

MONTEVERDI'S 'SELVA MORALE E[T] SPIRITUALE' (1641): SOME ANOMALIES EXPLORED THROUGH THE FIVE EXEMPLARS

BY JOHN WHENHAM*

MONTEVERDI'S *Selva morale e[t] spirituale*, one of the two great collections of music that the composer published towards the end of his life, presents a number of intriguing bibliographical questions. One of these is well known: the problem of the dual title pages in the Bologna exemplar.¹ All but one of the partbooks of this exemplar (from which both the Malipiero and Stevens editions were prepared²) bear two differently dated title pages. The first title page is dated 1640 (Pl. 1), with a blank verso; this is followed by a sequence of two leaves apparently printed in 1641—the rectos of the two leaves carry a composite title page consisting of a half-title (given in alternating lines of black and red type in the Soprano primo partbook (Pl. 2(a)) and in black type only in the other partbooks (Pl. 2(b)), usually with a blank verso,³ and, on the recto of the next leaf, a continuation of the title, dated 1641 (Pl. 3(a)); on the verso of the continuation title is a dedication, dated 1 May 1641 (Pl. 3(b)).⁴ The other four surviving

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¹ Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica, shelfmark BB.13.

² Claudio Monteverdi, *Musica religiosa II*, ed. Gian Francesco Malipiero (Tutte le opere di Claudio Monteverdi, 15; Asolo, 1940; 2nd rev. edn., ed. Denis Arnold, Vienna, 1967); idem, *Selva morale e spirituale*, ed. Denis Stevens (Claudio Monteverdi: Opera Omnia, 15; Instituta et Monumenta, Series 1, Monumenta, 5; Cremona, 1998).

³ The exceptions are the Tenore 2 and the two violin partbooks, in which the continuation title is printed on the verso of the half-title, and the dedication omitted altogether.

⁴ The exception in the Bologna exemplar is the Basso continuo partbook, from which the continuation page of the 1641 title, with the dedication on its verso, was removed at some point. The two Bologna title pages are discussed in further detail below (pp. 522–7) and their context shown in diagrammatic form in Fig. 1. Although the printer was Bartolomeo Magni, both 1640 and 1641 titles carry printer's devices apparently stemming from the Gardano years (i.e. up to 1611); see the list, with examples, given in Richard J. Agee, *The Gardano Music Printing Firms, 1569–1611* (Eastman Studies in Music, 11; Rochester, 1998), 102, Table 10.1.

S E L V A MORALE E SPIRITVALE

DI CLAUDIO MONTEVERDE

Maestro Di Capella della Serenissima
Republica Di Venetia

DEDICATA

ALLA SACRA CESAREA MAESTA DELL' IMPERATRICE

ELEONORA GONZAGA

Con Licenza de Superiori & Priuilegio.

SOPRANO



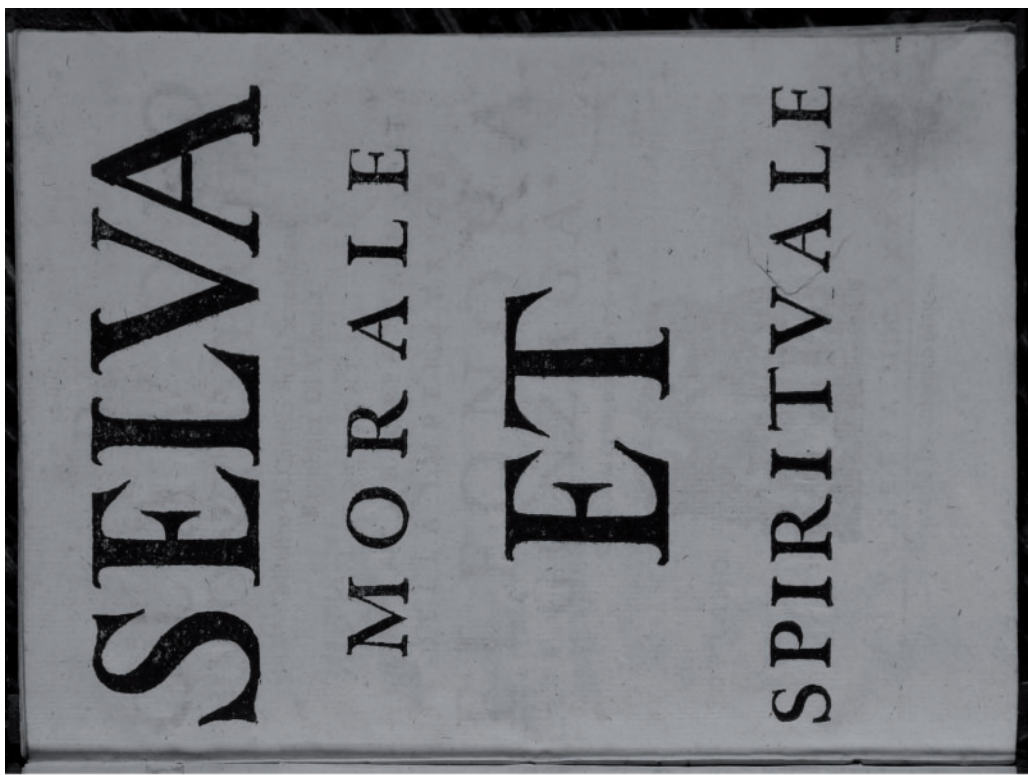
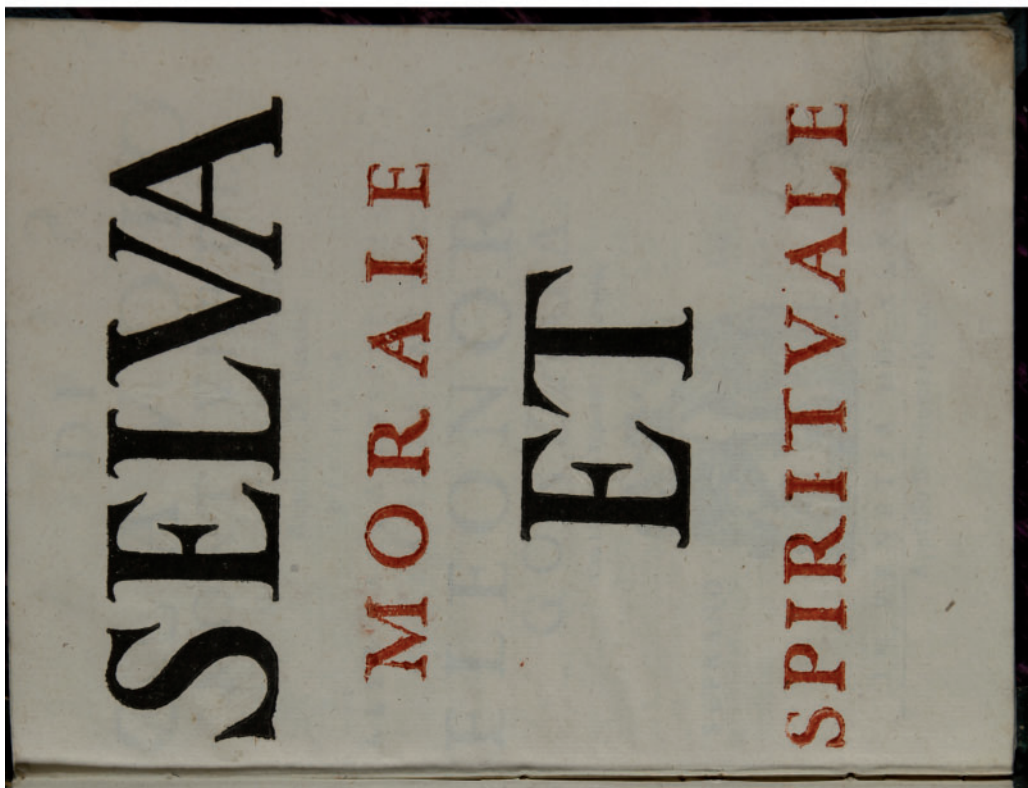
Primo

IN VENETIA MDCXXX

Appresso Bartolomeo Magni



Pl. 1. Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica, shelfmark BB.13: Soprano primo partbook, 1640 title page, sig. $\pi 2^f$



Pl. 2. Bologna exemplar: (a) Soprano primo partbook, 1641 half-title, sig. A1^r; (b) Soprano secondo partbook, 1641 half-title, sig. A1^r

A R D I A 2
CLAUDIO
MONTEVERDE

Maestro Di Capella della Serenissima
Repubblica Di Venetia

D E D I C A T A

ALLA SACRA CESAREA MAESTÀ
DELLA IMPERATRICE
ELEONORA
DE' GONZAGA

Con Licenza de Superiori, & Privilegio,



Primo

SOPRANO

IN VENETIA MDCXXXI

Appresso Bartolomeo Magui,

A

SACRA
CESAREA MAESTÀ

LAudo io cominciato à confiare alle glorie della Serenissima Casa GONZAGA la mia ruerente feruitù, all' hora quando compia queſti il Sereniſſimo Sig. Duca VINCENTO Genitore della SACRA MAESTÀ Voſtra (felice record.) di ritenere gli effetti della mia offeruanza, qual nella mia verde età cercai con ogni diligenza, & co' l' mio talento della Muſica per lo ſpacio di anni vinti due continui di moſtrarla ſettuoſi, nõ hà mai potuto l'interpoſitione della terra, & del tempo eccelliſſare pure vn minimo raggio del mio offequio, per non eſſere mai reſtati oppreſſi dallo bliuione gli honor i riceuuti, ſi dalli Sereniſſimi Preceſſori, come anche dalla Maestà Voſtra, mà più toſto da eſſi ſempre più io ſono ſtato all' occaſione corteſeméte rauuiato ſino à queſta mia matura età. La onde ho preſo ardiuere al. le luci queſta Selua morale, e ſpirituale, dedicadola à V. M. acciò ſul fronte ipſito tenendo il Suo Sacro Nome, vada d' ogni intorno ſicura publicando al Mondo la mia obligata diuotione. Per lo che ſupplico la Maestà Voſtra con ogni humiltà poſſibile à degnarſi di riceuerla, ancor che ella non ſia forſe in queſt' grado di perfectione, ch'io deſidererei, ch'ella foſſe, mà farà vn picciol' teſtimonio d' inuere affetto che humilmente, & prontaméte la dedico & cõſacra alla Maestà Voſtra, con pregarle da Dio il colmo d' ogni conſolata proſperità. Di Venetia il Primo Maggio 1641

Di V. Sacra M. C.

Humiliſſimo & obligatiſſimo ſcrittore

Claudio Monteverde.

exemplars—in Brussels, Mdina (Malta), Vienna, and Wrocław—have only the 1641 half-title with its continuation, and the dedication.⁵

In an article published in 1994, Jeffrey Kurtzman presented cogent reasons for believing that the *Selva* was issued only once, in 1641, and that the Bologna copy had had accidentally bound into it a set of title pages prepared in anticipation of publication in 1640. Kurtzman argued that publication was delayed for some unknown reason, and that, when the book was actually issued, the 1640 title page was replaced by a new, updated, and more elaborate version, together with the dedication of 1 May 1641.⁶ There is no dedicatory letter corresponding to the 1640 title page as there is for 1641, and, as Kurtzman pointed out, reprint editions rarely carried a dedication unless the dedicatee was different from that of the original issue. In this case, both 1640 and 1641 titles show the empress Eleonora as the intended dedicatee. There is, moreover, nothing on the continuation title of 1641 to suggest that this was a revised and corrected issue. Indeed, as Kurtzman further observes, if this had been a second edition Monteverdi might have taken care to correct some of the many errors in the book. Instead, he apologizes in his dedication for the book's not being 'perhaps in that degree of perfection that I would have wished it to be'.⁷ In short, then, there was only one edition of the *Selva*, issued in 1641 after a delay in printing, not a first edition of 1640 and a second of 1641; and I would add that there is no evidence in the layout, typography, or watermarks of the five surviving exemplars to suggest that there was more than one issue of the book.⁸

Both title pages carry the customary formula 'Con Licenza de Superiori & Privilegio'. Unfortunately the documents recording the granting of the licence to print and the printing privilege, which might have thrown further light on the printing history of the *Selva*, are now lost.⁹

The dual title pages in the Bologna exemplar are not the only unusual aspect of the surviving exemplars of the *Selva morale*. The present study, which takes into account all the surviving exemplars,¹⁰ was prompted initially by the evidence of anomalies in the contents list (*tavola*) printed at the end of each of the vocal partbooks and the Basso

⁵ Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique/Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, shelfmark Fétis 1.733 A (RP); Mdina, Cathedral Archive, shelfmark Mus PR 111; Vienna, Archiv der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, shelfmark II 11617; Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, shelfmark 50643 Muz.

⁶ Jeffrey G. Kurtzman, 'Monteverdi's "Mass of Thanksgiving" Revisited', *Early Music*, 22 (1994), 63–84 at 65–7.

⁷ *Ibid.* 67; the translation is that of Kurtzman.

⁸ The idea of there having been two editions is followed, for example, in James H. Moore's article 'Venezia favorita da Maria: Music for the Madonna Nicopeia and Santa Maria della Salute', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 37 (1984), 299–355 (see particularly p. 352), and is implicit in the writings of other authors who date the *Selva morale* unequivocally at 1640.

⁹ By the time of Monteverdi's publication, the responsibility for granting licences to print in Venice lay with the Riformatori allo [dello] studio di Padova, and printing privileges were granted by the guild of booksellers and printers; see Richard J. Agee, 'The Venetian Privilege and Music-Printing in the Sixteenth Century', *Early Music History*, 3 (1983), 1–42, particularly pp. 1–5 on the privilege, and Horatio F. Brown, *The Venetian Printing Press, 1469–1800: An Historical Study Based upon Documents for the Most Part Hitherto Unpublished* (London, 1891), particularly pp. 79 and 93 on the *licenza*. The Archivio di Stato of Venice houses the archive of the Riformatori for the years 1550 to 1794, but the inventory of the archive (www.archiviodistatovenetia.it/siasve/cgi-bin/pagina.pl?Tipo=riprodinventario&Chiave=487&Lingua=en) (accessed 26 June 2014) shows a gap in the records of 'Licenze per stampa' between 1630 and 1673. As far as privileges are concerned, the only surviving document for the period seems to be Venice, Archivio di Stato, Arti, Busta 166, the 'Libro Secondo di Priuileggi', compiled by the prior of the printers' guild; the earliest entry in this document is dated 1632, but there is no mention of the *Selva morale*. I am very grateful to Prof. Jonathan Glixon for confirming that he knows of no other records of licences and privileges, either in the state archive, or in the Biblioteca Correr.

¹⁰ On the need to examine all the surviving exemplars for particular publications by Monteverdi see, for example, the excellent study of *Orfeo* by Tim Carter, 'Some Notes on the First Edition of Monteverdi's "Orfeo" (1609)', *Music & Letters*, 91 (2010), 498–512; see also his general introduction to the subject, 'Musical Sources', in John Whenham and Richard Wistreich (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Monteverdi* (Cambridge, 2007), 20–30.

continuo book, which give a clear indication of which section of the book it was that caused the delay in publication. Exploration of this evidence raises important questions about the dating of some of the music in the collection. There are other questions, too. Were the 1641 title page and the dedication actually printed in 1641? Why were instrumental parts published in place of the Alto and Basso secondo vocal parts for the first of the two Magnificat settings (SV 281)? And is there some explanation for the apparently rather clumsy typographical choices for the 1641 half-title?

Examination of all five exemplars of the *Selva morale* was essential for this research, mainly, though not entirely, for their watermark evidence. However, it also revealed fascinating details of their history and of the nature of the manuscript alterations that they contain. Although these details do not form part of the main argument here, a limited review of the exemplars is given below in the Appendix, since none of this material is currently available elsewhere.

BACKGROUND

The *Selva morale* was issued by the Venetian printer Bartolomeo Magni in ten partbooks in upright quarto format, headed Soprano primo, Alto primo, Tenore primo, Basso primo, Soprano secondo, Tenore secondo, Alto e Basso secondo, Violino primo, Violino secondo, and Basso continuo (henceforth Soprano 1, etc.). The cut and folded leaves of the partbooks measure *c.*230 mm high by *c.*170 mm wide.

Although the *Selva* comprises ten partbooks, the printer used only three signatures, A, B, and C, duplicating them in each partbook (except in the short violin books, for which only signatures A and B were employed), producing unequal gatherings in the various books. The collation for each partbook is shown in Table 1. A more common procedure was to have a separate sequence of signatures for each partbook, so that the parts were distinguished from each other not only by their title page, but also by their signatures.¹¹ By adopting only three signatures in the *Selva* Magni risked confusing music for two different partbooks when the sheets were gathered. In order to avoid this risk he added the part names to the short title that was customarily printed at the foot of the page on the direction line for the odd-numbered signatures of each gathering.¹² The importance to the printer of these indications in the *Selva* is emphasized by the fact that they have been added in manuscript at signature C7^r of the Soprano 1 book in all five surviving exemplars, seemingly in the same hand, giving us an example of the handwriting of someone working in Magni's printing shop for comparison with that appearing elsewhere in the surviving exemplars of the

¹¹ See the examples in Stanley Boorman, 'Bibliographical Aspects of Italian Printed Music of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *Studies in Bibliography*, 56 (2003), 195–242. Examples of the common signing of double-choir music are given on p. 203, though Boorman also notes on pp. 215–16 instances in which the same sequence of signatures is used for all partbooks; this became more common in the 17th c. Other music books issued by Magni in 1640 and 1641, surviving in the British Library, employ the usual convention of signing each partbook with a separate letter. These are (1) Giovanni Rovetta, *Salmi concertati a cinque et sei voci et altri con doi violini, con motetti à doi e tre voci. Et alcune canzone per sonar à tre e quatro voci con basso continuo . . . Opera prima. Nouamente ristampati* (Venice, 1641); British Library shelfmark D.197f; the eight partbooks are signed Canto A¹⁸, Tenore B¹⁸, Alto C¹⁶, Basso D²², Quinto/Sesto E²⁶, Violino primo F¹⁴, Violino secondo G¹⁴, and Basso continuo H³⁰; (2) Giovanni Felice Sances, *Antifone e litanie della Beatissima Vergine a più voci* (Venice, 1640); three partbooks survive in the British Library, shelfmark C.328: Canto A²², Alto B²⁶, and Tenore C²²; (3) Giovanni Antonio Rigatti, *Messa e salmi. Parte concertati, à 3. 5. 6. 7. & 8. voci con due violini, & altri istromenti à beneplacito & a parte 5 à capella* (Venice, 1640); two parts survive in the British Library, shelfmark D.3.a: Alto primo C²⁸ and Alto secondo D²⁶; (4) Lazzaro Valvasensi, *Salmi concertati a due voci . . . Opera decima sesta* (Venice, 1640); only the Basso continuo part, signed C³, survives of the three parts originally existing.

¹² For the customary use of short titles, see Boorman, 'Bibliographical Aspects of Italian Printed Music', 198.

TABLE 1. Collation of *Selva morale* partbooks

Partbook	Collation
Soprano primo	A ¹² B ¹⁶ C ¹⁶
Alto primo ^a	A ¹⁴ B ¹⁶ C ¹⁰
Tenore primo	A ¹⁶ B ¹⁸ C ¹²
Basso primo	A ¹⁴ B ¹⁶ C ¹⁰
Soprano secondo	A ⁸ B ²⁰ C ¹⁰
Alto e Basso secondo	A ⁶ B ¹⁶ C ⁸
Tenore secondo	A ⁴ B ¹⁶ C ¹⁴
Violino primo	A ⁶ B ¹⁴
Violino secondo	A ⁶ B ¹⁴
Basso continuo	A ²⁰ B ³⁴ C ¹²

^a Iain Fenlon gives A¹² for this book; see Claudio Monteverdi, *Selva morale e spirituale*, introduction by Iain Fenlon (facs. edn.; Bibliotheca musica bononiensis, 4/8; Bologna, 2001), p. xx.

Selva.¹³ A further manuscript correction, apparently again made by the same corrector, is found in the copies of the Basso 1 book surviving in Bologna and Vienna, at signature B7^r, where ‘Tenore’ is printed on the direction line and corrected by hand to ‘Basso’;¹⁴ the exemplars in Mdina and Wrocław are uncorrected, and the Basso 1 partbook is lacking in the Brussels exemplar.

The contents of the *Selva*, in the order listed in the *tavola* of the Basso continuo partbook, are shown in Table 2 with a note of the scorings of the musical items and the types of setting represented.¹⁵ The ten partbooks represent a double choir of SATB with two violins and continuo, but the works that they contain range from music for solo voice and continuo, through a mass for four voices and madrigals for five voices and two violins, to music for eight voices, two violins, and optional groups of *viole da braccio* or *tromboni*. For the most part the music for these latter instruments is not provided in the published edition and their original existence is indicated only by rubrics in the body of the books, and by descriptions such as the following for the first *Dixit Dominus* setting, which appears, complete with misprint, in all the *tavole*: ‘Dixit Primo A 8 voci concertato con due violini & quattro viole o Tronboni [*sic*] quali se portasse l'accidente anco si ponno lasciare’ (see Pl. 6 below). A possible reason for this omission is that the cost of printing the extra instrumental partbooks for the additional optional instruments proved prohibitive. This does not necessarily mean, though, that Monteverdi did not deliver the instrumental parts to the printer in the first instance.

Signature B contains music with a variety of scorings. With the exception of the Alto 2/Basso 2 book (see Table 2, note c), signature C begins at a convenient juncture in the vocal partbooks, with two psalms scored simply for two four-part choirs requiring no instruments apart from the basso continuo. Since this was to be the gathering that

¹³ The signature in the Bologna exemplar can be seen online at www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/viewschedatwbca.asp?path=/cmbm/images/ripro/gaspari/BB/BB013/ at frame 036 (accessed 26 June 2014).

¹⁴ The signature in the Bologna exemplar can be seen online at www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/viewschedatwbca.asp?path=/cmbm/images/ripro/gaspari/BB/BB013/ at frame 262 (accessed 26 June 2014).

¹⁵ In the table, designations found in the original partbooks are shown in parentheses in column 2. Additional information on scoring, including (missing) instrumental parts, is summarized in brackets in column 3. The printer's signatures shown in column 1 are common to all the partbooks except where noted.

TABLE 2. Contents of *Seba morale*

Sig.	Item	Scoring	Type
A	1641 half-title; continuation title; dedication		
A	<i>O ciechi</i> (Madrigale morale)	SSATB, 2 vn, bc	Moral/spiritual madrigals and canzonettas
	<i>Voi ch'ascoltate</i> (Madrigale morale)	STTTB, 2 vn, bc	
	<i>È questa vita un lampo</i>	SSATB, bc	
	<i>Spuntava^a il dì</i> (Canzonetta morale)	ATB, bc	
	<i>Chi vol che n'imamori</i> (<i>Canzon morale</i>)	ATB, 2 vn, bc	
A	Messa a 4 (da capella)	SATB, bc	<i>A cappella</i> mass
	Gloria a 7 voci (concertata)	SSAATBB, 2 vn [4 viole da braccio or 4 tromboni], bc	Mass sections that can be substituted for the equivalent settings in the <i>a cappella</i> mass
	Crucifixus	ATTB, bc	
	Et resurrexit	SS/TT, 2 vn, bc	
	Et iterum (concertato)	AAB [4 tbn/vla], bc	
A–B ^b	<i>Ab aeterno ordinata sum</i> (Motetto a voce sola)	B, bc	Motet
B	<i>Dixit primo</i> (concertato)	SATB SATB, 2 vn [4 vla/tbn],bc	Vespers psalms
	<i>Dixit secundo</i> (concertato)	SSAATBB, 2 vn [4 vla/tbn], bc	
	<i>Confitebor primo</i>	ATB, SSATB [ripieno], bc	
	<i>Confitebor secundo</i> (concertato)	STB 2 vn, bc	
	<i>Confitebor terzo alla francese</i>	SSATB or S, 4 vla, bc	
	<i>Beatus primo</i> (concertato)	SSATTB, 2 vn [3 vla/tbn], bc	
	<i>Beatus secundo</i>	SATTB [with optional instrumental doubling], bc	
	<i>Laudate pueri primo</i> (concertato)	SSTTB, 2 vln, bc	
	<i>Laudate pueri secundo</i>	SATTB, bc	
	<i>Laudate Dominum primo</i> (concertato)	SSTTB SATB [4 vla/tbn], 2 vn, bc	
	<i>Laudate Dominum secundo</i>	SATB SATB, 2 vn, bc	
	<i>Laudate Dominum terzo</i>	SSAATBB, bc	

(continued)

TABLE 2. Continued

Sig.	Item	Scoring	Type
B-C ^c	<i>Credidi</i> (da capella) <i>Memento</i> (da capella)	SATB, ATTB, bc SATB, ATTB, bc	Vespers psalms
C	<i>Sanctorum meritis primo</i> [printed on sig. B26 ^v [p. 52] ^d of bc partbook and sig. C4 ^r of Soprano primo] <i>Sanctorum meritis secundo</i> [printed on sig. C1 ^v [p. 70] of bc partbook and on sig. C4 ^r of Tenore secundo partbook] <i>Iste confessor</i> [1] voce sola [listed in tavola, but not printed in bc partbook; see text and music on sig. C5 ^r [p. 41] of Tenore secundo partbook] <i>Iste confessor</i> [2] [printed on sig. B27 ^r [p. 53] of bc partbook and in Soprano primo and Soprano secundo partbooks] <i>Deus tuorum militum</i> [2] [printed on sig. B27 ^v [p. 54] of bc partbook and in Tenore primo, Tenore secundo and Basso primo partbooks] <i>Deus tuorum militum</i> [1] [see text and music on sig. C4 ^v [p. 40] of Tenore secundo partbook] [<i>Ut queant laxis</i>] [see text and music on sig. C3 ^v of Soprano primo partbook and sig. C4 ^v [p. 48] of Soprano secundo partbook]	S, 2 vn, bc [also suitable for other hymns of the same metre] T, 2 vn, bc [also suitable for other hymns of the same metre] T, 2 vn, bc [music as for <i>Sanctorum meritis secundo</i>] SS, 2 vn, bc [also suitable for <i>Ut queant laxis</i>] TTB, 2 vn, bc [also suitable for other hymns of the same metre, such as <i>Jesu corona Virginum</i> , <i>Christe Redemptor omnium</i>] T, 2 vn, bc [music as for <i>Sanctorum meritis secundo</i>] SS, 2 vn, bc [music as for <i>Iste confessor secundo</i>]	Vespers hymns. The hymn texts have textual variants used in San Marco rather than the reformed texts used in the Roman church at large. ^e

(continued)

TABLE 2. Continued

Sig.	Item	Scoring	Type
C	<i>Magnificat primo</i>	SATB, ST, [AB] [have to be added editorially]/2 vla/tbn, bc	Vespers canticles
	<i>Magnificat secondo</i> (da capella)	SATB, bc	
C	<i>Salve Regina—Audi coelum</i>	TT, 2 vn, bc	Marian antiphon to be sung after Vespers or Compline
	<i>Salve Regina</i>	TT/SS, bc	
	<i>Salve Regina</i>	ATB/STB, bc	
C	<i>Jubilet tota civitas</i>	S, bc	Motets
	<i>Laudate Dominum in sanctis eius</i>	S/T, bc	
	<i>Iam moriar mi fili</i> (<i>Pianto della Madonna sopra il Lamento dell'Arianna</i>)	S, bc	
C	Tavola		

^a Given as 'Spontava' in the *tavole* of the partbooks.

^b The overlap between signatures A and B occurs only in the Alto 2/Basso 2 partbook, where the final page of the motet *Ab aeterno ordinata sum* is printed on sig. B1^r; see below, p. 527.

^c The two violin partbooks have only signatures A and B. In six of the remaining eight partbooks signature C opens with the psalm *Credidi*. In the Alto 2/Basso 2 partbook the final page of *Magnificat primo* runs over from signature B to signature C1^r. In the Basso continuo partbook signature C1 begins only on the final page of *Salve Regina—Audi coelum*. For more detailed discussion see below, pp. 527–30.

^d Numbers in brackets refer to the designation given in Monteverdi, *Salva morale e spirituale*, ed. Stevens.

^e See James H. Moore, *Vespers at St. Mark's: Music of Alessandro Grandi, Giovanni Rovetta and Francesco Cavalli*, 2 vols. (Studies in Musicology, 30; Ann Arbor, 1981), i, 138.

included the list of contents on its final leaves, it provided a moment at which the pagination of the preceding gathering could be checked before the page numbers in the *tavole* were set up. It may also have allowed a division of labour in the workshop: a separate team could have started with *Credidi* in each of the vocal partbooks and worked through to the end of each book while another team was still working on gathering B.¹⁶ The gatherings of the Basso continuo partbook differ, in that the music of *Credidi* begins on signature B22^v and signature C begins only with the last page of the setting *Salve Regina–Audi coelum*. Signatures B and C of this book would seem, therefore, to have been set up by a single team of printers.¹⁷

With the exception of the moral/spiritual madrigals and canzonettas that open the volume, and the *Pianto della Madonna* at its end, the contents of the *Selva* indicate a fairly standard, if large-scale, book of music for Mass and Vespers. It was not unusual in such printed collections for a single motet to be placed after the Mass and before the Vespers music, for example, and here we find a motet for solo bass and continuo placed in precisely this position; similarly, a group of motets was often placed at the end of the volume.¹⁸ The *Selva*, in fact, contains not one mass setting, but two. The first comprises a straightforward *a cappella* setting, the second a hybrid in which the seven-part concertato Gloria and the concertato Credo fragments are substituted for the equivalent sections in the *a cappella* setting.¹⁹ This is clearly indicated for the Credo substitutes by rubrics found within the *a cappella* setting itself and in the *tavole* of the partbooks containing the concertato substitutes (see, for example, Pl. 6 below). The placement of the concertato Gloria setting within the print as part of the sequence of concertato mass sections suggests that it, too, was intended as a substitute for the equivalent movement of the *a cappella* setting. There is no liturgical reason why a mixture of musical styles should not be used in the celebration of Mass.²⁰ Indeed, the grand concertato setting of the Gloria would be especially suitable for a celebration such as Christmas or Easter, when the Gloria was reintroduced into the Mass after being omitted for all but double feasts during the penitential seasons of Advent and Lent.²¹ For particularly impressive occasions in Venice the words ‘Gloria in excelsis Deo’, usually intoned by the celebrant, were incorporated into the polyphonic setting,

¹⁶ The evidence of the decorative initial capitals used in gatherings B and C is, however, insufficient to prove that a second team of printers worked on the latter gathering, and there are no obvious typographical fingerprints distinguishing the two gatherings. See also below, p. 529 and n. 35. Among the woodblocks there is a rather indecorous one depicting Leda and the swan as an initial capital for the setting of *Laudate Dominum primo* (Tenor 1, Basso 1, Alto 2/Basso 2 books) and *Laudate Dominum secundo* (Soprano 1 and Soprano 2 books).

¹⁷ Interestingly, the only decorated initial capital found in this book is in gathering A, where the initial K of the Kyrie of the mass uses the same block as that found in the vocal parts.

¹⁸ I have to thank Prof. Jeffrey Kurtzman for this information.

¹⁹ The Sanctus and Agnus Dei were occasionally omitted in north Italian, particularly Venetian, concertato masses, and in masses written for San Marco the Agnus Dei often appears to omit the final petition ‘Dona nobis pacem’, as is the case in the *Selva morale* mass; in this case the given ‘Agnus Dei’ section would be repeated and the text ‘Dona nobis pacem’ inserted by the performers at the point where the Fraction (the breaking of bread) concluded; see Jonathan R. J. Drennan, ‘Giovanni Rovetta’s “Missa Brevis”: A Symbol of Musical Longevity’, *Recercare: Rivista per lo studio e la pratica della musica antica*, 22 (2010), 111–46 at 140–3.

²⁰ Dr Jonathan Drennan, in a private communication, confirms that musically hybrid masses were certainly a feature of celebrations at San Marco in the post-1797 period; this may reflect a much longer tradition. As a caution against the idea of a hybrid Credo, however, see Jeffrey G. Kurtzman, ‘Monteverdi’s Mass of Thanksgiving: Da Capo’, in Claire Fontijn and Susan Parisi (eds.), *Fiori musicali: Liber amicorum Alexander Silbiger* (Detroit Monographs in Musicology/Studies in Music, 55; Sterling Heights, Mich., 2010), 95–128 at 121.

²¹ See John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians* (Oxford, 1991), 55.

as Monteverdi does here in the *Selva* setting.²² It may also be significant that the three concertato fragments for the Creed together make up a continuous sequence of the text, from ‘Crucifixus’ to ‘cuius regni non erit finis’, dealing with the Easter message of the death and resurrection of Jesus and then his ascension; indeed, all three fragments are referenced simply as ‘Crucifixus’ in the *tavola* shown in Pl. 6 below.²³ For reasons given in the final section of this article, it is possible to suggest that the hybrid version of the *Selva morale* mass might have been first performed as late in Monteverdi’s career as the Easter Mass at San Marco in 1641.

THE 1640 AND 1641 TITLE PAGES

Fig. 1 shows the way in which the 1640 and 1641 title pages and the dedication are disposed in the Soprano primo partbook of the Bologna exemplar. The folio on which the 1640 title appears is here designated sig. $\pi 2$, while the second set of title pages carries signatures A1–A2^r. In all the partbooks of the Bologna exemplar except those for the two violins, the 1640 title page, $\pi 2^r$, appears to have been printed on a full sheet, folded into four, wrapped around the leaves of gathering A and sewn in with that gathering, producing the flyleaf $\pi 1$, and leaves $\pi 3$ and $\pi 4$, which were trimmed off in the various partbooks to c.2 to c.5 mm between gatherings A and B. In the two violin books signatures $\pi 1$ and $\pi 2$ are a folded half sheet. There is some evidence from pin holes that this half sheet was originally sewn into the binding separately. In all the partbooks $\pi 1$ is preceded by a more recent flyleaf that forms part of the modern binding of the Bologna exemplar; this is identified by the watermark ‘MILIANI’ (see the description of the exemplar in the Appendix).

The watermark in the paper used for the 1640 title page and corresponding flyleaf, seeming to represent the two letters V and R (Fig. 2), is found only in the sheets of the 1640 title page—i.e. not in gatherings A, B, or C of any of the surviving exemplars. It can be seen in the leaf on which the 1640 title page is printed in the Alto 1, Tenore 1, Basso 1, and Tenore 2 books. In the same books a trefoil on a stem appears in the flyleaf.²⁴ I have been unable to trace the VR watermark or, indeed, those appearing in the other papers used in printing the *Selva*, in standard works of reference,²⁵ though see the further discussion of watermarks below, at pp. 533–4.

²² See the very useful short introduction to Venetian practice in Giovanni Rovetta, *Masses*, ed. Jonathan R. J. Drennan (Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era, 146; Middleton, Wis., 2006), pp. x–xi, particularly p. xi.

²³ I am very grateful again to Jonathan Drennan, who has confirmed that the grandeur of Monteverdi’s writing would have been most appropriate at Easter at San Marco and the concertato style eminently suitable in practical terms since the musicians were all in attendance (both organists, and all instrumentalists and singers) and they were separated on risers as opposed to singing as a group from the *bigonzo* (the large pulpit at the south front of the choir screen).

²⁴ If the title page was printed on sig. $\pi 1^r$ of a whole sheet (cf. p. 1 of the diagram in Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford, 1972), Fig. 47 [p. 89]), then in order for the marks to appear as they do we would have to assume that the sheet was put into the press upside down and then folded with page 4 brought to page 1. I can, however, see no way in which the sheet could have been folded so that the trefoil and stem form part of the same watermark. The paper may, however, have been cut before folding.

²⁵ Bernstein, *The Memory of Paper*, www.memoryofpaper.eu:8080/BernsteinPortal/applstart disp; Charles-Moise Briquet, *Les Filigranes: Dictionnaire historique des marques de papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu’en 1600* (2nd edn., Leipzig, 1923) (online version at www.ksbm.oew.ac.at/scripts/php/BR.php); Edward Heawood, *Watermarks, Mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries* (Monumenta chartae papyraceae historiam illustrantia, 1; Hilversum, 1950); E. J. Labarre, *The Briquet Album: A Miscellany on Watermarks, Supplementing Dr. Briquet’s Les Filigranes* (Monumenta chartae papyraceae historiam illustrantia, 2; Hilversum, 1952); Piccard Online, www.piccard-online.de/struktur.php?anzeigeKlassi=&klassi=&sprache=en; Aurelio Zonghi, *Zonghi’s Watermarks* (Monumenta chartae papyraceae historiam illustrantia, 3; Hilversum, 1953).

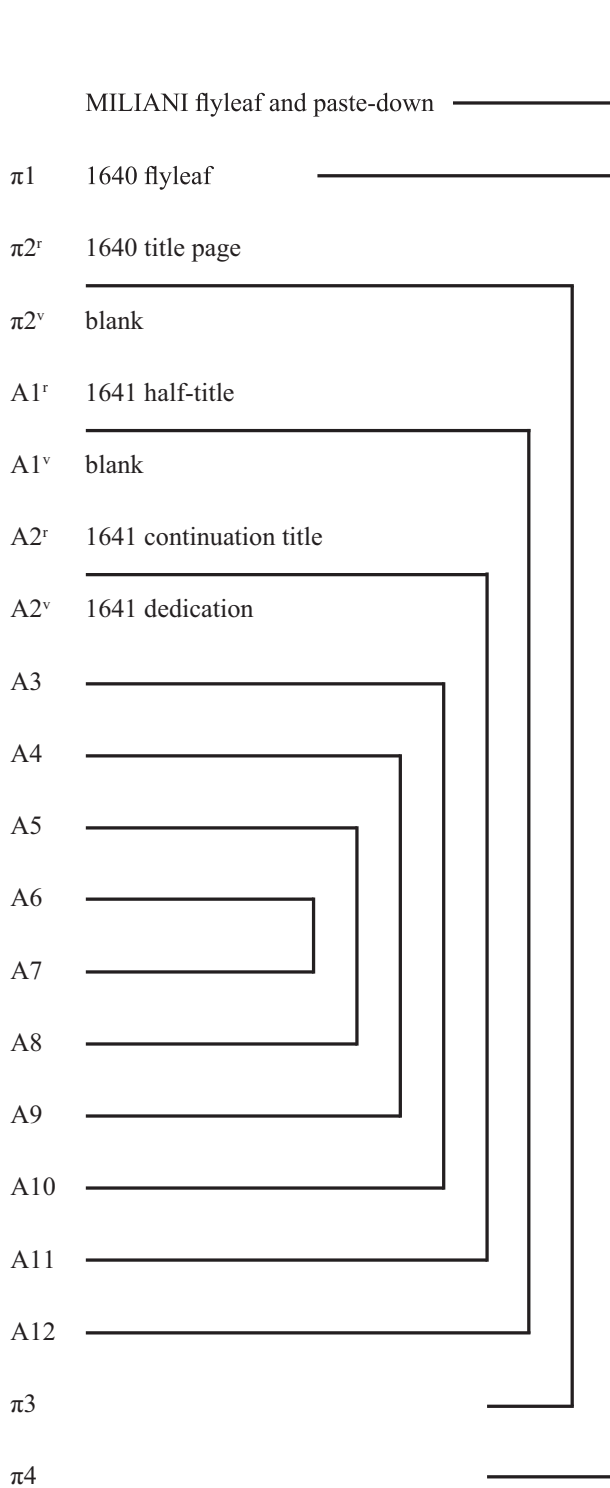


FIG. 1. Gathering structure of Soprano primo partbook of Bologna exemplar

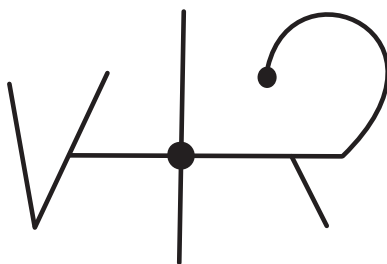


FIG. 2. Watermark in paper used for 1640 title page of Bologna exemplar, Tenore primo partbook, 1640 title page verso–recto. Freehand copy, not to scale

The half and continuation title and the dedication of 1641 that follow the leaf bearing the 1640 title page form an integral part of gathering A. In the Basso continuo partbook (only) of the Bologna copy, however, the leaf bearing the 1641 continuation title has been removed,²⁶ leaving just a slightly ragged edge, though its corresponding leaf—A19—is still present. The lack of the continuation title and dedication in this partbook gives the impression (and was probably intended to do so) that it belonged unambiguously to an edition of 1640, with the 1640 title page followed (not wholly incongruously) by the undated half-title of 1641.

If the printer did prepare only one set of 1640 title pages he may have done so after it became clear that there was going to be a delay in publication, but hoping that the volume would appear before the end of the year;²⁷ the use of a different paper for the 1640 title suggests also that it was not prepared at the same time as gatherings A, B, and C. The one set that ended up being bound into the Bologna exemplar could have been left on top of each pile of printed sheets in the shop to facilitate easy identification and to prevent the inevitable dirtying of paper left lying about unprotected. It would not have been difficult for this set then to have been carelessly bound into what is now the Bologna exemplar in addition to the final, more elaborate, title.

The story of the two title pages does not end here, however, for it seems clear that most of the ‘1641’ title page and the dedication were also printed in 1640—presumably after the ‘Bologna’ 1640 title page, and following a request from Monteverdi for a more elaborate version of the title, but at a point when Magni was not so hopeful that the book would be issued in 1640. They were printed on paper from a maker who regularly supplied Magni in 1640 and 1641, characterized by the watermark shown as Fig. 3.²⁸ Significantly, in all the partbooks of all the surviving exemplars, the ‘T’ of the

²⁶ This was first noted in Kurtzman, ‘Monteverdi’s “Mass of Thanksgiving” Revisited’, 67.

²⁷ Most likely, that is, by 31 Dec. 1640. Although official documents in Venice were dated with the year beginning on 1 March (*more veneto*), documents intended for circulation outside the city, such as printed volumes of music, but also including official documents, were normally dated *della Circoncisione*—i.e. with the year beginning on 1 Jan.; see Adriano Cappelli, *Cronologia, cronografia e calendario perpetuo* (6th rev. edn.; Milan, 1988), 16. See also the volume of *Salmi concertati a due voci* by Lazaro Valvasensi listed in n. 11, above: the title page here gives 1640 as the year of publication, but Valvasensi, a priest who was working at the time as organist of SS Corpo di Cristo in Valvasone, Friuli, a region then governed by Venice, dated his dedication 1 January 1639, which, should, therefore, be read *more veneto* and is, perhaps, an exception that proves the rule.

²⁸ This watermark is found in other music books printed by Magni in 1640 and 1641 surviving in the British Library (see above, n. 11). It appears consistently in the paper used for Magni’s reprint of Rovetta’s *Salmi concertati* (1641), though in one case with the C appearing rather like a crescent moon (Basso partbook, D¹⁰); in this form it also appears in the paper of Valvasensi’s *Salmi concertati a due voci* (1640). The same mark probably also appears in Rigatti’s *Messa e salmi* and Sances’s *Antifone*, both of 1640, though the marks are very difficult to read in these books. It can also be found in the paper used by another Venetian printer, Alessandro Vincenti, in his printing of Giovanni

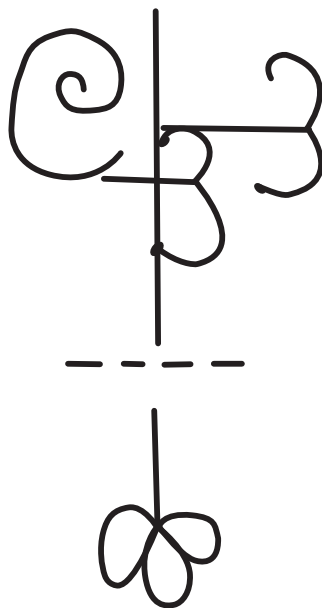


Fig. 3. Watermark in paper used for 1641 title page and dedication. Wrocław exemplar, Soprano primo partbook, sigs. A3^{v-r} and A12^{v-r}. Freehand copy, not to scale. In some instances there is a simple circle in place of the trefoil

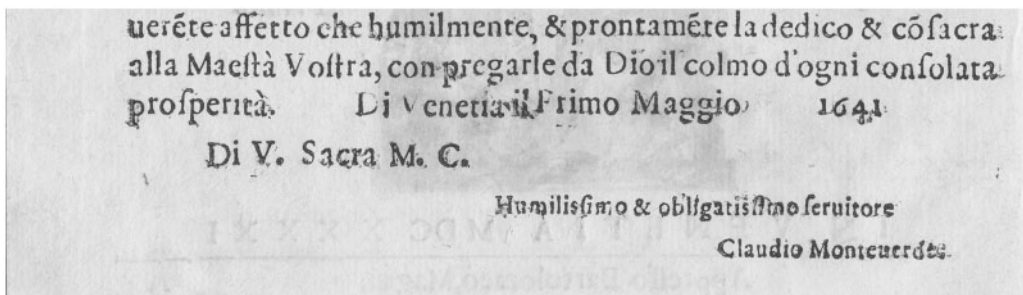
date MDCXXXXI on the continuation title is inked more heavily than the remainder, and this is also the case with the digits '41' of the date 1641 as it appears in the dedication in those partbooks where it is included (see Pl. 3(a) and (b) above, and Pl. 4).²⁹ Moreover, the words 'Primo Maggio' in the date line of the dedication are slightly misaligned. This discrepancy is very obvious in the dedication of the Basso 1 partbook of the Vienna exemplar (Pl. 4), showing that these words and the numeral were stamped in on an existing page. In the same exemplar, the roman 'I' on the continuation title of the Soprano 1 partbook also shows two small vertical ink marks, which may have come from the edge of the stamp. The implication is that most of the text of the continuation title and the dedication (and by extension the half-title as well) was set up and printed in 1640, while leaving the precise date of publication and dedication to be stamped when the actual date of publication was known.³⁰

The alterations to the dedicatory letter do not stop here. In the line below the date, the phrase 'Sacra M. C.' is also misaligned in all the partbooks, showing that it, too,

Battista Chinelli's *Terzo libro de motetti, a due, tre, e quattro voci . . . Op. 7* (Venice, 1640), surviving in Mdina, Cathedral Archive, shelfmark Mus. Pr. 23; the version with the 'crescent moon' form also appears in Vincenti's printing of Chinelli's *Secondo libro delle messe concertate a 3. 4. e 5. voci . . . Op. 8* (Venice, 1648), found in Mdina, Cathedral Archive, shelfmark Mus. Pr. 24. The watermarks shown above as Fig. 2 and below as Figs. 4 and 5 do not appear in any of the books surviving in the British Library that were printed by Magni in 1640–1.

²⁹ The heavier inking of the digits '41' is not, perhaps, as obvious in Pl. 4 as in Pl. 3(b), but see also the other dedications in the Bologna exemplar, available online at www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/viewschedatwbca.asp?path=/cmbm/images/ripro/gaspari/BB/BB013 (accessed 26 June 2014).

³⁰ The practice of stamping in a date later than that of the actual printing is discussed in Fredson Bowers, *Principles of Bibliographical Description* (Princeton, 1949; repr., with an Introduction by G. Thomas Tanselle, St Paul's Bibliographies, 15; Winchester and New Castle, Del., 1994), 84.



PL. 4. Vienna, Archiv der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, shelfmark II 11617: Basso primo partbook, dedication, sig. A2^v, detail

was stamped in. Two stamps can be identified in this case: the first uses the ‘S’ form seen in Pl. 4 above; the second, found only in the Soprano 2 and Basso continuo books, uses a different version of the letter.³¹ Why it should have been necessary to add the correct form of salutation is not clear, since the name of the dedicatee appears clearly on the continuation title and in the salutation at the head of the dedication.

There is one further observation to make: as noted above, in the Soprano 1 partbook alone the half-title of 1641 is printed in alternating lines of black and red lettering (Pl. 2(a)). The added cost of doing this (the sheet had to be run through the press twice—once for the red and once for the black lettering) would have been justified by placing this partbook, with its impressive half-title, on the top of the bundle of partbooks for display in the printer’s shop or in presentation copies; indeed, the use of two colours on a title page was not unusual in the case of large and important collections.³² (In the Bologna exemplar, of course, this imposing half-title is hidden below the additional, 1640, title page, which rather defeats the object.) Moreover, in almost all the partbooks of every exemplar, the two elements of the 1641 title are printed on the recto of successive leaves (as shown in Fig. 1 above), so that on turning the first the reader is brought face to face with the second, on which Monteverdi’s name, and the name of his noble dedicatee, Empress Eleonora Gonzaga, are displayed with equal prominence.³³

The type for the half-title, once set up, could have been used for both the black-red and the simple black half-titles. In fact, though, the layout of the type for the Soprano 1 half-title corresponds in its entirety only with that of the two violin books. In the other seven partbooks, which are consistent with each other, the word ‘ET’ lies noticeably to the left of its position as laid out in the Soprano 1 partbook (this can be

³¹ See www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/viewschedatwbca.asp?path=/cmbm/images/ripro/gaspari/BB/BB013/ (accessed 26 June 2014) at frame 048 for the Soprano 2 partbook.

³² In the catalogue of all Office, Holy Week, and Mass music printed in Italy from the 16th c. to the 18th, compiled by Jeffrey Kurtzman and Anne Schnobelen, a substantial number of prints mix lines of red and black ink on their title pages. For the most part this dual colouring is confined to the soprano partbook, as in the case of the *Selva morale*. Kurtzman and Schnobelen’s catalogue is published in the *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music Instrumenta* series of the Society for Seventeenth-Century Music (see www.sscm-jscm.org/instrumenta/vol-2/ (accessed 12 November 2014)); the relevant volumes are retrievable by searching the catalogue for the word ‘red’.

³³ In Tenore 2 and the two violin books the half-title and its continuation are printed on recto and verso respectively and the dedication is omitted. By adopting this procedure the printer potentially minimized the number of sheets to be printed: one sheet in the case of the Tenore 2 book; one sheet and one half sheet in the case of the violin books.

seen by comparing Pl. 2(a) with Pl. 2(b)).³⁴ A possible explanation for this is that the half-titles for Soprano 1 and the two violin books were printed last, when the '1641' title page was set up in 1640, and the centred positioning of the word 'ET' was corrected for these books. Perhaps it was at this point that there was some discussion of the number of instrumental parts to be printed and a decision made to print the violin parts only. The alternative explanation—that these three half-titles were printed first—would mean that the word 'ET' was for some reason shifted to the left for the remaining parts.

THE ALTO 2/BASSO 2 PARTBOOK

Alto 2 and Basso 2 share a single partbook, presumably because the quantity of music for these two voices was not sufficient to warrant printing two separate books. When the two voices sing together their music is laid out on a single opening, with Alto 2 on the left-hand page and Basso 2 on the right. This accounts for the running over of music from signature A to signature B and from signature B to signature C that occurs in this partbook only (see Table 2). Thus, the first *Dixit Dominus* has parts for both Alto 2 and Basso 2, and the two are printed side by side, beginning respectively on sigs. B1^v and B2^r; sig. B1^r carries the last page of the vocal line of the solo Bass motet *Ab aeterno ordinata sum*, which began on sig. A5^v. Similarly, at the runover from B to C, the Alto 2 and Basso 2 parts of the psalm *Credidi* begin on sigs. C1^v and C2^r respectively, leaving sig. C1^r with the last page of Magnificat I (SV 281), which begins on the last pages of signature B.

However, the music provided for this Magnificat, straddling signatures B and C, comprises not the expected Alto 2 and Basso 2 *vocal* parts but rather a pair of *instrumental* parts, for alto and bass viola. This is, indeed, the only example of fully written-out parts (in C3 and F4 clefs respectively) for the 'optional' *viola* that are mentioned for several of the concertato works in the *Selva*. Moreover, while in all the other vocal partbooks, the music for Magnificat I is found in gathering C, in this book it is printed out of liturgical order, coming between *Laudate Dominum terzo* and *Credidi* and covering two openings, sigs. B15^v–B16^r and B16^v–C1^r. The first opening has the usual eight staves per page (see Pl. 5), but the second has ten staves per page.

The question of why two quite discrete instrumental parts should have been printed in place of two quite discrete vocal parts remains uncertain. However, the positioning of the Magnificat in this book, and its being made to occupy two openings only (much less than the space that the vocal parts would have needed), indicates that the printer had the instrumental parts in hand when casting off the book and that placing them out of liturgical order was a matter of making the most economical use of paper: as it stands, gathering C of this book fits exactly on two sheets, and gathering B on four, suggesting that the printer knew that he could squeeze the instrumental parts of the Magnificat on to spare leaves in gathering B, rather than adding extra paper to gathering C.

All this implies that the instrumental parts may have been supplied in place of the vocal parts when the original copy of this Magnificat was delivered to the printer,

³⁴ These discrepancies cannot be seen in the half-titles as reproduced in the Forni facsimile of the Bologna exemplar (Monteverdi, *Selva morale e spirituale*, introduction by Fenlon), suggesting that only one of the half-titles was photographed and then reproduced for all the partbooks in the facsimile; however, they are clearly visible in the digital images of the Bologna exemplar reproduced in the Gaspari online catalogue (www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/viewschedatwbca.asp?path=/cmbm/images/ripro/gaspari/BB/BB013/ (accessed 26 June 2014)).

who thus had no reason to suppose that they were incorrect. If both the vocal and the instrumental parts had been supplied to Magni, then he would have had to have picked up not just one, but two incorrect parts from those supplied to him. It is just possible that a different team of printers was responsible for setting the Alto 2/Basso 2 partbook from those who set the music of gathering C in most of the other vocal partbooks (who would have been more likely to have realized that vocal parts were also required for this book), but the patterns of damaged or defective type in the book seem to confirm that a single team of printers worked on both signature B and signature C.³⁵ The evidence therefore suggests that no very careful check was made in house on the contents of the printed partbooks and that Monteverdi himself did not see the printed books at a time at which a corrected version might have been included.

The manuscript alterations and additions made in the surviving exemplars are of no help in explaining the mystery of the missing parts. In the case of the Bologna exemplar, however, they do show that at least one user realized that there should have been a further texted part. The additions and corrections to this exemplar comprise an attempt to underlay the Magnificat text to the notes of the Alto viola part from its beginning to ‘qui potens est’, though thereafter the corrector seems to have abandoned the effort.³⁶ The added text is in a fine seventeenth-century hand and orange-brown ink. On the second stave of the Bass viola part, sig. Cl^r, there is an alteration to a cue in a different hand, again in seventeenth-century style, but in dark brown ink and with a broader point than that of the added text on the previous page.³⁷ The original printed cue read ‘Deposuit potentes tacet’ and ran under a blank portion of stave (corresponding to the rests in bb. 203–32 of Stevens’s modern edition), followed by the first six notes accompanying ‘fecit potentiam’ (b. 233). The alteration consists of a scrubbing out of the blank portion of stave, with ‘Deposuit’ written beneath it, followed by the cue ‘Fecit potentiam’ under the relevant notes. All the changes here seem, as in the other exemplars—with the possible exception of Wrocław, where some new errors were introduced by the ‘corrector’ (see the description of this source in the Appendix, below)—to relate to attempts to perform the music, and since none of the changes corresponds in format from one exemplar to another, they are unlikely to stem from Magni’s workshop. There are too few points of correspondence with the handwriting found in the altered direction lines (see above, pp. 516–17) for informed comparisons to be made with any of the textual insertions in Magnificat I. However, there are just enough similarities between the handwritten insertions made in the second *Dixit Dominus* setting—‘Tacet sin’ al’ sede’ (Bologna), ‘Tacet’ (Vienna) and ‘tacet’ (Mdina) at the beginning of the Alto 2 part; ‘Tacet sin’ al’ sede’ (Bologna) in Violino 1 and 2; and ‘Tacet’ (Vienna) in the Violino 1 part—to suggest that they may

³⁵ A minim with stem apparently detached from the notehead can be seen on sig. B16^v, stave 2 and sig. C5^v, stave 5. Elsewhere in the *Selva*, this piece of type can be seen in Tenore 1, sig. B13^v, stave 8, and Soprano 2, sig. B12^v, stave 5 (this last is corrected in the Bologna exemplar). There is analogous evidence that signatures B and C of the Soprano 2 partbook were also set by a single team. Here a semibreve with part of the notehead missing can be seen on sig. B4^v, stave 2 and sig. B14^v, stave 8, with a fermata placed above the note; a similarly damaged character, probably the same one upside down, can be seen on sig. C5^v, stave 6. Damaged semibreves on line 3 (possibly more than one piece of type in this instance), can be seen in Soprano 2, sigs. B1^v, stave 7, B7^r, stave 3, B20^r, stave 3, C8^v, stave 1, and C9^r, stave 1. The same piece, or pieces, of damaged type can also be seen in the Soprano 1 part, sigs. B16^r, stave 7, B16^v, stave 1; in Tenore 1, sig. C8^v, stave 5; and in the Basso continuo part, sig. B5^v, stave 4.

³⁶ See www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/viewschedatwbca.asp?path=/cmbm/images/ripro/gaspari/BB/BB013/ frame 149 (accessed 26 June 2014).

³⁷ *Ibid.*, frame 150.

stem from Magni's workshop, although there are no such insertions in the Brussels and Wrocław exemplars.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE *TAVOLE*

A further significant anomaly is found in the *tavole* printed in all the partbooks except those for the violins, which have no lists of contents at all. The fullest of the *tavole* is that found in the Basso continuo book (Pl. 6). It is clearly divided into two sections. The first, designated 'A' and covering the gathering of signature A, has no references to page numbers. The second, designated 'B', covers gatherings B and C, and does include page numbers, beginning at page 1. At first sight, section B appears to begin with the motet *Ab aeterno*, but the letter 'B' is, in fact, intended as a heading for the following page numbers, rather than an indication of where the motet begins: the continuo bass for the motet actually ends on signature A20^v and that for the first *Dixit Dominus* begins on B1^r. That 'B' is intended as a heading can be seen more clearly in those partbooks that do not include the incipit *Ab aeterno*—the Alto 1 book, for example, where the letter B is aligned with the last line of the rubric for the three Credo fragments and is thus more clearly intended as a heading for what follows.³⁸

The music for Vespers which constitutes most of section B is presented in the *tavola* in liturgical order, even when, as in the case of the second setting of the hymn *Sanctorum meritis*, the music was printed out of page order in the Basso continuo book. This hymn should have been printed on sig. B27^r, but is actually located on the verso of sig. Cl. Evidently, in this case the error was discovered before work had begun on the sheets of C, and, since the end of the first *Salve regina* setting runs over from sig. B34^v to sig. Cl^r, both circumstances again argue that only one printing team worked on the Basso continuo book.

The process adopted by Magni for printing the *tavole* seems to have been to set up the type once—probably for the Basso continuo book, given its level of detail—and then to adjust the type for the other books. This leads to some interesting further anomalies. The *tavole* of the Soprano, Alto, and Tenore 2 books, for example, have a hymn listed erroneously as *Deus tuorum meritis*; the Basso 1 book includes incipits for the soprano motet *Laudate Dominum* and the *Pianto della Madonna* preceded by the page numbers for the Soprano 1 book; and the Alto 2/Basso 2 *tavola*, which is complete on sig. C7^v up to and including the page reference for the beginning of *Memento*, has a second sequence of unpaginated incipits on sig. C8^r: clearly these were removed from the master *tavola* and placed into a second forme for safe keeping, but this second forme was then printed, inadvertently.

The letter B, corresponding to signatures B and C, and preceded by a page number, is clearly intended as a locating system for performers who would otherwise expect page 1 to be at the beginning of the book, and this system is used for the *tavole* of all the partbooks that include one. However, the music of section A is actually paginated in the body of the partbooks, with page numbers running in a separate sequence, also beginning at page 1; this is not indicated in any of the *tavole*. Moreover, with the exception of one incipit, all the *tavole* include the complete sequence of music for section A, whether or not they actually contain any of it. The exception is the incipit for the motet *Ab aeterno*, which appears only in the *tavole* of the Soprano 1, Basso 1, Alto

³⁸ The *tavola* in the Alto I partbook can be seen online at www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/viewschedatwbca.asp?path=/cmbm/images/ripro/gaspari/BB/BB013/ at frame 125 (accessed 26 June 2014).

TAVOLA

- A** O Citehili tanto affaticar Madrigale morale A 3. voci & due violini
 Voi ch'alcitate Madrigale morale A 3. voci & due violini
 E questa vita vn lampo A 3. voci
 Spontausi di Canzoneta morale A 3. voci
 Chi vol che m'innamori Canzon morale A 3. con due violini
 Messa A 4. da Capella
 Gloria A 7. voci concertata con due violini & quattro viole da braccio
 onero 4. Tromboni quali anco si ponno lasciare l'occorresse l' accidente.
 Crucifixus A quattro voci. Basso Tenore Quinto & Alto
 E resurrexit A due Soprani o Tenori con due violini
 Es iterum A 3. voci. Basso & due Contralti Concertato con quatro Trom-
 boni o viole da braccio quali si ponno anco lasciare il qual Crucifixus serui-
 rà per variazione della messa a quatro pigliando questo in loco di quello no-
 tato tra li due fegni
B Motetto A Voce sola in Basso Ab eterno ordinata sum
 Dixit Primo A 8 voci concertato con due violini & quattro viole o Tro-
 boni quali se portasse l' accidente anco si ponno lasciare
 Dixit Secondo A 8 voci concertato con gli stessi istrumenti del primo &
 nel medesimo modo
 Confitebor Primo A 3. voci con 5 altre voci ne repleni
 Confitebor Secondo A 3. voci concertato con due violini
 Confitebor Terzo alla fantasia A 3. voci qual si puo concertare se piacerà
 con quattro viole da braccio la cando la parte del Soprano alla voce sola
 Beatus Primo A 6. voci concertato con due violini & 3 viole da braccio oue-
 ro 3 Tromboni quali anco si ponno lasciare
 Beatus Secondo A 5. voci qual si puo cantare ridoppiato & forte o come piacerà
 Laudate pueri Primo A 5. concertato con due violini
 Laudate Pueri Secondo A 5. voci
 Laudate

- 38 Laudate Dominum omnes gentes Prima 3. voci concertato con due violi-
 ni & ch'choro a quattro voci qual portati e cantare e sonare con quattro vio-
 le o Tromboni & anco lasciare se accade il bisogno
 40 Laudate Dominum Secondo A 8. voci & due violini
 42 Laudate Dominum Terzo A 8. voci.
 44 Credidi & 8. voci da Capella
 47 Memento & 8. voci da Capella
 52 Sanctorum meritis Primo A voce sola & due violini sopra alla qual aris si
 potranno cantare anco altri Hinni pero che sono dello stesso Metro
 70 Sanctorum meritis secondo A voce sola concertato con due violini sopra
 a la qual aris si puo cantare anco altri Hinni dello stesso Metro
 53 Ite Confessor voce sola & due violini sopra alla qual Aris si puo cantare
 parimente Vt queant laxis di S. Gio. Batt. & simili
 54 Deus tuorum militum Hinnno con doi violini
 55 Magnificat Primo A 8. voci & due violini & quattro viole ouero quattro
 Tromboni quali in accidenti si ponno lasciare
 62 Magnificat Secondo a quattro voci in genere da Capella
 66 Salve Regina con dentro vn Ecco voce sola risposta d' ecco & due violini
 71 Salve Regina A 2. voci due Tenori due soprani
 74 Salve Regina A 3. voci Alto Basso & Tenore o Soprano
 Motetti A Voce Sola
 76 Inlabare a voce Sola in Dialogo
 78 Laudate Dominum voce Sola Soprano o Tenore
 81 Pianto Della Madonna sopra al Lausento del' Arciana

I L F I N E



2/Basso 2, and Basso continuo books (its music is actually printed in Alto 2/Basso 2 and Basso continuo only).

The most likely explanation for all this must be that the music of section B—beginning with the first of the *Dixit* settings and including all the music of the B and C gatherings—together with the *tavole*, which form an integral part of the C gatherings, had been set up in type and printed, with the paginations recorded more or less accurately in the *tavole*, before all or any of the music for section A had been sent to the printing house. The proposed list of contents for section A was, however, sufficiently secure in Monteverdi's mind for Magni to print it with confidence. I would infer that all this was done in 1640, that Magni expected the remaining music to be delivered by the end of the year, and that it was at this stage, knowing the title that Monteverdi had in mind, that Magni set up the 1640 title page and printed at least one copy for reference so that it could be duplicated quickly when the rest of the music arrived. It is this reference copy that was inadvertently sewn in to the Bologna exemplar. If I am right in thinking that gatherings B and C were in print before the end of 1640, then there must have been a delay of at least four months, and possibly much longer, before the date of the dedication—1 May 1641—was stamped in. The length of the delay suggests that, although Monteverdi clearly knew which pieces he wanted to include in this section and their scorings, as shown by the *tavole* set up in 1640, he still had to finish writing one or more of them; merely copying parts or assembling them for the printer is not likely to have taken so long.

An intriguing, though unfortunately ambiguous, reference to 'freshly printed' music by Monteverdi in early 1640 survives in a letter of Philip Hainhofer to Duke August von Braunschweig-Lüneburg.³⁹ Hainhofer had been seeking music for the duke's re-established Kapelle and had written to a number of leading choirmasters. In his letter of 26 December 1639/5 January 1640 Hainhofer wrote:

S.[?] Marcj Capellmaister hat nichts geschribenes von musicalischen stukhen, will aber frische getrukhte zusammen tragen, vnd offeriert ain vortreflich concert von lieblichen viole di gamba, vnd von gläsernen suavj flutj, der gleichen nie gesehen worden, so Er will à sua spesa herauß schükhen.⁴⁰

(The Kapellmeister of San Marco has not written any [?new] musical pieces, but is putting some freshly printed ones together and offers an excellent consort of mellifluous viole da gamba and of delicate sweet flutes, the like of which have not been seen [before], which he will send out [to you] at his expense.)⁴¹

The 'freshly printed' music is not identified. It could have been a group of instrumental pieces; if so, they are no longer known among Monteverdi's output. It could also be a reference to Monteverdi's Eighth Book of Madrigals, the dedication of which was signed on 1 September 1638. But if the 'freshly printed' pieces were those of the B and C sections of the *Selva morale*, then we would have to believe that these were set up and printed long before the complete volume appeared.

³⁹ Cited by Stephen Rose in his article 'The Mechanisms of the Music Trade in Central Germany, 1600–40', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 130 (2005), 1–37 at 16 n. 62.

⁴⁰ *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Philipp Hainhofer und Herzog August d. J. von Braunschweig-Lüneberg*, ed. Ronald Gobiet (Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Forschungshefte, 8; Munich, 1984), 669, letter 1282. Gobiet read the first letter as D, but S (for Sancti) would make more sense.

⁴¹ My thanks are due to Dr Joachim Steinheuer and Bonnie Blackburn for their help in translating this rather difficult passage of German.

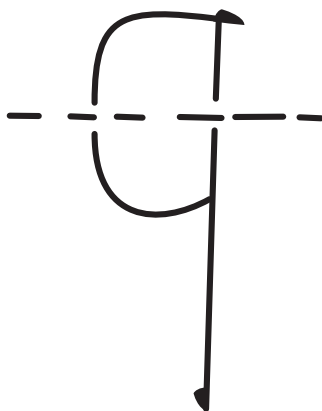


FIG. 4. Possible letterform of watermark in paper used for gatherings B and C. Wrocław exemplar, Soprano secondo partbook, sigs. B4^{v-r} and B17^{v-r}. Freehand copy, not to scale

The disjunction between the gatherings of A and of B + C revealed by the *tavole* is confirmed, in all five exemplars, by the watermarks of the paper on which they are printed. We know that printers usually bought in only enough paper to complete the job in hand.⁴² Only one watermark—a simple letterform—is found in gatherings B and C, indicating that paper from one maker was used for these gatherings. Unfortunately, identification of the chosen letter is ambiguous, since—depending on the way in which each sheet was folded—it might appear as a q, p, d, or b. Philip Gaskell gives an example showing how a watermark would normally be orientated and disposed between the leaves of a quarto gathering.⁴³ Following this example, and thus reading from verso to recto, the disposition of the watermark in gatherings B and C suggests that the letterform is most likely to be q (Fig. 4). In some instances, however, the disposition of the two components seems to indicate the letter d (see, for example, sigs. B5 and B12 of the Alto 1 partbook in the Bologna exemplar). In these cases the sheet appears to have been rotated about its long axis at some stage before printing. Whatever the letterform, I have been unable to identify this as a watermark in its own right.⁴⁴ However, as Richard Agee pointed out in his study of papers used by the Gardano printing firm from 1569 to 1611:

[M]ost of the watermarks seen did not appear similar, even distantly, to those in Briquet. Of the thousands examined, only fewer than four dozen resulted in matches close enough to be included. Adding to the difficulty was the fact that typical watermarks appear less often in the last two decades of Angelo Gardano's life [d. 1611]—instead, marks that passed for countermarks in earlier decade[s] (often simple initials) began to be used as watermarks themselves had earlier on. None of these could be identified in the standard watermark source books.⁴⁵

⁴² Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, 142.

⁴³ *Ibid.* 87 and Fig. 47. Because the watermark is located across one of the folds of the paper, it appears as two components on leaves that can be quite widely separated in the gatherings of the *Selva*, as in Fig. 4, and can be difficult to see at all if the binding is tight.

⁴⁴ For sources consulted, see above, n. 25. Fortunately, the present argument does not depend on identifying the watermarks in the *Selva*.

⁴⁵ Richard J. Agee, *The Gardano Music Printing Firms, 1569–1611* (Eastman Studies in Music, 11; Rochester, 1998), 421 n. 9.



FIG. 5. Watermark used in gathering A of vocal partbooks in sheets following dedication. Wrocław exemplar; Basso primo partbook, sigs. A10^{v-r} and A5^{v-r}. Freehand copy, not to scale. In some instances there is a simple circle in place of the trefoil

This process of simplification clearly also applies to papers used by Gardano's successor, Bartolomeo Magni, in the 1640s and would explain both the relatively simple watermarks found in the papers of the *Selva morale* and the lack of countermarks. Of the watermarks recorded by Agee and found in Briquet, several have countermarks containing the letters d and p.⁴⁶

Two watermarks appear in the papers used for gathering A, neither of them the simple letterform found in gatherings B and C (see Fig. 3, above, and Fig. 5). The first, Fig. 3, is found throughout gathering A of the Basso continuo partbook and the two violin books, but appears in the vocal partbooks only in the 1641 half-title and continuation title and in their corresponding leaves in gathering A.⁴⁷ The second, Fig. 5, is found in gathering A of the vocal partbooks only, in the sheets following the continuation title/dedication. The distribution of these two watermarks, then, may imply that gathering A was set by two teams of printers, one working on the Basso continuo and violin books, the other on the vocal parts, an idea perhaps reinforced by the difference in usage of decorated initial capitals between the vocal parts and the Basso continuo, from which they are almost entirely absent.⁴⁸

What, then, caused the delay in Monteverdi's sending of the music of gathering A to the printer? It is not difficult to suggest reasons why, in late 1640—and always remembering that he was already 73 years old, and possibly suffering from ill health—Monteverdi found it difficult to complete at least some of the music of the first section of the *Selva*. Opera may have played a part in this. In 1640, and particularly in the run-up to Christmas, Monteverdi was not only engaged with his usual duties at San Marco, which may have included writing a new mass setting, but also in writing and possibly rehearsing the opera *Le nozze d'Enea e Lavinia*.⁴⁹ Moreover, he may also have

⁴⁶ The letter d is found in Briquet 662 (Udine 1587) and 3507 (Ferrara 1558); the letter p in Briquet 631 (Udine 1561), 647 (Vicenza 1541), 650 (Ferrara 1570), 3466 (Ferrara 1561), and 3467 (Venice 1570).

⁴⁷ It appears in an apparently simplified form in, for example, the half-titles of Soprano 1 in the Vienna exemplar, and of Violino 1 and the Basso continuo of the Mdina exemplar.

⁴⁸ See n. 16 above.

⁴⁹ See his letter of 2 Feb. 1634, in which he excuses his delay in replying to two letters from Giovanni Battista Doni by claiming that when they first arrived he had been 'entirely taken up with writing the mass for Christmas Eve (a new mass being expected of the Director of Music according to a custom of this city)'; in *The Letters of Claudio Monteverdi*, trans. Denis Stevens (rev. edn., Oxford, 1995), 424. For an extended study of Monteverdi's last operas, see Ellen Rosand, *Monteverdi's Last Operas: A Venetian Trilogy* (Berkeley, 2007).

supervised the revival of the opera *Il ritorno d'Ulisse in patria*, which preceded *Le nozze d'Enea e Lavinia* in the 1640–1 Venetian opera season.⁵⁰ The 1640–1 opera season ended on 12 February 1641, and I suspect that it was only after this time that Monteverdi was able to devote his complete attention to the *Selva morale*.

Which pieces in gathering A still had to be completed in 1640–1? It seems probable that there was at least one substantial piece still to be written or finished, given the long delay. I would rule out the *a cappella* mass for two reasons: first, Monteverdi had regularly to write masses for San Marco and could have used any from his existing portfolio; second, the mass has comparatively few errors, suggesting that it had been performed and corrected. One item that may have been written at the last minute, however, is the moral madrigal *O ciechi, il tanto affaticar che giova?* (henceforth *O ciechi*), with which the book begins. The *Selva* has not one, but two proemial madrigals. *O ciechi* is followed in the print by *Voi ch'ascoltate in rime sparse il suono*, a setting of the sonnet that opens Petrarch's *Canzoniere*. The latter would, thus, also have been suitable as a proem for the *Selva morale*.⁵¹ Replacing it with *O ciechi* may, then, have been an afterthought, intended to relate the initial item more closely to the book's Viennese destination and to the adjective 'morale'. The text of *O ciechi* is arranged from the first part of Petrarch's *Trionfo della morte*, lines 79–100. The relevant section of the original poem begins with three lines containing a specific reference to the transitory nature of imperial pomp and wealth:⁵²

- | | | |
|----|---|---|
| 1 | Ivi eran quei che fur detti felici,
pontefici, regnanti, imperadori;
or sono ignudi, miseri e mendici. | There were those who were once called happy:
popes, rulers, emperors;
now they are naked, unhappy, and beggars. |
| 4 | U' sono or le ricchezze? u' son gli onori

e le gemme e gli scettri e le corone
e le mitre e i purpurei colori? | Where are their riches now? Where are their
honours?
And their gems, sceptres, and crowns?
And their mitres and their [robes] of purple
colour? |
| 7 | Miser chi speme in cosa mortal pone

(ma chi non ve la pone ²), e se si trova
a la fine ingannato è ben ragione. | Unhappy one who places his hope in mortal
things
(but who does not?), and if in the end he finds
himself deceived, this is quite right. |
| 10 | O ciechi, el tanto affaticar che giova?
Tutti tornate a la gran madre antica,
e 'l vostro nome a pena si ritrova. | O blind ones, what avails such striving?
You all return to the great ancient mother,
and your name can scarcely be recalled. |
| 13 | Pur de le mill' è un'utile fatica,

che non sian tutte vanità palesi?

Chi intende a' vostri studii sì mel dica | Of your thousand labours scarcely one is
useful,
For are they not all, indeed, manifestly
in vain?
'What mean your endeavours?' I might say
to myself, |

⁵⁰ See JohnWhenham, 'Perspectives on the Chronology of the First Decade of Public Opera at Venice', *Il Saggiatore musicale*, II (2004), 253–302 at 264 and 289.

⁵¹ See Daniele Sabaino, 'Funzioni proemiali del primo sonetto del Canzoniere petrarchesco nella *Selva morale e spirituale* di Claudio Monteverdi', in Maria Caraci Vela and Rodobaldo Tibaldi (eds.), *Intorno a Monteverdi* (ConNotazioni, 2; Lucca, 1999), 101–23.

⁵² Italian text from Francesco Petrarca, *Canzoniere, Trionfi, Rime varie e una scelta di versi latini*, ed. Carlo Muscetta and Daniele Ponchirolì ([Turin], 1958); online at www.classicitaliani.it/petrarca/poesia/trionfi03.htm (accessed 23 Oct. 2014). My translation.

a volume dedicated to the empress Eleonora Gonzaga. The five madrigals and canzonettas with which the volume opens, for example, are all *vanitas* settings, which accorded with the sensibilities of the Viennese court; the relatively simple style of the four-part mass would have been appropriate for the small personal court chapel that Eleonora founded in 1637 after the death of her husband; and the *Pianto della Madonna* is a contrafactum of the lament of Arianna from Monteverdi's opera of the same name, which Eleonora would have heard as a young girl in Mantua in 1608.

Andrew Weaver has drawn attention to the placement of the bass motet *Ab aeterno ordinata sum* at the end of the first section of the *Selva*, separating it from the other motets, which are placed at the end of the volume.⁵⁷ He also points out similarities between Monteverdi's publication and the *Motetti a voce sola* (1638) of Giovanni Felice Sances, a volume also dedicated to Empress Eleonora. Sances was at this time employed at the Viennese court, but had earlier been active in the Venetian orbit.⁵⁸ His volume includes a setting for bass voice of *Ab aeterno* and ends with a *Pianto della Madonna*, though to a different text from Monteverdi's. Weaver argues that the text of *Ab aeterno* was important to the celebrations of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin in Vienna, noting that music for virtuoso bass was particularly cultivated at the Viennese court of Emperor Ferdinand III. By arguing Viennese associations for the *Ab aeterno*, he therefore extends Koldau's idea of a Viennese framework for the opening and closing of the book to one that marks the end of the first section of the volume as well.⁵⁹ On this basis, *Ab aeterno* may be another candidate for late completion. In the print, the music for the motet was included in the Alto 2/Basso 2 partbook, but the piece is additionally listed in the *tavole* of Soprano 1 and Basso 1, suggesting some uncertainty about to which partbook it would finally be assigned.⁶⁰ Its final page is printed on sig. Bl^f of the Alto 2/Basso 2 book, and it seems unlikely that the motet was available when gatherings B and C were initially set. Thus, the first sheet of the B gathering of Alto 2/Basso 2 must have been redamped when the material of signature A was finally delivered.⁶¹

The composition of these two items alone, however, seems scarcely sufficient to have caused so substantial a delay. There is, though, one further candidate: the great seven-part concertato Gloria. Jeffrey Kurtzman's 1994 article on the *Selva morale*⁶² was prompted by a reconsideration of James Moore's earlier study of the collection.⁶³

Monteverdi's *Selva Morale et Spirituale*, *Journal of Musicology*, 24 (2007), 237–71. Their arguments are summarized briefly in Kurtzman, 'Monteverdi's Mass of Thanksgiving: Da Capo', 123–8.

⁵⁷ On the framing of the volume, see Weaver, 'Divine Wisdom', particularly 238–41. On the inclusion of a motet at this point in the volume, see also above, p. 521.

⁵⁸ Weaver, 'Divine Wisdom', 247 ff.

⁵⁹ Ibid. 251 ff. and 258 respectively. See also id., 'Music in the Service of Counter-Reformation Politics', and id., *Sacred Music as Public Image*.

⁶⁰ There was no question, I think, of indecision on Monteverdi's part as to whether the motet was to be set for bass or for soprano: the entry in the Soprano 1 *tavola* states quite clearly 'Motetto . . . in Basso'. The style of the motet *Ab aeterno* corresponds, in the *Selva*, to the virtuoso bass writing of *Io che nell'otio nacqui*, the second part of *Ogni amante è guerrier* in Monteverdi's *Madrigali guerrieri, et amorosi* of 1638, another book destined for Vienna. The entry in the Soprano 1 partbook may have been left there simply to draw attention to the inclusion of the motet in the collection, on the assumption that the Soprano 1 book might have been the first to be opened by the recipient of a presentation copy.

⁶¹ At this period paper for printing had to be damped in preparation for the ink to be applied—the ink comprised a mixture of varnish and colour and was not water-soluble. The paper could, therefore, be redamped for extra printing to be added at a later stage when necessary. See Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, 124–5 and 135.

⁶² Kurtzman, 'Monteverdi's "Mass of Thanksgiving" Revisited'.

⁶³ Moore, 'Venezia favorita da Maria'.

Here, Moore had argued that the first section of the collection—comprising all the items up to and including the bass motet *Ab aeterno ordinata sum*—together with motets printed at the end of the volume and the *Pianto della Madonna* (see Table 2, above), constituted music and texts prepared for various Venetian ceremonies during and after the plague of 1630–1. Kurtzman’s view was that much of Moore’s argument, while sophisticated, was highly speculative and based on circumstantial evidence.⁶⁴ In particular, Moore followed a number of other writers in suggesting that the seven-voice concertato Gloria and the concertato settings of fragments of the Creed were written for a Mass of Thanksgiving celebrated on 21 November 1631 to mark the end of the plague and the foundation of the church of Santa Maria della Salute. While Kurtzman conceded that the Gloria, the Creed fragments, and the *a cappella* mass setting of the *Selva* might all have been performed at the Mass of Thanksgiving, he questioned Moore’s assumption that all the music had been written for that event.⁶⁵ Kurtzman’s main focus here, and in a further article,⁶⁶ concerned identifying the instruments referred to as ‘trombe squarciate’ in contemporary descriptions of the occasion and speculating on ways in which they might have been used in the *Selva* mass and mass fragments. In this second article Kurtzman and Koldau expressed doubts as to whether there was any link at all between the mass music of the *Selva* and the 1631 celebrations,⁶⁷ and in an essay of 2010 Kurtzman finally demonstrated that the link had essentially been based on Emil Vogel’s mistranslation of ‘trombe squarciate’ in the original documents as ‘Posaunen’ (trombones are indicated as an optional extra in the seven-part Gloria; *trombe squarciate* are not).⁶⁸ Kurtzman showed that English-language writers from Leo Schrade onwards took over Vogel’s translation without question and by relating first the Gloria a 7 and then the four-part mass and the Credo fragments of the *Selva morale* to the 1631 Mass of Thanksgiving, they gradually built a persistent, though ill-founded, myth linking the music and the occasion, culminating in James Moore’s extended elaboration of that myth.

Now that Jeffrey Kurtzman has argued so convincingly that there is no evidence that the seven-part Gloria was written in 1631, and has thrown considerable doubt on whether it can be identified as part of the mass performed then, it is possible to suggest that it may have been the composition of this very substantial piece, more than any other, that delayed the publication of the *Selva morale*. There is circumstantial evidence to support this suggestion. If the Gloria had been written and performed a decade or more before its publication, we might expect that most of its errors would have been corrected in the light of its performance(s) by the time the *Selva morale* was printed. Instead, the source contains an unusually high number of errors, as various

⁶⁴ Kurtzman, ‘Monteverdi’s “Mass of Thanksgiving” Revisited’, 63–4.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 69–70.

⁶⁶ Jeffrey Kurtzman and Linda Maria Koldau, ‘*Trombe, trombe d’argento, trombe squarciate, and pifferi* in Venetian Processions and Ceremonies of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries’, *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music*, 8 (2002), www.scm-jscm.org/v8/nol/kurtzman.html (accessed 26 June 2014). Kurtzman’s view that ‘trombe squarciate’ were, indeed, trumpets, was attacked in Peter Downey, ‘Monteverdi’s “Mass of Thanksgiving”: Aspects of Tension in Historical Musicology’, in Patrick F. Devine and Harry M. White (eds.), *The Maynooth International Musicological Conference 1995: Selected Proceedings: Part 1* (Irish Musical Studies, 4; Dublin, 1996), 152–88. Downey’s belief that these instruments were simply trombones was rejected by Kurtzman and Koldau in ‘*Trombe, trombe d’argento*’, n. 481.

⁶⁷ Kurtzman and Koldau, ‘*Trombe, trombe d’argento*’, Section 43.6.

⁶⁸ Kurtzman, ‘Monteverdi’s Mass of Thanksgiving: Da Capo’, 95–128. Vogel’s error occurred in ‘Claudio Monteverdi: Leben, Wirken im Lichte der zeitgenössischen Kritik und Verzeichniss seiner im Druck erschienenen Werke’, *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, 3 (1887), 315–450 at 393.

editors have pointed out. In his edition of the *Selva* for the Cremona collected edition of Monteverdi's works, for example, Denis Stevens commented that 'Many rests are omitted; corrupt passages abound and have been silently emended',⁶⁹ while Kurtzman commented perceptively that 'Magni had either a manuscript at hand that had been hastily and carelessly brought to a conclusion, or the work in his printing house was particularly hurried and careless at the end of the piece'.⁷⁰ Could the Gloria, then, have been written for performance at San Marco at Easter 1641—and perhaps the Credo substitutes for the same occasion? In 1641 Easter Day fell on 31 March, and publication of the *Selva* occurred on or around 1 May. This would probably not have allowed a copy of the Gloria, corrected during rehearsal and then recopied, to have been delivered to the printer in time for him to set up the whole of gathering A, and thus the printer would have been reliant on an uncorrected version.

One final piece of speculation closes the argument. James Moore interpreted the change from the phrase 'e spirituale' in the 1640 title to 'et spirituale' in the 1641 half-title, and the odd typography of the half-title—which has 'ET' in the same font size as 'SELVA', and larger than either 'MORALE' or 'SPIRITUALE'—as indicating that the letters of 'SELVA ET' were intended as an anagram of 'Salute', the church founded in thanksgiving for the deliverance from plague in 1631.⁷¹ As Kurtzman has pointed out, however, there is one 'e' too many for the anagram to work.⁷² There may, of course, be a quite prosaic reason for the change of 'e' to 'et' before a consonant. It may represent the fingerprint of a particular typesetter, or, indeed, of Monteverdi himself.⁷³ On the other hand, Monteverdi uses the title *Selva morale e spirituale* in his dedication.

The really eye-catching feature of the 1641 half-title, however, is the ugly and unnecessarily large type size of the word 'ET', a usage presumably sanctioned by Monteverdi when the revised title page was prepared in 1640. Moore may have been on the right track in seeing a hidden message in the half-title, and this is almost more easily noticed in the all-black version in which 'ET' lies slightly to the left of centre (compare Pl. 2(a) and Pl. 2(b) above). The eye runs down from 'SELVA' to 'ET' because of the large type size, but then inevitably carries on down to the last four letters of 'SPIRITVALE'. The phrase 'Selva et vale' needs little alteration to read 'Salve et vale' ('Hail and farewell'), a meaning close to the usage in liturgical texts with which Monteverdi would have been very familiar. The seasonal Marian antiphon *Salve Regina*, of which there are several settings in the *Selva morale*, is a case in point; and both 'Salve' and 'Vale' occur in another Marian antiphon, *Ave Regina coelorum*, in which 'Salve' is used with essentially the same meaning as 'Ave'. The salutation 'Salve et vale' would not have been inappropriate for what Monteverdi must have known would likely be his last publication.

⁶⁹ Monteverdi, *Selva morale e spirituale*, ed. Stevens, 56.

⁷⁰ Translated from the German commentary in Claudio Monteverdi, *Gloria a 7*, ed. Jeffrey Kurtzman (Stuttgart, 1991), 34.

⁷¹ Moore, 'Venezia Favorita da Maria', 352.

⁷² Kurtzman, 'Monteverdi's "Mass of Thanksgiving" Revisited', 67.

⁷³ See Monteverdi's usage 'et p[at]rone' at the head of his letter of 22 Jan. 1611, reproduced as Fig. 1a (facing p. 144) in Claudio Monteverdi, *Lettere*, ed. Eva Lax (Studi e testi per la storia della musica, 10; Florence, 1994); Lax transcribes this as 'e Padrone' (p. 33) and adopts a similar transcription for other occurrences of this form of address; Gian Francesco Malipiero, *Claudio Monteverdi* (Milan, 1929), 147, however, transcribed it as 'et padron' and showed that this form followed by a consonant was extremely common in the addresses of Monteverdi's letters. See also its use in the title of Magni's reprint of Rovetta's *Salmi concertati* (1641), cited in n. 11 above.

ABSTRACT

Monteverdi's *Selva morale e*[*l*] *spirituale* presents us with a number of intriguing bibliographical questions, of which the problem of the dual title pages in the Bologna exemplar—one dated 1640, the other 1641—is well known. This essay supports Jeffrey Kurtzman's conclusion that the volume was actually published in 1641, after a delay. It also considers the anomalous structure of the *tavole* found at the end of the partbooks. Taken together with watermark evidence, these show that the first section of the book was printed later than the second. The most probable reason is that the music of the first section was still incomplete in 1640. This leads to reassessment of the dating of music in the first section, not least that of the great concertato Gloria a 7. The essay goes further by showing that the '1641' title page was itself printed in 1640, and considers such other anomalies as why instrumental parts were published in place of the Alto and Basso secondo vocal parts for the first of the two Magnificat settings (SV 281); finally, an explanation is offered for the apparently rather clumsy typographical choices for the 1641 title.

APPENDIX

The Five Exemplars

Five exemplars of the *Selva morale* survive. Although the present study is not the place for a complete listing of the variants between them, some preliminary comments are included below on the exemplars themselves and on the manuscript insertions and alterations found in them.

1. Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica, shelfmark BB13. Complete

Bound in stiff boards, with half-leather binding in green, the remainder covered in coloured paper. Several of the post-seventeenth-century flyleaves carry the watermark 'MILIANI'. The Miliani paper-making firm was established in Fabriano in 1782. Manuscript insertions and alterations are found in the *Dixit primo*, *Dixit secondo*, *Confitebor primo*, *Laudate pueri primo*, and *Magnificat primo* (including an attempt to underlay text to sections of the Alto and Tenor Viola parts).⁷⁴

2. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique/Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, shelfmark Fétis 1.733 A (RP). Incomplete: lacks Soprano 2, Basso 1, Violino 1

Bound in brown textured leather over stiff boards. The pastedowns and flyleaves are contemporary with the binding, and the final flyleaf of Tenore 2 bears the watermark 'L & C 1857', indicating that the paper was made by Lammens et Compagnie of Kraainem, near Brussels.⁷⁵ Although the binding is unsigned, it is similar to those of other volumes in the Fétis collection and was probably the work of the Brussels bookbinder François Demesmaecker

⁷⁴ On manuscript insertions/alterations in this exemplar see Monteverdi, *Selva morale e spirituale*, introduction by Fenlon, pp. xiii–xiv. On the original owners of items in the Bologna collection, and on its archivists and librarians, with examples of their handwriting, see www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/tools/biblio-grafie.asp (accessed 26 June 2014).

⁷⁵ On the use of paper from this company for flyleaves, see Claude Sorgeloos, 'L'Histoire de la reliure de Josse Schavye', *In Monte Artium: Journal of the Royal Library of Belgium*, 5 (2012), 119–67 at 134.

(1819–85).⁷⁶ Manuscript insertions and alterations occur in the *Gloria a 7*, *Dixit primo*, *Confitebor terzo*, *Beatus primo*, *Beatus secondo*, *Credidi*, *Memento*, and *Magnificat primo*. Some of the handwritten comments are in Italian.

It is possible to suggest a provenance for the Brussels exemplar, and one that is connected with the erroneous idea of a 1639 issue of the *Selva*. This date is found in a handwritten catalogue of the holdings of the library of the Liceo Musicale di Bologna (now the Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica), compiled c.1840 by the then archivist, Stefano Antonio Sarti.⁷⁷ On fos. 255^v–256^r of Sarti's catalogue, the exemplar of the *Selva* now surviving in Bologna is given the shelfmark 738. However, under shelfmark 756 Sarti recorded a further, incomplete copy of the *Selva*, comprising seven partbooks and dated 1639. In the absence of any further evidence of a 1639 edition it seems likely that Sarti simply transposed the last two Roman numerals on the 1641 continuation title (i.e. MDCXXXXI became MDCXXXIX), and that this was actually an incomplete copy of the 1641 issue. There is no mention of this copy in the annotations to a letter of 17 November 1745 from G. B. Martini to Girolamo Chiti, in which he lists his Monteverdi holdings, including the '1640' edition of the *Selva morale*.⁷⁸ It is, however, also listed, if ambiguously, in an inventory prepared in the first quarter of the nineteenth century by the first archivist of the Liceo Musicale di Bologna, Francesco Barbieri. Barbieri listed two copies of the *Selva*, the first, complete in ten partbooks, in a box numbered 171, the second, in seven partbooks and with the note 'da legare' (to be bound), in a box numbered 221. The item listed under 171 in the inventory has been crossed out,⁷⁹ and that listed under 221 modified to describe the box 171 exemplar, with the note 'da legare' crossed out and '7' [partbooks] overwritten with '10';⁸⁰ both entries are dated 1640, with no sign of a 1639 edition. The incomplete copy may, in fact, have belonged to Padre Martini since very few sixteenth- and seventeenth-century books were acquired for the library between Martini's death and the arrival of Gaetano Gaspari as librarian of the Liceo Musicale.⁸¹

This second exemplar, comprising seven partbooks, cannot now be found in the library at Bologna, but it almost certainly still survives as the exemplar presently held in Brussels. The Museo Internazionale holds an annotated copy of the Paris 1862 sale catalogue of rare books from the library of Gaetano Gaspari, then librarian of the Liceo Musicale.⁸² Item no. 343 in the sale is listed on p. 36 as 'Selva morale e spirituale di Claudio Monteverde. Venetia, Bart. Magni, 1641, 7 part. In-4, cart. n. rogné [not trimmed: i.e. still to be bound]'

⁷⁶ For an example of a binding by Demesmaecker, see Claude Sorgeloos, *Quatre siècles de reliure en Belgique 1500–1900*, vol. 3 (Brussels, 1998), 359. I am very grateful to Karin Pairon of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique for her help in identifying the binding and the flyleaf watermark of the *Selva morale* in the Fêtis collection.

⁷⁷ See www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/tools/index.asp (accessed 26 June 2014).

⁷⁸ Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica, shelfmark I.11.6. The letter can be read online at www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/scripts/lettere/scheda.asp?id=2187 (accessed 26 June 2014), together with most of Martini's correspondence, which is also indexed in Anne Schnoebelen, *Padre Martini's Collection of Letters in the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale in Bologna: An Annotated Index* (Annotated Reference Tools in Music, 2; New York, 1979). The Martini–Chiti correspondence is also published in *Epistolario Giovanni Battista Martini e Girolamo Chiti (1745–1759): Settecento musicale erudito. 472 lettere del Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica di Bologna*, ed. Giancarlo Rostirolla, Luciano Luciani, Maria Adelaide Morabito Ianucci, and Cecilia Parisi (Studi, cataloghi e sussidi dell'Istituto di bibliografia musicale, 15; Rome, 2010).

⁷⁹ See www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/viewschedatwbca.asp?path=/cmbm/images/ripro/biblio-grafie/barbieri/ at frame 94 (accessed 26 June 2014).

⁸⁰ See www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/viewschedatwbca.asp?path=/cmbm/images/ripro/biblio-grafie/barbieri/ at frame 119 (accessed 26 June 2014).

⁸¹ I am indebted to Dr Alfredo Vitolo, present librarian of the Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica, for this information. I should like to express my warmest thanks to Dr Vitolo for generously sharing detailed information on the supposed 1639 printing and for drawing to my attention the sale catalogue of Gaspari's collection, discussed below. On Barbieri and Gaspari, see www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/tools/biblio-grafie.asp (accessed 26 June 2014).

⁸² *Catalogue des livres rares en partie des XVe et XVIe siècles, composant la bibliothèque musicale de M. Gaetano Gaspari, Maître de chapelle de la basilique de Saint-Pétronne de Bologne, Professeur au lycée de musique de la même ville, Correspondant de l'Académie des beaux-arts de l'Institut de France* (Paris, 1862), Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica, Bologna.

The annotation on the facing page, recording the name of the person who bought the volume and the price paid, reads 'Fétis 42. —'.⁸³ This is presumably, then, the incomplete copy in seven partbooks, dated 1641, donated to the Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, as part of the library of François-Joseph Fétis after his death in 1871.⁸⁴ The books were clearly bound after Fétis purchased the *Selva* (see above) and the partbooks now carry no markings that might help confirm their earlier history.

3. Mdina, Cathedral Archive, shelfmark Mus PR 111. Incomplete: lacks Violino 2

Bound in thick paper wrappers,⁸⁵ a type of binding frequently associated with early and mid-seventeenth-century music books published in Venice and Antwerp.⁸⁶ Between sigs. B4 and B5 of the Tenore 1 and Tenore 2 books there are small unbound leaves with a setting in manuscript of the words 'Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto: sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper'; the music is identical in both tenor parts. There is a corresponding part for bass that seems to have become misplaced in the Basso 1 book, where it is currently located between sigs. B16 and C1. This setting seems to be an alternative, probably prepared in Mdina, to Monteverdi's setting of these words at the opening of the Gloria of the second *Dixit Dominus* setting. Since the opening of the Gloria is the only point in Monteverdi's setting where violins play between vocal phrases as well as with them, the manuscript version would allow the whole *Dixit* setting to be performed without violins. Other manuscript insertions and alterations occur in the *Dixit Dominus primo* and *Dixit Dominus secondo*.

4. Vienna, Archiv der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, shelfmark II 11617. Complete

Bound in vellum wrapped around what appears to be the original thick paper binding, similar to that found in the Mdina exemplar. The Roman numerals on the spines of the partbooks give an incorrect ordering, comprising Soprano 1 (VIII), Alto 1 (V), Tenore 1 (IX), Basso 1 (VII), Soprano 2 (VI), Alto 2/Basso 2 (III), Tenore 2 (I), Violino 1 (IV), Violino 2 (X), and Basso continuo (II). The set came into the collection of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde between 1830 and 1835, but there is no record of its earlier provenance.⁸⁷ A watermark in the final flyleaf of the Violino 1 partbook, presumably provided by the binder, is similar in kind and size (47 × 42 mm), to those shown in Piccard, nos. 25495 and 25497, dated 1641 and 1643 and representing the coat of arms of the city of Memmingen in southern Germany.⁸⁸ Manuscript insertions and alterations in pencil occur in *O ciechi, il tanto affaticar che giova?*, *Voi ch'ascoltate*, the *a cappella* mass, the Gloria a 7, *Dixit secondo*, *Beatus primo*, *Laudate Dominum primo*, *Sanctorum meritis primo*, *Magnificat primo*, *Magnificat secondo*, *Salve Regina* à 3, and *Jubilet tota civitas*. They include the addition of bar-lines, indications of the numbers of bars' rest, and the beaming together of groups of four semiquavers; these may reflect modern performances from the original partbooks. There are also alterations in ink in *O ciechi*, the Gloria a 7, the concertato *Crucifixus*, *Dixit secondo*, *Confitebor secondo*, *Confitebor terzo*, *Beatus primo*, *Laudate pueri primo*, *Laudate Dominum primo*, *Laudate Dominum secondo*, *Laudate Dominum terzo*, *Salve Regina* for TT/SS, and *Laudate Dominum in sanctis eius*.

⁸³ This would not be the only case of a book from Padre Martini's collection being sold by Gaetano Gaspari: see Kate Van Orden and Alfredo Vitolo, 'Padre Martini, Gaetano Gaspari and the "Pagliarini Collection": A Renaissance Music Library Rediscovered', *Early Music History*, 29 (2010), 241–324 (particularly 262–3).

⁸⁴ This conclusion is strongly supported by Dr Vitolo.

⁸⁵ Apparently beige in colour, though perhaps originally grey, as suggested by those parts of the wrappers that have been hidden from the sunlight.

⁸⁶ There are a number of examples in the library of Christ Church, Oxford. These include: [Giovanni Battista] Anselmi, *Madrigali* (Venice, 1624); Lorenzo Calvi, *Quarta raccolta de sacri canti* (Venice, 1629); Sigismondo d'India, *Le musiche a due voci* (Venice, 1615); and various reprints of music by Claudio Monteverdi and others issued by Phalèse at Antwerp (see the descriptions in the online catalogue of the Christ Church collection at <http://library.chch.ox.ac.uk/music/> (accessed 26 June 2014)).

⁸⁷ I am indebted for this information to the Director of the library, Prof. Otto Biba.

⁸⁸ Piccard Online, www.wasserzeichen-online.de/wzis/struktur.php?po=25495 (accessed 26 June 2014).

5. Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, shelfmark 50643 Muz. Complete

Bound in stiff boards, covered in coloured paper, with a canvas spine. The Violino I and Basso continuo books of this exemplar bear the stamp of the Rhediger collection. This very large collection of music—some 6,000 prints and 300 manuscripts—acquired by Thomas Rhediger (d. 1567 [*sic*]), was bequeathed to the city of Breslau/Wrocław and transferred after his death to the church of St Elisabeth, though kept separate from its choir library.⁸⁹ During the first half of the seventeenth century, responsibility for the Rhediger collection passed to the merchant and musician Ambrosius Profe, who was organist of the church from 1633 to 1649, and after his death in 1661 to Daniel Sartorius, a teacher at the Elisabeth-Gymnasium until 1670, a year before his own death. The ‘Rhediger’ collection at Sartorius’s death was even larger than it had been a century earlier.⁹⁰ Most of the additional items were probably purchased by Profe for his own private collection, especially those volumes dating from the 1620s to the late 1640s.⁹¹ Sartorius, who studied at the University of Leipzig, returned to his native Breslau only in the mid-1640s, where he is recorded as a *Praeceptor* at the Elisabeth-Gymnasium in 1646 and later as a teacher there.⁹² It is therefore almost certain that it was Profe who purchased the Wrocław exemplar of Monteverdi’s *Selva morale*, and it is certain that he published two items from its contents—the motet *Laudate Dominum in sanctis eius* and the *Pianto della Madonna*—together with a contrafactum of the madrigal *Voi ch’ascoltate in rime sparse (Haec dicit Deus tuos)* in his *Dritter Theil geistlicher Concerten und Harmonien* (Leipzig, 1642).⁹³ However, the manuscript cues and other fully written-out directions that are found in the Wrocław exemplar are not in Profe’s hand, but in the distinctive script of Daniel Sartorius, and Sartorius may also have been responsible for the many other additions and alterations in the volume, such as fermatas, pitch changes, and erasures.⁹⁴ Alterations and insertions (mainly added accidentals and fermatas) are found in all the items of the *Selva* except the *Credo* substitutes, the hymns *Sanctorum meritis* 1 and 2 and *Deus tuorum militum* a 3, and the motet *Laudate Dominum in sanctis eius*. The *Selva*, incidentally, is not the only richly annotated copy of Monteverdi’s music held by the Wrocław University Library: the Wrocław exemplar of the posthumous *Messa et Salmi* (1650) is equally interesting in this respect.⁹⁵

Although no attempt has been made here to list all the musical variants between the exemplars, some initial observations about the relationships between them can be made. First, and most important, there is no unambiguous evidence that any of the additions or alterations to the surviving exemplars were made in Magni’s workshop; indeed, it is not clear how thoroughly the partbooks were proof-read there. With music printed in parts, presumably from

⁸⁹ See Tomasz Jez, ‘La Biblioteca Rhedigeriana di Wrocław (Breslavia): Una collezione unica delle stampe italiane del primo Seicento’, in Alberto Colzani, Andrea Luppi, and Maurizio Padoan (eds.), *Barocco Padano, 7: Atti del XV Convegno internazionale sulla musica italiana nei secoli XVII–XVIII. Milano, 14–16 luglio 2009* (Como, 2012), 377–98 at 381; also available online at <http://uw.academia.edu/tomaszjez> (accessed 26 June 2014).

⁹⁰ Confusingly, the volumes originally belonging to Rhediger, and the additions to the collection made after his death are all stamped as belonging to the Rhediger collection.

⁹¹ See Jez, ‘La Biblioteca Rhedigeriana’, 381–4; see also Barbara Wiermann, ‘Die Musikaliensammlungen und Musikpflege im Umkreis der St. Elisabethkirche Breslau: Kirchliches und bürgerliches Musikleben im Kontrast’, *Schutz Jahrbuch*, 30 (2008), 93–109 at 100–3.

⁹² Wiermann, ‘Die Musikaliensammlungen und Musikpflege’, 100–1.

⁹³ Between 1641 and 1649 Profe published a total of four volumes containing contrafacta of Monteverdi’s late secular music—from madrigal books VII and VIII and the *Scherzi musicali* of 1632, as well as the music from the *Selva morale* listed here; see Kristin Sponheim, ‘The Anthologies of Ambrosius Profe (1589–1661) and the Transmission of Italian Music in Germany’ (Ph.D. thesis, Yale University, 1995), 217–18.

⁹⁴ I am greatly indebted to Dr Tomasz Jez and to Prof. Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska for this information, and to Dr Jez for providing me with samples of the handwriting of Ambrosius Profe and Daniel Sartorius (respectively from Berlin, Staatsbibliothek MSS mus. Bohn 197 and mus. Bohn 181, both manuscripts formerly in the possession of the Stadtbibliothek zu Breslau (Wrocław)).

⁹⁵ See Claudio Monteverdi, *Messa a 4 voci e Salmi (1650)*, ed. Mariella Sala (Claudio Monteverdi: Opera Omnia, 18; Instituta et Monumenta, Series I, Monumenta, 5; Cremona, 1995), 14–15.

Stichvorlagen presented in that form, any corrector would have been reading for printers' errors only and would probably not have noticed any error in the *Stichvorlage* itself. A case in point is found at sig. B11^v in the Soprano 1 and Soprano 2 books, where the phrase 'dentibus, dentibus suis' in the first *Beatus vir* setting is printed as though both parts were singing in unison (see b. 210 in Stevens's edition⁹⁶). This remains unaltered in all the exemplars except those in Brussels, where the first pitch in the Soprano 1 book is changed by a handwritten direct to the pitch a third below, with a double line below the stave and the word 'fallo' (error) written above it (Pl. 7), and Vienna, in which the phrase is corrected in the Soprano 2 part using lines extending from the noteheads, corrections of a kind that can also be seen in Pl. 9 below, stave 8. Was this a printer's error simply missed by a proofreader, or was it present in the manuscript part delivered by Monteverdi or someone working on his behalf?

There are some instances where there appear at first sight to be stop-press corrections in the Wrocław exemplar. On closer inspection, however, it is clear that these corrections have been made in this exemplar by excising mensuration signs, notes, and barlines in the original and carefully writing corrections in by hand, so that they appear to be part of the original print. We can see this most obviously on sig. B16^v of the Alto e Basso 2 part of Magnificat I (see Pl. 5 above). Here the gap in the notation near the beginning of the second stave has been produced by excising three notes; there is no respacing of the stave as a whole, as we might expect of a stop-press correction. No change of any kind has been made in the other exemplars.⁹⁷

Another such alteration in the Wrocław exemplar, though more difficult to spot at first sight, has been made on sig. B1^r of the Tenore 1 part of *Dixit Dominus primo*: see Pl. 8, stave 6, fourth note. Here the pitch has been altered from *a* to *f*[♯] by excising the original pitch and re-drawing the note so that it appears at first sight to be part of the original type; the other exemplars retain the pitch *a*. The 'correction' here has been made in error (see b. 74, symbol 4 of the Stevens edition⁹⁸), producing a clash between *f*[♯] in Tenore 1 and *f*[♯] in Alto 1. It seems to have been produced by the corrector's attempting to retain a consistent motivic shape in the Tenore 1 line. In the same bar, and for the same reason, he or some other corrector altered symbol 4 of the Alto 1 part from *d*' to *c*', using lines extending from the notehead to indicate the lowering of pitch. This produces a result that is more consistent with the F major harmony of the other parts than the original.

Many of the manuscript alterations in the Wrocław exemplar could have been produced by the corrector simply reading through individual parts, adding fermatas to indicate phrase endings, making phrase shapes consistent, and adding accidentals. These accidentals occasionally cause other clashes, as in bar 86 of *Dixit Dominus primo*,⁹⁹ where a ficta *g*[♯] in Soprano 2 (b. 86, symbol 2) would conflict with an unavoidable *g*[♯] in Soprano 1 (b. 86, symbol 3). And, although the process of making phrase shapes consistent produces the clash described earlier, elsewhere in *Dixit Dominus primo* it produces convincing readings (for example, Basso continuo, b. 46, symbol 2 (*B* changed to *A*); Alto 2, b. 76, symbol 3 (*b* changed to *a*) and b. 77, symbol 2 (*c*' changed to *b*); Soprano 1, b. 85, symbol 3 (*f*[♯] changed to *e*'). These changes could have been made without reference to the other parts, but the correction shown in Pl. 5, stave 2, could not have been made without some awareness of the other parts at this point unless the corrector simply compared it with the Bass viola part on the opposite page of the opening; nor could the change in *Dixit Dominus primo* at sig. B2^v of the Alto 2 part (Pl. 9, stave 8; Stevens edition, b. 162, symbol 6 to b. 163, symbol 1),¹⁰⁰ where a cadence is

⁹⁶ Monteverdi, *Selva morale e spirituale*, ed. Stevens, 596. In his commentary, Stevens remarks of the phrase in Soprano 2 'all notes a third too low', which is incorrect: both parts in the Bologna exemplar, from which Stevens's edition was prepared, have the same pitches, and this is reflected in Stevens's edition of this bar.

⁹⁷ In his edition of the Magnificat (ibid. 798–9, bb. 8–14), Stevens regarded the initial breve rest as redundant, rather than the three notes erased in the Wrocław exemplar.

⁹⁸ Ibid. 382.

⁹⁹ Ibid. 386.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. 404–5.

fallo

23

sum irascetur irascetur dentibus dentibus

suis fre met & tabel cet

desiderium pecca torum desiderium pecca-

rorum peribit pe ribit Beatus

vir qui timet Dominum Gloria patri gloria &

spiritui sancto gloria & nunc & semper

gloria gloria gloria gloria gloria gloria

gloria gloria gloria & in secula seculorum

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PL. 7. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, shelfmark Fétis 1.733 A (RP); Soprano primo partbook, sig. B11^v.

produced by changing two consecutive pitches from $d'-c'$ to $c\sharp-d'$; nor could changing the first pitch of bar 279 in Alto 2 from f' to g' and the first two pitches of the following bar from f' to e' .¹⁰¹

The introduction of new errors in the Wrocław exemplar raises the question of whether the changes made (probably by Daniel Sartorius) were actually tested in performance, or whether for Sartorius the correction of books in his charge was essentially a scholarly exercise.

All these are examples of alterations found in one exemplar only. There are, however, instances of the same alteration being made to several exemplars. There is a case in *Dixit Dominus primo*. Here, in the Soprano 1, Alto 2, Basso 1, and Violino 1 parts the printer changed to a signature of C at the beginning of Stevens's bar 65,¹⁰² and printed two semibreves for the word 'meo', while in the Soprano 2, Alto 1, Tenore 1, Tenore 2, Basso 2, Violino 2, and Basso continuo books he left the same notes in the prevailing triple and changed to C only at the beginning of Stevens's bar 66 (see Pl. 8, stave 5).¹⁰³ This inconsistency, presumably derived from the *Stichvorlagen* (not least because the two different versions are printed on the same opening in the Alto 2/Basso 2 partbook), is dealt with in different ways in the various exemplars. The version in the Soprano 1 group of parts goes unchanged in the Mdina and Vienna exemplars. In the Bologna exemplar the signature C is replaced with a semibreve, which is tied to the semibreve following and a C signature added before the word 'sede'. A similar procedure is followed in the Wrocław exemplar, but the excised signature C is replaced by a breve. There is no correction in the Soprano 1 part of the Brussels exemplar, but the point at which the inconsistency occurs in Alto 2 is marked with a cross (there are no Basso 1 or Violino 1 parts in this exemplar).

This raises an interesting point about the manuscript markings in the Brussels exemplar. They seem to relate to errors found in performance, and since there is no indication of missing parts, must relate to performances at a period at which the exemplar was complete. Although some alterations are made in this exemplar (not all of them accurate), many points at which (or close to which) an error occurs are simply marked with a cross or with a double line above or below the stave, or with the word 'fallo', without any correction being suggested. Was the corrector checking one part against another and simply marking in points that appeared to be inconsistent; or is it possible that some at least of the markings may have been made by performers as they tried out a piece and detected an error that was subsequently checked? It could be argued, for example, that the markings in Pl. 7, stave 1 represent an initial notice of an error (the double line), which was confirmed as an error ('fallo') and corrected (the direct). Against this theory, however, needs to be set the fact that double lines also appear in the instrumental parts—Violino 2 of *Beatus vir primo*, for example, and in the Basso continuo parts of *Confitebor terzo* and *Beatus vir primo*; it would presumably be rather more difficult for instrumentalists to wield a pen while playing.

We can conclude with just two further examples. First, in Magnificat I—one of the most faulty of the works in the *Selva*—notes or rests are missing from the Tenor 2 part at bars 45–6.¹⁰⁴ The Brussels exemplar is marked 'fallo' at this point, without a correction, while the corrector of Wrocław inserts rests. Second, at bar 36 in Alto and Tenor 1, a bar that should simply repeat the notes of the preceding bar is omitted.¹⁰⁵ In the Alto 1 and Tenor 1 books of the Brussels exemplar, crosses have been written above the notes that follow the first statement of 'spiritus' (b. 35 in Stevens's edition)—i.e. just where the error would be perceived in performance: in the Wrocław books at the same point, the notes setting 'spiritus' for the first time are bracketed off and the word 'repetatur' written above them in Daniel Sartorius's hand. A similar repeat marking in his hand appears in the first *Beatus vir* setting beneath the

¹⁰¹ Ibid. 430–1.

¹⁰² Ibid. 381.

¹⁰³ Paradoxically, the other version can be seen in stave 2, where it goes unchanged in all exemplars.

¹⁰⁴ Monteverdi, *Selva morale*, ed. Stevens, 806.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. 804.

Tutti

Virgam virtutis tue emittet dominus ex

fion emittet emittet dominare dominare in medi

o inimicorum in medio inimicorum in medi-

o inimicorum in medio inimicorum tuorum

A 4 Tecum principium in die virtutis tue

in splendoribus sanctorum ex vtero

ante luciferum genui te ante lucife-

rum ij ij genui te

PL. 9. Wrocław exemplar: Alto e Basso secondo partbook, sig. B2^v

phrase 'gloria, gloria' and its preceding rests in Soprano 2 (b. 243 in Stevens's edition).¹⁰⁶ This provides a useful corrective to believing that the repeat marks inserted in the Vienna exemplar at the same point derive from the printer's workshop. In fact, in only four of the works in the *Selva morale* are alterations found in three or more of the surviving exemplars, and in none is a manuscript alteration in one or more copies associated with stop-press corrections in the others. In fact, I have found no unambiguous evidence of stop-press corrections in the *Selva morale*.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. 601.