, along with several others from Bassani's opuses 11 and 13.³⁷ Yet another manuscript in the same collection has Bassani's bass motet *Eia tubae resonare* as an anonymous piece.³⁸ The same work appears, again without Bassani's name, in a manuscript in the music library of Pécs Cathedral in Hungary.³⁹ Similarly, the alto motet *Aligeri amores* from the *Metri sacri* must be the motet of that title by "Passani" that was listed in 1721 in the library of the Estherházy court chapel in Eisenstadt in Austria.⁴⁰

Moving north into Germany, the *Metri sacri* also turn up. A set of parts in the library of the Catholic Counts of Schönborn-Wiesentheid,

33 See also Collarile 2010.

34 Federhofer 1962, p. 111: "Audite Reges. De Quovis Mart[yre] Sigre Bassani" and "Mortalis. Alt[o] Solo, 2 V[iolini] con Org[ano] Sgre Bassani".

35 Haberkamp 1986, p. 271 for the printed edition and p. 37, no. 0056, for the manuscript, for which see also RISM id 450007484.

36 See Michl 2018, pp. 70, 72. The monastery has RISM siglum CZ-Ppmb, but this manuscript is not included in the items listed in the online RISM catalogue. The motets appear in the manuscript "Old Music Collection", no. 16 (= CZ-Ppmb 17) of the monastery's collection, starting on ff. 28 and 31.

37 SK-J, H-1001, see RISM id 570005263 and Kapsa 2012, pp. 207–209.

38 *Eia tubae* ("Authore incerto") is SK-J, H-726, see RISM id 570005125.

39 H-P, X 12, see RISM id 530002941 and Majewska 2017, p. [60].

40 Johann Harich 1972, p. 163: "Alligeri Amores à Passani", also in János Harich 1975, p. 15.

dating from the first half of the 18th century, comprises the four alto motets from the *Metri sacri*.⁴¹ The music can also be found in more Lutheran settings. Another manuscript, at the Herzog August-Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, contains a range of music by mostly German composers, as well as, towards the end, three of the four soprano motets from the *Metri sacri* (excluding the Marian *Ave verax honor castitatis*).⁴² Count Anton Ulrich of Braunschweig-Lüneburg had converted to Catholicism in 1709, in part because his niece had married the future Emperor Charles VI. He stressed, however, that this was only a private matter and that virtually nothing in his mostly Lutheran court, government and lands would change. The exclusion of *Ave verax honor* from the manuscript at Wolfenbüttel seems to fit this “inconspicuous” Catholicism. There may be some connection between this manuscript and the large music collection of the composer Heinrich Bokemeyer (1679–1751), who worked in Wolfenbüttel from 1717 until his death. This latter collection, now in Berlin, includes a number of manuscripts that are exclusively dedicated to a mix of music by Bassani from different printed sources. Among these are two manuscripts that include, in a different order than in the printed edition, all twelve motets from the *Metri sacri*.⁴³

Although a wealth of sources documenting the popularity of the *Metri sacri* has started to emerge, absent or erroneous attributions, as well as rewritings of one kind or another, complicate a clear view of its dissemination. A good example of the latter is the soprano motet *In hoc mundo incostante*, which appears under the new text *Hoc in mari turbulento* in a manuscript set of parts that originates from the parish church of Grodzisk Wielkopolski in Poland. They were copied by the church organist, Paweł Sebastiański, in 1711 and/or 1712. Despite the new text, the music is correctly attributed to Bassani.⁴⁴ Another example is a

41 D-WD, Musiksammlung 421. See Zobeley 1982, p. 11, no. 421.

42 D-W, cod. Guelf. 294 Mus. Hdschr., ff. 104v–117v. See Vogel 1890, pp. 61–62 and RISM id 451509156.

43 D-B Mus. ms. 1162 contains three soprano motets (nos 3, 2 and 1) and three alto motets (nos 6, 5 and 8). Mus. ms. 1163 has nos 4 (soprano), 8 again (i.e., *Aligeri amores*), 7, 9, 10, 12 and 11 (see *Appendix 1* for titles). See Kümmerling 1970, pp. 105–106.

44 PL-Pa, Muz GR III/78, see RISM id 300234008, where the title pages are

manuscript volume of music that was part of the music collection of the aristocratic Oettingen family, now part of the university library in Augsburg. This set mixes music by the little-known local musician Johann Baptist Gerer (1656–1728) with unattributed music by other composers.⁴⁵ Only Gerer's own music is listed with Roman numerals in a contemporary index at the beginning of the volume, but the pieces themselves are mixed throughout the volume with music by other (anonymous) composers.⁴⁶ One of these other works is Bassani's *Quid arma, quid bella* (see Figure 3). Gerer worked in Dillingen, some 40 kilometres north-west of Augsburg, all his life. He may have had access to Bassani's *Metri sacri* in either of those towns, or at the abovementioned library of the parish church at Wallerstein, where we know a copy was present.

Going farther north still, we encounter Scandinavian sources for Bassani's *Metri sacri*. A manuscript set of parts for *Quid arma, quid bella* is part of the Düben Collection in Uppsala, which was assembled by members of the Düben family who served at the Swedish royal court between 1640 and 1726.⁴⁷ The same motet can be found again as a set of

transcribed, including “Pro Ecclesia Parochiali Grodziscensi Anno Domini 1712 die 17 Aprilis Authore signore Bassani” and “Concerto de Deo [...] Authore signore Bassani Anno D.ni 1711. Ex scriptis Pauli Sebastian[ski] O[rganarii] G[rodecensis]”. Majewska 2017, p. 49, reports the date as 17 April 1711.

- 45 The manuscript is described in Haberkamp 1976, p. 78. A brief account of Gerer is Layer 1953/1954. The earlier provenance of the Gerer manuscript is unknown. See Haberkamp 1976 for the fact that the collection derives from many different sources.
- 46 Haberkamp 1976, p. 78, gives a grammatically nonsensical transcription of the heading of the index, leaving out the word “index”, probably because it is the only word written in red capitals rather than in black lowercase. The actual wording implies that the index only lists Gerer's works in the volume, not that all the music in it is his: “Cantilaru[m] INDEX authore D.J.B. Gerer à voce una con 2 vv.” RISM online erroneously attributes all the music in the manuscript to Gerer, including *Quid arma, quid bella*, see RISM id 450026055.
- 47 S-Uu, Vmhs 70:2. The material can be consulted online at The Düben Collection Database Catalogue, eds Lars Berglund *et al.*, <https://catmus.musik.uu.se>. On the Düben family, see Kjellberg 2010, and on the Italian music in the collection, see Berglund 2018.

parts in the collection of Hinrich Christoph Engelhardt (1694–1765), who worked as cathedral organist and musical director of Uppsala University.⁴⁸ In 1728, Anders von Düben appears to have suspended the planned donation of the Düben Collection to Uppsala University in opposition to the nomination of Engelhardt as the university's director of music.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, it seems likely that in later years, once the dust had settled, Engelhardt browsed through the Düben Collection himself. Although it is noteworthy that both collections include only the motet *Quid arma, quid bella* from the *Metri sacri*, Engelhardt must have relied (partly) on sources other than the Düben parts, because the latter do not have the complete basso continuo.⁵⁰ The Engelhardt manuscript also subtly hints at how Bassani and his *Metri sacri* had become truly European repertoire. The title is in Italian but Bassani has become a “monsieur”: “Quid arma canto solo duo violini col basso per l'organo del Monsieur Basani”.

Back to Britain

With this overview of the wider European dissemination of the *Metri sacri* in place, we are in a better position to return to its success in Britain. While I have found no evidence of early owners of Pearson's *Harmonia festiva* edition on the Continent, there is clear evidence of the reverse in Britain. One of the surviving copies of Aertssens's 1691 edition—at Christ Church College Oxford—arrived there in 1710 as part of a large bequest of music books to the college by its former dean, Henry Aldrich (1648–1710).⁵¹ A manuscript at the same library that was probably part of the Aldrich bequest includes the four soprano motets as well as *Pompae vanae*, *Aligeri amores* and *Eia tubae*, while another one has the violone (basso continuo) part of *Quid arma, quid*

48 S-L, Engelhardt 203. On Engelhardt, see Edling 2016 and on the collection, see Andersson 1997.

49 On Anders von Düben's opposition to Engelhardt's nomination, see Kjellberg 2010, pp. 15–17.

50 Both copies of the basso continuo in S-Uu, Vmhs 70:2 lack the final Alleluia movement.

51 On Aldrich as a collector, see Shay 1996, pp. 377–384, and the entry in the library's online catalogue.

70.

Ritornello
Facet.

Canto solo.

Quid arma quid bella quid ar - ma quid

bella quid ar - ma quid arma quid bella & caetero

Figure 3. Bassani's *Quid arma, quid bella*. Soprano part preserved in the Gerer manuscript in the music collection of the Oettingen family, now part of the university library in Augsburg. D-HR, III 4 1/2 4° 687, p. 70.

bella.⁵² A second manuscript, with all the motets from the *Metri sacri* put into score, was bought by the Bodleian Library in 1939 and has been tentatively identified as in Aldrich's hand.⁵³ All of these sources not only point to an interest in the music in the *Metri sacri* but also hint at their actual performance.

Yet another manuscript score at the Bodleian Library of all twelve motets from the *Metri sacri* belonged to John Awbery (1720–1775), a fellow of New College Oxford who copied scores for his own library but also appears to have been involved in Oxford's concert life.⁵⁴ Further sources in Oxford confirm the popularity of Bassani and the *Metri sacri* there. A manuscript at Christ Church College copied by Richard Goodson Sr (1655–1718), organist of Christ Church Cathedral, includes the three soprano motets *Quid arma, quid bella, In hoc mundo* and *In caligine umbrosa*.⁵⁵ Similarly, a manuscript now at Westminster Abbey, with the voice parts of the complete *Metri sacri*, was originally part of the library of the Academy of Ancient Music.⁵⁶

Some manuscripts can be traced throughout the centuries. A prime example is the manuscript 'Resi armonici' with the indication "Anvers 1691" listed among the quarto-size items in the catalogue of books offered for sale by the publisher and bookseller Thomas Osborne in 1751 and in 1754 at a price of five shillings.⁵⁷ The catalogues include books

52 GB-Och, Mus. 763. The violone part is Mus. 690.

53 GB-Ob, MS. Mus. d. 207: "Bassani's songs scord [sic]". The catalogue entry in the library's online catalogue gives the date of acquisition and the statement that the copyist is "early 18th cent., possibly Henry Aldrich". See also RISM id 800226849.

54 GB-Ob, MS. Mus b. 2^a, with a manuscript owner's note "John Awbery fellow of New Coll. Oxford", see the entry in the library's online catalogue and RISM id 800273000. Identification of the copyist as Awbery himself appears in Ward Jones & Burrows 2002, p. 70. On Awbery, see Burrows & Ward Jones 2004, pp. 122–124.

55 GB-Och, Mus. 23, see the entry in the library's online catalogue.

56 GB-Lwa, CG 46. See Johnstone 2014, pp. 351–352.

57 Osborne 1751, p. 90, no. 2892: "Resi Armonici in Motetti a Voce Sola con Violini da Gio. Batt. Basana [sic], Mss. 58". Again in Osborne 1754, p. 120, no. 22510: "Resi Armonici in Motetti a Voce sola con Violini da Gio. Battista Bassani, 2 vol. *cuceto*, 58 – Anvers 1691". Note the absence of "Mss" and the addition of "Anvers 1691" in the second instance.

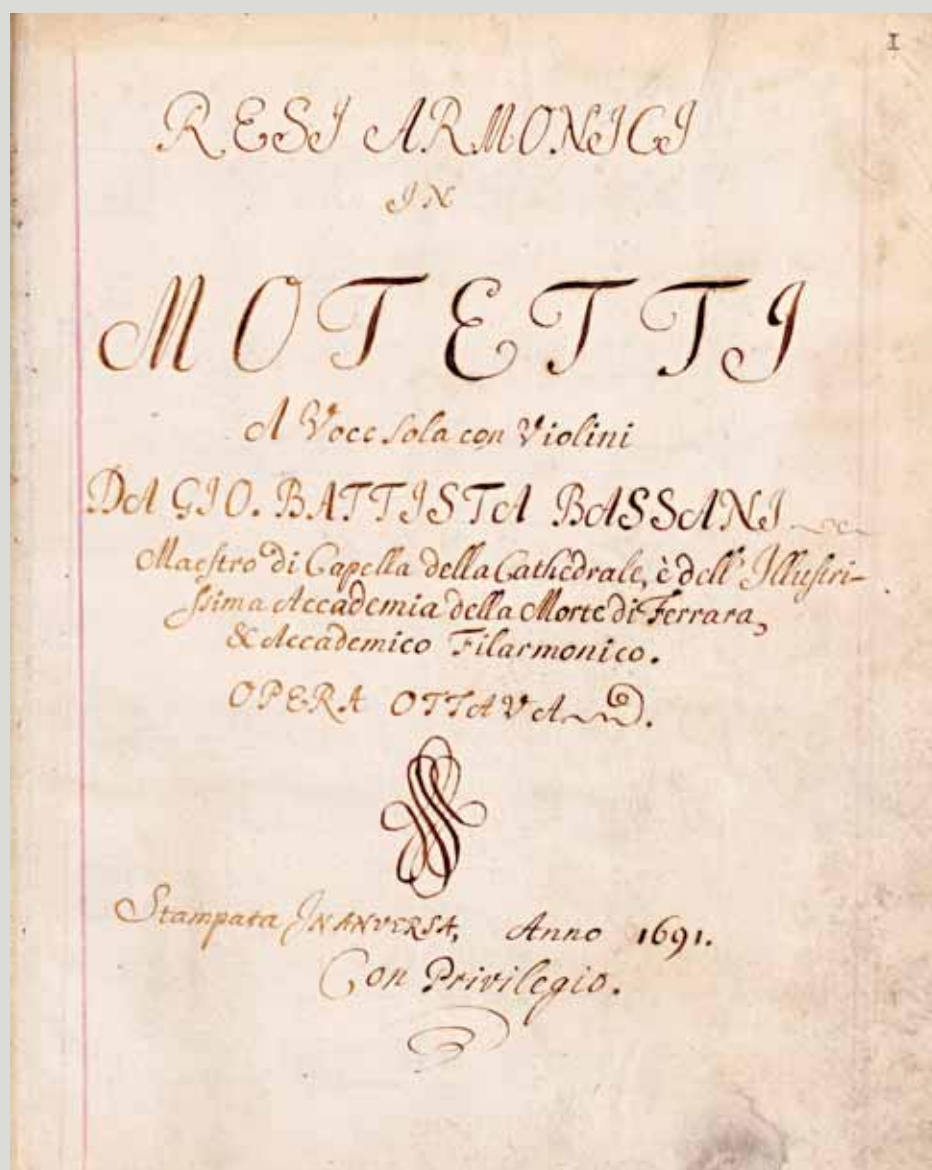


Figure 4. Title page of the manuscript 'Resi armonici' from Charles Burney's library. Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky, ND VI 23.

from the libraries of various owners, but the origins of individual books are unfortunately not indicated. Given the title and date, the manuscript was almost certainly copied from Aertssens's edition or from an intermediary manuscript. This manuscript was the same one that was later part of Charles Burney's (1726–1814) library (see *Figure 4*).

The auction catalogue of Burney's collection includes a manuscript in score of "motetti a voce sola con violini & 6 sonatas" by Bassani, dated "1691".⁵⁸ An annotated copy of the catalogue states that it was sold for five shillings to James Bartleman (1769–1821), a well-known bass singer and collector.⁵⁹ Bartleman's collection was in turn auctioned in 1822.⁶⁰ Then or later, the manuscript was bought by the collector Charles Hatchett, and it eventually ended up in the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky in Hamburg.⁶¹ The title page gives the date of Aertssens's edition (1691), while the manuscript itself was copied in 1694.⁶² Although the title page shows that it derived from Aertssens's edition, the texts of the motets are actually *contrafacta*. Some include new designations: *Audite reges*, which Bassani simply gives as "for a martyr saint", now appears as a motet for "Saint Thomas [Becket] of Canterbury or another martyr saint".⁶³ The other motets also appear with new texts. The first words "Quid arma, quid bella", for example, become "Quid minas, quid arma" (see *Figure 5*).

Another British manuscript source that derives from Aertssens's or Roger's edition is the one entitled "Resi armonici in motetti sacri a voce sola con violini da Gio. Battista Basani, opera ottava", now in the Royal Library in Brussels. This manuscript appears in the sale of the collec-

58 Burney 1973, p. 10, no. 241: "Bassani (G. B.) Motetti a voce Sola, con Violini, & 6 sonatas, in score, MS. 1691".

59 Burney 1973 is a facsimile of this annotated copy (from the British Library). On Bartleman, see Highfill *et al.* 1973, pp. 367–369.

60 Bartleman 1822, p. 28 no. 997: "Bassani – Motetti, 1691 and Sonate in score Ms." is how the volume is then listed.

61 Along with numerous other manuscripts of English provenance and/or content in Hamburg (see Charteris 1997), it was listed in Charteris 1998, p. 92, who notes the Hatchett provenance. The manuscript is RISM id 451512415.

62 The date appears at the end of the manuscript as "1694. Mar. 4".

63 "Per S. Thoma di Canterbury, ò per qual si voglio [*sic*] altro santo martire", see RISM id 451512426.



Figure 5. Beginning of Bassani's *Quid arma, quid bella* as a contrafactum, beginning with the words "Quid minas, quid arma". Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky, ND VI 23.

tion of the controversial librarian and collector Guglielmo Libri (1803–1869).⁶⁴ The Belgian music librarian and collector François-Joseph Fétis (1784–1871) bought the manuscript, along with other music books, at that sale in 1858.⁶⁵ When the Belgian Royal Library bought Fétis' collection in 1872, it included this manuscript.⁶⁶ It is in an 18th-century full-leather binding and has the engraved armorial bookplate of "S.^r John Percivale Baronet of Burton in the County of Cork in Ireland. 1702".⁶⁷ Although the bookplate was made in 1702, the book may of course have been acquired before or after that date, albeit probably not after 1715, when a new engraved bookplate was made on the occasion of Perceval's title being raised to a Barony.⁶⁸ Perceval (1683–1748), who still later became the first Earl of Egmont, was educated at Magdalen College Oxford until 1701, after which he toured England and, between 1705 and 1707, Europe.⁶⁹ He was a great music enthusiast and was (later) deeply involved with the Royal Academy of Music and the Academy of Ancient Music.⁷⁰

Thus, editions from the Continent and manuscripts based on them played a clear part in the dissemination of the *Metri sacri* in Britain. In fact, it seems likely that Pearson's *Harmonia festiva* edition was based on one such manuscript rather than on a printed edition, because it contains errors that do not appear in any of the printed editions. An example is the imperfect text in the first recitative of *Quid arma, quid bella*.⁷¹ In turn, the separate song-sheet edition of *Quid arma, quid bella*

64 Libri 1858, p. 146, no. 1947: "Resi armonici in motetti sacri di Gio. Batt. Bassani. Manuscrit des xvii^e et xviii^e siècles, in-fol, bas."

65 Becquart 1972/1973, p. 148, n. 4.

66 Fétis 1877, p. 236, no. 1839: "Resi armonici in motetti sacri a voce sola con violini da Gio. Battista Bassani. Opera ottava. MS 1 vol. in-fol." The manuscript is now preserved under shelfmark Ms II 3875 Mus Fétis 1839, RISM id 700005790.

67 The bookplate is cited in Franks 1903, p. 351, either no. 23291 or *160.

68 Franks 1903, p. 350, no. 23283.

69 Collins 1768, pp. 597–598.

70 Gibson 1987, p. 143; Johnstone 2020, *passim*.

71 *Harmonia festiva* score, p. 9: "Depone barbara tella, ò selerum parens, satis in vulnero ferox, fata crudelia, in corde meo desimines", instead of: "Depone barbara tela ò scelerum parens satis in vulnera ferox fata crudelia in corde meo disseminas", here taken from *Metri sacri* 1690, Parte che canta, p. 10.

was certainly based on Pearson's, because it contains the exact same misspellings in that recitative. Pearson's edition was printed in all likelihood in 1708, since it was advertised on 20 November of that year in *The Daily Courant* newspaper.⁷²

This edition both took advantage of the existing popularity of Bassani and his *Metri sacri* in Britain, and gave them a further boost. Hawkins commented in 1776 on Pearson's *Harmonia festiva* editions of Bassani's opuses 8 and 13 that

many of the masters here gave them to their scholars as lessons; and there are ladies now living, who had Mr. [John] Robinson [d. 1762], the late organist of Westminster abbey, for their master, who yet sing to the harpsichord those two favourite airs of Bassani, *Quid Arma, quid Bella*, and *Alligeri Amores*.⁷³

Pearson's edition explicitly singles out these two motets on the title page: *Harmonia festiva* "wherein are the celebrated mottetts of *Quid Arma, quid Bella*, and *Alegeri Amores*". Other sources also point to the success of these motets in particular. For instance, a manuscript miscellany with mostly English music, compiled and owned by John Walter, the organist at Eton College between 1681 and 1705 (subsequently in the library of Chichester Cathedral), also includes Bassani's *Aligeri amores*.⁷⁴ Another manuscript miscellany, comprising Italian music and two pieces by Purcell, includes Bassani's *Ave verax honor* and *Quid arma, quid bella*. It once belonged to Walter Michael Moseley (1765–1827), a music-loving gentleman from whose library other important musical manuscripts have also survived.⁷⁵

⁷² Tilmouth 1961, p. 72.

⁷³ Hawkins 1776, vol. 4, p. 287.

⁷⁴ It is now at GB-CHwsro, MS Cap. VI/1/1. On the manuscript, see Shay & Thompson 2000, pp. 121–123, and <https://celm-ms.org.uk/repositories/west-sussex-record-office.html>.

⁷⁵ US-SFsc, *M2.5 v. 50, as part of the collection of the Italian-American philanthropist Frank V. de Bellis. I have relied on the description at RISM id 117480. The described bookplate and name identify Moseley: see Burke 1871, vol. 2, pp. 953–954; for an obituary, see *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, vol. 97 (= n.s. 20), October 1827, pp. 367–370, which

Possibly the earliest documented owner of Pearson's edition appears from a copy now at the University of Michigan. It belonged to one Andrew Shaw, who signed it with his name and the fact that he was a graduate of Magdalene College, Cambridge. Given that he graduated in 1708, the year the book was published, he may well have acquired it that very year.⁷⁶ Another early owner was Thomas Britton (1644–1714), a small-coal dealer who in 1678 started organizing public concerts in his London home that became very popular. When his substantial music library was sold the year of his death, it included 'Bassani's motetts, opera 8 with symphonies,' almost certainly Pearson's edition, although Britton also owned non-British editions of Bassani's music.⁷⁷ The two were in close contact. Pearson is known to have borrowed "22 old song-books" from Britton in 1706 as source material for new editions of his own.⁷⁸

Another copy, at the Royal College of Music, belonged to the lawyer and book collector Thomas Bever (1725–1791), who wrote a note on it stating that it had been "purchased from Mr Gostling's collection", referring to the canon of Canterbury Cathedral and collector William Gostling (1696–1777).⁷⁹ Likewise, the gentleman Thomas Baker (1719–1794), a hop farmer and Justice of the Peace based in Farnham, Surrey,

states that "for music he had an hereditary taste" and that he composed for and played the violin and the organ. He also owned the Handel manuscript GB-Lbl, Add MS 30310.

76 US-AAu, M 2112.B32 H3, on the title page: "And: Shaw Magd: Coll." and "And: Shaw A.M. coll; Mag: Cant soc:." Venn & Venn 1927, p. 51, lists two Andrew Shaws, both at Magdalene College. The former enrolled in 1701 and obtained his M.A. in 1708. The latter (the former's son) enrolled in 1737. Given the date of publication, our Shaw was probably the older one.

77 On Britton, see Price 1978. The catalogue itself is lost but was reprinted in Hawkins 1776, vol. 5, pp. 79–88: p. 86, no. 16 for this reference. It also includes (p. 83, no. 77) 'Bassani's opera quinta, and a set of sonatas', which was either the Italian edition from 1683 or, more likely, Aertssens's edition from 1691 or Roger's from 1707/1708.

78 Price 1978, p. 1033.

79 On Bever and his music library, see Charteris 2000, particularly p. 203 for this item and Bever's ownership and acquisition notes. On Gostling and the collection, see Hyatt King 1963, pp. 19–20. He continued his father John Gostling's collection.

owned a copy of the *Harmonia festiva* edition as well.⁸⁰ A now lost copy was in the library of York Minster.⁸¹ Gradually moving towards the turn of the 19th century, further early owners of Pearson's edition were a certain Fanny Birch, who signed her copy in 1797, and the Mackworth family, who lived near Neath in Wales and acquired a copy, now in Cardiff, as part of a music collection assembled during the 18th century.⁸² Another owner was Richard John Samuel Stevens (1757–1837), the organist of the Charterhouse almshouse and school in London from 1796 until his death, who signed his copy in 1817.⁸³ Like Aldrich, Stevens owned two manuscripts in which, in a different order, almost all of the motets from the *Metri sacri* appear in score.⁸⁴ One of the two, which earlier had been in the library of the composer Philip Hayes (1738–1797), has an early note stating that the eight Bassani motets with which it opens “are in Mr Awbrey's book.”⁸⁵ In fact, as we saw, John Awbrey indeed owned a manuscript with the whole *Metri sacri* in score, and it may therefore be the source of Hayes' manuscript.

Conclusion: Repeating patterns

By merging the information derived from the books still in existence with that from archival and other documentary sources, new connections emerge and the various snippets of information start to add up to more than the sum of their parts. One of the difficulties is the identification of specific surviving copies as the ones mentioned in various types of documents, which allows us to establish longer chains of ownership. What happened with the books between the end of the early modern period and their entrance into modern collections between the 19th and

80 See Martin 2013, p. 40. This collection is now at Western University in London, Ontario, Canada.

81 An 18th-century register of borrowings from the library mentions the *Harmonia festiva* opus 13 and “op. 8”, see Griffiths 1982, p. 635.

82 On the collection in general, see McCleave 2000. It was largely assembled by Herbert Mackworth (1737–1791), although his father and grandfather probably contributed as well.

83 The former is now at US-BEm, the latter in GB-Lam (see *Appendix 2*).

84 GB-Lam, MS 43 and MS 45. The only piece not included is *Mortalis o mortalis*.

85 GB-Lam, MS 43.

20th centuries? During these later centuries, items tended to move from private into public collections, although numerous exceptions remain.

An example is that of a complete set of partbooks of Aertssens's 1691 edition that is listed in the 1880 catalogue of the library of the bibliophile Henry Huth (1815–1878).⁸⁶ When the collection was sold in 1911, following the death of Huth's son Alfred, the set was listed in the auction catalogue.⁸⁷ According to a list of buyers and prices, this copy was bought by Quaritch, the London booksellers, for £18-10s.⁸⁸ However, Quaritch appears to have acted as an intermediary for the British Museum. The institution's annual report to Parliament states that, as determined by Huth, the library freely selected 50 volumes from the collection as a bequest, but also bought a further 28 books at the auction, including the *Resi armonici*.⁸⁹

Small details also warrant attention. For instance, a single basso continuo partbook of Aertssens's edition appeared at the sale of the library of theatre historian Eduard von Bamberg (1852–1927) in 1929. According to the auction catalogue, the bottom right corner of the title page of that copy had been repaired.⁹⁰ The only separate basso continuo partbook of this edition that is now known is the one at the conservatory in Venice, which was part of the collection of the music historian Fausto Torrefranca (1883–1955). It has the exact same repair mentioned in the von Bamberg catalogue, making it clear that it is the same copy.⁹¹ More often, connecting the dots like this remains difficult or impossible. For example, in the catalogue of the Libri sale in 1858, two copies of Aerts-

86 Huth 1880, p. 1645.

87 Huth 1911, p. 144, no. 495, with a description of the binding of as “crushed blue morocco extra, antique gilt ornaments, g[ilt] e[dges] by F. Bedford”. The binder was Francis Bedford (1799–1883); for a biographical sketch, see Fletcher & Girling-Budd 2020.

88 *Book-Prices* 1912, p. 98, no. 1172 for the Quaritch and the Huth sale.

89 Fortescue 1912, pp. 25–30: “The following printed books, twenty-eight in number, were purchased by the Trustees: [last item =] Bassani, Giovanni Battista: ‘Resi armonici in motetti a voce sola con violini.’ Henrico Aertssens, Antwerp, 1691”.

90 Bamberg 1929, p. 3, no. 3748. The binding is specified as a “neuer Halbfranzband”, and a repair is described as “rechte untere Ecke des Titelblattes ausgebessert”.

91 Fabiano 1992, vol. 1, p. 72, no. 122. I-Vc, Torr. St. Ant. n. 661.

sens's *Metri sacri* edition are listed, but it is unclear with which, if any, of the now surviving copies these can be identified.⁹² Are they the two sets that later turned up in the collections of Huth and the Royal Library in Brussels?

The trails of numerous copies that appear in archival records and old catalogues appear to have gone cold. For example, a copy of the 1690 first edition of the *Metri sacri* appeared in the catalogue of the large private library of Baron Horace de Landau (1824–1903), published in Florence in 1890.⁹³ In 1949, when his heirs sold the music part of it at Sotheby's in London, Bassani's *Metri sacri* was still part of the library.⁹⁴ The current whereabouts of this copy are unknown, but it could be the one now at the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, which acquired it at an auction in 1972. Other examples abound: in 1877 a copy of the *Harmonia festiva* opus 8 was listed in the catalogue of the booksellers Kirchhoff & Wigand in Leipzig, in 1905 a copy was listed in the library of the collector Thomas William Taphouse, and in 1913 a copy appeared at an auction in Leipzig as part of an unidentified "valuable library of music books".⁹⁵ Even more intriguing is a copy of the two books of Pearson's *Harmonia festiva* (Bassani's opus 8 and 13) bound together with a three-page manuscript motet for solo voice by "Gratiani" that is listed in an 1882 catalogue of the Berlin bookseller Albert Cohn.⁹⁶ Given this com-

92 Libri 1858, p. 146, no. 1948: "Resi armonici in motetti a voce sola con violini, di G. B. Bassani. Anvers, 1691. in 4, d -rel." and no. 1949 "Resi armonici in motetti a voce sola con violini di G. B. Bassani, opera ottava. Anversa, 1691, 4 vol. in 4, v." The latter specifically given as "les quatre parties complètes".

93 Landau 1890, p. 224, no distinguishing features are mentioned.

94 Landau & Finaly 1948, p. 91. See also Hill 1950 for music books from the collection acquired by the Library of Congress.

95 Kirchhoff & Wigand 1877, p. 5, no. 435: "Bassani, Harmonia festiva, being the eight [*sic*] opera of divine mottetts. For a single voice with proper symphonies. Fol. London, Cullen (16..) [*sic*] 13. –"; Taphouse 1905, p. 7; Boerner 1913, p. 12, no. 74. The latter is bound in a *Halbfranzband* together with the opus 13 *Harmonia festiva*. See also Haselbach 1955, pp. 29–31, for some references in booksellers' catalogues.

96 Cohn 1882, p. 3, no. 25: "Bassani. Harmonia festiva, being the eighth and thirteenth opera of divine mottetts. For a single voice with proper symphonies. 2 parts. London, printed by William Pearson. fol. 8. – Angebunden: Motet de Gratiani a voce sola. 3 Bll. Manuscript".

bination of elements, this must be the same item that was later acquired by the singer and organist William Hayman Cummings (1831–1915), because it was listed in the sale of his estate at Sotheby's in 1917.⁹⁷ None of these items can so far be linked to other references or surviving copies.

The other face of the same problem is tracing surviving copies further back in time than the 19th century. One of the two surviving copies of Roger's edition is at the Royal College of Music in London. It originates from the Sacred Harmonic Society, which owned it since at least 1853, when it appeared bound together with a set of Bassani's motets opus 12, also in Roger's edition, and the *Harmonia festiva* opus 13.⁹⁸ Additionally, the Society also owned a copy of Pearson's *Harmonia festiva* opus 8 bound together in a single volume with yet a further copy of the *Harmonia festiva* opus 13. The fact that the Society owned two copies of the opus 13 is explained by the fact that the latter volume, with the two Pearson editions, had been "presented to the Society by the Rev. F. J. Stainforth".⁹⁹ Both sets remained in the Society's collection and eventually ended up at the Royal College of Music.¹⁰⁰ Here, as elsewhere, the very earliest owners are unknown.

Nevertheless, from the evidence that has emerged so far, we can start to draw some tentative conclusions. The "celebrity" of *Quid arma, quid bella* as declared on the English song-sheet edition of that work can indeed be backed up with further evidence of its popularity not only in Britain but also on the Continent. The motet appears often enough as (part of) a selection from the *Metri sacri* to suggest that it was one of the

97 Cummings 1917, p. 28, no. 258: "Bassani (Seignior) Harmonia Festiva, being the eighth and thirteenth Opera of Divine Mottetts, *n. d.*; Motet de Gratiani, à voce sola, Manuscript, in 2 vol. half morocco".

98 Catalogue 1853, p. 25, no. 247: "Resi Armonici in Motetti, a Voce sola con Violini, da Gio. Battista Bassani. Opera Ottava. Folio. *Amsterdam, n. d.*", followed by the two other editions and the note that "the above three sets of Motetts (which are bound together) are in separate parts".

99 Catalogue 1853, p. 25, no. 248. The donor was Francis F. Stainforth (d. 1869), an avid collector of many things, including stamps and shells. Some biographical information is in Cosmo Melvill 1889–1891, p. 211.

100 Later catalogues of the Society's library continue to include these items with virtually the same wording.

more popular pieces from the set. The truly pan-European success of the set as a whole is also clearly borne out. Sometimes, in Protestant settings, the Marian *Ave verax* is excluded, but mostly confessional boundaries did not hinder its dissemination. Adaptations to local needs and tastes also emerged in other ways: the *contrafactum* of *In hoc mundo incostante* in the Polish source and the new texts for the complete *Metri sacri* in the English manuscript now in Hamburg are clear evidence of direct concerns with the usability of the music. The opposite of such *contrafacta* also occurs: a manuscript that derives from the Piarist monastery at Podolíneč, a place we already encountered above, seems to contain a new musical setting of the text of Bassani's *Pompae vanae* by the otherwise unknown Georg Neuner. The work is for soprano (as opposed to Bassani's bass), two violins and basso continuo, and was copied on 9 June 1754.¹⁰¹ Cases like these—new texts to Bassani's music and new music to Bassani's texts—further complicate the secure identification of his music on the basis of descriptions in early inventories and other archival sources.

Despite such issues, as well as the fact that further sources documenting the circulation and early ownership of Bassani's *Metri sacri resi armonici* are bound to come to light, this chapter has shown that the large-scale cultural phenomenon of the circulation of Italian music in early modern Europe can be effectively studied also by homing in on the fortune of a single successful publication or piece of music within it, and that this does not entail losing sight of the larger-scale phenomenon. In fact, the whole breadth of patterns and issues that characterize the circulation of Italian music as a whole appears to repeat itself—almost fractal-like—at a smaller scale, from a single composer, to a single publication, down to single compositions.

101 SK-J, H-595. The information given here derives from the description at RISM id 570002284. The title on the source indicates the author as "Signore Georgio Neuner". The musical incipit is different from Bassani's setting but the textual incipit is the same: "Pompae vanae inhumanae, clara fama blanda sors".

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Content of the *Metri sacri resi armonici*

- 1 *Ave verax honor castitatis* (per la Beata Vergine o per qual si voglia santa), Soprano
- 2 *Quid arma, quid bella* (per ogni tempo), Soprano
- 3 *In hoc mundo incostante* (per ogni tempo), Soprano
- 4 *In caligine umbrosa* (per ogni tempo), Soprano
- 5 *Mortalis, o mortalis* (per qual si voglia santo), Alto
- 6 *Corda languida in amore* (per la Beata Vergine), Alto
- 7 *Gustate libate* (per il Santissimo), Alto
- 8 *Aligeri amores* (per ogni tempo), Alto
- 9 *Cari zephiri volantes* (per ogni tempo), Bass
- 10 *Pompae vanae inhumanae* (per ogni tempo), Bass
- 11 *Audite reges* (per un santo martire), Bass
- 12 *Eia tubae resonare* (per S. Antonio, o per qual si voglia santo), Bass

Appendix 2

Editions and copies of the *Metri sacri resi armonici*

Parte, che Canta. [Violino Primo.] [Violino Secondo.] [Baffo Continuo.] | METRI SACRI | RESI ARMONICI | IN MOTETTI | A voce fola con Violini | *Dedicati alla Virtù, e Merito singolare del Reuerendissimo Padre* | GIACOMO PAOLO SARTORI | Dottore, Teologo Collegiato di Padoua, e Lettore | di Filofopia in Ferrara. | DA GIO. BATTISTA BASSANI | Maestro di Cappella della Cathedrale, e dell'Illuſtriffima Accademia | della Morte di Ferrara, & Accademico Filarmonico | OPERA OTTAVA. | [vignette] | In Bologna, per Pier Maria Monti. 1690. Con licenza de' Superiori. | *Si ven dono da Marino Siluani, all'Inſegna del Violino, con Priuilegio.* RISM A/I B 1180

— D-B | Shelfmark: N.mus.ant.pract. 25 (only 2nd violin) Provenance: acquired in 1972 at auction.¹⁰²

— D-F | Shelfmark: Mus W 8 (complete) Provenance: library of the Frankfurt Gymnasium (before 1872).¹⁰³

102 At Karl Hartung in Munich, catalogue no. 1, no. 162.4 (1972).

103 Israël 1872, pp. 10–11.

- F-Pn | VM¹ 1062 (wanting the voice part). Provenance: the musician Hartwig Zysich (1630–1712).
- NL-Usg (in NL-Uu) | Shelfmark: Collectie Sint-Gregoriusbibliotheek, Map 240–1603 (only voice part). Provenance: Nederlandse Sint-Gregoriusvereniging.
- PL-Kj | Shelfmark: Mus. ant. pract. B 203 (complete). Provenance: formerly at D-B.¹⁰⁴
- US-SFsc | De Bellis collection. Shelfmark: M2102.B3888 M488 1690 (only Basso continuo).

Parte che Canta. [Violino Primo.] [Violino Secondo.] [Basso Continuo.] | RESI ARMONICI | IN | MOTETTI | A voce fola con Violini. | DA GIO. BATTISTA BASSANI | Maestro di Capella della Cathedrale, e dell'Illustrissima Accademia della Morte di Ferrara, | & Accademico Filarmonico. | OPERA OTTAVA. | [vignette] | *IN ANVERSA*, | Per Henrico Aertssens, Stampatore di Mufica, all'Infigna del Monte Parnaffo. 1691. | *Con Privilegio*. RISM A/I B 1181

- B-Br | Shelfmark: II 8.313 A (RP) (complete).¹⁰⁵
- B-Lc | Not in RISM. Shelfmark: 24/3G08 (complete). Provenance: Jean-Léonard Terry (1816–1882), whose library was acquired in 1885.¹⁰⁶ Before that owned by the musician Jacques Lelong (probably in 1691) and subsequently by the Church of Our Lady in Tongeren (in 1692).
- F-Pc (in F-Pn) | Shelfmark: Vmc 1887 (only voice part).
- F-Pn | Shelfmark: Vmc 149 (complete). Provenance: the musicologist Geneviève Thibault, Countess Chambure (1902–1975).
- GB-Lbl | Shelfmark: Music Collections K.4.f.7 (complete). Provenance: Henry Huth (1815–1878).
- GB-Och | Shelfmark: Mus. 163-6 (complete). Provenance: bequest of Henry Aldrich (1648–1710).
- I-Vc | Shelfmark: Torr. St. Ant. n. 661 (only basso continuo).¹⁰⁷ Provenance: the musicologist Fausto Torrefranca. Before that in the library of Eduard von Bamberg (1852–1927).
- NL-Usg (in NL-Uu) | Shelfmark: Collectie Sint-Gregoriusbibliotheek, Mappen 240–1603 (wanting the voice part).

¹⁰⁴ See Patalas 1999, p. 29.

¹⁰⁵ Huys 1965, p. 21, no. 23.

¹⁰⁶ Barthélémy 1992, pp. 19–20. On Terry and his library see Monseur 1956; Barthélémy 1976.

¹⁰⁷ Fabiano 1992, vol. 1, p. 72, no. 122.

Parte che Canta. [Violino Primo.] [Violino Secondo.] [Baffo Continuo.] | METRI SACRI | RESI ARMONICI | IN MOTETTI | A voce sola con Violino | *DEL SIGNORE* | GIO. BATTISTA | BASSANI | Maestro di Capella della Cattedrale, e dell'Illustrissima Accademia della Morte di Ferrara, & | Accademico Filarmonico. Opera Ottava. | [vignette] | In Bologna. per Marino Siluani. 1696. Con licenza de' Superiori | *All'Insegna del Violino, con Priuilegio.* RISM A/I B 1182

— CH-Zz | Shelfmark: AMG XIII 506 (complete). Provenance: a local *Collegium musicum*, who bought it in 1710.

— D-OB | Shelfmark unknown (wanting the basso continuo).¹⁰⁸

— I-Rsg | Shelfmark: St.mus.93 (complete).¹⁰⁹

Canto. [Violino Primo] [Violino Secondo] [Basso Continuo] | RESI ARMONICI | IN | MOTETTI | A Voce sola con Violini. | DA GIO. BATTISTA BASSANI | Maestro di Capella della Cathedrale, e dell'Illustrissima Accademia della | Morte di Ferrara, & Accademico Filarmonico. | OPERA OTTAVA. | [vignette] | A Amsterdam, chez ESTIENNE ROGER Marchand Libraire. RISM A/I B 1183

— F-Pc (in F-Pn) | Shelfmark: Rés F. 1564 (only vocal part and 2nd violin). Provenance: Henri Dumont (an unidentified 18th-century owner, not the composer of that name, who died in 1684), as appears from the inscription on the *verso* of the title page: "Hic liber amicus | Christi reddatur amore | Nopa est quod quiras | Respice nomen adest | Henrijcus Dumont".

— GB-Lcm | Shelfmark: D11/1; 4; 7; 10 (complete). Provenance: Sacred Harmonic Society (shown by a library roundel).¹¹⁰

Harmonia Feſtiua, | Being the Eighth | OPERA | OF | Divine Mottetts. | COMPOS'D | By Seignior *BASSANI*. | For a Single Voice with proper *Symphonies*. | Wherein are the Celebrated Mottetts of *Quid Arma*, | *quid Bella*, and *Alegeri Amores*. | LONDON: | Printed by *William Pearson* for *John Cullen* at the Buck between the two Temple-| Gates, *Fleet-ſtreet* and *John Young* at the Dolphin and Crown in St. *Paul's Church-Yard*. | Where may be had his Thirteenth Opera. RISM B.1184

— A-Wn | Shelfmark: MS10806-4° MUS MAG. Provenance: the online catalogue has the note "Tausch Hoboken XI. 27". The copy was thus obtained

108 Copy listed in RISM and Haberkamp 1986, p. 271.

109 Rostirolla 2002, vol. 2, p. 966, no. 8940.

110 Catalogue 1853, p. 25, no. 247.

through exchange, presumably from Anthony van Hoboken (1887–1983), in 1927.¹¹¹

— US-BEm | Shelfmark: M2102.B388 M48 1708. Provenance: this is the copy listed in RISM in Paris in the collection of André Meyer (1884–1974). His collection was sold at auction in 2012, when the catalogue identifies previous owners of this copy as “Fanny Birch 1797” (a manuscript ownership note) and Guido Richard Wagener (stamp: “Geh. Rath Wagener Marburg”).¹¹²

— CDN-Lu | Not in RISM. Shelfmark: MZ1210. Provenance: part of the Thomas Baker (1719/20–1794) Collection.

— GB-Bu | Shelfmark: q M2113.B275. According to the online catalogue not separate parts, as stated in RISM, but “1 score”.

— GB-CDspca | Shelfmark: M.C. 3.22, volume 230. Provenance: this is the copy listed in RISM at GB-CDp, which together with the other rare books were acquired in 2010 by the university library. Provenance: Mackworth family, not later than Herbert Mackworth (1737–1791).

— GB-Cfm | Shelfmark: MU.492. Provenance: copy presented to the library by the musician Vincent Novello (1781–1861) in 1849.

— GB-Ckc | Shelfmark: Rw.110.8. Provenance: Louis Thompson Rowe (1855–1927).

— GB-Cpc | Shelfmark: MUS.6.27.3.

— GB-Cpl | Shelfmark: XRa.850.65B.H1. Provenance: copy presented to the library by the musicologist Edward J. Dent (1876–1957), “Bound May 1946”.

— GB-Ge | Shelfmarks: Sp Coll R.x.58. Provenance: the bequest of William Euing (1788–1874).¹¹³ Listed in RISM as parts.

— GB-Lam | Shelfmark: 2 BASSANI. Provenance: according to the online catalogue: “Signed and dated on the title page ‘R. J. Stevens Charterhouse, 1817’”.

— GB-Lbl | Shelfmark: Music Collections G.71 (parts for 1st and 2nd violin).

— GB-Lcm | Shelfmark: D12/1. Provenance: William Gostling (1696–1777), Thomas Bever (1725–1791), Musical Union Institute, South Kensington Museum,¹¹⁴ Sacred Harmonic Society.

— GB-Lghl | Shelfmarks: G MUS NO 1 IN 263 and G MUS NO 1 IN 264. These are the copies listed by RISM in GB-Lgc. Provenance: “presented by J[ohn]

111 Also reported in Haselbach 1955, p. 30 no. 9. The book is reported as a new acquisition in Haas 1929, p. 568.

112 Meyer 2012, p. 26, no. 25.

113 See Euing 1878, p. 147.

114 Catalogue 1876, p. 437: ‘Bassani. Harmonia Festiva, being the Eighth and Thirteenth Opera of Divine Motetts; with some others by the same Author in MS. 8 parts, Vocal and Instrumental, in a case. 4to. half calf. (No. 119), as part of the “Collection of works on music. Given by professor [John] Ella, founder and director of the Musical Union Institute”.

P[ayne] Street, Esq.” (the librarian of the Madrigal Society) and the 1872 catalogue also already lists “two other copies” of the same.¹¹⁵

— GB-Ob | Not in RISM. Shelfmark: Mus. 46 c.14. Provenance: copy acquired around 1996.¹¹⁶

— GB-WCr | This refers to the copy now at CDN-Lu.

— US-AAu | Shelfmark: M 2112.B32 H3. Provenance: the Belgian jurist and musicologist Jean Auguste Stellfeld (1881–1952), label with “Library of the University of Michigan Stellfeld purchase 1954”.¹¹⁷ On the title page in pen in an 18th-century hand: “And: Shaw Magd: Coll.” and “And: Shaw A.M. coll: Mag: Cant soc:”.

— US-BLu | Shelfmark: M2104.B32.

— US-CHua | Shelfmark: M2079.L63 B3 1700z from the Mackay-Smith fund. Parts for voice, 1st and 2nd violin.

— US-NH | Shelfmark: Mx33 B293 op. 8.

— US-Pu | The library reported that no copy could be located in the collection.

— US-Wc | Shelfmark: M 2112.B26 Case.

115 Catalogue 1872, p. 13.

116 Bodleian 1996, p. 8.

117 On the purchase see Cuyler *et al.* 1954.

GIULIA GIOVANI

Printers, sellers, buyers and the need for a network in 17th- and 18th-century Bologna

IN 17TH- AND 18TH-CENTURY Italy, printers and booksellers were important mediators in the circulation of musical scores. As professionals with a high degree of specialization, usually handed down from father to son for generations, they guaranteed the production and dissemination of printed music books in different regions by means of a network built over many years. Their work was directly affected by the economic situation at the time, as well as by the printing technologies available to them, which in turn directly affected the quality of the books, the number of exemplars printed, and their dissemination. It is therefore important, when investigating the impact of Italian music abroad, to consider the surviving documentation of the exporting of books via trade routes.

Although the importance of economic history is widely recognized in the study of the circulation of goods, the situation is more complex when applying commercial considerations to the circulation of printed music. Such research entails consulting a wide variety of sources, including commercial agreements, taxation laws, account books, letters, and printed and manuscript scores. It is therefore necessary to employ a range of approaches considering factors such as the material aspects, such as the paper and musical type used; the economic system, such as taxation laws or the implementation of privileges; and purely musical aspects, such as the composer's reputation and style, genre, and public taste. All of these must be taken into account to fully understand how printed music circulated. Furthermore, it must be recalled that in this period every Italian state had its own government and set of laws. This chapter considers how archival documentation can be used to build a picture of musical dissemination in Bologna, as a case study. While aspects of the methodology presented here can be applied to the circula-

tion of Italian music more broadly, each regional centre was operating under different circumstances, of which future studies must always take account.

In this chapter, I focus on a number of specific aspects that characterized the activities of the Bolognese Silvani firm over a period of 60 years, to examine different aspects of material history connected with the production and circulation of music scores. Indeed, documents preserved in Bologna allow us to highlight commercial exchanges and thereby partially reconstruct the network of relationships necessary for the prosperity of any economic activity, obviously also including those involving music books. The initial assumption is that, as with other economic sectors, in music publishing great attention needs to be paid to those material aspects that affect the cost of making books from the outset until their sale, regardless of the quality of the music that they transmit.

After a brief summary of the current state of knowledge and of the documents available for studying the material history of printed music, this essay will focus on a number of specific payment receipts that, in my opinion, are crucial for the development of new areas of research that address minor but essential personalities in the production and distribution chain of music books. This examination is certainly not exhaustive, but allows a glimpse into the opportunities that archival research can offer for the study of the circulation of music.¹ The aim is to propose an overview of various aspects to be considered for a thorough study of the circulation and dissemination of printed music.

¹ As I finished writing this essay during the lockdown period necessitated by the COVID-19 pandemic, it was impossible for me to expand on this research in historic libraries and archives. The cited documents are the result of previous research, mainly carried out in 2018 and 2019.

The state of music printing and publishing in Italy in the 17th and 18th centuries

On the occasion of a conference held in Venice several years ago, a group of international scholars reflected on the different contexts in which Italian music prints were produced.² The aim of the conference was to establish the effectiveness of the methodologies used and to decide what future directions research on the topic might take. At the time of the conference, the *Dizionario degli editori musicali italiani* was in preparation.³ The *Dizionario*, which was finally published in late 2019, having also been informed by the Venetian conference, offers an overview of the history of Italian music printing and immediately became a reference point for further studies. Following the publication of this dictionary, consideration of the circulation of music can finally take advantage of an updated research tool (including a recently updated bibliography), and the editor, Bianca Maria Antolini, was able to draw on the work of a number of scholars to begin to formulate some conclusions about the collaborations that have distinguished this area of production in the modern age.⁴

Thanks to renewed interest in music printers and publishers in Italy, particularly in recent decades, scholars can finally start addressing the subject of dissemination and reception, taking into account a large number of case studies and also reflecting on commercial and social aspects. While, on one hand, musicologists can now answer many questions posed previously, mainly relating to the printers' biographies and production, printing shop management and print runs, on the other hand, new doubts have started to emerge. What was the impact of printed sources on the transmission of music in different regions? What role did printed music play in the success of specific genres and composers, and in the persistence of repertoires? These questions cannot be given definite answers at this time.

2 *Music Printing and Publishing in Modern Italy: New Approaches*, 13–14 February 2014, Venice, Swiss Consulate & Giorgio Cini Foundation.

3 Antolini 2019a.

4 Antolini 2019b.

Economic contexts of the printing enterprises in Bologna

To study the dissemination and circulation of a musical work in its full context it is necessary to examine a wide range of sources relating to material culture. Material evidence is the most tangible historical sign and the most obvious proof of networks and relationships. The study of it—based on a range of sources—allows us to establish the background against which scholars can start to examine a particular musical phenomenon in its entirety, which is usually the objective of a musicological study. Scholars of music printing and publishing have always considered the material aspects of books and have established various methodologies that provide models for how such investigations can be undertaken.⁵

Bologna is a very good place to explore musical and documentary sources, both printed and manuscript, thanks to the huge collection of scores accumulated by Padre Giambattista Martini, which forms the core of the Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica of Bologna, and to the excellent preservation of several archives. In addition to the fact that researchers are fortunate in terms of the documents surviving there, specialist studies of the city's economic situation in the early modern period can also be consulted, as they allow us to explain the general propensity of people to enter productive sectors and to trade. The city, indeed, thanks to its geographic position and political condition, and despite increasing economic difficulties in the 17th century, was at the centre of a privileged commercial network.

In 1569 a brief from Pope Pio V tried to regulate exchange rates. During the 16th century, several private banks, mainly run by members of the Jewish community, were partially replaced by the foundation of a public pawn bank, the Monte di Pietà, necessary to support the city's business activities. To finance the public debt, the municipality funded different agencies, contributing to a change in the balance of Bolognese society. During the 17th century, to permit the sustainability of the system, civic banks made credit available to patricians and the nobility,

5 To cite a few, see studies by Richard J. Agee, Bianca Maria Antolini, Patrizio Barbieri, Jane A. Bernstein, Stanley Boorman, Tim Carter, Luigi Collarile, Iain Fenlon, Oscar Mischiati, and Rudolf Rasch.

who were able to use their real estate as collateral.⁶ In addition they set ethical rules, keeping fees on loans low to ensure liquidity. As Mauro Carboni has emphasized, “pawning was neither a sign of desperation nor an indication of improvidence” at that time,⁷ and in the 1690s the Monte started to support Bolognese productive sectors. The general wealth of the Bolognese area started to diminish during the 17th century due to famine, epidemics and the progressive collapse of the canals. This led to the impoverishment of the rural population, who were no longer in a position to pay duties on foodstuffs, animals and the grinding of grain, which exacerbated the city’s public debt.⁸ Despite a general decline in commerce, thanks to a tax law favourable to wealthy citizens, in the 16th and 17th centuries Venetian booksellers had branch offices or brokers in Bologna,⁹ and several documents testify to the transportation of books from the city to other Italian centres.¹⁰ Looking at the list of places reached by couriers in 1650,¹¹ economic scholars have been able to establish that Bolognese letters, and consequently goods, reached major Italian cities such as Rome, Genoa, Florence, Mantua, Turin, Modena, Milan, Venice, Naples, and the region of Sicily. From these centres, goods continued on to France, Spain, Germany, Austria, Flanders, Holland, England and all the territories administered by the Most Serene Republic.

Main sources for the studying of a Bolognese printing shop

Besides economic sources and documents, printed scores are the main materials at our disposal when investigating their dissemination. The physical examination of such sources, in addition to revealing their contents, helps scholars to establish their provenance and to extract data about their circulation through the analysis of watermarks, musi-

6 Carboni & Fornasari 2010, pp. 145–161. On the topic, see also Carboni 1993.

7 Carboni 2012, p. 64.

8 Carboni 1995.

9 This was the case with Vincent Vaugris (Valgrisi), Gabriele Giolito de’ Ferrari, Giovanni Maria, Tommaso Giunta, etc.

10 De Tata 2017.

11 Masini 1650.

cal types, traces of use, *ex libris* and seals. Generally, close examination of the scores printed in Bologna in the 17th and 18th centuries reveals frequent use of local paper. Indeed, Bologna was a city characterized by the presence of several waterways and a harbour, and in the central years of the 17th century there were some 14 local mills that produced paper, many of them inside the city walls. As Pierangelo Bellettini underlined in a 1987 essay, this situation was peculiar to Bologna, uncommon elsewhere in Italy, allowing printers access to some of the necessary raw materials without the expense of transportation.¹² In addition, until 1720 there was no tax on paper in Bologna.¹³ In terms of circulation, studies of 18th-century sources reveal that the export of paper was minimal but increasing.¹⁴

The situation was different, however, when it came to musical type. As attested by recent studies, music printing was introduced to Bologna by Giovanni Rossi in 1558, but Rossi had previously been active in Venice, so it is probable that his musical type came from there.¹⁵ Scholars do not yet know where 17th-century printers such as Maurizio Cazzati,¹⁶ Giacomo Monti and Gioseffo Micheletti bought their type. However, evidence shows that at the beginning of the 18th century, Giuseppe Antonio Silvani, in a company with Pirro Capacelli Albergati, ordered musical type from the Venetian metal founder Bartolomeo Falconi.¹⁷ Therefore, it is highly probable that Bologna and Venice were closely linked from the very first step of preparing a printing shop in both the 17th and 18th centuries, and that the circulation of music books was also conditioned by those relationships. In addition, it is necessary to bear in mind that printers used musical type for decades, passing it onto their heirs or selling it to other printers. For example,

¹² Bellettini 1987.

¹³ Bellettini 1996.

¹⁴ Great support for research into paper in Bologna is provided by a database of watermarks between 1650 and 1750 realized by the Archiginnasio Library (<http://badigit.comune.bologna.it/filigrane/index.html>).

¹⁵ Cipollone & Antolini 2019.

¹⁶ I here quote Maurizio Cazzati as a printer, even though the editorial function was only a part of his multifaceted activity.

¹⁷ On that topic, see the interesting essays by Churnside 2012 and van der Linden 2012.

documents prove that Micheletti's movable type, probably cast around 1618, was still in use in 1716 in the Silvani printing shop.¹⁸ The type stopped being used not due to any decline in its usefulness, but to a quarrel between the Silvani brothers that led to a drastic division of the printing materials and deprived the printing shop of the necessary tools to proceed with its activities as usual.¹⁹ Highlighting basic elements such as the origin of the paper and, possibly, of the type, allows us to identify what relationships characterized the production of music books from the beginning.

Closely linked to all the commercial aspects of music publishing are historical catalogues, usually issued to promote the publisher's production. Historical catalogues allow us to investigate the shelf life of repertoires, to search for editions that are no longer extant (considered lost), to estimate data concerning print runs, to identify prices and compare them with those of other goods sold in the cities, and finally to establish links between professionals. In some cases, historical catalogues allow for study of the relationship between printers and the government, when they were created to obtain the necessary permission to print. This is the case with Silvani's catalogues, as they were printed immediately before the printer's request to the municipality of Bologna.²⁰ For the Italian printing presses, a modern edition of the catalogues was published by Oscar Mischiati in 1984,²¹ but many other manuscript inventories are steadily emerging from the archives. Manuscript inventories are not directly useful for studying the economic system, but are of fundamental importance for reconstructing printers' activities. Those inventories were attached to notarial or juridical acts as proof of activities carried out, as estimates of inherited or sold goods, etc.

A significant example of the kind of information that a list of books provides in terms of the circulation of goods is the catalogue by the Venetian printer Giuseppe Sala dated 1715. On the title page, the catalogue informs us that Sala also sold music books printed in Bologna:

¹⁸ Giovani 2011; 2019.

¹⁹ Giovani & Pasqual 2023.

²⁰ Giovani 2019.

²¹ Mischiati 1984.

INDEX OF THE WORKS OF MUSIC PRINTED SO FAR BY GIOSEPPE SALA IN VENICE. They are sold at S. Giovanni Grisostimo. At the Insignia of King David. There are also found the musical works printed in Bologna.

[INDICE DELL'OPERE DI MUSICA SIN HORA STAMPATE DA GIOSEPPE SALA IN VENETIA. Si Vendono A. S. Giovanni Grisostimo. All'Insegna del Re David. Vi Sono anco l'Opere Musicali stampate in Bologna]

Looking at the inner pages, it is evident that Giuseppe Sala sold works printed in Venice by himself and Antonio Bortoli, in Amsterdam by Estienne Roger and Pierre Mortier, and in Bologna by Marino Silvani and his heirs. As Luigi Collarile and Rudolf Rasch have already explained in their works, there was a certain relationship between Marino Silvani in Bologna, Giuseppe Sala in Venice and Estienne Roger in Amsterdam.²² Nevertheless, it is not entirely clear how the collaboration between those printers effectively worked, as no archival documents, which in other cases are very revealing, clarify their relationship.

Regardless, archival documentation is usually very useful for tracing connections between professionals and conducting work on material culture. Through documents it is possible to reconstruct the biographies of printers and publishers and to investigate various aspects of their activity. Speaking in terms of personal relationships, an overview of the documents reveals common familial networks, as Bianca Maria Antolini has recently confirmed in her introduction to the aforementioned *Dizionario*.²³ Family connections, marriages, and businesses between relatives characterized the history of the most important Venetian, Neapolitan, Bolognese, Florentine and Roman printing houses. Such firms lasted for years because they were passed from heir to heir, as the Silvani family history testifies.²⁴ In addition to notarial documents, family rela-

²² Collarile 2011; Rasch 2012–2014.

²³ Antolini 2019b.

²⁴ Summing up a complex history, it is useful to know that Marino Silvani started his business after a training period with Maurizio Cazzati and thanks to collaboration with Giacomo Monti and marriage with Monti's daughter Elisabetta Maria. The editorial activity was carried on by their three sons

tionships can be reconstructed, sometimes easily, sometimes with difficulty, through censuses (*stati delle anime*) preserved in archiepiscopal archives. Archival sources, in addition, can provide documents on everyday practices, as shown below.

Daily work practice in the printing shop

Documents that testify to commercial networks survive much less frequently. Such documents are unusual as they frequently result from the sort of daily work practices that rarely leave traces in the more official documents preserved in archives. When they do survive, they were usually produced as the result of controversy or special agreements. In the case of Bologna, it is possible to deduce the history of Cazzati's press, as evidence gradually emerges,²⁵ and to know details of the activities of Micheletti, Fagnani, Silvani²⁶ and the heirs of Silvani in a company with Count Pirro Capacelli Albergati.²⁷ The study of the Monti–Silvani firm is ongoing and several doubts remain concerning the relationship between Silvani, Sala and Roger, as already mentioned.²⁸ Moreover, as Carrie Churnside and Huub van der Linden wrote, in the Bolognese case, traces of a working relationship can be found in the account book of the Silvani printing house of 1716–1717.²⁹ In that case, thanks to the necessity of making a precise list of work undertaken daily (with expenses and profit) in a company that involved Capacelli Albergati, Giuseppe Antonio Silvani noted that printed scores were

(i.e., Paolo Vincenzo, Carlo Gaetano and Giuseppe Antonio) after Marino's death in 1710. However, Carlo Gaetano and Giuseppe Antonio soon began to clash. In 1716, following a period of harsh contention and legal debate, they brought the division of the inheritance before a judge. Giuseppe Antonio Silvani undertook a new and disastrous association with Count Pirro Capacelli Albergati. The Silvani family's activity continued, with countless difficulties, until Giuseppe Antonio's death in 1726.

²⁵ For an overview, see Besutti 2019.

²⁶ Giovani 2011.

²⁷ Churnside 2012; van der Linden 2012; Giovani & Pasqual 2023.

²⁸ Collarile 2011; Rasch 2012–2014.

²⁹ Churnside 2012; van der Linden 2012.

also distributed out of Bologna, namely to Milan³⁰ and Venice.³¹

In the State Archive of Bologna there are also documents dating from 1714–1716 stemming from a controversy involving the heirs of Marino Silvani. In 1714 they went before a judge to establish, after some disagreement, how to divide the assets of their company. As a result, the judge established the division of the assets in three parts:³² one part of Marino Silvani's estate constituted the musical type and sheets of paper; another part constituted text types, wooden stamps, the printing presses and all the materials necessary for working on them; the third part—extracted by lot by Giuseppe Antonio Silvani—contained other text types, the shop emblem and sheets of paper. Giuseppe Antonio Silvani was in charge of working in the printing shop using the assets of his brothers, but he had to keep a detailed register of the activity to ensure that they received their due. This is why it is possible to read several receipts from booksellers addressed to the shop.

Receipts are usually generic, without mentioning specific books, as documents of 1715 demonstrate:

6:1 are to be collected from Messrs. Gio Battista Landi and Roncadelli, for a package delivered to them to be sent to Cortona [Si deve riscuotere dal Sig.^r Gio Battista Landi, e Roncadelli p un fagotto consegnatoli p mandarlo a Cortona_6:1]³³

5:11 are to be collected from Messrs. Landi and Roncadelli, for a package delivered to them to be sent to Florence to Mr. Ottavio Canini [Si deve riscuotere dalli Sig.^{ri} Landi, e Roncadelli p un fagotto consegnatoli p mandarlo a Fiorenza al Sig. Ottavio Canini_5:11]³⁴

30 Receipt for four exemplars of *Regole* by Angelo Bertalotti printed in 1713, in the State Archive of Bologna, *Archivio Albergati*, Miscellanea, mazzo 58, n. 5: "1716 24 Novembre Vendutone copie 4. Mandate à Milano à soldi uno il foglio alla mercantile come in debito al Silvani".

31 See the printing history of the *Canzoni madrigalesche et arie* opus 4 by Marcello (1717) in Churnside 2012.

32 Giovani & Pasqual 2023.

33 Bologna State Archive, *Fori civili*, Notaio Magagnoli, C. IV. 19–20, 38, n. 263 (24 September 1715).

34 Bologna State Archive, *Fori civili*, Notaio Magagnoli, C. IV. 19–20, 38, n. 263 (29 October–2 November 1715).

Here Silvani sold two bundles of books to Cortona and Florence through Landi and Roncadelli. The Landi and Roncadelli firm was a Bolognese shipping company that became a bank in the 19th century. An investigation of their activity is currently in the initial stage, but it is highly probable that a closer look at their documents will yield further results. Also, bundles of books were sent to “Piella” (probably Biella, in Piedmont), and Genoa.

17:13:2 are to be collected from Mr. Filippo Treveri of Piella, for a package of music books sent there according to his request
[Si deve riscuotere dal Sig.^r Filippo Treveri di Piella p un fagotto libri di musica cola mandato p suo ordine importa_17:13:2]³⁵

13 are to be collected from Mr. Filippo Oberti of Genova for four copies of Corelli's sonatas opus V, assuming this is the price he wants to pay them
[Si deve riscuotere dal Sig. Filippo Oberti di Genova 13 per quattro copie di sonate Corelli opera quinta, supposto che a tal prezzo le vogli pagare]³⁶

The Genoese account is particularly interesting in terms of allowing Filippo Oberti to establish the price of Corelli's most famous opus. Other receipts show that the effective price of books was generally lower than that written in the printed catalogues. The Oberti family was inscribed in the 1685 list of the *Arte dei Librai* of the Republic of Genoa with 38 colleagues.³⁷ Therefore, it is probable that Filippo Oberti had already established a relationship with Silvani's bookshop by the end of the 17th century. Indeed, in Genoa there was a music printing shop in the first half of the 17th century primarily due to the activity of Pietro Giovanni Calenzani and Giuseppe Pavoni, but no activities are documented in the second half of the century.³⁸ However, demand for music

35 Bologna State Archive, Fori civili, Notaio Maganoli, C. IV. 19-20, 38, n. 263 (1-5 October 1715).

36 Bologna State Archive, Fori civili, Notaio Maganoli, C. IV. 19-20, 38, n. 263 (20-26 October 1715).

37 Petrucciani 1994.

38 Moretti 2019a; 2019b.

in the city was high because of the presence of public theatres, many aristocrats, and merchant families, so it is logical that booksellers needed music books printed elsewhere to satisfy consumer demand.

There is also evidence that Silvani bought items from outside Bologna for use in the printing shop, for example, from Venice in 1715 and 1716. While they do not specify music books, these receipts are important as they prove that the relationship with Venice was not one-sided:

Spent to collect the bundle from Venice_1:2

[Spesi p riscuotere il fagotto venuto di Venezia_1:2]³⁹

Spent in customs to collect two bundles of music books from Venice_2

[Spesi in dogana p riscuotere due fagotti di libri di musica giunti da Venezia_2]⁴⁰

Probably the most interesting letters in the Silvani documentation are the two that provide evidence of networks with other printers in Venice and Rome. First are the links with the Caifabri bookshop in Rome in 1715. At the beginning of the 18th century, the Caifabri press was directed by Francesco Maria Rossi, who in 1708 tried to revive the prestigious business that had concluded with the death of Giovanni Battista Caifabri in 1700. Rossi—who added “Caifabri” to his surname—sold some editions published for him by Mascardi, but then died without heirs in the same year and no activity is documented in subsequent years.⁴¹ A document from 1715 addressed to the Silvani brothers, already published by van der Linden, tells of a Tolomeo Flarioni Caifabri,⁴² probably another distant relative, who started selling in the historic bookshop.

39 Bologna State Archive, *Fori civili*, Notaio Magagnoli, C. IV. 19–20, 39, n. 68 (23 December 1715).

40 Bologna State Archive, *Fori civili*, Notaio Magagnoli, C. IV. 19–20, 39, n. 60 (18 February 1716).

41 Franchi 2019.

42 van der Linden 2016 incorrectly transcribes the name as Tolomeo Ilarioni Caifabri.

Copy of letter written by Mr. Tolomeo Flarioni Caifabri to Mr. Giuseppe An.^o Silvani, music printer in Bologna

Rome, 23 March 1715

With this, I kindly ask you to send me as quickly as possible the material listed below, and that they should be well done, and on undamaged sheets, since earlier you have sent me the book *Musico Pratico* in a copy that was completely ruined and of no use.

[Copia della lettera scritta dal Sig.^r Tolomeo Flarioni Caifabri al Sig.^r Giuseppe An.^o Silvani stampatore di musica in Bologna⁴³

Roma li 23 marzo 1715

Sono con questa à pregarla di volermi spedire con più sollecitudine che sia possibile la sotto notata robba, e siano registrate, e foglij sani, che nella passata mi aveste mandato li libri del *Musico Pratico* uno tutto rovinato che non serve à niente.]

Salmi p tutto l'anno à 4 Alessandro Grandi tre copie	3
Salmi Bassani opera 21	1
Salmi Bassani opera 30	1
Salmi p tutto l'anno Pietro Franchi	2
Messe Bassani opera 32	1
Messa e salmi Colonna opera decima	2
Motetti à 1: 2: 3: e 4 Bassani opera undecima	2
Lamentationi del Colonna	2
Lamentazioni del Gezzi	2
Motetti Bassani opera 27	1
Il Penna	1
Il Setticlave Canoro	6
Inni Silvani	1
Cantate à voce sola Bassani opera 16, e 19 una p sorte	2 ⁴⁴
Cantate del Brevi	2
Sonate Corelli Opera Prima	2
Seconda	4
Quarta	4
Sonate, e Versetti Pietro degli Antonij opera undecima	3

⁴³ The erasure marks are in the document.

⁴⁴ The erasure mark is in the document.

This is as much as I desire, not more, and if Your Lord requires other works by Mr Giuseppe Valentini, I would send them to you in exchange, and I remain at your command.

[Questo è quanto desidero non di più e se à V.S. gli facesse di bisogno altre opere del Sig.^r Giuseppe Valentini in cambio glie ne mandarei, e resto à vostri comandi.]

Tolomeo Flarioni Caifabri⁴⁵

Indeed, in 1715 Tolomeo ordered books by Alessandro Grandi, Giovanni Battista Bassani, Giovan Pietro Franchi, Giovanni Paolo Colonna, Ippolito Ghezzi, Giovanni Battista Brevi, Pietro degli Antonii and Arcangelo Corelli. He offered works by Giuseppe Valentini in return, and complained about damaged copies of Bononcini's *Musico pratico* previously sent to Rome, demonstrating that there was a longer-standing relationship between Silvani and Caifabri. Apart from the importance of the document, already published and analysed by van der Linden, I would like to focus on one specific aspect. The interest of the Roman bookseller was directed towards books printed by Marino Silvani himself, or by Silvani in collaboration with Monti several decades before. He was less interested in books printed by the heirs of Silvani—actually, only the volume of *Sonate e versetti* by Pietro degli Antonii was printed by them in 1712.⁴⁶ This fact underlines the lesser interest of Silvani's heirs in attracting buyers—or, indeed, their inability to do so—in comparison with their father Marino, and the importance of inventories for selling music outside the city of first printing.

In Venice, as previous studies of music printing have revealed, Sala worked as a Venetian agent for books printed in Bologna. That the relationship with Sala was stronger than that with Caifabri in Rome is testified to by the fact that the Venetian also received the latest editions produced by Silvani, not advertised in printed inventories. A document of April 1714 documents that Sala received the *Messe brevi* by Giuseppe

45 Bologna State Archive, *Atti dei notai*, Notaio Orlandini on 13 January, 1716, reporting a document of 23 March 1715.

46 RISM A/I D 1355.

Antonio Silvani printed in 1711 (RISM A/I S 3443) and the *Concerti a Quattro con suoi rinforzi* opus 11 by Giulio Taglietti printed in 1713 (RISM A/I T 41), in addition to the *Messe concertate* opus 30 by Bassani printed in 1710 (RISM A/I B 1224) and the *Salmi* opus 32 of the same author (1704; RISM A/I B 1222).

Mr Giuseppe Sala must supply the items listed below

[Sig.^r Giuseppe Sala deve dare le qui sotto notate]

[...]

Concerti Giuglio Taglietti opa XI	fogli 59
Salmi Bassani opa 30	65
Messe Bassani opa 32	55 ½
Messe Silvani opa settima	32 ½
	fogli 212 ⁴⁷

All the editions were sold unbound, to permit the booksellers to earn money from binding at the point of sale and, in some cases, from customizing books. This detail could explain why some exemplars bear the names of both the booksellers and the Bolognese printers, as demonstrated by the *Invenzioni* of Bonporti—with the title page signed by Parone in Venice and Trento and the last page with the typographical note of Silvani.⁴⁸

As Sala sold works printed in Bologna, it is now certain that in Silvani's stock there were scores made in Venice. Indeed, the edition of Albinoni's concertos opus 5 published by Sala in 1710 was sold by Silvani in 1715, as confirmed by a receipt.⁴⁹

47 Bologna State Archive, *Fori civili*, Notaio Magagnoli, C. IV. 19–20, 39, n. 68, 24 April 1714.

48 RISM A/I B 3660.

49 RISM A/I A 723.

Conclusion

While it is gradually becoming possible to trace links and networks, scholars of music publishing continue to search for demonstrable relationships between centres and people in order to establish the circulation of music across early modern Europe. While we continue to learn more about the economic circumstances, it is important to bear in mind the changes that took place in the second half of the 17th century and the first years of the 18th, due to the protectionism adopted by states to defend their local products and specializations. To cite an example related to Bologna, documents demonstrate that the Silvani firm was noteworthy in the 17th century, while in the 18th, its importance started to diminish and its sales of blank music paper were higher than those of printed books. Only the above-mentioned commissions from other cities permitted the Silvani firm to survive, but with increasing difficulty. This was due to the advent of strong competition from foreign printers, the inability of the Bolognese printers to adopt new printing technologies, and a general change in the dynamics of the production and dissemination of printed scores. Key to the survival of a long-established family business was the selection of works by a composer who was famous outside a local context, especially in the field of sacred music, and the trade of goods between cities.

In the study of cultural and musical relations between European centres, it is therefore important to investigate the role of actors such as printers and publishers by considering various kinds of sources. While such documents may not provide specifically musical information, they can reveal why some repertoires were more successful than others, by considering economic reasons as integral to the circulation process. In studying the dissemination of printed Italian music, it is becoming increasingly clear that economic motivations were usually more influential than artistic ones and that it is only when we expand our research to incorporate a much wider field of reference that we will be able to establish the full picture.

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RUDOLF RASCH

Provenance as a tool for studying the circulation of music

The case of Francesco Geminiani

CIRCULATION MEANS, IN principle, “movements to and from or around something”, such as blood in the body and money in society. There is a second meaning, described by the *Oxford Dictionary of English* as “the public availability or knowledge of something”. Apparently, music is such a typical example of this “something” that the dictionary cites the following as an example: “His music has achieved wide circulation”. This definition more than justifies the expression “the circulation of music” to describe the ways and processes by which music finds its way from the composer to the musicians who perform it and to the public that listens to it. In turn, studies of the circulation of music should start with the creation of music by the composer and then follow the various paths by which the music finally reaches the performers and listeners (and collectors), both geographically and chronologically.

Provenance is defined in the same *Oxford Dictionary of English* as “a record of ownership of a work of art”. If we apply this concept to extant copies of early music editions, it is in a way the reverse of the circulation of music. The latter concept looks forward, from the composer to the “possessors” (in the widest sense of the word, including listeners). Provenance looks backward, from the present owners back to previous owners and hopes, in an ideal case, to discover the complete chain of ownership of the work. When the reconstructed part of the chain of ownership includes the early part of the chain, provenance data can be used as circulation data. Provenance is also the reverse of circulation in another respect: whereas circulation tries to describe the dissemination of multiple copies of a work, provenance typically provides information about a single copy. This can, of course, be extended by the study of the provenance of multiple copies, in the hope that the resultant data will lead to a reliable image of the circulation of the work.

This contribution will focus on 18th-century publications of the works of Francesco Geminiani (1687–1762), which were mostly issued in England, from 1716 (*Sonate a violino*) to 1762 (*The Second Collection of Pieces for the Harpsichord*). Before discussing specific editions or even specific copies, a general model for understanding provenance as a historical process will be proposed. This model divides the history of ownership of a copy of early printed music into four periods: “the period of the first owners” (roughly, to the death of the composer); “the period of the second generation” (roughly, the half century following the death of the composer); “the period of the collectors” (roughly, the 19th century), and “the period of the libraries” (roughly, the 20th century). After this, some special categories of copies will be discussed, such as dedication copies and deposit copies. Finally, it will be shown what the study of provenance can tell us about the dissemination of two specific sets of works by Geminiani, the *Prima parte* of his concerto arrangements of Corelli’s Sonatas opus 5 (first published in 1726) and the *Sonate a violino e basso, Opera quarta* (first published in 1739).

Francesco Geminiani

Over the last decade, I have been collecting data about the provenance of as many extant copies as possible of all of Geminiani’s works printed or copied into manuscript in the 18th century. My rough estimate is that there are about 1,500 such copies and that I have provenance data for about 1,000 of them. In the sections that follow, I will use these data to give insight into the circulation of Geminiani’s music not only in the century of its creation, the 18th century, but also in later centuries.

Geminiani’s oeuvre is not as concise and limited in size as Corelli’s but is still not very large, at least compared with the number of works composed by, for example, Johann Sebastian Bach, George Frideric Handel or Antonio Vivaldi. Geminiani’s music is almost exclusively instrumental. The most important works are the sonatas (for violin: opus 1, 1716, *Le prime sonate*, 1739, opus 4, 1739, and opus 5, 1747; for cello: opus 5 [sic], 1747) and the concertos (opuses 2 and 3, 1732, opus 7, 1748, arrangements of Corelli’s sonatas opus 5, 1726 and 1729, and after his own Sonatas opus 4, 1743). Apart from these, Geminiani produced a

number of theoretical works or treatises, of which *The Art of Playing on the Violin* (1751) is by far the best known, if not also the most important. All these works will be cited repeatedly in the next sections, Geminiani's other works more sparingly.

Chronology

When surveying the entire history of an extant copy, four broad periods can be defined. These periods should not be regarded as being precisely demarcated; rather, they reflect general trends, and therefore overlap when it comes to specific instances.

The first period is the period of the first owners, which we take to run from 1716, the year of Geminiani's first publication in Britain, to 1762, the year of the last first edition of his work in Britain and also that of his death. Owners of copies of his printed works during this period will often have been first owners—that is, persons or institutions that received a free copy for some reason or bought a copy directly from Geminiani or from a music shop. Of course, copies could already change hands in this period.

The first owners' category can be subdivided into several subcategories. First, we must assume that the composer himself retained at least one copy of his work, the "composer's copy". In fact, there are two categories of composer's copies. If the composer is simultaneously the publisher, which was the case with Geminiani in nearly all cases discussed here, all the copies printed under his supervision are composer's copies, in a way. The true composer's copy is, of course, the one or a few set aside to be retained as a personal copy, whether to use in practice, in which to insert notes for correction or amendment, or just for archival reasons. If the composer is not the publisher, the composer's copies are those copies that the composer receives gratis from the publisher. This could be a single copy or just a few, but also a larger number, such as a dozen or even 150—an extreme case, reported for the *Concerti grossi* opus 6 composed by Corelli in Rome and published by Estienne Roger in Amsterdam.¹ The larger numbers were certainly intended to be sold by the composer as partial or complete compensation for his service as composer.

1 Rasch 1996.

A second category of first owners constitutes the dedicatee(s) of a work published with a specific dedicatee or dedicatees. Such copies are called “dedication copies” and are often recognizable by being bound more luxuriously than regular copies. A third category of first owners receiving a copy gratis is the institutions, mostly libraries, designated by law for legal deposit.² They receive one or more copies of the editions provided with a privilege to protect them against illegal reprinting. Apart from those receiving a copy as a gift from the composer or the publisher, all other first owners must pay for their copies. A first category of paying first owners is the subscribers to the work. As is well known, subscription was a widespread procedure to finance musical publications in the 18th century. If there were payments upon subscription, which there often were, these could be used to pay for the engraving and printing of the edition. If there were no such payments, the subscriptions ensured the sale of a number of copies and took away much of the financial risk involved in the publication. A subscription copy was usually cheaper than a regular copy bought from the composer or another seller. Often, a list of subscribers was printed in the edition of the work. This would add to the prestige of the work, its composer and the subscribers alike (although one should not rule out the possibility of a subscriber being added solely for that reason, not for purchasing a copy). Some, though not all, of Geminiani’s works were published by subscription, among them the Concertos after Corelli’s opus 5, *Prima parte* (1726), the Sonatas opus 4 (1739), the Concertos after the Sonatas of opus 4 (1743), the Concertos opus 7 (1748), the *Dictionnaire harmonique* (Amsterdam, 1756), and *The Art of Playing the Guitar or Cittra* (Edinburgh, 1760).³ Only the first of these editions has a list of subscribers in the printed copies.

The categories identified above all include first owners with a special and defined relationship to the musical work in question. Such a special relationship is absent for copies that were just bought in a shop at the regular retail price. Regarding the buyers, two categories can be

² Guillo 2005, pp. 118–119.

³ The place of publication of an edition is London unless otherwise stated.

distinguished: individuals and institutions such as music societies and the musical establishments of courts, churches and theatres.

The next period will be called, for want of a better name, the “period of the second generation”, which we take as running from 1762, the year of Geminiani’s death, to 1820. The designation is intended to indicate that the people who acquired a copy of a work by Geminiani during this period were no longer Geminiani’s contemporaries. They belonged to the next generation, or rather, to several ensuing generations, since, if we apply the generation concept to the history of music, it seems to apply to time intervals of, say, 25 years, rather than the nearly 60-year period from 1762 to 1820. The year 1820 was chosen because it seems to mark the end (very roughly, of course) of the time when Geminiani’s music was still relevant to contemporary musical life: until then, it was still performed in concerts and still available in music shops, at least in Britain. British writings on music of this period still contain references to Geminiani’s works and his works were still studied by music students. This all means that the possession of works of Geminiani was still useful for one’s own musical practice, whatever form that took.

During the period of the second generation, the range of owners of copies of Geminiani’s works was quite different from those in the period of the first owners. Geminiani’s music was still available in the form of newly printed copies in music shops, notably those of the widow of John Johnson (Ruth Johnson) until 1777, Robert Bremner from 1777 to 1789, and John Preston and Son from 1790 until presumably around 1820. These music sellers, who were also music publishers, were in possession not only of unsold copies printed earlier, but also of the engraved plates for particular editions, so that they could produce new copies—something that at least Bremner and Preston did.

Copies of works printed and sold before 1762 could remain where they were, especially copies acquired by institutions such as music societies and the libraries designated to receive legal deposit copies. Copies in private possession could remain in the family, inherited by sons or other relatives. Other copies were sold when the first owner died. Many catalogues of sales, at fixed prices or by auction, of libraries of deceased people from the second half of the 18th century contain titles of editions

of Geminiani's work. Music shops also could acquire and sell copies that were produced earlier and now were second-hand copies.

After 1820, the relationship between musical life and Geminiani's music changed. By then, Geminiani's music had become part of the past, part of music history. Possessing Geminiani's music represented an act of collecting objects from the past, something to store on a shelf, not something to use in practice. Owners could be individuals or institutions alike. For both categories, a distinction is possible between professional collectors and non-professional collectors. Professional collectors are collectors with some relationship to music, such as musicians, musicologists, music teachers, music publishers and music libraries. Some musicians may still have had professional intentions for the Geminiani copies they possessed, such as performing from them in concerts, but in general copies of Geminiani's works were considered to be treasures of a past era.

The time after 1820 can be very roughly divided into two periods, the 19th century and the long 20th century up to 2020. The difference between the two periods is incremental rather than fundamental. In the 19th century, private owners were by far the most numerous and not that many institutional collections possessed works by Geminiani. In the 20th century, these proportions are reversed: the majority of extant copies of Geminiani's works were now in the hands of libraries, with only relatively few in private hands. The decades around 1900 are pivotal in this respect. During these decades, libraries began to accumulate copies of early editions of music in serious numbers, and these copies never returned to circulation among private collectors. This does not mean that there are no copies owned privately today, but their number can hardly constitute more than a small portion of the total number of extant copies.

After these general remarks, we now discuss some concrete cases. First, attention will be paid to the original owners of the special copies of the first editions of Geminiani's works, in particular the copies owned by the composer, the dedicatee, the subscribers and the legal deposit institutions. This is followed by a general overview of the provenance of two editions of Geminiani's works: the Concertos after Corelli's Sonatas opus 5, *Prima parte* (1726), and the Sonatas opus 4 (1739).

Special copies

It may be assumed that Geminiani kept a carefully assembled library of personal copies of his published works, for reference, for performance, and, not least, to have his works available as models for later arrangements in different formats. However, I so far know of only one extant copy that could, but not necessarily, be a copy owned and kept by Geminiani himself. It is a copy of the *Concerti grossi* after Corelli's Sonatas opus 5, *Prima parte* (1726).⁴ The edition was engraved by William Smith, printed for Geminiani by William Smith and John Barrett, and apparently was not available other than by subscription—at least, there is no hint of any sales outside subscription and the two printers are among the subscribers. The edition includes a list of nearly 200 subscribers who ordered 216 copies.⁵ One copy, held in the Central Library of Manchester, has manuscript corrections and annotations in the printed list of subscribers, and it seems that these corrections and annotations would make sense only for a copy in the possession of Geminiani himself (see *Figure 1*).⁶ The handwriting, in addition, resembles that of the few known specimens of his handwriting, except that these instances are from much later dates.

Several extant copies of Geminiani's works (see *Table 1*) can be classed as dedication copies. A fairly large number of first editions of Geminiani's works have a dedication, from the *Sonate a violino, violone e cembalo* published in 1716 (dedicated to Baron Johann Adolph von Kielmansegg) to *The Art of Playing the Guitar or Cittra* published in 1760 (dedicated to the Countess of Charlesville). One may assume that the dedicatee always received a copy, presumably nicely bound and perhaps provided with a personal inscription. Geminiani's Concertos opus 7 were published in 1748 with a dedication to the Academy of Ancient Music in London and the dedication copy is extant.⁷ It is now in the

4 *Concerti grossi* [...] *composti delli Sei Soli della Prima Parte dell'Opera Quinta d'Arcangelo Corelli*, London: William Smith and John Barrett [for the Author], [1726].

5 See the list with nearly complete identifications of the subscribers in Geminiani 2017, pp. 263–272.

6 GB-Mp, BR 580 Cu 78.

7 *Concerti grossi composti a 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 part reali* [...] *Opera VII* (London: [Author], "1746" [= 1748]), copy GB-Lwa, CG 43.



THE
NAMES
OF THE
SUBSCRIBERS.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales.

Her Highness the Princess Anne.

Her Highness the Princess Amelia.

Her Highness the Princess Carolina Charlotta.

A



O N. Edward Ash, Esq.
John Atwood, Esq.
— Aglionby, Esq.
Dr. Arbuthnot.
Mr. Ashfield.

Mr. St. Andre.

B

HIS Grace the Duke of Bedford.
Her Grace the Duchess of Bedford.
The Right Honourable Earl of Bristol.
The Right Honourable Lord of Salisbury.
The Right Honourable Lord Bateman.
Sir John Buckworth, Bart.

Lady

Figure 1. First page of the list of subscribers of Geminiani's *Concerti grossi* after Corelli's *Sonatas opus 5, Prima parte* (1726), possibly with autograph corrections, as found in the copy now in the Central Library of Manchester.

Table 1. Editions of works by Geminiani with a dedication.

Edition	Dedicatee	Dedication copy
<i>Sonate a violino</i> (1714)	Johann Adolph Baron von Kielmansegg	
<i>Concerti grossi ... Corelli, Prima parte</i> (1726)	King George I	
<i>Concerti grossi</i> opus 2 (1732)	Henrietta Churchill, Duchess of Marlborough	
<i>Sonate a violino</i> opus 4 (1739)	Margaret Hamilton, Countess of Orrery	
<i>Le prime sonate</i> (1739)	Dorothy Savile, Countess of Burlington	
— Special dedication copy, with <i>Sonate a violino</i> opus 4 (1740–1741)	Pierre Gaviniès	US-AA
<i>Concerti grossi</i> opus 4 (1743)	Frederick, Prince of Wales	
— Special dedication copy (1748)	Academy of Ancient Music	F-Pn
<i>Sonates pour le violoncello</i> (The Hague, 1747)	Giacomo Milano, Prince of Ardore	
<i>Concerti grossi</i> opus 7 (1748)	Academy of Ancient Music	GB-Lwa
— Special dedication copy (1748)	Philipp, Prince Lobkowitz	CZ-Nlob
<i>A Treatise of Good Taste</i> (1749)	Frederick, Prince of Wales	
<i>Guida Armonica</i> (1756), second issue (1758)	Prince Edward, Duke of York	GB-Lcm
<i>The Art of Playing the Guitar or Cittra</i> (Edinburgh, 1760)	Hester Coghill, Countess of Charlesville	

library of Westminster Abbey, where a large portion of music once belonging to the Academy has ended up.⁸ The copy does not bear any particular inscription but is recognizable as a dedication copy by its binding in an unusual, particularly colourful kind of paper. Interestingly, a similarly bound copy of the *Concertos* after the *Sonatas* of opus 4, first published in 1743, also survives.⁹ The Academy of Ancient Music copy was, however, produced in 1748, as can be ascertained from the paper used

⁸ Johnstone 2014.

⁹ *Concerti grossi [...] composti delle Sonate a violino e basso dell'Opera IV* (London: [Author], 1743), copy F-Pn, Ac e8 6 (A-H).



Figure 2. Copy of Geminiani's *Le prime sonate* and *Sonate a violino e basso*, *Opera quarta*, now in the Hatcher Graduate Library of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor; a dedication copy for Pierre Gaviniès.

and the particular version of the privilege contained in it. This copy must have been offered by Geminiani to the Academy at the same time as the first edition of the *Concertos* opus 7. There is even a third copy bound in similar (though not identical) paper: the copy of the *Concertos* opus 7 that was given by Geminiani to the Bohemian nobleman Ferdinand Philipp Prince Lobkowitz (1724–1784) on the occasion of the latter's departure from England; it is preserved in the Lobkowitz Library and Archives in Nelahozeves, Czech Republic.¹⁰

The last two examples cited in the previous paragraph show that dedication copies could also be prepared for persons or institutions other than just the dedicatee or dedicatees mentioned on the title page. There are several more such examples. The Hatcher Graduate Library of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, possesses copies of Geminiani's *Le prime sonate* and *Sonatas* opus 4 bound together and of exceptional size, 47 × 35 cm (see *Figure 2*).¹¹

These copies are printed on a special kind of large paper not found in any other known copy of these editions. The paper and an analysis of the variants found in the engravings show that the copy must have been produced in Paris in 1740 or 1741, when Geminiani resided there. Its binding is not very special but shows, on the outside front cover, the remains of the following text: "... | de Musique | a ... [illegible word] | avec P. GAVINIÈS | C...". This refers, of course, to the French violinist and composer Pierre Gaviniès (1728–1800), a pupil of Geminiani, probably during his stay in Paris of 1740–1741. The Ann Arbor copy must have been specially produced to be offered to Gaviniès as a dedication copy. This copy is cited, curiously enough, by Jean-Baptiste Cartier in his *L'art du violon* (Paris, 1798), a publication that combines instructions for the violinist with an extensive collection of classical pieces for the instrument. It contains several movements from Geminiani's *Prime sonate* and *Sonatas* opus 4, with the remark "Gravée sur l'épreuve de

10 CZ-Nlob, XGc 26. The accompanying letter from Geminiani to Lobkowitz of 9 August 1748 also survives in the Lobkowitz Archives.

11 *Le prime sonate a violino e basso* (London: [Author], 1739) and *Sonate a violino e basso [...]* *Opera quarta* (London: [Author], 1739), copy US-AA, M219. G32 S71 1739.

dédicace appartenant à Citoyen Gavinies”.¹² That this remark really refers to the Ann Arbor copy is confirmed by the small pencil marks found at the beginning and end of the movements included in *L'art du violon*.

The antiquarian bookseller and auction house of Leo Liepmannsohn offered for sale a bound volume with *Le prime sonate* (1739), the *Menuetti con variazioni* (1739) and *Les pieces de clavecin* (1743) described in the catalogue as a “dedication copy”, unfortunately without mentioning the dedicatee.¹³ It was bought by the famous Belgian violinist Eugène Ysaÿe (1826–1905), but the present location of this volume is unknown.¹⁴

Geminiani's *Guida Armonica* was published without dedication in London in 1756. Two extant copies have a slightly different title page from that of the large majority of the extant copies.¹⁵ It repeats the original title word-by-word and line-by-line (making it indistinguishable in library catalogue descriptions), but adds one sentence, with a dedication to “His Royal Highness Prince Edward”. These copies were probably produced in 1758. The dedicatee is Prince Edward, Duke of York (1739–1767), son of Frederick, Prince of Wales, to whom Geminiani had dedicated two of his works in the 1740s. One of the two extant copies, in the library of the Royal College of Music in London, is printed on large paper and luxuriously bound. Presumably this is the dedication copy.

What about copies sold on subscription, which we can call subscrip-

12 On pp. 255–257 the first two movements of Sonata I of *Le prime sonate*, on pp. 260–263 the second movement of the Sonata opus 4 no. VII, and on pp. 271–273 the entire Sonata VI of *Le prime sonate*.

13 Liepmannsohn Antiquariat 1908, p. 25, no. 367. Described as “Magnifique reliure ancienne bien conservé, riches dorures sur les plats et sur le dos, tranche dorée. Exemplaire de dédicace. Sur le premier feuillet blanc se trouve 3 petits portraits en couleur et une très belle silhouette de Geminiani, tous dessinés d'après l'original de la main d'un contemporain du célèbre compositeur. – Des bibliothèques de Jul. Marshall et de J. E. Matthew.”

14 It is not in the Ysaÿe Collection now in the Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er in Brussels.

15 *Guida armonica, o Dizionario armonico, Being a sure Guide to Harmony and Modulation [...]* Dedicated to his Royal Highness Prince Edward (London: John Johnson for the Author, [1758]). Copies D-B, Mus Gg 143, GB-Lcm, D 2625.

tion copies? Lists of subscribers are always interesting: more than anything else they show the social, commercial and artistic network around the composer.¹⁶ As mentioned before, a fair number of editions of Geminiani's works were published following a subscription campaign. Of these, only the *Concerti grossi* after Corelli's Sonatas opus 5, *Prima parte* (nos I–VI, 1726) has a list of subscribers, as referred to above. The list begins with King George I, the dedicatee, his wife and his children. The king will not have paid for his copy—although he might have rewarded Geminiani in a different way—but his family may have. Then follows an alphabetical list, which is, per letter, ordered in an interesting way. First come the nobility, in the order of their ranks, dukes and marquises first, earls and countesses and baronets later. Hierarchy is also observed within the list of civilians that follows. People who could qualify as “Esquire” are mentioned first, “ordinary people” later. Apart from the royalty and nobility alluded to above, we find many people obviously belonging to the upper middle class: members of parliament, diplomats, academics, landowners, merchants, stationers, and so on. Several names have Masonic connections and remarkable is the presence of a number of Jewish names. A number of music societies subscribed for copies, usually multiple copies, among them the *Philo-musicae et Architectura Societas*, the Masonic lodge of which Geminiani had the position as Musical Dictator.

Fifteen extant copies are known of the first edition of Geminiani's *Prima parte*. How many extant copies can be connected to any of the subscribers? The answer to this question is bluntly disappointing: none. Only one copy can be connected to a relative of one of the subscribers: the copy now in the Euing Collection in Glasgow has the signature of Joseph Gulston, possibly a nephew of the subscriber William Gulston, who was a director of the *Philo-musicae et Architectura Societas*.

Later editions of Geminiani's works published via subscription do not include lists of subscribers. In the announcement of the subscription for the Sonatas opus 4, it is said that the edition will be published when the number of 200 copies has been reached and that no other copies will

16 About the subscription system for early music editions, see, among many other studies, Hortschansky 1968; Hunter & Mason 1999; Fleming & Perkins 2022.

be printed.¹⁷ This reminds one of the publication of the *Prima parte* in 1726, but the outcome would be different. It is quite possible that the first issue of the Sonatas opus 4 was published in 1739 with a print run of 200 that was completely destined for subscribers. Additional print runs, however, were produced by Geminiani over the next decade, by John Johnson in 1751 and even by Richard Welcker around 1775.

No data are available about the number of subscribers, either desired or realized, to further editions of Geminiani's music published via subscription, among them such diverse works as the Concertos opus 7 (1748), the *Dictionaire harmonique* (Amsterdam, 1756) and *The Art of Playing the Guitar or Cittra* (1760).

A final category of "special copies" is the "legal-deposit copies", i.e., the copies to be deposited as part of the obligations to be fulfilled for effecting the privilege, the document intended to protect the edition against illegal reprinting, at least within the area under the control of the assigning authority (see *Table 2*). Geminiani obtained privileges in Britain in 1728 and 1739, in France in 1740 and 1752 and in Holland in 1746, for terms of 10 to 15 years. A printed extract had to be included in the edition that the privilege was meant to protect: thus we find the British privilege of 1728 in the first edition of the Concertos opus 2 (1732) and the Sonatas opus 4 (1739), the Cello and the Violin Sonatas opus 5 (1747), the Concertos opus 7 (1748), the *Treatise of Good Taste in the Art of Music* (1749) and *The Art of Playing on the Violin* (1751). The French privilege of 1740 is found in the French issue of the Sonatas opus 4 (1740), the French edition of the Cello Sonatas opus 5 ("1746"

17 *London Evening Post*, 15–17 February 1737: "Proposal for printing by Subscription, Twelve Sonatas, compos'd by Mr. Francis Geminiani, for the Violin and Bass. Conditions. I. That the Sonatas (which are now actually in the Engraver's Hands, to be engraven on Copper-plates, and will speedily be finished) shall be put to Press as soon as 200 Subscribers can be procur'd, and printed off and deliver'd to the Subscribers with all possible Expedition. II. That the copies shall be of two Sorts, one printed on large, the other on small Paper. III. That the Price of the large Paper shall be two Guineas, the Price of the small Paper one Guinea; half to be paid at the Time of subscribing, the other half on the Delivery of the Book. IV. That there shall be no more Copies printed off than are subscrib'd for. Subscriptions are taken in by Mr. John Walsh in Katherine-street in the Strand; Mr. John Simpson in Swithen's Alley near the Royal-Exchange; and Mr. Wamsley in Piccadilly."

Table 2. Editions of works by Geminiani provided with a privilege. All editions published in London, unless otherwise stated.

Country	Date	Duration	Edition	Deposit copy
Britain	26 March 1728	14 years	<i>Concerti grossi</i> opus 2 (1732)	
			<i>Sonate a violino</i> opus 4 (1739)	
Britain	29 July 1739	14 years	<i>Concerti grossi</i> opus 4 (1743)	
			<i>VI Sonate di violoncello</i> opus 5 (1747)	
			<i>Sonate [...] per il violino</i> opus 5 (1747)	
			<i>Concerti grossi</i> opus 7 (1748)	
			<i>A Treatise of Good Taste</i> (1749)	
			<i>The Art of Playing on the Violin</i> (1751)	
France	31 December 1740	12 years	<i>Sonate a violino e basso</i> (Paris 1740)	
			<i>Sonates pour le violoncello</i> opus 5 (Paris, "1746" = [1747])	
			<i>L'art de jouer le violon</i> (1752)	F-Pn
Holland	6 December 1746	14 years	<i>Sonates [...] pour le violoncelle</i> opus 5 (The Hague, 1746)	NL-Lu
			<i>Sonates pour le violon</i> opus 5 (The Hague, 1746)	NL-Lu
			<i>Concerti grossi</i> opus 7 (no place, 1748)	NL-Lu
			<i>Dictionaire harmonique</i> (Amsterdam, 1756)	NL-Lu
France	25 January 1752	10 years	(none)	

[= 1747]) and *L'art de jouer le violon* (1752, the French issue of *The Art of Playing on the Violin*). The Dutch privilege of 1746 is included in the Dutch editions of the Cello and the Violin Sonatas opus 5 (The Hague, 1747), in some copies of the Concertos opus 7 (1748) and in the *Dictionaire harmonique* (Amsterdam, 1756). In all cases, the privilege was successful: no unauthorized reprints of these works were ever published in the territories of the privileges' jurisdiction.

The number of deposit copies necessary to validate the privilege var-

ied by country. The text of the British privileges as printed in the copies does not speak of any deposit copies. The French privileges, on the other hand, require the deposit of four free copies: two copies for the Bibliothèque publique, i.e., the library of the palace of Versailles, one copy for the library of the Louvre, and one copy for the office of the Chancellor. Dutch privileges always require the deposit of a well-bound copy in the library of the University of Leiden.

Some extant copies can indeed be considered to be deposit copies. One copy of *L'art de jouer le violon* is bound in leather with the royal arms stamped on the front outside cover.¹⁸ This must be a copy handed in to become part of the Bibliothèque publique. Dutch deposit copies have fared well. The library of the University of Leiden has an uninterrupted history from its foundation in 1575 to the present day and still contains copies of most if not all editions published with a privilege of the States of Holland and West Frisia. So, it has well-bound copies of all four publications of Geminiani's works issued with the composer's Dutch privilege of 1746.¹⁹

The Concertos after Corelli's Sonatas opus 5, *Prima parte* (1726)

For most editions, the number of special copies is limited: one or a few for the composer, one for the dedicatee mentioned on the title page, one or a few for legal deposit and perhaps a few as dedication copies for people other than the dedicatee on the title page. Larger numbers are involved if the edition was sold by subscription. Copies of an edition that are not designated as special copies can be called "regular copies". They were disseminated first by the composer and by music sellers, and later via a variety of channels, including resale, inheritance and donation. Let us see what provenance data can tell us about these modes of

¹⁸ Copy F-Pn, Vm8 c 6.

¹⁹ NL-Lu, 545 B 28: *Sonates pour le violon avec un violoncello ou clavecin* (The Hague: [Author], "1746" [= 1747]); 545 B 29: *Sonates pour le violoncelle et basse continue, Ouvrage cinquième* (The Hague: [Author], "1746" [= 1747]); 680 A 44: *Concerti grossi [...] Opera VII* (1748); 680 A 45: *Dictionnaire harmonique* (Amsterdam, 1756).

the circulation of music. We will discuss here two editions in particular, first the *Concerti grossi* after Corelli opus 5, *Prima parte*, already discussed, and the Sonatas opus 4, published in 1739 via subscription, but reissued later as regular copies.

As mentioned, no copy of Geminiani's edition of the *Concerti grossi* after Corelli opus 5, *Prima parte* can be connected to any of its first owners, if the assumption is right that the list of subscribers published in the edition correctly represents the complete group of first owners. Four copies can be connected to owners who belong to the "second generation".

The copy now in the Biblioteca Civile in Bergamo bears the signature of Robert Archbold, about whom I can give no further information, with the date 1756. The copy now in the Euing Collection in Glasgow has the bookplate of Joseph Gulston (as mentioned above, presumably a nephew of the subscriber William Gulston), with the motto *Crescit sub pondere virtus* ("Strength grows under weight") and the year 1766 added in ink. It is a part of a bound volume with several concerto publications by Geminiani, including editions published by John Johnson in the later 1750s. Perhaps Joseph Gulston put the volume together in 1766 when he became the owner of the various items included in it. The copy now in the Bodleian Library in Oxford has the inscription "M. Russell of Powick". This probably refers to Mary Russell née Cocks (1758–1786), who married William Russell (1750–1812) in 1781 and lived in Powick, a village just south of the city of Worcester.²⁰ The copy is bound with a number of other items mostly dating from the second half of the 18th century and of rather diverse kinds. The volume was presumably put together in the 1780s. The copy now in the library of the University of Cardiff may also be considered part of this group, with its signature and date "C. Jones 1829". This copy has the remains of a label that was pasted over the imprint with the text fragment "*old by Joh*", which seems to refer to the music seller John Young: a complete label containing this fragment is found pasted over the imprint of a copy of Geminiani's *XII Solos for a Violin* (Walsh & Hare,

20 Martin Holmes, music librarian of the Bodleian Library, provided me with this information.

[1719], a copy produced around 1730).²¹ Since Young must have ended his activities as a music seller not long after 1730, the Cardiff copy of the *Prima parte* must have been sold by Young as a second-hand copy around 1730; Young is not listed among the subscribers. No particular musical interests are known for these later 18th-century owners. They may have been amateur musicians, of course, but such a quality is difficult to establish for people whose biographies are largely or completely unknown.

Nineteenth-century owners include Alfredo Piatti (1822–1902), Henry Watson (1846–1911) and the Charterhouse School in Godalming. Piatti was an Italian cellist who spent a great deal of his career in England and accumulated a large library of early music editions, including several Geminiani items. He possessed the copy formerly belonging to Robert Archbold. Henry Watson was a music teacher and pianist whose impressive collection of early music became, as the Henry Watson Library, part of the Central Library in Manchester. The Charterhouse School, finally, is a private boarding school first established in London in 1611 but that moved to Godalming, a town in Surrey, south-west of London, in 1872. Its copy of the *Prima parte* is bound together with other editions of concertos by Geminiani. The motto of the school, *Deo Dante Dedi* (“I gave because God gave”), is stamped in gold on the leather cover of the front board. Being musicians, Piatti and Watson can be called “professional collectors”. Why the Charterhouse School possessed these copies of Geminiani’s work is unknown. As a collection, it is in the non-professional category.

In the 20th century, several of the now extant copies were still, or once again, in private hands. The copy of the Charterhouse School came into the possession of one of its pupils, the music critic and composer Philip Radcliffe (1905–1986). Radcliffe was born in Godalming and attended Charterhouse School there. I assume that the school saw no reason to keep the copy in its possession. After Radcliffe’s death, it passed with his collection to the Rowe Music Library of King’s College in Cambridge. The copy now in the Western Bank Library of the University of Sheffield was previously owned by the musicologist William

21 F-Pn, D 11651.

Henry Hadow (1859–1937), who was vice-chancellor of the university from 1919 to 1930 and donated his collection to the university in 1930. The copy now in the Music Rare Books Room of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, comes from the collection of the Belgian musicologist Jean-Auguste Stellfeld (1881–1952). His collection was acquired by the university in 1954.

The copy signed “C. Jones 1829” ended up, in 1950, via unknown routes, in the library of the BBC in London, a collection formed for BBC music productions. Its early editions were later transferred to other libraries, including the library of Cardiff University, where the *Prima parte* copy is now housed.

This overview does not include all 14 known extant copies, for some of which no provenance data are known at all. The given data, in any case, show two things in particular. First, early dissemination was an exclusively British affair: only from the time that Geminiani’s works became collector’s items could copies of the *Prima parte* be found outside Britain. Second, institutional collections, in particular university libraries, gradually but steadily grew in importance as holders of copies of Geminiani’s *Prima parte*. It must be acknowledged, however, that Geminiani’s own edition of the *Prima parte* was not the best-selling edition containing this music: the reprint published by John Walsh in 1726—just a few months after Geminiani’s edition—and reissued repeatedly until around 1760 was sold in massively greater numbers and made the works known in every corner of the British Isles.

The Sonatas opus 4

As a second example of the circulation of Geminiani’s work viewed in terms of the provenance of extant copies, we will discuss the Sonatas opus 4, published by the composer in 1739 as *Sonate a violino e basso, Opera quarta*.²² The first issue was published and sold by subscription only. Reissues were published by Geminiani himself in London in the 1740s, by John Johnson in 1751 and by Richard Welcker around 1775, and copies of these issues could be bought regularly from the composer or in music shops. They were all published from the original plates.

22 See Geminiani 2016 for further details.

One issue from these plates was produced and published in France, with the year 1740 and the names of Mme Boivin and Sieur Hue in the imprint; copies from this issue could be bought in Paris.

First owners of Geminiani's *Sonatas opus 4* known by name include the organist James Worgan (1715–1753; copy GB-Lbl) and the unknown “W. F. Rice”, who acquired his copy on 15 March 1759, presumably directly from Johnson's shop (copy GB-Lam). The French magistrate Charles Fournier de la Chapelle (1714–1779), who served many years in Haïti, may have acquired his copy of the Johnson reissue directly from the shop. Later in the century, it became part of the library of the *Menus Plaisirs du Roy* in Paris.²³

Several owners of the second generation are known, among them the musical antiquarian Richard Viscount Fitzwilliam (1745–1816; a Johnson copy, now in GB-Cfm), the Charterhouse organist Richard J.S. Stevens (1757–1837; a Johnson and a Welcker copy, now both in GB-Lam), Richard Allott, precentor in Armagh (Northern Ireland, 1783–1858; a 1739 copy, GB-Lbl), and the German-British violinist Georg(e) Griesbach (1757–1824, or perhaps his son George Adolphus Griesbach, 1801–1875?; a Johnson copy, GB-Lbl).

Nineteenth-century owners include the Swedish amateur musician and collector Johan Mazer (1790–1847; a 1739 copy now in S-Skma), the librarian of the Royal Academy of Music William Goodwin (1797–1876; a Johnson copy, GB-Lam), the Italian cellist Alfredo Piatti (1822–1901; a 1739 and a Johnson copy, I-BGi), the British Staffordshire aristocrat John Swynfen St Vincent Jervis (Jervis is the surname, 1824–1890; a 1739 copy, US-Wc), the American collector Joseph Drexel (1833–1888; a Johnson and a Welcker copy, US-NYp), the Italian nobleman Count Luigi Valdrighi (1837–1899; a 1739 copy, I-MOe), the Moravian violinist “Lady Hallé” (born Wilhelmina Neruda, 1839–1911, married to the pianist Charles Hallé; a Johnson copy that was donated to her by Alfredo Piatti, D-Mbs), Henry Watson (1846–1911, see above; a 1741–1747 copy, GB-Mp), the British collector Louis Thompson Rowe (1855–1927; a Johnson copy, GB-Ckc), and the Scottish musician, composer and editor Alfred Moffat (1866–1950; a 1741–1747

23 Now F-Pn, L 12204.

copy, US-Wc). All of these copies passed to public libraries, usually more or less immediately after the death of the owner.

Twentieth-century owners include the German–British collector Paul Hirsch (1881–1951; a 1739 copy, formerly Richard Allot’s copy, now GB-Lbl), the Italian composer and musicologist Gian Francesco Malipiero (1882–1973; a Johnson copy, I-Vcg), the Dutch–Austrian musicologist Anthony van Hoboken (1887–1983; a 1740 French issue copy, now A-Wn), the American composer Theodore Finney (1902–1976; 1739), and the world-famous violinist Yehudi Menuhin (1916–1999; 1741–1747). These copies are, like the copies for which 19th-century owners could be established, all found today in public collections.

Conclusion

Although provenance research does not present a complete picture of the dissemination of a particular edition of early music, it certainly provides a preliminary, approximate overview of its circulation through space and time. For such an overview, it is important and useful to collect data about every extant copy of an edition.

In the case of Geminiani’s works, it is evident from the data presented here that, during the first century of their availability, his publications were sold and were available first of all in Great Britain and Ireland. Within the context of the editions studied here, Charles Fournier de la Chapelle’s copy of the *Sonate, Opera quarta* is the only exception. Only around 1800 copies of editions of his work show up in continental collections, such as those of Johan Mazer in Stockholm. The 19th century witnessed a growing proportion of non-British owners of copies of Geminiani’s work, such as the Italian nobleman Count Luigi Valdrighi and the American collector Joseph Drexel. In the 19th century, libraries also began to collect early music editions, including those of Geminiani’s works. This trend continued in the 20th century and to the present, so that today most copies of editions of Geminiani’s works are housed in publicly accessible libraries. Yet, a fair number of them are still in the hands of private collectors all over the world.

For the researcher today, it is a happy circumstance if a previous owner has left his or her signature or stamp in a printed copy of Geminiani’s

work. It must be said, however, that that is the case for only a minority of the extant copies, albeit a large minority. Therefore, for many copies preserved today, there is no clue as to who possessed it in the 18th and 19th centuries. Libraries sometimes have information about how particular copies came into their possession, but this information is not available systematically.

There are further limitations to the study of provenances. It must be assumed that the extant copies of a particular edition represent only a small portion of what was sold or disseminated in other ways in the 18th century. About the lost copies, we know nothing. Auction catalogues of the 18th and 19th centuries may contain titles of the editions that draw our interest, but very often the descriptions are not specific enough to permit any conclusions to be drawn.

Sometimes, in addition, it is possible to infer the presence of copies in certain places in an indirect way. Some copies, for example, of several of Geminiani's works published in London must have been available on the Continent in the 18th century, not long after their publication in London. This can be concluded from the continental reprints of the Concertos after Corelli's Sonatas opus 5, the Concertos opuses 2 and 3, and the Sonatas opuses 1 and 4. The Landesbibliothek in Dresden holds two manuscripts of concertos and several printed editions of concertos that apparently were already there from the middle of the 18th century.²⁴ Locally written 18th-century manuscript copies of the Sonatas of 1716 are found in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin and the Biblioteca del Conservatorio in Naples.²⁵ More examples of this kind could be given.

24 Notably the printed concerto volumes 2201-O-500 to 504 and 1-O-501, which must once have formed a set of bound partbooks, each with the respective parts of the Concertos opuses 2 and 3, the Concertos after Corelli's Sonatas opus 3, the *Prima* and *Seconda parte* of the Concertos after Corelli's Sonatas opus 5, and the *Select Harmony, Third Collection*. Details of printing and paper show that these copies were produced in the early 1740s. The manuscripts 2201-O-4 (with the Concerto opus 3 no. 1) and 2962-O-1 (with one of the *Select Harmony* concertos, ascribed to Matthew Dubourg) were also written in England in the early 1740s, as the paper shows.

25 Notably, the manuscripts D-B, Mus. MS 7331; D-B, Am. Bibl. 405 and 408; D-Dlb, Mus. 2201-R-1a and 1b, D-Dlb; Mus. 2201-R-9; I-Nc, MS [manoscritto] 22-6-18(1); I-Nc, M. S. [musica strumentale] 2622/b.

Geminiani also published a number of his works on the Continent. Two of these editions, the *Seconda parte* of the Concertos after Corelli's Sonate opus 5 (1729) and the *Dictionaire harmonique* (1756), had a reasonable dissemination, appropriately confined nearly completely to the Continent. Other editions, such as the French editions of the *Pièces de clavecin* (1743) and the *Sonates pour le violoncelle* [opus 6] (1747) and the Dutch editions of the *Sonates pour le violoncello* opus 5 and the *Sonates pour le violon* opus 5 (both 1747) had a very limited dissemination, resulting in one or two extant copies only.

The conclusion must be that, on one hand, provenance research provides valuable information about the dissemination of editions of early music, while, on the other, the results of such research are incomplete and can be used only with considerable caution.

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ROSA CAFIERO

The journey of a 19th-century autograph score

A cantata by Emanuele Imbimbo (1756–1839)

THIS CHAPTER FOCUSES on the relationships and exchanges among collectors of a music manuscript in the first half of the 19th century: an autograph score that travelled from Paris to Naples and thence to Vienna. The mediator of the autograph was Gaspare Selvaggi (1763–1856), a most esteemed intellectual, collector, bibliographer, antiquarian, philosopher and amateur musician. How many collectors travelling to Naples could benefit from, and copy, manuscript scores owned by Gaspare Selvaggi? Masseangelo Masseangeli (1809–1878) was among them.

Collecting autographs was one of the most frequent and enjoyable activities for scholars and antiquarians in the 19th century.¹ In some cases an autograph could add value to a collection, even though the person who signed it was not particularly famous. The autograph market was ruled by sellers (dealers) as well as by buyers. A fine collector could determine the life and survival of a score, letter, note or single signature. Following the growth of a collection is a fascinating research field, even leading one to start a never-ending journey into letters, catalogues, scores and auction reports.

We will try to trace the journey of a cantata by Emanuele Imbimbo (1756–1839) composed in Paris in 1817. The score was sold in Naples by Gaspare Selvaggi to Masseangelo Masseangeli.² A single page of the score would continue its journey from Masseangeli's collection to that

1 Fontaine 1836; Neumayr 1846; von Radowitz 1852.

2 Masseangeli's collection was bequeathed in August 1877 to the Accademia Filarmonica in Bologna (I-Baf); <http://www.accademiafilarmonica.it/index.php?page=archivio-biblioteca> (accessed 15 February 2022). Parisini & Colombani 1881, p. x. I wish to thank Romano Vettori, archivist at the Accademia Filarmonica in Bologna.

of Aloys Fuchs (1799–1853)³ in Vienna and eventually from Vienna to Berlin (Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz).⁴

Three collectors of ‘ancient music’: Gaspare Selvaggi, Masseangelo Masseangeli and Aloys Fuchs

Before starting our journey, we need to focus on Gaspare Selvaggi’s reputation as a music collector. His name is found in several printed and online library catalogues, of the British Library in London, the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris, and the Music Conservatory San Pietro a Majella Library in Naples.

According to Lady Sydney Morgan, who was travelling in Italy in 1820, Selvaggi’s collection of ancient music was supposed to be one of the “finest and most valuable in Italy”. Selvaggi—according to Lady Morgan—was a fine amateur musician, had written very learnedly on music and had composed “some excellent canzonetti”.⁵ In 1819 Selvaggi tried to sell his collection to the Real collegio di musica (Royal College of Music) in Naples. The sale failed, although it was strongly supported by Giuseppe Sigismondo (1739–1826), the college’s music archivist, who acted as an intermediary and guarantor with the board of the *collegio di musica* led by Niccolò Zingarelli.⁶

Around 1830, Selvaggi eventually managed to sell his collection to Spencer Joshua Alwyne Compton, the 2nd Marquess of Northampton (1790–1851).⁷ The collection was brought to England in 1830, soon after the death of the wife of the marquess, Margaret Douglas Maclean Clephane (1793–1830). It was kept in Castle Ashby, the seat of the marquess in Northamptonshire, and eventually deposited in the British

3 See Schaal 1963; 1965; Fiori 2011, pp. 253, 257; Staub 2016.

4 D-B, Mus. ms. autogr. Imbimbo, E.1 M. <https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/> (accessed 15 February 2022). A label in Fuchs’ hand quotes: “Originale | di | Emanuele Imbimbo | Compositore di Musica | a Napoli | L’autentica firmata dal Cavaliere | Gaspare Selvaggi” (“Original by Emanuele Imbimbo Music Composer in Naples. The authentication is signed by Knight Gaspare Selvaggi”).

5 See Morgan 1821, p. 405; Cafiero 2018, p. 345.

6 See Cafiero 2017, pp. xlv–xlvi; 2018, pp. 343–345.

7 Villarosa de Rosa 1831, p. 41; 1840, p. 153; Cafiero 2018, pp. 398–411.

Museum Library, now the British Library, in April 1843 by the marquess himself.⁸ As far as we know, Selvaggi continued to collect printed and manuscript sources all his life.⁹ In 1845, the 82-year-old Selvaggi was appointed prefect of the Royal Bourbon Library in Naples, now the National Library Vittorio Emanuele III. He still owned a huge collection of rare books, as listed in the 1830 printed catalogue, and music autographs.¹⁰ His reputation as a most trustworthy expert and refined collector was at its peak.

Abbot Masseangelo Masseangeli was one of the collectors exchanging autographs with Selvaggi during his stay in Naples between 1837 and 1848.¹¹ Masseangeli's fellow collectors include Aloys Fuchs. In 1831, Fuchs was in touch with Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, who promised to send him scores by "newer composers" he had found in Naples. On 19 July, Mendelssohn sent a little "packet of manuscripts" from Milan, a Magnificat by Francesco Durante and a piece by Giovanni Paisiello:

8 A list of the manuscripts included in the Selvaggi Collection (GB-Lbl, Add. 14101–14248, plus a handwritten catalogue, Additional 14249), in the hand of Anna Jane Douglas Maclean Clephane, the Marquess of Northampton's sister-in-law (see Cafiero 2018, pp. 398–411) is to be found in the *Catalogue of Additions* 1850, pp. 39–47; Turner & Searle 1982, p. 524; Harris 1998, p. 130; Cafiero 2001b, p. 450; Fabris 2015. Among the authors collected by Selvaggi we can list Pasquale Anfossi, Orazio Benevoli, Giovanni Bononcini, Pasquale Cafaro, Tommaso Carapella, Carlo Cotumacci, Gian Francesco de Majo, Francesco Durante, Nicola and Pasquale Fago, Francesco Feo, Litterio Ferrari, Gaspare and Michele Gabbellone, Gaetano Greco, Niccolò Jommelli, Gaetano Latilla, Leonardo Leo, Antonio Lotti, Francesco Mancini, David Perez, Giovanni Battista Pergolesi, Nicolò Piccinni, Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, Nicola Antonio Porpora, Antonio Sacchini, Alessandro and Domenico Scarlatti, Agostino Steffani, Tommaso Traetta and Niccolò Zingarelli.

9 After Selvaggi's death, his collection was put on sale by his heirs. A catalogue of his books (about 9,000 volumes) was printed in 1859 (see *Catalogo dei libri* 1859). The collection was bought in 1873 by the Milanese bookseller Gaetano Schieppatti (see Cafiero 2018, p. 418).

10 *Biblioteca scelta* 1830; Cafiero 2020, pp. 273–317.

11 Masseangeli stayed in Naples from 1837 to 1848 as the tutor of Francesco Tocco Cantelmo Stuart (1790–1877), the Prince of Montemiletto's child, and he went back to Naples in 1870. Parisini & Colombani 1881, pp. xiii–xiv; see Cafiero 2018, p. 416.

You will receive in the enclosure a little packet of manuscripts that I have uncovered for you; unfortunately the greater part, which consists of a batch of manuscripts (music) by newer composers that I found in Naples and that the owner promised to forward me, has not yet arrived, and since I can no longer postpone my trip you will have to be so good as to forgive the slimness of this package. It includes a magnificent by Durante¹² and a piece by Paisiello. I found these two in Naples, and one of the best local *dilettanti* has given me assurances that they are genuine, since I know less than nothing about it.¹³

Who was Mendelssohn's dealer in 1831? Described as "one of the best local *dilettanti*", who guarantees the manuscripts' authenticity, he "has given me assurances that they are genuine". There is no evidence with which to trace the identity of this local *amateur*. Could he be identified with Selvaggi? Did Fuchs himself ever write to the *dilettante*, as Mendelssohn suggested?

I am also sending the signatures of Rossini and Mercadante and notes by Bellini and Staffa; at the same time I hope soon to receive music by all of the above, and by Pacini, Donizetti, and others on your list; or rather I shall write and ask that they be sent to you directly. Perhaps you would be so good as to write a few lines yourself to Naples about this, since it seemed to me that the owner would be flattered if you would ask him directly for these manuscripts [...]¹⁴

In 1831, Aloys Fuchs managed to acquire part of the huge collection of Franz Sales Kandler (1792–1831), an Austrian writer on music and collector who had been travelling in Italy (to Venice, Bologna, Rome,

12 See D-B Mus.ms. 5372/1; D-B Mus. ep. Fuchs, A. Varia 5 (*Verzeichnis von Tonkünstler-Briefen und Autographen aus dem Besitz von Aloys Fuchs*); D-B Mus.ms.theor. Kat. 310 (*Standorts-Repertorium über die Sammlung des A. Fuchs*).

13 Hanslick 1991, p. 284. Mendelssohn sent 20 letters to Fuchs from July 1831 to December 1845. Hanslick 1991, p. 276.

14 Hanslick 1991, p. 284.

Naples and Milan) in the early 1820s.¹⁵ Kandler was an employee (“Konzipist”) at the Austrian imperial naval office and was obtaining music autographs for Raphael Georg Kiesewetter (1773–1850) and for Fuchs himself.¹⁶

In 1847, Fuchs contacted Masseangeli in Naples in order to acquire Italian and specifically Neapolitan autographs. On 20 February 1847 he wrote a list of 31 musicians whose autographs he was looking for to enrich his collection (see *Figure 1*).¹⁷

Masseangeli did his best to fulfil Fuchs’s requests and asked in turn for several autographs and portraits. He carefully wrote lists of the “genuine” autographs—to quote Mendelssohn’s expression—and portraits that he sent to Fuchs.¹⁸

Retracing the journey of an autograph: Imbimbo in Fuchs’ collection in Berlin

The Berlin Staatsbibliothek *Musikabteilung* retains a single page, an *Allegro*, described as a fragment of an aria for soprano and instruments attributed to Emanuele Imbimbo.¹⁹ A label, in Aloys Fuchs’ handwriting, confirms that Imbimbo, “composer in Naples”, is the author of the composition. Most significant of all is the fact that *cavalier* Selvaggi guaranteed the authenticity of the autograph. In other words, the sheet is a double autograph, by both Imbimbo and Selvaggi (see *Figure 2*).

15 See Schaal 1963; 1965; 1989/1990; Cafiero 2011. Among Fuchs’s *Briefpartners* was Friedrich August Grasnitz (1798–1877), whose collection was donated to the Berlin Königliche Bibliothek in 1879. See Schaal 2002.

16 Kier 1968; Cafiero 2011, pp. 69–71; 2017, pp. xlvii–xlvi.

17 I-Baf I-FUC-LET “Desiderata | per la Collezione d’Autografi di Al: Fuchs in Vienna” (“Desired scores for Aloys Fuchs’ Autograph Collection in Vienna”). Some names (i.e., Arcangelo Corelli, Francesco Feo, Benedetto Marcello, Marcos António Portugal, Domenico Scarlatti, Nicola Sala, Gaetano Greco, Tommaso Carapella and Egidio Romualdo Duni) are underlined in red ink.

18 The first two shipments are undated; the third one dates to 5 February 1847 and the last to 7 January 1848.

19 D-B Mus. ms. autogr. Imbimbo, E.i.M.

(Febbraio 20-)

Desiderata

1847.

per la Collezione d'Autografi di Al. Fuchs in Vienna

- | | |
|--|-------------------------------|
| 1. <u>Lotorga</u> Emanuele. B ^{te} # | <u>Maestre Di Cappella</u> |
| 2. <u>Buononcini</u> G. B. # | <u>a Napoli</u> |
| 3. <u>Corelli</u> Arcangelo. # Prof. di Violino | 1. <u>Carosani</u> Ristoffino |
| 4. <u>Domenico</u> della Maria # | 2. <u>Gizzi</u> Domenico |
| 5. <u>Federici</u> . (# 1826) Milano. | 3. <u>Gaetano Greco</u> . |
| 6. <u>Teo</u> Francesco # Napoli. | 4. <u>Domenico</u> Sarti. |
| 7. <u>Giardini</u> Felice # | 5. <u>Francesco</u> Mancini |
| 8. <u>Geminiani</u> . # { Prof. di Violino | 6. <u>Carlo</u> Contumacci |
| 9. <u>Marcello</u> Benedetto. (Venetiano) # | 7. <u>Tomaso</u> Carapella |
| 10. <u>Portogallo</u> . # Neapolitano | 8. <u>Loggrocini</u> Nicolo. |
| 11. <u>Pucitta</u> .. . detto .. . | 9. <u>Eg. Dom. Duni</u> |
| 12. <u>Polidoro</u> G. M. Prof. di Violino | 10. <u>Rinaldi</u> Di Capua |
| 13. <u>Domenico</u> <u>Scarlatti</u> / il Figlio / | 11. <u>Genaro</u> Manna |
| 14. <u>Sabbattini</u> Padre. # | 12. <u>Inranguine</u> Giacomo |
| 15. <u>Sala</u> Nicolo. M. Di Capo a Napoli | 13. <u>Marescalchi</u> |
| | 14. <u>Andreozzi</u> Gaetano |
| | 15. <u>Turchi</u> Angelo |
| | 16. <u>Parenti</u> Francesco |

Figure 1. I-Baf I-FUC-LET "Desiderata | per la Collezione d'Autografi di Al: Fuchs in Vienna" ("Desired scores for Aloys Fuchs' Autograph Collection in Vienna").



Figure 2. Label in Aloys Fuch's handwriting. "Original (i.e. autograph) score by Emanuele Imbimbo, as confirmed by Knight Gaspare Selvaggi."
D-B Mus. ms. autogr. Imbimbo, e.1.M.

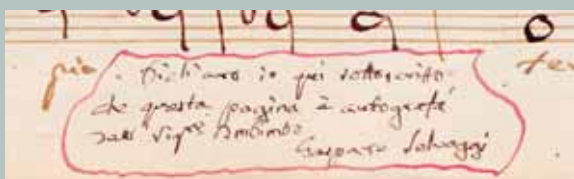


Figure 3. Draft note in Gaspare Selvaggi's handwriting: "Dichiaro io qui sottoscritto che questa pagina è autografa del Sig.re Imbimbo."
D-B Mus. ms. autogr. Imbimbo, e.1.M, folio 1r.

No further clue, such as the identity of the author of the lyrics, is found in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek manuscript. Where is the rest of the score to be found? The only evidence with which to trace the provenance of the composition is an attached note signed by Masseangeli on 19 July 1847 confirming the authenticity of Imbimbo's autograph.

To confirm the attribution and to inform Fuchs of Imbimbo's reputation, Masseangeli copied a précis of a biographical entry on Imbimbo, a most talented composer ("valentissimo compositore"), drawing it from Villarosa de Rosa's *Memoirs of Composers in the Reign of the Two Sicilies*, published in Naples in 1840, the most authoritative volume on the so-called Neapolitan School.²⁰ He also confirmed that Selvaggi was "he himself a most distinguished amateur composer" ("esso pure distintissimo dilettante compositore") and author of a harmony textbook, *Trattato di armonia ordinato con nuovo metodo*.²¹ In other words, Selvaggi's signature authenticates Imbimbo's composition, whereas Masseangeli guarantees Selvaggi and his crucial role as a learned musician and music collector. As Masseangeli decided to tear out a page from the original score to send it to Vienna, he asked Selvaggi to write a note in very small handwriting under the lower staff and, of course, to inscribe and sign it thus:²² "I, the undersigned, declare that this page is an autograph of Mr. Imbimbo. Gaspare Selvaggi" (see *Figure 3*).²³

Selvaggi was summoned by Masseangeli on 19 June to write a few lines near the bottom edge of the torn page and to authenticate it. It must have been a most common practice among collectors, a sort of mutual favour. Did Selvaggi know the recipient's identity?

It is not easy to trace the transfer of manuscripts owned by Masseangeli from Naples to Vienna. As far as documents in the Masseangeli archive tell us,²⁴ Imbimbo's, and Selvaggi's, autographs were sent to Fuchs in June 1847, in the same shipment as autographs of Luigi

20 Villarosa de Rosa 1840, p. 87.

21 Selvaggi 1823.

22 The sentence is highlighted by Fuchs by drawing a circle around it in red ink, as we often find in Fuchs' drafts and manuscripts.

23 "Dichiaro io qui sottoscritto, che questa pagina è autografa del Sig.^{re} Imbimbo".

24 Parisini & Colombani 1881, p. 120; I-Baf, ms. I-FUC.LET.1-3.

Capotorti,²⁵ Francesco Catugno, Saverio Mercadante and Carlo Coccia.²⁶

Starting our research in Berlin gave us at first no clue as to where the whole Imbimbo score was to be found. Did Maseangeli keep the original score in his own collection, or did he sell it to one of his fellow collectors? We may need to know something more about the mysterious “aria”, to focus on its context and to understand how Selvaggi had managed to obtain it. Did Maseangeli notice the missing sheet and replace it in the original score?

The answer comes quite easily. Checking Maseangeli’s collection printed catalogue confirms the presence of a *Cantata per soprano* by Imbimbo.²⁷ The piece is described as being dedicated to a “Mrs. Agnese Moretti, born Bonaporta”, but the surname is definitely spelt incorrectly by the author of the catalogue.²⁸ The score frontispiece reads as follows: “Cantata | Poesia del Sig.^r Salfi = Musica del Sig.^r Imbimbo | Alla Sig.^a Agnese Moretti | nata Bonar di Scozia | dagli autori rispettosamente dedicata | Parigi 1817” (“Cantata Lyrics by Mr. Salfi = Music by

25 See D-B Mus.ms.autogr. Capotorti, L. 1 N with Maseangeli’s authentication; the original score with the copy of the pages sent to Fuchs is in I-Baf ms. I-CAPO.MUS.1–2. Parisini & Colombani 1881, p. 57.

26 Archivio di Maseangelo Maseangeli 1818 nov. 21 – 1878 gen. 03, Liste di uomini illustri e di autografi da collezione (Lists of illustrious men and collectible autographs): www.cittadegliarchivi.it (accessed 15 February 2022), Liste di desiderata e appunti (Lists of desired items and notes). The digitized archival materials allow us to understand the collector’s attitude. Lists of names, lists of portraits, lists of letters, lists of authors of music autographs, thousands of dates and historical events fill thousands of sheets. Long lists of “exchanged” letters, letter books, lists of still “missing” authors are to be added to these numerous lists of *desiderata*.

27 Bologna, Accademia Filarmonica (I-Baf), ms. I-IMB-MUS.1; Parisini & Colombani 1881, pp. 106–107: “Cantata per soprano con accompagnamento d’orchestra, dedicata alla signora Agnese Moretti nata Bonaporta Parigi 1817. Pag. 12 c. in piedi. L’autografo è autenticato da Gaspare Selvaggi”. The wrong surname (a typographical error in the catalogue) is quite misleading: an autoptic examination of the score allows us to identify the dedicatee (Bonar instead of Bonaporta). The score of the cantata *Notte già cara ed or funesta un tempo* (9 parts, 18 *rastra* per page) includes horns in E flat, hautbois, violins, viola, bassoon and bass (see *Figure 5*).

28 “[S]ignora Agnese Moretti, nata Bonaporta”.

Mr. Imbimbo. Respectfully dedicated by the authors to Mrs. Agnes Moretti born Bonar in Scotland. Paris 1817”).²⁹

A few staves underneath we find a note in Masseangeli’s hand: “Dichiario io sott[oscritt]o per certa Scienza esser questo un originale del distinto Dilettante Compositore | napoletano Emanuele Imbimbo. Napoli 30. Maggio 1847” (“I the undersigned confirm that this autograph was written by the most distinguished Neapolitan amateur Emanuele Imbimbo. Naples, 30 May 1847”) and the autograph signature of Gaspare Selvaggi (see *Figure 4*).

The frontispiece bears a most important clue: the name of the text author—nowhere else to be found—Francesco Saverio Salfi (1759–1832).³⁰ An exile in Paris since 1815, he was a fine poet, intellectual and philosopher, belonging to the same liberal *entourage* as Selvaggi’s and sharing cultural and political interests with Selvaggi (and Imbimbo).³¹

Masseangeli wrote a note in pencil on the new non-autograph sheet, pasted onto folio 5, containing a copy of the original page sent to Vienna: “E. Imbimbo (copia della pagina mandata | a Fuchs a Vienna)” (“copy of the page sent to Fuchs in Vienna”) (see *Figure 6*). The integrity of Imbimbo’s cantata is reinstated in the collection.

29 Agnes Bonar (b. 1798) had married Count Luigi Moretti (1774–1856), brother of the guitarist Ferdinando (1769–1839). Agostinelli & Prefumo 2009; Carpintero Fernández 2010; Somerville 1874, pp. 117–118 (“That evening I recognised in Countess Moretti my old friend Agnes Bonar. Moretti was of good family; but, having been banished from home for political opinions, he taught the guitar in London for bread, and an attachment was formed between him and his pupil. After the murder of her parents, they were both persecuted with the most unrelenting cruelty by her brother. They escaped to Milan where they married.”). Further research could contextualize the composition and focus on the connections among Italian exiles in Paris at the beginning of the 19th century. See Cafiero 2019, p. 64.

30 See Alfonzetti 2001; 2015.

31 The political liaison between Salfi and Selvaggi dates back to 1796; see at least Nardi 1925, pp. 39–40; Croce 1947; Froio 1997, p. 47. On Salfi’s role in the Italian and French social and Masonic context, see Trampus 2016.



Figure 4. I-Baf ms. I-IMB-MUS.1 folio 1r. "Cantata | Poesia del Sig.r Salfi = Musica del Sig.r Imbimbo | Alla Sig.a Agnese Moretti | nata Bonar di Scozia | dagli autori rispettosamente dedicata | Parigi 1817", with a note by Gaspare Selvaggi: "Dichiaro io Sott.o per certa Scienza esser questo un originale del distinto Dilettante Compositore | napoletano Emanuele Imbimbo. Napoli 30. Maggio 1847."



Figure 5. Cantata by Salfi and Imbimbo (Notte già cara ed or funesta), bars. 1–6.

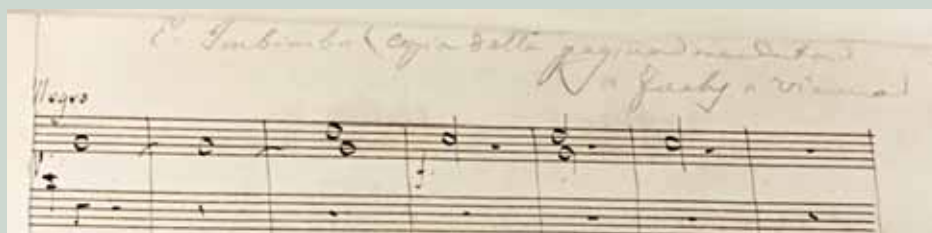


Figure 6. A pencil note in Masseangeli's hand on the new non-autograph sheet pasted onto folio 5: "E. Imbimbo (copia della pagina mandata | a Fuchs in Vienna."

The score in the Masseangeli Collection includes an unbound sheet without staves with a handwritten *Appunto*—a note, a draft.³² It includes a short description of the composition and some information on Imbimbo, whose edition of Fedele Fenaroli's *Partimenti*, printed in Paris 1814, is highly praised:³³

Imbimbo (Emanuele) Neapolitan: famous amateur composer. We own a cantata for soprano and small orchestra, lyrics by Mr. Salfi dedicated to Mrs. Agnese Moretti born Bonar in Scotland, Paris 1817. Those who understand and appreciate fine music composition could find in this work Imbimbo's vast music knowledge; he has always succeeded in all music genres, gaining general appreciation. His *preliminary discourse* to Fenaroli's great creation, the *Partimenti* French edition, could be enough to assess how much Imbimbo was useful to art for his compositions, both for divulging a work not yet properly appreciated and for bringing to his homeland artistic and musical decorum.³⁴

This *appunto* may have served as a sketch for the catalogue entry. Unfortunately, in the final version (to be attributed to the librarians Federico Parisini and Ernesto Colombani, editors of the Masseangeli autograph collection catalogue)—as we have already shown—the dedicatee's surname is wrongly transcribed as “Bonaporta”; this misleading mistake is definitely confirmed in the printed catalogue and the

32 The collection in Bologna, Accademia Filarmonica, I-Baf.

33 See Cafiero 2001a; 2020, pp. 141–185.

34 “Imbimbo (Emanuele) Napolitano: celebre dilettaute compositore di musica. Si ha di lui una cantata per voce di Soprano a piccola orchestra, con poesia del Sig.^r Salfi dedicata alla Sig.^a Agnese Moretti nata Bonar di Scozia, Parigi 1817. Gli intelligenti e gli amatori del ben comporre, potrebbero da questo lavoro o formarsi una idea del vasto sapere musicale dell'Imbimbo che, provandosi in tutti i generi di composizione vi è sempre riuscito con universale approvazione; come pure nella parte letterario dell'arte, cui era versatissimo, che basterebbe il discorso preliminare messo in fronte alla grand'opera del Fenaroli, cioè i Partimenti, Ediz. di Parigi per valutare l'Imbimbo quanto sia stato utile nell'arte e per le sue Opere composizioni, e per aver illustrata un'opera che per lo innanzi da pochi era prezzata, ed il decora [*sic*] artistico-musicale recato alla sua cara patria”.

Appunto.

Imbimbo (Emanuele) Napolitano: celebre dilettante
compositore di musica. Si ha di lui una cantata per
voce di Soprano e piccola orchestra, composta dal Sig.
Salvi dedicata alla Sig. Agnese Moretti nata Bonar-
di Nodia, Parigi 1817.

Gli intelligenti e gli amatori del bel comporre, potrebb-
ro da questo lavoro formarsi un'idea del vasto sape-
re musicale dell'Imbimbo che, provandosi in tutti
i generi di composizioni vi è sempre riuscito con
universale approvazione; come pure sulla parte lette-
raria dell'arte, cui era versatissimo, che basterà il
discorso preliminare messo in fronte alla grand'opera
del Fenaroli, cioè: Partimenti, Ediz. di Parigi per
valutare l'Imbimbo quanto sia stato utile all'arte
e per le sue ^{composizioni} ~~opere~~, e per aver illustrata un'opera
che per lo innanzi da pochi ~~era~~ ^{era} prezzata, ed il Duoro ar-
tistico-musicale recato alla sua cara patria

Figure 7. Appunto describing the score by Imbimbo (see Notes 32–34).

poet's identity is omitted.³⁵ The manuscript draft—in Parisini's and Colombani's handwriting—is digitized in the Città degli archivi website.³⁶

The most fascinating world of 18th-century music collectors, archivists and librarians needs to be investigated thoroughly, following old and new threads, identifying scores, rebuilding the “integrity” of manuscripts, and tracing the “journeys” of hundreds of precious pieces of a most colourful puzzle.

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35 “IMBIMBO Emanuele, nato a Napoli verso il 1765 e morto a Parigi nel 1839, professore di canto e di armonia a Parigi. Fu il primo ad annotare i Partimenti del Fenaroli, facendo precedere all’opera un suo discorso” (“IMBIMBO Emanuele, born in Naples around 1765, died in Paris in 1839; he was a singing and harmony teacher in Paris. He was the first one to edit Fenaroli’s Partimenti, writing a discourse as an introduction to the edition”). Parisini & Colombani 1881, p. 106.

36 See the preparatory entries to the autograph catalogue: Archivio di Masseangelo Masseangeli 1818 nov. 21 – 1878 gen. 03 > Materiali per la ‘Collezione Masseangeli’ [post 1694 dic. 9 – 1895] > Liste di uomini illustri e di autografi da collezione 1753 ott. 19 – [1895] > Schede biografiche preparatorie al Catalogo degli autografi, no. 603 <https://www.cittadegliarchivi.it/> (accessed 15 February 2022).

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HOW DID MUSIC circulate in early modern Europe? Which routes, networks and mediators facilitated the transmission and exchange of music manuscripts and prints? In this volume, thirteen scholars offer fresh perspectives on the circulation and use of music during this period—not only between distant parts of the Continent, but also within individual regions or cities. A shared focus lies in the ways French and Italian music was transmitted to Northern Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries. A central argument is that no relocation occurs without some form of change or transformation—that is, translation. *Translatio* thus refers both to the physical movement of music and to the creative adaptations it often undergoes in new contexts, highlighting the inherently transformative nature of such processes.

