

BONNIE J. BLACKBURN - EDWARD E. LOWINSKY

LUIGI ZENOBI AND HIS LETTER ON
THE PERFECT MUSICIAN

Note. The letter presented here was discovered by Edward Lowinsky in Rome in 1948. He intended to publish it, together with an extensive introduction and annotations, as a chapter in a book to be entitled *Origins of Musical Expression*. In the event, the book was never completed. The chapter itself was largely in a finished state by 1961, when Lowinsky moved to the University of Chicago, after which he did no further work on the book. Shortly before his death in 1985 we looked at the chapter with a view to publishing it separately. I do so now, but with major changes. In 1961 Lowinsky had known nothing of the biography of Luigi Zenobi; on internal evidence (principally the composers named) he dated the letter c. 1575 and set it in the context of the intense rivalry between the courts of Florence and Ferrara, suggesting that the unnamed prince to whom the letter is addressed was Francesco I de' Medici, who succeeded Cosimo I in 1574. In the meantime I have learned rather more about Zenobi, thanks in particular to Anthony Newcomb's 1980 publication, *The Madrigal at Ferrara 1579-1597*, and a date close to 1600 for his letter is most probable. This meant that Lowinsky's introduction was no longer valid. Moreover, many of the annotations he made are now superseded; much of what seemed little known in the 1950s is now common property, a startling indication of the great strides musicology has made in the last three decades.

The transcription of the letter and the English translation are largely Lowinsky's work; I have checked the former against the manuscript and made a number of revisions in the latter. The introduction, notes, and commentary are largely my own work. We owe thanks to Nino Pirrotta, whom Lowinsky consulted in 1954 at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, for valuable suggestions on the reading of the letter and on the translation, which we have gratefully incorporated. I also wish to acknowledge the helpful contributions of Prof. Zygmunt Szweykowski and Dr. Anna Szweykowska during and after my lecture on the topic at the Jagielloonian University in Kraków in May 1992 and the discussions with

colleagues and students there and at the University of Warsaw. Leofranc Holford-Strevens cheerfully undertook the difficult task of deciphering a long German letter concerning Zenobi and gave me the benefit of his careful scrutiny of text and translation.

B. J. B.

Introduction

An undated letter to an anonymous prince by an obscure musician seems an unpromising topic. And yet the present letter is one of the most interesting personal documents to emerge from the era that has traditionally been seen as the turning-point from Renaissance to Baroque. Of course, the writer was aware of no such momentous change: he was simply answering a request, indeed a questionnaire, on how to judge musicians. No polished diplomat (though aware that he might give offence), he simply told the prince in plain, and sometimes colloquial, language the qualities one should expect to find in a perfect singer, director, composer, and instrumentalist.

The letter is found on fos. 199r-204v of a collection of documents bound together in a volume labelled R. 45 in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana in Rome, the former library of the Oratorio of San Filippo Neri, that carries the following title:

Raccolta Di Lettere Varie Latine, et Italiane Scritte Da Molti Uomini dotti, et illustri, In materia di Studio, e d'erudizione Sacra, & Profana. Alcune delle quali sono dirette al P. Odorico Rinaldi et ad altri Padri della Cong.^{ne} dell'Oratorio di Roma. Con Altre Lettere E suppliche A' Sommi Pontefici, Cardinali, Principi Cattolici, et ancora Infedeli.

The last words, «et ancora Infedeli», designate the general character of the collection as belonging to the period of the Counter-Reformation, for the «Infedeli» are Protestants, and several letters deal with the problem of heresy. The seventy-two letters range chronologically from 1537 to 1709, in no discernible order; many are originals, others contemporary copies. How the present letter came into the collection is unknown, indeed mystifying: none of the other letters has anything to do with music.

The letter is obviously a copy, in what appears to be a late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century hand (see plates); it is surely not that of the author, who would not have written «propositioni» when he meant «proportioni», to give one example of the mistakes

that occur in it. Moreover, the spelling of his name, 'Zinobi', conflicts with that he regularly used, Zenobi. The letter is headed «Serenissimo mio Signore, Signore et Padron Singolarissimo», but offers no clue to the identity of this Signore, who is also addressed as «Sua Altezza». «Serenissimo» is a common form of address for dukes and princes, of which there was no lack in Italy and elsewhere at the time; certainly it must be a secular prince, not a cardinal, who would have been addressed as «Reverendissimo». It is signed «Di Napoli, Dell'Altezza sua serenissima, Devotissimo, et antico Servitore, Il C. Luigi Zinobi».

It would be difficult to date the letter on contents alone: some aspects point to an early date, perhaps the late 1570s; other aspects suggest that the date is closer to 1600. If it is early, then Zenobi is in advance of his times and becomes an important witness for pushing back the date of certain Baroque performance practices. If it is late, in other respects he seems surprisingly out of touch with the contemporary musical scene. Other evidence, however, strengthens the case for a date of *c.* 1600. As we now know from several other letters that have survived, Zenobi had settled in Naples by 1601 at the latest, a time which seems to fall at the end of his career.

The Writer

The name of Luigi Zenobi appears in no musical dictionary or encyclopaedia: apart from the present letter, he left no theoretical writings to posterity, and he does not appear to have been a composer. It is disappointing that he is not included in the long and interesting list of musicians published by Scipione Cerreto in his *Della pratica musica vocale et strumentale* (Naples, 1601), which includes foreign musicians who had settled in Naples as well as native Neapolitans. The first published reference to Zenobi, curiously enough, occurs in a treatise on art, Gian Paolo Lomazzo's *Trattato dell'arte della pittura, scoltura et architettura*, published in Milan in 1584.¹ In Book VI of this treatise Lomazzo develops the original idea of peopling the nine choirs of music with the most famous practitioners of the time, together with their instruments. In the first rank (voices, or,

¹ The discovery was made by Lowinsky; what follows is derived from his original introduction to Zenobi's letter.

as Lomazzo puts it, *concerto delle voci*) are Adrian Willaert, Gioseffo Zarlino, and Nicola Vicentino, in the second the organists Annibale Padovano, Claudio (Merulo) da Correggio, and Giuseppe Caimo of Milan. Next come lutenists, lira-players (including «our Leonardo da Vinci, the painter»), gambists, harpists, and cittern-players, with cornettists and trombonists in the last two ranks.² Among the cornettists is one «Luigi Zenobi Anconitano», that is, from Ancona.³ A gifted painter, who went blind in 1571, Lomazzo must have been a great lover of music. He was evidently a personal friend of Claudio Merulo, to whom he dedicated a poetic version of his ninefold choir of musicians.⁴

The knowledge that Zenobi not only was renowned as a virtuoso, but was specifically a cornettist, is of the greatest value for our understanding of his letter. It explains both his emphasis on the qualities of a good cornettist and the treatment he accords the soprano voice. It was often remarked at the time that the trombone imitated the sound of the bass voice as the cornett did that of the soprano, and these two instruments were frequently used to support the voices in church choirs. Moreover, the greatest part of Zenobi's repertoire must have been based on the vocal music of the time, and, as we

² «Et vaga cosa sarebbe anco, et capriciosa il rappresentarvi i nove chori della musica à tre, à tre co' suoi instramenti, et con ritratti de gli huomini eccellenti in ciascuno di quelli, come per esempio ne' tempi nostri nel primo coro del concerto delle voci Adriano Villaert Fiamengo, Gioseffo Zarlino da Chioggia, et Don Nicola Vicentino, nel secondo de gli organi Annibal Padovano, Claudio da Coreggio, Giuseppe Caimo Milanese, nel terzo de i liuti, Francesco soprannominato il Monzino Milanese, Ippolito Tromboncino da Vineggia; et Fabricio Dentici Napolitano, nel quarto, delle lire, il nostro Leonardo Vinci pittore, Alfonso da Ferrara, et Alessandro Strigio Mantovano, o Gio. Maria Parochianino Pavese; nel quinto delle viole da gamba, Oratio Romano, Mauro Sinibaldi Cremonese, et Ricardo Rognone Milanese; nel sesto delle arpe, Gio. Leonardo detto da l'Arpa, l'Ebreo da Mantova, e suo figliuolo Abraam; nel settimo delle cetere, Antonio Morari da Bergamo, Paolo Tarchetta, et Sempronio Bresciani; nel ottavo de i cornetti, il Moscatello, Giacomo Pecchio Milanese, et Luigi Zenobi Anconitano; et nel ultimo de i tromboni il Cadenaruolo [sic] Bresciano, Orfeo Milanese, et Ettore Vidue Fiamengo»; pp. 347-348. The passage has been printed, without comment, in n. 130 of LUIGI PARIGI, *Laurentiana: Lorenzo dei Medici cultore della musica*, Florence, Olschki, 1954, p. 126. A modern edition of Lomazzo's treatise appears in *Scritti sulle arti*, ed. Roberto Paolo Ciardi, 2 vols., Florence, 1973-1974, vol. II, pp. 302-303, where many of the musicians have been identified.

³ A letter written in 1954 to Professor R. Zanelli, then director of the Biblioteca Comunale in Ancona, elicited the following answer: «the historical archive connected with the library is of an administrative character and does not possess the old birth registers that might have contained data on the family Zenobi».

⁴ See Book II, pp. 163-164 of the *Rime di Gio. Paolo Lomazzi Milanese pittore* (Milan, 1587). Of Zenobi he says: «e nel cornetto / Il Zenobbi di Ancona si perfetto».

shall see, he had direct models in the Ferrarese *concerto delle donne*, the virtuoso lady singers whose vocal style became the rage at the northern Italian courts.

It was only with the publication of Anthony Newcomb's brilliant portrait of musical life at the court of Ferrara in the last two decades of the sixteenth century that Zenobi emerged from obscurity. He was recruited by the Ferrarese court in January 1589, where he was «the most highly paid single musician in the history of the Este court to that time» (200 scudi per year).⁵ He remained in Ferrarese service until at least June 1597 (the date of the last payment recorded), although he spent some time in Rome, where he sought singers for the court. Nearly all our knowledge of Zenobi's life comes from fourteen letters that he wrote to members of the Este family, their agent, and Alfonso Fontanelli, dating from 1583 to 1602, preserved in the Archivio di Stato in Modena. From these letters we learn that he was 54 years old in 1602, which places his birth-date in 1547 or 1548, that he had served at the courts of Maximilian II and Rudolf II for more than twenty years, during seven of which he «taught singing to the late mother of the present Catholic king» (Anna of Austria, daughter of Maximilian II and mother of Philip III of Spain), and that by July 1601 he was in the service of the Viceroy of Naples.⁶

Thanks to Walter Pass's study of music and musicians at the court of Maximilian II, we can trace Zenobi in Vienna from 1 November 1569, when he is called «musico vnnnd zinckhenplaser», to 1 November 1573, when he was «seines diensts mit genaden erlassen».⁷ He was one of three cornettists at court. That he was highly valued is shown not only by the subvention accorded to his sisters in 1570,

⁵ ANTHONY NEWCOMB, *The Madrigal at Ferrara 1579-1597*, 2 vols., Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1980, vol. I, p. 182.

⁶ Newcomb summarizes the correspondence in his Appendix I, pp. 181-183. Supplementary details gained from reading the original letters (Archivio di Stato di Modena, 'Particolari') are discussed below.

⁷ WALTER PASS, *Musik und Musiker am Hof Maximilians II.*, Wiener Veröffentlichungen zur Musikwissenschaft, 20; Tutzing, Hans Schneider, 1980, p. 223. Pass assumes that the «Leonhard de Zanobi» whose name appears in the accounts for 1565 is identical with Luigi (p. 222, n. 51). Apart from the consistent difference in the name, there is a gap of three years when neither name is recorded. Leonhard, whose original name was probably Leonardo, is probably a relative, perhaps a father or brother; indeed, it seems that several members of the family resided in Vienna, for on 13 September 1570 Zenobi petitioned for, and received, a sum of 150 gulden for the provision of his two sisters: «auf sein vnderthenigist supplicieren zu ausstatung Baider seiner Schwestern auf ainmal» (*ibid.*, p. 223).

but also by the generous gift of 130 gulden in October 1571,⁸ and another 50 gulden in the same year; no reason is given for them. He left the court, however, in November 1573, three years before Maximilian's death. His name does not appear among the (admittedly few) published records of chamber musicians under Rudolf II,⁹ perhaps because he held some other post at court. It is not easy to determine in which seven years he taught singing to Rudolf's elder sister, Anna, who was born in 1549 and married Philip II in 1570.

At the beginning of 1573 Zenobi sought a post at the ducal court in Bavaria. The manner in which he did so is revealed in a long and circumstantial letter written to Duke Wilhelm by Ludwig Haberstock, an alto in the Munich chapel who at times acted as the duke's father Albrecht's agent in Vienna. Zenobi had come to Haberstock and told him, at great length, that he wished to get married and set up house, but he was not pleased with the arrangements (*partida*) that the emperor proposed for him, and would rather serve Wilhelm, who held artists in greater consideration, than anyone else («Derwegen Er mehr lusts hett / E.f.gen. alls die die Khünstler in größer vnnd höherm werth hatt / dann yemannds anndern zedienen»); however, doubtless unwilling to seem too eager, he requested Haberstock not to tell Wilhelm that he had asked him to speak on his behalf, but only that, «in ordinary friendly conversation» («in gemainem freundlichen gespräch»), he had understood that Zenobi might easily be induced to come. The transfer, he suggested, could be made without impairing relations between Wilhelm and Maximilian if he were first to take leave of the emperor, then spend a few months in Italy (at Wilhelm's expense, as Haberstock tartly observed), and only then, as if of his own accord («gleichsamb für sich selb»), come to the duke. He spoke for over an hour; Haberstock, his head no doubt reeling, pointed out that if he tried to report all this from

⁸ In September of that same year Maximilian II gave Orlando di Lasso 150 gulden for his presentation of a mass and some song-books; see HORST LEUCHTMANN, *Orlando di Lasso: Sein Leben*, Wiesbaden, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1976, p. 51.

⁹ While Rudolf's chapel singers have been the subject of many studies, the main one being ALBERT SMIJERS, *Die kaiserliche Hofmusik-Kapelle von 1543-1619*, «Studien zur Musikwissenschaft», VI-IX, 1919-1922, I could find no comparable treatment of the chamber musicians, apart from the bare listing in LUDWIG VON KÖCHEL, *Die kaiserliche Hof-Musikkapelle in Wien von 1543 bis 1867*, Vienna, Beck'sche Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1869. For the years 1577-1600 he gives only one cornettist, Domenico Zappa, from 1577 to September 1582 (p. 52). (Köchel's «Zampi» on p. 48 is a misreading of «Zanobi», the common spelling of his name at the court).

memory «ain vbergroßes chaos» would ensue, and asked Zenobi to put it in writing for him to translate into German. The next day Zenobi changed his mind: anxious to preserve the fiction of being the sought-after and not the seeker, he now wanted Haberstock to report only that he understood from their conversation that Zenobi was thinking of leaving the emperor's service and might easily be obtained for the duke's, if offered a substantial payment in advance. Although Zenobi offered him a considerable bribe for his co-operation, Haberstock makes no secret of his view that Zenobi would not be a satisfactory servant: not only did he demand an initial gift of 6,000 gulden (or even crowns), and a higher salary than Maximilian gave him, but (at least as reported by the disgusted Haberstock) he would expect to serve not where, when, and how often it pleased Wilhelm but at his own inclination.¹⁰ «How pleasant that will be for Your Grace I do not know», comments Haberstock, but he pleads for some kind of an answer to be sent to either Zenobi or himself, since otherwise Zenobi will continue to pester him.¹¹

On 25 February Zenobi himself wrote to Wilhelm.¹² In creditable Latin and an elegant hand, he explained that he had served the emperor for three years to the best of his ability, for which he had received many rewards and benefits, but he was chagrined that the emperor refused to acknowledge him as anything more than a musician pure and simple, and therefore he was determined to seek the service of a prince who would appreciate his worth and recognize his condition, which was not base («statui quamuis inuitus cogitationes meas ab hoc auocare seruitio, meque Principi tradere, qui non

¹⁰ «Khann E.f.gen. gleichwol vnndertheniger trew nach / nit verhalten / das Jch genntz-lich besorg / Er wurde derselben zum diener nit taugen / dann Jch souil aus Jme verstannden / das Er nit allain erstes anfangs in die sechs Tausent gulden (wo nit gar cronen) schannkung / sonnder auch ain größere besoldung alls Er hie hat / begeern wurde / Will geschweigen das Er hernach nit wo / wenn / vnnd wie oft es E.f.gen. sonnder allain Jme selb gefiel / dienen wollte»; fo. 2r. The letter, to which I found a reference in WOLFGANG BOETTICHER, *Aus Orlando di Lasso's Wirkungskreis: Neue archivalische Studien zur Münchener Musikgeschichte*, Kassel, Bärenreiter, 1963, p. 26, n. 42, is in the Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Geheimes Hausarchiv, Korr.Akt 607 / Ga-Ku. It is quoted by permission of HRH Duke Albrecht of Bavaria.

¹¹ Zenobi's attitude towards serving on command reminds one of the Ferrarese agent's famous comparison of Isaac and Josquin, who «composes when he wants to, and not when one wants him to»; see LEWIS LOCKWOOD, *Josquin at Ferrara: New Documents and Letters*, in EDWARD E. LOWINSKY and BONNIE J. BLACKBURN (eds.), *Josquin des Prez: Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival-Conference*, London, Oxford University Press, 1976, p. 114.

¹² The letter is in the same archive Korr.Akt 607/Ti-Zo.

musicae artem in me tantum consideret, sed aliquid ultra, et conditionem meam agnoscat, que plebana non est»).

The question of status, with which Zenobi is quite clearly preoccupied, also comes up in his letter, where he has stern words for princes who do not accord true musicians the status they deserve. In the event, his exorbitant demands, as reported by Haberstock, seem to have dissuaded Wilhelm from pursuing the matter, for I have found no trace of Zenobi at the Bavarian court. By the end of the year he must have been accepted elsewhere. It is not inconceivable that he went to Spain, for there is no need to believe that he was music tutor to Anna only before her marriage. At some later time he returned to Vienna; owing to the lack of documentation for chamber musicians at Rudolf's court (at least in modern studies) the date cannot be determined. (It was probably spring 1575; see below, Postscript).

We do not know if Zenobi was also a composer, but he did write poetry. A text by him, *Io so ben che vivete*, was set by Giovanni Agostino Veggio, a musician of the duke of Parma, in his *Primo libro de madrigali, a quattro voci* (Parma, 1575; Nuovo Vogel 2846). He is also, according to Francesco Saverio Quadrio, one of the authors of verse printed in *Dialoghi del matrimonio, e vita vedovile del S. C. A. Bernardo Trotto* (Turin, 1583), where he is called «Luigi Zenobi, Gentiluomo di S. M. Cesarea».¹³ His most ambitious effort in this field appears to be his cycle of one hundred sonnets lamenting the death of Maximilian, which survives in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Turin with a dedication to the Duke of Savoy. Before the fire of 1904 it bore the title: «Il Pianto di Luigi Zenobi, gentiluomo della Casa dell'Inuitissimo Imperador Ridolfo Secondo, in morte della S. C. M. dell'Imperador Massimiliano Secondo, Signor Suo Clementissimo. Al Serenissimo et Clementissimo Principe di Savoia et Piemonte».¹⁴ It appears from the dedicatory letter that Zenobi hoped his gift might lead to better things, for he declares himself «ambitio-

¹³ See FRANCESCO SAVERIO QUADRIO, *Della storia, e ragione d'ogni poesia*, 4 vols. in 7, Milan, 1739-1752, index vol., p. 80. I have seen the 1578 edition of Trotto's book, which, however, does not include verse.

¹⁴ MS N. VI. 24. The title is taken from the more informative entry in the older catalogue: BERNARDINO PEYRON, *Codices italici manu exarati qui in bibliotheca Taurinensis Athenaei ante diem XXVI Ianuarii M. CM. IV asservabantur*, Turin, 1904, p. 201; it is also described in ALBANO SORBELLI, *Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia*, 28, Florence, 1922, p. 177. The manuscript, in Zenobi's hand, was burnt around the outer edges of the upper half, but with little loss of writing.

so di valere a servirla humilmente». One cannot blame the duke for failing to appoint Zenobi his house poet, for the verse is exceedingly conventional. Assuming that the manuscript was presented not long after Maximilian's death, which occurred on 12 October 1576, the duke must be Emanuele Filiberto, who died in 1580, having served Charles V, fighting against the League of Schmalkalden and defeating the French at Saint-Quentin. By this time, then, Zenobi was in Rudolf's service, apparently not as a mere «zinckhenplaser» but as a «gentilhuomo», a rise in status that must have gratified him. Whether «gentilhuomo» denotes the circumstance of his birth (we recall that he insisted that his status was not «plebana») or actual position at court is not clear. By 1583 he had gained his knighthood (as we know from his signature on a letter of that year), probably from Rudolf.

From Vienna Zenobi was recruited to the court of Alfonso II d'Este at Ferrara, perhaps through the intermediation of Cardinal Luigi d'Este, whom he apparently knew in Rome, to judge from a letter addressed to the cardinal in October 1583 declaring his «esspressa ruina» and asking for help; the «breve modo di favellare enigmatico» leaves us in the dark as to the difficulty. At Ferrara Zenobi seems to have enjoyed a reputation as a judge of singers. He was enlisted in the campaign to lure the famous bass Melchiorre Palentrotti from San Luigi dei Francesi in Rome to Ferrara in 1589, and in 1593, during a period of three months' leave in Rome, he wrote that another bass, D. Stefano Ruggieri of Cremona, might be persuaded to leave the papal choir «con provvisione di dugento scudi l'anno [...] Ma sarebbe necessario avvantaggiarlo almeno di spese, e di stanza, poichè altramente non si levarebbe di qui» (letter of 18 September to the duke). Zenobi was not, however, persuaded of the quality of his voice («tuba di basso»), and he offered to go to Naples, «benche i viaggi siano di spesa crudele» and the risk of bandits great, in search of another bass. It is obvious from his letter to the unnamed prince that he had considerable experience in assessing the qualities of bass and soprano singers.

Several of the letters from 1593 concern his attempts to gain that leave (with pay, and more besides, so that he will have «qualche comodo di mostrare al mondo, ch'io non sono Servitore affatto indegno di così Gran Prencipe»; letter to Alfonso Fontanelli of 30 July). It was requested with some urgency, «sendo necessitato a ritrovarmici, perchè quel Signore, che vuole i miei Quadri, è di partita per Spagna à mezzo il Mese, che viene» (letter of 10 August to the duke's

secretary), but he promises to be back in Ferrara in time for the marriage of Eleonora d'Este to the Prince of Venosa, Carlo Gesualdo; perhaps he will accompany him from Roma to Ferrara, though he promises «ne m'udirà sonare, se non comandato dal Serenissimo Padrone» (letter of 11 August to Fontanelli). The reference to «i miei Quadri» is tantalizing: is Zenobi a painter as well? We know of many painters who were talented musicians but chose painting over music; Zenobi seems to have practised both. The urgent business in Rome also concerned the arrangements for the marriage of his niece and «other family matters»; Zenobi's family, or at least part of it, now seems to be resident in Rome.

Some time after these letters Zenobi seems to have fallen into disfavour at the Ferrarese court; in the light of his proposals to Wilhelm and his constant need for money to support his status as a Cavaliere, this is perhaps not surprising. Three supplications to the duke, two undated, the other received on 14 October 1596, plead for help «perché io, da me stesso, non posso resistere per pensiero a infermità, a carestia, a debiti, a necessità di coprirmi questo verno, et a pagar pignon di Casa». He left the court before Alfonso's death, for his letter of 10 November 1597, offering condolences and congratulations to the new duke, was sent from «Allemagna», as noted on the back; the city is illegible, but was perhaps Vienna. Nor should it surprise us that he was including «quattro versi».

Zenobi's last five letters were written from Naples to Cardinal Alessandro d'Este in Rome between July 1601 and September 1602. All five concern his efforts «a fare arrivare la mia piazza nella Tesoreria a ducati venticinque il Mese» (from twelve ducats; letter of 6 July). The cardinal promptly sends the three requested letters of recommendation, but to no avail, Zenobi reports, since the Capellano Maggiore, D. Gabriel Sánchez, opposes him. On 2 November 1601 he writes again, asking whether the cardinal would favour him to «rattivare una pratica, ch'è già duoi anni cominciata per farmi servire l'Illustrissimo [cardinale] Mont'alto» with the same provision, part for himself, part for his wife, and free lodgings. Nothing comes of this either. In the last desperate letter to the cardinal, of 20 September 1602, Zenobi is still attempting to get his salary increased, and is still being opposed by the Capellano Maggiore, who has now become his mortal enemy: «non fece mai se non assassinar mi, e perseguitarmi in publico, et in palese, vietandomi, ch'io sonassi sopra l'Organo da quell' hora, e tessendo sopra di ciò una malignità barbarica ordinaria sua col Vicerè per poter dire quello, che ha detto, e

fare quel, che ha fatto con odio, e biasmo di tutta questa Città, cioè, ch'io era vecchio, e non vedea più lume per sonare». Moreover, he has snatched out of Zenobi's hands «un libro di miniatura di valore di mille, e più scudi, oltre quello, che ho donato al Vicerè, et a sua Madre, che importa duoi centinaia di ducati» (here, perhaps, is confirmation that Zenobi was also a painter). At his wits' ends, with his wife seven months pregnant and his little daughter ill with fever, and having «consumato quanto havevo, ch'erano da ottocento scudi in circa», Zenobi begs the cardinal for a letter demanding restitution of the book of miniatures «ch'io voglio farne subito presente a V. S. Illustrissima, perche è una Cosa da Rè, e da Papa, e so, che da lei sarà stimato, e tenuto in pregio principale». Zenobi concedes that he cannot see well, «ma prego Idio, e Santa Lucia, e Lucilla insieme, che così miracolosamente restin ciechi essi, come io vedo (sua mercè) più di loro, e son tanto vecchio, che se non havessi questa povera Moglie, e misera figliolina, adoprarei un bastone, ò vero una Pistola, come fo questa penna da scrivere, e con la mia cecità, non farei colpo vano». At this point our knowledge of Zenobi's life ceases, and perhaps his life as well not long thereafter.

Zenobi has another minor claim to fame: he was once engaged to be married to the (subsequent) mother of Monteverdi's librettist for *Orfeo*. In an article published in a Sienese journal in 1919, Alfredo Saviotti traced the career of a virtuoso singer, Virginia Vagnoli.¹⁵ A native of Siena, she came with her father Pietro to the court of Guidobaldo II della Rovere at Urbino some time before October 1567.¹⁶ The poet Lodovico Agostini (not to be confused with the composer of that name), who had fallen hopelessly in love with her, praises her singing in a dialogue set in 1569:

la nostra sirena Virginia, la quale col plettro in mano sta in procinto per rapirci seco sopra ai sette cieli; ed assettatosi ciascuno [...] si diè principio al concerto, cantando ella sola alcuni madrigali dello Strigio che poi divenne suo marito e frammettendone alcuni senza voce, fece stupir tutti della velocità, della dolcezza e della grazia della sua voce e mano, le quali unite alla

¹⁵ ALFREDO SAVIOTTI, *Un'artista del Cinquecento, Virginia Vagnoli da Siena*, «Bullettino senese di storia patria», XXVI, 1919, pp. 105-134.

¹⁶ In this month Claudio Merulo, in his capacity as printer, dedicated to her a volume of madrigals by Giovanni Maria Rosso (*Nuovo Vogel* 2457), mentioning that Guidobaldo, «essendo della musica intendentissimo vi ha eletto al suo servitio». Most of Virginia's time was spent in Pesaro, not Urbino; the duke preferred its tranquillity to the hustle-bustle of court.

sua singular bontà e bellezza la rendono al mondo un puro miracolo di natura sopra a quante ne furon mai per tutti i secoli.¹⁷

By good fortune, the contract drawn up for Virginia and her father survives. Together they were to be paid 400 scudi annually – 200 scudi from income-producing properties, which were to be theirs in perpetuity, and 200 scudi in salary – plus the use of a furnished house. In return, they agreed to remain in ducal service, which they might leave only under five conditions: if they were ill treated, if they did not receive their income on time, if such service «fosse impedimento al libero maritare di M.a Virginia», if she wished to become a nun, or if – a clause that must have been subject to a great deal of negotiation – she and her father received an offer «dal quale si sperasse assai maggior bene, utile, essaltatione et grandezza di M.a Virginia», and specifically: «se fossero chiamati da la Maestà dell'Imperatore, S.E. o darà loro licenza di andarvi o vero opererà che M. Pietro possa ricusare l'andata con honore suo».¹⁸ Not long thereafter the offer came. In February 1570 Maximilian II wrote from Speyer to the duke of Urbino, informing him that one of his musicians, Luigi di Zanobi, wished to marry the young singer and bring her to his court, where they would both serve him.¹⁹

In the event, although Virginia left the court of Urbino, she did not marry Zenobi, for by 1571 at the latest she was the wife of Alessandro Striggio; by 1573 she had borne him three children.²⁰ Virginia and Alessandro had perhaps known each other in Venice, where she created a great impression as a singer. According to a dialogue set in Venice in 1556, «non si trova un'altra sua pari e per sua sicurezza nel canto e per vaghezza e attillatura del modo del cantare e per dolcezza nella voce e nel tremolo ch'ella leggiadramente usa cantando»; moreover, «sonando di violone, ella non cede punto nè ad Alfonso [della Viola] nè allo Striggio, che è così famoso in

¹⁷ SAVIOTTI, *Un'artista* cit., pp. 108-109.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 119-120. The contract bears no date, but mentions that «hanno servita S. Ecc.za alcuni mesi adietro».

¹⁹ «Virgineam puellam artis musicae gnaram in uxorem ducere ac cum ea in curia nostra versari et coniuncta opera nobis humiliter inservire», quoted *ibid.*, p. 128.

²⁰ See DAVID BUTCHART, *The Letters of Alessandro Striggio: An Edition with Translation and Commentary*, «Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle», XXIII, 1990, pp. 1-78 at 76, n. 33. The younger Alessandro was born in 1573, a date derived from a memorial plaque raised to his forebears in 1614, on which he gives his age as 41 (*ibid.*); his sister Francesca, the eldest child, married in 1583 (p. 61).

questa materia». ²¹ In view of the seeming suddenness of Virginia's change of plans and marriage to Striggio, we may perhaps read a different story between the lines. I suspect that Zenobi's marriage offer was an elaborate ruse (possibly not on his part), devised to let Virginia out of her contract with the Duke of Urbino, marry Striggio, and join her husband at a rival court, that of Florence (Striggio was known at Maximilian's court from his visit of 1567; the ties between Vienna and Florence were strong at this time because Francesco de' Medici had married Maximilian's sister). But however famous Virginia was in Venice and Urbino, in Florence she did not become one of the star singers; three children in quick succession must have put an end to her career. She outlived her husband by many years, dying in Mantua in 1604.

At some unknown time before Zenobi joined the Ferrarese court he had obtained a knighthood, perhaps from the emperor Rudolf; finally his status was assured. From then on he is often known as the Cavaliere del Cornetto. Putting together this appellation with Lomazzo's reference to him as «anconitano», we may safely identify him with the «Cavaliere Luigi del Cornetto anconitano» so highly praised by Vincenzo Giustiniani:

Sono poi molti sonatori d'altri stromenti, che non starò a nominare, salvo il Cavaliere Luigi del Cornetto anconitano, che lo sonava miracolosamente, et tra l'altre molte volte lo sonò in un mio camerino sopra il cimbalò, ch'era ben serrato et appena si sentiva; e suonava egli il Cornetto con tanta moderazione e giustezza, che fece stupire molti gentil uomini che si diletta- vano di musica, che erano presenti, puoiché il Cornetto non superava il suono del Cimbalò. ²²

²¹ FRANCESCO SANSOVINO, *Cento novelle*, Venice, 1571, p. 230; quoted by Saviotti, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-115. According to the dialogue, Virginia was resident in Murano. Domenico Veniero and Lodovico Agostini exchanged sonnets on Virginia; see *ibid.*, pp. 117-118. She may well have taken part in Veniero's literary salon, home to a number of composers and singers; on this salon, see MARTHA FELDMAN, *The Academy of Domenico Venier, Music's Literary Muse in Mid-Cinquecento Venice*, «Renaissance Quarterly», XLIV, 1991, pp. 476-512. Saviotti reprints several other poems mentioning Virginia. He missed two by Benedetto Guidi, published in the second volume of *De le rime di diversi nobili Poeti Toscani, raccolte da M. Dionigi Atanagi*, Venice, Lodovico Avanzo, 1565, fo. 154r-v, headed in the index «Loda una Madonna Virginia, la quale sonava di liuto, & cantava eccellentissimamente».

²² In his *Discorso sopra la musica de' suoi tempi*, in ANGELO SOLERTI, *Le origini del melodramma*, Turin, Fratelli Bocca, 1903, p. 125; English translation by Carol MacClintock, *Musicological Studies and Documents*, 9; American Institute of Musicology, 1963, pp. 78-79. Newcomb had tentatively suggested the identification. COSTANZO ANTEGNATI, *L'arte organica*, Brescia, 1608 (repr. with a preface by Renato Lunelli, 2nd corr. edn. Mainz, 1958), recalls that his grandfather «era nominato il Cavaglier dall'Organo; come parimente è nominato nella

These meetings perhaps took place in the 1590s, when we know that Zenobi was in Rome. Giustiniani was a keen observer of the contemporary musical scene, and there are enough points in common between his treatise (really a letter) and Zenobi's letter to suggest that the two discussed many musical topics together.

It is not known when Zenobi died: we lose all trace of him after his last letter of 1602. In view of his high-profile position at the court of Ferrara in the 1590s, it seems surprising that he was having such difficulty in the service of the Viceroy in 1601; his bitterness towards the Capellano Maggiore finds pointed echo in his letter to the unnamed prince. Perhaps he was indeed «too old». Or perhaps, as a Cavaliere, he had set his conditions too high, which would not be surprising in view of his negotiations with Wilhelm.

The Date and Destination of the Letter

Zenobi's letter is not a carefully polished and artfully considered epistle written with publication in mind but a response to a request by the prince to answer six questions about the qualities of a perfect musician, whether a singer, a director, a composer, or an instrumentalist. Zenobi was rather reluctant to answer these questions: he had to be asked a second time. Nor was he the only one who had received this questionnaire. He explains his holding back by saying that he would rather be esteemed and loved for his modesty by the prince than be reproved and hated for presumptuousness by those his words would affect – and not without reason, for he has some highly critical remarks to make about a certain type of singer. Although Zenobi would like to think of himself as a moderate man, he cannot control his scorn when he comes to speaking about ignorant and vain singers, and his language becomes quite colourful. It is clear that he is a practising musician, not a diplomatic courtier; the personal traits revealed by this letter go a long way towards explaining why Zenobi had difficulties both at Maximilian's court and in Naples.²³

Città di Ferrara uno il Cavaglier dal Cornetto, per l'eccellenza sua in tal professione» (p. 62). At the same time there was also a Lodovico dal Cornetto, from Brescia, who was in the service of the bishop of Padua, in Rome, where he died in 1619; OTTAVIO ROSSI, *Elogi storici di bresciani illustri*, Brescia, Bartolomeo Fontana, 1620, p. 501. This must be the cornettist «di monsignor Cornaro, vescovo di Padua» mentioned by PIETRO DELLA VALLE, *Della musica dell'età nostra* (1640), reprinted in SOLERTI, *Le origini del melodramma* cit., p. 158, as having performed in his *Carro* in 1606.

Without knowing when the letter was written, it is difficult to hazard a guess at the identity of the prince. Equally, if we knew the addressee, it would be easier to determine the date. While there is nothing in the letter that gives any clue to the addressee, other than his rank, there are several aspects of it that help narrow down the date. The first is the striking resemblance of the terminology for ornaments with that of Giulio Caccini in the preface to *Le nuove musiche* of 1602 (see paras. 13-14 and the commentary), close enough to suggest either that Zenobi was familiar with that publication or else that he had some acquaintance with Caccini in Rome or Florence, or moved in circles in which this terminology was used. Secondly, in para. 25 Zenobi mentions the «theorba». Douglas Alton Smith has made a very plausible case for dating the invention of the theorbo (known in the 1590s by the name *chitarrone*) between the Florentine *intermedi* of 1586, where it was not used, and those of 1589, where over half the pieces had *chitarrone* accompaniment; viewed against the background of the Florentine preoccupation with ancient music and the fanciful ancient instruments in Bernardo Buontalenti's costume sketches, the new instrument might well have been devised especially for Jacopo Peri's impersonation of Arion, the citharode. In 1592 Cavalieri, who certainly ought to have known, stated that the inventor of the instrument was Il Bardella, Antonio Naldi, a lutenist at the court.²⁴ Thus any reference to the theorbo (meaning *chitarrone*, not hurdy-gurdy, to which the term had earlier been applied) should date from 1589 or later. These two points, taken together with the knowledge we now have that Zenobi was in Naples in 1601-1602, make a date of around 1600 most likely.

Lowinsky suggested a date of *c.* 1575 because of the composers mentioned by Zenobi. There are only four: Willaert, Rore, Paolo Animuccia, and Luzzasco (see paras. 5 and 23; Zarlino is also mentioned in para. 5). Willaert and Rore would be at the top of anyone's list for a considerable part of the second half of the century, but in 1596 Zacconi called them *vecchi*. Paolo Animuccia, probably born around 1500 in Florence, also belongs to this early generation, though he is not nearly as distinguished a composer. Luzzasco pub-

²³ It was pointed out by Prof. Szweykowski in the discussion following my lecture in Kraków that the striking contrast in tone and views (especially the attitude to princes) with Giustiniani's letter shows very clearly the difference between the professional and the amateur.

²⁴ See DOUGLAS ALTON SMITH, *On the Origin of the Chitarrone*, «Journal of the American Musicological Society», XXXII, 1979, pp. 440-462.

lished his first book of madrigals in 1571. If Zenobi wrote his letter around the turn of the century, why did he not name any of the musicians who were then famous? My suspicion is that he did not wish to mention a renowned musician, then living, who was not in the prince's employ, for fear of implying that the prince did not have the best musicians at his court. It was far more diplomatic not to mention the newest generation of musicians – and we may note that both at the beginning and the end of the letter Zenobi expresses his fear of offending or being hated for presumptuousness.

There is something very odd about Zenobi's list of musicians: what is Paolo Animuccia doing in this illustrious company? Nothing is known of his career before he became choirmaster at St John Lateran in 1550, a post he left in 1552. There are no firm dates for his activities after then, but two contemporary sources of the 1560s mention that he was *maestro di cappella* to the Duke of Urbino, Guidobaldo II, a post recently confirmed by Richard Sherr's discovery of a letter from him, written from Pesaro in January 1566, to the Duke's secretary in Rome.²⁵ He died some time between 1569 and 1571.²⁶ Paolo Animuccia must have been someone known to the prince; was his name added to the small list to flatter the prince's (or his father's) taste? Guidobaldo II died in 1574 and was succeeded by Francesco Maria II, who ruled until 1621. A solitary and taciturn man by nature, after his wife Lucrezia d'Este left him in 1573 and returned to Ferrara he devoted much time to hunting and to his library. In 1598 Lucrezia died, leaving him free to marry once more, which he seems to have done with some reluctance; however, there was need of an heir. He married Livia della Rovere on 26 April 1599. If Francesco Maria were the prince who wrote to Zenobi, this would have been a good time to do so, for surely changes were made in court life upon his marriage. Livia seems to have had an interest in music; Vincenzo Pellegrini dedicated to her his *Canzoni de intavolatura d'organo fatte alla francese* (Venice, 1599)²⁷ and Giovanni

²⁵ See RICHARD SHERR, *A Letter from Paolo Animuccia. A Composer's Response to the Council of Trent*, «Early Music», XII, 1984, pp. 75-78. Animuccia wanted the secretary to get Cardinal della Rovere to sponsor him for the task of reforming the papal chapel's musical compositions and chant to suit the new «intelligible» style. The other sources are the same dialogue by Lodovico Agostini that mentions Virginia Vagnoli, set in Pesaro in 1569, and PIETRO GAETANO, *De origine et dignitate musices*, dedicated to Guidobaldo.

²⁶ See L. PANNELLA, art. *Paolo Animuccia* in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*.

²⁷ In his dedication, Pellegrini states: «confidandomi, che oltre tante nobilissime virtù,

Priuli offered to her his *Primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice, 1604).

This is a very tentative hypothesis, to be sure, and yet it is suggestive that there are these two indirect links between Zenobi and Urbino, through Virginia Vagnoli and Paolo Animuccia. There may even be a third. We know that Zenobi was a native of Ancona, which is not far from Pesaro, the favoured home of Guidobaldo. Ancona was part of the Papal States, not the duchy of Urbino, but Francesco Lupino, a native of Ancona, was choirmaster at the Duomo in Urbino from 1544 to 1555.²⁸ Might he have brought Zenobi to Urbino as a choirboy? Zenobi signs his letter «devotissimo, et antico Servitore», an expression that seems to indicate that he was once in the prince's service.

Another possibility is the court of Savoy at Turin. Zenobi dedicated his lament on Maximilian to the duke of Savoy. In 1580 Emanuele Filiberto was succeeded by his 18-year-old son Carlo Emanuele, who had a marked interest in music. When the plague struck Turin in 1599 a number of his musicians fell victim; in 1601 he initiated his efforts to reconstitute the music at court by appointing Pasquino Bastini, who had been in service for thirty years, as «capo musico nostro tanto dei presenti musici nostri sonatori et cantatori quanto di ogni altri». The letter of appointment begins: «Volendo noi ritornare al pristino stato la musica di nostra Camera et Capella già per la contagione passata et altre occurrenze ridotta a pochissimo numero».²⁹ In such circumstances, Carlo Emanuele might well have asked for advice, and Zenobi, through the dedication of his lament on Maximilian to the duke's father, might have qualified as an «antico Servitore».

Luigi Zenobi, obscure though he may have been up to now, was an international figure in his time, known in Ancona, Urbino, Vienna, Munich, Turin, Milan, Ferrara, Rome, and Naples. Not only famed

che risiedono nella persona di V. Sig. Illustriss. possedendo così egregiamente questa facoltà della Musica, sia per agradire questo picciolo dono»; see CLAUDIO SARTORI, *Bibliografia della musica strumentale italiana stampata in Italia fino al 1700*, Florence, Olschki, 1952, p. 104.

²⁸ See BRAMANTE LIGI, *La cappella musicale del Duomo d'Urbino*, «Note d'archivio per la storia musicale», II, 1925, pp. 45-48.

²⁹ See STANISLAO CORDERO DI PAMPARATO, *I musici alla Corte di Carlo Emanuele I di Savoia*, «Biblioteca della Società Storica Subalpina», CXXI, 1930, pp. 31-142 at pp. 59-60. Neither in this article nor in the same author's *Emanuele Filiberto di Savoia, protettore dei musici*, «Rivista musicale italiana», XXXIV, 1927, pp. 229-247 and 555-578; XXXV, 1928, pp. 29-40, have I found mention of Zenobi.

as a cornettist, his advice was sought as a knowledgeable musician and judge of singers and players. That he gave it so freely and in such detail is our good fortune.

The Letter

Zenobi's letter is presented below in a slightly edited version: paragraphing has been added and the paragraphs numbered to facilitate comparison with the English translation (see Appendix); accents, which appear haphazardly in the original, have been regularized and some punctuation added. The more obvious errors have been corrected, with missing letters or phrases added in angle brackets. But no attempt was made to regularize Zenobi's rather careless syntax.

The letter is followed by a brief commentary on some of the problematic terms. Much more could be said, of course, and connections traced between the ideas expressed in the letter and contemporary writings on the same subject. Suffice it to say that the closest points of comparison may be made with Lodovico Zacconi, *Prattica di musica utile et necessaria si al compositore per comporre i canti suoi regolatamente, si anco al cantore per assicurarsi in tutte le cose cantabili* (Venice, 1596 and 1622), Vincenzo Giustiniani's *Dialogo di musica*, written c. 1628 but referring retrospectively to the last quarter of the sixteenth century, and, as regards the ornaments in particular, the preface to Giulio Caccini's *Le nuove musiche* (Florence, 1602).

Since the letter itself amounts to a small treatise, I append here a list of the principal subjects discussed in each paragraph, as a table of contents:

1. Introduction; the letter received from the prince
2. The six questions asked by the prince
3. Considerations on the questions
4. The eight requirements to be able to sing with assurance
5. The first requirement of a good director (*rimettitore*): knowledge of counterpoint
6. The second requirement of a good director: an acute ear
7. The third and fourth requirements of a good director: a wide vocal range and having taught how to improvise counterpoint
8. Why composers may not be good directors
9. The difference between a singer and a musician
10. How to sing with grace and with art; the requirements of a good bass

11. How to judge a good bass
12. The requirements of a good tenor and alto
13. The requirements of a good soprano and the definition of various ornaments
14. More requirements of a good soprano
15. Correct deportment of singers; faults committed by poor singers
16. General considerations on instrumentalists
17. The requirements of a good wind instrumentalist; remarks on the *concerti grossi*
18. The requirements of a good string instrumentalist
19. The requirements of a good trombonist and cornettist; more on the requirements of a good harpsichordist, lutenist, and harpist
20. The requirements of a good composer: general remarks
21. The requirements of a good composer: ability to direct
22. The requirements of a good composer: composition
23. The requirements of a good composer: text-setting, style
24. Remarks on incompetent and pretentious musicians, and the relation of great artists with patrons
25. The requirements of good players of foundation instruments («instruments that sound all the parts»): harpsichord, lute, harp, the orbo, cittern, and vihuela; the role of the accompanist
26. The true musician
27. The common faults of those who pretend to be musicians
28. Conclusion

Serenissimo mio Signore, Signore et Padron Singolarissimo.

1. A me parve di ritener, come si dice, fra i denti, il mio parere intorno alle sei cose, che piacque all'Altezza Sua comandarmi, ch'io le scrivesse in materia di Musica, e di Musici, come Cantanti, Compositori, Contrapuntisti, et Istrumentisti di qual si fosse strumento da fiato, e da corde; giudicando io, che per me fosse meglio l'esser da lei, e da chi ragionevolmente sarà tocco, stimato, et amato modesto; che ripreso, et odiato come troppo ardito. Ma perché mi fu sc(r)itto due volte già, che s'io non iscrivevo il mio parere per verità, conforme all'intelligenza, che Idio m'havea data in questa professione; o sarei tenuto ignorante, o poco suo servitore, e conoscitor de gl'oblighi, ch'io tengo alla Grandezza sua; eleggo più tosto essere odiato, se pur merita ciò chi dice il vero lontanissimo da tutte le passioni, che detto ingrato, e senza verità dall'Altezza da chi poco sa e nemeno intende, di poco sapere.

2. Desidera, e comanda l'Altezza sua che io le dica sei cose in somma, che son queste.

Che conditioni deve haver uno per cantar sicuro la sua parte.

Che cosa ricerca il rimetter bene, o perché non si rimette bene.

Chi si deve chiamar Musico, et è veramente, e la differenza da Musico a cantore.

Che cosa deve haver un cantante per cantare con arte, con gratia e con giuditio.

Che differenza sia dal comporre da Maestro Musico, o vero alla buona, e sonar similmente.

Et in che cosa peccano i Musici Cantori, et Istrumentisti per ordinario, se non sanno, né hanno altro che musica.

3. Sei cose in vero, ciascuna per sé malagevole assai, e che converrebbe digerire a maggiore intelletto del mio. Tuttavia, perché l'Altezza sua scrive di haver già in mano il parer di molti, e che le manca solo il mio; per servirla comincio, e dico che sette cose, secondo me, deve avere un Cantante sicuro, e se havesse l'ottava [orig.: ottavo], darebbe inditio maggiore assai di sicurezza.

4. La Prima è il non essere ignorante affatto del contrapunto. La Seconda deve cantar sicuro le cantilene composte a crome, e semicrome. La Terza deve cantar sicuro quelle, che son composte a salti, come di seste, di settime, di none, d'undecime, hor preste, hor tarde. La Quarta deve cantar sicuro quelle, che son composte di contratemi mescolati con artificiose durezza. La Quinta deve cantar sicuro quelle, che sono cromaticamente composte. La Sesta deve cantare e conoscere sicuro tutte, o la maggior [199v] parte delle proportioni [orig.: propositioni], e sesquialtere, che son sparse per l'opere antiche, e moderne. La Settima deve conoscere perfettamente i segni musicali, et i tempi et il valore delle note in quelli. La Ottava sarebbe, ch'egli, ritrovando errore, o di compositore, o di copia, sapesse rimediare improvvisamente all'errato, cantando, e ritornare nella sua parte senza aiuto d'altri, e per il cantar sicuro è facile a dire; ma difficilissimo, e miracoloso a trovare, perché in questa rete si pigliano cantori vecchi a centinaia, e compositori a dozzine, e se l'Altezza sua ne verrà alla prova; lo vedrà con effetto.

5. Passo al rimetter bene, e dico che per ciò fare, sono necessarie quattro cose. La prima il rimettitore [orig.: remittitore] deve intendere, e possedere Eccellentemente (il Contrapunto buono e il Contrapunto artificioso) [here, and later, the scribe appears to have jumped over repeated words]: il Contrapunto buono si chiama quello, che non ammette falsità manifeste, tuttavia d'ordine, e di stile non camina bene affatto, ma come si dice, alla buona, et è apunto come l'aglio ch'è buono a mangiare, ma più al gusto de' contadini e de' bastagi, che de' Cavalieri, e delicati, li quali non restano sempre con gusto fetente. Contrapunto artificioso si chiama quello, ch'è fatto, o scritto con isqui(s)tezza d'arte, d'ingegno, di giuditio, e di Arte [sic], il che consiste nell'ordine, nella regola, e nel modo non conosciuto, se non da ingegni spiritosi, et elevati. Essemplio di tutto ciò si può havere nel Zerlino, nelle compo-

sitioni d'Adriano Villaere [*sic*], di Cipriano, di Paulo Animuccia, di Luzzasco, e de Altri Musici, o simili, o poco differenti da loro, e non di molti meschini d'arte, e di spirito, li quali tutto l'anno, infilzando note, e consonanze a caso, che li fa notare, e dissonare fra valent'huomini, e tenendo forniti i pizzicagnoli con lo schiccherare cartuzze, e cartelle, si danno ad intendere d'esser Musici rari.

6. La seconda cosa necessaria per rimetter bene, non è altro, che havere l'orecchia pronta, presta et aggiustata, prevenendo più tosto in certo modo, chi [orig.: che] è per uscir della parte, che aspettando, ch'egli esca.

7. La terza conditione necessaria per rimetter bene consiste nell'haver da Idio e dalla natura voce, che vada honestamente alto e basso, ma più basso che alto, come fondamento che mancando, apporta più pensiero al rimettitore di quel che fanno l'altre parti di mezzo, et estrema. E perché ci son huomini rari nel Contrapunto, che per difetto di voce, e per altro, che si dirà qui di sotto poco, non ponno rimettere; però, non tutti quelli, che compongono, rimettono [200r] e fanno contrapunto con la voce a mente, e vanno attorno boriosi, si hanno a tenere per buoni e veri Musici, sendo che il Comporre alla buona, non fa il musico buono; né il rimetter semplicemente, o contrapunteggiare su la parte cantando, perché son due conditioni, che si acquistano nella Quarta cosa, o conditione, che molte volte insegna il rimettere in alcuni casi, e fino a certo termine, la quale non è altra che l'haver tenuto scuola molti anni, dove molti imparano di contrapunteggiare, e rimettere come hò già detto; ma nella Compositione non vagliano un pane; sì come molti compongono assai bene, ma non sanno rimettere, o per non haver tenuto scuola, o per non havere né pronta, né presta, né giusta l'orecchia, o per havere a rimettere in cose difficili, o cromatiche, o contratempate, o fatte a salti sproportionati, o veloci, Cantori mediocri [orig.: mediocre], e molto meno ignoranti in cose non più vedute da loro.

8. E creda l'Altezza sua che Compositori buoni quanto si vogliano, li quali siano atti a rimettere Cantori mediocri in cose difficili, e spetialmente, se duoi, o tre di loro perdono la parte insieme, son Cornacchie bianche, et Armellini neri. Ma nelle cose fatte con la pancia inanzi, et alla buona, molti lo faranno, e senza molta difficoltà. Di qui è, che molti, li quali non possono rimettere, o per (non) haver tenuto scuola, et essersi essercitati a contrapunteggiare in voce con scolari, o non han voce per andare alto, e basso; ma tuttavia sono intendentissimi della compositione, e del Contrapunto da maestro con la penna, e ragionando, sono senza dubbio degni del nome di Musici veri, e di Valent'huomini poi che non può esser colpa, né nota di biasmo dove, o per qualità di nascimento, o di stato, o per difetto di Natura, non fanno, né fecero mai cose tali.

9. Vengo poi a dire a sua Altezza, che stravagantissimo e strano humore mi pare che sia quello di alcuni, li quali per cantare, non dirò sicuro, bene

con gratia, con giuditio la loro parte se ben ciò non bastarebbe [orig.: la starebbe]; ma per cantarla, o mediocramente, o male, o miserabilmente, vogliono esser chiamati Musici, e non Cantori, o Cantanti. Poi che dal Cantore, al Musico, è quella differenza, o simile, ch'è da uno il qual vive con quelle leggi, ch'ei portò da Natura rozze bene, ad uno, che consumò molti, e molti anni per gli studij più famosi del Mondo studiando legge, et al fine si fe Dottore, e può salire in Cathedra, leggere ad altri, interpretare, glosare, e regger popoli, e stati [orig.: statite]. Si deve dunque chiamar Musico, Musici [200v] quelli che intendono eccellentemente il Contrapunto, o cantando, o scrivendo, e che non havendo mancamento per sua colpa, canta securo, rimette bene, e compone da Maestro. Cantanti, o Cantori si chiaman quelli, che cantano le parti alte, mezzane, o basse; se bene securo, con gratia, e con giuditio, eccellenti, se mediocramente, mediocri, se ordinariamente, ordinarij, se malamente, da dozzina; se per pratica, pratici; se naturalmente, naturali.

10. Honesta cosa è hora, ch'io dica all'Altezza che condizioni debba haver uno, per cantar con gratia, con giuditio, con passaggi nobili, e con arte, o come comunemente si dice, bene affatto la sua parte. E similmente, chi suona strumento d'una parte sola; che poi si dirà di quegli strumentisti, che ponno sonare tutte le parti insieme, e fare armonia da se stessi. Principalmente deve l'Altezza sapere, che le parti ordinarie son quattro, come Basso, Tenore, Contralto, e Soprano, alle quali e con le quali sono una cosa la quinta, e la sesta parte, o la settima, et ottava, che si cantasse, ma regolarmente le parti, son le prime quattro dette. Colui, che canta il Basso, se canta in compagnia, è obligato a saper tener salda la sua parte, giusta, e sicura: salda quanto al cantare, giusta quanto alla voce, sicura [orig.: securo] quanto al sapere, e se vuole alcuna volta passeggiare: deve appostare il tempo, che le tre parti tengan saldo, e conoscere i luoghi, dove può fare il passaggio. Perché il passeggiare al Basso, quando gli salta [orig.: salda] l'humore, senza conoscer molto bene il tempo, et il luogo di ciò fare, senza dubbio è argomento di crassa ignoranza. Deve poi conoscere, e sapere quali siano li passaggi proprij da Basso, perché il farli da Tenore, da Contralto, e da Soprano, è argomento del già detto chiarissimo. Deve poi haver trillo, e tremolo netto, e voce nell'alto e nel basso eguale di tuba; né si potrà dire realmente Basso, se non va ventidue voci alto, e basso con eguale tondezza di tuba; ma si chiamerà tenore sforzato, che col perpetuo cantare, e gridare, habbia egualità di polso nell'alte, come nelle basse, e porti seco sempre una certa crudezza risonante, la quale a chi non intende par bella, e buona; ma a chi sa, brutta e vitiosa.

11. Quando il Basso canta poi solo, non è da credere al suo Cantare con leuto, con Cimbalo, e simili, perché con tali strumenti non hanno si presto espressa la voce, che la lasciano, e così, o sia basso, o d'altra parte, può cantare infinite falsità, che son passate perché l'armonia perduta dello

strumento imperfetto non le lascia sentire se non che chi sa benissimo le conosce per false e male intese, e per conseguenza fa tenere ignorante il Cantore, ma con organo dove si conosce di buona maniera chi canta, e chi suona con giuditio, e con arte, se la persona intendente ci ferma l'udito. E questo è quello, che manifesta [201r] l'ignoranza, e presuntione di molti, che cantando sopra l'organo disgratiatissimamente si pascono con la sentenza del Volgo, e della Canagliuola, la quale, tanto sentendo uno infelice ciarlatano con un poco di voce cagnina, o di dispositione asinina, subito cominciano a sciamare, «o buono! o bene! o che voce divina! Che ve ne pare messer Non-intende? Che ne dite Signor Parl'a-caso? Non è miracoloso Signor Non-so-che-me-dica?» E così si [orig.: se] restano molti miseri uccellati da gli intendenti, e commendati da gl'ignoranti compagni. Ne si maravigli l'Altezza sua che i Principi riconoscano molte volte più questi d'altri che vagliono, e meritano assai per virtù, e per sapere, perché i Principi, dal primo giorno, che cominciano a governare, perdono la verità, et il secondo aborriscono tutti i suoi seguaci, e di qui è che non trovano chi lor la dica, e però inciampano in queste, e simili cose, oltre che ben disse quel Poeta,

Che nel proceder pazzo di fortuna,
felice è 'l saggio al fin sotto la luna.

12. Il tenore deve passeggiare quando il Basso, e le parti compagne stanno ferme, et usar passaggi proprij della parte sua, e non toccare quelli del Basso, se non quando la Compositione lo lascia in sua vece et all'ora farlo con giuditio, e discrezione. Et altrettanto può e deve fare il Contralto. Ma io lodarei in queste parti di mezzo, che elleno passaggiassero di rado, e si contentassero di sapere ascendere e discendere con la voce gratiosamente ondeggiando et usando tall'ora qualche trillo, o tremolo gentile, che senza dubbio ne sarebbero assai più lodati da chi sa che cosa importi cantar bene. Ma cantando sole con qualche strumento di tutte le parti, in questo caso, ponno allargarsi, quanto al passeggiare; ma non però tanto, che vengano a noia e paia, che tutto lo studio loro sia riposto in questo. Avvertendo al Tenore, che i suoi passaggi sian tali, che poco, o nulla tocchino la parte del Basso o del Contralto; et al contralto, che i suoi tocchino, o poco, o nulla quelle del soprano, e del Tenore. Così si canta con giuditio, e con arte, e non a caso, et a rompicollo come hoggi fanno alcuni meschinissimi, tuttavia pretendendo di toccare il fondo all'orciuolo in materia di sapere cantare, e beccandosi dolcemente l'horgoglio [orig.: l'Horloggio]. E perché meglio m'intenda l'Altezza, i passi delle parti di mezzo s'hanno a stender poco, anzi più tosto debbono con arte intrecciarsi perché piglino poco luogo, e faccino bello udire in che si conosce maggiormente l'arte et il giuditio del cantante.

13. Resta il soprano, il quale è veramente l'ornamento di tutte l'altre parti sicome il Basso è fondamento. Il Soprano dunque ha l'obbligo, e campo franco di passag[201v]giare, di scherzare, e d'abbellire in somma un corpo

musicale, ma se ciò non fa con arte, con leggiadria, e con giuditio, è noioso a sentire, duro a diggerire, e stomacoso a sopportare. Egli principalmente per far bello udire, ha da essere naturale, o puerile, senza difetto di naso, senza gettar di testa, travolger di spalle, o movimento d'occhi di ganasse di (b)arbozzo, e di persona. Deve andare alto e basso con egualità di tuba, e non havere un registro nell'alto ed un'altro nel basso. Deve havere bonissimo contrapunto, perché senza questo, canta a caso, e fa mille cosaccie. Deve cantando fare intendere specificatamente le parole, e non ingarvugliarle con passaggi, né coprirle con la risonanza soverchia della voce, o campanina, o roca, o rozza. Deve havere (il groppo granito e il groppo posato;) il groppo granito è quello, che tocca le due note come sol, e fa, o la e sol di semicrome spiccate. Groppo posato è quello, che si fa di crome semplici, toccando espressamente pur le due note. Trillo è quello, che non si ferma, né in riga né ispatio (ma muove sempre) con velocità. Tremolo è quello, che tocca della riga, e dello spatium in qual'si voglia modo, ch'ei si faccia.

14. Deve il soprano di più havere l'ondeggiar [orig.: ondeggiar] della voce, conoscere i luoghi delle esclamazioni, e non farle indifferentemente, né alla grossa come molti fanno. Deve sapere salir con la voce, e scender con gratia, ritenendo tall'ora parte della nota passata, e ritoccandola alquanto, se la consonanza lo richiede, e sopporta. Deve sapere far nascere le durezza, o le false [orig.: farze. See commentary] dove il Compositore non l'ha tocche, né fatte, ma lasciate al giuditio del Cantante. Deve unire et accordare con l'altre parti. Deve tall'ora portar le voci con disprezzo, tall'ora con modo di strascinarle, tall'ora con galanteria di motivo. Deve esser ricco di passaggi quanto al sapere, e di giuditio, quanto al valersene. Deve conoscere quali siano i buoni passi cominciando da quelli, che si fanno con grandissimo artificio d'una nota, di due, di tre, di quattro, di cinque, di sei, di sette e di otto. Deve con essi sapersi stendere dal basso, al alto, e dal alto, al basso, deve saperli intrecciare, aggroppare, radoppiare, deve sapere accennar la cadenza [orig.: l'accadenza], e fuggirla, deve saper scherzar di semiminime spartite e seguenti, deve saper cominciare un passo di crome, e finirlo con semicrome, e cominciarlo di semicrome, e finirlo di crome. Deve variar sempre passi buoni ne' medesmi canti, deve saper passeggiare in ogni sorte di cantilene, o veloci, o cromatiche, o ferme. Deve conoscer l'opere, che vogliono passaggi, e quelle, che non li richieggono. Deve cantando una medesima cosa più volte, variar passi sempre. Deve saper cantare il canto schietto, cioè senza passo alcuno ma solo con gratia, trillo, tremolo, ondeggiamento, et esclamatione. Deve conoscer la [202r] forza delle parole, o temporali, o spirituali, ch'elle si siano; e dove si parla di volare, di tremare, di pianger, di ridere, di saltare, di gridare, di falso e cose simili, deve sapere accompagnarle con la voce. Deve haver Echi passi hor continui et hora separati. Deve tall'ora saper cominciare con voce gagliarda, e lasciarla a poco a poco morire; e tall'ora cominciare, o finire con voce piana, et a poco a poco avviarla; deve saper passeggiare a salti, a contratemp, et a sesquialtere, deve conosce-

re i luoghi molto bene che ricercano i passaggi, deve partirsi con giuditio, e terminare a tempo con chi canta seco, o suona, deve altramente cantare in chiesa, altramente in Camera, altramente all'aria, sì di giorno come di notte; altramente un mottetto, altramente una Villanella, altramente una lamentatione, altramente un canto allegro, altramente una Messa, altramente un falso bordone, altramente un aria, et haver a ciascuna di dette cose motivo, passaggi, e stile differenti di modo, che si conosca l'artifitio, et il saper del Cantore [orig.: Cantare].

15. Ma hoggi giorno quando si travolgon le spalle, o la vita, come se si avesse dolor colico, quando si stralunan gl'occhi a guisa di lunatici, quando si battenno le ganasse, et il barbozzo, come sogliono i tartaglioni parlando, quando si giuoca di naso, o si grida, e strilla come arrabbiato, e si fanno sei o vero otto note disgratiatamente, et allo sproposito con falsità, e con poco giuditio, senza saper quando né come, o dove si finiscano, e (co)minciano; quando si torna sempre al medesimo verso, come fanno i Papagalli ammaestrati, e non s'esce mai di due, o di tre cantilene mendicate, et acconcie da persone, che sanno poco, o si persuadon troppo; e s'hanno per uditori gente amica del canto, che si suole udire il quinto Mese dell'anno, e non conoscono la differenza dal cantare al gracchiare, (né) dall'intonare allo stonare, o dal sapere all'ignorare; basta che si alzino le voci a modo di Goggiotte in supgate [= inzuppate?], e si dica, «o bene, o buona, o come miracolosamente, che cosa divina, che raro cantante», da che nasce poi, che viva in terra un seminario perpetuo di fusti, che con l'orecchie crollanti, accennino, che la pioggia è vicina.

16. Hora, tutte, o la maggior quantità delli sopra scritti conditioni, deve havere medesimamente uno strumentista, che suoni, o Cornetto [orig.: Cornette], o Viola da Gamba, o Violino, o flauto, o fifaro, o simili d'una parte sola. Che di quegli strumentisti, che suonano tutte le parti; dirò poi all'Altezza sua per verità e con brevità quel che io ne sento, e conosco senza pensiero di pregiudicare a nessuno, sì come nel resto detto, intesi et intendo, parendomi, che ciò richiegga il comandamento dell'Altezza sua e la modestia, e sincerità virtuosa e mia.

17. Vero è che gli strumentisti da fiato hanno di più che debbono sapere [202v] la bontà, quantità, e varietà delle lingue, la perfezzione dello strumento, et il forte, e'l piano quando bisogna; ma più il piano debbono curar del forte, come quello che serve per le Camere de' Principi, et in luoghi di rispetto, e fa maggiormente scoprire i difetti, e l'eccellenza di colui, che suona, il che non avviene su le Ringhiere, per le Cappelle, e dove si suona alla sforzata, perché quivi (sta) ogn'huomo poco intendente, et ammaestrato per qual cosa. Il medesimo avviene nei Concerti grossi, che fanno rumore assai e passan tutti gli spropositi, le falsità, gli stonamenti, e l'ignoranza di chi suona, o strumento da fiato, o da corde. Ma quando si canta, e suona con

modo, e con un solo; al primo motivo, si fa giuditio del sapere, o del non saper d'uno.

18. Gli strumentisti da corde, come di Viola, e di gambe, e di Violino; hanno a conoscersi nella perfezione della arcata, nella bontà (del) polso dell'istrumento, e delle corde varietà, ricchezza nella proprietà et isquisitezza [orig.: inquisitezza] de' passaggi e nel tremolo, nello striscio, e nella facilità e sicurezza del lirare. Quelli del leuto, e del Cimbalo, e dell'Arpa, si scuoprono nella dolcezza, prontezza, pulitezza et agilità della mano, nella Eccellenza della fantasia nel sonare con musica eletta, e contraponto da Maestro sopra un Basso e mezzo [passamezzo], una Gagliarda, una fuga, un canto fermo, e simili cose.

19. Quelli del Trombone, si scuoprono nel tirar giusto, nel sonar dolce, nel fuggire il buino, e nell'immitatione della voce humana bassa, sì come il Cornetto nell'alta. (Quelli del cornetto) nel sonar mezzo tuono, e fuori di tuono quando bisognasse, nell'..... [blank space of one word] dello strumento, nella gratia, nell'imitatione della voce humana puerile, nell'isquisitezza, e varietà de' passaggi, nel tenere lo strumento con gratia e non scomporsi punto sonando et altre parti molti. E fra tutte le cose, che fanno conoscere il sapere, o l'ignoranza di chi suona Cimbalo, leuto, et Arpa, per ordinario, è il sonar con Maestrevole artificio un opera partita di Compositore eccellente, e spetialmente all'improvviso. Dove si scuopre la dolcezza, prontezza, pulitezza et agilità della mano, la qualità e varietà de' passaggi et il giuditio, con cui senza offesa della compositione il sonatore va aggiungendo all'opera de' suoi pensieri, e capricci con maniera, e con gratia i trilli, i tremoli, il garbo della vita, et altro. Che per dirne il vero si veggono assai più difetti, che effetti, brutti, vitiosi, et insopportabili affatto, come di qui a poco dirò a sua Altezza.

20. E tempo ch'io le dica del modo di comporre musicalmente da Maestro, e con gratia, e che cosa deve havere un Compositor tale, quando non habbia impedimento di natura, o di stato, che in questi casi, egli non è tenuto all'impossibile né all'indecente, ma basta che ei sappia dire per che ragione ciò faccia, o non faccia.

21. Il Compositore, e Musico Maestro, deve dunque sapere principalmente quando non habbia impedimento come ho detto, cantare securissimo la parte, deve havere finissima orecchia, deve rimetter bene non solo in cose fatte alla buona, ma in ogni cantilena difficile, o per arte, o per salti, o per sesquialtere, o per canoni, o per intonatione, o per contratempi, o per velocità di note. Perché il Musico Compositore che non canta sicuro, è come uno, che sa scrivere, ma non sa leggere, [203r] e quello che compone e non sa rimettere, è come uno che ha la testa senza il braccio destro, e rimettendo solamente in cose alla buona e facile, è simile a chi fa giuochi di mano, che alle genti grosse pare miracoloso, et in effetto è huomo da dozzina, e chi

rimette in cose ordinarie Cantori mediocri facilmente si chiama rimettitor pacifico. Ma chi rimette bene un Cantor tale solo in cose difficili di più maniere si può dire valoroso rimettitore [orig.: rimettere], e chi rimette in dette cose difficili e di diversa difficoltà due, o tre cantori tali usciti [orig.: uscite] dalla parte loro in un medesimo tempo; meritamente si chiama Compositore e rimettitore valentissimo, e raro.

22. Deve sapere, fare cantare in modo le sue parti, che ciascuna da se stessa riesca gratiosa a cantarsi, senza salti sproportionati, e boraccia e ritoccar l'istesse corde tante volte, che paia noioso. Deve venire alle cadenze con modi inusitati, e leggiadri, non a caso, e per usanciaccia, come molti fanno, ma guidato dall'arte, per la quale si conosca da chi sa, che ciò fece con giudizio, e con spirito di maestro. Deve osservare, che le parti estreme, come Basso, e soprano, non vadano [orig.: vadono] estreme tanto, che siano incantabili, e medesimamente, i Contralti, e Tenore stiano nelle corde loro, e non passino i termini. Deve molto eccellentemente conoscere i tuoni regolari, trasportati, e misti in pruova. Dico conoscer eccellentemente perché molti nelle cantilene escono di tuono e non se ne avvegono poco, né molto, molti altri componeranno del quarto e sarà terzo, altri del quinto, e sarà sesto, altri del secondo, e sarà diverso. Deve sapere in Eccellenza contrapunteggiare in più maniere, cioè osservatamente, artifiziosamente et ordinariamente, senza barbarismi, e modi non usati, né approvati da Musici antichi, e maestri dell'arte. Deve saper volgere, o voltare le parti, conoscer le doppezze artificiose, haver molti secreti musicali, diversità di canoni, cognitione intiera dei segni tutti musicali, delle proporzioni, et Hemiolie, dei Generi, della valuta delle note, nei tempi segnati, dei tuoni regolari male usati, come in molti canti fermi moderni si vede.

23. Deve saper porre in eccellenza le parole nelle cantilene, o compositioni, non solo quanto agl'accenti [orig.: accordi] ma quanto al significato loro. Deve sapere dell'opere, che esso compone, a quali convenga la leggiadria, a chi l'arte, a chi la gravità, a chi la mestitia, a chi l'allegrezza, a chi gli scherzi, a chi la piettà, e non comporre indifferentemente ogni sorte di cose, quasi l'arte fosse così povera, et angusta, che non potesse mostrarsi per ogni via facilmente, sendo che, non deve assomigliarsi l'allegrezza d'un opera ecclesiastica, all'allegrezza d'un opera lasciva; né la mestitia d'una lamentatione, o messa da morti, a quella d'un lascivo appassionato; non l'aria d'una Canzon franzese alla Villanella; né la pietà d'una lamentatione di Hiereimia al falsobordone, né il madrigale deve parere aria semplice, e così vadasi discorrendo. Questi termini furono osservati in suprema eccellenza da Messer Adriano; da Cipriano, e da Paulo Animuccia, e chi andrà esaminando l'opere loro, se ne avvedrà chiaramente.

24. Potrei dir più, all'Altezza sua del Compositore, ma per non esser lungo, mi fermo. E dico, che hoggi, non è impiatratore [203v] di cartelle che non ardisca e voglia il nome di compositore, né scolaro ingnorantissimo,

che non affetti, e voglia il nome di Maestro di scuola; né animal pacifico, che raggli, che non muora per esser chiamato bel cantante, o musico; né voce del mese di maggio; che non pretenda merito d'audienza stellare; né ingnoranza si affettata, crassa, e supina, che non pretenda d'esser sorella carnale della sapienza; né giuditio goffo e bestiale, che non si venda per un Platone, o per un Boetio nel dar giuditio subito, secondo, che la peccoraggine il guida, di chi canta, e di chi suona; e di chi [orig.: che] è musico, e compone. E medesamente non è Ginnetto da molino, che non faccia professione di squadrare alla prima chi [orig.: che] habbia voce, chi canta miracolosamente, e chi è huomo raro. Et mi perdoni l'Altezza sua s'io dico, che a questo è venuto l'età nostra per la facil credenza e per l'avaritia de' Principi, li quali pascono i Valent'huomini di speranze, e di parole, e gl'ignoranti di vanto e di favori. E di qui è che i Valent'huomini conoscendo ciò, e comandati da molti <di> grado, rare volte ubidiscono, e però son chiamati bizzarri, perché non sanno soffrire d'esser strapazzati e messi [orig.: mossi] in dozzina con gli altri, e gl'ignoranti; con un cenno, per un pasto, e per mercede, andrebbero in India, e quivi lasciarebbono il fiato, e la voce, e son tenuti, e chiamati huomini bravi e galanti.

25. Hora dico all'Altezza sua che gli strumentisti che suonano tutte le parti, come Cimbalo, Leuto, Arpa, Theorba, Cetera, Chitarra alla spagnuola, o per dir meglio Viola, hanno a fondarsi nella dolcezza, facilità e terribilità della mano, nella galanteria del dito, e del tremolo, nella bontà della fantasia, nella ricchezza, e varietà de' passaggi buoni, nel buon garbo di tener la vita, e lo strumento in mano, nell'isquisitezza dello stile, e nella prontezza di servirsi dello strumento, che suonano. Ma sopra molte cose, <debbono havere> del giuditio nel sapersi concertare, con chi suona strumento d'una parte sola, o con esso loro canta. Perché in questo caso, non è sì gran maestro, che non meriti [orig.: merito] lode nel saper far l'ufficio di scolaro, sonando, schiette con tempo giusto, e pulitamente tutte le parti, mentre l'altro suona, o canta seco, e tacendo quello, moversi con maniera gentile a qualche cosa piuttosto vaga, che artificiosa per accompagnarlo.

26. Mi resta dire all'Altezza sua in che cosa peccano i Musici per ordinario, e qui io distinguo, e dico, che si trovano Musici veri et huomini tinti di questo nome di Musici. I Musici veri son quelli, che accordano [204r] molto bene l'armonia de' costumi loro con quella della musica, e hanno e questi sanno ubidire e servire, a chi meriterà d'essere ubidito, e servito; e si sdegnano di fare il medesimo a chi merita poco, e sono d'honore, di valore, e di conscienza, sapendo tenere il grado loro, e mantenere la riputatione, e grandezza de' Padroni, a quali servono. Non sono invidiosi, né maligni, perché non sono ignoranti, ma non ponno soffrire, da chi non sa quanto essi sanno si lodì, né biasmi nesuno in questa professione di musica, di cantare, e di sonare. Se bene saranno mendichi, non si moverano giamai per ingordigia di mercede; né d'altro a far copia di se stessi, né di quel che sanno,

e se ciò faranno, sarà per amore d'Iddio, per cortesia, e per termine di creanza, e di amicitia. Sono berzagli degl'ignoranti, dove tirano tutti di mira perpetuamente, né fanno altra professione, che di unir(s)i tall'ora quanto ponno, e perseguitarli, e sparlare alla peggio. Il che fanno ascosamente perché apertamente son subito conosciuti, e svergognati da gente discreta, et amica del vero. E così stanno i musici veri, con stupore e quasi attoniti e stupidi e contemplando come il mondo sia venuto a tanta cecità di mente, che non vegga la selva, il laberinto, e le falangi di questi tali, che vanno tuttavia cercando di soffocare il merito, di uccidere il valore, di rubar la fama, e di lacerare il vero e la virtù loro singolare mentre sta essa [orig.: esse] in maniera di galla, o d'olio eccellente sempre sopra l'aqua della loro persecutione.

27. Quelli, che son tinti di musici per lo più peccano in questo, che vendendo, un valente huomo, e raro contestarsi [orig.: congestarsi] né sonare, o cantare agevolmente ad istanza indifferentemente di chi non merita udirlo, sono chiamati bizzarri, fantastici, e lunatici. E però i tinti, che affettano d'esser stimati valent'huomini, anco essi fanno il bizzarro, il fantastico, et il lunatico, sempre fuori di proposito, e di ragione, e ne son chiamati ignorantoni, e bestiali, meritamente come i bastagi volessero fare i Colonelli, e generali d'esserciti. Ma questa loro pazzia si tira subito a segno, o con buon pasto, o con quattro soldi, e si fanno ragghiar tanto, e sonacchiare, e pestare che fanno venir nausea, e vomito a ciascuno. Sono amici di bagordi, di luoghi publici, e di molti vitij. Sono ignoranti, e però maligni, a tutta passata se non hanno dove vanno pappa, e bumba, si sdegnano [orig.: stegnano] e si ar(r)abbiano, dicendo d'esser stati mal trattati. Se son chiamati, subito metton la taglia, e cercano di farsela l'uno all'altro pur che possono. E se son ripresi di questo, brutto procedere, dicono, che non è vergogna il viver della sua professione a nes[204v]suno. E se si replica, che non il viver della sua professione, ma il viver con indegnità e termini meccanici, è vergogna; subito rispondono, che la necessità li fa viver così. E se si ritorna a dire che la necessità fa anco rubare, et andare alla forca, e che però non è bene esser ladro; di nuovo aggiungono, che chi non ha danari non può fare altrimenti, et è tenuto una bestia. Ma non sanno, che anco un somaro benché sia carico di danari, non resta, però d'esser somaro con le medesme orecchie lunghi, e hanno essi, e così se la passano, e vivacchiono a suon di tamburo, e di piva, e vada l'honore a pescare [the word has been corrected and is not clear] e quel che è peggio, non mancano principali, che si tengono honorati in favorire, lodare, beneficiare, et haver per casa spesso questi tali perché strappazzano a modo loro, e non son tocchi nella borsa. Molti altri virtù simili hanno, che per [orig.: per che] modestia io taccio, a sua Altezza.

28. Hora convien, che io dica, che tutto ho detto per ubidire, e servire all'Altezza sua serenissima, e non per offender nessuno; né in particolare né in generale, intendendo sempre solo l'honore e la riverenza de' buoni et honorati soggetti, li quali sonno furno e saranno sempre da me, e da pari

miei stimati, amati, et osservati come si conviene. Con che m'inchino humilmente alla Altezza sua e le prego ogni felicità da Idio, e quanto ella s'agura.

Di Napoli

Dell'Altezza sua serenissima

Devotissimo, et antico Servitore
Il C. Luigi Zinobi

Commentary

The commentary is keyed to the paragraph numbers. While it would easily be possible to comment at length on Zenobi's letter, I have restricted the commentary to certain problematic terms. Indeed, most of the terms for ornaments and techniques of singing and playing at this time are problematic: the style was new, and the terminology had not yet been codified.

4. *Contrapunto*, a term that occurs repeatedly in the letter, is to be understood in its primary meaning in the late sixteenth century: the addition (usually, but not always, extemporaneously) of one or more melodic lines to a given cantus firmus, most often a plainchant. In para. 7 Zenobi uses the verb *contrapunteggiare*. He lays great stress on the skill: there is no musician — be he singer, instrumentalist, *rimettitore*, or composer — who does not need to be proficient in counterpoint. In addition to substantial discussion in many music treatises of the period, nearly all of Zacconi's second volume of *Prattica di musica* (Venice, 1622) is devoted to this practice.³⁰

Contratempi. According to Zacconi, this is the modern term for syncopation, displacement by half a tactus: «quando le [figure] vanno contra la mettà del tatto, per il quale si ha la mettà della intiera sua divisione; chiamandole essi moderni figure contra tempo, poichè contra tempo le vengano a daddere».³¹

Cromaticamente. Does Zenobi have in mind the strict meaning of «chromatic» — compositions employing the chromatic genus, with melodic movement by half-step, half-step, and minor third — or does

³⁰ Of the considerable literature on this subject, the most useful is still ERNST T. FERLAND, *Improvised Vocal Counterpoint in the Late Renaissance and Early Baroque*, «Annales musicologiques», IV, 1956, pp. 129-174.

³¹ *Prattica di musica* (1596), fo. 41r. Zacconi reserves the term syncopation for displacement by a quarter of a tactus, when semiminims precede minims.

he simply mean music with frequent accidentals? (We may safely assume that he does not use «chromatic» to mean music with many black notes, or *crome*, since the second condition is that the singer be secure in singing «le cantilene composte a crome, e semicrome»). This is not easy to answer. Theorists do not commonly use the adverb *cromaticamente*. I believe, however, that Zenobi means the latter; given that he is writing in about 1600, chromatic half-steps are found far less frequently in the repertoire than works abounding in accidentals.³² Moreover, he is not a theorist but a practitioner. But even Zacconi seems to use the word in this sense when he discusses «se gl'istrumenti musicali che sono fatti con le divisioni diatoniche si possano dividere cromaticamente» (title of ch. 41, Book 4), stating that the most perfect instruments (organs, viols) can divide all whole tones into semitones (*formar ne i tuoni, i Semitoni*), whereas it is more difficult in flutes, cornetts, and other wind instruments; he concludes, however, that «tutti ci possano dare et servire in occorenza nelle cantilene Chromatiche: ma che meglio uno più del altro lo può fare».

5. *Rimettere* and *rimettitore* are terms that are rarely found in theoretical treatises, and Zenobi's detailed consideration of the qualities necessary in a good *rimettitore* is among the most interesting aspects of his letter. While the *rimettitore* might act as a conductor, his main function is to prevent singers from losing their way, or, once they have lost it, to get them smoothly back on track — this is the reason for the requirement that the *rimettitore* have a very wide vocal range. Literally, the *rimettitore* «puts back» the uncertain singer. The term is used as early as Cosimo Bartoli's *Ragionamenti accademici* (Venice, 1567), p. 37, where he praises the Florentine musician Mattio Rampollini: «Ei non si può negare la sufficienzia sua, che certo, et nel comporre et nel rimettere ancora è valoroso, presto, et accorto».³³ The theorist who discusses it in most detail is Zacconi, in his chapter on «Chi, et quale debba essere il maestro di capella» (Book I, ch. 67): one of his talents must be, «errando una parte conosce l'errore, et sà chi ha bisogno d'esser rimesso». There is no

³² In ch. 54 of Book I, Zacconi discusses the difficulty, when moving from one mode to another, of singing leaps involving accidentals.

³³ *Rimettere* is also sometimes used in the sense of decrescendo. Luigi Dentice, listing techniques of singing where it is easy to err, speaks of «rimettere et rinforzar la voce quando bisogna» (*Duo dialoghi della musica*, Rome, 1553, towards the beginning of the second dialogue).

satisfactory translation for *rimettitore* in English; «director» was chosen, but is not specific enough. The function is comparable to that of a prompter in the theatre.³⁴

10. *Tuba* and *polso* both refer to vocal delivery. While *tuba* could be understood to be a loud sound, similar to that of a brass instrument, Zenobi seems to use it in the sense of timbre: he emphasizes that a good voice should be of equal quality in high and low ranges (in para. 13 he uses the word *registro*). *Polso* in this context indicates sonority; a «forced tenor» may achieve equal *polso* in the high register, but the *tuba* will not be the same; the common herd will be impressed, but the connoisseur will think it ugly. In para. 18 Zenobi also uses *polso* to refer to performance on string instruments, possibly meaning fingering.

11. The two lines of «quel Poeta» have not been traced; they are probably the final two lines of an ottava rima stanza.

13-14. Although Zenobi has mentioned various ornaments before this paragraph, it is when he comes to the soprano voice (no distinction is made whether this is a female voice, a falsetto,³⁵ or even a castrato) that he discusses the ornaments in greatest detail. Some of these are familiar from late sixteenth-century manuals for singers, though it is not easy to determine exactly what Zenobi means in each case, especially since his letter contains no music examples.

Gropo is equivalent to the modern trill. Zenobi specifies two

³⁴ A graphic picture of a skilled «rimettitore» is drawn by Johann Matthias Gesner: «presiding over thirty or forty performers all at once, recalling this one by a nod, another by a stamp of the foot, another with a warning finger, keeping time and tune; and while high tones are given out by some, deep tones by others, and notes between them by others, this one man, standing alone in the midst of the loud sounds, having the hardest task of all, can discern at every moment if any one goes astray, and can keep all the musicians in order, restore any waverer to certainty and prevent him from going wrong: rhythm is in his every limb, and he takes in all the harmonies by his subtle ear, as it were uttering all the different parts through the medium of his own mouth». This is J. S. Bach in 1738, as described by the rector of the Thomasschule in Leipzig, in a note to his edition of Quintilian's *Institutiones oratoriae*; see PHILIPP SPITTA, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, trans. Clara Bell and J. A. Fuller-Maitland, 3 vols., New York, Dover Publications, 1951, vol. II, p. 260.

³⁵ Scipione Cerreto, writing in 1608, states that the current preference is for the falsetto: «E si bene al tempo d'hoggi gli Cantori di Falsetto stanno con maggior prerogativa, che non stanno gli Soprani, non solo perche sono di età più matura, ma ancora perche tali voci mentre cantano danno maggior sodisfazione, e rendono maggior dolcezza all'orecchie de gli ascoltanti»; *Dell'arboe musicale*, Naples, Gio. Battista Sottile, 1608, p. 29.

kinds: *granito*, which touches exact pitches, such as *sol* and *fa*, in detached semiquavers, and *posato*, a slower trill, in quavers.

Trillo appears to be a faster ornament in which the pitches are not distinguishable. A few words seem to be missing from the letter, in his definition: «quello che non si ferma, né in riga né ispatio [= in spatio] con velocità» is elliptic. For Caccini, the *trillo* is made «sopra una corda sola» and its technique is described as «il cominciarsi dalla prima semiminima, e ribattere ciascuna nota con la gola sopra la vocale 'à' sino all'ultima breve».

Tremolo is apparently a quite free ornament: «quello che tocca della riga, e dello spatio in qual'si voglia modo, ch'ei si faccia». It may refer to a very brief decoration of a single note, employing the upper or lower auxiliary. The word *tremolo* was used at least as early as Capirola's lute book and is discussed by Ganassi; most theorists describe it as a trill (usually on the second part of the note) using the upper or lower auxiliary.³⁶

Ondeggiare, ondeggiamento. This term is not explained by Zenobi and is not, as far as I can see, used by other music theorists. Literally, it means a «wavy» delivery. It is not a crescendo and decrescendo, which Zenobi describes as «cominciare con voce gagliarda, e lasciarla a poco a poco morire» (para. 14). In para. 12 he speaks of «ascendere e discendere con la voce gratiosamente ondeggiando». This would appear to mean a crescendo and decrescendo applied to individual notes in a free manner, especially since the next term mentioned is a specific application of this practice, the *esclamazione*. Zenobi's *ondeggiare* is probably the same as Caccini's *crescere e scemare della voce*, which later comes to be known as the *messa di voce*. There is one difficulty, however, with identifying these two procedures, since the *messa di voce* is taken on long notes, whereas Zenobi speaks about ascending and descending vocal lines. Perhaps he means singing successive notes alternately softly and loudly.

Esclamazioni are called for in certain situations, which the singer should be able to discern. For the exact definition we have to turn to Caccini: «esclamazione propriamente altro non è, che nel lassare della voce rinforzarla alquanto»; or to Francesco Rognoni, in his *Seleva di varii passaggi* of 1620: «L'Esclamazioni si fanno nel discendere scemando à poco à poco la prima voce, e poi dando spirito, e vivacità alla nota che segue con un tremolino».

³⁶ For a summary of various descriptions, see HOWARD MAYER BROWN, *Embellishing Sixteenth-Century Music*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1976, pp. 2-8.

Durezza (appoggiatura dissonances) and *false* (diminished fifths; the scribe's *farze* is probably a misreading) are artful dissonances, to be judiciously added by the singer where the composer has not written them.

Echi. Echo passages become a favourite device in early opera, especially in laments. It may seem surprising that they can be left to the whim of the singer; however, such practice is confirmed by Giustiniani, in his *Dialogo*: «or con passaggi soavi e cantati piano, dalli quali tal volta all'improvviso si sentiva echi rispondere».³⁷

17. *Concerti grossi*. Zenobi has in mind the famous Ferrarese concerts, put on for distinguished visitors, where all the duke's musicians took part. Bottrigari calls them *concerti grandi*. While the sheer number of participants made these grand occasions indeed, Zenobi is aware that a number of faults that would be discerned in smaller ensembles (not least the variable tuning systems of the instruments, of such great concern to Bottrigari) are hidden. In the context of this letter, the prince is warned that musicians can properly be judged only when they perform accompanied by one instrument.

18. When it comes to string technique, Zenobi uses the terms *arcata*, *striscio*, and *lirare*, without defining them. Since *arcata* is bowing, the verb *lirare* must refer to something else. It might be double and triple stops, the common technique of the lirone, but Zenobi is speaking of string instruments in general. Rognoni defines *lireggiare* as «far due, trè, ò più note in una sola arcata», allowing up to twelve notes on a single bow-stroke. *Striscio* means a gliding; one thinks immediately of glissando, but this seems too special a technique in the present context. On *polso*, see the commentary on para. 10. It may mean finger technique, the ability to slide the finger to the correct position.

19. Trombones are supposed to flee *il buino*, the bovine. The «mooring» of trumpets is a classical commonplace,³⁸ and is remarked upon by Vincenzo Galilei in his *Dialogo della musica antica et moder-*

³⁷ SOLERTI, *Le origini del melodramma* cit., p. 108.

³⁸ For example, FRONTO, *Epistolae ad Marcum Caesarem et invicem* 3. 17. 3 (ed. Michael P. J. van den Hout): «... quorum pauci aut praeter Catonem et Gracchum nemo tubam inflat; omnes autem mugiant vel stridunt potius»; other instances may be found in the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*.

na.³⁹ Zenobi describes only two wind instruments, interestingly enough the two that he says are closest to the human voice, the trombone and the cornett. In the hands of a skilled player (and Zenobi was a virtuoso cornettist), the cornett can play all accidentals and transpose.

Postscript

While this article was in press, new documents on Zenobi came to my attention. I owe knowledge of these to Robert Lindell, who kindly sent me photocopies. They concern Zenobi's recruitment in April 1569, apparently in Venice (the ambassador in Venice is instructed to persuade «Cornetta Musico Veneziano» to leave his current post and serve the emperor), two matters in 1570 relating to his uncle, and a number of letters written to foreign princes in 1573 requesting them not to hire Zenobi if he seeks a position at their courts; from this it appears that he in fact left the emperor's service without permission (the original passport, signed and sealed, remains in the archive), and Maximilian is very eager to get him back. Zenobi was finally tracked down in Rome; in April 1575 the imperial ambassador in Rome is instructed to give him 200 ducats as an advance payment, but only on condition that his return is certain. These documents are calendared in ROBERT LINDELL, *New Findings on Music at the Court of Maximilian II*, in Friedrich Edelmayer and Alfred Kohler (eds.), *Kaiser Maximilian II. Kultur und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert*, Vienna, Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1992, pp. 231-245. Two autograph letters by Zenobi are in the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna, Rom Varia 4 and 5.

These tell us that he had arrived in Rome on 13 November 1574 and was staying with Cardinal Altaemps; his poverty and illness induce him to return to Vienna. From another letter in the *Diplomatische Korrespondenz* 6, from the Cardinal of Trent to Maximilian dated 8 January 1575, it appears that Zenobi's petition to the pope concerning some matter in Ancona will not be successful. Thus, having exhausted his possibilities in Rome, he seems to have returned to Vienna in 1575.

³⁹ Florence, 1581, fo. 142r: «[...] il Trombone per essere il suono suo molto conforme al mugliar de Tori per non dire Bufoli, & esser conseguentemente formidabile».

APPENDIX

TRANSLATION OF ZENOBI'S LETTER

My most Serene Lord, and most Distinguished Lord and Patron:

1. It seemed best to me, as the saying goes, to keep my opinion in the fence of my teeth with regard to the six questions about which it pleased your Highness to command me to write to you, concerning music and musicians, such as singers, composers, contrapuntists, and instrumentalists, be it of wind or of string instruments. For I judged that I should do better to be esteemed and loved for modesty by you and by whoever will be reasonably affected than be reproved and hated for presumptuousness. But since it had already been written to me twice that if I did not communicate my true opinion according to the light that God had given me in this profession, I should either be thought of as ignorant or as a poor servant of Your Highness and unheeding of my obligations towards you, I rather choose to be hated, if one so deserves who speaks the truth utterly removed from all passions, than to be called ungrateful and untruthful before Your Highness by people who know little and do not even recognize that they know little.

2. Your Highness desires and commands me to address you with regard to six questions, as follows:

What qualities must one have to sing one's part securely?

What is required for good directing (*rimetter bene*), or what are the reasons for poor directing?

Who is entitled to call himself a musician, and is one truly, and what is the difference between a musician and a singer?

What does it take for a singer to sing with art, grace, and judgement?

What is the difference between composing – or performing – as a master or as a mere dilettante?

And in what do musicians – singers and instrumentalists – ordinarily fail if they have no knowledge or education save in music?

3. Six questions, indeed, each one of which is difficult enough and ought to be considered by a greater intellect than mine to do justice to it. Nevertheless, since Your Highness writes that you already have the opinions of many, and that you lack only mine, to serve you I begin by saying that to sing with assurance, a singer must meet seven requirements, and should he meet the eighth, he would give even greater indication of assurance.

4. The first requirement is not to be ignorant of counterpoint. The second is to be secure in singing compositions with quavers and semiquavers.

The third is to be secure in music composed with leaps, such as sixths, sevenths, ninths, and elevenths, now fast, now slow. The fourth is to be secure in music where syncopation is mixed with artful dissonance. The fifth is to be secure in chromatic compositions. The sixth is to be secure in understanding and singing all or the greater part of proportions and *sesquialterae*, which are scattered throughout old and modern works. The seventh is to know perfectly the musical signs and mensurations and the value of the notes within them. The eighth would be that on meeting with an error on the part of the composer or the copyist, he knew how to improvise a remedy to the error while singing and find his way back without help from others. Secure singing is easily said, but it is extremely difficult, if not a miracle, to find it, for old singers by the hundred are caught in this net, and composers by the dozen, and if Your Highness will put it to a test, you will see it for a fact.

5. I pass to the art of directing (*rimetter*) well, and I say that it requires four things. First, the director must be most expert [in simple and in refined counterpoint]: simple counterpoint (*contrapunto buono*) is that which, while it allows no manifest errors, nevertheless does not proceed with structure and style, but, as one says, merely gets along. It is just like garlic, which is good to eat but more to the taste of peasants and porters than of gentlemen and delicate people, who do not like to remain with an offensive taste. Artful counterpoint is that which is performed or written with exquisite art, ingenuity, and judgement. It consists in the order, rule, and manner known only to ingenious and sublime minds. Examples of all this may be found in Zarlino, in the compositions of Adrian Willaert, of Cipriano [de Rore], of Paolo Animuccia, of Luzzasco, and other musicians similar to them, or not much different, but not [in the works] of many who, devoid of art and of spirit, haphazardly string together notes and consonances all year round and have them written down and ill performed among people of merit, and who, by keeping the grocers supplied with their scribbles on paper large and small, pose as rare musicians.

6. The second thing necessary for good directing is to have a ready, quick, and well-trained ear so as to anticipate in a certain way anyone about to lose his part rather than waiting for him to lose it.

7. The third requirement for good directing consists in having from God and from Nature a voice that ranges with ease from high to low, but more low than high, as a foundation, for if it fails, the director has more to worry about than if something happens in the middle and the highest voices. The fact that there are men of rare skill in counterpoint who, through a defect in their voices, and through other reasons to be explained presently, are unable to direct, does not mean that everyone who composes, directs, and sings an improvised counterpoint and swaggers around like a popinjay must be considered a good and a real musician. Composing artlessly (*alla buona*) does

not make a good musician, nor do simple directing or improvisation of a counterpoint while singing do so, for these are two conditions secured in the fourth requirement, which often teaches directing in some cases up to a certain degree: this is nothing other than to have taught music for many years, where many learn to improvise a counterpoint, and to direct, as I said before, whereas in composition they are not worth one penny; just as many compose very well, but do not know to direct, either because they have not taught it, or they lack a ready, quick, and true ear, or because they have to direct mediocre singers in difficult pieces, whether chromatic, syncopated, with disproportionate leaps, or fast, and much less ignorant performers reading at sight.

8. Your Highness may believe it: composers, however good they may be, who are able to direct mediocre singers in difficult pieces, and especially if two or three lose their way at the same time, are like white crows or black ermines. But in pieces made straightforwardly [lit. belly first] and artlessly, many will do it and without much difficulty. Hence it is that many who cannot direct, either because they have not taught and trained themselves in singing improvised counterpoint with pupils, or because of a limited range of voice, but are nevertheless expert composers and first-rate in counterpoint in writing and in theory, are undoubtedly worthy of the name of true musicians and of men of merit; nor can it be held against them that either through circumstances of birth or social status, or through a defect of nature, they do not do and have never done such things.

9. Coming to another point, I say to Your Highness that I deem it a most extravagant and strange caprice that some because they sing their part, I shall not say with assurance, let alone grace and good taste — even though this would not be sufficient — but simply singing it, whether in mediocre fashion or badly or miserably, expect to be called musicians, and not singers. For between a singer and a musician there is that same difference, or a similar one, as there is between one who lives honestly with those laws which he received from nature in a very rough state and one who spent many years at the world's most famous universities studying law and who finally took his law degree and can now lecture *ex cathedra* for the benefit of others, interpret, expound, and direct peoples and states. Thus one should call a musician those who are experts in counterpoint, either improvised or written, and who, suffering no defect through their own fault, sing securely, direct well, and compose like masters. Singers one calls those who sing the high, middle, or low parts; if they sing them well, with assurance, grace, and good taste, one calls them excellent; if moderately well mediocre; if middlingly well, average; if poorly, run-of-the-mill; if by practice, practitioners; if by nature, natural singers.

10. Now it is right that I tell Your Highness what it takes for one to sing with grace, good taste, noble embellishments (*passaggi*), and with art,

or, as one commonly says, to sing one's part really well. And similarly with regard to the player of an instrument of one part; we shall speak later about those instrumentalists who can play all parts of a composition together and produce harmony by themselves [keyboard players, lutenists, etc.]. First of all Your Highness should know that the usual parts are four, namely bass, tenor, alto, and soprano, and the fifth and sixth, or seventh and eighth parts that one might sing are identical with them. But regularly the parts are the four mentioned first. He who sings the bass, if he sings in company, is obliged to know how to keep his part firm, right, and secure: firm with regard to his singing, right with regard to pitch (*voce*), secure with regard to his judgement. And if he occasionally wants to improvise an embellishment (*passaggiare*), he must wait for the moment where the other three parts hold steady, and he must know the places where he can sing an embellishment. For the improvisation of embellishments by the bass, whenever the mood strikes him, without knowing the suitable time and place, is undoubtedly a proof of gross ignorance. He must know further which embellishments are suitable for the bass, for to use those of the tenor, alto, and soprano is clear proof of the foregoing. Then he must have a *trillo* and a polished *tremolo*, and a voice that has the same timbre (*tuba*) in high and low range; nor may he be called a real bass unless he has a compass of twenty-two notes of the same timbre throughout; otherwise one will call him a forced tenor who through perpetual singing and screaming has achieved equal force (*polso*) in the high and in the low registers and who always carries with him a certain crude resonance, which appears beautiful and fine to an ignoramus, but ugly and faulty to a connoisseur.

11. In solo performance one cannot judge the quality of the bass when he is accompanied by a lute, or a harpsichord, and similar instruments, for instruments of that kind have hardly sounded the note before it vanishes; and thus the bass as well as any other part can make an infinite number of mistakes that pass unnoticed because the vanishing harmony of the imperfect instrument does not let them be heard, except that the connoisseur recognizes them as errors and misunderstandings, and consequently causes the singer to be held ignorant. But it is [in singing] with the organ where one can judge easily who sings and plays with good taste and with art, if the listener pays careful attention. And that is what manifests the ignorance and presumption of many who, singing in the most deplorable manner to the accompaniment of the organ, thrive on the judgement of the populace and the rabble, who, as soon as they hear a miserable charlatan with a bit of a dog's voice or an ass's disposition, immediately begin to exclaim: «How marvellous! How fine! What a divine voice! What do you think, Mister Dimwit? What do you say, Sir Mumble-Tongue? Is it not miraculous, Sir Bible-babble?» And thus many wretched birds are scorned by the connoisseurs, and praised by the ignoramuses like them. And Your Highness should not be surprised that princes often recognize these rather than others who are

worthy and meritorious through ability and knowledge; for princes, from the first day of their rule on, forget the truth, and on the second day they abhor all followers of the truth, and hence it happens that they do not find any who will tell them the truth, but stumble into such and similar situations, and besides, well said that poet:

So crazily her way doth Fortune wend
Happy on earth the wise man at the end.

12. The tenor should sing his embellishments when the bass and the companion parts hold steady; he must use passages proper to his part and avoid those of the bass, except when the composition places him in the lowest part, in which case he should do it with judgement and discretion. And likewise the alto can and should proceed. But I should recommend that these middle parts use embellishments rarely and content themselves with knowing how to ascend and descend with a delicate wavy motion (*ondeggiando*) and at times use a few gentle *trilli* or *tremoli*. Undoubtedly this would bring them more praise from those who know what it is to sing well. But when they sing solo with some harmony instrument, in this case they can allow themselves more embellishments, but not to such a degree that it becomes tedious and creates the impression that their whole effort is concentrated on that. The tenor should be advised to keep his embellishments so that they do not touch at all, or only a little, the region of the bass or that of the alto, and the alto to exercise the same restraint with regard to the parts of the soprano and tenor. In this manner one sings with good taste, and with art, and not haphazardly, and at breakneck speed, as nowadays some bunglers do, nevertheless claiming to have touched the depths in the matter of the art of singing and pleasantly preening their pride. And so that Your Highness may understand me better, the passages in the middle parts should stay within a narrow compass, in fact they should rather artfully intertwine so that they may take little space and be a pleasure to listen to, which is the chief proof of the singer's art and judgement.

13. There remains the soprano, which is truly the ornament of all other parts, just as the bass is the foundation. The soprano, then, has the obligation and complete freedom to improvise diminutions, to indulge in playfulness (*scherzare*), and, in a word, to ornament a musical body. But unless this is done with art, with grace, and with good taste, it is annoying to hear, hard to digest, and loathsome to endure. To give pleasure to the listener he must meet these chief requirements: he must have either a natural or boylike soprano without nasal effect, without such habits as tossing his head, contorting his shoulders, rolling his eyes, moving his jaw, his chin, and his whole body; he must go high and low with even timbre and not have one register in the high range and another one in the low. He must be expert in counterpoint, for without that he sings haphazardly and commits a thou-

sand blunders; while singing he must make the words distinctly understood and not drown them in passage-work nor cover them with excessive vocal resonance, whether ringing, hoarse, or crude; he must have [a *grosso granito* (articulated trill) and a *grosso posato* (calm, sedate trill)]. A *grosso granito* is one that touches two notes like *sol* and *fa*, or *la* and *sol*, in detached semi-quavers, and a *grosso posato* is one that consists of simple quavers, also touching the two notes clearly. A *trillo* is that [ornament] that stops neither on the line nor in the space [but always moves] with velocity; *tremolo* is that [embellishment] that touches [notes] on the line and in the space in whatever manner one may wish to execute it.

14. Furthermore, the soprano must have an undulating movement, he must know when to make *esclamazioni* and not apply them indiscriminately nor crudely, as many do. He must know how to ascend with the voice and how to descend with grace, at times holding over part of the preceding note and sounding it anew if the consonance requires and admits it; he must know how to give rise to dissonances (*durezza* and *false*) where the composer has not touched or made them, but left them to the singer's judgement. He must blend and accord with the other voices; he must at times render the notes with a certain neglect, sometimes so as to drag them, sometimes with sprightly motion; he must have a rich repertoire of *passaggi* and good judgement as to how to use them; he must know which are the good ones, starting with those that are made with the greatest artifice of one note, of two, three, four, five, six, seven, and eight. He must know how to use them ascending or descending, he must know how to intertwine, connect, and double them; he must know how to emphasize and to avoid a cadence, he must know how playfully to sing detached and legato crotchets; he must know how to begin a *passaggio* with quavers and finish it with semiquavers and begin it with semiquavers and end it with quavers. He must use different *passaggi* in the same songs, he must know how to improvise them in every kind of vocal music, whether fast, or chromatic (with *crome?*), or slow; he must know which works require them and which do not; when repeating the same thing he must always sing new ones. He must know how to sing the piece in its simple form, that is, without any *passaggio*, but only with grace, *trillo*, *tremolo*, *ondeggiamento*, and *esclamazione*; he must understand the meaning of the words, whether they be secular or spiritual; and where the text speaks of flying, trembling, weeping, laughing, leaping, shouting, falsehood, and similar things, he must know how to accompany them with the voice; he must use echo passages, now immediate, now separated; he must know how at times to begin loudly and then to let the voice die gradually; and at times to begin, or end, softly and then enliven it gradually; he must know how to improvise *passaggi* in skips, in syncopation, and in *sesquialtera*; he must know thoroughly which places demand them; he must start with discrimination and finish in time with those who sing or play with him; he must sing in one style in church, in another one in the chamber, and in a third one

in the open air, whether it be in daytime or at night; he must perform a motet in one manner, a villanella in another, a lamentation differently from a cheerful song, and a mass in another style than a falsobordone, an air differently again; he must bring to each of these pieces a motif, *passaggi*, and a style of its own, so that the artfulness and the understanding of the singer may become manifest.

15. But nowadays, when he turns his shoulders or his waist, as if he had an attack of colic; when he rolls his eyes as lunatics do; when his jaws and chin tremble as those who stutter do; when he sings through the nose, or shouts and roars like a man in a rage, and emits six or eight notes in a pitiful manner, out of place and false and with little taste, not knowing when or how or where they ought to end and begin; when he always repeats the same song, as trained parrots do, and never gets away from two or three numbers begged from and arranged by people who know little or presume too much; and when the audience consists of people who like the kind of songs to be heard in the month of May, and who do not know the difference between singing and croaking, nor that between being in tune and out of tune, or between knowledge and ignorance, for them it suffices to raise the voice like the sound of gurgling liquid and they say: «Oh, how good! how fine! how marvellous! how divine! what a rare singer!», whence it comes that we have on earth a perpetual seed-bed of fools who with wagging ears signify that rain is near.

16. Now all the requirements described above, or the greater part of them, are sought in an instrumentalist, whether he plays the cornett, the viola da gamba, the violin, the flute, the shawm, or similar melody instruments. As concerns those who play instruments that produce all the parts I shall tell Your Highness later briefly and truthfully what I think and know about that, without prejudice to anyone. Indeed this was and is my intention, as in everything else already said, since it seems to me that this is what the command of Your Highness and modesty and virtuous sincerity on my part demand.

17. It is true that of the players of wind instruments more is required, for they must know the quality, quantity, and variety of tonguings, the perfection of the instrument, and the forte and piano when needed; but they must cultivate the piano more than the forte, since the former serves for the chambers of princes and in places of respect, and it is the main mode of disclosing the defects and the excellence of the player, which does not occur in bandstands and in chapels and wherever one plays as loud as one can because people there have little understanding and experience of anything. The same is true for the great concerts, which make a great din, and cause all the blunders, mistakes, the poor intonation, and the ignorance of players on wind or on string instruments to slip by unnoticed. But when

one sings and plays with care and with one alone, a player's musical intelligence, or the lack of it, can be judged from the first few notes.

18. The players of a string instrument such as a viol, both viola da gamba and violin, must be judged by the perfection of their bowing and the quality [of the] tone (fingering?) of the instrument and the variety of the strings, through the richness in the propriety and choiceness of diminutions and through the *tremolo*, through the *striscio*, and through the facility and assurance *del lirare*. The players of the lute, the harpsichord, and the harp are judged by the fine touch, the ease, the polish, and agility of the hand, by the excellence of the imagination in improvising over a chosen piece of music, by the mastery of their counterpoint over (the melody of) a passamezzo, a galliard, a canon, a cantus firmus, and similar things.

19. The players of the trombone are judged by their correct intonation, by their soft tone, by their avoiding a mooring sound, and by their imitation of the human voice in the bass range, like the cornett in the high range, (cornett-players) by their ability to play semitones and in transposition when necessary, in the ... of the instrument, by their grace, by the imitation of a boy's voice, in the choiceness and variety of diminutions, in the graceful manner of holding the instrument, in not contorting the body while playing, and in many other things. And among all the things that demonstrate the competence or ignorance of those who play the harpsichord, the lute, and the harp, there is usually the rendering with mastery and artifice, and particularly at sight, of a work in score by an excellent composer. Here are revealed the fine touch, the ease, the polish, and the agility of the hand, the quality and variety of the diminutions, and the good taste with which the player, without impairing the composition, adds to it thoughts and conceits of his own with style, and with elegance the *trilli*, the *tremoli*, the grace of his bearing, and so on. Here, to tell the truth, one sees rather more defects than effects, ugly, faulty, and indeed insufferable ones, as I shall tell Your Highness presently.

20. It is now time for me to tell you about the way to compose music like a master, and with grace, and what such a composer must have, if he be not handicapped by nature, or by status; for in these cases he is not held to the impossible or the improper, but it suffices that he be able to say why he does one thing and not another.

21. The composer, and the master musician, must thus know chiefly — if he has no impediment, as said above — how to sing a part very securely, he must have a very sharp ear, he must direct well not only in simple works, but in any vocal composition made difficult by its complexity, its wide intervals, its *sesquialterae*, its canons, or because of intonation, syncopation, or quick notes. For the composer who does not sing securely is like one who writes but does not know how to read, and the one who composes and does not know how to direct is like one who has a head but lacks a right arm,

and he who can direct only simple and easy music is like a juggler whose sleight of hand seems miraculous to the unsophisticated, while in reality he is a run-of-the-mill fellow. He who directs mediocre singers in ordinary compositions is easily called an undisputed director. But he who directs well a single such singer in pieces with several sorts of difficulties can call himself a skilled director, and he who directs two or three such singers in difficult pieces with various problems when they have got off at the same time may justly call himself a composer and an accomplished and extraordinary director.

22. [As a composer] he must know how to render his parts singable in such a way that each one turns out to be pleasing to sing in itself, without disproportionate leaps and without padding and constant repetition of the same notes, which becomes tedious. He must reach the cadences in novel and attractive ways, not by chance, or by rote, as many do, but guided by an art that reveals to the connoisseur that he did so with fine taste and with the inspiration of a master. He must see to it that the outer parts, bass and soprano, do not go so far out that they become unsingable; and similarly the altos and the tenor should stay in their proper range and not exceed it. He must know the modes exceedingly well, and through practice, whether they be regular, transposed, or mixed. I say he must know them exceedingly well, for there are many who stray from the mode in their compositions and simply do not notice it. Many others will compose in the fourth mode and it will (really) be the third; others in the fifth, and it will be in the sixth; others in the second and it will be different. He must be thoroughly skilled in counterpointing in various manners, that is, in strict, in artful, and in simple style, without barbarisms and ways not used or approved by the old musicians and masters of the craft. He must know how to turn or invert the parts, he must know the art of double counterpoint (*doppiezze artificiose*), he must have many musical secrets, diverse canons, a complete knowledge of all musical signs, of the proportions, and hemiolias, of the genera, of the value of the notes, of the time signatures, of the regular modes, which are badly used, as one sees, in many modern cantus firmi.

23. He must know how to set the words expertly in songs, or compositions, not only with regard to the accents, but with regard to their meaning. He must know in which of the works that he composes gracefulness is appropriate, in which artfulness, in which gravity, in which sadness, in which gaiety, in which humour, in which piety. He must not indifferently compose every kind of piece, as if art were so poor and narrow that it could not show itself easily in every style. For there should be no similarity between the gaiety of a composition for church and the gaiety of a lascivious one, nor between the sadness of a lamentation, or of a Requiem, and that of a passionate lover; nor between the melody of a *canzone francese* and that of a villanella; nor between the devoutness of a lamentation of Jeremiah and that of a falsobordone, nor should a madrigal be like a simple air, and so on. These demands were observed in supreme excellence by Messer Adriano

[Willaert], by Cipriano [de Rore], and by Paolo Animuccia, and he who will examine their works will notice this clearly.

24. I could say more to Your Highness about the composer, but to avoid lengthiness I stop here. And I say there is no scribbler of scores nowadays who does not make bold to assume the title of composer, nor the most ignorant schoolboy who does not affect and desire the title of schoolmaster. Nor does ever a peaceful beast bray that does not die to be called a fine singer or musician; nor a voice typical of the month of May that does not claim to be worthy of a glittering audience; nor is there ignorance so affected, gross, and idle it does not pretend to be wisdom's sister in the flesh; nor is there a judgement so clumsy and beastly that does not give itself out for a Plato or a Boethius in making snap judgements on singers and players, musicians and composers, as stupidity guides him. And likewise there is no mill-horse who does not profess to espy at once who has a voice, who sings marvellously well, and who is a rare mind. And may Your Highness forgive me if I say that our age has come to this through the gullibility and avarice of princes, who feed the great artists with hopes and words, and the ignoramuses with glory and with favours. And thus it happens that great artists, knowing this, and summoned by many men of rank, rarely obey. And for this they are decried as eccentric, for they cannot endure being abused and treated like run-of-the-mill persons, among the others. [On the other hand] the ignorant ones, with a nod, for a meal, and for a wage, would go to India and there would lose their breath and voice, and they are considered and called capable and gallant men.

25. Now I say to Your Highness that the players of foundation instruments, such as the harpsichord, lute, harp, theorbo, cittern, Spanish guitar, or rather vihuela, have to take as their foundation the sweetness, facility, and virtuosity of the hand, the finesse of the fingers, and of the *tremolo*, the quality of the imagination, the richness and variety of good *passaggi*, and fine grace of bearing and of holding the instrument, the choiceness of style, and the ready ease in the use of their instruments. But above all they must show taste and skill in playing ensemble with a solo player or with a singer. For in this case there is no master so great that he does not merit praise for the ability to play as one requires of a schoolboy, unornamented, in right time, and neatly all parts, while the other plays or sings with him, and when the solo part pauses, come to the fore in a gentle manner with something more pleasing than artful to accompany him.

26. It remains for me to tell Your Highness in what musicians ordinarily sin, and here I distinguish and say that there are true musicians and those who are falsely called musicians. The true musicians are those who bring the harmony of their manner into perfect accord with the harmony of their music. They have and they know how to obey and serve those who deserve to be obeyed and served; and they disdain to do the same for him who has

little merit; they are men of honour, of value, of conscience, knowing how to maintain their dignity, and how to preserve the reputation and greatness of the patrons whom they serve. They are not envious or malicious, because they are not ignorant, but they cannot bear that anyone in this profession of music should be praised or blamed in singing or playing by one who knows less than they do. Even if they are reduced to begging they will not be moved by greed for money or anything else to make themselves or their talents available, and if they do, it will be out of love of God, out of courtesy, as a matter of good manners, and friendship. They are targets of the ignorant, who are always shooting at them and do not occupy themselves with anything but ganging up on them as much as they can and persecuting them and gossiping about them in the worst manner, all of which they do in an underhanded way, for if they do it openly they are soon recognized and put to shame by decent people and lovers of the truth. And so the true musicians stand bewildered and quite startled and struck, wondering how the world has come to such a state of mental blindness that it does not see the forest, the labyrinth, and the phalanxes of those who are bent on suffocating merit, on killing valour, on stealing fame, and on rending truth and their singular talent, while all the time this floats like a cork or an exquisite oil above the water of their persecution.

27. Those who pretend to be musicians sin mostly in this respect: they see a man of real and rare talent refusing to play or sing readily at the request of those not worthy of hearing him, without discrimination, called eccentric, capricious, and whimsical. The poseurs, therefore, who affect to pass for men of talent, they too play the eccentric, the capricious, the whimsical, always out of place and unreasonably, and for that they are called half-wits and stupid, and rightly so, for they are like bearers who want to play colonels and generals. But their madness can easily be unmasked, either with a good meal or with four shillings, and they bray and strum and pound so that they become disgusting and nauseating to everybody. They are friends of taverns, brothels, and of many vices. They are ignorant and therefore malicious; in fact if they do not find grub and grog wherever they go they become angry and furious and say they have been ill-treated. When they are called upon they set a price quickly, and they try to cheat one another as best they can. And when they are reproached for this shameful procedure, they say that it is no disgrace for anyone to live by his profession. And if one replies that indeed it is no shame to live by one's profession, but it is to live unworthily and on servile terms, they reply immediately that necessity forces them to live like this, and when one rejoins that necessity also makes people steal and go to the gallows, but that it is not good to be a robber, they answer anew that he who has no money cannot do otherwise and is rated a beast. But they do not know that a donkey, even loaded with money, nevertheless remains a donkey with the same long ears that they have, and so they get along living from hand to mouth to the sound

of drum and pipe, and let honour go hang [lit. fishing], and what is worse, there is no want of important people who deem it an honour to favour, praise, benefit, and have such individuals in their houses as frequent guests because they can mistreat them at their will, and it does not hurt their purses. They have many other similar virtues, which, out of discretion, I shall not mention to Your Highness.

28. Now it is fitting that I declare that all this I said to obey and to serve your most Serene Highness and not to offend anyone, neither in particular nor in general, always meaning only the honour and reverence of good and honoured persons, who are, were, and always will be esteemed, loved, and properly appreciated by myself and those who are like myself. Where-with I bow humbly before Your Highness and pray to God for your every happiness and in everything you desire.

From Naples

Your most serene Highness's

devoted and old servant,
Cavaliere Luigi Zinobi

pino. e se si reglia, che si il uero della sua professione, ma il uero con
 essermi nell'aria e uer poggia. subito riprendo, che la natura
 uero lo e se si uero a dirsi che la spessita gli anco uerare et
 alla loro, e che per non e bere offer ad. di non agguerra, da
 non in Janari non si fare eliam. et e stata uel soffia. ma
 Janari, che arto un' l'omato ben che ha l'aria di Janari, non resta
 di esser pino con e pagano uerare l'inghi e l'aria et, il cor se lo
 Janari e uerare a pino di can barba, a di pino e uerare l'inghi
 pino, e pino che e tago; non manano pino pino, et si ragione
 iati in pino, et pino pino, et pino pino, et pino pino, et pino pino
 che pino pino e non son uerare uerare. Ma et
 pino pino pino, et pino pino, et pino pino, et pino pino, et pino pino
 non pino, che io dico che non e pino e uerare, e pino pino
 ma pino pino a non e pino pino, et pino pino, et pino pino, et pino pino
 pino, in pino pino, et pino pino, et pino pino, et pino pino, et pino pino
 pino, et pino pino, et pino pino, et pino pino, et pino pino, et pino pino
 pino da me, e da pino pino pino, et pino pino, et pino pino, et pino pino
 si non pino. Con che si in pino pino, et pino pino, et pino pino, et pino pino, et pino pino
 pino ogni pino pino, et pino pino, et pino pino, et pino pino, et pino pino, et pino pino
 Belli pino pino, et pino pino, et pino pino, et pino pino, et pino pino, et pino pino

Addendum

VII. Luigi Zenobi and his Letter on the Perfect Musician

While there are still many lacunae in Zenobi's life, and the date and destination of the letter have not been further clarified, I am able to add a few more details concerning his life, thanks to the kindness of Robert Lindell, Arnaldo Morelli, and Franco Piperno.

- p. 69: In January 1587 Zenobi was directing music at the Oratorio Filippino in Rome. He is called 'cavalier Luigi'; Arnaldo Morelli, who found the letter in which the reference is made, tentatively identified him as Zenobi, referring to Giustiniani's *Discorso* and the records of the cornettist Zenobi in Ferrara. See Arnaldo Morelli,

Il tempo armonico: musica nell'Oratorio dei Filippini in Roma, 1575–1705 = Analecta musicologica, 27 (Laaber, 1991), 11–12. Zenobi's letter to the unnamed prince and his known presence in Rome now confirm this attribution; moreover, his connection with the Oratorio Filippino may explain the presence of a copy of his letter among the documents of the Oratorio in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana.

- p. 70: Under the date 29 April 1596 Zenobi is mentioned in Giovan Battista Spaccini, *Cronaca modenese*, ed. A. Biondi and R. Bussi (Modena, 1993), 30–1: 'Sul organi vi suonò il cavalier del cornetto alle secrete, che poco prima era venuto da Reggio . . . il quale serve l'Altezza del duce di Ferrara'. (Communicated by Arnaldo Morelli.) This would have been a sonata at the Elevation, accompanied by the organ.
- By 1598 at the latest Zenobi was back at the imperial court; on the last day of May in Prague he was paid 300 florins, recorded in a series of payments made by Wolfgang Rumpf on behalf of the Emperor Rudolf II, and therefore some special kind of reward (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 8219). (Communication of Robert Lindell.)
- p. 72: Maximilian II's letter of 1570 with Zenobi's offer of marriage to Virginia Vagnoli is dated not February but 6 September 1570 (a mistake in Saviotti), and was brought personally by Zenobi, who stopped in Ferrara at the beginning of November on his way to Pesaro. Virginia and Alessandro Striggio were married in Rimini, ca. 18 June 1571. I owe these corrections to Franco Piperno, who has now published a complete account of this intriguing episode: see 'Diplomacy and Musical Patronage: Virginia, Guidubaldo II, Massimiliano II, "Lo Streggino" and Others', *Early Music History* 18 (1999), 259–85. New documents discovered by Piperno show that Zenobi was rebuffed and ridiculed by Virginia and her father ('se ne son dati a ridere, havendo essi anchora i fini loro di far parentado con persona che sii non solo virtuosa, ma commodo di prezzo anchora, e poi non si son niente satisfatti delle qualità et procedere suo' (p. 269). My guess that Zenobi's marriage proposal was a ruse to draw Virginia to Maximilian's court might have been true in the beginning, but evidently by the time it was put into operation Virginia had found herself a better match.
- p. 76: Paolo Animuccia died in October 1569 in Padua. (Communication of Franco Piperno.)
- p. 95: Robert Lindell kindly sent me a copy of the passport, dated 19 November 1573. Much of it is a standard 'laissez passer'. The part that concerns Zenobi originally read: 'Praesentium exhibitorem Aloysium Cenobi Tubicinem à servitijs nostris benigna venia atque licentia nostra discedentem Devotionibus et Dilectionibus Vestris diligenter commendamus.' The words after 'Tubicinem' have been struck through and the following is substituted in the margin: 'à servitijs nostris recedere, seque aliò conferre cupientem, neutiquam detinendum, sed hinc discedentem Devotionibus et Dilectionibus Vestris clementer duximus commendandum.' Originally he was graciously permitted to leave; now he is not being compelled to stay against his will.
- p. 95: Among the letters Maximilian sent out to various courts is one (in Spanish) to

Guidobaldo II della Rovere, dated 20 November 1573. Although Guidobaldo assured Maximilian that he would not hire the cornettist if he turned up in Urbino, in fact the Duke had been seeking a cornettist since June, as various letters to the abate Bibiena in Venice attest (I owe knowledge of these to the kindness of Franco Piperno). Bibiena had in mind the cornettist mentioned to him by Baldassare Donato, 'qual è così buono che si può paragonar con tutti li altri che oggidì siano in Italia, non ne levando anche m.r Girolamo da Udine. Egli stava al S.zio del S.or Duca di Baviera, ma s'è partito, e s'aspetta qui fra otto o dieci giorni'. It is tempting to think that this cornettist is Zenobi, who was recruited to Maximilian's court from Venice, but in June 1573 he was still in Maximilian's service. Perhaps he had visited Wilhelm's court and had played the cornetto there for a short time, and others assumed he was in Wilhelm's service. The correspondence concerning the unnamed cornettist continues into December, but the later letters concern a different cornettist, the *maestro di cappella* in Capo d'Istria.