

Notes

1 Approaching Monteverdi: his cultures and ours

1. P. Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, Cambridge, 1994, p. 258.
2. M. Stattkuss, *Claudio Monteverdi: Verzeichnis der erhaltenen Werke; kleine Ausgabe*, Bergkamen, 1985, lists 337 'authentic' items; see the Catalogue and Index in this volume.
3. The standard Italian text of the letters is É. Lax (ed.), *Claudio Monteverdi: lettere*, Florence, 1994, and the standard English translation is C. Monteverdi, ed. and trans. D. Stevens, *The Letters of Claudio Monteverdi*, rev. edn, Oxford, 1995.
4. *La carte postale: de Socrate à Freud et au-delà*, Paris, 1980, trans. A. Bass, as *The Post Card: From Socrates to Freud and Beyond*, Chicago, 1987.
5. See, for example, E. Gellner, *Culture, Identity and Politics*, Cambridge, 1987.
6. Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, p. 144.
7. For a discussion of some surviving paintings of Monteverdi, see Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, pp. 267–9.
8. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 18763, f. 115^r.
9. Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, p. 182.
10. Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, p. 6.
11. J. Glixon, 'Was Monteverdi a traitor?', *Music and Letters*, 72 (1991), 404–6.
12. Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, p. 147.
13. J. Hutchinson and A. Smith (eds.), *Nationalism*, Oxford and New York, 1997.
14. *Le rivoluzioni del teatro musicale italiano*, Bologna, 1783, vol. I, Chapter 5, p. 255.
15. *Johannes Gabrieli und sein Zeitalter*, vol. II, p. 226.
16. 'Claudio Monteverdi: Leben, Wirken im Lichte der zeitgenössischen Kritik und Verzeichnis seine im Druck erschienenen Werke', *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, 3 (1887), 315–450, at 443–50.
17. *Gli albori del melodrama*, Milan, 1904, vol. I, between pp. 96 and 97.
18. See also A. Dell'Antonio, 'Il divino Claudio: Monteverdi and lyric nostalgia in fascist Italy', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 8 (1996), 271–84.
19. *Early Italian Songs and Airs*, Boston, 1923.
20. See the remarks of Vincenzo Giustiniani (c.1628) in I. Fenlon, *Music and Patronage in Sixteenth-century Mantua*, 2 vols., Cambridge, 1980; 1982, vol. I, pp. 126–7; also the 1608 account of *Arianna* and remarks on the nature of performance in a letter from 1609, both in Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, pp. 85–7, 105.
21. Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, pp. 264–5.
22. Z. Szwedkowski and T. Carter (eds.), *Composing Opera: from 'Dafne' to 'Ulisse Errante'*, *Practica musica* 2, Kraków, 1994, pp. 196–7.
23. Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, p. 124.
24. His contracts with the Gonzagas and Venice seem not to have survived, if they ever quite existed in the modern sense. A receipt signed by Monteverdi on 26 March 1623 was sold by private treaty at Sotheby's in London in 2004. The work, or works, to which it relates are not known, though plausibly it might refer to the *Combattimento di Tancredi e Clorinda*. See the Sotheby's Music Sale Catalogue for 7 December 2004, p. 146.
25. Letter of 6 November 1615; see also Monteverdi's letter of 28 December 1610.
26. S. Parisi, 'Licenza alla Mantova: Frescobaldi and the recruitment of musicians for Mantua, 1612–15', in A. Silbiger, ed., *Frescobaldi Studies*, Durham, 1987, pp. 55–91, at pp. 60–61.
27. One instance, in a letter to Monteverdi in 1607, is cited in D. Arnold, rev. T. Carter, *Monteverdi*, Oxford, 2000, p. 17. However, the term is not confirmed by the Italian source given in the footnote.
28. On the dating 1590 for Monteverdi's arrival at Mantua, see below, Chapter 4.
29. See, for example A. Curtis, 'La Poppea impasticciata or, who wrote the music to L'incoronazione (1643)?', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 42 (1989), 117–51; and A. Pryer, 'Authentic performance, authentic experience and "Pur ti miro" from *Poppea*', in R. Monterosso (ed.), *Performing Practice in Monteverdi's Music*, Cremona, 1995, pp. 191–213.
30. See the analysis in A. Pryer, 'Monteverdi, two sonnets and a letter', *Early Music*, 25 (1997), 357–71, especially Ex. 7, p. 365. See also the discussion of Monteverdi's modelling in Chapter 3, below.
31. This particular connection seems first to have been discussed in detail in F. Sternfeld, *The Birth of Opera*, Oxford, 1993, pp. 168–71.
32. See: J. Florio, *Queen Anna's New World of Words*, London, 1611 and L. Salvati et al. (eds.), *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca*, Venice, 1612.
33. See, for example, the study by P. Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, London, 1978.
34. B. Storace, *Selva di varie compositioni d'intavolatura per cimballo ed organo*, ed. B. Hudson, *Corpus of Early Keyboard Music*, vol. VII, Neuhausen, 1965, pp. 117–21.
35. Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, p. 98.
36. R. Agee, *The Gardano Music Printing Firms, 1569–1611*, Rochester, NY, 1998, p. 41.
37. See, for example, the listings on the Amazon websites.

38. Agee, *The Gardano Music Printing Firms*, p. 423, n. 27.
39. My thanks to Louise Ringrose of Universal Music for this information.
40. N. Lebrecht, *When the Music Stops*, London, 1996, pp. 351–60.
41. See N. Elias, trans. E. Jephcott, *The Civilizing Process*, Oxford, 1978, and N. Elias, trans. E. Jephcott, *The Court Society*, Oxford, 1983.
42. The *Fiori poetici* appears in facsimile in D. Stevens, *Monteverdi in Venice*, London, 2001; the Piazza poem is on p. 180.
43. See further: G. Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic: Towards a Historiography of Others*, Chicago, 1993.
44. T. Adorno, trans. R. Livingstone, *Quasi una Fantasia: Essays on Modern Music*, London, 1992, pp. 249–68, at p. 252.
45. See R. Holzer, “‘Sono d’altro garbo . . . le canzonette che si cantano oggi’”: Pietro della Valle on music and modernity in the seventeenth century’, *Studi musicali*, 21 (1992), 253–306.
46. S. Parisi, ‘New documents concerning Monteverdi’s relations with the Gonzagas’, in P. Besutti, T. Gialdroni, R. Baroncini (eds.), *Claudio Monteverdi: studi e prospettive: atti del convegno Mantova, 21–24 ottobre 1993*, Florence, 1998, pp. 477–511, at p. 506.

2 Musical sources

1. T. Carter, ‘Artusi, Monteverdi, and the poetics of modern music’, in N. Kovaleff Baker and B. Russano Hanning (eds.), *Musical Humanism and its Legacy: Essays in Honor of Claude V. Palisca*, Stuyvesant, NY, 1992, pp. 171–94.
2. For a counter-argument that this music was often printed in such detail so as to make it more difficult to perform, thereby tempting the consumer while retaining the exclusivity of the composer, see T. Carter, ‘Printing the “New Music”’, in K. van Orden (ed.), *Music and the Cultures of Print*, New York and London, 2000, pp. 3–37.
3. See the Introduction to K. Jacobsen and J. P. Jacobsen (eds.), *Claudio Monteverdi: Il quinto libro de madrigali*, Egtved, 1985.
4. Compare J. Milsom, ‘Tallis, Byrd and the “incorrect” copy: some cautionary notes for editors of early music printed from movable type’, *Music and Letters*, 77 (1996), 348–67.
5. W. Osthoff (ed.), *Claudio Monteverdi: L’Orfeo, favola in musica*, Kassel, 1998. A facsimile of the Florence copy, which stems from earlier in the print-run, has been edited by E. Schmierer, Laaber, 1998.
6. T. Carter, ‘Singing Orfeo: on the performers of Monteverdi’s first opera’, *Recercare*, 11 (1999), 75–118; T. Carter, *Monteverdi’s Musical Theatre*, New Haven and London, 2002, pp. 97–9.
7. P. Holman, “‘Col nobilissimo esercizio della viuuoala’: Monteverdi’s string writing”, *Early Music*, 21 (1993), 577–90, at 584–5, uses the same information to argue that the Vespers was put together from separate sets of parts (with, he implies, diverse origins), i.e., that it was not

conceived as a ‘work’. Our two arguments are not mutually exclusive.

8. A. Rosenthal, ‘Monteverdi’s *Andromeda*: a lost libretto found’, *Music and Letters*, 66 (1985), 1–8; Carter, *Monteverdi’s Musical Theatre*, New Haven and London, 2002, pp. 226–36 (*Proserpina rapita*); E. Rosand, *Monteverdi’s Last Operas: A Venetian Trilogy*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2007.
9. For example, letter of 26 March 1611: ‘I beseech you to be so kind as to accept the *Dixit [Dominus]* for eight voices which Your Highness ordered me to send, together with which I am also sending you a little motet for two voices to be sung at the Elevation, and another for five voices for the Blessed Virgin. Once Holy Week is over I shall send a couple of madrigals, and anything else that I understand may be to Your Highness’s taste.’
10. See his letter of 17 March 1620 (sending the score to the copyist). Monteverdi sent the copyist’s quires in stages on 21 and 28 March, and 4 April.
11. S. G. Cusick, “‘There was not one lady who failed to shed a tear’: Arianna’s lament and the construction of modern womanhood”, *Early Music*, 22 (1994), 21–41; A. MacNeil, ‘Weeping at the water’s edge’, *Early Music*, 27 (1999), 407–17.
12. For a somewhat different view, see G. Tomlinson, ‘Madrigal, monody, and Monteverdi’s “via naturale alla immitatione”’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 34 (1981), 60–108.
13. I. Godt, ‘I casi di Arianna’, *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, 29 (1994), 315–59.
14. T. Carter, ‘Lamenting Ariadne?’, *Early Music*, 27 (1999), 395–405.
15. The Venice edition does not have a dedication and so cannot be dated within the year (save perhaps by a close examination of degrading fonts in all Magni’s editions of 1623); the Orvieto edition has a dedication, though with no date. Therefore we cannot tell which came first.
16. There is also another *contrafactum* as a *Lamento della Maddalena* in Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, MS Q43.
17. Letter of 21 March 1620: ‘I am also sending the first part of the “Lament”, which I had already copied at home on a different sheet of paper, so you will also gain time with this item, being as it is the most essential part of the work.’
18. A. Chiarelli, ‘L’incoronazione di Poppea o Il Nerone: problemi di filologia testuale’, *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, 9 (1974), 117–51; A. Curtis, ‘La Poppea impasticciata or, Who wrote the music to L’incoronazione (1643)?’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 42 (1989), 23–54.

3 A model musical education: Monteverdi’s early works

1. Quintilian, [Marcus Fabius Quintilianus, c.35–c.95 AD], ed. and trans. H. E. Butler, *Institutio oratoria*, Cambridge, MA, 1920, 4.10.1.
2. The term ‘parody’ was first questioned by L. Lockwood, ‘On parody as term and concept in

- sixteenth-century music', in J. LaRue (ed.), *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*, New York, 1966, pp. 560–75; and H. M. Brown recommended the terms 'imitation' and 'emulation', both attested in Renaissance usage as *imitatio* and (*a*)*emulatio*, for music, in 'Emulation, competition, and homage: imitation and theories of imitation in the Renaissance', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 35 (1982), 1–48. Of subsequent articles, see in particular R. Wegman, 'Another "imitation" of Busnoys's *Missa L'Homme armé* – and some observations on *Imitatio* in Renaissance music', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 114 (1989), 189–202; and H. Meconi, 'Does *imitatio* exist?', *Journal of Musicology*, 12 (1994), 152–78.
3. G. W. Pigman III, 'Versions of imitation in the Renaissance', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 33 (1980), 1–32.
 4. Pigman, 'Versions of imitation', 32.
 5. H. Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry*, New York, 1973, p. 5.
 6. K. Korsyn, 'Towards a new poetics of musical influence', *Music Analysis*, 10 (1991), 3–72; J. N. Straus, *Remaking the Past: Musical Modernism and the Influence of the Tonal Tradition*, Cambridge, MA, 1990.
 7. T. M. Greene, *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry*, New Haven, 1982, p. 31.
 8. L. Zacconi, *Prattica di musica*, Venice, 1592; see J. Haar, 'A sixteenth-century attempt at music criticism', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 36 (1983), 191–209.
 9. D. Arnold, rev. T. Carter, *Monteverdi*, London, 1990, p. 124.
 10. Festa's motet is No. 46 in A. Seay (ed.), *Costanzo Festa opera omnia*, vol. V, *Corpus mensurabilis musicae*, 25, American Institute of Musicology, 1979, pp. 54–6. The four-voice version, printed in the 1520s, is probably the closest to any that Festa would have recognised.
 11. Details of the different versions are given in Seay, *Costanzo Festa opera omnia*, pp. xvi–xvii.
 12. *Motetta trium vocum ab pluribus authoribus composita quorum nomina sunt Iachetus Gallicus, Morales Hispanus, Constantius Festa, Adrianus VVilgiardus*, Venice, 1543, No. 14.
 13. A. Seay (ed.), *Costanzo Festa opera omnia*.
 14. C. Burney, *A General History of Music From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, London, 1789, vol. III, p. 246; F. Mercer (ed.), New York, 1935, vol. II, p. 200.
 15. L. Schrade, *Monteverdi: Creator of Modern Music*, New York, 1950, pp. 94–6.
 16. Despite the title, no further volumes appeared and none may have been envisaged by the composer. The later canzonettas were published under different titles, and the genre had changed appreciably by the time they appeared. These canzonettas were ignored by earlier writers such as H. Leichtentritt, 'Claudio Monteverdi als Madrigalkomponist', *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, 11 (1909–10), 255–91, since no complete surviving source was known. They were preceded by a collection of four-voiced *Madrigali spirituali* (1583), still only known through one part-book.
 17. O. Vecchi, ed. R. I. DeFord, *The Four-voice Canzonettas with Original Texts and Contrafacts by Valentin Haussmann and Others*, 2 vols., Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance, vols. 92–3, Madison, 1993.
 18. N. Pirrotta, 'Monteverdi's poetic choices', in *Music and Culture in Italy from the Middle Ages to the Baroque: A Collection of Essays*, Cambridge, MA, 1984, pp. 271–316; P. Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, Cambridge, 1994, p. 15. For Vecchi's authorship of his own texts, see DeFord, *The Four-voice Canzonettas*, part 1, p. 3.
 19. In the present context and in the analysis below of 'Ecco mormorar l'onde', I use the term 'fugal' rather than the normal 'imitative', in order to avoid confusion with the imitation of models.
 20. See N. Pirrotta, 'Early opera and aria', in W. Austin (ed.), *New Looks at Italian Opera: Essays in Honor of Donald Jay Grout*, Ithaca, 1968, pp. 39–107; T. Carter, "An air new and grateful to the ear": the concept of *aria* in late Renaissance and early Baroque Italy', *Music Analysis*, 12 (1993), 127–45.
 21. G. E. Watkins and T. LaMay, "Imitatio" and "emulatio": changing concepts of originality in the madrigals of Gesualdo and Monteverdi in the 1590s', in L. Finscher (ed.), *Claudio Monteverdi: Festschrift Reinhold Hammerstein zum 70. Geburtstag*, Laaber, 1986, pp. 453–87, at p. 482.
 22. For discussions of the relationships, see G. Tomlinson, *Monteverdi and the End of the Renaissance*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1987, pp. 37–40 (Marenzio, Luzzaschi); D. Arnold, 'Monteverdi and his teachers', in D. Arnold and N. Fortune (eds.), *The New Monteverdi Companion*, London, 1985, pp. 95ff. (Ingegneri).
 23. Watkins and LaMay, 'Changing concepts of originality', p. 479.
 24. Tomlinson, *Monteverdi*, pp. 55–6, following A. Einstein, trans. A. H. Krappe, et al., *The Italian Madrigal*, Princeton, 1949, repr. 1971, p. 722, suggests that this piece is modelled on the opening madrigal of Rore's First Book of Madrigals for five voices, 'Cantai, mentre ch' i arsi'.
 25. N. S. Struener, *The Language of History in the Renaissance*, Princeton, 1970, p. 193.
 26. A. M. Monterosso Vacchelli (ed.), *Claudio Monteverdi: madrigali a 5 voci libro secondo*, Opera omnia, vol. III, Cremona, 1979, pp. 21ff.
 27. Marenzio's madrigal is edited by D. Arnold, in Luca Marenzio: *Ten Madrigals for Mixed Voices*, London, 1966. For its Petrarch text, see P. Cudini (ed.), *Francesco Petrarca, Canzoniere*, Milan, 1974, p. 180. Tomlinson, *Monteverdi*, pp. 41–4, identified the Marenzio model cited here, though it has also been suggested that Monteverdi's madrigal was modelled on 'Sorgi rischiarà' from Wert's Seventh Book of Madrigals for five voices (Pirrotta, 'Monteverdi's

poetic choices', pp. 277–8), or 'I' vo' cantar', from Ingegneri's First Book for four voices (Vacchelli, (ed.), *Libro secondo*, p. 18).

28. Leichtenritt, 'Claudio Monteverdi als Madrigalkomponist', 261. The same point concerning the form was made seventy-five years later as if a new discovery by R. Hammerstein, 'Versuch über die Form im Madrigal Monteverdis', in L. Finscher (ed.), *Claudio Monteverdi: Festschrift Reinhold Hammerstein zum 70. Geburtstag*, Laaber, 1986, pp. 9–34, especially p. 16. For Ingegneri's use of the ABA form, see Vacchelli (ed.), *Libro secondo*, p. 18.

Intermedio I: 'Ecco mormorar l'onde' (1590)

1. See the Catalogue of Monteverdi's works, below. The first edition was unknown to Malipiero, whose ordering is still observed on the Consort of Musicke recording, Virgin Veritas, 5622682. On the textual problems, see A. M. Monterosso Vacchelli (ed.), *Claudio Monteverdi: madrigali a 5 voci libro secondo*, Opera omnia, vol. III, Cremona, 1979, pp. 14–15. The three madrigals all have texts by Tasso, and correspond in various technical respects: see *ibid.*, pp. 22–4.
2. The poets are all identified in the Catalogue and Index of Works in this book.
3. 'Io non son però morto' and 'Vezzosi augelli' in C. MacClintock and M. Bernstein (eds.), *Giaches de Wert: Collected Works*, Corpus mensurabilis musicae, 24, vol. VIII (American Institute of Musicology, 1968), nos. 1 and 4, pp. 1–3 and 11–14, respectively. Another edition of 'Io non son però morto' appears in A. Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, Princeton, 1949, repr. 1971 vol. III, pp. 301ff. The edition of 'Vezzosi augelli' in D. Arnold (ed.), *Giaches de Wert, Madrigal 'Vezzosi augelli'*, London, 1961, is barred differently from that in the Collected Works, and transposes the written pitch up a tone.
4. C. Dahlhaus, 'Ecco mormorar l'onde: Versuch ein Monteverdi-Madrigal zu interpretieren', in H. Poos (ed.), *Chormusik und Analyse*, Mainz, 1983, pp. 139–54.
5. Alfred Einstein thought this technique showed Monteverdi's 'impatience' and was symptomatic of the disintegration of the madrigal: Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, vol. II, pp. 722ff.
6. For other resemblances between 'Ecco mormorar' and 'Dolcemente dormiva', not assuming a specific link, see G. Tomlinson, *Monteverdi and the End of the Renaissance*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1987, p. 53.
7. It was suggested as the model by Denis Arnold, in *Monteverdi*, London, 1990, p. 56, and in 'Monteverdi and his teachers', in D. Arnold and N. Fortune (eds), *The New Monteverdi Companion*, London, 1995, p. 108.
8. *Monteverdi and the End of the Renaissance*, pp. 49–52, at p. 50.
9. Dahlhaus, 'Ecco mormorar l'onde', pp. 151–2.
10. For some of the theoretical implications, see G. Chew, 'The perfections of modern music: consecutive fifths and tonal coherence in Monteverdi', *Music Analysis*, 8 (1989), 247–74.

11. H. Leichtenritt, 'Claudio Monteverdi als Madrigalkomponist', *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, 11 (1909–10), 263–7.

12. Dahlhaus, 'Ecco mormorar l'onde', p. 147.

13. In this study I have distinguished only between cadential and non-cadential material, but Dahlhaus makes further distinctions related to the style of the Baroque and Classical periods as described by W. Fischer, 'Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Wiener klassischen Stils', *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, 3 (1915), 24–84.

14. Dahlhaus, 'Ecco mormorar l'onde', p. 154.

4 Monteverdi at Mantua, 1590–1612

1. P. Fabbri, trans. T. Carter, *Monteverdi*, Cambridge, 1994, pp. 20–2. Of the five items of available evidence, the dedication of the Second Book, indicating that on 1 January 1590 Monteverdi had not yet entered Gonzaga service, appears incontestable. The dedication of the *Selva morale* (1641) places his engagement between 30 July 1589 and 29 July 1590, and his and his father's letters of November 1608, between November 1588 and November 1589. Allowing for a very slight 'rounding up' by their writers, these latter two items join the first two in consistency with a deduction that Monteverdi was engaged at Mantua very early in 1590. Thus it was by error that in November 1615 he remarked that his service had lasted twenty-one years, rather than the correct twenty-two.
2. Mantua, Archivio di Stato (henceforth I-MAa), Archivio Gonzaga, busta 395, f. 156r (*Religiosi*), f. 156v (*Cantori*); S. Parisi, 'Musicians at the court of Mantua during Monteverdi's time: evidence from the payrolls', in S. Gmeinwieser et al. (eds.), *Musciologia humana: Studies in Honor of Warren and Ursula Kirkendale*, Florence, 1994, 183–208, at pp. 187–9.
3. I. Donesmondi, *Dell'istoria ecclesiastica di Mantova*, 2 vols, Mantua, 1612–16, vol. II, p. 201.
4. R. Morselli, *Le Collezioni Gonzaga. L'elenco dei beni del 1626–1627*, Milan, 2000, p. 28; Stefano L'Occaso, 'Santa Croce in Corte e la devozione dei Gonzaga alla Vera Croce', *Rubens. Eleonora de' Medici Gonzaga e l'Oratorio sopra Santa Croce: pittura devota a corte*, ed. F. Trevisani and S. L'Occaso, Milan, 2005, pp. 24–32, at p. 31; D. Ferrari, 'Fonti archivistiche viennesi de interesse mantovano. Alcuni disegni di palazzo ducale presso l'Hofkammerarchiv', *Verona Illustrata*, 3 (1990), pp. 77–91, ill. 87.
5. Mantua, Archivio Storico Diocesano, Curia Vescovile, Visite pastorali 1575, II, ff. 651r–652v; S. L'Occaso, 'Santa Croce in Corte', *Quaderni di San Lorenzo*, 3 (2005), 7–35, at pp. 27–8.
6. N. Giannantoni, *Il palazzo ducale di Mantova*, Rome, 1929, pp. 73–4; G. Rodella, 'Le strutture architettoniche', in G. Algeri (ed.), *Il palazzo ducale di Mantova*, Mantua, 2003, pp. 17–52, 81–4, at pp. 38–42, 83; S. L'Occaso, 'Santa Croce in Corte'.

7. Mantua, Archivio Storico Diocesano, Curia Vescovile, Visite pastorali 1575, II, ff. 651r–2v; L'Occaso, 'Santa Croce in Corte', pp. 27–8.
8. G. Paccagnini, *Il palazzo ducale di Mantova*, Turin, 1969, pp. 14–18.
9. Mantua, MS Visite pastorali 1575, ii, ff. 652v–3r.
10. E.g. 'e della camera e della chiesa': K. B. Monteath, 'Pallavicino, Benedetto', *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell, 29 vols., London and New York, 2001, vol. XIX, pp. 6–10, at p. 8.
11. E.g. I. Fenlon, *Giaches de Wert: Letters and Documents*, Paris, 1999, p. 142, and Chapter 14, below.
12. Statutes: Mantua, Archivio Diocesano, Basilica di Santa Barbara, MS 'Constitutiones Sanctae Barbarae, 1568' [hereinafter 'MS Constitutiones']. P. Tagmann, 'The palace church of Santa Barbara in Mantua, and Monteverdi's relationship to its liturgy', in B. L. Karson (ed.), *Festival Essays for Pauline Alderman: A Musicological Tribute*, Provo, UT, 1976, pp. 53–60.
13. 'MS Constitutiones', chapters 45, 46;
14. I. Fenlon, *Music and Patronage in Sixteenth-century Mantua*, 2 vols, Cambridge, 1980, vol. I, pp. 186–7.
15. P. Tagmann, 'La cappella dei maestri cantori della Basilica Palatina di Santa Barbara a Mantova, 1565–1630', *Civiltà mantovana*, 4 (1970–1), 376–400, at 380–92.
16. Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, pp. 20–21, 22, 27, 28, 30.
17. I-MAa, Archivio Gonzaga, busta 3146, f. 64r (probably of 1591).
18. I-MAa, Archivio Gonzaga, busta 395, ff. 159v, 160r; Fenlon, *Music and Patronage*, vol. I, pp. 124–35.
19. Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, pp. 27–8; see also Chapter 14, below.
20. S. Parisi, 'Ducal patronage of music in Mantua, 1587–1627: an archival study', Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois (1989), pp. 141–3, 480.
21. See Fenlon, *Music and Patronage*, vol. I, pp. 146–52.
22. *A brief discourse of the voyage and entrance of the Queene of Spaine into Italy . . . translated . . . by H. W.*, London, n.d. [?1599], pp. 3, 10, 13.
23. I-MAa, Archivio Gonzaga, busta 403, unfoliated (sub-bundle XII, folder N° 7, months August, September).
24. Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, pp. 33–4, 70–71.
25. O. Strunk, *Source readings in music history*, vol. IV, rev. M. Murata, *The Baroque Era*, New York and London, 1998, pp. 18–26; C. V. Palisca, 'The Artusi–Monteverdi controversy', in D. Arnold and N. Fortune (eds.), *The New Monteverdi Companion*, London, 1985, pp. 127–58; Palisca, 'Artusi, Giovanni Maria', in *New Grove*, vol. II, pp. 94–6; Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, pp. 34–52; T. Carter, 'Artusi, Monteverdi, and the poetics of modern music', in N. Kovaleff Baker and B. Russano Hanning (eds.), *Musical Humanism and its Legacy: Essays in Honor of Claude V. Palisca*, Stuyvesant, NY, 1992, pp. 171–94; S. G. Cusick, 'Gendering modern music: thoughts on the Monteverdi–Artusi controversy', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 45 (1993), 1–25.
26. Monteath, 'Pallavicino'.
27. Tagmann, 'La cappella dei maestri cantori', pp. 379–80.
28. Fenlon, *Music and Patronage*, vol. I, pp. 107–8, 114–16.
29. I. Fenlon, *Giaches de Wert, Letters and Documents*, Paris, 1999, pp. 94–7.
30. Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, p. 285.
31. Parisi, 'Ducal patronage', p. 122.
32. E. Strainchamps, 'The life and death of Caterina Martinelli: new light on Monteverdi's "Arianna"', *Early Music History*, 5 (1985), 155–86.
33. For all these, see Parisi, 'Ducal patronage', pp. 125–7, and subject paragraphs in Part II.
34. Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, p. 55.
35. D. de' Paoli (ed.), *Claudio Monteverdi: lettere, dediche e prefazioni*, Rome, 1973, p. 391.
36. Translations in Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, p. 48; Palisca, 'The Artusi–Monteverdi controversy', pp. 151–2.
37. Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, p. 37.
38. Giulio Cesare expanded substantially on this position in his gloss on Claudio's letter printed in 1607²¹; Strunk, *Source Readings*, p. 34.
39. In his letter of 27 October 1604 Monteverdi observed that five months had elapsed since his last receipt of stipend.
40. I-MAa, Archivio Gonzaga, busta 395, ff. 3–23.
41. S. Parisi, 'New documents concerning Monteverdi's relations with the Gonzagas', in P. Besutti, T. M. Gialdrone and R. Baroncini (eds.), *Claudio Monteverdi: studi e prospettive; atti del convegno, Mantova, 21–24 ottobre 1993*, Florence, 1998, pp. 477–511, at p. 485, n.18.
42. I. Fenlon, 'The Mantuan Orfeo', in J. Whenham (ed.), *Claudio Monteverdi: 'Orfeo'*, Cambridge, 1986, pp. 1–19.
43. T. Carter, 'Giovanni Gualberto Magli', *Early Music*, 11 (1983), p. 577; Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, p. 79; Fenlon, 'The Mantuan Orfeo', pp. 17–18. See also T. Carter, 'Singing Orfeo: on the performers of Monteverdi's first opera', *Recercare*, 11 (1999), 75–118.
44. Translation in Strunk, *Source Readings*, pp. 19–27.
45. Letter of 28 July 1607; A. Pryer, 'Monteverdi, two sonnets, and a letter', *Early Music*, 25 (1997), 357–71.
46. C. Sartori, 'Monteverdiana', *Musical Quarterly*, 38 (1952), 399–413, at 403–6.
47. Corrected date in E. Strainchamps, 'The life and death of Caterina Martinelli', p. 167 and n. 23.
48. T. Carter, 'Lamenting Ariadne?', *Early Music*, 27 (1999), 395–405.
49. Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, p. 92.

49. Translations in Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, pp. 100–102.
50. Parisi, 'New documents', p. 491 n. 33.
51. Partial translation in Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, p. 104; Monteverdi, *Letters*, p. 50, nn.15, 16.
52. Letter of 9 June 1610; Parisi, 'New documents', p. 491, n. 33.
53. D. de' Paoli, *Monteverdi*, Milan, 1979, p. 160; J. Kurtzman, *The Monteverdi Vespers of 1610: Music, Context, Performance*, Oxford, 1999, pp. 41 n. 139, 42 n. 142.; Parisi, 'New documents', p. 496, nn. 42, 47.
54. Kurtzman, *The Monteverdi Vespers*, pp. 41 n. 138, 42–3 n. 147.
55. Parisi, 'Ducal patronage', pp. 82–5.
56. Parisi, 'New documents', p. 479 n. 4; Parisi, "Licenza alla Mantovana", pp. 60, 62–3, 78 (and nn. 25, 26), 80–82.
57. Parisi, 'Ducal patronage', p. 583.
58. Parisi, 'Licenza alla Mantova: Frescobaldi and the recruitment of musicians for Mantua, 1612–15', in A. Silbiger (ed.), *Frescobaldi studies*, Durham, 1987, pp. 55–91, at pp. 60–61, 78–9.
59. Parisi, 'New documents', p. 481 and n. 12.
60. Tagmann, 'La cappella dei maestri cantori', p. 382.
- 5 Spaces for music in late Renaissance Mantua**
1. P. Besutti, 'The "Sala degli Specchi" uncovered: Monteverdi, the Gonzagas, and the palazzo ducale, Mantua', *Early Music*, 27 (1999), 451–65, to which reference should be made for details of the rediscovery.
2. S. Lapenta and R. Morselli, *Le collezioni Gonzaga: La quadreria nell'elenco dei beni del 1626–1627*, Cinisello Balsamo, 2006, p. 28.
3. Besutti, 'The "Sala degli Specchi"', p. 453, Plate 1.
4. C. Gallico, 'Guglielmo Gonzaga signore della musica', in *Sopra li fondamenti della verità: musica italiana fra XV e XVII secolo*, Rome, 2001 (first edn 1977), 277–350; P. Besutti and R. Tamalio, 'Guglielmo Gonzaga', *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, Rome, 2003, lxi, 1–11.
5. P. Carpeggiani, *Bernardino Facciotto: progetti cinquecenteschi per Mantova e il palazzo ducale*, Milan, 1994.
6. Besutti, 'The "Sala degli Specchi"', 456, Plate. 6.
7. R. Morselli, *Le collezioni Gonzaga*, p. 42.
8. For a detailed analysis of the picture, see P. Besutti, 'La galleria musicale dei Gonzaga: intermediari, luoghi, musiche e strumenti in corte a Mantova', in R. Morselli (ed.), *Gonzaga: La celeste galleria: le raccolte, catalogo della mostra (Mantova, Palazzo Te, 1 settembre – 8 dicembre 2002)*, ed. R. Morselli, Milan, 2002, 407–75, at 419–20; the angels frieze is shown on p. 419.
9. For example, Mantegna's *Parnassus* in the rooms of Isabella d'Este.
10. N. Guidobaldi, *La musica di Federico: immagini e suoni alla corte di Urbino*, Florence, 1995, p. 32.
11. Mantua, Archivio di Stato (henceforth I-MAA), Archivio Gonzaga, busta (henceforth b.) 2712, fascicolo IV, n. 7, Mantua, 15 March 1608, Antonio Costantini to Vincenzo Gonzaga at Turin; transcribed in Besutti, 'The "Sala degli Specchi"', 459–61.
12. I-MAA, Archivio Gonzaga, b. 1516, fos. 300–302, 310–11, Venice 18 and 25 October 1586, Gabriele Calzoni to Federico Cattaneo; transcribed in Besutti, 'La galleria musicale', p. 441, n. 163.
13. For the documentary and bibliographical references synthesised here, see Besutti, 'La galleria musicale', pp. 424–5, and 432–7 ('Repertorio degli strumenti musicali in corte a Mantova, 1486–1628').
14. I-MAA, Archivio Gonzaga, b. 388, f. 266v.
15. Morselli, *Le collezioni Gonzaga. L'elenco*, pp. 134–5, 146.
16. I-MAA, Archivio Gonzaga, b. 2709, Mantua, 23 February 1607, Carlo Magni to his brother Giovanni in Rome. Reproduced and translated in J. Whenham (ed.), *Claudio Monteverdi: 'Orfeo'*, Cambridge, 1986, p. 170.
17. Besutti, 'The "Sala degli Specchi"', p. 463.
18. G. Bertazzolo, *Breve relazione dello spozalizio fatto dalla Serenissima Principessa Eleonora Gonzaga con la Sacra Cesarea Maestà di Ferdinando II imperatore*, Mantua, 1622, p. 9.
19. Lapenta and Morselli, *Le collezioni Gonzaga*, p. 167.
20. The placing in the Sala di Manto of various performances of *Orfeo* (among them those of 30 April 1933, using the edition of Giacomo Orefice, and 25 August–8 September 1990, directed by Claudio Gallico) were motivated solely by the ample size of the room, not scholarly considerations. The reconstruction as a scale model of a hypothetical 'Sala di Orfeo' in the Musée de la Musique in Paris was inspired by the Sala Imperiale although no performance took place there. On the use of the Hall of Mirrors for music, see P. Besutti, 'L'oratorio in corte tra Bologna, Modena e Venezia', in P. Besutti (ed.), *L'oratorio musicale italiano e i suoi contesti*, Florence, 2002, 365–421.
21. P. Besutti, 'La figura professionale del cantante d'opera: le virtuose di Ferdinando Carlo Gonzaga', *Quaderni storici*, 22 (1997), 409–33.
22. I-MAA, Archivio Gonzaga, b. 2162, fos. 601–602, Mantua, 23 February 1607, Francesco Gonzaga to his brother Ferdinando at Pisa. Transcribed and translated in Whenham (ed.), *Claudio Monteverdi: 'Orfeo'*, pp. 170–1.
23. F. Follino, *Compendio delle sontuose feste fatte l'anno MDCVIII nella città di Mantova per le reali nozze del serenissimo principe D. Francesco Gonzaga con la serenissima Infante Margherita di Savoia*, Mantua 1608, facs. edn., C. Gallico, Florence, 2004, p. 74.
24. I-MAA, Archivio Gonzaga, b. 2162, fos. 603–604, Mantua, 1 March 1607, Francesco Gonzaga to his brother Ferdinando at Pisa. Transcribed and translated in Whenham (ed.), *Claudio Monteverdi: 'Orfeo'*, p. 171.
25. I-MAA, Archivio Gonzaga, b. 2162, fos. 605–606, Mantua, 30 March 1607, Francesco Gonzaga to his brother Ferdinando at Pisa.
26. Monteverdi, *L'Orfeo favola in musica*, Venice, 1609, dedication to Francesco Gonzaga; for the question of 'angusta' and 'augusta' see

- T. Carter, *Monteverdi's Musical Theatre*, New Haven and London, 2002, p. 78, n. 4, and T. Carter, 'The first edition of Monteverdi's *Orfeo*', *Orpheus Orfeo. Studi dedicati a Claudio Gallico*, Florence, forthcoming.
27. R. Toscano, *L'edificazione di Mantova*, Padua, 1586, p. 22.
28. E. Tamburini, 'A partire dall'"Arianna" monterverdiana pensando ai comici. Luoghi teatrali alla corte di Mantova', in P. Besutti, T. M. Gialdroni and R. Baroncini (eds.), *Claudio Monteverdi. Studi e prospettive*, Florence, 1998, pp. 415–29.
29. For the sources of this description, see *ibid.*, pp. 420–21.
30. Follino, *Compendio*, pp. 74 and 124. The title *Mascherata dell'ingrate*, which was employed in the description of the 1608 festivities, is used here rather than the more usual title *Ballo delle ingrate* to distinguish the Mantuan version from the version of the ballet published in the Eighth Book of Madrigals (1638), the text, and probably some of the music, of which was adapted for performance at Vienna.
31. Bertazzolo, *Breve relatione*, p. 20.
32. Parisi, 'Ducal patronage', p. 161.
33. Follino, *Compendio*, p. 124.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
35. A. Solerti, *Gli albori del melodramma*, 3 vols., Turin, 1903, repr. Bologna 1976, I, p. 100: report to the Este court on the festivities (four thousand people); Follino, *Compendio*, p. 29 (six thousand people).
36. Follino, *Compendio*, pp. 99–100.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
38. C. Burattelli, *Spettacoli di corte a Mantova tra Cinque e Seicento*, Florence, 1999, pp. 103–104.
39. A chronological repertory of such forms of entertainment is given in P. Besutti, 'Giostre, fuochi e naumachie a Mantova fra Cinque e Seicento', in P. Fabbri (ed.), *Musica in torneo nell'Italia del Seicento*, Lucca, 1999, 3–32.
40. See Chapter 8, below.
41. P. Besutti, 'Un modello alternativo di controriforma: il caso mantovano', in O. Mischiati and P. Russo (eds.), *La cappella musicale nell'Italia della Controriforma*, Florence, 1993, 111–21; P. Besutti, 'Fonti e pratica del canto piano a Mantova tra Quattro e Cinquecento: i codici della messa dell'Archivio Storico Diocesano', in A. Albarosa, and S. Vitale (eds.), *Gregoriano in Lombardia*, Lucca, 2000, 73–115.
42. The collection of polyphonic music is preserved in the Biblioteca del Conservatorio in Milan; catalogue: G. Barblan (ed.), *Musiche della cappella di S. Barbara in Mantova*, Florence, 1972; it contains no music by Monteverdi.
43. Tagmann, 'La cappella dei maestri cantori della basilica palatina di S. Barbara a Mantova, 1565–1630', *Civiltà Mantovana*, 4 (1970/1), pp. 376–400.
44. On the construction of S. Barbara see T. Gozzi, 'La basilica palatina di S. Barbara in Mantova', *Atti e memorie dell'Accademia Virgiliana di Mantova*, 42 (1974), 3–91.
45. F. Dassenno (ed.), *L'Antegnati di S. Barbara (1565): l'organo della basilica palatina dei Gonzaga: riscoperta, recupero e restauro*, Mantua, 1999; R. Berzaghi 'Le ante di S. Barbara: Fermo Ghisoni e la pittura a Mantova nella seconda metà del Cinquecento', *Civiltà mantovana*, 20 (1988), 1–20.
46. Its curious history is summarised in Besutti, 'La galleria musicale', p. 424.
47. A fascinating hypothesis of a musical journey unwinding between chapels, images of saints and relics, is offered in S. Patuzzi, *Madrigali in basilica: le "Sacre lodi a diversi santi" (1587) di G. G. Gastoldi: un emblema controriformistico*, Florence, 1999.
48. See P. Besutti, "'Ave Maris Stella": la tradizione mantovana nuovamente posta in musica da Monteverdi', in Besutti, Gialdroni and Baroncini (eds.), *Claudio Monteverdi*, Florence, 1993, pp. 57–77.
49. G. B. Grillo, *Breve trattato di quanto successe alla maestà della Regina Margarita d'Austria*, Naples, 1604, pp. 40–1.
50. L'Occaso, 'S. Croce in Corte'.
51. For Roger Bowers's hypothesis on Monteverdi's engagement in S. Croce in the sphere of his service as *maestro di cappella*, see Chapter 4, above.
52. P. Tagmann, *Archivalische Studien zur Musikpflege am Dom von Mantua (1500–1627)*, Bern and Stuttgart, 1967.
53. Besutti, 'Fonti e pratica del canto piano a Mantova tra Quattro e Cinquecento: i codici della messa dell' Archivio Storico Diocesano', in A. Albarosa and S. Vitale (eds.), *Gregoriano in Lombardia*, Lucca, 2000, pp. 73–115, at pp. 77–84.
54. C. Gallico and L. Volpi Ghirardini, 'Tre pittori per un concerto mantovano', in *Orpheus Orfeo. Studi dedicati a Claudio Gallico*, Florence, forthcoming.
55. See Chapter 8, below.
56. C. Gallico, 'Vita musicale in Sant'Andrea di Mantova', in *Sopra li fondamenti della verità*, 195–203.
57. G. Cadioli, *Descrizione delle pitture, sculture, ed architetture*, Mantua, 1763, repr. Bologna, 1974. I should like to thank Rodolfo Signorini for information about this church.
58. W. F. Prizer, 'La cappella di Francesco II Gonzaga e la musica sacra a Mantova nel primo ventennio del Cinquecento', in *Mantova e i Gonzaga nella civiltà del Rinascimento*, Mantua, 1977, 267–76, at 268.

6 The Mantuan madrigals and the *Scherzi musicali*

1. On musical patronage in Mantua, see I. Fenlon, *Music and Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Mantua*, 2 vols., Cambridge, 1980; 1982.
2. On Poliziano's *Favola di Orfeo*, see N. Pirrotta and E. Povoledo, *Music and theatre from Poliziano to Monteverdi*, trans. Karen Eales, Cambridge, 1982.
3. A. MacNeil, *Music and Women of the Commedia Dell'Arte in the Late Sixteenth Century*, Oxford, 2003, pp. 127–33.

4. On the theatre at Sabbioneta, see F. Sisinni (ed.), *Il teatro all'antica di Sabbioneta*, Modena, 1991.
5. On the question of the dating of the *Scherzi*, see my 'Claudio Monteverdi's *ordine novo, bello et gustevole*: the canzonetta as dramatic module and formal archetype', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 45 (1992), 270–6.
6. J. Kurtzman, 'An early 17th-century manuscript of *Canzonette e Madrigaletti Spirituali*', *Studi musicali* 8 (1979), 149–71.
7. C. Palisca, 'The Artusi–Monteverdi controversy' in D. Arnold and N. Fortune (eds.), *The New Monteverdi Companion*, London, 1985, pp. 127–58, at p. 127.
8. The standard source on Monteverdi's changing poetic tastes remains N. Pirrotta, 'Monteverdi's poetic choices', in *Music and Culture in Italy from the Middle Ages to the Baroque: A Collection of Essays*, Cambridge, 1984, pp. 271–316; G. Tomlinson, *Monteverdi and the End of the Renaissance*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1987, pp. 58–72.
9. Tomlinson, *Monteverdi*, pp. 118–31.
10. Tomlinson, *Monteverdi*, pp. 73–98.
11. On the relationship between *Il pastor fido* and Monteverdi's Fifth Book of Madrigals, see M. Ossi, *Divining the Oracle: Claudio Monteverdi's Seconda Pratica*, Chicago, 2003, pp. 83–95.
12. Regarding the Florentine festivities of 1589, and the *intermedi* in particular, see J. M. Saslow, *Florentine Festival as Theatrum Mundi: the Medici Wedding of 1589*, New Haven and London, 1996.
13. On the presence of the Pellizzari family, Antonio and his sisters, Lucia and Isabella, in Mantua, see A. Newcomb, *The Madrigal at Ferrara, 1579–97*, 2 vols., Princeton, 1980, vol. I, p. 100, and Chapter 4, above.
14. P. Misurca, *Carlo Gesualdo principe di Venosa*, Palermo, 2000, pp. 49–57.
15. On the relationship between Giulio Cesare Monteverdi's 'Dichiaratione' and the music of the *Scherzi*, see Ossi, *Divining the Oracle*, pp. 11–119.
16. Palisca, in 'The Artusi–Monteverdi controversy', analyses the criticisms levelled by Artusi in terms of contrapuntal improprieties; for the larger intellectual and aesthetic issues underlying the dispute, see Ossi, *Divining the Oracle*, Chapter 1.
17. On the importance of the canzonetta in Monteverdi's output, see Ossi, *Divining the Oracle*, Chapter 3.
18. L. Fabri, preface to Chiabrera's *Le maniere de' versi toscani* (1599), in M. Turchi (ed.), *Opere*, Turin, 1973, p. 215; on French influences in his poetry, see G. Chiabrera, 'Il Geri. Dialogo della tessitura delle canzoni', in *Opere*, p. 574. The admiration between Chiabrera and Caccini was mutual: see Caccini's comments in the preface to *Le nuove musiche*, Florence, 1602, p. [v].
19. On Monteverdi's interest in allying himself with Chiabrera, see Ossi, *Divining the Oracle*, pp. 111–16.
20. C. Gallico, 'Emblemi strumentali negli "Scherzi" di Monteverdi', *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, 2 (1967), 54–73.
21. Newcomb, *The Madrigal at Ferrara*, vol. I, pp. 35–45.
22. The choreography is mentioned in his letter of December 1604. On the significance of [*Endimione*] (perf. prob. Carnival 1604–5), the work discussed in this letter, see Ossi, *Divining the Oracle*, pp. 132–4.
23. On the differences between the Fourth and Fifth Books, and on the organisation of the Fourth in particular, see Ossi, *Divining the Oracle*, pp. 96–110.
24. Tomlinson, *Monteverdi*, pp. 98–113.
25. On the relationship between Monteverdi's and Caccini's settings of 'Sfogava con le stelle', see I. Horsley, 'Monteverdi's use of borrowed material in "Sfogava con le stelle"', *Music and Letters*, 49 (1978), 316–28, and, more recently, T. Carter, "'Sfogava con le stelle'" reconsidered: some thoughts on the analysis of Monteverdi's Mantuan madrigals', in P. Besutti, T. M. Gialdroni and R. Baroncini (eds.), *Claudio Monteverdi: studi e prospettive. Atti del convegno Mantova 21–24 ottobre 1993*, Florence, 1998, pp. 147–70.
26. Ossi, *Divining the Oracle*, pp. 96–110.
27. Ossi, *Divining the Oracle*, pp. 58–83.
28. For a sample of different analytical approaches to Monteverdi's 'Cruda Amarilli' and 'O Mirtillo', see C. Dahlhaus, trans. R. O. Gjerdingen, *Studies on the Origin of Harmonic Tonality*, Princeton, 1990, pp. 289–98, E. Chafe, *Monteverdi's Tonal Language*, pp. 67–75, and S. La Via, 'Monteverdi esegeta: rilettura di Cruda Amarilli / O Mirtillo' in M. C. Vela and R. Tibaldi (eds.), *Intorno a Monteverdi*, Lucca, 1999, pp. 77–99.
29. Tomlinson, *Monteverdi and the End of the Renaissance*, pp. 121–31.
30. For such an assessment of the continuo madrigals, see L. Schrade, *Monteverdi: Creator of Modern Music*, New York, 1950, pp. 215–19 and, on the *Scherzi musicali*, 219–223.
31. G. B. Doni, *Trattato della musica scenica*, Florence, 1763, p. 61.
32. E. Strainchamps, 'The life and death of Caterina Martinelli: new light on Monteverdi's "Arianna"', *Early Music History*, 5 (1985), 155–86.
33. Doni, *Trattato*, p. 61, maintains that it would have been better had the Venetian patron asked for an arrangement with a 'concerto a quattro voci strumentali'.
34. On Monteverdi's use of instruments in 'Con che soavità', see Ossi, *Divining the Oracle*, pp. 153–73.
35. Pirrotta, 'Monteverdi's poetic choices', pp. 300–1.
36. On Salomone Rossi's career in Mantua, see D. Harrán, *Salomone Rossi: Jewish Musician in Late Renaissance Mantua*, Oxford, 1999, pp. 14–35; on the violin in *Orfeo*, see D. Boyden, 'Monteverdi's "violini piccoli alla francese" and "violetti da braccio"', *Annales musicologiques*, 6 (1958–63), 387–401. See also Chapter 14, below.

37. On Monteverdi's approach to instruments in his vocal music, see M. Ossi, 'Claudio Monteverdi's concertato technique and its role in the development of his musical thought', Ph.D. diss. Harvard University, 1989.

Intermedio II: 'Ahi come a un vago sol cortese giro' (1605)

1. For the resemblance between this and the complex of solos, ensemble and choral refrain that concludes the messenger scene of Peri's *Euridice*, see J. Whenham, *Duet and Dialogue in the Age of Monteverdi*, 2 vols., Ann Arbor, 1982, vol. I, p. 97.

7 Orfeo (1607)

1. See, for example, N. Pirrotta and E. Povoledo, *Music and Theatre from Poliziano to Monteverdi*, trans. K. Eales, Cambridge, 1982 and S. Leopold, *Die Oper im 17. Jahrhundert*, Laaber, 2004, especially pp. 46–61.

2. The relevant works are several shorter pastorals by Laura Guidiccioni with music by Emilio de' Cavalieri (texts and music lost), the *Dafne* (1598) of Ottavio Rinuccini of which there is a partially preserved first musical rendering by Jacopo Corsi and Jacopo Peri and a second composition (1608) by Marco da Gagliano, the two competing musical settings of Rinuccini's libretto for *Euridice* by Peri and by Giulio Caccini, *Eumelio* by Agostino Agazzari (1606) and finally Monteverdi's and Striggio's *Orfeo* (1607) and Monteverdi's and Rinuccini's *Arianna* (1608).

3. I. Fenlon, 'Correspondence relating to the early Mantuan performances', in Whenham (ed.), *Claudio Monteverdi: 'Orfeo'*, Cambridge, 1986, pp. 167–72; see also the further discussion of these materials in Carter, 'Singing *Orfeo*: on the performers of Monteverdi's first opera', *Recercare*, 11 (1999), 75–118, at 105–11.

4. Fenlon, 'Correspondence', p. 171.

5. The participation of Rasi, though without precise information on his role, was mentioned in 1612 in a poem published by Eugenio Cagnani; see Carter, 'Singing *Orfeo'*, 78.

6. Tim Carter has, however, associated the role of Apollo, and possibly one of the shepherds, with the palace tenor Francesco Campagnolo; see Carter, 'Singing *Orfeo'*, 112.

7. J. Whenham, 'Five acts: one action', in Whenham (ed.), *Claudio Monteverdi: 'Orfeo'*, pp. 42–7; see also Whenham, 'Producing Monteverdi's *Orfeo*: some fundamental considerations', in P. Gargiulo (ed.), *Lo stupor dell'invenzione: Firenze e la nascita dell'opera*, Florence, 2001, pp. 73–86.

8. See S. Leopold, 'Lyra Orphei', in *Claudio Monteverdi: Festschrift Reinhold Hammerstein zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Ludwig Finscher, Laaber 1986, pp. 337–45, at p. 337.

9. See I. Fenlon, 'The Mantuan *Orfeo'*, in Whenham (ed.), *Claudio Monteverdi: Orfeo*, pp. 1–19, at p. 18, and Carter, 'Singing *Orfeo'*.

10. See also below, Chapter 14.

11. The significance of this tonal scheme was first noted in Whenham, 'Five acts: one action', 56–62.

12. See S. Leopold, *Monteverdi: Music in Transition*, Oxford, 1991, p. 92.

13. See H. Hell, 'Zu Rhythmus und Notierung des "Vi ricorda" in Claudio Monteverdis *Orfeo*', *Analecta musicologica*, 15 (1975), 87–157.

14. Monteverdi returned to the compositional problem of a musical 'heroic' more than once, and finally tried to supplement what from his point of view was an insufficient range of musico-poetic types with the heroic *genere concitato*; on the preface to the Eighth Book of Madrigals and numerous discussions of this in the Monteverdi literature, see J. Steinheuer, 'Herzensfestungen und Luftschlösser – Zur Ikonographie militärischer Architekturen im Liebeskrieg bei Cipriano de Rore, Nicolò Fontei, Claudio Monteverdi und Barbara Strozzi', *Musiktheorie*, 21 (2006), 101–29.

15. Leopold, 'Lyra Orphei', 337–45.

16. For a brief treatment of the three styles in Classical rhetoric, see B. Vickers, *In Defence of Rhetoric*, Oxford, 1998, pp. 80–2; for further information see the following entries in G. Ueding (ed.), *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik*, Tübingen, 1992–: K. Spang, 'Dreistillehre', II, cols. 922–3, J. Wisse, 'Affektenlehre', I, col. 223 and also C. Mouchell, 'Ethos', II, col. 1523. For a detailed discussion of these associations, see J. Steinheuer, *Chamäleon und Salamander, Neue Wege der Textvertonung bei Tarquinio Merula*, Kassel, 1999, especially pp. 286–303.

8 The Mantuan sacred music

1. The expedition is described in V. Errante, "Forse che sì, forse che no": la terza spedizione del duca Vincenzo Gonzaga in Ungheria alla guerra contro il Turco (1601) studiata su documenti inediti', *Archivio storico lombardo*, 42 (1915), 29–34.

2. Documents relating details of this trip are found in S. Parisi, 'The Brussels–Mantua connection: Vincenzo Gonzaga's state voyages to the Low Countries in 1599 and 1608', forthcoming in *Alamire Yearbook*, vol. 6/7.

3. I. Fenlon, 'The Monteverdi Vespers: suggested answers to some fundamental questions', *Early Music*, 5 (1977), 383. Fenlon is mistaken in applying a Marian liturgy to a feast of Christ. The papal indulgence proclaimed in S. Andrea in 1607 at the request of the duke would have been in the context of a solemn, probably musically ostentatious, service.

4. I am grateful to Licia Mari for information on the 1611 events as well as evidence of the duke's chapel of musicians performing in both S. Pietro and S. Andrea.

5. O. Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History*, vol. IV, rev. M. Murata, *The Baroque Era*, New York and London, 1998, p. 29.

6. P. Fabbri, trans. T. Carter, *Monteverdi*, Cambridge, 1994, p. 102.

7. J. Kurtzman, 'An early seventeenth-century manuscript of *Canzonette e madrigaletti spirituali*', *Studi musicali*, 8 (1979), 149–71.
8. Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, p. 102.
9. The principal studies of this publication are J. Kurtzman, 'The Monteverdi Vespers of 1610 and their relationship with Italian sacred music of the early seventeenth century', Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana, 1972; J. Kurtzman, 'Some historical perspectives on the Monteverdi Vespers', *Analecta musicologica*, 15 (1974), 29–86; J. Kurtzman, *Monteverdi: Essays on the Monteverdi Mass and Vespers of 1610*, Houston, 1978; J. Kurtzman, *The Monteverdi Vespers of 1610: Music, Context, Performance*, Oxford, 1999; and J. Whenham, *Monteverdi: Vespers (1610)*, Cambridge, 1997.
10. Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, p. 109.
11. The title of the Bassus generalis part-book differs somewhat, beginning *Sanctissimae Virgini missa senis vocibus, ad ecclesiarum choros ac vesperae pluribus decantanda*.
12. See P. Besutti, "'Ave Maris Stella": La tradizione mantovana nuovamente posta in musica da Monteverdi', in P. Besutti, T. M. Gialdroni and R. Baroncini (eds.), *Claudio Monteverdi: studi e prospettive, atti del convegno (Mantova, 21–24 ottobre 1993)*, Florence, 1993, pp. 57–77.
13. S. Parisi, 'New documents concerning Monteverdi's relations with the Gonzagas', in Besutti, Gialdroni and Baroncini (eds.), *Claudio Monteverdi*, p. 495.
14. The Mass is in the manuscript Cappella Sistina 107.
15. This information is contained in a letter recently discovered by Licia Mari in Mantova, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Gonzaga, busta 2721, fasc. III, cc. 55–56.
16. Quoted in Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, p. 120.
17. Quoted from an undated letter by Grillo to Monteverdi in Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, p. 118.
18. The manuscript, possibly from the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, is found together with one of the cathedral's copies of Monteverdi's print. It was penned by one Lorenzo Tonelli, about whom we currently have no other information. The six vocal parts of the Mass are transposed down a fourth in this *partitura*, in keeping with the standard practice of performing compositions notated in high clefs a fourth or a fifth lower than notated.
19. For a detailed analysis of 'Nigra sum', see Kurtzman, *The Monteverdi Vespers of 1610*, pp. 308–24.
20. See the account and bibliography of the vitriolic debate between Hans Redlich and Leo Schrade in Kurtzman, *The Monteverdi Vespers of 1610*, pp. 16–19.
21. G. Dixon, 'Monteverdi's Vespers of 1610: "della Beata Vergine"?', *Early Music*, 15 (1987), 386–9.
22. S. Bonta, 'Liturgical problems in Monteverdi's Marian Vespers', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 20 (1967), 87–106. On the practice of antiphon

substitutions, see also J. Armstrong, 'The Antiphonae, seu sacrae cantiones (1613) of Giovanni Francesco Anerio: a liturgical study' *Analecta musicologica*, 14 (1974), 89–150; A. M. Cummings, 'Toward an interpretation of the sixteenth-century motet', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 34 (1981), 43–59; and J. Kurtzman, 'Per fare il Vesprio meno tedioso: Don Pietro Maria Marsolo and the "antiphon problem"', in B. H. Haggh (ed.), *Essays on Music and Culture in Honor of Herbert Kellman*, Paris, 2001, pp. 411–22. See also the discussion of the substitution issue in Kurtzman, *The Monteverdi Vespers of 1610*, pp. 56–78.

23. R. Bowers, 'Some reflection upon notation and proportions in Monteverdi's Mass and Vespers of 1610', *Music and Letters*, 73 (1992), 347–98; Kurtzman, *The Monteverdi Vespers of 1610*, pp. 433–66.

24. See the recent discussion in R. Bowers, 'An "aberration" reviewed: the reconciliation of inconsistent clef-systems in Monteverdi's Mass and Vespers of 1610', *Early Music*, 31 (2003), 527–38; A. Parrott, 'Monteverdi: onwards and downwards', *Early Music*, 32 (2004), 303–18; and A. Johnstone, "'High" clefs in composition and performance', *Early Music*, 34 (2006), 29–54; see also Chapter 14, 'Monteverdi in Performance', below. As indicated in note 20 above, the manuscript organ partitura of the *Missa in illo tempore* in Brescia transposes all voices of the mass, which were originally notated in the high clefs, downward by a fourth.

Intermedio III: 'Laetatus sum' (1610)

1. For other analytical comments on this psalm, see John Whenham, *Monteverdi: Vespers (1610)*, Cambridge, 1997, pp. 67–72; and J. Kurtzman, *The Monteverdi Vespers of 1610: Music, Context, Performance*, Oxford, 1999, pp. 223–30.
2. I am grateful to Judith Evans-Grubb for assistance with details of the English translation.
3. Whenham, *Monteverdi: Vespers (1610)*, p. 71. The beginning of the walking bass itself follows the typical *Romanesca* outline.
4. See G. Zarlino, trans. V. Cohen, *On the modes: part four of 'Le istituzioni harmoniche'*, 1558, New Haven and London, 1983, pp. 58–61.
5. A. Banchieri, *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo*, Bologna, 1609; reprinted New York, 1975, p. 39; and Banchieri, *Cartella musicale nel canto figurato fermo, & contrapunto*, Venice, 1614; reprinted Bologna, 1968, p. 71.
6. Whenham, *Monteverdi: Vespers (1610)*, p. 71.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 71–2.
8. On this subject, see T. Carter, 'Two Monteverdi problems, and why they matter', *Journal of Musicology*, 19 (2002), 417–33.

9 Music in Monteverdi's Venice

1. I. Fenlon, *Music and Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Mantua*, 2 vols., Cambridge, 1980; 1982, vol. I, pp. 22–44.

2. T. Coryate, *Coryat's Crudities Hastily Gobbled up in Five Moneths Travells in France, Savoy, Italy, Rhetia*, London, 1611, pp. 251–3.
3. J. Glixon, *Honoring God and the City. Music at the Venetian Confraternities, 1260–1807*, Oxford, 2003: a summation of the author's previous writings on the subject.
4. J. Glixon, 'A musicians' union in sixteenth-century Venice', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 36 (1983), 392–421.
5. G. Ongaro, 'Sixteenth-century patronage at St. Mark's, Venice', *Early Music History*, 8 (1988), 81–115.
6. I. Fenlon, 'Gioseffo and the Accademia della Fama', in Fenlon, *Music and Culture in Late Renaissance Italy*, Oxford, 2002, pp. 118–38.
7. D. Arnold, *Giovanni Gabrieli*, Oxford, 1979.
8. E. Rosand, 'Music in the myth of Venice', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 30 (1977), 511–37.
9. E. Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*, Princeton, 1981, pp. 189–211; I. Fenlon, 'Magnificence and civic image: music and ceremonial in early modern Venice', in Fenlon, *Music and Culture*, pp. 1–23.
10. F. Sansovino, *Venetia citta nobilissima, et singolare, descritta in XIII. Libri . . . con aggiunta di tutte le cose notabili della stessa citta, fatte, & occorse dall' anno 1580, fino al presente 1663 da D. Giustiniano Martinioni*, Venice, 1663, pp. 479–80.
11. J. H. Moore, 'Venezia favorita da Maria: music for the Madonna Nicopeia and Santa Maria della Salute', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 37 (1984), 299–355. Doubts on the identification of the *concertato* Gloria (published in 1641) with the 1631 celebrations have recently been expressed in J. Kurtzman and L. M. Koldau, 'Trombe, trombe d'argento, trombe squarciate, and pifferi in Venetian processions and ceremonies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music*, 8/1 (2002) and in J. Kurtzman, 'Monteverdi's Mass of thanksgiving: da capo', in *Fiori musicali: liber amicorum Alexander Silbiger*, Warren, MI: Harmonie Park Press, forthcoming.
12. Muir, *Civic Ritual*, pp. 223–30; Fenlon, 'Magnificence as civic image'.
13. Letter of 18 September 1627. See also the previous letter (10 September 1627), which says that 'The Feast of the Rosary [which coincided with the feast day of S. Giustina] being over, and His Highness back from Maderno, it will be easy for me to get to Mantua.'
14. R. MacKenney, 'The scuole piccole of Venice: formations and transformations', in N. Terpstra (ed.), *The Politics of Ritual Kinship: Confraternities and Social Order in Early Modern Italy*, Cambridge, 1999, pp. 172–89.
15. D. Arnold, 'Music at the Scuola di San Rocco', *Music and Letters*, 40 (1959), 229–41.
16. J.-B. Duval, *Les Remarques triennales*, in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale Fonds. Fr. 13977, f.45v; see A. Pirro, 'La Musigale des italiens d'après les remarques triennales de Jean-Baptiste

Duval (1607–1609)', in *Mélanges offerts a M. Henri Lemmonier*, Paris, 1913, pp. 175–85.

17. *Ibid.*

18. R. Lassells, *The voyage of Italy: or, a Compleat Journey through Italy*, Paris, 1670, p. 413.

10 The Venetian secular music

1. For the biographical information cited here, see Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, Cambridge, 1994, *passim*. New documentation is also becoming available by way of the *Herla* Project, <http://www.capitalespettacolo.it>.
2. The date of Giovanni Battista Camarella's *Madrigali et arie* (Venice, Alessandro Vincenti) is unclear: the title-page reads 'MDCXX' although there is a blot, and the dedication is dated 15 November with 'MDCXXXIII' added in ink. It is dated 1623 in an Utrecht bookseller's catalogue of 1639; H. Vanhulst (ed.), *The 'Catalogus librorum musicorum' of Jan Evertsen van Doorn (Utrecht 1639)*, 'Catalogus redivivi', 9, Utrecht, 1996, fol. B4^v, no. 3.
3. In his *Trattato della musica scenica* (1633–5); Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, p. 140.
4. For an example of such ceremonial duties, see J. Whenham, 'The Gonzagas visit Venice', *Early Music*, 21 (1993), 525–42. As for *I cinque fratelli*, only the text survives. According to Margherita Costa's account of the Medici's northern tour (to pay homage to the emperor) in *Istoria del viaggio d'Alemagna del Serenissimo Gran Duca di Toscana Ferdinando Secondo*, Venice, 1628, pp. 91–120 (*Herla*, L-544), the sonnets were 'cantati da due musici di Claudio Monteverdi', i.e., were set as duets.
5. One portion survives – 'Come dolce oggi l'auretta' in the Ninth Book; T. Carter, *Monteverdi's Musical Theatre*, New Haven and London, 2002, pp. 226–36. For the identification of the text, see T. Walker, 'Gli errori di Minerva al tavolino: osservazioni sulla cronologia delle prime opere veneziane', in M. T. Muraro (ed.), *Venezia e il melodramma nel Seicento*, Florence, 1976, pp. 7–20, at p. 13.
6. For the *Combattimento*, see Carter, *Monteverdi's Musical Theatre*, pp. 170–95. Monteverdi also appears to have planned (1627) a companion piece on the subject of Armida; *ibid.*, pp. 195–6.
7. The music was then given to a young female singer, Antonia Monti; *Herla*, C-3891.
8. For Poland, see S. Parisi, 'New documents concerning Monteverdi's relations with the Gonzagas', in P. Besutti, T. M. Gialdroni and R. Baroncini (eds.), *Claudio Monteverdi: studi e prospettive; atti del convegno, Mantova, 21–24 ottobre 1993*, Florence, 1998, pp. 477–511, at 503–7. For Parma, see T. Carter, 'Intriguing laments: Sigismondo d'India, Claudio Monteverdi, and Dido alla parmigiana (1628)', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 49 (1996), 32–69.
9. S. Saunders, 'New light on the genesis of Monteverdi's eighth book of madrigals', *Music and Letters*, 77 (1996), 183–93.

10. For these and other Mantuan performers in Vienna (including comedians), see the various essays in U. Aioli and C. Grazioli (eds.), *I Gonzaga e l'Impero: itinerari dello spettacolo*, 'Storia dello Spettacolo: Fonti', 4, Florence, 2005.
11. Whenham ('The Gonzagas visit Venice', 527) suggests that Monteverdi could have issued the lament in 1623 in connection with the visit of the Duke and Duchess of Mantua to Venice in that year, who had in their retinue the famed singer Adriana Basile. Virginia Andreini may also have been in Venice in 1623 as part of her husband's *commedia* company, I Fedeli.
12. This view is most strongly articulated in G. Tomlinson, *Monteverdi and the End of the Renaissance*, Oxford, 1987.
13. Monteverdi attributes the quotation to the third book of Plato's 'De rhetorica', confusing him with Aristotle; for the broader issues, see M. Ossi, *Divining the Oracle: Monteverdi's 'Seconda Pratica'*, Chicago and London, 2003, pp. 189–210.
14. For parallel examples by the Viennese composer Giovanni Giacomo Arrigoni published in Venice in 1635, see Saunders, 'New light', pp. 186–8.
15. The pieces in the Eighth Book containing separate instructions concerning their performance – the *Combattimento*, the *Lamento della ninfa*, and the *Ballo delle ingrato* – presumably do so because Monteverdi was sending them to Vienna and therefore would not direct the performances himself; these instructions then remained unedited in the materials sent for printing. This probably explains the 'mistake' in the instructions for the *Combattimento*, referring to the piece having been performed 'twelve years ago' (1624 plus twelve is 1636) rather than the correct (for 1638), fourteen.
16. Similarly, the opening of the Seventh Book with a sonnet that at least promises to sing of war (but succumbs instead to love) may be a reference to the start of the war, particularly given that the Medici had sent troops to support the emperor in 1618.
17. E. Klecker, 'Bella gerant alii: tu, felix Austria, nube! Eine Spurensuche', *Österreich in Geschichte und Literatur*, 41 (1997), 30–44. Despite the legend attributing the catchphrase to Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary (1458–90) and of Bohemia (1469–90), or Emperor Maximilian I (King of the Romans in 1486 and Holy Roman Emperor from 1493 until his death in 1519), there is no evidence for its use prior to the early seventeenth century.
18. It is listed in the Alessandro Vincenti catalogues of 1649, 1658 and 1662; O. Mischiati, *Indici, cataloghi e avvisi degli editori e librai musicali italiani dal 1591 al 1798*, 'Studi e testi per la storia della musica', 2, Florence, 1984, nos. IX.78. IXbis.76, X.78. Due to its size, the book was also unusually expensive (16 lire in 1649 and 1658; 16 lire 10 soldi in 1662), some four times the average cost of a standard book of madrigals.
19. For the medium, see J. Whenham, *Duet and Dialogue in the Age of Monteverdi*, 2 vols., Ann Arbor, 1982.
20. The attribution of the text of 'Non è di gentil core' to Francesco (sometimes Francesca) degli Atti is incorrect; see Whenham, *Duet and Dialogue*, vol. II, p. 77. Degli Atti, a singer in Graz, published a setting of this text in Bartolomeo Mutis's *Musiche a una, doi a tre voci* (Venice, 1613; edited in *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*, 125 [1973]), but he was not the poet. Other settings (e.g., by Alfonso Fontanelli and Sigismondo d'India) do not repeat the first lines at the end in the manner of Monteverdi.
21. Though not all the word-painting is appropriate; see T. Carter, 'Two Monteverdi problems, and why they matter', *Journal of Musicology*, 19 (2002), 417–33.
22. Compare Mauro Calcagno's discussion of deictics in "Imitar col canto chi parla": Monteverdi and the creation of a language for musical theater', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 55 (2002), 383–431.
23. T. Carter, "'Sfoga con le stelle" reconsidered', in P. Besutti, T. M. Gialdroni and R. Baroncini (eds.), *Claudio Monteverdi Studi e prospettive*, Florence, 1998, pp. 147–70.
24. The claim that 'Se i languidi miei sguardi' (the *lettera amorosa*) is in the male voice might seem surprising, given that it has become something of a (female) soprano showpiece; also the genre of the love letter would seem normally to be gendered female (following Ovid's *Heroides*). However, the speaker 'rimarrò prigioniero', will remain a prisoner of his beloved's blonde tresses that are praised inordinately in Claudio Achillini's text.
25. Compare M. Ossi, "Pardon me, but your teeth are in my neck": Giambattista Marino, Claudio Monteverdi, and the *bacio mordace*', *Journal of Musicology*, 21 (2004), 175–200.
26. Here I draw upon K. Berger, *A Theory of Art*, New York and Oxford, 2000, pp. 165–212; M. Murata, 'Image and eloquence: secular song', in T. Carter and J. Butt (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, Cambridge, 2005, pp. 378–425. I also owe a debt to Mauro Calcagno's ongoing work on subjectivities in the Renaissance madrigal.
27. The reading 'labbra adorate' that appears in some work lists (and translations of this text) seems to be a corruption.
28. Compare B. Gordon, *Monteverdi's Unruly Women: The Power of Song in Early Modern Italy*, Cambridge, 2004, pp. 131–60.

Intermedio IV: *Lamento della Ninta* (1638)

1. E. Rosand, 'The descending tetrachord: an emblem of lament', *Musical Quarterly*, 55 (1979), 346–59; G. Tomlinson, *Monteverdi and the End of the Renaissance*, Oxford, 1987, pp. 213–14; S. McClary, 'Excess and frame: the musical representation of madwomen', in eadem, *Feminine Endings*, Minneapolis, 1991, pp. 80–111; T. Carter, 'Resemblance and representation: towards a new aesthetic in the music of Monteverdi', in I. Fenlon and T. Carter (eds.), *'Con che soavità': Essays in Italian Opera, Song, and Dance, 1580–1740*, Oxford, 1995, pp. 118–34.

2. For the Brunelli, see P. Aldrich, *Rhythm in Seventeenth-Century Italian Monody*, London, 1966, p. 166; for the Kapsberger, see J. Whenham, *Duet and Dialogue in the Age of Monteverdi*, 2 vols., Ann Arbor, 1982, vol. II, pp. 332–3; for the Piazza, see T. Carter, 'Possente spirito: on taming the power of music', *Early Music*, 21 (1993), 517–23. The anonymous solo-voice setting in manuscript is in Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Banco Rari 236 (*olim* Magliabechiano XIX.114), p. 10, which has the same music as the setting of 'Non mai più vago fiore' in Florence, Conservatorio Statale di Musica Luigi Cherubini, Codex Barbera, p. 117a. Some aspects of these settings, and also the text, are discussed in M. Ossi, 'Claudio Monteverdi's *ordine novo, bello e gustevole*: the canzonetta as dramatic module and formal archetype', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 45 (1992), 261–304.
3. Compare A. MacNeil, 'Weeping at the water's edge', *Early Music*, 27 (1999), 406–18.
4. For 'Non partir, ritrossetta' and its at least potential comic subversiveness (the same music appears at Seneca's death in *L'incoronazione di Poppea* and elsewhere in Monteverdi's output), see T. Carter, *Monteverdi's Musical Theatre*, New Haven and London, 2002, pp. 283–86.

11 The Venetian sacred music

1. See P. Fabbri, trans. T. Carter *Monteverdi*, Cambridge, 1994, p. 138.
2. For a study of the rich musical life of Venice in churches other than S. Marco, see E. Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco: organizzazione e prassi della musica nelle chiese di Venezia nel Rinascimento*, Florence, 1998. On music in the confraternities, see J. Glixon, *Honoring God and the City: Music at the Venetian Confraternities, 1260–1807*, Oxford, 2003.
3. See G. Rovetta, *Messa, e salmi concertati, op. 4 (1639)*, ed. L. M. Koldau, 'Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era', 109–10, Middleton, WI, 2001, esp. xv, note 13, citing a rubric in F. Capello, *Motetti e dialoghi* [Venice, 1615] – 'Sanctus & Agnus breve more veneto' – and the *Avvertimento* in Ignazio Donati's *Salmi boscarecci* (Venice, 1623) – 'Il Sanctus, & l'Agnus Dei sono posti così semplici, & brevi alla Venetiana, per sbrigarsi presto, & dar loco al Concerto per l'Elevatione; & a qualche Sinfonia alla Communione'.
4. J. H. Moore, *Vespers at St. Mark's: Music of Alessandro Grandi, Giovanni Rovetta and Francesco Cavalli*, 2 vols., Ann Arbor, 1981, vol. I, pp. 151–2.
5. F. Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima et singolare . . . ampliata del M. R. D. Stringa, canonico della chiesa ducale di S. Marco*, Venice, Salicato, 1604, p. 340v. Further on Stringa's additions, see below, p. 212 and n. 23; for the most part, Stringa's additions are reprinted in the more accessible, 1663, edition of Sansovino's book (his comment cited here is reprinted on p. 513 of the 1663 edition). See also letter of 19 July 1620 for Monteverdi's involvement that year in the

andata to the Redentore. On the doge's *andate* in general, see above, Chapter 9.

6. Sansovino, *Venetia*, 1604, p. 338r (1663, p. 501). For an eye-witness account of the Ascension Day *andata* in 1629, see Whenham, 'The Gonzagas visit Venice', *Early Music*, 21 (1993), 525–42, at 532–4. Monteverdi mentions the solemn Mass and Vespers that he had to prepare to be sung in S. Marco on Ascension Day and the cantata in praise of the doge in his letter of 21 April 1618.
7. See D. Blazey, 'The mid-Baroque concertato Litany in northern Italy: inherited problems and borrowed solutions', in A. Colzani, A. Luppi and M. Padoan (eds.), *Tradizione e stile*, Como, 1989, pp. 125–53, at p. 126.
8. The dedication was signed 1 May 1641. On the two title-pages of the *Selva morale*, dated 1640 and 1641 respectively, see L. M. Koldau, *Die venezianische Kirchenmusik von Claudio Monteverdi*, Kassel, 2001, pp. 101–4.
9. On the 1631 Mass, see below; Huygens's description of Monteverdi directing Vespers on 2 June 1620 is quoted in Chapter 14, below. For the full context, see F. Noske, 'An unknown work by Monteverdi: the Vespers of St. John the Baptist', *Music and Letters*, 66 (1985), 118–22, and the end of this chapter.
10. Koldau, *Die venezianische Kirchenmusik*, pp. 110–16.
11. Monteverdi set a number of texts by Grillo and his *alter ego*, Livio Celiano; see Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, pp. 118–19 and 141–4.
12. For a detailed analysis, see M. Ossi, *Divining the Oracle: Monteverdi's "Seconda Pratica"*, Chicago and London, 2003, pp. 184–8.
13. See J. H. Moore, 'Venezia favorita da Maria: music for the Madonna Nicopeia and Santa Maria della Salute', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 37 (1984), 299–355. His conclusions were first questioned by Jeffrey Kurtzman in 'Monteverdi's "Mass of Thanksgiving" revisited', *Early Music*, 22 (1994), 63–84.
14. See J. Kurtzman and L. M. Koldau, 'Trombe, Trombe d'argento, Trombe squarciate, and Pifferi in Venetian processions and ceremonies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music*, 8/1 (2002) and J. Kurtzman, 'Monteverdi's Mass of thanksgiving: da capo', in *Fiori musicali: liber amicorum Alexander Silbiger*, Warren, MI: Harmonie Park Press, forthcoming.
15. Modern edition in W. Osthoff (ed.), *Claudio Monteverdi: composizioni vocali profane e sacre (inedite)*, Milan, 1958, pp. 65–105.
16. See Chapter 6, above.
17. G. Zarlino, *Le istituzioni harmoniche*, Venice, 1558, p. 268.
18. D. Bryant, 'The "cori spezzati" of St Mark's: myth and reality', *Early Music History*, 1 (1981), 165–86.
19. L. Moretti, 'Architectural spaces for music: Jacopo Sansovino and Adrian Willaert at

- St Mark's, *Early Music History*, 23 (2004), 153–84; see particularly the painting of 1690 reproduced on p. 168, which shows musicians in the *pergole*.
20. Moretti, 'Architectural spaces', pp. 177–8, citing Bartolomeo Bonifacio, *Rituum ecclesiasticorum ceremoniale* (1564); details of the surviving copies of this document are given on p. 154, n. 3 of her article.
21. For the liturgy of S. Marco, see G. Cattin, *Musica e liturgia a San Marco: testi e melodie per la liturgia delle ore dal XII al XVII secolo*, 3 vols., Venice, 1990, and also Moore, *Vespers at St Mark's*.
22. The conventions governing Vespers in S. Marco are examined in depth in Moore, *Vespers at St Mark's*; see especially Chapter 5.
23. *Venetia città nobilissima*, 1604 edn. (see above, n. 5), pp. 346r–v; 1663 edn., pp. 516–17.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 346r; 1663 edn., p. 516.
25. See J. H. Moore, 'The *Vespero delli cinque Laudate* and the role of *salmi spezzati* at St Mark's', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 34 (1981), 249–78, esp. p. 258 and Table 2 (260–1); also Cattin, *Musica e liturgia, passim*.
26. Moore, 'The *Vespero delli cinque Laudate*', p. 265. Cavalli's settings are edited in F. Cavalli, *Vespera a otto voci con basso continuo: Vespero della B. V. Maria, Vespero delle Domeniche, Vespero delli Cinque Laudate* (1675), ed. F. Bussi, Milan, 1995, pp. 243–305.
27. These are tabulated in Moore, *Vespers at St. Mark's*, pp. 214–15.
28. See E. Selfridge-Field, *Venetian Instrumental Music from Gabrieli to Vivaldi*, rev. edn., New York, 1994, pp. 21–2.
29. Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima*, 1604, p. 334v; 1663 edn., p. 507.
30. All the feasts can be traced through Cattin, *Musica e liturgia*, and, slightly less thoroughly, through Table V-4 of Moore, *Vespers at St Mark's*, I, pp. 216–27.
31. There is no direct evidence for the singing of motets between the psalms at Vespers at S. Marco, though the practice was sanctioned at Venice for use in the *scuole*, and observed in other churches by the German composer Paul Hainlein in 1647 (at SS Giovanni e Paolo (11 October) and at San Francesco della Vigna (13 December), both with music by Rovetta); see W. Gurlitt, 'Ein Briefwechsel zwischen Paul Hainlein und L. Friedrich Behaim aus den Jahren 1647–48', *Sammelbände der internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, 4 (1912–13), 491–9; the texts are translated in D. Stevens, 'Monteverdiana 1993', *Early Music*, 22 (1993), 571–2. I remain unconvinced that motets were sung as antiphon substitutes given the prohibition of this practice in the *Caeremonial Episcoporum*, a copy of which was owned by the basilica (see J. Whenham, *Monteverdi Vespers* (1610), Cambridge, 1997, pp. 18–21).
32. Moore, *Vespers at St. Mark's*, p. 228, note f.
33. See J. Glixon, *Honoring God and the City: Music at the Venetian Confraternities, 1260–1807*, Oxford, 2003, pp. 160–61 and 286–87. Although Monteverdi claimed in a letter of 13 March 1620 that he was 'invited . . . again and again by the wardens of the confraternities', his appearances at the Scuola Grande di San Rocco in 1623 and 1627 are the only recorded examples.
34. Monteverdi states that he celebrated First Vespers on 17 July, but the Feast Day falls on 16 July, and First Vespers, thus, on the evening of 15 July.
35. See Monteverdi's letter of 17 April 1621 and, for further detail, Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, pp. 178–9. The remark of the Florentine Resident is in Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Archivio Mediceo del Principato, Filza 3007, f. 116r, despatch of 27 April 1621.
36. G. Strozzi, *Esequie fatte in Venetia dalla nazione fiorentina al serenissimo d. Cosimo II quarto gran duca di Toscana il dì 25 di maggio 1621*, Venice, 1621.
37. Cited in Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, p. 179.
38. Huygens' report is quoted below, at the beginning of Chapter 14; see also Noske, 'An unknown work', at p. 119. Stevens, *Monteverdi in Venice*, p. 61, identified the church at which the Vespers were celebrated as S. Giovanni Elemosinario, near the Rialto Bridge on the grounds that Huygens's SS Giovanni e Lucia was 'an excusable phonetic rendering of "Elemosinario"'. SS Giovanni e Paolo seems a more likely, and simpler, identification.
39. Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Archivio Mediceo del Principato, Filza 3015, ff. 225r–v, and Filza 3020b, ff. 66r–v. Letter from Ippolito Buondalmenti at Venice to Andrea Cioli, First Secretary of State to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, 23 June 1629. Florentine celebrations at Venice for the Feasts of S. Giovanni Battista are noted again in Ippolito Buondalmenti's despatches for 29 June 1630, 3 July 1632 and 2 July 1633 (ASF, Archivio Mediceo del Principato, Filza 3020b, f. 90v, Filza 3018, ff. 318r–v, and Filza 3019, f. 356r, respectively).

Intermedio V: Magnificat SV 281 (1641)

1. For a reconstruction of the texts of a complete Vespers service for the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin (15 August) see J. Whenham, *Monteverdi: Vespers* (1610), Cambridge, 1997, pp. 95–9.
2. See Chapter 11, above.
3. Monteverdi, *Selva morale e spirituale*, ed. D. Stevens, 'Claudio Monteverdi, Opera Omnia', xv, Cremona, 1998, II. 797–890; Monteverdi, *Magnificat a 8* (1640), reconstructed by A. Parrott, ed. C. Bartlett, Wyton, Cambs., 1992.

12 Monteverdi's late operas

1. N. Pirrotta, 'Monteverdi and the problems of opera', in *Music and Culture in Italy from the Middle Ages to the Baroque: A Collection of Essays*, Cambridge, MA, 1984, p. 248.
2. The original text is given in Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1991, pp. 16–17, n. 19. The anonymous observer may have been alluding to the composer's relationship with Benedetto Ferrari,

- confirmed in a document of 28 February 1641. See B. Glixon, 'Scenes from the life of Silvia Gailarti Manni, a seventeenth-century virtuosa', *Early Music History*, 15 (1996), 97–146, at 115.
3. The date is confirmed in a publication of 1640 by F. Malipiero, *La peripizia d'Ulisse ovvero la casta Penelope, parte prima*, Venice, 1640. The relevant passage is quoted in Rosand, 'Iro and the interpretation of *Il ritorno d'Ulisse in patria*', n. 31.
4. The text of the sonnet is given in Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice*, p. 408 (Appendix 1.6). Ferrari's financial responsibilities at both S. Moisè and SS Giovanni e Paolo during the 1640/41 season are confirmed by the document cited in note 2 above. The same source alludes to money owed by Ferrari to Monteverdi, possibly for the composition of *Le nozze d'Enea*.
5. This information comes from Badoaro's letter to the composer: see note 7.
6. This information comes from *Le glorie della musica celebrate dalla sorella poesia, rappresentandosi in Bologna la Delia e l'Ulisse nel teatro de gl'Illustriss. Guastavillani*, Bologna, 1640.
7. The full text of the letter, which prefaces the manuscript libretto I-Vmc 564, is given in A. Curtis (ed.), *Claudio Monteverdi, Il ritorno d'Ulisse in patria*, London, 2002, preface.
8. *Ibid.*
9. Torcigliani is identified in N. Michelassi, 'Michelangelo Torcigliani è l'incognito autore delle *Nozze di Enea con Lavinia*', *Studi secenteschi*, 48 (2007), 381–6.
10. *Argomento et scenario delle Nozze d'Enea in Lavinia, tragedia di lieto fine. Da rappresentarsi in Musica*, Venice, 1640, pp. 19–20. The complete text is given in E. E. Rosand, *Monteverdi's Last Operas: A Venetian Trilogy*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2007, Appendix 2.
11. *Argomento et scenario*, p. 25.
12. The individual textual passages on which this material is based are given in Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice*, pp. 410–11 (Appendix I. 9).
13. The facts surrounding the discovery of the score of *Ulisse* are discussed in Rosand, *Monteverdi's Last Operas*, Chapter 2. See also A. Curtis (ed.), *Il ritorno d'Ulisse*, Preface.
14. See F. Giuntini, 'Prologo e morale nel *Ritorno d'Ulisse in patria*', in P. Radicchi and M. Burden (eds.), *Florilegium musicae: studi in onore di Carolyn Gianturco*, Pisa, 2004, II, pp. 595–602.
15. See *Monteverdi's Last Operas*, Chapter 7.
16. The conversion is discussed in detail in Rosand, *Monteverdi's Last Operas*, Chapter 4.
17. In the case of *Le nozze d'Enea*, the rearrangement was simpler: Acts I and II became the new Act I, Acts III and IV the new Act II and Act V became Act III.
18. For a list of these passages, see T. Carter, *Monteverdi's Musical Theatre*, New Haven and London, 2002, Table 3–1, pp. 59–60.
19. See E. Rosand, 'Monteverdi's *Il ritorno d'Ulisse in patria* and the power of music', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 4 (1992), 75–80.
20. On dating the first performance of *Poppea* to 1643, see J. Whenham, 'Perspectives on the chronology of the first decade of public opera at Venice', *Il Saggiatore musicale*, 11 (2004), 253–302, at 261–2.
21. C. Ivanovich, 'Memorie teatrali di Venezia' [app. to *Minerva al tavolino*, Venice, 1681, 2/1688], facs. edn with intro. by N. Dubowy, Lucca, 1993.
22. Those who have questioned the existence of the 1646 revival, and the veracity of Ivanovich, generally, include T. Walker, 'Gli errori di *Minerva al tavolino*: osservazioni sulla cronologia delle prime opera veneziane', in *Venezia e il melodramma nel Seicento*, ed. M. T. Muraro, Florence, 1976, pp. 7–20, and A. Chiarelli, 'L'incoronazione di *Poppea* o il *Nerone*: problemi di filologia testuale', *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, 9 (1974), 117–51; also L. Bianconi, trans. D. Bryant, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, Cambridge, 1987. J. Whenham, 'Perspectives', reopened the case by observing the distinction in the contemporary documents, between prose and opera theatres.
23. See W. Osthoff, 'Filiberto Laurenzis Musik zu *La finta savia* in Zusammenhang der frühvenezianischen Oper', in M. T. Muraro (ed.), *Venezia e il melodramma nel seicento*, Florence, 1976, pp. 173–97; also R. Ziosi, 'I libretti di Ascanio Pio di Savoia: un esempio di teatro musicale a Ferrara nella prima metà del Seicento', in P. Fabbri (ed.), *Musica in torneo nell'Italia del Seicento*, Lucca, 1999, pp. 135–65, at 156f.
24. See above, n. 10.
25. The questions surrounding Monteverdi's authorship of *Poppea* have spawned an enormous bibliography; some of the main contributors to the conversation are listed above in n. 22; an important one not mentioned there is Alan Curtis. See, among other places, 'La *Poppea impasticciata*, or, Who wrote the music to *L'incoronazione* (1643)?', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 42 (1989), 23–54. For the most recent bibliography on this subject, see Rosand, *Monteverdi's Last Operas*.
26. See Osthoff, 'Laurenzi', p. 175, and Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice*, p. 219.
27. On the Udine libretto, see P. Fabbri, 'New sources for *Poppea*', *Music and Letters*, 74 (1993), 16–23. Monteverdi's name appears on the first page of the Venice score, but was clearly added later, probably in the eighteenth century; see Curtis, 'La *Poppea impasticciata*', 26–7, and P. Jeffery, 'The Autograph Manuscripts of Francesco Cavalli', Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1980, pp. 168–75.
28. A few of the manuscript librettos beside the one in Udine may date from near the time of the first performance. A complete list of sources is found in Rosand, *Monteverdi's Last Operas*, Chapter 3.
29. Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, pp. 194–6 provides a clear summary of the situation. See Curtis, 'La *Poppea impasticciata*',

for extensive analytical evidence for the collaboration of younger composers in the scores.
30. E. Chafe, *Monteverdi's Tonal Language*, New York, 1992, Chapter 13.

13 Monteverdi studies and 'new' musicologies

1. E. Rothstein, 'Classical view: the politics of sharps and flats', *New York Times*, 17 November 1991.
2. S. G. Cusick, 'Gendering modern music: thoughts on the Monteverdi–Artusi controversy', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 45 (1993), 1–25. See also C. S. Brauner, 'Letter', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 47 (1994), 550–4; and S. G. Cusick, 'Reply to Charles S. Brauner', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 47 (1994), 554–63.
3. G. Tomlinson, 'Madrigal, monody, and Monteverdi's "via naturale alla imitazione"', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 34 (1981), 60–108; and G. Tomlinson, 'Music and the claims of text: Monteverdi, Rinuccini, and Marino', *Critical Inquiry*, 8 (1982), 565–89.
4. N. Pirrotta, 'Monteverdi's poetic choices', in *Music and Culture in Italy from the Middle Ages to the Baroque: A Collection of Essays*, Cambridge, MA, 1984, pp. 271–316.
5. On 'new criticism', see J. C. Ransom, *The New Criticism*, New York, 1941, repr. 1979 and J. Kerman, *Contemplating Music*, Cambridge, MA, 1985 (published in Britain as *Musicology*). For an example of 'new historicism', see S. Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, Chicago, 1980.
6. G. Tomlinson, *Monteverdi and the End of the Renaissance*, Oxford, 1987.
7. Jeffrey Kurtzman introduced the possibility of semiotic analysis of Monteverdi's music in 'Monteverdi's changing aesthetics: a semiotic perspective', in *Festa Musicale: Essays in Honor of George Buelow*, Stuyvesant, NY, 1995, pp. 233–55. Mauro Calgano introduced analysis by the linguistic categories of 'deictics' and 'pragmatics' in his essay "'Imitar col canto chi parla": Monteverdi and the creation of a language for musical theater', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 55 (2002), 383–431.
8. E. Rosand, 'Seneca and the interpretation of *L'incoronazione di Poppea*', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 38 (1985), 34–71.
9. Rosand herself applied the techniques of the *Poppea* essay to *Il ritorno d'Ulisse* a few years later, in 'Iro and the interpretation of *Il ritorno d'Ulisse in patria*', *Journal of Musicology*, 7 (1989), 141–64. Responses to her critical approach to both operas include I. Fenlon and P. Miller, *The Song of the Soul: Understanding Poppea*, RMA Monographs 5, London, 1992; T. Carter, "'In love's harmonious consort": Penelope and the interpretation of *Il ritorno d'Ulisse in patria*', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 5 (1993), 1–16; Carter, 'Re-reading *Poppea*: some thoughts on music and meaning in Monteverdi's

- last opera', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 122 (1997), 173–204; W. Heller, 'Tacitus Incognito: opera as history in *L'incoronazione di Poppea*', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 52 (1999), 39–96; and M. Calgano, 'Signifying nothing: on the aesthetics of pure voice in early Venetian opera', *Journal of Musicology*, 20 (2003), 461–97. Calgano's essay "'Imitar col canto chi parla"...', cited above, represents the most significant departure from the Rosand tradition, as Calgano uses linguistic theory to read passages from both *Ulisse* and *Poppea* in terms of subjectivity and temporality. Alan Curtis's persuasive argument that Monteverdi did not write all of *Poppea* continues to trouble listeners, students and scholars by denying the fantasy merging of single authorship and cultural authority; see his '*La Poppea impasticciata* or, who wrote the music to *L'incoronazione* (1643)?', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 42 (1989), 23–54.
10. Special issues of *Music Analysis*, 12/1 (July 1993), edited by D. Puffett, and *Early Music*, 21/4 (November 1993) and 22/1 (February 1994), jointly edited by I. Fenlon and T. Carter, were devoted to Monteverdian topics.
 11. Puffett made this point in his 'Editorial', *Music Analysis* 12 (1993), 1.
 12. E. Chafe, *Monteverdi's Tonal Language*, New York, 1992. Chafe acknowledged his methodological debt to C. Dahlhaus's 'Habilitationsschrift', which had been published in English translation by R. Gjerdingen as *On the Origins of Harmonic Tonality*, Princeton, 1990.
 13. Carter, "'An air new and grateful to the ear"'; and G. Chew, 'The Platonic agenda of Monteverdi's second practice: a case study', *Music Analysis*, 12 (1993), 147–68.
 14. S. McClary, 'The transition from modal to tonal organization in the works of Monteverdi', Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1976. McClary revisited some of the readings in her dissertation, showing how the gestures of mode might both represent and enact identifiable subjectivities, in her book *Modal Subjectivities: Self-Fashioning in the Italian Madrigal*, Berkeley, 2004.
 15. J. Kurtzman, 'A taxonomic and affective analysis of Monteverdi's "Hor che'l ciel e la terra"', *Music Analysis*, 12 (1993), 169–95. His focus on taxonomy was inspired by reading M. Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, New York, 1971; translation of *Les Mots et les choses*, Paris, 1966.
 16. A. Pryer, 'Monteverdi, two sonnets and a letter', *Early Music*, 25 (1997), 357–71
 17. This literature, too vast to cite here, has been a particular feature of the journal *Early Music*; see also Chapter 14, 'Monteverdi in performance', below. On reconstructing the original physical space for specific performances, see Besutti's 'The "Sala degli Specchi" uncovered: Monteverdi, the Gonzagas, and the Palazzo Ducale, Mantua', *Early Music*, 27 (1999), 451–65. and her Chapter 5, above.

18. R. Wistreich, ‘La voce è grata assai, ma . . .’: Monteverdi on singing’, *Early Music*, 22 (1994), 7–19.
19. R. Wistreich, ‘Real basses, real men: *virtù* and virtuosity in the construction of noble male identity in late sixteenth-century Italy’, in N. Schwindt (ed.), *Troja: Trossingen Jahrbuch zur Renaissance Musik 2: Gesang zur Laute*, Kassel and Basel, 2003, pp. 59–80; see also his monograph *Courtier, Warrior, Singer: Giulio Cesare Brancaccio and the Performance of Identity in the Late Renaissance*, Aldershot, 2007. For Butler’s ideas about performativity, see her *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, New York, 1990 and *Bodies That Matter*, New York, 1993.
20. C. Geertz, ‘Thick description’, in *The Interpretation of cultures*, New York, 1973; rev. New York, 2000, pp. 3–32. On the wider influence of Geertz’s ideas in the humanities, see S. Greenblatt, ‘The touch of the real’, *Representations*, 59 (1979), special issue: *The Fate of “Culture”: Geertz and Beyond*, 14–29, and other articles in that issue.
21. G. Tomlinson, *Music and Renaissance Magic: Toward a Historiography of Others*, Chicago, 1993.
22. See *ibid.*, pp. 33ff, especially p. 35, where he explains how archaeology differs from a history of *mentalités*; see also M. Foucault, trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*, New York, 1972.
23. See Tomlinson, *Music and Renaissance Magic*, pp. 38–40, and M. Foucault, ‘Nietzsche, genealogy, history’, in D. Bouchard (ed.), *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, Ithaca, 1977, pp. 139–64. Obviously, this view of subject formation strongly resembles feminist theories of social construction. Therefore Tomlinson’s introduction of Foucauldian genealogy reinforced the power of McClary’s arguments in *Feminine Endings*.
24. Foucault introduced the notion of epistemes in *The Order of Things*.
25. G. Tomlinson, *Metaphysical Song: An Essay on Opera*, Princeton, 1999.
26. *Ibid.*, p. ix.
27. B. Glixon, ‘Private lives of public women: prima donnas in mid-seventeenth-century Venice’, *Music and Letters*, 76 (1995), 509–31.
28. S. G. Cusick, ‘“There was not one lady who failed to shed a tear”: Arianna’s lament and the construction of modern womanhood’, *Early Music*, 22 (1994), 21–45.
29. T. Carter, ‘Lamenting Ariadne?’, *Early Music*, 27 (1999), 395–405.
30. MacNeil, ‘Weeping at the water’s edge’, *Early Music*, 27 (1999), 406–18.
31. B. Gordon, ‘Talking back: the female voice in *Il Ballo delle ingrate*’, *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 11 (1999), 1–30.
32. R. Lewis, ‘Love as persuasion in Monteverdi’s *L’incoronazione di Poppea*: new thoughts on the authorship question’, *Music and Letters*, 86 (2005), 16–41.
33. T. Carter, *Monteverdi’s Musical Theatre*, New Haven and London, 2002.
34. M. Ossi, *Divining the Oracle: Monteverdi’s “Seconda Pratica”*, Chicago and London, 2003.
35. W. Heller, *Emblems of Eloquence: Opera and Women’s Voices in Seventeenth-Century Venice*, Berkeley, 2003.
36. B. Gordon, *Monteverdi’s Unruly Women: The Power of Song in Early Modern Italy*, Cambridge, 2005.
37. A. Dell’Antonio, ‘“Il divino Claudio”’: Monteverdi and lyric nostalgia in fascist Italy’ *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 8 (1996), 271–84; I. Fenlon, ‘Malipiero, Monteverdi, Mussolini and musicology’, in A. Latham (ed.), *Sing Ariel: Essays and Thoughts for Alexander Goehr’s Seventieth Birthday*, Aldershot, 2003, pp. 241–55. I have not been able to consult a related essay, M. Tsugami, ‘What incited the “Monteverdi Renaissance?”’, in *Musicology and Globalization*, Tokyo, 2004, pp. 184–8.
38. For the early modern soundscape, see B. Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O Factor*, Chicago, 1999; for the opacity of performance events to hermeneutics or archaeology, see C. Abbate, ‘Music – drastic or gnostic?’, *Critical Inquiry*, 30 (2004), 505–36. Indeed, music’s use as a medium of physical torture and ‘directed energy’ weaponry is another sign, however disturbing, of this shift.

14 Monteverdi in performance

1. From the travel diary of the Dutch diplomat Constantijn Huygens, who visited Venice from 13 June to 5 July 1620, in Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, Cambridge, 1994, p. 176.
2. Richard Todd, review of a performance of the *Vespers* (1610) on 23 September 1998, *The Ottawa Citizen*, 25 September 1998.
3. S. Parisi, ‘Acquiring musicians and instruments in the early Baroque: observations from Mantua’, *The Journal of Musicology*, 14 (1996), 117–50, at 118.
4. S. Parisi, ‘Ducal patronage of music in Mantua, 1587–1627: an archival study’, Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois, 1989, esp. tables 3–6, pp. 28–31; Carter, ‘Singing Orfeo: on the performers of Monteverdi’s first opera’, *Recercare*, 11 (1999), 75–118, at 81–2; see also Chapter 4, above.
5. See Chapters 4 and 5, for details of the various palace spaces in which these activities occurred.
6. J. H. Moore, *Vespers at St. Mark’s: Music of Alessandro Grandi, Giovanni Rovetta and Francesco Cavalli*, 2 vols., Ann Arbor, 1981, vol. I, pp. 80–2.
7. D. Arnold, *Monteverdi*, London, 1990, pp. 26–7; see also Chapter 9, above.
8. E. Rosand, ‘Venice, 1580–1680’ in C. Price (ed.), *Music and Society: The Early Baroque Era*, Englewood Cliffs, 1994, p. 78.

9. B. Blackburn and E. Lowinsky, 'Luigi Zenobi and his letter on the perfect musician', *Studi musicali*, 20 (1994), 61–107, at 103.
10. *Ibid.*, 80, 96.
11. Pryer, 'Two sonnets and a letter', *Early Music*, 25 (1997), 357–71, at 357.
12. P. Fabbri and A. Pompilio (eds.), *Il corago*, Florence, 1983; partially translated in R. Savage and M. Sansone, 'Il Corago and the staging of early opera: four chapters from an anonymous treatise circa 1630', *Early Music*, 17 (1989), 494–511.
13. Carter, *Monteverdi's Musical Theatre*, New Haven and London, 2002, p. 88.
14. *Orfeo*, Act V: 'Duoi Organi di legno, & duoi Chitaroni concertorno questo Canto sonando l'uno nel angolo sinistro della scena, l'altro nel destro'. See also Chapter 5, above.
15. *Il Corago*, pp. 87–90.
16. Arnold, *Monteverdi*, p. 2.
17. P. Holman, '“Col nobilissimo esercizio della vivuola”: Monteverdi's string writing', *Early Music*, 21 (1993), 577–90, at 577. In 1590 Monteverdi referred in his dedication of his Second Book of Madrigals to Giacomo Ricardi, President of the Milan Senate, to having played *vivuola* in Milan; Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, Cambridge, 1994, p. 20; see also Chapter 4, above.
18. See Chapter 4, above.
19. For other singers' audition reports, see R. Wistreich, 'La voce e grata assai, ma . . . : Monteverdi on singing', *Early Music*, 22 (1994), 7–20.
20. R. Wistreich, 'Reconstructing pre-Romantic singing technique' in J. Potter (ed), *The Cambridge Companion to Singing*, Cambridge, 2000, pp. 178–91.
21. Blackburn and Lowinsky, 'Luigi Zenobi', 101–2.
22. Wistreich, 'Reconstructing pre-Romantic singing technique', pp. 182–3; K. Schiltz, 'Church and chamber: the influence of acoustics on musical composition and performance', *Early Music*, 31 (2003), 64–80.
23. Whenham, *Monteverdi Vespers (1610)*, Cambridge, 1997, pp. 41–4.
24. Moore, *Vespers at St Mark's*, pp. 83–6.
25. *Il corago*, p. 96.
26. Savage and Sansone, 'Il corago and the staging of early opera', 500–1; see also Carter, *Monteverdi's Musical Theatre*, especially Chapter 4, 'The art of the theatre', pp. 74–108.
27. E. Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth Century Venice*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1991 pp. 227–35; see also, W. Heller, *Emblems of Eloquence: Opera and Women's Voices in Seventeenth Century Venice*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2003 pp. 174–7.
28. See, for example, A. Parrott, 'Monteverdi: onwards and downwards', *Early Music*, 32 (2004), 303–18, at 311 and Wistreich, 'Reconstructing pre-Romantic singing technique', pp. 181–2.
29. Parrott, 'Monteverdi: onwards and downwards', esp. pp. 306–14; see also P. Barbieri, 'Chiavette and modal transposition in Italian practice (c.1500–1837)', *Recercare*, 3 (1991), 5–69 and Chapter 8, above.
30. See Wistreich, 'Monteverdi on singing'.
31. R. Sherr, 'Guglielmo Gonzaga and the castrati', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 33 (1980), 33–56.
32. Carter, 'Singing Orfeo'.
33. Moore, *Vespers at St Mark's*, vol. I, p. 84.
34. Parisi, 'Ducal patronage', p. 31.
35. For example, at the Academia dei Floridi in Bologna; see T. Carter, *Music in Late Renaissance and Early Baroque Italy*, London, 1992, pp. 38–9.
36. Carter, *Monteverdi's Musical Theatre*, pp. 206–11; see also Chapter 6, above.
37. Parisi, 'Acquiring musicians', 123.
38. Letter of 28 December 1610.
39. Letter of 22 January 1611.
40. Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, pp. 145–53.
41. Carter, *Monteverdi's Musical Theatre*, pp. 93, 215–17.
42. See Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth Century Venice*, pp. 227–35 and Chapter 12, above.
43. Carter, *Monteverdi's Musical Theatre*, pp. 200–1.
44. Letters of 7, 22, 24 May and 5 June 1627
45. Paris, 'Ducal patronage', pp. 125–6.
46. Holman, 'Monteverdi's string writing', 577.
47. *Ibid.*, 588.
48. Parisi, 'Ducal patronage', p. 126.
49. Letter of 26 March 1611.
50. Blackburn and Lowinsky, 'Luigi Zenobi', 105.
51. Parisi, 'Ducal patronage', pp. 30–31.
52. S. Stubbs, 'L'armonia sonora: continuo orchestration in Monteverdi's *Orfeo*', *Early Music*, 2 (1994), 86–100.
53. See A. M. Vacchelli, 'Monteverdi as a primary source for the performance of his own music', in R. Monterosso (ed.), *Proceedings of the International Congress on Performing Practice in Monteverdi's Music: The Historic-Philological Background*, Cremona, 1995, pp. 23–52.
54. Stubbs, 'Continuo orchestration'; J. Glover, 'Solving the musical problems', in J. Whenham (ed.), *Claudio Monteverdi: Orfeo*, Cambridge, 1986, pp. 138–55.
55. Holman, 'Monteverdi's string writing', 580.
56. D. Arnold, 'Performing practice', in D. Arnold and N. Fortune (eds.), *The New Monteverdi Companion*, London, 1985, pp. 329–31; L. Bianconi and T. Walker, 'Production, consumption and political function of seventeenth-century opera', *Early Music History*, 4 (1984), 209–96, at 225.
57. S. Bonta, 'The use of instruments in sacred music in Italy 1560–1700', *Early Music*, 18 (1990), 519–35, at 520; E. Selfridge-Field, 'Bassano and the orchestra of St Mark's', *Early Music* 4 (1976), 152–8.
58. C. Bartlett and P. Holman, 'Giovanni Gabrieli: a guide to the performance of his music', *Early Music*, 3 (1975), 25–32.
59. Moore, *Vespers at St Mark's*, vol. I, pp. 81–9.

60. J. Kurtzman, *The Monteverdi Vespers of 1610: Music, Context, Performance*, Oxford, 1999, pp. 358–66.
61. G. Salvetti, 'Alcuni criteri nella rielaborazione ed orchestrazione dell' "Incoronazione"', *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, 2 (1967), 332–40; see also C. Deshoulières, *L'Opéra baroque et la scène moderne*, Paris, 2000, esp. pp. 623–95.
62. Available on DVD; see Discography, below.