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. 312*v*–317), another the caption "Si deplorano l'humane miserie" (V-CVbav Ferraioli manuscript 1, ff. 207*v*–210*v*). 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 Seignor 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 "Seignor 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 *arietta* 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.

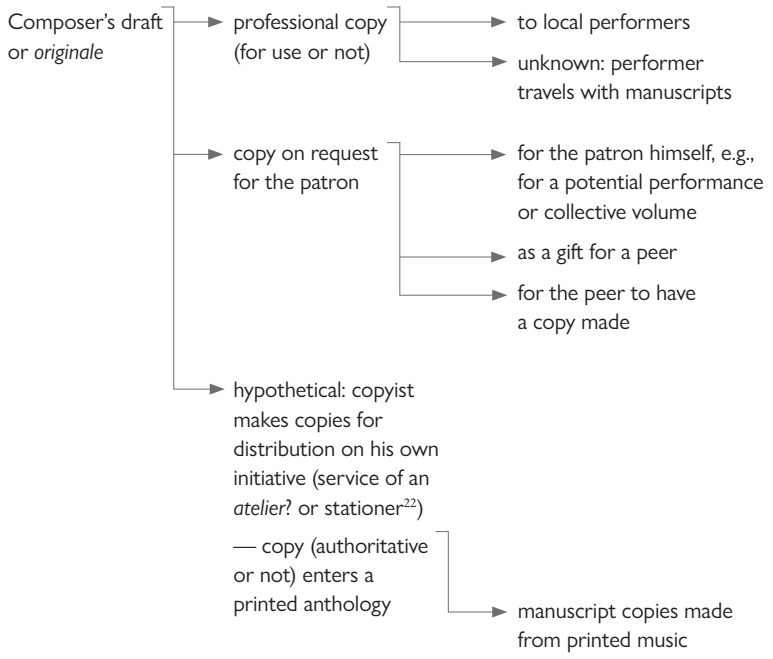

Table 2 posits hypothetical types of transmission for the Italian vocal chamber repertory. Each one would need a concrete investigation and case study, which is beyond the scope of this essay. But the work of Arnaldo Morelli and Paola Besutti offer some instances, for example, of the Duke of Modena requesting *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 interessants pour la transmission de ces airs, en faisant réference 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, ahi, 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	*Lamento di Gionata*, "Del Sig.r Carissimi"; English, 1660s.[29]
D-Lr Mus.ant.pract. K.N. 145	Anonymous; *Lamento di Davide sopra la morte del Gionata*, 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 dì*

Another geography of a single cantata involves uncertainty over its authorship. The duet with basso continuo *Vorrei scoprirti un dì* 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 dì.*

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, *c.* 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, *c.* 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 scoprirti* 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

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34 Berglund & Schildt 2024, p. 100.

35 *Recueil d'airs serieux et a boire de differents auteurs. Pour l'année 1701*, Paris: Christoph Ballard, 1701 (in B-flat major) and *Recueil des meilleurs airs italiens qui ont esté 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. 121*v*–23*v*), 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. 227–230*v*), *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
Se in me tal'hor volgete	ff. 17–21 "Carlo Caproli" Affortunato no. 107[43]	ff. 29*v*–31 "Luigi" Caluori no. 434[44] (Rossi unreliable)	I-Bc Q.44: Caproli
Non ti fidar mio core	ff. 21*v*–26*v* "Carlo Caproli" Affortunato no. 81	ff. 52–53*v* "Luigi" Caluori no. 422 (Rossi unreliable)	I-Bc Q.46: Caproli
Occhi miei, voi parlate	ff. 137–138*v*, anon. Affortunato no. 85	ff. 94*v*–95*v* "Luigi" Caluori no. 424 (Rossi unreliable)	I-Bc Q.46: "Carlo Caproli"
Vorrei scoprirti un dì	ff. 227–230*v* "Carlo del Violino" Affortunato no. 132[45]	ff. 121*v*–123*v* "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. 67–69*v*) 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, how ever it was that *Vorrei scoprirti un dì* 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

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46 I-Rc 2464, ff. 99*r*–104*v*. 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. 146*v*–48*v*. Attributed to Luigi Rossi in GB-Lbl R.M. 23.f.4, ff. 87–88 and to Cesti in I-Fc D.2357, ff. 64–66*v*. Anonymous in I-Nc 22.2.22, ff. 31*v*–34*v*.

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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