# Part V

# Historical sources and cultural hermeneutics

# 13 Insider and outsider views in early modern correspondence involving patrons and musicians

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During the Renaissance, the printed correspondence of intellectuals—members of the so-called "Republic of Letters"—became an increasingly fashionable literary genre because of the revival of the classical tradition. Cicero's *Epistulae ad familiares* constituted a model for what Gregory Daugherty has called the "magical genre of Epistolography."[1] Not by chance was it among the most successful books printed after the Gutenberg revolution, alongside Petrarch's Latin *Epistulae*. Pioneering research proposed by Amedeo Quondam at the Istituto di Studi Rinascimentali in Ferrara from its foundation in 1983, initially in collaboration with the Centro Studi Europa delle Corti, has focused attention on the some 160 printed editions of letters published in Italy between 1538 (Aretino's first book) and 1627 (Marino's posthumous book of *Lettere*).[2] The main challenge faced by scholars of this impressive quantity of printed letters was to reconstruct the process by which a letter conceived for personal usage and a private audience was transformed into public literature. My personal experience as a musicologist working on correspondence between artists, especially musicians, and their patrons has additionally revealed a different problem: this typology of letters introduces the modern reader to the private side of life as really lived, through texts not intended for publication, while destined to give only an incomplete version of the story. Of paramount methodological importance regarding this challenge is the path suggested by John Walter Hill in "learning to experience music of the past . . . in terms that would have seemed comprehensible and significant to the best qualified of the participants in its creation: its most competent composers, performers, theorists, critics, patrons and listeners."[3]

I started my musicological career in 1982 with a fellowship supporting a survey of some 70,000 letters of the period 1585–1650 preserved in the Archivio Bentivoglio at the Archivio di Stato, Ferrara. For this purpose, I followed in the footsteps of John Walter Hill, who had just examined the same material for his important study of the musical patronage of Cardinal Montalto, later published by Clarendon Press.[4] Fruitful discussions over the following decade with Professor Hill and many other experts in the use of correspondence as a primary source category for music history (Brown, Hammond, Annibaldi, Newcomb, Fenlon, Fabbri, Walker, Bianconi, Ferroni and many others) allowed me to insert the final outcome of my research project (*Mecenati e musici*, published as a volume in 1999)[5] in the fervent debate—then in progress—on the methodological problems in the historiographic reconstruction of musical patronage in early modern Italy. I later participated in a new discussion group on "urban musicology" created by Tim Carter and others at the Royal Holloway University, London. The urban perspective invites a reassessment of the heuristic value of correspondence in the light of the so-called New History—the objective of the present contribution. In this sense, Peter Burke's clear distinction between the visions of the "outsider" and "insider,"[6] and—with specific relation to musical historiography—John Walter Hill's

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more recent concept of *cognate music theory*, yield a new reading of original correspondence as a complex type of historical source requiring respectful interpretation as a communicational device between past insiders as studied by present outsiders, i.e., scholars aiming to reconstruct artistic and cultural milieux of the past.

**Patron and entrepreneur: the case of Enzo Bentivoglio**

The correspondence in the Bentivoglio Archive allowed me to reconstruct the multifaceted personality of Enzo Bentivoglio (Ferrara, *ca.* 1575—Rome, 1639), a member of the Ferrarese aristocracy who achieved enormous fame in the first half of the seventeenth century for his ability to procure works of art and skilled musicians for princes and cardinals, and his expertise in organizing tournaments and musical spectacles. In her volume of 1988, art historian Janet Southorn described him as possessing "magical appeal, promising artists to patrons and patrons to artists."[7] During my research in Ferrara, I discovered that a few scholars (Pier Maria Capponi, Adriano Cavicchi, Stuart Reiner, Irvin Lavin, Anthony Newcomb, Frederick Hammond, Janet Southorn, Prisco Bagni, Arnaldo Morelli, and John Hill) had already explored the huge epistolary archive of the Bentivoglio family, publishing extracts regarding musicians and other artists or particular events. Well known were some letters once in the Bentivoglio Archive and today conserved elsewhere or lost, written by important musicians such as Monteverdi and Frescobaldi, or poets and painters of the caliber of Tasso, Marino, Guarini, Carracci, Guercino, or Battistelli. Extensive research on Commedia dell'Arte actors—another fervent passion of the Bentivoglio family—was later carried out by a group chaired by Siro Ferroni.[8]

The case of Enzo Bentivoglio is particularly interesting, since it contradicts traditional patterns in analyzing patronage in post-Renaissance Italy, based on the relationship of "big men" interested in skilled artists. The economic discourse, which for some time has also been central to musical historiography, emerges as dominant in all Bentivoglio's correspondence, but this discourse must be analyzed within the overall context of the chain of human relations implicit in his various relationships.

After all, my chosen period corresponds exactly to the great economic crisis of the seventeenth century, and it also coincides with the Thirty Years' War and the new political order of European nations, with the consequent alliances between the small Italian states. Particularly critical is the situation of Ferrara, which in 1598 is transformed from an autonomous duchy to a marginal territory of the Papal States. Though the Bentivoglio family remained among the wealthiest in town, serious difficulties resulted from the division of the family into two branches, with the transfer to Modena of the first-born Marquis Ippolito in the retinue of Duke Cesare d'Este. In a "Nota delle entrade dei Gintilhuomini di Ferrara" from 1606, Enzo Bentivoglio is second in wealth only to Ascanio Pio di Savoia who married Enzo's daughter in 1627, thus uniting the two richest families of the city.[9] It is hardly a coincidence that Ascanio Pio followed in his father-in-law's footsteps as an organizer of theatrical performances.[10] Upon becoming head of the Ferrara branch of the family, Enzo soon began to lavish enormous sums of money on a series of spectacular operations that earned him the reputation of worthy successor to Duke Alfonso II, even using the rich dowry of his wife Caterina Martinengo: architectural work and decorations at the Bentivoglio palace and subsequently other residences, especially at Gualtieri, after he acquired the title of Marquis; the erection of the Teatro dell'Accademia degli Intrepidi and the patronage of many entertainments; the erection of churches and charitable institutions; and, in general, the embellishment of Ferrara.

Alongside these propagandistic successes, however, he also initiated a number of misguided—not to mention dangerous—investments, especially with regard to the highly ambitious project of hydraulic reclamation of the family lands between the rivers Po and Tartaro, including the insalubrious marshes of Comacchio. It is fair to say that his endeavors as patron of the arts, especially in Rome, were oriented towards guaranteeing his investments in the *monti* created to finance this gigantic enterprise—which spanned most of his life and served only to accumulate appalling debts. Thus, rather than directly repaying his debts, Enzo continually established new investment funds in a way reminiscent of the lead-up to the great financial crisis of the early third millennium—so much so that by the final decades of his life he was no longer trusted by anyone. Even musicians and other artists refused the "shares" (*luoghi di monte*) proposed by the Marquis as payment, knowing that they were of no real value.

Half a century of Bentivoglio correspondence contains numerous letters with urgent—and pathetic—requests for money and other assistance from Enzo's mother Isabella,[11] his brother and future cardinal Guido Bentivoglio,[12] other brothers and children, and various impoverished relatives in Modena, not to mention the whole circle of servants and clients of differing quality and rank.[13] After Enzo's death, his heirs tried to remove all traces of the debts accumulated by their father, in an attempt to escape the obligation of repayment. For this reason, family account books from the first half of the seventeenth century were destroyed. This circumstance increases the importance of the letters for the reconstruction of the complex system of family patronage and social relationships.

In accordance with the display rules in force in the seventeenth century, critical downturns in the economic situation of the Bentivoglio family gave rise to a corresponding increase in expenses; and house purchases in Rome, or the organization of princely spectacles, fueled investor confidence in his land reclamation enterprises. For this purpose, Enzo Bentivoglio conceived an innovative patronage mechanism based not on dubious cash payments but on a form of "barter" (*baratto*). He began educating young musicians and singers (mostly women) who were assigned to a group of prestigious teachers but paid little or nothing themselves; these musicians were shortly to become reliable professionals who participated in the public entertainments organized by Bentivoglio in Ferrara and Rome and were later offered free of charge to cardinals or princes in exchange for their support in his investments or political projects. To a lesser degree, the same system held good for painters or decorators of various kinds, brought from the province to the capital and presented to true patrons.

Enzo used a network of informants to identify suitable young talents. In reality, everyone gained something from the "system": If, for example, a painter received an important commission, in exchange he might undertake to complete works in the Bentivoglio residences almost free of charge, while a musician might be satisfied with a "knighthood" or introduction to the circle of a richer patron. Enzo Bentivoglio thus acted more as a modern "agent" than directly as patron. Yet reliability in this role, vis-à-vis both patrons and artists, required strengthening of his "image."

For this purpose, Enzo enacted a veritable communication project. This enterprise began in Ferrara with the creation of the Accademia degli Intrepidi and its theater, open to the public. As a second step, with the aim of finding powerful patrons in Rome, he agreed to act as intermediary on behalf of Cardinal Borghese for the acquisition of paintings belonging to the Este family, thus plundering his native city.[14] His next act was to present himself as Ferrarese ambassador to the papal court in Rome, beginning in 1608; this was made possible by friendships already activated by his brother Guido, whose ecclesiastical career was in rapid expansion following his appointment as the Apostolic Nuncio to Flanders. Guido had

already left for northern Europe, with the young Ferrarese organist Girolamo Frescobaldi in his entourage. Enzo entered Rome in 1608 with a musical ensemble that exactly reproduced the "Concerto delle Dame di Ferrara," celebrated for its performances at the court of Alfonso ii d'Este under the direction of Frescobaldi's teacher, Luzzasco Luzzaschi (and whose music had recently been popularized in Rome through the publication of his madrigals for three sopranos in 1601). For the occasion, Enzo also hastily enticed Frescobaldi from Brussels with the offer of an appointment as organist of the papal church of San Pietro; at the same time, Enzo was able to crown Frescobaldi as the new Luzzaschi in the Bentivoglio "concertino," which also included the lutenist Alessandro Piccinini (a veteran, who had also known the service of Alfonso ii d'Este)[15] and three young "Dame"—Angela, Lucia, and Lucrezia, the last of them also a harpist. At this point, a step back in time will better explain how Enzo Bentivoglio had prepared the idea of the "concertino" for his entry into Rome.

In 1607, Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga had begun preparations for the marriage of his son Francesco to Margherita of Savoy, which involved challenging the supremacy of Florence with its recent invention of the *melodramma*. The most important musician in the service of the Gonzagas, Claudio Monteverdi, had received a commission to compose *L'Orfeo*, an evident response to the Florentine *Euridice*; but the wedding was postponed to 1608, and Monteverdi was requested to write a new opera, *L'Arianna*, itself a reply to the new version of *Dafne* proposed, in turn, by the Florentines led by Marco Da Gagliano. The Gonzaga festivities were marked by numerous other spectacles with music, again with Monteverdi as a protagonist, including the *Ballo delle ingrate*, and a series of intermezzi for the spoken comedy *L'Idropica* by Battista Guarini. There existed a double bond between Enzo Bentivoglio and the Mantua performance of *L'Idropica*, since the Ferrarese poet Guarini was Enzo's uncle and, at the same time, the Marquis Vincenzo Gonzaga was a member of the Accademia degli Intrepidi ("prince" beginning in 1610), founded in Ferrara by the Bentivoglios. Among the singers in the intermezzi of *L'Idropica* was Angela Zanibelli, herself educated in music in the Bentivoglio household from 1606, and later the first of the three singers in Enzo's Roman entourage.[16] Only the Christian name of the second singer is known (Lucia), together with her difficulties in learning music.[17] The third singer, Lucrezia Urbani, had also played double harp in the Mantuan festivities: Lucrezia became a pupil of Piccinini and Frescobaldi in Rome and was the most successful of the three ladies.[18] Despite the commitment of various masters employed by Enzo in Rome, the trio was soon dissolved in the wake of two sex scandals, and after 1610, Bentivoglio preferred to obtain professional singers and instrumentalists on occasional loan from rich and well-connected Roman cardinals, in particular Cardinal Alessandro Peretti Montalto. Subsequently, however, young singers raised at the expense of Enzo Bentivoglio were still welcome in the family's Roman and Ferrarese abodes, and used in the entertainments that would be staged almost every year in Ferrara between 1610 and 1616.

Several letters of 1613–14 refer to the musical training of Francesca Gruminck (née Masicci, called "la Pittora") and a young bass called "Francescone." The latter is subsequently replaced by Baldassarre who fails to attain professional skills.[19] Of the talents raised by Enzo Bentivoglio, Lucrezia moved to the court of Florence with her husband, the harpsichordist Domenico Visconti, and Angela and Francesca were welcomed with their respective husbands at the Savoy court in Turin, while Lucia, Francesco, and Baldassarre disappeared altogether from sight. For some years, Enzo once again resorted to singers obtained on loan, or employed on an occasional basis; due to growing economic difficulties linked to the failure of the *monti*, his activities as an organizer of theatrical entertainments became increasingly rare.

A final singer trained at the Bentivoglio household in Rome during 1629–30 was Antonia Monti, who subsequently entered the service of the duke of Modena.[20] In general, the long

and intensive activity of training young singers involved a vast group of teachers chosen from among the greatest virtuosos active in Rome between 1608 and 1630: Girolamo Frescobaldi, Alessandro Piccinini, Cesare Marotta and his wife Ippolita Recupito, Ippolito Machiavelli, Orazio Crescenti, Giovanni Maria Nanino, Annibale Roca, Arrigo Velardi, and Giovanni Ghenizzi. Two competent friends and relations of Enzo must be added to this list: his mother Isabella Bendidio, a former singer at the Este court, and his close friend, the noble composer and collector Antonio Goretti.

Remuneration of professional musicians is minimal or merely symbolic; teachers are attracted above all by the hope of obtaining protection and favors from the richest and most powerful cardinals and princes in the Bentivoglio network. In this way, for example, the composer and harpsichordist Cesare Marotta managed to obtain a nomination as Knight of the Savoy Cross (Cavaliere della Croce di Savoia) in 1611.[21] After receiving this title, Marotta shows no further interest in accepting Bentivoglio's requests; he demands remuneration for services rendered by himself and his wife and uses a more familiar and egalitarian language in his correspondence with the Ferrarese nobleman.

We have repeatedly cited the entertainments organized by Enzo Bentivoglio with the participation of the young singers trained in his households. This was certainly the most conspicuous part of his campaign of self-promotion. But, right from the opening of the Teatro degli Intrepidi in 1604, Enzo also gathered an interdisciplinary group of experts for the organization of aristocratic tournaments with music. The initial group was formed by the engineer and architect Giovanni Battista Aleotti (designer not only of the Teatro degli Intrepidi, but also of numerous other theaters including the celebrated Teatro Farnese in Parma), the aforementioned composer Antonio Goretti, the poet Alessandro Guarini (son of the more famous Battista Guarini, and Enzo's cousin), and some important contemporary painters and decorators. Bentivoglio himself was animator of the group and entrepreneur; he also created the subject matter of the entertainments, and even acted as challenger (*mantenitore*) in tournaments.

Between 1610 and 1614, the Bentivoglio team organized a series of musical tournaments in Ferrara, recreating a structure traditionally conceived for open spaces within the confines of a theater.[22] The resonance of these chivalric exhibitions, which strongly oriented the birth of the new genre of Baroque *opera-torneo*, led to Enzo Bentivoglio's involvement in the most important spectacular event of the first half of the seventeenth century: the Parma wedding festivities (with music by Monteverdi and others), initially planned for 1617, but postponed until 1628–29.[23] Meanwhile, after the 1619 death of his elder brother Ippolito and his nephew Ferrante, Enzo became Marquis of Gualtieri. And during the following decade, he invested his entire economic and artistic energy in the Gualtieri palace, using the same Ferrarese team—now further enhanced by the arrival of the important painter Pier Francesco Battistelli[24]—contemporaneously engaged in the construction of the Teatro Farnese, Parma.

The most significant event during the long realization of the Parma project was Bentivoglio's formal assumption of overall responsibility in place of the expert though aging Aleotti, now replaced in his specific functions by Battistelli (whose scenic talent was first realized by Enzo): This represents a further evolution in the career of the patron-entrepreneur, who now adds the functions of theatrical architect to his activities as designer of spectacles. In reality, Aleotti continued to follow Bentivoglio's land reclamation project and the Ferrarese chivalric entertainments, and it is likely that he never ceased working on the Parma preparations. After Battistelli's sudden death in 1625, Francesco Guitti entered Bentivoglio's team as architect; Enzo employed his elder son Cornelio as "challenger" in the main tournament of the 1628 festivities.[25]

The choice of Enzo Bentivoglio and his Ferrarese team as organizers of the Parma festivities evidently had a symbolic meaning, as the Farnese—like the Gonzagas ten years before—wanted to present themselves to their new Florentine relatives as the heirs to an older and more glorious genre of spectacle than the *melodramma* invented at the Medici court at the end of the sixteenth-century: the *opera-torneo*, successor to the Renaissance tournaments of Ferrara. For this reason, the decade-long "preparations in Parma" represented a unique and unrepeatable experience in the history of the Baroque music spectacle. Among the many guests in Parma, Cardinals Francesco and Antonio Barberini were so impressed by Bentivoglio's formula of chivalric entertainments mixed with opera that they reproduced it at their own festival at Rome in 1634 (with Cornelio Bentivoglio as challenger in the *Giostra del Saracino* included in the *opera-torneo*). And references to the Parma festivities are still present in the colossal *Il palazzo incantato d'Atlante*, an opera staged at the Barberini Palace in 1642, with music by Luigi Rossi.[26]

Thus, Enzo Bentivoglio's "system," created to shore up investors' confidence in his speculations on land reclamation, included the utopian dream of recreating the cultural hegemony of the Este court of Renaissance Ferrara, using the *opera-torneo* as a symbol of local identity. His speculation was, however, a total failure: In 1630, just after his Parma triumph, his assets were confiscated, together with those of his partner in the last "Monte Bentivoglio," Alessandro Nappi, and his financial group went bankrupt. In 1638, Enzo's wife Caterina died at the family palace in Ferrara, where she had been abandoned months earlier by her husband (now residing in Rome), and her desperate children rushed to empty her rooms. On 25 November 1639, Enzo himself died in Rome. His body was then deposited in a chapel and, only after a year, repatriated to Ferrara, hidden in the bottom of a wagon to avoid kindling the ire of his creditors. Even his dream of inaugurating a successful type of entertainment was soon superseded: In 1637, "public opera" was created in Venice and quickly spread throughout Italy and Europe as the most important genre of musical theater in the seventeenth century. However, the Ferrara-style *opera-torneo* as invented by Enzo Bentivoglio long remained a model for the most important European court festivities, as shown by Claude-François Menestrier's *Traité des tournois, ioustes, carrousels, et autres spectacles publics* (Lyon, 1669).

## The insider eye: letters by musicians

Little correspondence of European musicians of the early modern period has been published or studied. During the Renaissance, musicians were considered servants, and even composers who acquired high international fame did not achieve the illustrious status of contemporary painters or writers. For this reason, letters to and from professional musicians are few and far between in the hundreds of printed books of letters by the great intellectuals of the sixteenth century. Beginning in the early seventeenth century, letters from important men at various levels of society were published as simple *exempla* of written style.[27] For centuries, only the letters of musicians who were connected to "big men" survived, thanks to the importance of their patrons. Only when a historiographical awareness dawned in some of the most cultured musicians during the eighteenth century did they come to regard their letters as precious sources of information to be carefully preserved, as in the case of Padre Martini or the Mozart family correspondence. But it was only in the nineteenth century that a new fashion for autographs by "illustrious men" came to the fore—a fashion which also occasionally extended to musicians whose precious autographs were sought.[28]

In archives and libraries preserving memories of princes and the nobility, conservers began extrapolating letters by celebrated artists, assigning them to special files removed from their

original context, or selling them to wealthy collectors. In precisely this difficult period, the Bentivoglio Archive, having survived a fire in the family palace in 1682, was deposited at the Ferrara Municipal Library, where the "canonico" Antonelli distinguished himself—during his years as director (1845–1862)—for his theft of a conspicuous number of letters by famous artists (musicians included), which in time entered the catalogues of various collectors. Almost every letter by Monteverdi and Frescobaldi in the Bentivoglio Archive suffered this fate; they are now dispersed in various collections around the world.[29]

To this day, Claudio Monteverdi is one of the few European musicians (of this or any other period) whose surviving correspondence has been published entirely in critical edition: a total of 127 letters written between November 1601 and August 1643, a few months before his death.[30] Giaches de Wert (d. 1596) represents the only other example from Monteverdi's or previous generations: Iain Fenlon, who edited the critical edition, added a group of 38 previously unknown letters now held in the Archivio Storico Comunale, Novellara, to the correspondence preserved at the Mantua State Archives.[31] The content of these letters differs from previously known correspondence by Italian Renaissance musicians, almost all of which is dedicated to theoretical discussions[32] or written for the purpose of obtaining engagements or payments from patrons, usually with impersonal formulas. Yet the few surviving private letters written by other musicians of the same period have proved invaluable in establishing both their biography and the context in which they worked.[33] A special case concerns Carlo Gesualdo, today considered one of the greatest contemporaries of Monteverdi. Above all, Gesualdo earned his contemporaries' consideration by virtue of his social rank as prince of Venosa and member of one of the richest and most important families in the Kingdom of Naples. And indeed, almost none of the hundreds of letters sent by Gesualdo to his fellow princes and still preserved in archives all over Europe include references to music or the arts.[34]

Letters can overturn modern judgments of early composers. For example, the correspondence between Girolamo Borsieri and the poet Battista Guarini suggests that Gesualdo's twentieth-century image as forerunner of the musical avant-gardes does not correspond to historical reality: Gesualdo was viewed by at least one contemporary—Guarini—as operating entirely within the classical system of Renaissance music, while Monteverdi was seen as the true revolutionary.[35]

During the preparation of my book on the Bentivoglio family, I developed a particular interest for the letters of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century musicians (and other artists), which I have continued collecting and reading with interest: These letters can indeed lead to greater understanding of musicians' micro-stories in the context of the "great theater of the world." Thus, I collected a considerable number of letters by Benedetto Ferrari, which allowed me to reconstruct a more reliable biography of a librettist and musician considered the inventor of "Venetian" opera, with insights into his personality and ideas. Only a dozen letters by Ferrari were previously known, and these had been extrapolated, in the nineteenth century, from documentary series in the Archivio di Stato, Modena, and placed in a special section denominated "Busta Musica e Musicisti." But several other unidentified letters by Ferrari were subsequently discovered in the same archive, while still others had disappeared. Conflation of the conspicuous Modenese nucleus with letters conserved in numerous other institutions, together with the dedications of the printed editions of Ferrari's literary works (themselves written in letter format) and documents by third parties which merely mention Ferrari, enabled me to create a larger overall picture. My research uncovered a total of 67 documents dated between 1623, when Ferrari was 19 years old, and 1681, when he died.[36] From a biographical standpoint, this mass of documents establishes with hitherto unimagined precision the movements and engagements of a composer who was lauded above all as

a theorbo virtuoso and did not consider himself a good poet (though little more than his printed literary production remains). The letters portray Ferrari as "tall in stature" and long-lived—an artist who, having survived beyond the golden age of his career, must continue to prove his status for the rest of his existence. For this reason, perhaps, he sometimes declares his descent from the noble Ferraris of Cremona and often laments his misfortune and the malice of his fellow humans.[37]

Like Monteverdi in a famous excerpt, Ferrari's self-insertion in a line of celebrated masters shows his knowledge of his own value: In 1674, aged around seventy, he can still aspire to directing a prestigious musical chapel, in the same way as Orlando di Lasso in Bavaria or Francesco Cavalli in Venice.[38] Being celibate, Ferrari was able to became a priest in his old age; this would have afforded him a prebend. There are some veiled overtones of homosexuality. It should be remembered, however, that it was impossible to speak openly about this in contemporary society; evidence is thus rare even in private letters. What Ferrari's correspondence does not disclose can be deduced from other sources: A poem in his little-known collection of *Poesie* (Piacenza, 1651) is dedicated to the Roman castrato contralto Carlo Macchiati, "mellifluous musician," with words that express admiration and anxious expectation for the young singer's return to Piacenza.[39]

## Conclusions

The study of private correspondence can sometimes create the impression of undue curiosity into the intimate affairs of people who never imagined their letters would someday be made public. This is as true of patrons as it is of artists and musicians. Yet the results are always surprising, and sometimes extraordinarily helpful in reconstructing the interaction of participants in the creation of sound events of the past, even when only a few fragments are available.

For historians, correspondence has always represented one of the many sources available for study of the past, and historians of music are no exception. In line with changing fashions, musicologists have frequently favored the interpretation of letters as "documents" rather than links to a context. "Big men's letters" were used to illustrate their culture, taste, and vision as patrons, while musicians' correspondence was seen as a source of information on their authors' biographies, success or economic situation, or details regarding particular compositions. The recent influences of cultural history, which have introduced musicology to issues concerning history of mentalities, cultural transfer, sociability and, in general, the wider context, lend added weight to the use of correspondence as an invaluable connection between different social situations and, indeed, "insider" and "outsider" points of view. In this context, a cognate-theory framework might usefully be applied to the reading of historical letters; this approach can help render seventeenth-century music both "comprehensible and significant," orienting the modern "participant" in the process of co-production shared by the two protagonists of any contemporary correspondence on music: patrons and artists.

As noted by Giulio Cesare Capaccio in his *Il secretario*, a manual of 1590 on correct epistolary style:

> as with language every man expresses the treasures of the mind; thus, with the pen, he renders clear and distinct that shapeless material of another's concept, and in the simulacrum of a letter brings splendor to that mysterious idea which, receiving light and spirit from its voices, makes distant things seem near at hand, facilitates negotiations, regulates times, establishes memory and, where the letter arrives, reduces the world.[40]

## Notes

1. Gregory N. Daugherty, "Teaching Roman Epistolography: As a Threshold to Literature," *The Classical Outlook* 68, no. 2 (1990), 41–44. See also Paolo Cugusi, "L'epistola ciceroniana: strumento di comunicazione quotidiana e modello letterario," *Ciceroniana online*, 2016. www.ojs.unito.it. I wish to thank David Bryant for his invaluable help in rendering a correct English form of this text.
2. Starting point for this project was Quondam's *Le "Carte messaggiere": Retorica e modelli di comunicazione epistolare: per un indice dei libri di lettere del Cinquecento* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1981). A recent contribution on the same topic is Lodovica Braida, *Libri di lettere: Le raccolte epistolari del Cinquecento tra inquietudini religiose e "buon volgare"* (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 2009).
3. John W. Hill, "Cognate Music Theory," in *Music in the Mirror. Reflections on the History of Music Theory and Literature for the 21st Century*, ed. Andreas Giger and Thomas J. Mathiesen (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 117; reprinted as Chapter 2 in this volume.
4. John W. Hill, *Roman Monody, Cantata, and Opera from the Circles Around Cardinal Montalto*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).
5. Dinko Fabris, *Mecenati e musici. Documenti sul patronato artistico dei Bentivoglio di Ferrara nell'epoca di Monteverdi (1585–1645)* (Lucca: LIM, 1999; repr. 2020).
6. Peter Burke, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays on Perception and Communication* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 15ff.
7. Janet Southorn, *Power and Display in the Seventeenth Century. Arts and Their Patrons in Modena and Ferrara* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), chap. 4: "Patrons, Agents and Entrepreneurs," 75–96: 84. During many months of research in Ferrara, I was fortunate to share discussions with Janet Southorn regarding the particular forms of patronage adopted by Enzo and the entire Bentivoglio family (including his brother Guido, a cardinal, and son Cornelio).
8. The results of this research were published as *Comici dell'arte. Corrispondenze*, 2 vols., ed. Siro Ferroni (Florence: Le Lettere, 1993). Extending the chronology of my own contribution (*Mecenati e musici* 1999), Monaldini has since inserted many other actors' letters in his study of Bentivoglio patronage during the years 1646–1685: Sergio Monaldini, *L'orto dell'esperidi: musici, attori e artisti nel patrocinio della famiglia Bentivoglio (1646–1685)* (Lucca: LIM, 2001; repr. 2020).
9. Fabris, *Mecenati e musici*, 83–100.
10. Having been widowed, Ascanio Pio di Savoia (1586–1649) married his second wife Beatrice Bentivoglio in 1627. He was among the founders of the Accademia degli Intrepidi and an enthusiastic follower of the theatrical events organized in Ferrara by Enzo Bentivoglio, to which he himself began to contribute in collaboration with Antonio Goretti, Antonio Rivarola ("Il Chenda") and others, writing the librettos and devising the sets. He was also a magnificent collector of works of art. See two recent essays by Cecilia Vicentini, "I Bentivoglio dall'ideazione alla fruizione artistica: un complesso sistema di strategie communicative," in *L'esperienza dello spazio: collezioni, mostre, musei*, ed. Chiara Giulia Morandi, Caterina Sinigaglia, Michela Tessari, Irene Di Pietro and Davide Da Pieve (Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2019), 17–29; and "Il teatro per il potere: il caso della famiglia Bentivoglio fra Roma e le corti padane," in *L'"Occidente degli eroi": Il Pantheon degli Estensi in Sant'Agostino a Modena (1662–1663) e la cultura barocca*, ed. Sonia Cavicchioli (Modena: Artestampa, 2019), 217–31.
11. Isabella Bendidio (b. Ferrara, 1546) became Cornelio I Bentivoglio's second wife in 1573. Along with her sister Lucrezia, she sang in the famous "Concerto delle Dame" at the Este Court. The two sisters, especially Lucrezia, were celebrated as inspiring muses by Torquato Tasso (*Rime per Lucrezia Bendidio*). On Isabella's musical skills, see Fabris, *Mecenati e musici*, 30n150.
12. Guido Bentivoglio (1577–1644) studied in Padua, where he met Galileo Galilei, and in Rome, where he enjoyed a very successful religious career. After a period as Apostolic Nuncio in Flanders (1607–1615) and France, he was appointed cardinal in 1621, and was nearly elected pope in succession to Urban VIII, but he died soon after the election of Giovanni Battista Pamphilj as Innocent X. Guido's works include *Memorie del cardinale Guido Bentivoglio* (Amsterdam 1647), a bestseller of the century, and *Lettere scritte dal cardinale Bentivoglio* (Cologne 1631), later used as a textbook for the study of elegance in writing. See the modern edition: Guido Bentivoglio, *Memorie e lettere*, ed. Costantino Panigata (Bari: Laterza, 1934).
13. On the increasingly frequent requests for money by Enzo's mother, brothers and servants see Fabris, *Mecenati e musici*, especially 84ff., and notes 283–87.

14. Giulio Marcon, Silvia Maddalo and Giuliana Marcolini, "Per una storia dell'esodo del patrimonio artistico ferrarese a Roma," in *Frescobaldi e il suo tempo*, ed. Jadranka Bentini and Luigi Spezzaferro (Venice: Marsilio, 1983), 93–106; Southorn, *Power and Display*, 22–25.
15. On Alessandro Piccinini and his brothers Girolamo and Filippo (all three eminent lute players) see Fabris, *Mecenati e musici*, 60–61, and notes 223–24. The Bentivoglio Archive contains some fifty letters by Alessandro, but very few refer to music: for the most part, they deal with wine, paintings, furniture, or other commercial topics, illustrating his activity as an agent for Bentivoglio in Bologna, on the central route linking Rome and Ferrara. Yet the few letters mentioning music are crucial for reconstructing the biography of the celebrated archlute and chitarrone player.
16. Angela Zanibelli entered the Bentivoglio household in summer 1606, with no competence whatever in music: in a letter of 26 December, 1607, Enzo's mother notes that "not only did [she] not know how to read, but neither does she know a syllable or note of musical song; she has nothing but a good voice" ("non sapeva non sollo legere ma nonché conose silaba né nota di musica per cantare non avendo di buono solo la voce"; Fabris, *Mecenati e musici*, 42n157). Yet in 1608, she sang with honor at the Gonzaga festival in Mantua, before coming to Rome. But in summer 1609 she became pregnant. The family attempted a cover-up by ordering Frescobaldi to marry her, but the musician refused. See Stuart Reiner, "La vag'Angioletta (and others)," *Analecta musicologica* X (1974), 26–88; Fabris, *Mecenati e musici*, 44–45; Paolo Da Col, "'Era pensier mio di sposar l'Angiola . . .': Una lettera ritrovata di Girolamo Frescobaldi," in *Musicus perfectus: Studi in onore di Luigi Ferdinando Tagliavini, "prattico e specolativo," nella ricorrenza del LXV compleanno*, ed. Pio Pellizzari (Bologna: Patron, 1995), 267–73. Author of the pregnancy was probably Gasparo Martinengo, Enzo's underage brother-in-law. Later on, Angela married Alessandro Bonetti from Cremona and the couple transferred to Turin.
17. Lucia entered Bentivoglio's Ferrara household in May 1608. She was evidently even less prepared in music than Angela, since the latter was asked to be her first teacher (see letter of 5 May 1608, cited in Fabris, *Mecenati e musici*, 43). Even in later documents she is criticized for her limited musical skills (a letter of 12 Aug. 1609, describes her as "grossa, di cervello"). Her family name is unknown. After a period of study with Orazio Crescenti, a singer in the Cappella Sistina, she soon disappears from the Bentivoglio circle.
18. Lucrezia Urbani, from Naples, was the most expert musician of the trio. She entered the Gonzaga court in Mantua as a harpist in 1603, together with her sister Camilla, also a musician: Lucrezia was thus the first to play the difficult harp solo in Monteverdi's *Orfeo* (1607). In 1608, she left Mantua to join the Bentivoglio "concertino" in Rome, becoming a student of Frescobaldi and Piccinini; her presence is recorded from February 1609. Later documents show that she gained the admiration of both Roman cardinals, especially Montalto, and foreign visitors, who invited her to sing and play. But Lucrezia was overtaken by her own scandal; she was found to be pregnant and forced into a hurried marriage with the harpsichordist Domenico Visconti, a servant of cardinal Montalto. Both were banned from the Bentivoglio household; in 1612, they transferred to the service of Antonio Medici in Florence, but still remained in contact with Enzo Bentivoglio. The letters allude to an affair between Enzo and Lucrezia's sister Camilla. (Fabris, *Mecenati e musici*, 44–46, and notes 164–71).
19. Francesca Masicci was already married to the German painter Guglielmo Gruminck when, in 1612, she entered the service of Enzo Bentivoglio; for this reason, perhaps, she is called "la Pittora" in almost all the letters. Her music training in Rome, alongside the young male voices of "Francescone" and Baldassarre, involved a chain of eminent contemporary masters: the harpsichordist Cesare Marotta and his wife Ippolita Recupito (both in the service of cardinal Montalto), Girolamo Frescobaldi, Annibale Roca of Naples (soon to be replaced by Arrigo Velardi "Il Gobbo"), Giovanni Ghenizzi and, in Ferrara, Antonio Goretti and Enzo's mother Isabella Bendidio, with additional supervision in Bologna by Alessandro Piccinini. This large group of teachers allowed the young singers to prepare themselves swiftly for the carnival entertainments organized by Enzo in Ferrara in 1613 and 1614. In the end, only Francesca continued her professional activity as a singer; together with her husband and their daughter, she moved to Turin in 1619, entering the court of Cristina of France. In Turin, Francesca again met Angela Zanibelli, also engaged at the court with her husband. Not by chance was Francesca's daughter named Caterina, after Enzo Bentivoglio's wife. On this intensive educational program, see Frederick Hammond, *Girolamo Frescobaldi* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983); new online edition. https://girolamofrescobaldi.com/, entitled *Girolamo Frescobaldi: An Extended Biography*; Dinko Fabris, "Frescobaldi e la

musica in casa Bentivoglio," in *Girolamo Frescobaldi nel IV centenario della nascita*, ed. Sergio Durante and Dinko Fabris (Florence: Olschki, 1986), 63–85; John W. Hill, "Training a Singer for Musica Recitativa in Early Seventeenth-Century Italy: The Case of Baldassarre," in *Musicologia Humana: Studies in Honor of Warren and Ursula Kirkendale*, ed. Siegfried Gmeinwieser, David Hiley and Jörg Riedlbauer (Florence: Olschki, 1994), 345–57; Hill, *Roman Monody, Cantata, and Opera*; Claudio Annibaldi, review of Hill, *Roman Monody, Cantata, and Opera*, *Early Music History*, 18 (1999), 365–98; Fabris, *Mecenati e musici*; and Fabris, "Francesca 'La Pittora' ed altre canterine: presenze femminili nella musica alla corte di Torino nel primo Seicento," in *Helicon resonans. Studi in onore di Alberto Basso per il suo 90° compleanno*, ed. Cristina Santarelli (Lucca: LIM, 2021), 2 vols., I, 333–61.

20. On Antonia Monti see Fabris, *Mecenati e musici*, 52–53. Born in total poverty, she became such a secure singer that she even spurned a song by Claudio Monteverdi commissioned especially for her by the Marquis Bentivoglio: "me la magno una sera à veglia" ("I can eat [memorize] it in just one evening": letter of 30 March 1630, cited in Fabris, *Mecenati e musici*, 446f.). Antonia is last mentioned in the Archivio Bentivoglio in 1633. See also Dinko Fabris, "Bentivoglio Goretti Monteverdi e gli altri: ancora sulle feste di Parma del 1626," in *Claudio Monteverdi: Studi e prospettive*, ed. Paola Besutti, Teresa Gialdroni and Rodolfo Baroncini (Florence: Olschki, 1998), 391–414, and 408.
21. Fabris, *Mecenati e musici*, 48. The first letter signed as "Il Cavalier Cesare Marotta" is dated 8 December 1611: *ivi*, 238). Cesare Marotta (1580c.–1630) entered the service of Cardinal Montalto in 1604. He became his patron's favorite composer, providing music for theatrical entertainments including, in 1614, the first Roman opera *Amor pudico*. His biography is reconstructed in Hill, *Roman Monody, Cantata, and Opera*, mostly on the basis of letters in the Archivio Bentivoglio. His wife, Ippolita Recupito (1577c.–1650), was among the most famous *canterine* of the first half of the seventeenth century (Alberto Cametti, "Chi era l'Hippolita, cantatrice del cardinal di Montalto," *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* XV (1913–14), 11–123; Anthony Newcomb. "Girolamo Frescobaldi. 1608–1615: A Documentary Study in Which Information also Appears Concerning Giulio and Settimia Caccini, the Brothers Piccinini, Stefano Landi, and Ippolita Recupita," *Annales musicologiques* VII (1964–1977), 111–58; Hill, *Roman Monody, Cantata, and Opera*; Fabris, *Mecenati e musici*, 47, and note 173).
22. In 1990, using letters from the Archivio Bentivoglio, John W. Hill demonstrated that the festival of Carnival in 1613 included the last scenic production of a text expressly written by Battista Guarini (with music by Cesare Marotta): John W. Hill, "Guarini's Last Stage Work," in *Trasmissione e recezione delle forme di cultura musicale*, ed. Angelo Pompilio, Donatella Restani, Lorenzo Bianconi and Franco Alberto Gallo (Turin: EDT, 1990), 3 vols., III, 131–54. In exchange, Bentivoglio asked Cardinal Montalto to intervene in resolving a feudal rights lawsuit in favor of his uncle. See also Dinko Fabris, "Lettere di Battista e Alessandro Guarini nell'Archivio Bentivoglio di Ferrara," in *Guarini: La musica, i musicisti*, ed. Angelo Pompilio (Lucca: LIM, 1997), 77–79.
23. On the Parma spectacles of 1617 and 1629, see Stuart Reiner, "Preparations in Parma 1618, 1627–28," *The Music Review* 24 (1964), 273–301; Irving Lavin, "Lettres de Parmes (1618, 1627–28) et débuts du théâtre baroque," in *Le lieu théâtral à la Renaissance*, ed. Jean Jacquot (Paris: CNRS, 1964; repr. 1968), 105–58; Roberto Ciancarelli, *Il progetto di una festa barocca: Alle origini del Teatro Farnese di Parma (1618–1629)* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1987); Irène Mamczarz, *Le Théâtre Farnese de Parme et le drame musical italien (1618–1732)* (Florence: Olschki, 1988); Fabris, "Bentivoglio Goretti Monteverdi e gli altri"; Fabris, *Mecenati e musici*.
24. Anna Maria Fioravanti Baraldi, "Pier Francesco Battistelli e l'impresa bentivolesca di Gualtieri in un carteggio del 1623," in *Frescobaldi e il suo tempo*, ed. Jadranka Bentini and Luigi Spezzaferro (Venice: Marsilio, 1983), 161–72; and Fabris, *Mecenati e musici* (where all Battistelli's letters in the Bentivoglio Archive are edited).
25. In Fabris, "Bentivoglio Goretti Monteverdi e gli altri," 412–14, I outlined the importance of this public presentation in securing Cornelio II Bentivoglio's engagement in Venice as "generale delle armate della Serenissima Repubblica"—a position which he obtained in 1630 immediately after the Parma festivities, thanks to Enzo's diplomatic intervention.
26. In 1634, Cardinal Guido Bentivoglio published a richly illustrated description of the Roman *Giostra del Saracino*: Guido Bentivoglio, *Festa fatta in Roma alli 25. di febraio MDCXXXIV* (Rome: Mascardi, 1634). On this event, crucial as it was for theatrical spectacle in seventeenth-century Rome, see Maurizio Fagiolo Dall'Arco and Silvia Carandini, *L'effimero barocco. Strutture*

*della festa nella Roma del Seicento* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1977), 2 vols.; Elena Tamburini, "Patrimonio teatrale estense: Influenze e interventi nella Roma del Seicento," *Biblioteca teatrale: Rivista trimestrale di studi e ricerche sullo spettacolo*, n.s., 7 (1987), 39–78; Silvia Carandini, *Teatro e spettacolo nel Seicento* (Bari-Rome: Laterza, 1990); and Giovanni Battista Tommasini, "The Saracen Joust in Piazza Navona: 1634" (parts I and II), online edition, http://worksofchivalry.com/it/la-giostra-del-saracino-a-piazza-navona-prima-parte/.

27. Many books of this kind were published under the title of *Il Secretario*. Authors include Torquato Tasso (1587), Giulio Cesare Capaccio (1590), Guarini and Ingegneri (1594) and Tommaso Costo (1604); the series continues right up to Tesauro's volume of 1674. See Salvatore S. Nigro. "Il segretario," in *L'uomo barocco* (Bari-Rome: Laterza, 1991), 91–108.
28. The burgeoning late nineteenth-century fashion for autographs by important historical personalities is testified in Emilio Budan, *L'amatore di autografi* (Milano: Hoepli, 1900). A few catalogues of collections also include letters from musicians: *Lettere storiche ed artistiche pubblicate con note da Carlo Morbio* (Milano: Società dei Classici Italiani, 1840); *Catalogo della collezione d'autografi lasciata alla R. Accademia Filarmonica dall'Accademico Abate Masseangelo Masseangeli* (Bologna: Regia Tipografia, 1881); *Catalogo . . . degli autografi e documenti di celebri o distinti musicisti posseduti da Emilia Succi* (Bologna: Società Tipografica giò Compositori, 1888); and others.
29. See Fabris, *Mecenati e musici*, Appendix, 109–20 (with a list of missing letters which I traced to other locations, 1585–1645). On Antonelli, see 111, and notes 6–7, and *Catalogo di autografi di sovrani e distinti personaggi della collezione del Canonico Antonelli di Ferrara* (Ferrara: Taddei, 1863), including letters by Monteverdi and other musicians once preserved in the Archivio Bentivoglio.
30. Claudio Monteverdi, *Lettere*, ed. Eva Lax (Florence: Olschki, 1994), which updates and expands the previous editions of the letters: Claudio Monteverdi, *Lettere, dediche e prefazioni*, ed. Domenico De Paoli (Rome: De Santis, 1973); *The letters of Claudio Monteverdi*, ed. Denis Stevens (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980; repr. 1995). Before De Paoli's and Stevens's editions, no more than 50 letters by Monteverdi were known.
31. See Iain Fenlon, *Giaches de Wert. Letters and Documents* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), which outlines the uniqueness of this corpus, extremely useful in reconstructing the biography and cultural milieu of a late Renaissance composer.
32. A case in point is the corpus of 110 letters written between 1517 and 1543, mostly between the Bolognese theorist Giovanni Spataro and Giovanni del Lago and Pietro Aaron, *A Correspondence of Renaissance Musicians*, ed. Bonnie J. Blackburn, Edward E. Lowinsky and Clement A. Miller (Cambridge: Clarendon Press, 1991). Only rarely were letters on music printed during the sixteenth century. An example is *Delle lettere del Sr. Camillo Maffei da Solofra Libri due. Dove tra gli altri bellissimi pensieri di filosofia, e di medicina, v'è un discorso della voce e del modo, d'apparare di cantor di Garganta, senza maestro* (Naples: Raymundo Amato, 1562); the "discorso della voce," which includes music examples, is considered the first singing treatise in any language.
33. Friedrich Lippmann based his pivotal essay on Jean de Macque on fifteen personal letters written by the Flemish composer, then resident in Naples, in the years 1586–89, mostly to his friend Camillo Norimberghi in Rome. Norimberghi was a steward in the employ of the noble Caetani family, in whose private archive the letters are still preserved: Friedrich Lippmann, "Giovanni de Macque fra Roma e Napoli: nuovi documenti," *Rivista italiana di musicologia* XIII (1978), 243–79. Among many important references to musical life in both Rome and Naples, the letters illustrate aspects of the daily life of middle- and low-class musicians. For similar cases in France see Jean-Baptiste Tiersot, *Lettres de musiciens écrites en français du XVe au XXe siècle* (Turin-Milan: Bocca, 1924–1936), 2 vols.
34. Surprisingly, after reading the hundreds of letters by Gesualdo preserved in the Modena State Archive, Glenn Watkins classified them all as of little interest: Glenn Watkins. *Gesualdo. The Man and His Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), 74.
35. In a letter of 1610 to Borsieri, Guarini expresses his personal predilection for non-avant-garde composers. In his own words, "those quills so distant from the contrapuntal crudities of Monteverdi" ("quelle penne, come lontane dalle durezze del Monteverde") find solace in the music of the Prince of Venosa, to whom "modern affects are not pleasing, but rather harmonies in the manner of the ancients" ("il quale non si compiace d'affetti moderni, ma d'armonie secondo alle regole de gli antichi"). Cit. in Fabris 'Lettere di Battista e Alessandro Guarini nell'Archivio Bentivoglio di Ferrara,' 90, based on documents found by Franco Pavan (later published in his "'Un curioso

ravolgimento di precetti'. La musica negli scritti di Girolamo Borsieri," in *Carlo Donato Cossoni nella Milano spagnola*, ed. Davide Daolmi (Lucca: LIM, 2007), 376–422: 384–86).

36. Dinko Fabris, "Benedetto Ferrari musico della corte estense. Autobiografia dalle lettere (1623–1681)," in *La "riputatione" del Principe. Francesco I d'Este e la musica a Modena, I: Le attività, i protagonisti*, ed. Alessandra Chiarelli, special issue of *Musicalia: annuario internazionale di studi musicologici* (in preparation). For a critical edition of Ferrari's librettos and their original dedications, see *I drammi musicali veneziani di Benedetto Ferrari*, ed. Nicola Badolato and Vincenzo Martorana, with a preface by Lorenzo Bianconi (Florence: Olschki, 2013). Antonio Soda's novel *Benedetto putto soprano* (Milan: Mondadori, 2000) is based on Ferrari's letters in the Archivio di Stato, Modena.
37. "And this knowledge I had from my birth, linked to that of the noble Ferraris of Cremona who, indignant at seeing me travel the world for music, stripped me of my inheritance" ("E questa cognizione l'ebbi dalla nascita, congiunta con quella dei Ferrari nobili, di Cremona, che disdegnosi d'avermi veduto vagare il mondo per la musica, mi privarono dei loro beni, che mi pervenivano": Benedetto Ferrari in Reggio to cardinal Rinaldo d'Este in Modena, 17 December, 1666, preserved in Modena, Archivio di Stato, Busta Musica e Musicisti, b.1/A: Ferrari, and ed. in Fabris, "Benedetto Ferrari musico della corte estense," letter no. 51).
38. "It is indeed true that he is advanced in years, but it is also true that Orlando di Lasso, one of the greatest authors of music who died while *maestro di cappella* of the Duke of Bavaria, guided the *cappella* until the age of ninety [*sic*]; and today Francesco Cavalli, elderly *maestro di cappella* of the Most Serene Republic of Venice, brings splendor to that palace with his virtue. Years never weigh upon a pen, and the more an intellect ages, the more it is refined." ("È più che vero, ch'egli è avanzato negli anni, ma è anco vero, ch'Orlando Lasso, uno dei primi Autori musici, che morì m*aest*ro di cap*ell*a del S*ignor* Duca di Baviera guidò la musica sino all'età nonagenaria [*sic*]; e hoggi dì Francesco Cavalli, m*aest*ro di cap*ell*a della Ser*enissi*ma Republica Veneta, in età cadente, fa colla sua virtù risplendere quella Reggia. Gli anni non aggravano mai una penna, e un intelletto, che più invecchia, più si raffina"; Benedetto Ferrari to the duke of Modena Francesco II d'Este, written from Modena before 26 December 1674, ed. in Fabris, "Benedetto Ferrari musico della corte estense," letter no. 62). This letter, like other similar missives, summarizes Ferrari's entire career and output. In a well-known letter of 1608, Monteverdi had compared his meagre pay at the court of Mantua (500 *scudi* per year, never on time) with the much more conspicuous earnings of some of his contemporaries: Orazio della Viola, Marenzio, Filippo di Monte, Palestrina, Luzzasco, Fiorini, Rovighi, all of whom earned no less than 500 *scudi* per month. And after completing *Orfeo*: "to give 200 *scudi* to Marco de' Galiani, who may be said to have done nothing, and nothing to me, having done what I have done!" ("dare duecento scudi a messer Marco de' Galiani, che si può dire che nulla fece, e a me che feci quello che feci, niente!; Claudio Monteverdi in Cremona to Annibale Chieppio in Mantua, 2 December, 1608, preserved in Mantua, Archivio di Stato, b. 6, ff. 95–96; ed. Claudio Monteverdi, *Lettere*, no. 6, 20–23).
39. "Già di ringiovenir bramoso il monte. A Carlo Macchiati Musico," in *Poesie del Sig. Benedetto Ferrari dalla Tiorba* (Piacenza: Giovanni Bazachi, 1651), 88–94 (ed. in Fabris, "Benedetto Ferrari musico della corte estense," Appendix). On the contrary, Antonio Soda's novel *Benedetto, putto soprano* revolves around a love story in Venice between the libertine Benedetto Ferrari and a young singer named Giulia, who dies prematurely.
40. *Il Secretario opera di Giulio Cesare Capaccio Napolitano. Ove quano conviene allo scriver familiare . . . brevemente si espone . . .* (Venice: Vincenzo Somasco, 1590), f. 2r: "come con la Lingua ogni huomo, i tesori della mente esprime; così egli con la penna fa chiara, e distinta quella materia prima informe dell'altrui concetto, et in un simolacro di una Lettera reca splendore a quella tenebrosa Idea, che dalle sue voci ricevendo luce e spirito, fa le cose lontante parer presenti, facilita i negotij, accorda i tempi, stabilisce la Memoria, & in quel luogo ove giunge la Lettera, riduce il Mondo ."