

CARLO MILANUZZI'S *QUARTO SCHERZO* AND THE CLIMATE OF  
VENETIAN POPULAR MUSIC IN THE 1620S

Cory Michael Gavito, B.M.E.

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APPROVED:

Deanna D. Bush, Major Professor

Michael B. Collins, Major Professor

Thomas P. Sovik, Minor Professor

Lester D. Brothers, Chair of the Department of Music

Theory, History, and Ethnomusicology, College of  
Music

Graham Phipps, Chair of Graduate Studies, College of  
Music

Thomas Clark, Dean of the College of Music

C. Neal Tate, Dean of the Robert B. Toulouse School of  
Graduate Studies

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Carlo Milanuzzi's *Quarto Scherzo* (1624) stands out among its contemporary Venetian song collections with *alfabeto* as an anthology of Venetian secular songs, including compositions by Miniscalchi, Berti, and Claudio and Francesco Monteverdi. Issues surrounding its publication, instrumentation, and musical and poetic style not only contribute to the understanding of Venetian Baroque monody, but also help to construe a repertory of vocal music with defining characteristics usually associated with popular music of the 19<sup>th</sup>, 20<sup>th</sup>, and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries.

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## INTRODUCTION

Following the Spanish victory over Charles V's forces at St. Quentin in 1557, the Peace of Chateau-Cambrèsis in 1559 established Spanish dominance over most of the Italian states. In 1610, the Spanish viceroy Don Pietro Fernando de Castro introduced the first *comedias* to Naples, moving such Italian librettists as Jacopo Cicognini and Giulio Rospigliosi to adopt the unconventional polymetric style of the Spanish playwrights Lope de Vega and Calderòn de la Barca. And in Florence, in 1606, Girolamo Montesardo's *Nuova inventione d'involatura per sonare il baletti sopra la chitarra spagnola* became the first Spanish guitar instructional book to be published in Italy. Thus began a great surge of Spanish literary, dramatic, and musical influence on many of the cultural centers of early seventeenth-century Italy, including the homes of Giulio Caccini, Claudio Monteverdi, Pietro Berti, and Girolamo Frescobaldi.

Perhaps the most intriguing of all Spanish musical exports to the Italian cities was the Spanish five-course guitar. The popularity of the five-course *chitarra spagnola* was extremely influential on the composers of early secular monody in Venice, as demonstrated by the numerous collections of monody with guitar tablature (*alfabeto*), published mainly in the 1620s by Alessandro Vincenti. One such collection is Carlo Milanuzzi's *Quarto scherzo della ariose vaghezze* of 1624 (published by Vincenti), which includes 23 original strophic arias published alongside works (including cantatas and *canzonetti*) by Claudio and Francesco Monteverdi, Pietro Berti, and Guglielmo Miniscalchi. The collection, reprinted in facsimile in Volume I of Gary Tomlinson's *Italian Secular Song 1600-1635* series, represents a particularly insightful look into the climate of early seventeenth-century Italian secular songwriting. Namely, issues

surrounding the collection such as the inclusion of the popular Spanish guitar and the publishing activities of Alessandro Vincenti enrich our understanding of this uniquely fashionable and popular repertoire. At the same time, the contributions of Monteverdi and the influence of the polymetric verse of Gabriello Chiabrera stand at the heart of the *Quarto Scherzo*, illustrating the genre's popularity even among the most illustrious and celebrated figures of the early Baroque.

Besides a derogatory footnote in Nigel Fortune's dissertation and a short reference (always in relation to other monody collections) here and there, the *Quarto scherzo* has fallen victim to the usual and often obligatory critical silencing of "uneventful" works of art. Its confinement to marginalia, however, is unfortunate considering the widespread popularity of the collection and others that were published in Venice during the 1620s. The purpose of this project is to first establish the genre of the Venetian accompanied solo secular song of the early seventeenth century within the specific historical context of accompanied *strophic* secular song, as opposed to the traditional reading of Venetian monody within the historical scope of solo song in general. Following this concise yet explicit survey of solo strophic song, issues surrounding Milanuzzi's *Quarto Scherzo*, including publishing practices, instrumentation, textual and musical style, and its relation to the *seconda prattica* will be examined, demonstrating the collection's importance as a unique representative of Venetian Baroque monody. Finally, by exploring the *Quarto Scherzo*'s significance as a collection of popular music, that is music characterized by charming simplicity, widespread popularity among members of the public, and extensive publication, our impressions of this distinct genre of solo song will expand to include subjects traditionally associated with "pop" music of the 19<sup>th</sup>, 20<sup>th</sup>, and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries.

## CHAPTER ONE

### HISOTRICAL BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

#### Italian Strophic Secular Song Before 1620

Without question, the madrigal remains the most influential genre of Italian secular vocal music in the sixteenth century. For the purposes of this project, however, we must set the madrigal aside, and begin with the “grandfather” of the seventeenth-century strophic aria: the *frottola*.<sup>1</sup> That is not to say that the frottola and the madrigal, or the madrigal and our monodic strophic arias of the seventeenth century were not themselves related, despite the madrigal’s strong association with polyphony. On the contrary, Alfred Einstein is quick to point out that the conceivably polyphonic texture of the occasional independent voice within a pseudo-chordal framework of many sixteenth-century *frottole* was essentially “accompanied monody.”<sup>2</sup> The frottola did not, however, usually exhibit the kind of polyphony one finds in the madrigals of Adrian Willaert, Cipriano da Rore, or Giaches de Wert, nor did *frottole* composers attempt (in most cases) to take care in expressing the meaning of its text.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the frottola is the most logical starting point for the history of the strophic aria by virtue of its strophic text settings, harmonic-supportive basses (usually on I, IV, and V), melodic upper parts, and improvisatory character, as Jerome Roche informs us that:

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<sup>1</sup> For more elaborate discussions on the frottola see Alfred Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, trans. Alexander H. Krappe et al., vol. 1 (Princeton: University Press, 1949); Jerome Roche, *The Madrigal* (London: Hutchinson 1972); and Don Harrán, “Frottola,” *The New Grove History of Music and Musicians*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Stanley Sadie, ed., Vol. 9 (London: MacMillan, 2001), 294-300.

<sup>2</sup> Einstein, 1: 82.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 1:61-64.

Unlike the most advanced sacred polyphony of the time, the frottola contained neither imitation, nor learned devices, and as a result of its harmonic bass line and perfect cadences it was often imbued with a feeling of modern tonality rather than modality.<sup>4</sup>

On a point specifically related to our seventeenth-century secular songbook with guitar accompaniment, several *frottole* collections of the sixteenth century denote lute accompaniment, such as Bartolomeo Trombonico's 1520 *Frottole*.<sup>5</sup> Though it remains unclear what music the lutenist played, the lack of lute tablature indicates either the instrumentalist(s) supplied the remaining vocal parts or, as Nigel Fortune and Einstein suggest, "play[ed] a simplified chordal version of the accompaniment without the alto part."<sup>6</sup> The latter practice implies improvisation on the part of the instrumentalist, a trait that permeates the nature of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century accompaniment of these lighter secular forms.

Quasi-improvised instrumental accompaniment was not limited to the *frottole* or other related forms indicated by Ottaviano dei Petrucci in his *frottole* collections of the early 1500s. Willaert's 1536 arrangement of polyphonic madrigals by Philippe Verdelot for solo voice and lute represents one of many accompanied monodic settings of polyphonic works, a practice that remained popular well into the seventeenth century.<sup>7</sup> This trend towards the simplification of polyphonic madrigals through arrangement or intabulation was not exclusive to Italy, however, as attested by the lute and solo voice

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<sup>4</sup> Roche, 12. On the subject of improvisation in the frottola, Einstein concedes that "Petrucci's prints [*frottole* collections 1500-1514] are nothing but musical epistolary guides for the composition of love letters, a sort of erotic arsenal, a *guide to improvisation*." (61)

<sup>5</sup> RISM 1520<sup>2</sup>: *Frottole de Misser Bartolomio Trombonico...con tenori & bassi tabulati & con soprani in canto figurato per cantar & sonar col lauto*.

<sup>6</sup> Nigel Fortune, "Italian Secular Song from 1600 to 1635: The Origins and Development of Accompanied Monody," (Ph.D. diss., University of Cambridge, 1953), 39.

<sup>7</sup> RISM 1536b [1104]: *Intavolatura de li madrigali di Verdeletto da cantore et sonare nel lauto, intavolati par Messer Adriano*.

arrangements of polyphonic songs published by Pierre Attaignant and the Phalèse family in France, and Luis Milán, Enrique Enriquez de Valderrábano, and Miguel de Fuenllana in Spain.<sup>8</sup> The Spanish collections, like the Italian, contain arrangements of other composers' works alongside original works, referred to as *música de vihuela [de mano]*, and more specifically, *villancicos*, *romances*, and *cancioneros*, song-forms related to the frottola. Sometimes referred to collectively as "Spanish *Vihuela* Books," most of the pieces within these collections were composed for voice and/or the six-stringed *vihuela de mano*, an instrument related to both the lute and guitar. Though by the time of Milán's *El Maestro* (1535) the *villancico* had adopted certain polyphonic characteristics (mainly imitation), homophonic texture continued to dominate the strophic text settings combined with a continual strong melodic presence in the top voice.

In relation to Italy and the development of Italian secular song, Spanish influence became apparent around the middle of the sixteenth century and reached fruition around 1600.<sup>9</sup> An early example of the mingling of Spanish and Italian culture can be found in Juan Boscán's 1534 translation of Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*.<sup>10</sup> Milán himself, incidentally, tried his hand at devising a code of etiquette by describing the correct usage of conversation and music in an adaptation of *Il Cortegiano*, entitled *Libro intitulado El Cortesano* (Madrid, 1561).<sup>11</sup> Musically speaking, the court of Naples emerged as the

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<sup>8</sup> Nigel Fortune has claimed only seventeen volumes of music were published in Spain throughout the course of the sixteenth century. For information on the titles and locations of these publications, see Fortune, "Solo Song and Cantata," *The New Oxford History of Music*, ed. Gerald Abraham, vol. 4 (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), 126-127.

<sup>9</sup> Spanish influence on Italian secular songwriters of the early seventeenth century will be discussed further the next section, "The *Chitarra Spagnola*."

<sup>10</sup> Juan Boscán: *Los quarto libros: del Cortesano: compuestos en italiano por el conde Balthasar Castellón y agora nuevamente traduzidos en lengua castellana por Boscán* (Barcelona, 1534).

<sup>11</sup> Maurice Esses describes this work briefly in his book *Dance and Instrumental Diferencias in Spain During the 17<sup>th</sup> and Early 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, vol. 1 (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon, c. 1992-c. 1994), 18-25. For

sixteenth-century Italian center most influenced by Spanish culture, beginning with the reestablishment of the Kingdom of Naples under the political leadership of Spanish viceroy Don Pedro in 1532. In 1539, the wedding of Don Pedro's daughter Leonora of Toledo and Cosimo de' Medici took place, providing the backdrop for one of the earliest-known *comedia* performances in Italy. The music, composed by Francesco Corteccia, Costanzo Festa, Baccio Moschini, Mattio Rampollini, and G.P. Masaconi, is described by Einstein as:

accompanied solo song . . . not an invention of the Florentine Camerata: it is already in existence here. It is also to be found in the marvelous literature of the Spanish villancicos for voice and guitar (*vihuela*), beginning with Don Luys Milan's [*sic*] *El Maestro* (1535).<sup>12</sup>

Furthermore, it seems viable that the composite palette of Italian and Spanish secular music in Naples under Spanish rule must have been overwhelmingly rich, with perhaps, just as much eclecticism as early seventeenth-century northern Italian music after the introduction of the Spanish guitar.<sup>13</sup> At any rate, Naples, despite its political status, became the birthplace of a largely indigenous sixteenth-century secular music genre that would influence all facets of secular Italian music in the late Renaissance and early Baroque: the *canzone villanesca alla napolitana*.

In 1537, Jacopo de Colonia published the oldest surviving collection of *canzone villanesca alla napolitana*, strophic songs without indicated instrumental accompaniment

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more information on Milán's book see: John B. Trend, *Luis Milán and the Vihuelistas* (London: Oxford University Press, 1925).

<sup>12</sup> Einstein, 2:840.

<sup>13</sup> Of Spanish Naples, Einstein informs us that: "Naples was at this time [Lasso's move to Naples in 1548] a Spanish province, with Spanish musicians holding the highest musical offices", *ibid.*, 2:479. In Fortune's history of Italian Secular Song, he dismisses the relevance of Spanish secular song to the evolution of Italian secular solo song, arguing: "though the villancicos of Luis Milan and Valderra~ano [*sic*] and their friends occasionally resemble the art of Trombonico, they are not important for the development of monody in Italy and it is wiser to disregard them here." Fortune, *Italian Secular Song*, 42.

containing poetry about rustic and peasant life in *lingua villanesca* (various regional dialects). The early three-voice canzone villanesca, opposed to the more polyphonic four-voice villanesca, resembles the note-against-note style of later Italian strophic songs, and clearly represents the next stage of development in the evolution of the strophic aria, as Donna Cardamore describes:

The villanesca à 3 is a strophic song in which the uppermost part dominates the texture. The tune is characterized by well-rounded melodic periods, each of which has a strong cadential orientation. Every period corresponds to one line of the poem, which is often split into small parts by melodic repetition. Since formal subdivisions are short and often repeated, cadences occur in rapid succession.<sup>14</sup>

This simple homophonic style is best illustrated in the works of one of the most famous Neapolitan villanesca composers, Gian Domenico da Nola. In “Tre ciecho siamo,” the melodic top line is supported by a rhythmic and harmonic corresponding two-voice foundation with authentic cadences at the ends of lines (Figure 1.)

Figure 1. Nola, “Tre ciechi siamo”<sup>15</sup>

The musical score for "Tre ciechi siamo" is presented in two systems. Each system consists of a vocal line (top staff) and a two-voice accompaniment (bottom staff). The key signature is one flat (B-flat major), and the time signature is 3/4. The lyrics are: "O don-ne bel - le ve - ga - vi pie - ta - de de far a - glior - bi qual - che ca - ri - ta - de." The first system ends with a double bar line, and the second system also ends with a double bar line.

<sup>14</sup> Donna Cardamore, *The Canzone Villanesca alla Napolitana*, vol. 1 (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1981), Vol.1:121.

<sup>15</sup> Transcribed in Roche, 93.

By the 1560s, the *villanella* becomes associated with yet another diminutive, the “successor” of the *canzone villanesca alla napolitana*: the *canzonetta*. The mention of the *canzonetta* is pertinent to this study of the strophic song because it was with the titles “*canzonetta*” and “*villanella*” that seventeenth-century composers continued to refer to their strophic songs. As early as 1584, Monteverdi published a set of *canzonette* that illustrate the lighter nature of the popular strophic song style when compared to his contemporaneous sophisticated madrigals. By the 1580s, the *canzonettas* of Luca Marenzio, Felice Anerio, and Orlando Vecchi developed into a more imitative and polyphonic character and are more closely related to the madrigal than the simple texture and harmony of the *villanellas*, though the terms “*canzone*”, “*villanella*” (or one its diminutives, e.g. “*villanesca*”, “*villanesca alla napolitana*”, etc), and “*aria*” appeared to be used interchangeably, as in Giovanni Ferretti’s *Canzoni alla Napoletana* (1573) and Ruggiero Giovanelli’s *Villanelle et Arie alla Napoliana* (1588).

It is certain that by (at least) 1584 improvisation was a customary practice in the performance of Italian secular song, as attested by Alessandro Striggio in a letter to Grand Duke Francesco of Ferrara, in which he writes:

Here every day the Duke of Ferrara . . . is kind enough to let me listen for two hours on end to the music of his ladies, which is indeed extraordinary; these ladies sing excellently, both to accompaniment and from part-books; they are sure-footed in improvisation. The Duke is kind enough to be continually showing me in manuscript everything that they sing by heart, with all the runs and passages as they perform them.<sup>16</sup>

We can also be sure that improvisation in the performance of songs with strophic texts was common practice in the latter sixteenth century, as in repeated bass patterns

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<sup>16</sup> Translated in Einstein, 2:846.

(*romanesca*, *aria di genove*, *ruggiero*, etc.) tied to poetic forms such as the *ottava*; a prime example being Ariosto's great epic *Orlando furioso*, whose verses (literally) hundreds of musicians and singers were known to have sung.<sup>17</sup> It is also well known that the performance of solo songs with lute and/or *viola da gamba* (or other related bass instruments) accompaniment was common throughout the sixteenth century, culminating in the musical ideals of the Florentine Camerata at the end of the century.<sup>18</sup> Even Gioseffo Zarlino, once considered an opponent of the "new style" according to his pupil Vincenzo Galilei, wrote in the second book of his *Institutione harmoniche* (1558):

Thus we see that in our day music arouses various passions in us, just as it did in ancient times. For sometimes when a beautiful, learned, and elegant poem is recited to the sound of an instrument, the listeners are greatly moved and led to behave in various ways—laughing, weeping, and doing other similar things. And as to this, it has been our experience with the beautiful and graceful writings of Ariosto that when (among other things) the piteous death of Zerbino and the lamentable complaint of his Isabella are recited, the listeners are moved by compassion and weep not less than Ulysses did when he heard the singing of Demodocus, that excellent musician and poet. So if we do not hear that music affects people today as it once affected Alexander, this may be because the causes are different, and not similar as my opponents suppose. For if music had these effects in ancient times, it was being performed in the manner already described and not, as is usual at present, with a multitude of parts and with so many singers and instruments that one sometimes hears nothing but the noise and uproar of voices mixed with the sounds of various instruments, a singing without judgment or discretion and with the words pronounced in so disorderly a manner it can have no effect on us worth remembering. But one will see its effects when it is performed with judgment and brought closer to the usage of the ancients—when to the sound of the *lira*, the lute, or some other similar instrument one sings in a simple style of

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<sup>17</sup> On this point, Einstein mentions Michel de Montaign, who reports on July 2, 1582 that he is "surprised . . . to see these peasants with lutes in their hands and even the shepherdesses with Ariosto on their lips. *But one sees this everywhere in Italy.*" (Ibid., 2:848.) For information regarding the improvisation of solo song in contemporary Italian stage works, see: William Vernon Porter, "The Origins of the Baroque Solo Song: A Study of Italian Manuscripts and Prints from 1590-1610," (Ph. D. diss., Yale University, 1967), 21-26.

<sup>18</sup> Einstein, 2:836-849, and Fortune, *Italian Secular Song*, Ch. 2, 42-47 are just two sources that list accounts of (often times improvised) lute and/or *viola da gamba* (or other related bass instruments) accompaniment to sixteenth-century Italian solo song.

matters that partake of the comic or tragic or of similar things that contain long narratives.<sup>19</sup>

Zarlino's account not only provides evidence for lute accompaniment with secular song, but also demonstrates his high regard for simple, "monodic" arrangements of strophic poetry for solo voice and lute or "some other similar instrument" (guitar? chitarrone? harp?).

Like his teacher Zarlino, Galilei was also in favor of accompanying solo songs with the lute; in fact, he was known to have sung "well-known madrigals and part-songs while accompanying himself with a lute reduction of the original composition."<sup>20</sup> In 1568, a collection of popular airs arranged by Galilei for solo voice and lute was published under the title *Fronimo*. Within its pages one discovers arrangements of *frottole*, *villanelle*, and original airs based on the *romanesca*, *girometta*, and others, pieces Palisca refers to as "Pseudo-Monody."<sup>21</sup> The strophic nature of these compositions may cause one to consider calling them "arias," but as Palisca points out, the "arias" at hand were not the compositions themselves, but rather the tunes on which the original compositions were based, usually present in the bass as in the *ruggiero* and *romanesca*. Galilei, Caccini, and other Florentine "monodists" referred to these "arias" in their correspondence, essays, and their prefaces to music publications, as Galilei did in his *Dubbio intorno a quanto io ho detto dell'uso dell' enharmonio [sic] con la solutione di essi* of 1588:

As for his [Olympios's] airs not requiring more than three or four strings or notes . . . , still today many of our airs do not reach or extend beyond a

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<sup>19</sup> Zarlino, *Institutione harmoniche*, vol. 2, 9. Translated in Einstein, 3:837-838.

<sup>20</sup> Claude V. Palisca, "Vincenzo Galilei and Some Links Between 'Pseudo-Monody' and Monody," *The Musical Quarterly* 46 (1960): 345.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 345.

compass of six notes, for example, the soprano parts of *come t'haggio lasciato uita mia, ti parti cor mio caro, la brunetta mia, la pastorella si leua per tempo, l'aria comune della terza rima*, that of the *romanesca*, and a thousand others (Palisca's comments in brackets).<sup>22</sup>

Though the *stile recitativo* promulgated by Caccini and the inventors of early opera moved further away from the strophic phrases and simple chordal harmony and cadences of the *canzonettas*, *villanellas*, and popular airs, both Galilei and Caccini make it clear that this simple, popular "aria" style was favored, even preferred. Caccini, in his *Nuove Musiche* of 1602 described the antecedents to his ten settings of popular "airs":

Upon my return to Florence I reflected on the fact that also at that time certain *canzonets* were common among musicians, for the most part with despicable words that appeared unseemly to me and were deprecated by men of sensibility. And it occurred to me, as a way of occasionally relieving depression, to compose some *canzonets* in *air* style that could be used in concert with string instruments. Having communicated this thought of mine to many gentlemen of the city, I was courteously gratified by them with many *canzonets* in verses of various meters, as also later by Signor Gabriello Chiabrera, who favored me with a great many, quite different from all the rest, offering me a fine opportunity for variety. All of these, set by me to divers *airs* from time to time, were found not displeasing anywhere in Italy: nowadays anyone who wants to compose for a solo voice uses this style.<sup>23</sup>

Furthermore, the use of the term "aria" for this type of designation is consistent with other composers in other cities during the last half of the sixteenth century and into the seventeenth century, as in the *Aeri raccolti...dove si cantano sonetti stanze e terze rime* (RISM 1577<sup>3</sup>) *Bottegari Lutebook*, both of which refer to the term "aria" to mean accompaniments to the singing of *terza rima*, *ottave*, and similar strophic verse forms.<sup>24</sup>

This definition of "aria", however, should not be mistaken for the additional connotation

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 348.

<sup>23</sup> Giulio Caccini, *La Nuove Musiche*, ed. H. Wiley Hitchcock, (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 1970), 46.

<sup>24</sup> See Jack Westrup, "Aria", §1, *The New Grove*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 1: 887.

associated with the term “aria”, meaning simply an original piece in strophic form, as in the prints of Domenico Brunetti (1606), Ottavio Durante (1608), Giovanni Ghizzolo (1609), Francesco Lombardi (1607), and others.<sup>25</sup> Thus, it appears that by the beginning of the seventeenth century, the term “aria” began to take on two different meanings: 1) It referred to the popular “airs” of times past which a composer could then “set” or *arrange* through variation, diminution, or other means, or 2) contemporary compositions of an *original* setting of strophic poetry, as in Jacopo Peri and Jacopo Corsi’s settings of *ottave* in *Dafne* (1597), Johann Kapsberger’s *Libro primo di arie passeggiate* (1612), Alessandro Grandi’s *Cantade et arie a voce sola* (1620) and Carlo Milanuzzi’s *Quarto scherzo della ariose vaghezze*(1624).

Three common themes permeate the discussion of the development of song styles and genres from the *frottole* to Milanuzzi’s *Quarto scherzo*: strophic poetic text settings, simple texture with a melodic top voice, and regular phrases with simple, chordal harmonic progressions. These stylistic characteristics were part of an Italianate tradition, regarded by some as a cultural reaction against the polyphonic style of the northern European lands.<sup>26</sup> Thus the beginning of the seventeenth century should not be remembered as simply the “birthdate” of opera or even monody, but rather the emergence of what Caccini rightly called “the new music”. The dawn of the Baroque was a time Palisca describes as a period when:

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<sup>25</sup> Porter makes the observation that by the beginning of the seventeenth century, the terms “aria”, “canzonetta”, and “villanella” all refer to compositions in strophic form, as opposed to “madrigal”, which consistently is used in reference to non-strophic compositions. Porter, 57-58.

<sup>26</sup> Donald J. Grout, *A Short History of Opera*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), 34.

vocal music should return to the style of simple airs like the *Romanesca* and *Passamezzo* in their unadorned beauty. This style of vocal music, left after the days of Petrucci's prints to be the cultivation of second-rate composers of villanelle and improvisers, should now engage the attention of worthy composers. No dilettante's fatuous dream of a new Arcadia, Galilei's plea for vocal monody was an affirmation of the continuity of the Italian tradition.<sup>27</sup>

It is, therefore, not surprising that the Spanish five-course guitar, an instrument suitable for accompanying simple strophic songs in a chordal style (as in the villancicos) and much easier to play than the lute, became so popular among musicians and composers when it was introduced to northern Italy *circa* 1600.

### The *Chitarra Spagnola*

Spanish Naples, as previously mentioned, provided Italy and its people with a tremendous influx of native Spanish cultural and artistic resources. Some of Naples' most respected intellectuals, such as the humanist Juan de Valdés, were Spaniards; much of the ruling class and populace, in fact, spoke Spanish. Naples was not only the hub of Spanish cultural and artistic imports, but was also an important center of exportation to other Italian cities.<sup>28</sup> Records from 1589 describe the arrival of three guitars from Naples to Florence overseen by Emilio de' Cavalieri, director of musical activities for the court of

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<sup>27</sup> Palisca, 360.

<sup>28</sup> It should be mentioned here that by 1600, Naples grew to be the most populated city in all of Western Europe with a population of 250,000 inhabitants. Of Spain's cultural and artistic influence on Naples and Italy, Warren Kirkendale informs us that: "It [the Spanish guitar] was one of the many manifestations of the Iberian influence on Italian culture when the kingdom of Naples and Sicily was under Spanish rule and Italy was flooded with Spanish fashions, Spanish comedians, Spanish literary colonies, Italo-Spanish academies, and editions and translations of Spanish literature." Warren Kirkendale, *L'Aria di Fiorenza id est Il Ballo del Gran Duca*, (Florence: Leo S. Olshki, 1962), 22. Furthermore, the *Discorso sopra la musica* of Vincenzo Giustiniani informs us that by 1628, "the mode of dressing *alla spagnola* in Italy prevails over all the other fashions." Translated by Carol MacClintock in "Discorso sopra la musica," *Musica disciplina* 15 (1961), 223.

Ferdinand de' Medici.<sup>29</sup> The instruments were specially ordered to accompany the solo vocal sections in the closing *ballo* of the final *intermedio* composed in honor of the wedding of Ferdinand and Christine of Lorraine, the granddaughter of Catherine de' Medici.<sup>30</sup> As Nina Treadwell states, this reference is the earliest extant record of the guitar's mention in the northern Italian cities, as well as the first mention of the Spanish guitar in Florence.<sup>31</sup> What is perhaps the most intriguing aspect of the final *ballo*, pertinent to this study, was the presence of one Vittoria Archilei not only playing the Spanish guitar during the *rispote* (similar to the *reprisa* or *ritornello*) of the famous *ballo*, but also singing and dancing simultaneously.<sup>32</sup> The five-course Spanish guitar and its simple *rasgueado* (strummed) technique was probably preferred over the cumbersome alternative of the *punteado* (plucked) style associated with the lute while dancing and singing. The *ballo* in question, entitled "O che nuovo miracolo" by Cavalieri, known as the *Ballo del Gran Duca* (and later as the popular *Aria di Fiorenza*) incorporates dance rhythms accompanied by simple chordal harmony and regular phrases; music perfectly suited for the Spanish guitar. (Figure 2.)<sup>33</sup> These very circumstances under which Archilei performed on the Spanish guitar represent the beginnings of the popularity of the

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<sup>29</sup> According to Kirkendale, "That guitars were not yet readily available in Florence is shown by the fact that the instruments for the "gods" had to be imported by Cavalieri from the Spanish city, Naples: three 'Chitarre da sonare . . . fatte ven[i]re di Napoli' arrived in Florence on March 18<sup>th</sup>, 1589, 'p[er] serv[izi]o della Commedia', and four days later the treasurer, Girolamo Serjacopi, was instructed to pay Cavalieri 42 scudi, 4 lire, and 10 soldi for them", 48-49.

<sup>30</sup> For further investigation of the 1589 *Ballo del Gran Duca*, see: Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Nina Kathleen Treadwell, *The Chitarra Spagnola and Italian Monody, 1589 to circa 1650*, (Master's Thesis, University of Southern California, 1995), 15-16.

<sup>32</sup> "Furono tutti gli terzetti cantati e ballati da Vittoria Archilei, e Lucia Caccini, e Margherita, e sonavano Vittoria, e Luci, una Chitarrina per uno, una alla Spagnola, e l'altra alla Napoletana, e Margherita un Cembalino adornato di sonagli d'argento con si dolce armonia e mirabil vaghezza, e attitudine, che maggiore, ne sentire ne veder si poteva". From Kirkendale, 48. Lucia Caccini was Giulio Caccini's first wife and Margherita della Scala the tambourine player, incidentally, became Caccini's second wife.

<sup>33</sup> Kirkendale's book describes the evolution of the *Aria di Fiorenza* in great detail. It is traced, incidentally, from the sixth and final *ballo* of the 1589 *intermedi*.

instrument in northern Italy. In 1608, the instrument will resurface in yet another Florentine *intermedio* celebrating the wedding of Cosimo de' Medici (heir to the Archduchy of Tuscany) and Archduchess Maria Magdalena of Austria.

Figure 2. Cavalieri, “O che nuovo miracolo”<sup>34</sup>

The image displays a musical score for the piece "O che nuovo miracolo" by Ottavio Rinuccini, from the intermedio "Il pastor fido" by Jacopo Peri. The score is presented in three systems. The first system consists of three staves: a vocal line in treble clef, a lute line in treble clef, and a basso continuo line in bass clef. The lyrics are: "O che nuo-vo mi-ra-co-lo Ec-co ch'in". The second system continues the three staves with lyrics: "che nuo-vo mi-ra-co-lo Ec-co ch'in ter-ra". The third system shows the continuation of the three staves with lyrics: "ter-ra scen-do-no" and "scen-do-no". The music is in common time (C) and features a mix of vocal melody and lute accompaniment.

Like the *intermedii* of 1589, the *intermedii* of 1608 celebrated a Medici wedding in Florence, was co-organized by Giulio Caccini, and made use of the singers Vittoria Archilei and Lucia Caccini (Giulio’s first wife) dancing with and playing Spanish guitars in the final *ballo* of the final *intermedio*.<sup>35</sup> By this time, the spectacular staging and performance of the *intermedio* finale was extremely popular in Florence, as illustrated by Caccini:

But Her Highness should be told that all the beauty was reserved for this sixth *intermedio*, in which Signora Ippolita, Signora Vittoria [Archilei]

<sup>34</sup> Adapted from Kirkendale’s transcription, 87-88.

<sup>35</sup> See: Treadwell, 22-25.

and Melchoir [Palontrotti] the bass, all three belonging to my school, sing alone, and solo, as a duo and as a trio joining together one after the other. There is also a *ballo* of six ladies, sung, played, and danced to instruments, that is different from all others, and then at the end there is another *ballo* performed by 20 or 30 dancing-masters and sung and played by 64 musicians. Inform Her Highness that this type of sung, played, and danced *ballo* has always been prized above all other *balli* and much more so than the morescas performed in Mantua as I described them from an account by Signor Chiabrera, their author.<sup>36</sup>

Here again, we find the Spanish guitar associated with dancing, continuing the trend of employing the instrument in company with simple, often repeated phrases, and chordal harmony. We also find in these early works the instrument becoming more and more associated with the style of accompaniment that was once dominated by the lute. The shift from lute-accompanied solo song to Spanish guitar-accompanied solo song in early seventeenth-century Italy is documented in Vincenzo Giustiniani's *Discorso sopra la musica* of 1628:

Playing the Lute was also much practiced in past times: but this instrument has been almost entirely abandoned since the Theorbo has been introduced. It, being more suitable for singing even moderately well and with a poor voice, has been eagerly accepted generally in order to avoid the great amount of labor needed to learn to play the Lute well. At the same time the Spanish Guitar was introduced throughout Italy, especially in Naples. It, together with the Theorbo, appears to have conspired to banish the Lute altogether, and it has almost succeeded; just as the mode of dressing *alla spagnola* in Italy prevails over all the other fashions.<sup>37</sup>

Cavalieri continued to show interest in the use of the Spanish guitar in his stage works after the 1589 *intermedio*, as demonstrated by the scoring of his famous *Rappresentazione di Anima di Corpo* of 1600. The ensemble calls for a "Chitarina alla Spagnuola" and a "cimbaletto con sonagline alla Spagnuola" during the refrains of

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<sup>36</sup> From a letter to Picchena, Florence, August 6<sup>th</sup>, 1608. Translated by Tim Carter in "A Florentine Wedding of 1608", *Acta Musicologica* 55 (1983): 96.

<sup>37</sup> Translated in MacClintock, 223.

“Piacere con due compagni” in Act II, scene iv. As in the 1589 *intermedio*, the simple chordal style and strophic poetic text setting justifies Cavalieri’s choice of instrumentation for this passage.

In 1606, evidence for the increased popularity of the Spanish guitar in Florence became apparent with the publication of Girolamo Montesardo’s *Nuova inventione d’intavolatura per sonare il balletti sopra la chitarra spagniuola, senza numeri, e note; per mezzo della quale da se stesso ogn’uno senza maestro potrà imparare*,<sup>38</sup> an instructional book written to equip, as the full title suggests, even the most untrained musician with the basic skill of playing dances in a *rasgueado* chordal style. The collection, the first of many Spanish guitar instructional books published in Italy, consists not only of a new system of playing chords, but also introduces two new inherently Spanish musical forms to Italian ears: the *passacaglio* and the *ciaconna*.<sup>39</sup>

As early as 1610, the five-course Spanish guitar and its “new” system of playing chords, now in tablature form known as *alfabeto*, established its presence in the early seventeenth-century Italian secular song repertory.<sup>40</sup> Despite Fortune and Porter’s claim that the Spanish guitar and its *alfabeto* system first made its Italian appearance in Kapsberger’s *Libro primo di Villanelle a 1. 2. et 3. Voci accommodate per qualsivoglia strumento con l’intavolatura del Chitarone et alfabeto per la Chitarra spagnola*, published in Rome, 1610, there are other sources which mention the guitar’s existence

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<sup>38</sup>“ New invention of tablature for playing dances on the Spanish guitar, without numbers and notes: by means of which everyone will be able to learn by himself, without a teacher”. Translated in Richard Hudson, “The Development of Italian Keyboard Variations on the *Passacaglio* and *Ciaconna* from Guitar Music in the Seventeenth Century,” (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Los Angeles, 1967), 31.

<sup>39</sup> For specific information regarding this collection, see: *Ibid.*, 31-42.

<sup>40</sup> Treadwell specifically discusses the origins of the *alfabeto* in early publications in her thesis, “The *Chitarra Spagnola*”, 25-33. A more elaborate discussion of *alfabeto* tablature will follow in Ch. 3, below.

(with *alfabeto*) as early as 1590, e.g. the Bologna MS 177/IV, Biblioteca Universitaria (ca. 1590) and the Brussels Codex 704 olim 8750, Conservatoire Royale de Musique (ca. 1590-1610).<sup>41</sup> Precise chronology aside, this early use of the instrument and its *alfabeto* system of denoting chords as accompaniment for simple strophic songs such as the *villanelle* (Kapsberger, Bologna and Brussels MSS) and the *canzonette* (Bologna and Brussels MSS) informs us that by this time, the instrument was primarily associated with popular, lighter forms of Italian composers rather than the more serious, declamatory style of the Camerata's *stile recitativo* and the inventors of early opera.

Between the years 1610 to 1630 over 75 Italian printed secular vocal collections, mainly comprising strophic songs indicating Spanish guitar accompaniment and *alfabeto*, appear, making up the "golden age" of this unique repertory. Some of the composers of these collections, such as Giovanni Kapsberger, Giovanni Berti, and Sigismondo d'India, are common Baroque figures, famous for their church music, monodies, and instrumental works. But the host of "lesser" composers (Milanuzzi, Stefani, Miniscalchi, Ghizzolo, et.al.) remain obscure in the eyes of historians, overshadowed by the legacies of Caccini, Monteverdi, Grandi, and Cavalli, all of whom, incidentally, composed for this genre.

The Spanish guitar, the *alfabeto*, and its relationship to Italian secular vocal music was both a matter of practicality and of consequence; it mirrored, and, in many ways (e.g. Caccini's involvement with the instrument), even triggered the decline of contrapuntal texture and awakened interest in the new chordal sonorities of the *basso continuo* and ecclesiastical polychoral music. But most of all, it became incredibly accessible to the

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<sup>41</sup>See: Fortune, *Italian Secular Song*, 191-93 and Porter, 72. Treadwell gives other sources of the misinterpretation of the Spanish guitar in early Italian sources. Treadwell, 1, c.f. The Brussels Codex

Italian public, and through this it became fashionable, trendy, lucrative, and “popular” in the sense of what popular music represents in our day: unpretentious, musically simple but tuneful, and mass-produced. It was, doubtless, accepted as a musical departure from the arcane polyphonic style of the madrigal, and provided the musical amateur with an invitation to take part in music making. I say this because other historians of this genre have not; in fact Nigel Fortune, considered the leading authority in early seventeenth-century solo Italian secular song, describes this music as “artless” and that it is “of no great interest and may be quickly disposed of.”<sup>42</sup> We have already learned from Galilei that these assertions are neither correct nor entirely objective, and considering the cultural impact of the Spanish guitar in Italy, it seems rather presumptuous to condemn such a popular, respected, and colorful repertoire of vocal music. Given its well-documented presence in Rome, Naples, Florence, and Venice, a more focused and less-biased assessment of this culturally significant genre needs no justification.<sup>43</sup> My approach to this repertoire, concerned with a specific collection of strophic secular songs with Spanish guitar accompaniment, leads us to Venice, one of the most illustrious musical centers of the early Baroque.

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contains what are believed to be “some of the earliest [pieces] of the monodic repertoire”, including Caccini’s strophic aria “Amor ch’attendi” (fols. 21v-22v). Quotes and information from Treadwell, 27.

<sup>42</sup> Fortune, “Solo Song and Cantata”, 175.

<sup>43</sup> James Tyler’s *The Early Guitar* (London: Oxford, 1980), Miller’s dissertation, “The Composers of San Marco and Santo Stefano and the Development of Venetian Monody to 1630,” (Ph. D. diss., University of Michigan, 1993), and Treadwell’s Master’s thesis have all contributed greatly to the subject of seventeenth-century Italian secular song with guitar accompaniment most recently. I am indebted to their work and research in this field.

## Venetian Secular Song in the 1620s

San Marco's incomparable musical lineage from Adrian Willaert to da Rore, Zarlino, the Gabriellis and finally to Monteverdi constitutes one of the greatest musical legacies of the sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries. By the time of Monteverdi's appointment as *maestro di cappella* in 1613, the famed basilica had grown to achieve an international reputation, and, "appropriately, outshone that of all other musical institutions in Venice, including the cathedral, the great monastic churches, and the famous and wealthy lay confraternities known as the Scuole Grandi."<sup>44</sup> Both the basilica of San Marco and the Augustinian church of Santo Stefano employed composers, *maestri di cappella*, singers, and organists who contributed a fair amount of sacred and secular music in the 1620s, the latter mainly in the form of solo song compilations and collections with diverse instrumental accompaniment. The two institutions were, in fact, the only Venetian basilicas and monastic or parish churches to employ musicians who published secular song collections during the first quarter of the seventeenth century.<sup>45</sup> These composers contributed to some 30 Venetian printed collections of solo secular song in the second decade of the *seicento* that denote guitar accompaniment with *alfabeto*, nearly twice the amount published in Rome and Florence combined (Table 1). Of the composers not

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<sup>44</sup> Miller, 11.

<sup>45</sup> Miller, 39.

Table 1. Secular song collections with guitar *alfabeto* published in Venice, 1620-1629

Date	Composer	Publisher	Title
1620	Magni	Stefano Landi	<i>Arie e una voce</i>
1620	A. Vincenti	Giovanni Stefani	<i>Scherzi amorosi canzonette</i>
1621	A. Vincenti	Giovanni Stefani	<i>Affetti amorosi canzonette</i>
1621	A. Vincenti	Sigismondo d'India	<i>Le Musiche</i>
1622	Gardano	Eleuterio Guazzi*	<i>Spiritosi affetti</i>
1622	Magni	Carlo Milanuzzi†	<i>Primo Scherzo</i>
1622	A. Vincenti	Carlo Milanuzzi†	<i>Secondo Scherzo</i>
1622	A. Vincenti	Giovanni Stefani	<i>Scherzi amorosi canzonette</i> (reprinted)
1622	Gardano	Filippo Vitali	<i>Arie . . . Libro Quarto</i>
1623	A. Vincenti	Giovanni Stefani	<i>Affetti amorosi canzonette</i> (reprinted)
1623	A. Vincenti	Giovanni Stefani	<i>Concerti amorosi</i>
1623	A. Vincenti	Giovanni Ghizzolo	<i>Frutti d'amore</i>
1623	A. Vincenti	Sigismondo d'India	<i>Le Musiche</i>
1623	A. Vincenti	Domenico Manzolo	<i>Canzonette</i>
1623	A. Vincenti	Carlo Milanuzzi†	<i>Terzo Scherzo</i>
1624	A. Vincenti	Giovanni Pietro Berti*	<i>Cantade et Arie</i>
1624	A. Vincenti	Carlo Milanuzzi†	<i>Quarto Scherzo</i>
1625	A. Vincenti	Carlo Milanuzzi†	<i>Secondo Scherzo</i> (reprinted)
1625	A. Vincenti	Guglielmo Miniscalchi†	<i>Arie . . . Libro Primo</i>
1626	A. Vincenti	Giovanni Stefani	<i>Affetti amorosi canzonette</i> (reprinted)
1626	A. Vincenti	Alessandro Grandi*	<i>Cantade et Arie</i>
1627	Magni	Marco Antonio Aldigatti	<i>Gratie et affetti amorosi canzonette</i>
1627	A. Vincenti	Giovanni Pietro Berti*	<i>Cantade et Arie</i>
1627	A. Vincenti	Guglielmo Miniscalchi†	<i>Arie . . . Libro Primo</i> (reprinted)
1627	A. Vincenti	Guglielmo Miniscalchi†	<i>Arie . . . Libro Secondo</i>
1627	A. Vincenti	Domenico Obizzi*	<i>Madrigali et Arie</i>
1628	Grossi	Giacinta Fedele	<i>Scelta di Villanelle napoletana</i>
1628	A. Vincenti	Carlo Milanuzzi†	<i>Sesto Libro Ariose</i>
1628	A. Vincenti	Orazio Tarditi	<i>Amorosa schiera d'Arie</i>
1629	A. Vincenti	Alessandro Grandi*	<i>Cantade et Aria . . . Libro Quarto</i>

\* composers employed at San Marco

† composers employed at Santo Stefano

associated with San Marco or Santo Stefano, not one was directly associated with Venice other than the fact that their works were published there, though many, such as Ghizzolo, Filippo Vitali, and Orazio Tarditi, were employed by ecclesiastical institutions of other Italian cities.<sup>46</sup> Others, such as d'India and Domenico Manzolo were employed outside of Venice and the church altogether, although they were financially compensated through individual patronage, as was nearly every composer listed in Table 1.<sup>47</sup> This special relationship between composers and patrons formed the basis for the immense output of secular music in Venice during this time, a popular example being Monteverdi's business association with the Venetian senator Girolamo Mocenigo, credited with commissioning *Il combattimento di Tancredi e Clorinda* (1624) and the opera *Proserpina rapita* (1630), both of which were first performed at his palace.<sup>48</sup> Many of the dedicatory prefaces to these song collections indicate the nature of the relationship between composer and patron, usually, as Roark Miller describes, falling into two categories: 1) compositions created with the direct aid of the patron, or 2) compositions created in anticipation of aid from a patron.<sup>49</sup> Thus, we find dedicatees of various titles and backgrounds such as Odoardo Farnese, the Venetian cardinal for whom Guazzi's *Spiritosi affetti* (1622) was dedicated, and the Venetian monk Felice Aleardi, the dedicatee of Milanuzzi's *Secondo Scherzo* (1622).

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<sup>46</sup> Ghizzolo (d. 1625) served as *maestro di cappella* at San Antonio of Padua and lived most of his life as a Franciscan friar in Novara. Vitali (d. c. 1653) served as *maestro di cappella* at San Lorenzo of Florence. Tarditi (1602-1677) served as organist at the Arezzo cathedral for most of his life.

<sup>47</sup> Information about patronage and the circle of composers around San Marco and Santo Stefano can be found in Miller, 17-68.

<sup>48</sup> Denis Stevens, *The Letters of Claudio Monteverdi* (London: Oxford, 1995) 252, 275.

<sup>49</sup> Miller, 47.

Although this practice was not limited to Venetian composers, the vast number of song collections published in Venice in the 1620s not only outweighed its Roman and Florentine counterparts nearly two-fold, but also represented a characteristic Venetian preference for secular song accompanied by the Spanish guitar.<sup>50</sup> This surge of Venetian song collections reflected a new age in Italian monody, what Miller refers to as the “second phase” of Venetian monody, characterized by mass printed publication and Spanish guitar accompaniment with *alfabeto*.<sup>51</sup>

In relation to other contemporary Venetian song collections without *alfabeto*, the composers of the *alfabeto* collections did not, musically speaking, vary much from the standard style of the Venetian secular monodists, who, according to Fortune typically:

liked to write beautiful melodies and...develop them, and...were interested in problems of design. And so, in the main, they preferred strophic songs—and not only strophic airs but strophic bass cantatas as well. . . . [They] saw that in the music of the 16<sup>th</sup> century it was the canzonets of Ferretti and his friends and not the madrigals of Gesualdo that held the secret for the future. Their songs were far more melodious than Roman ones, but they were less influenced by dance-rhythms than those written at the ballet-loving courts of Florence and Turin.<sup>52</sup>

While Fortune’s description of the Venetian composers’ preference for strophic texts is fairly accurate, his claim that dance music was not influential in the songs of Venetian composers (or not as influential as on the composers of Florence and Turin) is highly questionable, especially since the Spanish guitar figured so prominently in the Venetian prints of the 1620s. Not only did several Venetian composers (including Milanuzzi and

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<sup>50</sup> Before 1620, only eighteen Italian song collections denoting Spanish guitar accompaniment with *alfabeto* were published: five in Venice, three in Rome, six in Naples, and four in Florence. This information was gathered from Appendix I “Secular Vocal Music Mentioning the *Chitarra Spagnola* and/or Including *Alfabeto*” of Treadwell’s Master’s thesis, 89-90.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 331-335.

<sup>52</sup> Fortune, *Italian Secular Song*, 26-28.

Aldigatti) publish dances for Spanish guitar alongside their strophic songs in their aria collections, but as Miller argues:

By combining solo canzonettas with the guitar from the start, Milanuzzi was linking his songs to a popular instrumental tradition, for the Spanish guitar was particularly associated with pre-existing chordal frameworks that outlined popular dances such as the *folia*, *passacaglia*, *ciaccona*, and *ripresa*.<sup>53</sup>

Ultimately, however, the strophic framework of the song texts within the Venetian aria collections of the 1620s was fundamental to the inclusion of the Spanish guitar and *alfabeto*. It continued the late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century tradition of accompanying simple, strophic texts with simple, chordal Spanish guitar *rasgueado* accompaniment, as in the *balli* of the Florentine *intermedii* and the early aria collections of Kapsberger, Montesardo, and Rontini.

Nowhere is this continuing tradition as remarkably illustrated as in the seven aria collections of Carlo Milanuzzi, all of which were published (and reprinted) by Alessandro Vincenti in the 1620s. Along with Giovanni Stefani's *Affetti amorosi*, *Scherzi amorosi* and Miniscalchi's first book of arias, Milanuzzi's second and fourth book of arias were all reprinted during the course of the 1620s, demonstrating their commercial success and popularity. The *Quarto Scherzo* of 1624 stands out among Milanuzzi's reprinted works as a collection of 23 original strophic arias with *alfabeto*, supplemented with works by Claudio and Francesco Monteverdi, Giovanni Pietro Berti, and Guglielmo Miniscalchi, a "compilation" of mainly strophic songs intended for solo voice and the popular Spanish guitar.

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<sup>53</sup> Miller, 190. Dances for solo Spanish guitar are found in Milanuzzi's second and third book of arias (1622, 1623) and Aldigatti's *Gratie et Affetti amorosi canzonette* (1627).

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE *QUARTO SCHERZO DELLE ARIOSE VAGHEZZE*

#### The Publisher

While the “golden age” of Venetian solo song with Spanish guitar *alfabeto* was enjoying considerable publishing success in the 1620s, the Italian music publishing industry as a whole was suffering from a marked decline in production that started as early as the 1590s, according to one scholar.<sup>54</sup> With regard to Venice, Lorenzo Bianconi recognized a sharp decline in the Venetian printing of anthologies in the decade prior to the 1620s, with over 180 anthologies being published between the years 1591-1610 and only 50 published between the years 1611-1620, a near 50 percent decrease in production over ten years.<sup>55</sup> Similarly, Tim Carter’s research on the Italian music publishing activities of the late 1500s and early 1600s indicates a sharp decline in the printing and publishing of secular music, dropping from a peak level of nearly 70 publications published in 1585 to a mere five published in 1631.<sup>56</sup> There were, of course, exceptions despite these recent findings, the most substantial being the activities of the Vincenti family publishing firm that flourished in the first three decades of the seventeenth century.

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<sup>54</sup>Iain Fenlon, “Il foglio volante editoriale dei Tini, circa il 1596,” *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 12 (1977): 238.

<sup>55</sup> Lorenzo Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, (Cambridge: University Press, 1987), 76.

<sup>56</sup> Tim Carter, “Music Publishing in Italy, c. 1580-c. 1625: Some Preliminary Observations,” originally published in the *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 20 (1987): 19-37, reprinted in Carter, *Monteverdi and his Contemporaries* (Aldershot, U.K.: Ashgate, 2000), 24-25.

Within Nigel Fortune's "handlist" of nearly 230 printed monody collections from 1602-1635, at least 40 percent of the listed publications were produced by the Vincenti firm in Venice, with Giacomo overseeing the business until his death in 1619, at which time his son Alessandro took over until the 1640s.<sup>57</sup> The Vincentis were largely responsible for the standardization of two very popular publishing practices that would inevitably establish their reputation as the most successful Italian publishing entity of the first half of the seventeenth century. Giacomo's introduction of the quarto-size publication (about equal in dimension to a madrigal part-book) with his printing of Stefani's *Affetti Amorosi* (1618) and Alessandro's regular publication of printed collections with *alfabeto* for the popular Spanish guitar illustrates the Vincentis' ability to respond to popular taste while profiting from lower production costs (See Table 1).<sup>58</sup> This apparent "knack" for business led Fortune to criticize Alessandro's publishing practices in his dissertation:

The practice of providing every song with letters for the guitar, even when, as in more serious songs, they were wildly inappropriate (in the same way do the publishers of the popular sheet-music of today pepper their pages with tablature for the ukulele). But, even though he was a

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<sup>57</sup> This data was collected from Nigel Fortune, "A Handlist of Printed Secular Monody Books, 1602-1635," *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 3 (1963): 27-50. The publication information was verified in Emil Vogel, Alfred Einstein, François Lesure, Claudio Sartori, eds., *Bibliographia della musica italiana vocale profana: pubblicata dal 1500 al 1700. Nuova edizione interamente rifatta e aumentata con gli indici dei musicisti, poeti, cantanti, dedicatari, e dei capoversi dei testi etterari*. 3 vols., (Pomezia, 1977). Fortune's list, now almost 40 years old, is incomplete and should not be considered to represent by any means a complete catalog of this repertoire. For a more complete listing (though not entirely up-to-date), see related citations in the *Nuova edizione* of Vogel's *Bibliographia*.

<sup>58</sup> Nearly all of Alessandro's secular song prints after 1620 make use of guitar *alfabeto*. Compared with other Venetian publishers active in the 1620s, Gardano, Magni, and Grossi collectively contributed to only six aria collections with *alfabeto*, overshadowed by Vincenti's 24. (See Table 1, Ch. 1, 18, above.) On the subject of the Spanish guitar's role in the Vincentis' prints, it is interesting to note that Giacomo began his career publishing editions of music by Spanish composers, including Guerrero's *Canciones y villanescas espirituales* of 1589. Moreover, Thomas W. Bridges has proposed that Giacomo himself may have been of Spanish origin, due to the various spellings of his surname in signature and in print. In his edition of Guerrero's *Cancioneros*, Vincenti signs: "en la emprenta de Iago Vincentino." Other spellings include "Vincenci" and "Vincenzi." See: Bridges, "Vincenti, Giacomo" in *The New Grove*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 26: 651.

guitarist himself, Castaldi refused to allow Vincenti to disfigure the pages of his book with such “pedantry.” All of which goes to show that a composer with a mind of his own could persuade the most hardened printer to abandon the rather drab uniformity of his publications.<sup>59</sup>

Although Castaldi’s reasons for not wanting Vincenti to publish his music with guitar *alfabeto* remain unclear, it is certain that the employment of *alfabeto* was favored even among the most famous Italian composers of the time. Thus, we find Alessandro publishing collections of songs with *alfabeto* composed by the likes of d’India, Kapsberger, Montesardo, Peri, Caccini, Cavalli, and Monteverdi (among others). Certainly composers of this stature were in position to act as Castaldi did if they felt the inclusion of *alfabeto* was “wildly inappropriate.” It also seems likely that a composer such as Milanuzzi or even Monteverdi, whose income as composers and musicians living in Venice was invariably low, would have embraced the idea of publishing their music in a manner that would increase its popularity and marketability.<sup>60</sup> We need not speculate on the unspoken thoughts and feelings of the said composers and publishers; the implications of Alessandro’s regular addition of guitar *alfabeto* to his publications provides us with internal evidence that sheds new light on the significance of this repertoire in early seventeenth-century Venetian culture.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Fortune, *Italian Secular Song*, 136-137.

<sup>60</sup> It is not entirely clear how much money a composer received for the sale of a collection published by someone like Vincenti, if they received any payment at all. We do know that Milanuzzi received payment for his collections published by Vincenti from a preface to a collection of masses published in 1629: “It is true that there are few pages in my publications, because there are few [coins] in my purse.” Quote from Fortune, *ibid.*, 123. Jerome Roche has introduced the idea that composers of sacred works published by Vincenti (and the other Venetian firms) were compensated for their compositions by the publisher. Whether or not this held true for secular compositions can only be speculated. See: Roche, *North Italian Church Music in the Age of Monteverdi*, (London: Oxford, 1984), 30.

<sup>61</sup> This subject will be explored further in Ch. 3.

Alessandro's keen business sense was also demonstrated by his frequent reprinting of aria collections, presumably on the basis of their resale ability. One of his most popular publications, Stefani's *Affetti Amorosi*, was published three times in the 1620s (1621, 1623, 1626) after his father's introduction of the collection in 1618. As the full title suggests, Stefani's collection is a compilation of various pieces by various composers, edited by Stefani and published by Vincenti with guitar *alfabeto*.<sup>62</sup> The design of this collection was replicated in several of Alessandro's other prints, including Milanuzzi's *Quarto Scherzo*, and Alessandro's own *Arie de diversi* of 1634.<sup>63</sup> The reprinting of these collections implies the purchasing of this music by customers other than the patrons to whom many of the dedicatory prefaces appear to acknowledge as the intended proprietor. And though it remains a matter of conjecture as to who, other than the composers' patrons, may have purchased such collections, Fortune concedes that:

The most likely customers for monodies would be princes and dukes, noblemen and courtiers and perhaps university lecturers; perhaps, too, institutions such as the academies . . . and the colleges of Rome. Venice itself . . . probably resembled thriving centres of commerce like London and Amsterdam more closely than did any other city (except, perhaps, Florence) in having a fairly large number of middle-class citizens--rentiers, pensioners, merchants and the like—who could afford to patronize musicians in the way that their Dutch counterparts patronized painters like Rembrandt, Hals and Vermeer.<sup>64</sup>

From Miller's research, we have already learned that the most common patrons of Venetian composers of secular music were either church officials or members of the

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<sup>62</sup> *Affetti Amorosi canzonette ad una voce sola poste in musica da diversi autori con la parte del basso, & le lettere dell'alfabeto per la chitarra alla spagnola raccolte da Giovanni Stefani con tre aria siciliane, & due vilanelle spagnole*. (RISM 1618<sup>15</sup>).

<sup>63</sup> RISM 1634<sup>7</sup>. The process of publishers printing aria "compilations" of various composers within the genre of secular songs with *alfabeto* was also practiced in Rome, (e.g. the *Vezzosity fiori* of 1622 (RISM 1622<sup>11</sup>) and the *Giardino musicale* of 1621 (RISM 1621<sup>15</sup>), both published by Giovanni Battista Robletti.)

<sup>64</sup> Fortune, *Italian Secular Song*, 138-139.

aristocracy.<sup>65</sup> But can we conclude that the middle-class citizens to whom Fortune refers would or would not have purchased one of Vincenti's prints? Although the answer to this question is uncertain, the simple fact remains that the business-savvy Vincenti felt inclined, for whatever reasons, to reprint and republish several of his original publications throughout the 1620s and 30s. By further examining one of Vincenti's reprints, namely Milanuzzi's *Quarto Scherzo* (1624), we may come closer to an understanding of the musical and cultural milieu in which Vincenti and the composers represented in his publications flourished.

### The Compositions

Since the beginning of the seventeenth century, the musical style of the strophic arias of printed monody collections and those included in opera were virtually the same. In *Euridice* for example, Caccini sets only one strophe of La Tragedia's opening *Prologue* to music; the six remaining strophes are printed beneath the staves in the same way Vincenti lays out the successive stanzas to Milanuzzi's strophic songs in the *Quarto Scherzo*.<sup>66</sup> Musically, the simple chordal harmony, moving bass line, and frequent cadences of the *Prologue* resemble the arias and canzonettas of the monody collections from the 1620s, although the absence of regular phrase structure and triple-metered dance rhythm (typical of Florentine monody), and the presence of seven- and eleven-syllable *versi sciolti* and other features common to the *stile rappresentativo* immediately stand out as a marked stylistic differences from the Venetian style of strophic song. The opening of Act II of Monteverdi's *Orfeo*, however, presents a more familiar setting of strophic song,

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<sup>65</sup> Miller, *The Composers of San Marco*, 38-48.

<sup>66</sup> The setting of strophic songs that utilize the same music for each strophe is not all that common in Caccini. Several strophic arias in his *Le Nuove Musiche*, for example, are set as through-composed

closer to the style of Milanuzzi and his fellow Venetians. The note-against-note canzonetta style in *ottonario*, clearly demonstrated by Orfeo's strophic aria "Ecco pur ch'a voi ritorno", represents the beginnings of the solo strophic canzonetta style in opera.<sup>67</sup>

By the time of Milanuzzi's *Quarto Scherzo*, the Venetian strophic song in monody collections was experiencing a shift from a simple canzonetta style of the early operatic and non-operatic strophic song to a binary quasi-"recitative" and "aria" or "canzonetta" style. D'India's "O del cielo d'Amor" from his *Le Musiche* (Venice: Vincenti, 1623), recognized by Fortune as the first "true" recitative and aria,<sup>68</sup> is an early example that demonstrates the kind of short introductory sections Venetian composers began to attach to the beginnings of their strophic songs. At times, these introductions resemble the binary form of renaissance dances, and serve only to separate verse and refrain using double bar lines with repeats. Other times, the two sections are set apart in varying degrees of stylistic contrasts, such as a change of meter or rhythm. Occasionally, the introductory sections may even be expressed in full-fledged *stile recitativo*, as in Berti's "Filli, che di dolore" from his *Cantade et Arie* (Venice: Vincenti, 1624).<sup>69</sup> The poetic organization of the texts composers chose to set also plays an important role in

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monody, as in "Io parto, amati lumi."

<sup>67</sup> That is not to say that the strophic canzonetta style did not occur in stage works before 1607. As early as 1589, the strophic canzonetta was associated with madness in music for the stage, as demonstrated in Isabella Andreini's role in a *commedia dell'arte* performance of *La pazzia d'Isabella*. Tim Carter regards one of this character's scenes as the "prototype of dramatic mad scenes." See: Carter, "Intriguing Laments: Sigismondo d'India, Claudio Monteverdi, and Dido *alla parmigiana*," *The Journal of the American Musicological Society* 49 (1996): 56.

<sup>68</sup> Fortune, *Italian Secular Song*, 432.

<sup>69</sup> Alessandro Vincenti, incidentally, printed both of these early examples of recitative and aria with guitar *alfabeto*.

deciphering the stylistic norms of the Venetian monodists. Roark Miller concludes that the “textual preferences shown by these [Venetian] composers accounts in large part for their individual musical styles.”<sup>70</sup> Consequently, the musical organization of these arias and canzonettas can be characterized by their irregular employment of binary form, madrigalian gesture, and poetic organization.

While many of the binary songs by Milanuzzi in his *Quarto Scherzo* exhibit almost no stylistic deviation between the two sections (e.g. “L’alma mi struggi,” Vattene Filli v’è,” and Sussurate venticelli”), some (“Tu trà fiori” and “Hor che l’Alba lampeggia”), are characterized by marked differences in style, mainly including meter and harmonic changes. In his “Hor che l’Alba lampeggia” the note-against-note canzonetta style of the duple-metered first section followed by the contrasting triple-metered dance-like second section demonstrates Milanuzzi’s flexible treatment of this early binary aria style. In general, the second sections appear with little uniformity, and are usually constructed in one of three ways. As mentioned above, the first and second sections of strophic songs may simply designate verse and refrain, (as in Milanuzzi’s “O se d’un sguardo fol,”), the refrains of which are treated in two ways: 1) the refrain remains constant both in text and music among the strophes throughout the entire section as in “O se d’un sguardo fol” or; 2) the refrain of each strophe consists of the same text and music only in the closing measures of the second section as in “Non voglio amare.” Some of the songs, however, simply contain a through-composed second section without a shared refrain among the strophes. Milanuzzi’s “Rallegrati ò core” and “Clori

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<sup>70</sup> Miller, 252. Miller describes the specific musical style and textual preference of each of the four major Venetian monodists (Grandi, Berti, Milanuzzi, Miniscalchi) in detail, emphasizing the differences and similarities between the two institutions (San Marco, Santo Stefano) associated with the composers. See

bellissima” and Miniscalchi’s “Se nasc’in cielo” and “Mentre vivo” (his only two additions to this collection,) for example, maintain the typical binary division of these strophic songs without much contrast between the sections. To add to the variety to which Milanuzzi applied the binary form to his strophic songs, two of his selections, “O me dolente” and “Vedovella tutta bella”, contain no double bar division at all, and remain in duple meter throughout.

Monteverdi’s two strophic canzonettas in the *Quarto Scherzo* also demonstrate the kind of resiliency inherent in Venetian composers’ two-part treatment of strophic songs.<sup>71</sup> “Prendi l’arco”, which is actually the last refrain of “La mia turca,” stands out among the Monteverdi’s pieces by employing a stylistic shift in the second section, shifting from duple to triple meter not at the repeat sign, however, but at the refrain “Io più non moro.” (Figure 3.) The printing of “Prendi l’arco” on a separate page with a newly composed refrain illustrates yet another way in which our composers manipulated the binary form, in this case, employing stylistic contrast at a refrain instead of an entire section of poetry. “Si dolce e il tormento,” on the other hand retains a through-composed triple meter section with no contrast between the two sections. Similarly, the two strophic songs of Francesco Monteverdi, acknowledged in the frontispiece of Milanuzzi’s *Quarto Scherzo* as Claudio’s “figliolo,” maintain the same through-composed canzonetta style utilized by Milanuzzi and his father. His “Ahi che” and “Ama pur” both employ duple

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199-254.

<sup>71</sup> “Prendi l’arco,” printed on page 43 of Milanuzzi’s collection, appears to be the fifth and final verse of “La mia turca” though at first glance, the extravagant letterhead of the first letter of the verse and the refrain “Io più non moro” (not in “La mia turca”) disguise it as a separate song.

Figure 3. C. Monteverdi, "La mia Turca"

Del Medemo. D E B B 4<sup>3</sup> B B A D D B C E D G  
 G H A A A  
 A mia Turca, che d'Amor non hà fe. Torce il pie: lo le narro il  
 mio dolor Ond' al doppio mio marroro languen- A O  
 H G H C  
 B B H G H C A O  
 C B B G do moro.  
 B G  
 1. Poi ronata fe ne ita  
 Enon vol  
 Che del Sol  
 Geda pur di fua beità  
 Onde al doppio mio marroro  
 Languendo moro.  
 3. Per la cruda incenerit  
 Non mi val  
 Nel mio mal  
 Prego, Lacrime, ò Sospir  
 Onde al doppio mio marroro  
 Languendo moro.  
 4. Dime ride e dell' Arciet  
 Che nel fen  
 De velan  
 Tutta (parfe i miei pensier  
 Onde al doppio mio marroro  
 Languendo moro.

Rendi l'arco in tutto Amor Per pietà In tei fa  
 Che non fia tanto rigor Ond' al doppio mio marroro Io più non  
 D A B B I G B G  
 moro Io più non moro ii Io più non  
 B G  
 moro.

meter with little or no trace of the dance rhythms and short repeated motives that typically characterize the works of Venetian song composers. Significantly however, “Ama pur Ninfa” stands out among the arias in bringing back the opening melody and text at the end of the piece in a rounded-binary fashion, following his father’s use of a textual and musical refrain.

Berti’s two strophic songs, like Francesco’s, avoid strong contrast between the binary divisions by employing a single time signature throughout each piece. The non-emphasis of the binary form in “Che di dentro” is not only apparent in the absence of double bar lines, but is also illustrated by the static bass movement and recitative-like vocal line. The strophic text is, perhaps, the only feature characteristic of the Venetian aria and canzonetta style in this selection; the otherwise slowly changing harmony and syllabic vocal line is directly related to the recitative present in Berti’s own two *Cantade et Arie* books, and could be considered as such. His lively triple-metered “Fuggite pur crudi” on the other hand, is through-composed in the same manner as Monteverdi’s “Si dolce e’l tormento.”

Although arias and canzonettas make up most of the *Quarto Scherzo*, the collection also contains two strophic cantatas, one by Milanuzzi and one by Monteverdi. These “cantade” were among the earliest compositions to be named as such, and represent classic examples of the so-called “strophic bass cantata,” a genre almost entirely exclusive to Venice.<sup>72</sup> As the title suggests, these early cantatas are simply settings of strophic variations above an unchanging bass, the first of which were

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<sup>72</sup> Further information about the strophic bass cantata including a musical excerpt from Monteverdi’s “Ohimè ch’io cado” can be found in Fortune, “Solo Song and Cantata,” 172-175.

composed by Monteverdi and his colleagues at San Marco, Grandi and Berti.

Monteverdi had already demonstrated an affinity for strophic variations over an unchanging bass in his seventh book of madrigals (1619) with “Tempo la cetra,” yet had not fully explored this soon-to-be favored compositional technique in a monodic setting, first illustrated in his “Ohimè ch’io cado” printed in Milanuzzi’s *Quarto Scherzo*. The six verse cantata interspersed with ritornelli presents an intriguing set of variations that in many ways, represents a kind of prototype for the later solo strophic variations over the popular passacaglia and chaconne basses in the operas of Monteverdi and Cavalli.

Milanuzzi’s strophic bass cantata “O come vezzosetta”, similar in scope to Monteverdi’s “Ohimè ch’io cado”, stands out as the only composition in the *Quarto Scherzo* without guitar *alfabeto*. Stylistically it shares several elements in common with Monteverdi’s cantata, the most noticeable being the textual correspondence between Monteverdi’s first strophe and Milanuzzi’s fourth strophe. This instance of text sharing, however, should not be interpreted as particularly unique to Milanuzzi and Monteverdi, but rather common practice within the circle of Venetian composers of this time period. It represents only one out of the many ways in which these composers were linked.<sup>73</sup> One could argue that the textual correspondence practiced by Venetian composers is evidence of the existence of other relationships; a network of sorts that provided the backdrop for the development of a distinct branch of Italian monody. And whether or not the composers, musicians, and printers of this music were consciously aware of their contributions toward the stylization of a genre, one cannot help but view these composers

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<sup>73</sup> See Miller, *The Composers of San Marco*, 194-270.

and their compositions in relation to each other, just as one cannot help but view Milanuzzi's *Quarto Scherzo* as part and parcel of the collective musical climate of Venice in the 1620s.

### The Composers

While it is safe to assume that Milanuzzi compiled the collections of songs in his *Quarto Scherzo* (as Stefani appears to have done in his *Scherzi Amorosi* (1620), *Affetti Amorosi* (1618), and *Concerti Amorosi* [1623]), we should not rule out the possibility of Alessandro taking part in the editing process. After all, Alessandro maintained some kind of business relationship with every composer within the *Quarto Scherzo* (except Claudio Monteverdi's son, Francesco). Milanuzzi, as mentioned earlier, was employed as organist at Santo Stefano between the years 1623-1629, yet established a business relationship with Giacomo Vincenti as early as 1619 with the publication of his Op. 1, *Sacri rosarum flores*.<sup>74</sup> Before his years at Santo Stefano, Milanuzzi, an Augustinian monk, served as organist of the Augustinian monastery church at Perugia in 1619 prior to moving to Verona in 1622 where he became *maestro di cappella* at San Eufemia.<sup>75</sup> Roche describes Milanuzzi as a "composer as widely traveled as any in Italy," with additional ecclesiastical appointments in Modena, Camerino, and the Piave region north of Venice.<sup>76</sup> With the exception of his *Primo Scherzo* (1622), all of Milanuzzi's sacred and secular music was published by the Vincenti firm between 1619-1647, comprising a repertoire of at least thirteen sacred publications and more than nine secular publications

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<sup>74</sup> RISM [M 2735]

<sup>75</sup> Biographical information on Milanuzzi can be found in Roche and Miller, "Milanuzzi, Carlo," *The New Grove*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 16: 672-673, Fortune, *Italian Secular Song*, 64-100, Roche, *North Italian Church Music*, (see index), and Miller, *The Composers of San Marco*, 11-69.

<sup>76</sup> Roche, *North Italian Church Music*, 22.

(including reprints). The sheer number of his aria collections and reprints gives credence to his popularity while his presence as the most prolific Venetian composer of strophic songs of the early seventeenth century establishes his songwriting as one of the most characteristic of the Venetian style.<sup>77</sup>

As a poet, Milanuzzi was a member of the Desiosi Academy in Venice, a literary organization similar in make-up to the Accademia degl'Incogniti, the intellectual society to which Monteverdi's librettist Giovanni Busenello belonged.<sup>78</sup> It appears that through the Desiosi, Milanuzzi established relationships within the elite Venetian *cittadini* and *patriciate*, and may have even known Busenello himself.<sup>79</sup> These may also have been the circumstances under which Milanuzzi acquired the patronage of Rizolo Miliari, the nobleman to whom Milanuzzi dedicated his *Sesto Libro Ariose* of 1628.

With his *Primo Scherzo delle ariose vaghezze* (published by Magni in 1622), Milanuzzi began to show his preference for the Spanish guitar as an accompaniment instrument by including a chart entitled "Alfabetto [*sic*] per la Chitarra alla Spagnola," which he reprinted in each of his consecutive aria books. The *alfabeto* chart, in fact, was so well-received by Alessandro Vincenti that he reprinted Milanuzzi's chart within Berti's *Cantade et Arie* (1624-1627), Grandi's *Cantade et Arie* (1626), Tarditi's *Amorosa schiera d'Arie* (1628), and Miniscalchi's *Libro Terzo* (1630), among others.<sup>80</sup> The

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<sup>77</sup> Fortune claims that "the songs of Berti are most characteristic of Venetian songs of this decade [1620s]," ("Solo Song and Cantata," 178) even though only two collections of Berti's music were published (and collected) by Vincenti in the 1620s.

<sup>78</sup> See: Miller, *The Composers of San Marco*, 43-44.

<sup>79</sup> Miller notes the relationship between Milanuzzi and Busenello as described in the *Raccolta di poesie volgari et latine nel dottorato in filosofia del Sig' Gio. Andrea Resio Accademico Desioso L'Osservante* (Venice, 1629.) For reference, see *ibid.*, 44.

<sup>80</sup> Richard d'A. Jensen ("The Guitar and Italian Song", *Early Music* 13 (1985): 376-383) believes Milanuzzi is indeed the author of the *alfabeto* chart published by Vincenti in the 1620s and 30s because of his inherent interest in the instrument, as demonstrated in his description of its use as a continuo instrument

Spanish guitar so inspired Milanuzzi as to compose and publish dances, including *passacagli*, *chiacone*, and *folie*, for the instrument alongside his vocal music in his *Secondo Scherzo* (1622, 1625) and *Terzo Scherzo* (1623).<sup>81</sup> The reprinting of Milanuzzi's *Secondo Scherzo* and *Quarto Scherzo* (1624), both including his *alfabeto* chart, arguably leads to crediting both Vincenti and Milanuzzi for the popularity of the Spanish guitar and *alfabeto* in Venetian aria collections of the 1620s and 30s.

The presence of Giovanni Pietro Berti's music in Milanuzzi's *Quarto Scherzo* (reprinted in 1624) is not surprising, given the fact that Berti's *Cantade et Arie* was published by Vincenti with Milanuzzi's *alfabeto* chart that same year. Of the little that is known about his life, Miller notes that:

He seems to have been in Venice for some years before he was appointed as a tenor at S[an] Marco on 19 February 1619. On 16 September 1624, he was made second organist, a position he held until his death.<sup>82</sup>

Miller describes the hiring of Berti and his young colleague Domenico Obbizi (another composer of strophic arias with guitar *alfabeto*) at San Marco "without special regard" when compared to other singer-composers at San Marco, such as Alessandro Grandi and Flaminio Corradi.<sup>83</sup> We can only speculate about the relationship between Berti and the *maestro* of San Marco during his tenure as second organist; certainly Francesco Cavalli,

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in his *Primo Scherzo* (1622): "Be advised that in order to have the varied effect that renders the chitarrone or spinet [different] from the Spanish guitar in playing these little arias, in many cases I have varied the note of the guitar from that assigned to the fundamental bass, provided for the other instruments, all made to give [the arias] their greatest beauty. Likewise, I have not given sharps or figures their proper places in the basso continuo, presupposing the cleverness and virtuoso manner of those who play [the accompaniment], having one eye on the vocal part". Translated in Treadwell, *The Chitarra Spagnola*, 39-40.

<sup>81</sup> Aldigatti also composed dances for the guitar in his aria collection *Gratie et Affetti Canzonette*, published by Vincenti in 1627.

<sup>82</sup> Miller, "Berti, Giovanni Pietro," *The New Grove*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 3: 458.

<sup>83</sup> Berti's annual salary of 60 ducats exceeded only the 15-year old Obbizi's 40 ducats. Both Corradi and Grandi were hired at the high rate of 80 ducats per year. See: Miller, *The Composers of San Marco*, 31-32.

Berti's replacement following his death, enjoyed a long and fruitful friendship with Signor Monteverdi during his tenure at the basilica.<sup>84</sup>

Berti seems not to have had any part in the publication of his two-volume *Cantade et Arie* (1624-1627), as Vincenti stated in its title.<sup>85</sup> His work is published in other collections and anthologies, including Milanuzzi's *Quarto Scherzo* and Remigio Romano's five-volume *Raccolte di Bellissime Canzonette* (ca. 1618-1626), the contents of which Roark Miller has recently described as the earliest examples of Venetian monody.<sup>86</sup>

Of the similarities that existed between the composers included within Milanuzzi's *Quarto Scherzo*, their respective ties with the churches of San Marco and Santo Stefano are perhaps the most obvious. Guglielmo Miniscalchi, an Augustinian monk (like Milanuzzi), served as *maestro di cappella* at Santo Stefano in Venice from 1622 to ca. 1630, a time when Milanuzzi, also, served as organist for the church. By the time of Miniscalchi and Milanuzzi's appointments at Santo Stefano, the church had grown to be one of the most musically active churches in Venice apart from San Marco. Yet, unlike the mystery surrounding the relationship between Berti and Monteverdi at San Marco, Milanuzzi and Miniscalchi must have enjoyed a professional partnership at

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<sup>84</sup> In a letter from Monteverdi to Alessandro Striggio on 13 March 1620, we learn it was possible that Berti auditioned for the post of second organist at San Marco, and at the very least, it was likely that Berti and Monteverdi had some kind of professional relationship. Monteverdi writes: "...no singer is accepted into the choir [at San Marco] until they [church officials] ask the opinion of the Director of Music; nor do they want a report about the affairs about the singers other than the Director of Music; nor do they take organists or an assistant director unless they have the opinion and the report of that same Director of Music," Stevens, *The Letters of Claudio Monteverdi*, 191.

<sup>85</sup> *Cantade et arie...racolte da Alessandro Vincenti*, (RISM B 2135, 2136.)

<sup>86</sup> See: Miller, "New Information on the Chronology of Venetian Monody: The *Raccolte* of Remigio Romano," *Music & Letters* 77 (1996): 22-33.

the very least, as the *organista* and *maestro di capella* were probably the only musical positions at Santo Stefano to carry financial remuneration.<sup>87</sup>

Like Berti, the facts about Miniscalchi's life outside the church are known through his three books of arias printed with guitar *alfabeto* between the years 1625 and 1630, published by Alessandro Vincenti. Though the dedications of his aria books are directed towards two high-ranking Venetian *cittadini*, Francesco Premuda and Candido Bencio, as well as the Imperial Ambassador to Venice, Nicolò Rossi, it is not certain that Miniscalchi established any rapport within the Venetian aristocracy, as his colleague Milanuzzi had done.<sup>88</sup> His work appears to have had some influence on Venetian musicians, as demonstrated by the inclusion of some of his texts and music from the *Libro Primo* in the fifth volume of Romano's *Roccolte de Bellissime Canzonette* (1626), and the two arias "Se nase'in cielo" and "Mentre vivo" in Milanuzzi's *Quarto Scherzo* (1624).

One of the most intriguing aspects of Milanuzzi's *Quarto Scherzo* is the addition of three works by Claudio Monteverdi and two by his son Francesco. By the time of the *Quarto Scherzo*'s publication in 1623-1624, Monteverdi, aged 57, had already published his first seven madrigal books, *L'Orfeo*, and the 1610 Vespers. His relationship with the Vincenti firm was initiated in 1584, when Ricciardo Amadino and Giacomo Vincenti co-published Monteverdi's first book of *Canzonette a tre voci*.<sup>89</sup> Amadino, however, remained the foremost publisher of Monteverdi's music throughout the composer's long

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<sup>87</sup> Miller, *The Composers of San Marco*, 41-42.

<sup>88</sup> Information on the social/political status of Miniscalchi's aria book dedicatees and his relationship to them can be found in Miller, *ibid.*, 47-53.

<sup>89</sup> RISM M 3452.

<sup>89</sup> RISM M 3500, 3447, and 3501, respectively.

career in Venice, although Alessandro Vincenti published his eighth book of madrigals (1638), and, posthumously, a set of masses (1650) and his ninth book of *Madrigali et canzonette* (1651).<sup>90</sup> We learn from a letter to the Duke of Bracciano that in 1620 Monteverdi acted as courier from the Duke to Alessandro Vincenti in an inquiry about the estimated printing costs and consequent financial transaction for the publication of the *Libro Primo d'arie* of Francesco Petratti, the Duke's court composer:

I am writing to let Your Excellency know that I gave the letter to the printer [Vincenti] so that he could receive his money. As soon as he got the letter and understood Your Excellency's pleasure, he set himself to begin the work with a particular desire to give Your Excellency every complete satisfaction; and in order that you may see a token of this truth, he gave me the enclosed sheet (already begun) and assured me that he will not stop work until he finishes it all.<sup>91</sup>

Denis Stevens notes that this unique collaboration between the Duke and Monteverdi was the result of the Duke's inquiry about the various production costs for the publication of an aria collection composed by one of his musicians. According to Stevens:

He [the Duke], as both patron and dedicatee, would assume the expense of publication; but more than this, he assumed the charge of sending the music to Venice and asking for an estimate of production costs. Monteverdi, a son of Cremona [as was Petratti] and the most famous musician in Venice, was the obvious man to contact; and although he might not have heard of Petratti (whose name he did not mention) he would have felt bound to assist the Duke.<sup>92</sup>

Monteverdi's choice of Vincenti brings up two very interesting points pertinent to our study. If we accept Stevens' conclusions about the nature of Monteverdi's role in this collaboration with Vincenti, we must assume that Monteverdi felt obligated to search for

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<sup>91</sup> Stevens, *The Letters of Claudio Monteverdi*, (Oxford, 1995), 155-158.

<sup>92</sup>Ibid., 153.

the best printer with the lowest production fees in Venice.<sup>93</sup> Production cost, in fact, appears to be the only imaginable reason for Monteverdi's choice over the competitors Magni and Amadino, especially considering Amadino's close association with Monteverdi during the famed "Artusi controversy," in which Giacomo Vincenti consistently published Artusi's attacks on the young Monteverdi during his Mantuan years.<sup>94</sup> By 1620 Alessandro Vincenti had begun assuming responsibility over the family business only a year before; perhaps Monteverdi's decision to collaborate with Vincenti was influenced by the well-respected reputation of the recently-deceased Giacomo Vincenti, who published such monuments as the *Intermedii et concerti* of 1591, reprints of Caccini's *L'Euridice* (1615) and *Le Nuove Musiche* (1615), numerous madrigal books by Marenzio and Cifra, and Monteverdi's own *Canzonette a tre* (1584). Alessandro's work on the other hand, regarded by some scholars as mediocre and inconsistent, was new to Venice in 1620, and judging by the number of mistakes in his early prints, Monteverdi's choice, in retrospect, remains somewhat elusive.<sup>95</sup>

On a purely speculative note, considering what we know of Alessandro's business sense, perhaps Monteverdi's inquiry into Vincenti's services prompted another business prospect. We know from his correspondence that Monteverdi was extremely helpful in the lives and careers of his sons Francesco and Massamiliano.<sup>96</sup> Thus we find Francesco hired as a singer at San Marco in 1623, and during that same year, two arias of Francesco

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<sup>93</sup> The small town of Bracciano is just twenty miles west of Rome. If the cost of production was not a concern for the Duke, he could have simply called upon the capable printing services of Giovanni Robletti or Luca Soldi of Rome, or even, as Stevens suggests, Bracciano's own Andrea Fei. (See: *ibid.*, 152.)

<sup>94</sup> See Tim Carter, "Artusi, Monteverdi, and the Poetics of Modern Music," *Monteverdi and his Contemporaries*, 171-176.

<sup>95</sup> For scholar's comments of Alessandro's work, see: Fortune, *Italian Secular Song*, 135 and Bridges, 784.

<sup>96</sup> From a series of letters written in December of 1627 and January of 1628, we learn that Monteverdi was responsible for the release of Massimiliano from a prison sentence administered by the Inquisition on the

alongside three of his father's were printed in Milanuzzi's *Quarto Scherzo*, published by none other than Alessandro Vincenti. Perhaps Vincenti, out of gratitude for Monteverdi's assistance in the acquisition of a new client, agreed to publish a few of the *maestro's* pieces as well as some by his aspiring young son.

Whatever the circumstances surrounding the event, Monteverdi's contributions to Milanuzzi's *Quarto Scherzo* are most intriguing considering that Monteverdi was perhaps the most famous and well-respected composer living in Venice during the early-to-mid-seventeenth century. As his output suggests, Monteverdi's interest and awareness of the genre of the independent solo strophic aria was limited; the pieces within the *Quarto Scherzo* are, in fact, some of his only contributions to the genre. From this, we should not conclude, however, that Monteverdi disliked simple *canzonette*, *villanelle*, and *arie*, or chose to ignore the musical trends of his time. The *arie* and *canzonette* for multiple voices in his two books of *Scherzi musicali* (1607 and 1632) as well as the countless strophic *arie* and *canzonette* in all of his operas confirm his ongoing interest of the genre. While the *canzonetta* and *aria* style of his Venetian contemporaries may have presented problems of verisimilitude and dramatic continuity for Monteverdi the opera composer, as Nigel Fortune observes:

No great composer before this period had ever seen it as a main part of his function to write self-conscious tunes. As the first great composer influenced by the new "harmonic" approach to composition, Monteverdi did so more readily than his forerunners.<sup>97</sup>

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charge of reading "forbidden" books. See: Stevens, 384-397.

<sup>97</sup> Fortune, "Monteverdi and the *seconda prattica*," *The New Monteverdi Companion* (London, 1985) 190-191.

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE *QUARTO SCHERZO* AS VENETIAN POPULAR MUSIC

#### *The Alfabeto di Chitarra Spagnola*

In Chapter I, we traced the journey of the Spanish guitar from Spain to Naples to Florence, and finally to Venice in 1606, with the first guitar instructional book published in Italy, Montesardo's *Nuove Inventioni d'Intavoltura*. Throughout this excursion, the instrument underwent various changes and adaptations, especially with regard to tuning, stringing, technique, and tablature. The earliest sources to mention the five-course guitar were naturally written by Spaniards. Juan Bermudo's *Declaración de instrumentos musicales* of 1555 is the earliest extant source that provides information regarding various instruments of the vihuela and guitar family,<sup>98</sup> including the four-course guitar, the five-course vihuela, the six-course vihuela, and the five-course guitar ("La guitarra a cinco órdenes de cuerdas".) Its contents deal largely with the different tunings and stringings of these instruments, both from Bermudo's time and before. We learn, for example, that the tuning C-G-B-E for the four-course guitar is "more for old *romances* and strummed music, rather than for music of the present." (Figure 4a.)<sup>99</sup> More

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<sup>98</sup> James Tyler cites Miguel Fuenllana's *Orphenica Lyra* of 1554 as the earliest source of music for the five-course vihuela (*vihuela de cinco ordenes*.) Though this instrument could have well referred to the larger five-course *guitarra*, Bermudo's treatise is the earliest extant mention of the *guitarra* by name. See: Tyler, *The Early Guitar* (London: Oxford, 1980), 35.

<sup>99</sup> Translated in Richard T. Pinnell, *Francesco Corbetta and the Baroque Guitar*, vol. 1 (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1980), 14.

significant to our purposes here, however, are Bermudo's tuning of the six-course

"ensemble guitar" and his mention of the tuning of instruments in Italy. Bermudo writes:

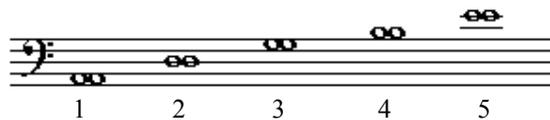
This [standard tuning for the five-course vihuela] is the common tuning used in Spain; but in tablatures from Italy we have seen another. They raise the third course a semitone, and leave the others tuned as they were before. Thus, in this tuning, there is a major third between the second and third courses.<sup>100</sup>

Figure 4. Spanish Guitar Tunings, 1555-1606

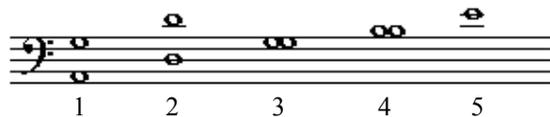
a. Bermudo (1555), Four-course Guitar "for old romances and strummed music."



b. Bermudo (1555), Five-course Ensemble Guitar and "in tablatures from Italy."



c. Amat (1596) and Montesardo (1606), Five-course Spanish Guitar.



In both instances, the intervals sounded by the tunings A-D-G-B-E and C-F-Bb-D-G for the ensemble guitar and the "Italian tablatures" (respectively) correspond to those of the Spanish guitar found in the aria collections published in Venice during Milanuzzi's time

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<sup>100</sup> Translated in *ibid.*, 16.

all the way up to our present day (Figure 4b.) Around the year 1595, the first guitar books to mention a system of chordal tablature were written in Spain. James Tyler credits Francisco Palumbi's *Libro di Villanella Spagnuol 'et Italiane et sonate spagnuole* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS 390) as the first document to incorporate *alfabeto*, a system of denoting chords on the five-course guitar that correspond to letters of the alphabet.<sup>101</sup>

In 1596, the first document to mention the *rasgueado* (strummed) style of playing the five-course Spanish guitar was published in Barcelona. The full title of Juan Carlos Amat's treatise explains (Figure 5.):

Guitarra española, y vandola, en dos maneras de Guitarra, Castellana, y Cathalana de cinco Ordenes, la qual en[s]eña de templar, y tañer rasg[ue]ado, todos los puntos naturales, y b, mollados, con estil maravilloso.<sup>102</sup>

(The Spanish guitar and vandola of five-courses, in two styles of guitar; the Castilian and Catalan; which teaches one to tune and play in the rasgueado [strummed] style all of the major and minor chords with marvelous style. [my translation])

Amat also includes a system of *alfabeto* similar to Palumbi's *alfabeto*, only the chords in Amat's treatise are represented with numbers instead of letters of the alphabet (Figure 6.) This system of playing chords on the guitar is, according to Amat, primarily intended for the acquisition of technique for playing popular dances; he states: "With these chords one

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<sup>101</sup> Tyler, 38.

<sup>102</sup> Taken from the title page of a 1639 (Gerona) reprint of Amat's 1596 treatise.

Figure 5. Title page of Amat's *Guitarra Española* (1596, reprinted 1639)

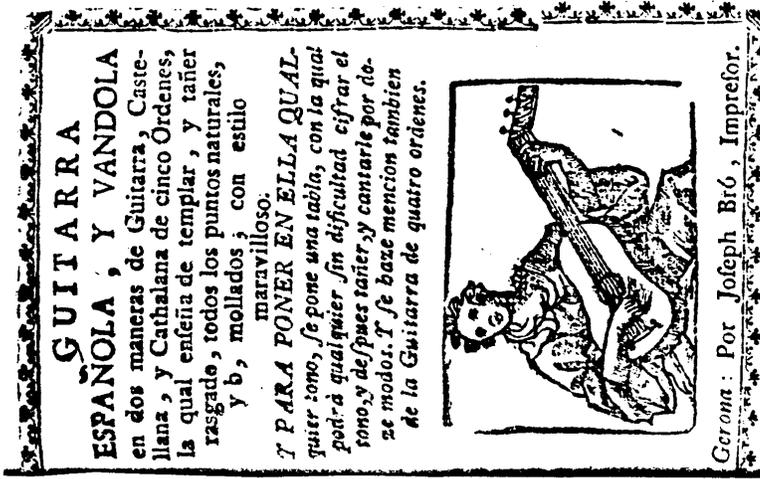
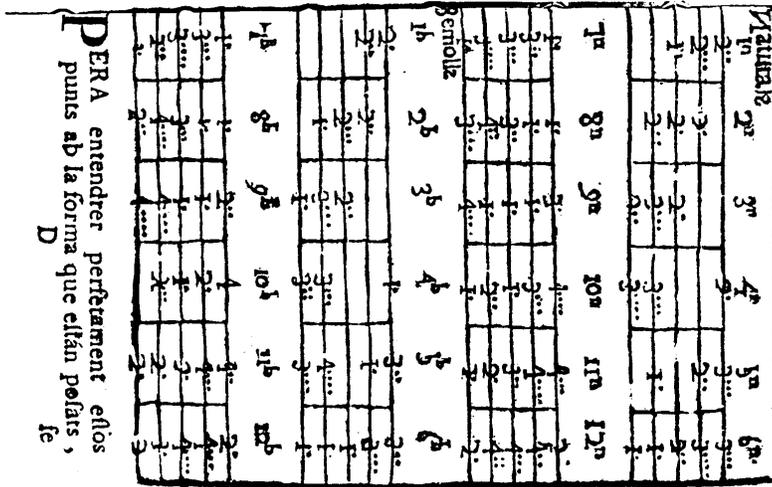


Figure 6. Numbered tablature in *Guitarra Española* (1596, 1639)



can make *vacas, paseos [sic], gallardas, villanos, italians [sic], pabanillas*, and other similar things, in twelve keys.”<sup>103</sup> It is not surprising that Amat couples the practice of *rasgueado* with a chordal tablature system since chords are the natural products of the strummed technique. In this treatise, the two concepts are brought together for the first time in print, and will remain the basis for guitar playing for the next four hundred years. With respect to the tuning of the five-course Spanish guitar, the *Guitarra española* is the first treatise to prescribe the standard tuning for the five-course guitar that was practiced throughout the seventeenth century and consequently applied to the modern six-string guitar of today (see Figure 4c.) The popularity and influence of Amat’s treatise cannot be overstated; it was reprinted at least ten times from 1596 until the early nineteenth century and its illustrations and rules were copied verbatim in several other guitar treatises throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, including Pablo Minguet y Irol’s *Reglas y advertencias generales* (1774).

The Spanish guitar, as mentioned in Chapter I, was probably introduced to Italy through the Spanish kingdom of Naples sometime during the early to mid-sixteenth century, and then to Florence around the time of the 1589 intermedii.<sup>104</sup> In 1606, the popularity of the guitar in Florence prompted Girolamo Montesardo to write and publish his *Nuova inventione d’intavolatura per sonare il balletti sopra la chitarra spagniuola, senza numeri, e note; per mezzo della quale da se stesso ogn’uno senza maestro potrà*

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<sup>103</sup> Translated in Hudson, *The Development of Italian Keyboard Variations*, 145. The original Spanish in my copy of a 1639 reprint reads: “Pueden[s]e con e[s]tos puntos hazer vacas, pa[ss]eos, gallardas, villanos, italianas, pabanillas, y otras co[s]as [s]emejantes, per doze partes,” 24.

<sup>104</sup> See above, 12-13.

*imparare* (New invention of tablature for playing dances on the Spanish guitar, without numbers and notes: by means of which everyone will be able to learn by himself, without a teacher.) From the title we can gather three very important ideas critical to the understanding of the context in which the Spanish five-course guitar existed in Italy during the first third of the seventeenth century. First, Montesardo informs us that his system of *intavolatura*, or tablature (in this case *alfabeto*), is new, though Palumbi and Amat had devised a similar system of chordal tablature some ten years before. Perhaps Montesardo's title should not be interpreted literally, but rather his description of a "new invention of tablature" simply refers to the *practice* of notating chordal *alfabeto*. In this light, the "new" style of notating tablature implies the existence of an older one, perhaps one that has become old-fashioned, such as Amat's numbered system, or, even the traditional *punteado* (plucked) tablature of the lute, an instrument described by Giustiniani as "banished" by the Spanish guitar and Theorbo in 1628.<sup>105</sup>

Secondly, Montesardo's title indicates that this new system of tablature is intended for the acquisition of technique in order to "play" dances on the guitar. Thus, the treatise is full of exercises designed to familiarize the performer with *passacagli*, or short ritornello-like phrases that introduce, conclude, or interconnect various popular dances and songs, such as the *Aria di fiorenti* (or *Ballo del Gran Duca*), *Bergamesca*, *Ruggiero*, *La Monica*, *Gagliarda*, and many others. These dances and songs, mainly of Spanish and Italian origin, were presumably popular enough in Florence to persuade Montesardo to

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<sup>105</sup> See above, 13.

include them in his collection. Significantly, the collection is the earliest document to mention the term *passacaglio* in music literature, though both the word and practice is related to the Spanish *paseos* of the sixteenth century.

Perhaps the most intriguing conclusion inferred from Montesardo's title is its intention to instruct not only those without a teacher, but those who are not well-versed in the reading of music ("numbers or notes"). It is clear from the title that this new system of tablature was designed with the amateur musician in mind. Perhaps, more specifically, the book was intended for a large group of amateur musicians whose current taste demanded a printed collection that included guitar instruction as well as popular dances and songs to which they could then apply their newly acquired technique.

Like Amat's treatise, Montesardo's *Nuova inventione d'intavolatura* prescribes the A-D-G-B-E tuning for the five-course guitar (see Figure 4c.) as well as a specific system of chordal tablature, except Montesardo's system utilizes letters of the alphabet to represent chords instead of numbers (Figure 7.) Montesardo's new system of tablature, as Amat's treatise, also incorporates *rasgueado* technique throughout the exercises in his book, indicated by placing lower- or upper-case *alfabeto* letters below or above a horizontal line. A letter placed above the line, for example, represents an upward stroke of the right hand (or left, depending on one's preferred dexterity) across the strings, and a letter printed below the line corresponds to a downward stroke across the strings. Even rhythm in Montesardo's treatise is expressed through symbol and language easily

understood by the untrained musician, with upper-case letters representing longer note values, and lower-case letters corresponding to subdivisions or lesser note values.<sup>106</sup>

What is most historically significant about Montesardo's *alfabeto*, however, is its lasting impression on Italian composers and publishers of aria and dance collections who employed guitar *alfabeto* from the early 1600s up to the late 1630s. It continually served as the model for the chordal *alfabeto* of composers such as Milanuzzi, Benedetto Sanseverino, Giovanni Ambrosio Colonna, and Fabriccio Costanzo. As was discussed in Chapter I, Venice, after Florence, emerged as the popular new center of the Spanish guitar in Italy, attested by the numerous publications of aria collections with guitar *alfabeto*.

Figure 7. Transcription of fretboard and *alfabeto* tablature from Montesardo's *Nuove Inventione* (1606) and Milanuzzi's *Quarto Scherzo* (1624)

The figure displays two rows of musical notation for guitar. The top row is labeled with letters +, A, B, C, D, E, F, G\*, H, I, K, L\*, M, N, O, P, Q. Each letter is associated with a specific chord diagram on a six-string staff (treble clef, G-clef) and a corresponding numerical fretboard diagram below it. The bottom row is labeled with letters R, S, T, U, X, Y, Z, &, 9, and Rx, also with chord diagrams and fretboard diagrams. The fretboard diagrams use numbers 0-4 to indicate fret positions on the strings.

<sup>106</sup> See Hudson, 34-35.

In 1616, Flaminio Corradi's *Le stravaganze d'amore* (Venice: G. Vincenti) became one of the first song collections published in Venice to utilize a guitar *alfabeto* chart, similar to the one Montesardo used in his *Nuova inventione d'intavolatura*. Milanuzzi devised a similar *alfabeto* chart in his *Primo Scherzo delle Ariose Vaghezze* (1622), with each chord and letter or symbol corresponding exactly to Montesardo's *alfabeto*, demonstrating the continuing influence of Montesardo's model well into the second decade of the seventeenth century as far north as Venice (Figure 8.) Printed on the same page beneath the *alfabeto* chord chart, Milanuzzi also designed another chart that provides *alfabeto* for two *scali di musica*, one with *B. Quadro* (b natural) and the other with *B. Molle* (b flat). Nina Treadwell has proposed that the additional scale charts were provided so the guitarist could first master the scales before attempting to play from an unfigured bass throughout the collection.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Treadwell, *The Chitarra Spagnola and Italian Monody*, 39.

Figure 8. The *Alfabetto per la Chitarra alla Spagnola* from Milanuzzi's *Quarto Scherzo*

ALFABETTO PER LA CHITARRA  
ALLA SPAGNOLA.

A chart showing fretboard diagrams for the letters A through Z, &, 9, and R. Each letter is associated with a specific fretting pattern on the six strings of a guitar. The letters are arranged in two rows: A-N in the first row and O-R in the second row. The diagrams use circles to indicate fretted notes and plus signs for open strings.

Scala di Musica per B. Quadro.

A musical scale for the B. Quadro system. The scale notes are A, D, A, B, C, F, G, A, D. The chart shows the fretting patterns for each note on the guitar strings, with diamond symbols indicating the fretted notes.

Scala di Musica per B. Molle.

A musical scale for the B. Molle system. The scale notes are G, O, D, H, B, E, F, G, O, D, H. The chart shows the fretting patterns for each note on the guitar strings, with diamond symbols indicating the fretted notes.



The popularity of Milanuzzi's *alfabeto* chart, as described earlier, is well documented in the numerous Venetian aria collections published by Vincenti that include exact replicas of the chart within its pages. Recalling Fortune's claim that the inclusion of *alfabeto* resembled more of a publishing ploy initiated by Vincenti rather than a sincere

performance wish of the composer,<sup>108</sup> Vincenti (or Milanuzzi) apparently did not bother to correct the mistake in Milanuzzi's *alfabeto* chart of the *Primo Scherzo*; for the misprint remained unchanged in subsequent collections by Milanuzzi and others throughout the 1620s.<sup>109</sup> Arguably, the inaccuracies of Vincenti's publications reflected by consistently including the flawed chart in other composers' aria collections supports the idea that Vincenti was perhaps attempting to increase the attraction of his publications, ignoring the mistakes in order to supply them quickly and efficiently. We should not, however, go so far as to say, as does Fortune, that Vincenti's inclusion of Milanuzzi's *alfabeto* chart in other collections was mistakenly attached to collections that included "more serious songs" in which *alfabeto* (or the accompaniment of the Spanish guitar) was "wildly inappropriate."<sup>110</sup>

Not only was the guitar associated with strophic forms more "serious" in nature than the *aria* and *canzonetta*,<sup>111</sup> but it is probably safe to assume that current practice and fashion dictated when and when not to accompany solo song with Spanish guitar, whether or not *alfabeto* was present. Information within the title page of Raffaello Rontani's *Varie musiche* (Rome: Robletti, 1620, reprinted 1623 and 1625), for example,

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<sup>108</sup> See above, 25-26.

<sup>109</sup> The two dissonances found in the chords marked with an asterisk (\*) in Figure 7 are not included in Montsardo's *alfabeto*. The *e* found in chord 'G' is obviously a mistake and was corrected in Vincenti's printing of Miniscalchi's *Arie . . . Terzo Libro* (1630). The *d* in chord 'L' however, remained uncorrected throughout Vincenti's publications and was an acceptable dissonance by the middle of the seventeenth century, as demonstrated by its inclusion in consequent *alfabeto* books, including Francesco Corbetta's *alfabeto* of 1639 (see Pinnell, 30.)

<sup>110</sup> Fortune, *Italian Secular Song*, 136.

<sup>111</sup> More information about the inclusion of the Spanish guitar in other sources other than aria and canzonetta can be found in Treadwell, 54-86.

supports the claim that musicians of the time were well informed about the acceptable usage of the Spanish guitar as an accompaniment instrument. According to Rontani's title page, the collection is published "con l'alfabeto per la Chitarra in quelle più a proposito per tale stromento" (with *alfabeto* for the Spanish guitar in those [pieces] better suited for that instrument).<sup>112</sup> This statement not only implies discretion on the part of the performer, but also acknowledges standard practice associated with the Spanish guitar in the accompaniment of strophic songs. That is not to say that composers and publishers arbitrarily placed *alfabeto* in their song collections; Vincenti's practice of leaving out *alfabeto* in the *ritornelli* of strophic bass cantatas (see Monteverdi's "Ohime chi'io cado" from the *Quarto Scherzo*) was also practiced in other Italian prints, as in Biagio Marini's *Scherzi, e Canzonette* (1622).

There are other, less conclusive, "standard practices" implied by the composers or publishers' (or both) inclusion of *alfabeto* in Venetian song collections of the 1620s. With regard to their direct relation to Montesardo's *Nuove inventione d'intavolatura*, the song collections of Milanuzzi and his contemporaries underscore the performing interests of the amateur musician; one who, as Montesardo suggests, was not fully literate in the reading of music nor equipped with the technical facility required to play the lute, theorbo, or harp. For Adriana Basile, one of Monteverdi's favorite singers in Mantua, the ease with which the *rasgueado* style of the Spanish guitar could be learned was, no doubt, inextricably linked to the numerous manuscripts of Spanish songs with chordal

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<sup>112</sup> Translated in Treadwell, 50.

guitar tablature she collected and regularly performed. Similarly, in Venetian prints such as Milanuzzi's *Quarto Scherzo*, the songs with *alfabeto* always utilize the soprano clef, giving further support for the existing tradition of women singers providing their own accompaniment on the Spanish guitar.

The Italian *alfabeto*, was, in many ways, a continuation of the tradition of sixteenth century Spanish guitar tablatures, intended to communicate a simple, chordal style of accompaniment for the performance of dances and popular songs. In this way, the inclusion of guitar *alfabeto* in the great number of aria collections, particularly in Venice, represents the popular traditions of one culture (Spain) influencing and forming the popular traditions of another culture (Venice). For Fortune to condemn Alessandro Vincenti's advertising and inclusion of *alfabeto* for the Spanish guitar in his publications as part of a money-making scheme is perhaps an interpretation too much influenced by our modern capitalistic age. More simply, Vincenti's publications say more about performance practice than they do about business practice. They tell us that in the same period and city that popularized opera as public spectacle, secular song in the chamber, by virtue of an instrument imported from Spain, was also enjoying a considerable amount of popularity in the 1620s.

## Gabriello Chiabrera and the Strophic *Canzonetta*: Popular Texts for Popular Music

The way in which strophic song in opera and strophic song in the aria collections with guitar *alfabeto* were related is not, surprisingly, as apparent as one might think. It has already been shown how, on a fundamental level, the strophic texts, moving bass lines, tuneful melodies, and prominent dance rhythms of arias in both genres are related. Yet, when one considers the variety and flexibility with which composers of opera and arias in collections treated their strophic compositions, their differences become more distinctive and, in many ways, definitive. These differences, however, are not so easily recognized in the music per se; the compositions are, after all, songs whose lyrics are as important to defining their style as is analyzing their distinctive musical features. Even though the strophic verse form is in itself a unifying agent of the arias and *canzonettas* in opera and collections, the contrasts evident within their internal construction is representative of the contrast between the elevated *canzone* (*settenari* and *endecasillabi*) meter of the *stile rappresentativo* and the more popular polymetric *canzonetta* style promulgated by the poet Gabriello Chiabrera.

In his 1624 dialogue *Il Geri*, Chiabrera defends the popular, irregular metrical style of his *canzonette* against the traditional *canzone* of Petrarch, reminding his audience that Petrarch's poetry contains:

Incomparable verses and amorous conceits indeed far from the common people, this is true; but what young lady will draw delight from them and understand them with refinement? Our vernacular poetry, then, should be

able to make itself understood once again by common minds, so that thoughts neither lofty nor loftily versified may be humbly listened to.<sup>113</sup>

Chiabrera then goes on to ask his audience, after a reading of his own *canzonetta* “Chi può mirarvi”:

Does it seem to you that any woman could find difficulty in understanding a poem so made! Oh, it is a base and vile thing in comparison with the older one! It is true, I do not deny it to you, but in the world are all men of sublime understanding? Certainly they are not, and we can affirm as true that the kind of poetry that is called lyric is all about love and banquets, and its manner is that which has the power to give delight to the sentiments; nor for doing such does it need the greatest verses in the world.<sup>114</sup>

The poem at hand, from his *La maniera de' versi toscani*, employs a mixed *quinario* and *settenario* meter at regular lines among the strophes, and clearly demonstrates the *canzonetta*'s departure from the *settenari* and *endecasillabi* of traditionally respectable Italian verse:

1.	2.
Chi può mirarvi, (5)	Qual per l'estate
E non lodarvi, (5)	Api dorate
Fonti del mio martiro? (7)	Spiegano al sol le piume, (7)
Begli occhi chiari, (5)	Tal mille Amori
A me più cari, (5)	Vaghi d'ardori
Che gli occhi onde io vi miro! (7)	Volano al vostro lume. (7)

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<sup>113</sup> Translated in Robert 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): 278. Holzer asserts that Chiabrera’s reference to women “delighted” by poetry and “understanding a poem” are simply figures of speech intended to express the stylishness and fashion of the said poetry (258).

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, 278.

3.  
Ed altri gira,  
Altri rigira,  
La luce peregrina; (7)  
Questi il bel guardo  
Onde io tutto ardo  
Solleva, e quei l'inchina. (7)

4.  
Voghe faville,  
Da le pupille  
Vibra lo Scherxo, e 'l Gioco; (7)  
Nè mai diviso  
Mirasi il Riso  
Dal vostro dolce foco. (7)

5.  
Quanti dilette  
Venere eletti  
S'ha mai per sua famiglia, (7)  
Stan notte e giorno  
A così care ciglia (7)<sup>115</sup>

Not only was this poem set several times in the *canzonetta* repertoire of the early seventeenth century (including a 1612 setting by Montesardo with guitar *alfabeto*), but the mixed *quinari* and *settenari* organization of Chiabrera's example was utilized in the *Quarto Scherzo* in Milanuzzi's "Se già 'l tuo sguardo," and mixed additionally with *endecasillabi* in Francesco Monteverdi's "Ahi che morir" and Milanuzzi's "Clori apparve" and "O se d'un sguardo sol." So it seems that the type of poetry inherent in the popular arias and canzonettas of the early part of the seventeenth century (the kind Nigel Fortune calls "contemptible doggerel,"<sup>116</sup>) were, in fact, composed by their main contributor on the basis of their simple beauty and limpid subject matter. This was, undoubtedly, part of their attraction to Italian composers of popular arias and canzonettas such as Caccini, Peri, Montesardo, (Claudio) Monteverdi, and Milanuzzi, all of whom at one time or another set a Chiabrera strophic poem to music. Their immense popularity

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<sup>115</sup> Gabriello Chiabrera, *Maniere, Scherzi e Canzonette Morali*, ed. Giulia Raboni. (Parma: Ugo Guando Editore, 1998). 72-74.

<sup>116</sup> Fortune, "Solo Song and Cantata," 175.

and influence in Italy was not only noted by Caccini (he writes “the canzonets of Signor Gabriello Chiabrera [were] found not displeasing anywhere in Italy”<sup>117</sup>), but was also chronicled in the aria collections with guitar *alfabeto*, including Milanuzzi’s *Quarto Scherzo*.

Although all of the texts in Milanuzzi’s collection appear to be anonymously composed, most of them employ the unique Chiabrerian *canzonetta* style. By examining the poetic structure of each composition within the *Quarto Scherzo*, we find that the texts of these arias and canzonettas are defined by their mixed meter and lack of standardized verse forms (Table 2.) There appears, in fact, to be no standard formal metrical organization among any of the texts, with the possible exception of the *quinari piani* of Milanuzzi’s “Non voglio amare” and “O me dolente,” though even in this case, the two *tronco* lines of the first poem offset the pure *quinari* of “O me dolente”:

Non voglio amare (5p)	O me dolente (5p throughout)
Per no penare (5p)	O me languete
Ch’Amor seguendo (5p)	Che fardegg’io
Di duol sen v`a (5t)	Senza il cor mio
L’Alma struggendo (5p)	Sospiro in vano
Di pene amare (5p)	Chim’è lontano
Non voglio amare (5p)	O me dolente
Nò, nò, nò, nò (5t)	O me languete

Even in the few cases where the meter is regular and unmixed, such as the *ottonario piano* of Francesco Monteverdi’s “Ama pur Ninfa,” the poetry and music do not always retain the standard rhythmic patterns typically associated with their respective meters.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> See below, 8-9.

<sup>118</sup> The most common rhythms associated with early seventeenth-century Italian verse are summarized in Putnam Aldrich, *Rhythm in Seventeenth-Century Italian Monody*, (London: J. .M. .Dent, 1966) 130-133.

Table 2. Poetic Organization of the Compositions in Milanuzzi's *Quarto Scherzo* (1624)

Meter	Versification	Title	Composer
Canzoni	AaBbcDD Sdruciolò	Chi di dentro Bellissima vaghissima	Berti Milanuzzi
Quaternari	Sdruciolò e tronco (sstsst)	Filli, ascoltami	Milanuzzi
Quinari	Piano Piano e tronco (ppptppt) Sdruciolò e tronco (ssstssst)	O me dolente Non voglio amante Clori bellissima	Milanuzzi Milanuzzi Milanuzzi
Senari	Piano Piano e tronco (ptptpptpt)	Dorinda, mia face Si dolce è il tormento	Milanuzzi C. Monteverdi
Settenari	Piano	Mentre vivo lontano	Miniscalchi
Ottonari	Piano Piano e tronco (ppppt)	Ama pur Ninfa Vedovella	F. Monteverdi Milanuzzi
Quinari e Senari	Piano (5 5 5 5 5 5 6 5 5)	Herbe fiorite	Milanuzzi
Quinari e Settenari	Piano e tronco (5 5t 5 5t 5 5 7 5)	Se già 'l tuo sguardo	Milanuzzi
Ottonari e Endecasillabi	Piano e tronco (8 8t 8t 8 11 8 8)	Sussurrate, venticelli	Milanuzzi
Ternari, Quinari, e Ottonari	Piano (5 3 3 3 8 3 3 3 3 3 3)	L'alma mi struggi	Milanuzzi
Quaternari, Quinari, e Settenari	Piano (7 4 5 5 5 5 5 5)	Hor che l'alba lampeggia	Milanuzzi
Quaternari, Quinari e Ottonari	Piano e tronco (8t 4t 4t 8t 8 5) Piano e tronco (4t 5t 4t 4 4 8t 4t 5t 4t 4 4) Piano e tronco (4t 5t 4t 4 4 8t 4t 4t 4t 4 4 8t)	La mia turca Bionde Chiome Il mio ben	C. Monteverdi Milanuzzi Milanuzzi
Quinari, Senari, e Settenari	Piano (5 6 6 6 6 7 5) Piano e tronco (7 6 5t 7 6 5t 7 6 5t 7 6 5t)	Sfere, fermate Questa cruda	Milanuzzi Milanuzzi
Quinari, Settenari e Endecasillabi	Piano (11 7 5 5 5 5 7 11) Piano e tronco (7t 7t 5 11 7t 7t 5) Piano e tronco (7t 7 5t 5 7t 11t)	Ahi che morir Ohimè ch'io cado O se d'un guardo sol	F. Monteverdi C. Monteverdi Milanuzzi
Senari, Settenari, e Endecasillabi	Piano e tronco (7 6 7t 11t 7t 7t 7t 7t)	O come vezzosetta	Milanuzzi
Settenari, Ottonari e Endecasillabi	Piano e tronco (7 8t 7t 7t 11 7t)	Bellissima Mirtilla	Milanuzzi
Quaternari, Quinari, Settenari, e Endecasillabi	Piano e tronco (11t 11t 11t 5t 7t 4t 4t)	Mentre Brunetta	Milanuzzi
Quinari, Senari, Settenari e Decasillabi	Tronco (7 7 7 10 5 5 5 6)	Vattene, Filli	Milanuzzi
Quinari, Senari, Settenari, e Endecasillabi	Piano e tronco (11 5 5t 6t 5 7)	Clori apparve	Milanuzzi

In this case, the poem is not set to the popular triple-time hemiola style one readily associates with *ottanario* in canzonettas, such as Monteverdi's "Vi ricorda o boschi ombrosi" from *Orfeo* or "O Rosetta che rossetta" (text by Chiabrera) from the *Scherzi musicali* of 1607. Instead, Francesco sets the verse with melisma and sequential movement in awkward groups of six- and eleven-measure phrases in duple meter, although the second section of the aria contains two short phrases of one of the common duple *ottonario* rhythms, described by Putnam Aldrich as comprising "four fast duple beats."<sup>119</sup> This rhythm, however, is not consistently employed in the music, demonstrating an instance of somewhat irregular music accompanying a highly regular text.

It was this kind of irregularity that gave the music within the *Quarto Scherzo* and its Chiabrerian texts its popular flavor; a style described by both literary critics, musicians, and theorists of the time with adjectives such as *volgare*, *bizzara*, and *stravaganze*, as Tommaso Stiglione writes in 1632, abhorring the popularity of Chiabrerian verse:

At one time readers contented themselves with readings that were not bad, then they wanted excellence, then they desired marvels, and today they look for stupors; but after having found them, they hold them boring and aspire to amazements and to astonishments. What must we do in so

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<sup>119</sup> Ibid., 130. Porter recognizes the incongruity between the textual and musical phraseology of seventeenth-century solo song as uniquely characteristic of the strophic canzonetta and aria. Porter states: "To produce cadences after each of these lines [of strophic verse] would result in very chopped-up compositions. In order to avoid this effect, the composers often grouped various text-lines together, thereby imposing a new musical order on the poetry," Porter, *The Origins of the Baroque Solo Song*, 152.

indifferent a time and so *delicata* and *bizarra* an age, whose taste is so [callused] and so obtuse that by now it no longer feels anything?<sup>120</sup>

The Venetian Niccolò Fontei described his 1635 collection of mainly strophic songs with guitar *alfabeto* in the title as *Bizzarie poetiche poste in musica* (Bizarre poetry set to music), further illustrating the popularity of irregular, “bizarre,” or even “original” verse that characterized Venetian aria collections in the 1620s and 30s.<sup>121</sup> And while scholars have not yet fully understood the popular seventeenth-century term “bizzarro” or “bizzarria,” many agree that the term is linked to the concept of “baroque.”<sup>122</sup> Holzer’s recent writings on the term “bizzarro” point to the meaning of the word to conceptualize something “fashionable,” “trendy,” or “popular,” all the more telling of the aforementioned descriptions of Chiabrera’s poetry and Fontei’s aria collection.<sup>123</sup>

Regardless of how one interprets the various proposed meanings of the word “bizzarra,” its use in the description of the poetry of Chiabrera and certain arias in collections with guitar *alfabeto* provide intriguing insight into the reception and popularity of the pieces within Milanuzzi’s *Quarto Scherzo*. It is also interesting to note that the very words used to describe the early seventeenth-century canzonetta are themselves related to the word we use today to describe an entire epoch of music history.

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<sup>120</sup> From a letter written on 4 March 1636 during a visit to his native Matera. Translated in Holzer, 269 from: *Giambattista Marino: Epistolario seguito da lettere di altri scrittori del seicento*, ed. A. Borzelli and F. Nicolini (Bari, 1912), 345.

<sup>121</sup> For information on the use of the term “bizzarro” or “bizzarrio” in the seventeenth century, see Holzer, 253-306, and the *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana*, vol. 2, ed. B. Barberi Squarotti (Turin, 1962) 263-264.

<sup>122</sup> See, for example, René Wellek, *The Concept of Baroque in Literary Scholarship: Concepts of Criticism*, (Yale: University Press, 1963), 69-127.

<sup>123</sup> See, in particular, Roberts’ postscript to “Son d’altro garbo,” 287-288.

The Chiabrerian poetic model used in the texts of Milanuzzi's *Quarto Scherzo*, however, is only one aspect of these popular, definitive "Baroque" solo songs. With the advent of Giovan Battista Doni's *Trattato della musica sceneca* (1633-1635), Chiabrera's *canzonette* and other polymetric forms became tolerated, even encouraged among Italian librettists.<sup>124</sup> Through their relation with early operatic arias, choruses, and ballos and the masterworks of Monteverdi, the truly "popular" spirit of Milanuzzi's collection and its Venetian counterparts became as evident as the Baroque in Italy itself.

#### The *Quarto Scherzo* and the *Seconda Pratica*

The *Dichiaratione*, published as an introduction to Monteverdi's 1607 collection of seventeen *canzonette* and one *ballo*, known as the *Scherzi musicali*, is perhaps the most significant yet controversial of polemical discussions presented by Claudio and his brother Giulio Cesare.<sup>125</sup> As Tim Carter suggests:

It is surprising to find Giulio Cesare Monteverdi's *Dichiaratione* . . . following the *canzonetta*-type pieces in Claudio Monteverdi's *Scherzi musicali a tre voci*; they scarcely seem comfortable bedfellows. Giulio Cesare focuses on the madrigal, not the *canzonetta*, and although he mentions the *scherzi*, this is only an aside offering further proof of his brother's originality in matters musical (the point at issue is the term *seconda pratica*.) Failing a convincing demonstration of some connection between the aesthetic premises of the *Dichiaratione* and the textual and musical content of the *scherzi* themselves, one can only assume that the link between the *Scherzi musicali* and the *Dichiaratione* is less conceptual than pragmatic.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> See Michael B. Collins, "Dramatic Theory and the Italian Baroque Libretto," *Opera and Vivaldi*, ed. Michael B. Collins and Elise K. Kirk (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1984), 27-29.

<sup>125</sup> Palisca refers to the *Dichiaratione* as "one of the most important manifestos in the history of music" in "The Artusi-Monteverdi Controversy," *The New Monteverdi Companion*, ed. Denis Arnold and Nigel Fortune, (London: Faber & Faber, 1984), 152.

<sup>126</sup> Carter, "Artusi, Monteverdi, and the Poetics of Modern Music," 181-182.

Massimo Ossi, on the other hand, arrives at seemingly different conclusions regarding the relationship between the *Dichiaratione* and the contents of the *Scherzi musicali*, arguing that:

The “Dichiaratione” has become a central text for the study of seventeenth-century musical aesthetics, and the canzonette have been relegated to a secondary position in Claudio’s output. Music and essay have been separated, and the “Dichiaratione” has become “largely irrelevant” to what precedes it...This is in fact deceiving: as the earliest of Monteverdi’s pieces to explore the possibilities of Chiabrerresque verse, schematic form, and the foundations of concertato technique, these largely overlooked canzonette cast their shadow on much of his production after 1600.<sup>127</sup>

In Ossi’s discussion of the subsequent “production” of Monteverdi, he supplies a convincing argument for the works within the *Scherzi musicali* as basic models and formal archetypes for the solo, duet, and chorus canzonettas in *Orfeo* and the famous *Lamento della Ninfa*. In *Orfeo*, for example, through the setting of strophic songs such as Orfeo’s “Ecco pur”, “Vi ricorda o boschi ombrosi,” from Act II, and his “qual honor di te sia degno” from Act IV, Monteverdi, in Ossi’s words, “explored the potential of the canzonetta as a module for building large-scale forms capable of conveying both dramatic action and meaning.”<sup>128</sup> This defense of the *canzonetta* as a serious poetic archetype by which composers and librettists could effectively communicate dramatic expression is not simply an idea of modern scholars, however, as has already been noted

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<sup>127</sup> Massimo Ossi, “Claudio Monteverdi’s *Ordine novo, bella et gustevole*: The Canzonetta as Dramatic Module and Formal Archetype,” *The Journal of the American Musicological Society* 45 (Summer 1992): 262. The phrase “largely irrelevant” in quotation marks refers to Jeffrey Kurtzman’s commentary on this subject in his *Essays on the Monteverdi Mass and Vespers of 1610*, Rice University Studies, vol. 64, no. 4 (Houston: Rice University Press, 1979), 45, f.n. 52.

in Doni's *Trattato*. Chiabrera himself, in his *Il Geri*, insisted that his mixed-metered verse, modeled on the ancient Greek poets Pindar and Horace, could indeed express serious sentiments on the same level of even the most elevated *canzoni*.<sup>129</sup> Of a libretto by Giovanni Ciampoli composed in 1625, Chiabrera informs his readers that the work contained:

some canzonettas in the guise of choruses in tragedies. They were composed of lines that varied among themselves and were far from ancient (Italian) usage. In fact they were just like some of (the metrically varied verses) that we are investigating. Certainly, no part delighted the ears more than those choruses.<sup>130</sup>

Ultimately, the *canzonetti* in Monteverdi's operas, however much influenced by his *Scherzi musicali*, are significant because they represent Monteverdi's association of the canzonetta with musical, textual, and dramatic legitimacy.

Furthermore, Monteverdi's inclusion of the strophic canzonetta and similar strophic styles incorporating dance-rhythms as part of larger-scale structures such as the descending minor tetrachord in the *Lamento della ninfa* and "Altri canti d'Amor, tenero arciero" from the Eight book of Madrigals, illustrates the importance Monteverdi placed on the strophic song within the context of works that have traditionally been accepted as exemplars of the *seconda prattica*. Tim Carter, moreover, has defended Monteverdi's incorporation of the "base" strophic canzonetta in works associated with the *seconda prattica*, despite its oftentimes careless text setting and pervasive rhythmic style, noting:

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<sup>128</sup> Ossi, 289-290.

<sup>129</sup> Holzer, 281.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid., 281.

The relative unimportance of the individual words of canzonetta texts and the dominance of metre [*sic*] and stereotyped subjects perhaps inspired a more compatible and less competitive relationship between poetry and music.<sup>131</sup>

The place of the canzonetta within the aesthetic framework of Plato's union of oratory, harmony, and melody, considered Monteverdi's "formula for the credo of the *seconda prattica*," is not entirely inconceivable when viewed within the context of Monteverdi's large-scale forms.

The effect to which Monteverdi successively utilized this hybrid of genres in his operas, madrigals, and lesser dramatic works may explain his neglect for composing and publishing independent solo strophic songs, observed by Fortune as a "paradox" in the composer's career, noting:

he wrote very few solo songs at a time when song was so obvious a medium for the dissemination of the new style that after about 1600 it attracted all the Italian composers who shared his progressive humanist views, in some cases to the exclusion of all other music.<sup>132</sup>

Apart from his solo madrigal "Con che soavità" (1619), the *Lamento d'Arianna*, "Tempro la cetra" (from Madrigal book VII), and the two *lettere amorose*, the remaining independent solo songs of Monteverdi survive in his *Scherzi musicali* of 1632 and Milanuzzi's *Quarto Scherzo*.

I have already speculated on the unique relationship between Alessandro Vincenti and Monteverdi around the time of the *Quarto Scherzo*'s publication in 1624 (see

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<sup>131</sup> Carter, "Resemblance and Representation: Towards a New Aesthetic in the Music of Monteverdi," in *Monteverdi and His Contemporaries*, 128. Carter cites Monteverdi's unique gift for transforming something musically "precious" from something musically "base", undoubtedly alluding to his use of strophic song in larger scale forms, 199-120.

Chapter II, 33-34). And although the exact circumstances under which Vincenti (or Milanuzzi?) collected and published three strophic songs by the great composer, some of the only type in his entire output, may never be known, a few observations can be made addressing the mystery surrounding these compositions. First, it is important to consider Monteverdi's close association with the Mantuan court in his early years, at which he arrived in either 1589 or 1590 under the authority of Vincenzo Gonzaga. By the late 1580s the influence of Florentine musical ideals had established itself among the musicians, composers, and even the aristocratic dilettantes of the Mantuan court, illustrated by Leonora de' Medici's (Vincenzo's second wife) favor of dancing and music of lighter styles that became somewhat fashionable during this time. Monteverdi's teacher, Wert, for example, composed a collection of strophic *canzonette villanelle* in 1589, dedicated to Leonora presumably on the basis of her enthusiasm for the latest musical trends of northern Italy.<sup>133</sup> Not only could these circumstances have provided the impetus for the light *canzonette* within Monteverdi's *Scherzi musicali* of 1607, they may also have played a role in the stylistic transition from the contrapuntal 1584 *Canzonette a tre voci* to the much simpler homophonic 1607 *canzonette*.

Arguably, the homophonic character of the later *canzonette* in the 1607 collection is the stylistic basis for Monteverdi's pieces in Milanuzzi's *Quarto Scherzo* and his 1632 *Scherzi musicali*, with one critical exception. The compositions within Milanuzzi's collection and the 1632 *Scherzi musicali* are scored for continuo and solo voice,

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<sup>132</sup> Fortune, "Monteverdi and the *Seconda Pratica*," *The New Monteverdi Companion*, 183.

something of a rarity in Monteverdi's limited independent strophic song output. As part of the few examples of its kind in Monteverdi's catalogue, it seems viable that the three strophic songs in the *Quarto Scherzo* may have been originally conceived in a context related to his services for the Mantuan court, or moreover, part of another large-scale form such as an opera, lament, or madrigal.

Nonetheless, whether originally composed as independent solo songs or as sections of larger part-forms, the publication of these works represents some interest on the part of either the composer or the publisher. Both options present implications worthy of discussion. Namely, interest on Monteverdi's behalf illustrates the composer's continual attention given to lighter forms and Chiabrerian verse during the height of the *seconda prattica*. Conversely, interest on Vincenti's part gives credence to his awareness of the composer's popularity and his ability to attract buyers so much so that he printed and reprinted his songs alongside lesser composers' works with chordal guitar *alfabeto*.

If one considers Monteverdi's genuine interest in the canzonetta model, as Ossi and Carter have demonstrated above, to what extent do his pieces within Milanuzzi's collection adhere to some of the basic tenets of the *seconda prattica*? Through a closer look at the music and text of "Si dolce il tormento," perhaps Monteverdi's most poignant and expressive song in Milanuzzi's collection, we may come closer to understanding Monteverdi's true conception of the canzonetta.

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<sup>133</sup> Iain Fenlon, "The Mantuan Stage Works," *The New Monteverdi Companion*, 257-258.

Of the texts of Monteverdi's three strophic pieces within Milanuzzi's collection, "Si dolce il tormento," stands in between the traditional *canzoni* versification of the strophic bass cantata "Ohimè ch'io cado" and the mixed *quaternario*, *quinario*, and *ottonario* of "La mia turca" (See Table 2). Though the triple-time *senario* of "Si dolce il tormento," does not figure prominently in the *canzonette* of his two *Scherzi musicali*, Monteverdi thoroughly exploited strophic *senari* verse in the very first secular work he composed in Venice, the concerted ballet *Tirsi e Clori* (1615). Following Tirsi's and Clori's five-strophe dialogue, the division of the *senari* into four-measure units of the Nymphs' and Shepards' chorus "Bailiamo ch'il gregge" resembles the phrasing of "Si dolce il tormento," illustrating Monteverdi's preference for even triple-metered phrasing for the setting of *senari*. Avoiding the pure *senari piani* of *Tirsi e Clori*, however, Monteverdi's addition of *senario tronco* at every other line in the first section and every two lines in the second section of "Si dolce il tormento" is captured beautifully in the music through cadence and dissonance (Figure 9.)

Like many of the binary pieces within Milanuzzi's collection, the endings of the first sections typically cadence from I to V or IV (i to V or III in minor) and typically cadence back to I (or i) at the end of the second sections. Similarly, the ending cadences of "Si dolce il tormento" behave in this manner with a cadence from i to III at the first repeat sign, and a return to i (major I according to the *alfabeto*) at the end of the second section. In addition to this simple cadential formula, however, internal cadences abound at the ending of each *tronco* line, with a cadence in F at "stà" in measure five, and a cadence in F again on "beltà" in m. nine in the first section. The second section employs a dissonant c above the bass note d at "pietà" in m. fifteen, and ends with a d minor

Figure 9. C. Monteverdi, "Si dolce e' l tormento"

Dell'istesso.

I dolce e' l tormento Ch'in fero mi sta Ch'io viuo con-

tento Per cruda beltà Nel ciel di bellezza S'accreschi ferezza Et

manchi pietà Che sempre qual scoglio All'onda d'Orgoglio mia fede farà.

2  
La speme fallace  
Riuolgan: il piè  
D' lutto, ne pace  
Non scendano a me  
E l'empia ch'adoro  
M'impiegli ristoro  
Di bona mercè:  
Tua doglia inuaghiata  
Tua speme tradita  
Vittua la mia fe.

3  
Per foco, e per gelo  
Ripoiò non hò  
Nel porto del Cizio  
Ripoiò hauerò.  
Se colpo mortale  
Con rigido strale  
Il cor m'impiegò,  
Cangiando mia sorte  
Col dardo di morte  
Il cor farerò.

4  
Se fiamma d' Amore  
G.à mai non senti.  
Quel riggido core  
Ch'il cor mi rapì.  
Se nega pietate  
La cruda beltate  
Che l'alma inuaghi  
Ben fia che dolente  
Pentita, e languente  
Sospirimi vn dì.

cadence on “sarà” at the conclusion of the second section, m. 21. In addition, the use of external and internal cadences at *tronco* lines highlighted by accent markings (in each strophe) illustrates Monteverdi’s attention to the metrical displacement of the text; an unexpected touch from a composer touted as the champion of the *seconda prattica*.

Madrigalism, too, was not completely abandoned by Monteverdi in the composition of this seemingly innocuous lament of unrequited love. Following a simple harmonization of the voice’s descending F Major scale in the first section, the roles are reversed, though I would not characterize the harmonic progression as “simple” above the bass line’s jaunt down the Bb Major scale in the second section. Not only do the sequence of suspensions in the vocal part create interesting harmonic twists in mm. 14-19, but the “waxing” and “waning” bass line is halted in m. 19 by the “stillness” of the “rock”, disguised in a block of eight repeating g naturals in the vocal part, at which point the falling bass itself rests on the note g, only to resume its traditional path from V to I in mm. 20-21. If the subtle nature of this kind of pictorialism seems out of place within the more obvious madrigalisms of his more well-known works, perhaps their visibility (or audibility) is proportional to the canzonetta form itself among the larger forms that dominate Monteverdi’s catalogue. Or, perhaps they represent Monteverdi’s sensitive and serious treatment of the canzonetta among the many musical forms and styles he utilized and adapted as part of his other works.

Whatever the case may be, Monteverdi's setting of "Si dolce il tormento," one of the numerous solo settings of this text in the early seventeenth century<sup>134</sup>, clearly demonstrates the composer's interest in the canzonetta form. Yet, certain scholars, even in our day, refuse to acknowledge the artistic viability of the solo canzonetta in Monteverdi's oeuvre, as Nigel Fortune boasts in *The New Monteverdi Companion*:

Hundreds of canzonettas, most of them in triple time, poured from the Venetian printing-presses in cheap books from 1618 onwards, and so popular were they that Monteverdi, the greatest musician in Venice, could hardly avoid writing a few, even if he rather despised them.<sup>135</sup>

Through his subtle musical treatment of the poetic form, phrasing, and subject matter of "Si dolce il tormento", Monteverdi, not for the first time in his career, proved that the canzonetta, no matter how crude or popular in style, was capable of serious expression both within the framework of large-scale forms and simply by itself.

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<sup>134</sup> Other settings of this text were composed by Petratti (1620), Milanuzzi (1622), and Tarditi (1628).

<sup>135</sup> Fortune, "Monteverdi and the *Seconda Prattica*," 186.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### CONCLUSIONS AND RESOLUTIONS

Milanuzzi's *Quarto Scherzo* is representative of a unique culture that nurtured an entrepreneurial printer with ties to Monteverdi who produced at least 24 collections of mainly strophic songs with *alfabeto*, one of which was essentially an anthology of works of other Venetians, all with ties to either San Marco or Santo Stefano. Furthermore, the addition of guitar *alfabeto* and the influence of Chiabrerian verse on the anonymous canzonetta texts further support my claim that the music of the *Quarto Scherzo* is, in fact, a veritable collection of popular music of the early Baroque. Equally significant is the involvement of Claudio Monteverdi, one of the great geniuses of the early Baroque, who supplied three of his most humble strophic songs to be published as independent compositions, while at the same time perpetuating his serious interest in the canzonetta genre. Yet, Despite the many conclusions that can be drawn from the issues surrounding Milanuzzi's *Quarto Scherzo*, the most significant is the over-arching idea that connects seemingly unrelated historical facts—the Spanish guitar in Italy, Chiabrerian verse, the musical style of the canzonetta, the reprinting of song collections with *alfabeto*, the new aesthetic of the *seconda prattica*—to illustrate the deeper meaning of the *Quarto Scherzo* as something simple, modest, and unpretentious; in a word, the very essence of popular music.

The use of the word “popular” to describe certain issues related to the *Quarto Scherzo* and other similar publications printed in Venice, has, in fact, been used

extensively by myself and other cited authors throughout this study. At times, this word appears to be used in a general sense, describing a phenomenon that becomes prevalent or widespread among members of society, as in Nigel Fortune's statement: "The Spanish guitar was becoming more and more *popular* in Italy."<sup>136</sup> Other times, we have encountered this word in cases where its intended meaning is not altogether clear; the word "popular," after all, has some twelve different meanings in *Webster's Third New International Dictionary* alone.<sup>137</sup> Take, for example, the quote cited in Chapter 2: "the printing of *alfabeto* illustrates Vincentis' ability to respond to *popular* taste while profiting from lower production costs."<sup>138</sup> In this context, the use of the word popular to describe taste could imply several different meanings. "Popular taste," for example, could indicate taste that is generally "accepted" or "approved" by the typical buyers of such publications. Yet, "popular taste" could also describe the tastes of the general public, or even have pejorative connotations, as in Webster's third and fourth definitions: "being of low birth: Plebian. Having low tastes." In concluding my work on this project, I would like to briefly consider the context of Milanuzzi's *Quarto Scherzo* and contemporary song collections with *alfabeto* in relation to "popular music," or at least what "popular music" signifies in our day.

Unfortunately, popular music literature and criticism in this country and around the world has restricted the scope of what "popular music" means exclusively to the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries. Yet, several leading authors have outlined definitions and guidelines for "popular music" that can readily be applied to earlier repertoires of music such as

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<sup>136</sup> See above, 25.

<sup>137</sup> *Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language* (1981), "popular."

<sup>138</sup> See above, 26.

Milanuzzi's *Quarto Scherzo* and its Venetian counterparts. Andrew Lamb in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* defines the "essence" of popular music according to three general characteristics:

[1] The essence of popular music is that it should be readily comprehensible to (and perhaps also performable by) a large proportion of the populace, and that its appreciation presupposes little or no knowledge of musical theory or techniques. [2] The music so defined thus comprises pieces of modest length with a prominent melodic line (often vocal) and a simple and restricted harmonic accompaniment. [3] Pieces are often originally planned for performance in a theatrical or other public context and in consequence of their appeal come to be enjoyed domestically either in practical performance or in recorded reproduction.<sup>139</sup>

To avoid the risk of redundancy, I will refrain from citing the many examples from this project (both of my words and those of others') that have already illustrated these points. In most cases throughout my text, in fact, I have used the phrase "popular music" with Lamb's ideals in mind. To convince even the most skeptical reader, I need only mention that the presence of guitar *alfabeto* alone assumes all three of Lamb's definitions of popular music. Montesardo and Amat made it clear that their guitar instructional books were designed for the amateur musician, and in Amat's own words, for those who do not read "numbers and notes: by means of which everyone will be able to learn by himself, without a teacher."<sup>140</sup> Amat goes so far as to illustrate the various chord shapes made by the left hand, emphasizing his intention to supply even the most musically illiterate with the necessary tools to perform chords on the guitar. The inclusion of guitar *alfabeto* tablature in so many Venetian songbooks in the 1620s confers Lamb's primary definition of "popular music." With regard to Lamb's second definition, the "restricted" harmonic

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<sup>139</sup> Lamb, "Popular music," *The New Grove* 15, 87.

<sup>140</sup> See above, 39.

accompaniment of the Spanish guitar's *rasgueado* is the very basis of these songs with *alfabeto*. Furthermore, the simple structure as well as the short phrase lengths of the songs in Milanuzzi's collection are easily grasped by the amateur musician learning to accompany him/herself on the Spanish guitar. The strophic form, moreover, has always been associated with simple, tuneful solo songs, such as the *troubadour* and *trouvère* melodies of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries or the sixteenth century Spanish *villancicos*.

Granted, it wasn't until 1637 (only thirteen years after the *Quarto Scherzo*'s reprinting) that Venice sustained the first public forum for opera, yet, the traditions of public singing in Italy before 1637 are firmly grounded in the *Commedia dell'Arte*. One of the first stock "zanni," or servants, was the cunning Brighella, decried by Giacomo Oreglio as "an excellent singer and expert player of various instruments, especially the guitar."<sup>141</sup> Several seventeenth-century depictions of Brighella (and other stock characters, including Scaramouche) and his character variants of the *Commedia dell'Arte* portray the actors with five- and four-course Spanish guitars, illustrating the popularity of the instrument (and presumably its music) among the outdoor festivals of Naples, Venice, and later Paris and London (Figures 10-12). In light of modern scholars' ties of theatrical or public music to "popular music" the instrument's association with the *Commedia dell'Arte* establishes yet another link of the Spanish guitar to "popular music."

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<sup>141</sup> Giacomo Oreglio, *The Commedia dell'Arte*, trans. Lovett F. Edwards, (New York: Hill and Wang, 1964), 72.

Figure 10. Carlo Cantù in the *Commedia dell'Arte* role of “Buffetto,” a mask related to Brighella, playing a five-course Spanish Guitar (ca. 1645).



Figure 11. Giovanni Gherardi in the role of “Flautino,” a variant of Brighella, playing a Spanish five-course guitar. Engraving by Nicolas Bonnart (ca. 1675).



*Flautin.*  
*Avec sa Guitarre touchée Plus en maistre qu'en escotier; Il semble qu'il tienne cachée*  
*Vne fluste dans son gosier.*  
*Chez N. Bonnart, rue S<sup>t</sup> Jacques à l'École, avec privil.*

Figure 12. "The Entrance of Scaramouche," holding a five-course Spanish guitar (17<sup>th</sup> c.).



Despite the obvious

Despite the obvious technological differences between modes of transmitting music in the seventeenth century and the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, the Spanish guitar with its *alfabeto* and Venetian publishing trends led by Alessandro Vincenti were two very important aspects of musical transmission in the early Baroque that made the proliferation and widespread popularity of strophic songs in collections possible, especially in Venice. Furthermore, the effects that these two “modes of transmission” had on the popularity of certain reprinted collections, such as the *Quarto Scherzo*, distinguish them as possibly the earliest examples of “popular music.” This predates the assertion of Donald Clarke, in his controversial *The Rise and Fall of Popular Music*, that the songs from Henry Purcell’s *Dido and Aeneas* (1689) sold between acts during performances in London constitute the beginnings of “popular music.”<sup>142</sup> Clarke’s definition of popular music is essentially the same as Lamb’s; both emphasize the commercial aspect of music publishing and transmission and its origins in public performance. In his discussion of *Dido and Aeneas*, Clarke asserts that:

The popular song maybe defined as a song written for a single voice or a small vocal group, accompanied by a single chord-playing instrument or small ensemble, usually first performed in some sort of public entertainment and afterwards published in the form of sheet music (or mechanically reproduced in the twentieth century); it is written for profit, for amateur listeners and performers.<sup>143</sup>

Clarke’s definition of “popular music,” and its relation to the circumstances surrounding the transmission of Purcell’s songs apply equally to Milanuzzi’s *Quarto Scherzo*, with the possible exception of the origins in theatrical performance; although we can not entirely rule this out given the guitar’s function in the *Commedia dell’Arte* and Monteverdi’s use

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<sup>142</sup> Clarke, *The Rise and Fall of Popular Music*, (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1995), 6-7.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

of the canzonetta in his dramatic music, some of which has been lost. The *Quarto Scherzo*'s dual function as a collection of works by Milanuzzi and an "anthology" of other Venetian composers' solo songs provides yet another avenue leading to an early example of popular music. The reasons for the inclusion of other composers' works in the collection is, unfortunately, purely speculative. We cannot assume, regardless of how tempting, that the collection is in anyway representative of songs that might have been popular among potential customers or members of the public.

At any rate, by redefining the temporal boundaries of what is by and large considered to be "popular music", that is mainly commercial music of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries, historians may come to identify other vocal repertoires composed before the 20<sup>th</sup> century in entirely new contexts. The example of Milanuzzi's *Quarto Scherzo* and other Venetian song collections with guitar *alfabeto* is especially compelling because of its unique interaction with the "popular" traditions of another culture. Though the influence of Spanish culture on Italy was only briefly touched upon, my intention throughout this study has been to underscore the musical and aesthetic characteristics of Venetian monody with the subtext of Spain's ubiquitous presence in most of the Italian states during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Without the unique interchange between these two cultures, the *Quarto Scherzo* and other similar collections would have never made it to the presses. Similarly, the groundbreaking trends in monody, dramatic music, poetry, and aesthetics in Italian culture around the turn of the seventeenth century provided a solid framework for the elucidation of the eclectic yet distinct climate of musical Venice during the second decade of the 1600s.

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