

PERFORMANCE PRACTICE ISSUES:
STYLISTIC FEATURES AND HISTORICAL CONTEXTS

REALISING ARIANNA:
THE PROBLEMATIC ACCOMPANIMENTS OF
CLAUDIO MONTEVERDI'S *LAMENTO D'ARIANNA*

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IN ITALY DURING THE FIRST HALF of the seventeenth century, there were two concurrent but seemingly ambivalent approaches to vocal accompaniment: (1) adding elaborate and contrapuntally conceived lines over a bassline and (2) providing a 'vertically' worked-out, harmonic framework based upon a bass¹. The surviving notational type of a work — either in tablature/scores or in basso continuo format — itself does not necessarily tell us which type of approach originally expected of the work. We usually consider the compositional function to be the main factor to determine those matters²: the former type with its 'learned' contrapuntal nature for serious and sacred repertoire; the latter for what Agostino Agazzari — one of the most important early theorists of basso continuo — called «stile moderno di cantar recitativo»³.

This article aims to cast new light on the dangers of accepting such a simplistic division, by exploring the changing practices of accompaniment for the repertoire defined as 'stile rappresentativo' in seventeenth-century Italy, with Claudio Monteverdi's 'Lamento d'Arianna' as a central case study. That lament is the only portion surviving from Claudio Monteverdi's opera *L'Arianna* premiered in 1608. It is also now one of the most well-known compositions

¹. My thanks to the lute/theorbo players Yoshio Takayanagi and Tomoko Koide for sharing with me their practical knowledge, the performance techniques of, and notational conventions for, those instruments. Library sigla in this article are those assigned by RISM. Translations of Italian texts are my own unless stated otherwise.

See, for example, JOHNSTON 1998 and BELLOTTI 2018.

². JOHNSTON 1998, p. 53.

³. AGAZZARI 1607, p. 11.

by the composer, and we are familiar with its modern performances accompanied by the ‘basso continuo’, usually executed simply by a theorbo, chitarrone or the like as is advocated by Agazzari. However, my investigation of performance traditions relevant to the work will strongly suggest that the accompaniment of Arianna’s lament seems to have subtly metamorphosed as it followed the developmental history of *stile rappresentativo* during the first thirty years or so of its life. It will soon become clear that the accompaniment of Arianna’s lament that we often hear today, which is clearly founded on chordal harmonies, reflects not so much Monteverdi’s ‘original’ conception, but a later type of practice — a practice which eventually found its way into mid-century Venetian public opera. As these arguments will problematise not only our contemporary view but also customary editing methodologies for early music (selecting the ‘best’ source and producing a faithful modern version of it), I will examine briefly the history of modern editions of Arianna’s lament. Through these investigations, I will seek a new approach to ‘realising’ Arianna.

‘ARIANNA’S LAMENT’: ITS ORIGINS AND SOURCES

As is well known, Claudio Monteverdi’s opera *L’Arianna* on a libretto by Ottavio Rinuccini was premiered in the Palazzo Ducale, Mantua on 28 May 1608 as part of the wedding celebrations for Francesco Gonzaga and Margherita of Savoy⁴. The title role was assigned to Virginia Andreini, after the sudden demise of the originally intended singer, Caterina Martinelli. Virginia was the leading actress of the commedia dell’arte company ‘I fedeli’, headed by Giovanni Battista Andreini, Virginia’s husband⁵, and it may even have been her renowned histrionic skills that prompted Monteverdi to write the lament in the way it is⁶. Surely, it was her performance of the lament at the climax of the drama⁷ that brought a triumphant success to the entire evening. The Mantuan chronicler, Federico Fellino who attended the premiere famously reported that:

The lament, which Arianna proclaimed on a rock after being abandoned by Teseo, was performed with so much affect and with such piteous display that there

⁴. For a detailed account of the context and the production of *L’Arianna*, see BURATELLI 1999, pp. 44-49 and CARTER 2002, pp. 202-211.

⁵. For Virginia Andreini, see WILBOURNE 2016, esp. pp. 54-71.

⁶. CARTER 1999.

⁷. Arianna’s lament occurs in the sixth scene out of a total of eight in the opera. Among the eight surviving printed libretti of *L’Arianna* (see TABLE 1) only the Croatian publication gives act/scene divisions but the scenes are in a slightly different order from the original. See BUJIĆ 1999, p. 82.

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was no single listener whose heart was not softened, nor was there a lady, who did not pour fourth small tears in response to Arianna's beautiful plaint⁸.

Monteverdi must have felt attached to this music and he continued to revise it. He published a five-voice madrigal version in his *Sesto libro dei madrigali* in 1614 and a Latin contrafactum, 'Lamento della Madonna' in his *Selva Morale* in 1641⁹. The whole opera in a revised version appeared in 1640 for the inauguration of the refurbished Teatro San Moisè in Venice¹⁰. By 1650, Arianna's lament became so popular that, as Severo Bonino wrote in his manuscript treatise *Discorsi e regole*, «there was no household that had a harpsichord or theorbo [...] which did not have a copy of Arianna's lament»¹¹. In addition, there are altogether eight printed libretti of *L'Arianna* surviving, including a Croatian translation¹².

Reflecting such popularity, several sources and versions of the music of the lament have come down to us from the seventeenth century (TABLE 1)¹³: four manuscript sources and two printed sources of the solo version; one printed source of the five-part madrigal version (1614)¹⁴; and one print and two manuscripts of the *contrafactum* 'Lamento della Madonna'.

TABLE 1: 'LAMENTO D'ARIANNA' SOURCES

LIBRETTO

FOLLINO 1608, pp. 31-65: 54-57.

L'Arianna, tragedia di Sig. Ottavio Rinuccini, Mantua, Heredi di Francesco Osanna, 1608

L'Arianna tragedia del Sig. Ottavio Rinuccini, Florence, Giunti, 1608

L'Arianna tragedia del Sig. Ottavio Rinuccini, Venice, Ghirardo et Iseppo Imberti, 1622

GUNDULIĆ, G. F. *Ariadna*, Ancona, M. Salvioni, 1633. (in Croatian)

L'Arianna tragedia del Sig. Ottavio Rinuccini, Venice, Angelo Salvadori, 1639

L'Arianna del Sig. Ottavio Rinuccini, Venice, Bariletti, 1640

HR-Dsmbb, MS 254, Gundulić, *Ariadna* (in Croatian)

⁸. FOLLINO 1608, p. 30: «[...] nel lamento, che fece Arianna sopra lo scoglio, abbandonata da Teseo, il quale fù rappresentato con tanto affetto, e con sì pietosi modi, che non si trovò ascoltante alcuno, che non s'intenerisse, né fù pur una Dama, che non versasse qualche lagrimetta al suo bel pianto».

⁹. There is some ambiguity concerning the publication date of *Selva morale* indicated by two conflicting title pages in a single copy in Bologna. See WHENHAM 2014.

¹⁰. See FABBRI 1994, p. 250.

¹¹. I-Fr, MS 2218, 87^v: «Tra forestieri il primo fù il Signor Claudio Monteverdi il quale arricchì questo stile di peregrini vezzi e nuovi pensieri nella Favola intitolata Arianna. Opera del Signor Ottavio Rinuccini gentilomo di Firenze fù tanto gradita, che non è stata Casa, la quale havendo cimbali, o Tiorbe in Casa, non avesse il lamento di quella». The translation is from: BONINO 1979, p. 151.

¹². BUJIĆ 1999.

¹³. See GODT – SANGUINETTI 1994, which examines the eighteenth-century copy by Charles Burney as well, although it does not mention Source BU.

¹⁴. Monteverdi's sixth book of madrigals produced three reprints: by Ricciardo Amadino in 1615, by Bartolomeo Magni for Gardano in 1620 (both in Venice), and by Pierre Phalèse, Antwerp in 1639.

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MUSIC

Abbreviation	Details	Corresponding Text ¹	Basso continuo figuration	Notes
FN	Manuscript I-Fn: Banco Rari 238 (Magliabechiano XIX.114), [pp. 18-35]		Inflection symbols (sharps/ flats) only but frequent	Once believed to be Monteverdi's autograph. Maybe related to the copy seen by Da Gagliano in Florence in July 1608 (?)
VC	Manuscript. I-Vc: Torre Franca MS. A 132, ff. 66v-70v	1-5	None given	Copied by Francesco Maria Fucci. Embellished with marginalia
MOE	Manuscript I-Moe: Mus. G. 239, [pp. 1-9]	1-5	None given	Copied by Pietro Bertacchi in the mid-17 th century (?). Bassline significantly different from others, suggesting more elaborate continuo playing for theorbo
GB	Manuscript GB-Lbl: Add. 30491, ff. 39r-41v	1-9	None given	Copied by/for Luigi Rossi around the 1620s (?). No copying relation to FN. Bassline very similar to MG
SESTO	Print C. Monteverdi, <i>Il sesto libro de madrigali a 5 voci</i> (Venice, Ricciardo Amadino, 1614), Canto: pp. 1-5	1-4	Occasional inflection symbols (in: Partbook 'Basso Continuo per concertare')	The bassline quite different from any of the solo versions, corresponding to the lowest notes of the madrigal
MG	Print C. Monteverdi, <i>Lamento d'Arianna [...]</i> et con due lettere amorose in genere rappresentativo (Venice, B. Magni, 1623), pp. [0]-9	1-5	Inflection symbols only but frequent	Many errors due to seemingly hasty publication, perhaps to compete with unauthorised MF (?)
MF	Print G. B. Rocchigiani, <i>Il Maggio fiorito, Arie Sonetti, e Madrigali, à 1. 2. 3. de diversi autori [...]</i> (Orvieto, M. A. Fei and R. Ruuli, 1623), pp. 4-8	1-5	No bass surviving	Solo 'Arianna' but in a collection of music (1v. - 3vv.) in partbook format. Only C1 & C2 partbooks surviving at I-Bc
SM	Print C. Monteverdi, <i>Selva morale spirituale</i> (Venice, B. Magni, 1641), Canto: pp. 56-60	N/A	Occasional inflection symbols	<i>Contrafactum</i> , 'Iam moriar mi filli' = 'Pianto della Madonna sopra il Lamento d'Arianna'. The only source for a solo version clearly associated with the composer

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BU	Manuscript I-Bu, 646.vl., cc. 42v-47r	N/A	Occasionally figured	'Lamento della Maddalena, sopra quel d'Ariadne con nuova aggiunta di C.C'. Musical/textual additions to form a quasi cantata, based upon MF or VC (?)
BC	Manuscript. I-Bc, Q, 43, ff: 80r - 84v	N/A	None given	<i>Contrafactum</i> 'Lamento della Madalena' [<i>sic</i>]. Found in a collection of religious music, copied during the 1640s in Rome. Some similarities with GB

. In the libretto, the text for Arianna's lament consists of nine sections interspersed either by the chorus of fishermen or the reflections by Dorilla: Part 1: 'Lasciatemi morire...'; 2: 'O Teseo, o Teseo mio...'; 3: 'Dove, dove è la fede...'; 4: 'Ahi, che non pur risponde...'; 5: 'Misera, ancor do loco...'; 6 'Nacqui Regina, e ne l'antica Creta...'; 7: 'Vivo, moro, o vaneggio?...'; 8: 'Ma che sian di Teseo chi m'assicura?...; and 9: 'Io son, io son contenta...'

Identifying the most authoritative source for the solo version is difficult, even when we readily cast aside the complicated gestational relation with the madrigal and other versions. In fact, the five-part version, although originating with Monteverdi, nonetheless is an 'arrangement', and BU and BC which are manuscript sources, each containing a related composition called 'Lamento della Maddalena sopra quel d'Arianna' seem to have been created after the composer's demise. This is because: 1) no score manuscript or otherwise seems to be linked directly with the composer or the premiere, and 2) so many discrepancies textual as well as musical (particularly those concerning the rhythms of the vocal melody; see Ex. 1, p. 8) suggest that not one but several exemplars existed during Monteverdi's lifetime and their copying relationships are unclear. Furthermore, neither of the printed sources (MG and MF, both published in 1623) seems to have been created under the composer's supervision: MF does not even bear Monteverdi's name and MG, although it has the composer's name on the titlepage, contains numerous obvious errors and lacks a dedicatory preface which might have explained the publication context¹⁵. Somewhat ironically, among the solo-version sources, the only one linked clearly to the composer is SM, the *contrafactum* 'Pianto della Madonna, *Iam moriar, mī fili*'.

It has been the custom to consider the Florentine source (FN) to have the highest authority — the librarian Giunio Carbone (1805-1881), when he codified the catalogue Magliabechiano collection where FN belongs, believed it to be «Monteverde musica autografa»¹⁶. However, that was proven to be erroneous by Emil Vogel towards the end of the nineteenth century¹⁷.

¹⁵. For a detailed discussion of those errors in Source MG, see WESTRUP 1940.

¹⁶. CARBONE s.a., p. 30.

¹⁷. VOGEL 1887, p. 352.

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Ex. 1: Discrepancies among the sources.

FN E che vo - le - te voi___ che mi con - sor - te In co-si du - ra sor-te, In co-si gran mar - ti - re?

VC

MOE

GB

SESTO

MG

MF

SM

BU

BC

The importance of FN is based upon its provenance in Florence and we have two reasons to believe that copies of the *Arianna* music reached that city shortly after the premiere. First, on 1 July 1608 (several weeks after the premiere of *L'Arianna* in May that year) Marco da

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Gagliano wrote a letter from Florence to Ferdinando Gonzaga then in Rome, reporting that a copy of Arianna's lament, which Ferdinando had requested, was still in his Florentine lodging owing to a courier problem¹⁸. Second, at the end of 1613, Francesco de' Medici (a brother of Gran Duke Cosimo II) wrote to Ferdinando Gonzaga, requesting a copy of *L'Arianna* hoping to revive the opera in Florence in 1614. The copy arrived in Florence by 26 December of that year¹⁹. From the extremely prompt manner in which Mantua granted Francesco's request, we deduce that Mantua must have sent to Florence the original and unique copy of *L'Arianna* made for the Mantuan premiere. This is attested by Monteverdi's letters to the Mantuan court in March 1620, while the maestro in Venice was arranging a new copy of *L'Arianna* to be made for a planned but never materialised revival of that work in Mantua²⁰. Either of those copies, which reached Florence, could have been the basis for FN — the elaborate finishing of that manuscript volume with gilt edges and silk-ribbon closure implies that its original owner was a lady in high status, most probably one of the Medici princesses²¹.

ARIANNA AND ITS ORIGINAL 'CONSORT OF VIOLS' ACCOMPANIMENT

All the sources — except for MF (the Orvieto print from 1623) for which no bassline is surviving — gives us the basslines and only some bear inflection symbols for the thirds (either sharps or flats to clarify major or minor triads, see TABLE 1), while others contain no symbols or figures. Nowadays, when we accompany Arianna's lament on a theorbo, chitarrone or the like, we follow the inflection symbols given in FN (the Florentine manuscript) and/or MG (the Venice print from 1623) — the only solo sources give such guidance. Nonetheless, the indicated harmonies are very simple, using only flats/sharps to clarify major or minor triads. In practice, it is left to each player's discretion how to deal with the dissonances between the canto and bass parts as well as the inner voice leading within the accompaniment. Such accompaniment practices on a plucked instrument also conform to Caccini's ideal:

[The Chitarrone] is more suitable for accompanying the voice, especially the tenor voice, than any other. For the rest, I leave to the decision of the more expert the repetition in the bass of those notes that may have greater significance or that will be a better accompaniment for the solo voice — not being able, so far as I know, to write it out more clearly except in tablature²².

¹⁸. «Mi dispiace che per questo ordinario non resti servita delle Musiche che desidera, ciò procede che il corriero non mi da tempo. Il lamento d'Arianna rimase in camera di V.S.Ill^{ma}»: VOGEL 1889, p. 552, Appendix, Document 7.

¹⁹. SOLERTI 1903, vol. I, pp. 116-117, esp. n. 5.

²⁰. See STEVENS 1995, pp. 195-201 and 205-210; and LAX 1994, pp. 50-57.

²¹. VOGEL 1887, p. 352.

²². CACCINI 1602, p. [xiii] «essendo quello strumento [il Chitarrone] più atto ad accompagnare la voce, e particolarmente quella del Tenore, che qualunque altro; lasciando nel rimanente in arbitrio di chi più intende, il

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Interestingly, however, Arianna's lament was not accompanied by such an instrument in the basso continuo manner at its premiere. Annibale Roncaglia, the Estense ambassador in Mantua, reported to Alfonso III d'Este on 29 May 1608:

Better than any was Arianna, [played by] the comedy actor, in the fable of Arianna and Teseo, because in her lament set to music accompanied by *viole et violini*, her misfortune made many weep; there also was the musician, Raso [Francesco Rasi], who sang divinely, but Arianna's role exceeded his, and the castrati and the others seemed nothing²³.

Identifying exactly what those «viole et violini» meant deserves some clarification as there was terminological ambiguity at that time: the term «viola» could refer to any stringed instrument of various size and bowed as well as plucked²⁴. But as we will see shortly, there is a strong reason to believe that such instruments playing together formed what the Italians at that time — Giulio Caccini and Vincenzo Giustiniani among others — called a «conserto delle viole», a consort of viols. And if such an ensemble took on the role of accompaniment for Arianna's lament, the method, sonority, texture and effect must have been clearly different from what we expect from our current practices of basso continuo.

The viol was an instrument of great significance to Monteverdi. He was originally employed by Vincenzo Gonzaga as a viol player, as the dedication of his third book of madrigals tells us: «that day, Most Serene Prince, when to my rare good fortune, I came to serve Your highness [...] with the most noble practice of the viol, which opened the fortunate gate of your service»²⁵. But its importance here goes beyond his own mastery of that instrument. In December 1616, when Monteverdi was asked for his opinion on the opera libretto *Le nozze di Tetide*, a work planned for the forthcoming wedding festivities for Ferdinando Gonzaga, he said: «*Arianna* led me to a fitting lament, and *Orfeo* to an appropriate prayer, but this fable leads me I don't know to what end»²⁶. Interestingly, the pieces the composer mentioned here — Arianna's

ripercuotere con il Basso quelle corde, che possono essere il migliore intendimento loro, o che più accompagneranno la parte che canta sola, non si potendo fuori della 'ntavolature, per quanto io conosco, descriverlo con più facilità». The translation is from HITCHCOCK 1970, p. 56.

²³ I-MOs, MS *Ambasciatori: Mantova*, b. 8, fasc. 53, c. 3r-4v: «[...] ma meglio di tutti Arianna comediante: et fu la favola d'Arianna et Theseo, ché nel suo lamento in musica accompagnato da viole et violini fece piangere molti la sua disgrazia; v'era un Raso, musico, che cantò divinamente; ma passò la parte Arianna, et gl'eunuchi et altri parvero niente». Also see SOLERTI 1903, vol. I, p. 99.

²⁴ HOFFMANN 2018, pp. 4-7.

²⁵ MONTEVERDI 1592, [p. 2] «Da quel dì, serenissimo principe, che per mia rara ventura io venni a servire l'A.V. [...] col nobilissimo essercitio della viuola che m'aperse la fortunata porta del suo servitio [...]». The translation is from: FABBRI 1994, p. 22.

²⁶ LAX 1994, p. 49: «[...] l'*Arianna* mi porta ad un giusto lamento e l'*Orfeo* ad una giusta preghiera; ma questa — non so qual fine [...]». The English translation is from STEVENS 1995, p. 110.

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lament (at least in its original manner) and Orfeo's prayer ('Sol tu, nobile Dio' from Act III) — were both supported by a consort of viols²⁷. Probably, what Monteverdi is highlighting here is not his personal preference for the viol, but his participation in a burgeoning and expressive tradition — the practice of *stile rappresentativo* using a viol consort.

VIOL CONSORTS AND *STILE RAPPRESENTATIVO*

According to the available evidence, the *Stile rappresentativo* originated with the Camerata in Florence²⁸, and there is good reason to believe that its association with viol-consort accompaniment was established there too as we shall see. Piero de' Bardi — son of the founder of Camerata — wrote a letter to Giovanni Battista Doni on 16 December 1634, reporting:

[Vincenzo Galilei] was the first to demonstrate singing in *stile rappresentativo*. In that difficult endeavour, which was considered almost ridiculous, he was encouraged and aided chiefly by my father and he exhausted himself for entire nights and with much expense for this noble acquisition. And the aforementioned Vincenzo gratefully acknowledged my father in his book on ancient and modern music. So then, he performed the lament of Count Ugolino by Dante, singing intelligibly with a beautiful tenor voice to a consort of viols precisely played. Such innovation, although it generated envy among the majority of professors in music, was accepted favourably by them, who were true lovers of music. Galilei, pursuing this wonderful undertaking, composed a part of the Lamentations and Responses of Holy Week, sung in the same manner in devout company²⁹.

The lament of Count Ugolino mentioned here was apparently a musical setting of the lines from Canto xxxiii of Dante Alighieri's *Inferno*, starting «Tu vuo' ch'io rinovelli | disperato dolor che 'l cor mi preme»³⁰.

²⁷. For a detailed account on Monteverdi's criticism of the *Tetide* libretto and his relations with Mantua after his dismissal from the Gonzaga court, see CARTER 2011.

²⁸. See, for example: PALISCA 1989.

²⁹. BANDINI 1755, s. 118: «[...] Perciò fu egli [Vincenzo Galilei] il primo a far sentire il canto in istile rappresentativo: preso animo e aiutato per istrada sì aspra, e stimata quasi cosa ridicolosa, da mio Padre principalmente, il quale le notti intere, e con molta sua spesa si affaticò per sì nobile acquisto; siccome detto Vincenzio grato a mio padre ne mostrò segno nel detto suo Libro della Musica antica e moderna. Egli dunque sopra un corpo di Viole esattamente suonate, cantando un tenore di buona voce, e intelligibile, fece sentire il lamento del Conte Ugolino di Dante. Tal novità, siccome generò invidia in gran parte ne' Professori di Musica, così piacque a coloro ch'eran veri amatori di essa. Il Galileo seguitando sì bella impresa, compose parte della Lamentazioni, e Responsi della Settimana Santa, cantate, nella stessa maniera, in devota compagnia». This letter is a basis for Doni's observation on the origins of «il cantare in Scena» (see DONI 1763, vol. II, p. 23).

³⁰. DANTE 1595, pp. 159-164.

Although no scores of those settings by Galilei have come down to us³¹, there is a source which perhaps can assist our speculations — a copy of Galilei's treatise *Fronimo* in 1568, which is currently in the possession of the Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze (I-Fn)³². The blank sheets of that particular copy bear handwritten music either in lute tablature or in mensural notation. Most of the pieces are arrangements by Galilei of pre-existing polyphonic vocal pieces, but now for solo singing with lute accompaniment. All the pages except for two (the lute part of 'Vestiva i colli') are in his autograph³³. Ex. 2 (p. 13) is my transcription of that piece 'Vestiva i colli', originally Palestrina's madrigal, now arranged for a solo singing line and a lute. It shows that Galilei gave the singer the bass part of the original polyphonic setting, while the accompaniment carries the remaining parts. Galilei believed that «the bass voice was the one that gave a contrapuntal composition its "air"»³⁴. Most probably, Galilei's 'Lament of Count Ugolino', which Bardi mentioned, was performed in a similar manner: he probably sang the bass part of a fundamentally polyphonic setting, and viols took the remaining parts³⁵.

After Galilei, another similar example can be found in Piero Strozzi's composition 'Fuor dall'humido nido'³⁶. This was a piece allotted to the personification of Night as sung by Giulio Caccini for the nuptial celebrations of Francesco Medici and Bianca Cappello on 14 October 1579³⁷. According to the official report of the event, Caccini, holding a viol, sang it in his *soavissimo* tenor voice accompanied by his and other viols³⁸. Three manuscript sources of that music have come down to us³⁹. Among them, the so-called Cavalcanti lute book (B-Br, MS II 275) is not only the earliest source but also contains the accompaniment part in lute tablature⁴⁰, while the remaining two preserve just the canto and bass lines. I have attempted to combine

³¹. For a discussion on Galilei's presentation of Dante through a poetic-metrical analysis, see ABRAMOV-VAN RIJK 2014, pp. 91-118.

³². Galilei left two copies of *Fronimo*, which he himself possessed — the I-Fn copy mentioned here and another in: I-Fr, F.III.10431 (which contains three-page handwritten music). For a discussion of those two copies, see PALISCA 1969, pp. 209-212.

³³. PALISCA 1969, pp. 211, 221.

³⁴. GALILEI 1581, p. 76: «[...] & che la parte grave sia veramente quella che dà l'aria (nel cantare in consonanza) alla Cantilena, osservate». Also see PALISCA 1969, p. 214 and CARTER 1993, pp. 129-131.

³⁵. PALISCA 1960, p. 345.

³⁶. PIRROTTA 1982, pp. 203-205.

³⁷. KIRKENDALE 1993, p. 123.

³⁸. GUALTEROTTI 1579, p. 25: «[...] svegliandosi la dormente Notte e prendendo in mano una viola la cominciò a sonare con tanta dolcezza, che tutti gli altri affetti de' circostanti furono superati dal piacere, ma più quando la cominciò con un soavissimo tenore a cantar sopra la sua, e molte altre viole, che nel carro erano rinchiusi, questi madrigali».

³⁹. B-Br, MS II 275, f. 61v; I-Fn, Magliabechiano XIX 66, p. 64; and B-Bc, Codex 704, pp. 165-166 (the last two are paginated). For the two sources in Brussels, see HILL 1983, pp. 194-195.

⁴⁰. For the Cavalcanti lute book, see COELHO 2003.

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Ex. 2: Vincenzo Galilei's arrangement of Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina's 'Vestiva i colli'.

The image displays a musical score for Vincenzo Galilei's arrangement of 'Vestiva i colli' by Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina. The score is presented in a system of three staves: a vocal line (bass clef) and two piano accompaniment staves (treble and bass clefs). The music is in common time (C). The lyrics are written below the vocal line. The score is divided into five systems, with measure numbers 10, 19, 28, and 36 indicated at the beginning of their respective systems. The lyrics are: 'Ve - sti - va i col - li et le cam - pagn' in - tor - no La pri - ma - ve - ra di no - vel - li fio - ri E spi - ra - va so - a - vi a - rab' o - do - ri, a - rab' o - do - ri, Cin - ta d'erb', e di fior il crin a - dor - - - no. no.'

10
col - li et le cam - pagn' in - tor - no La pri - ma - ve - ra di no - vel - li

19
fio - ri E spi - ra - va so - a - vi a - rab' o - do - ri, a -

28
rab' o - do - ri, Cin - ta d'erb', e di fior il

36
crin a - dor - - - no. no.

those three sources (Ex. 3, p. 14). Although the two 'basso continuo' sources show only minor discrepancies, the rhythmic and metrical incompatibility of the Cavalcanti source with those

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Ex. 3: Piero Strozzi, 'Fuor dell'humido nido'.

Notte

Fuor dell' hu - mi - do ni - do, U - sci - - ta con le mie pre - sa - ghe schie - ra Di -

Viols*

B-Bc source: ♩ without tie

B-Bc: B>G ♩ ♩

7

— fan - tas - mi, Di so - - gni, et di Chi - me - - re,

B-Bc: ♩

B-Bc: ♩

B-Bc: C-D-A-D-D ♩ ♩ ♩

11

La Not - te jo so - - no, [La Not - te jo so - - no.]

* I-Fn: B> A G F ♩ ♩ ♩

Viol parts are based upon the B-Br source but transposed (originally in B \flat) and with rhythms altered according to the B-Bc and I-Fn sources.

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(caused probably by the copyist Raffaello Cavalcanti's careless manner of the preparation of that manuscript) has made my work in need of some compromising manipulation. Nonetheless, Cavalcanti's tablature must have preserved (at least some truth of) the voice positioning of the original polyphonic setting of 'Fuor dall'humido nido', because it was a recommended practice at that time to make intabulations as faithful as possible to the original⁴¹. Thus, from that example, we can see the main melody (the singer's part) was constructed out of inner voices (mainly tenor) and bass lines, not placed as the 'superius' of the voices — a method Caccini describes as «sometimes the tenor and other times the bass part»⁴².

At about the same time in the late sixteenth century, Zarlino tells us that the soprano part, which was «the highest voice and the most penetrating to the ear»⁴³, was becoming the most important within the multi-voiced domain. Also, Caccini, after studying 'new music' with the Camerata, 'toured' in Rome where he sang the soprano parts of originally polyphonic madrigals to a single stringed instrument and gained great applause⁴⁴.

This, under the influence of the Roman tradition of villanella⁴⁵, eventually led to music becoming melody-dominated and with a «soprano-bass polarity»⁴⁶, which the Camerata considered to be the best texture with which to effect the emotions of the assembled audience. We should note that while such music may take on the appearance of what we now call 'monody', but it was still composed out of fundamentally 'multi-voiced' ideas⁴⁷. In fact, 'monody' understood at the end of the sixteenth century seems to have denoted not so much a compositional style denying polyphony as a particular performance manner, arising from a single person's representation of a particular scene or an emotional situation. Interestingly, as Abramov-van Rijk has indicated, such a definition of 'monody' conforms to the ideals of Jacopo Mazzone (1548-1598), who was a philosopher and defender of Dante as well as a friend of Galileo Galilei, Vincenzo's son⁴⁸. In his *Discorso in difesa della Comedia*, Mazzone divides Greek dramas into two types: those, which required many actors, and those represented by a single person, which the Greeks called 'monodic' — «da una sola persona recitata, chiamata da loro

⁴¹. For example, see BROWN 1971, p. 5.

⁴². CACCINI 1614, p. [iii]: «n'ho inserte, le quali tal' hora cantano in voce di tenore, e tal' hora di basso con passaggi più propri per amendue le parti [...]». For a good example of this writing, see No. 18, 'Io che l'età soleva viver nel fango' in that collection. For this manner of constructing a melody, see also: CANGUILHEM 2007, esp. pp. 38-42.

⁴³. ZARLINO 1558, p. 239 «[...] 'l soprano; come quello, che è più acuto d'ogn'altra parte, & più penetrativo all'Udito, farsi udire anco prima d'ogn'altra [...]». Also see CARTER 1993, p. 131.

⁴⁴. CACCINI [1602], pp. [iv-v].

⁴⁵. See, for example, PALISCA 1960.

⁴⁶. CARTER 1993, p. 132.

⁴⁷. CANGUILHEM 2007, p. 38.

⁴⁸. ABRAMOV-VAN RIJK 2014, pp. 38-42.

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Monodica»⁴⁹ — and in the ancient practices, monody was always applied to tears, laments and similar things: «ai pianti, ai lamenti e a cose simili»⁵⁰. There is a clear parallel between Mazzoni's definition and what Galilei presented through his lament of Count Ugolino.

Such 'lamenting monody' seems to have been associated with the sounds of viols in various, not unrelated traditions. By the sixteenth century, the lira da braccio had established its role to accompany solo singing in the 'recitar cantando' manner⁵¹ and in stage works a consort of viols was considered particularly suitable for imitating such string sounds when a solo singer addressed themes of lamentation, death, sleep and the like⁵². Marco da Gagliano in *Dafne* — his contribution to the 1608 Gonzaga celebrations — not only preceded Apollo's lament 'Non curi la mia pianta o fiamma o gelo' with short chordal passage of four viols, but also stipulated stage directions on how to 'deceive' the audience so as to take the sounds of those viols mimic those of the lyre which Apollo held as his stage prop⁵³.

RECONSTRUCTING THE ORIGINAL ARIANNA ACCOMPANIMENT

We know that Monteverdi had ample knowledge concerning the activities of the Camerata and their developing practices⁵⁴. With that in mind, our task now is to explore what the original, viol-consort accompaniment of Arianna's lament might have been like. To begin this process, it would be instructive to analyse the viol-consort accompaniment for Orfeo's prayer, 'Sol tu, nobile Dio' at the end of 'Possente spirito' (Act III), which seems to share in the tradition suggested by the first performance of Arianna's lament.

What the two published scores of *L'Orfeo* (MONTEVERDI 1609 and MONTEVERDI 1615) give for 'Sol tu nobile Dio' is a series of very simple sustained chords played by four-part viols⁵⁵: all but one in root position and carefully avoiding doubling the singer's vocal line (Ex. 4, p. 17). Some may argue that the viol players might have 'extemporised', taking those chords just as 'blueprint' since those players at that time were equipped with such skills⁵⁶. However,

⁴⁹. MAZZONI 1587, p. 241. In this sense, 'monodico' here is opposed to 'corale'.

⁵⁰. *Ibidem*, p. 271.

⁵¹. See, for example, CUMMINGS 1992, esp. p. 37 and WILSON 2019.

⁵². HOFFMANN 2012, p. 95.

⁵³. GAGLIANO 1608, pp. [v-vi].

⁵⁴. See, for example, PRYER 2007, pp. 12-14, where Monteverdi's indebtedness to, and manipulation of, Caccini's work is shown.

⁵⁵. STUBBS 1994 calls this «the earliest notated recitativo accompagnato» (p. 95).

⁵⁶. One piece of evidence is that Mazzocchi's «recitativo a voce sola & a 5», 'Oda, e stupisca il mondo'. Although it is accompanied by a consort of viols, it has come down to us in the 'basso continuo' notation. MAZZOCCHI 1640, pp. 29-31.

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Ex. 4: 'Sol tu, nobile Dio' from Monteverdi's *L'Orfeo*.

Orfeo

Sol tu, no - bi - le Dio, puoi dar - mi a - i - ta, Nè te mer dei, che so - pra un'

5, 5/3, 5/#, 5/#, 5/3, 5/3, 5/3, 5/3, 5/3

11

au - rea ce - tra Sol di cor - de so - a - vi ar - mo le di - ta

5, 3, 5/#, 5/3, 5/3, 5, 5/3, 5/3, 7, 5, 5/4, #, 5/3

19

Con - tra cui ri - gi - da al - ma in - van s'im - pe - tra.

6/3, 3, 5/3, 5/3, 5/3, 5, 5/3, 5, 5/4

*Figures show the intervallic relationship between bass and upper-voice viol pitches.

the nature of those scores casts doubt on that possibility. They seem to be an archival record of the 1607 premiere of that work, since all the stage instructions and other indications in those publications are in the *passato remoto* tense: ‘they had happened’. Although Monteverdi may well have initially approached the players showing just the bassline, after the fairly long rehearsal period by the time of the premiere, the musical display must have become ‘concrete’ and somewhat fixed rather than in an ever changing state of ‘improvisation’⁵⁷.

In fact, this chordal manner of accompaniment corresponds to what Caccini as well as Galilei advocated as the ‘best accompaniment’ for *stile rappresentativo*. Caccini, although he himself occasionally had played «the inner parts of the instrument [for the accompaniment] to express some affect»⁵⁸, was reluctant to recommend that as a norm. He favoured hiding «the art of counterpoint as much as possible and simply formed chords on the long syllables»⁵⁹. And Galilei also attached much more importance to the practice of supporting the melody by chords in root position with clearly discernible harmonic pacing than by using inversion chords with an erratic harmonic pace. He called the former practice *proschorda* and the latter *syphonon*, borrowing Plato’s terminology⁶⁰. Monteverdi’s conformity with these practices found in Florence is rather evident in Orfeo’s ‘Sol tu...’. This may have been deliberate. Not only was the role sung by Francesco Rasi who trained under Caccini in Florence but also the text of *L’Orfeo* at this point nods towards Florence’s greatest poet, Dante. *L’Orfeo* contains a direct quote from Dante’s *Inferno*⁶¹, and is the most ‘Dantesque’ work among Monteverdi’s output⁶². More technically, Orfeo’s aria ‘Possente spirito’ is based upon five verses of eleven-syllable *terzina incatenata*, the very scheme Dante employed for his *Commedia*. Moreover, ‘Sol tu nobile Dio’ occurs at the last four lines (with *rima alternata*) of that solo section.

Given these practices, it is also possible that the original accompaniment of Arianna’s lament was also of a chordal kind, somewhat static and calm, similar to Orfeo’s. However, unlike Orfeo’s supplicant prayer, Arianna’s lament is full of pain, represented by the often discordant relation between the voice part and the bass. This creates difficulties when we attempt to determine precise pitches for the inner voices, similarly to when we ‘realise’ unfigured or sparsely figured basso continuo parts. Thus, what we need to consider is a possibility that Monteverdi composed the lament in some polyphonic manner first, before giving the soprano part to

⁵⁷. For an insightful discussion concerning the definition of ‘improvisation’, see PRYER 2019.

⁵⁸. CACCINI [1602], p. [iv]: «[...] servire all’uso comune, co[n] le parti di mezzo tocche dall’istrumento per esprimere qualche affetto, non essendo buone per altro [...]». The translation is from HITCHCOCK 1970, pp. 44-45.

⁵⁹. CACCINI [1602], p. [v]: «[...] havendo ascosto in esse quanto più ho potuto l’arte del contrappunto, e posato le consonanze nelle sillabe lunghe [...]». The translation is from HITCHCOCK 1970, pp. 46-47.

⁶⁰. CARTER 1993, p. 135. Also see FIORENTINO 2012.

⁶¹. Act III, Speranza: «Lasciate ogni Speranza oh voi ch’entrate».

⁶². For the Dantesque aspects of *L’Orfeo*, see, for example, PETROBELLI 1990, esp. pp. 222-229.

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Ex. 5: Possible reconstruction of the original accompaniment.

Arianna
[from Source FN]

La - scia - te mi mo - ri - re, La - scia - te mi mo - ri - re! E che vo - le - te voi -

Viols

9

— che mi con - for - te In co - si du - ra sor - te, In co - si gran mar - ti - re? La -

15

scia - te mi mo - ri - re, La - scia - te mi mo - ri - re.

Figured bass notation for the first system: #6 7 7 7 # 4 # 2 #4 5 #6 7 # 7 b 4 # 5 7 6 #
b2 5 #4 2 3 4 # 3

Figured bass notation for the second system: # 5 6 #5 # 5 6 #6 # # #6
3 6 # 2 6 #

Figured bass notation for the third system: 7 7 7 # #4 5 #6 7 #6 b 7 6 4 #
b2 b #4 2 3 4 # 4 b # 4 #

Arianna and the remaining voices to viols. Considering that, we could even view the sixth-book madrigal version of Arianna as an elaboration of the chordal ‘template’ for the monodic one. A ‘straight transcription’ with each vocal part given to the corresponding viols would not work due to the structural and key-scheme differences between the madrigal and solo versions (e.g. Part 1 of the madrigal version amounts to 34 measures with regular barring in mensural sign C applied, while the equivalent section in Source FN has 20 measures). However, by some manipulation, we might ‘reconstruct’ a solo version from that template with an elaborate accompaniment (Ex. 5, p. 19). Of course, for a piece in *stile rappresentativo* the accompaniment should not be too rigid in metre and rhythm in order to give temporal room for the singer to unfold their recitational and expressive skills but that is perfectly achievable even with music in a ‘polyphonic’ texture. What is important here is that the apparently contrasting textural differences in the accompaniments — chordal and polyphonic — may not have formed a rupture of genre at that time as clearly as we have hitherto assumed. What we have touched upon is the possibility of a fluid transition in the associated accompaniment model for the *stile rappresentativo* genre. This may problematise our naïve assumption that genres can be defined by single styles, textures or performance forces.

THE STYLISTIC EVOLUTION OF THE ARIANNA ACCOMPANIMENT

After the premiere but within the composer’s lifetime, the accompaniment of Arianna was somewhat simplified and re-organised by some process into what we would now recognise as the ‘basso continuo’ manner. It is this transformation that is exemplified in the surviving versions. There seem to have been two factors behind this: its performance by *commedia dell’arte* troupes and the gradually developing style of early opera.

As we have seen, the first Arianna was a *commedia dell’arte* actress — Virginia Andreini. After her striking performance, Arianna’s lament became incorporated in that troupe’s repertoire. The play *La Ferinda*, written and published by her husband Giovanni Battista Andreini in 1622, includes a scene where one of the protagonists sings a snippet of Arianna’s lament in the manner of *contrafactum*⁶³. Most probably, such a musical performance within a *commedia* play was supported by a rather simple accompaniment — indeed a self-accompaniment — earlier on the lute, and now on the Spanish guitar in a chord-strumming manner⁶⁴. Also, the text of Arianna’s lament found its way into printed collections of ‘popular tunes’, such as Remigio

⁶³. ANDREINI 1622, p. 32, Act III Scene 2: «Lasciatemi morire, | Che ’l mantener in vita | A disperata vita | Non è, non è pietate: | Ma dura crudeltate; | Vuò Ferinda seguire | Lasciatemi morire».

⁶⁴. For example, see KATRITZKY 2006, pp. 123, 147.

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Romano's collection of canzonette (1618)⁶⁵. This is a collection of the lyrics of such tunes, some of which have so-called 'alfabeto' chord names for the Spanish guitar attached. The first page of that collection presents the tablatures of those *alfabeto* chords as well. No *Alfabeto* chords are provided for the lyrics of Arianna, but those who acquired that collection probably attempted to perform the Arianna music domestically with strummed chords in the manner of the other pieces in the collection. In such performances, intricate inner voice leading would not have been carefully observed.

A slightly more 'elaborate' accompaniment by a theorbo for Arianna seems to have been attempted during the mid-seventeenth century possibly with a cadenza-like passage on the penultimate note. This is exemplified by a source in the Estense library in Modena (Source MOE in TABLE 1), a manuscript collection of songs with bass lines and theorbo cadenzas made by the theorbo player Pietro Bertacchini for pedagogical purposes, which contains Arianna's lament⁶⁶.

In 1640, when *L'Arianna* reached the stage of a public opera theatre in Venice, the accompaniment must have been a simple realisation of the 'basso continuo' — the orchestra of a Venetian opera theatre usually consisted of two or three harpsichords, theorbos and string instruments⁶⁷. However, this is not to deny the possibility that the continuo players created 'experimental' harmonies with jarring dissonances beyond what the figures indicate for the purposes of rhetorically expressing affects indicated by the text⁶⁸. In that process, at least some of the textual intricacy that Monteverdi originally intended could have been restored although in an unwritten manner. In the end, the basso continuo notation itself did not eradicate contrapuntal ideals — among early examples, the meticulous figuring that Cavalieri provided with the baseline for his *Rappresentazione di Anima et di Corpo* (1600) indicates precise pitches to be played and each line's voice leading and thus amounts to a shorthand score of the music in polyphonic texture. Similarly, in the early eighteenth century, George Frideric Handel taught how to 'improvise' fugues by indicating the exact inner voice movement by figures in exercises⁶⁹. But what was seen by 1640 in Italy seems to represent some aesthetic, directional change in the overall 'texture' of music which made the «conserto di viole» somewhat outdated. Perhaps symbolically, in that very year, Monteverdi sold off his complete set of six viols to Augustus Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg, even offering to pay for the transport costs himself⁷⁰.

⁶⁵. KATRITZKY 1618. The text of Arianna's lament is found on pp. 72-74.

⁶⁶. For the MOE source, see CAFFAGNI 1979 and BAGNATI 1995.

⁶⁷. GLIXON – GLIXON 2006, p. 352 reports Teatro San Moisè (where *L'Arianna* was performed in 1640) used 3 keyboards, 2 theorbos, 1st, 2nd violins, violetta, and violone for the 1666-1667 season.

⁶⁸. See GOEDE 2005.

⁶⁹. LEDBETTER 1990, pp. 44-61.

⁷⁰. HOFFMANN 2018, p. 189.

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CONCLUSION:
MODERN EDITIONS AND THE
ATTEMPT TO CAPTURE AN HISTORICALLY-MOVING TARGET

My final observations briefly address the issue of modern editions of Arianna's lament although briefly. Since the nineteenth century, Arianna's lament has attracted several editions including a few 'scholarly'/ critical editions (see TABLE 2). The earliest of those was made by Carl Winterfeld, when he added his transcription of the first part of Arianna's lament as an illustration in his monograph on Giovanni Gabrieli. Curiously, Winterfeld based his work upon the *contrafactum* version published in *Selva Morale*, perhaps because that is the only version produced clearly under Monteverdi's approval.

TABLE 2: LIST OF MAJOR MODERN EDITIONS

Publication date	Editor	Title	Source
1834	Winterfeld, Carl von	'Aus Monteverde's Adriane: Erst Strophe des Klagegesanges der verlassenen Ariadne', in: <i>Johannes Gabrieli und sein Zeitalter</i> , Berlin, Schlesinger, vol. II, p. 226	SM + the <i>L'Arianna</i> text
1868	Gevaert, F. A.	<i>Les gloires de l'Italie, chef-d'œuvre anciens et inédits de la musique vocale italienne aus XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles...</i> , Paris, Heugel et Fils, no. 39 bis	Winterfeld
1885	Parisotti, Alessandro	PARISOTTI 1885, vol. II, p. 24	Winterfeld [transposed to F minor]
1887	Vogel, Emil	VOGEL 1887, pp. 443-450	FN
1903	Solerti, Angelo	SOLERTI 1903, between pp. 96-97	FN
1903?	Fischer, Jacob	<i>Gesänge altitalienischer Meister aus dem 16ten, 17ten und 18ten Jahrhundert für mittlere Stimme mit Klavierbeleitung...</i> , Vienna, Universal, p. 5	Winterfeld
1930	Malipiero, Francesco	<i>Tutte le opere di Claudio Monteverdi</i> , Vienna, Universal, vol. XI, pp. 159-167	MG
1949	Jeppesen, Knud	<i>La flora</i> , Copenhagen, Wilhelm Hansen, 1949, vol. II, p. 8	FN
2001	Sachs, Barbara	<i>Claudio Monteverdi: Lamento d'Arianna</i> , Mytholmroyd, Green Man	MG, FN & GB in addendum; SESTO/SM/BC taken as other sources; discrepancies noted
2014	Vacchelli, Anna Maria	<i>Claudio Monteverdi: opera omnia edizione nazionale</i> , Cremona, Fondazione Claudio Monteverdi, vol. VIII, pp. 359-373	GB MG/MF/FN/MOE/VC taken as other sources; discrepancies noted

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Prior to the publication of Vogel's edition of all the surviving parts of the lament based upon Source FN, Winterfeld's version was quite influential and produced at least two 'followers'. In fact, one of them is Alessandro Parisotti's 'notorious' edition, globally disseminated and still widely used for vocal pedagogy. Although Parisotti claimed that his edition was based upon FN, which he believed to be Monteverdi's autograph⁷¹, the melodic inflexion of the *canto* part Parisotti presented clearly shows that he took it from Winterfeld, not FN. Parisotti's overly romanticised piano accompaniment is almost ridiculous in relation to our current understanding of Baroque aesthetics, and is usually viewed with bemusement by our contemporary experts in continuo playing. However, his edition contributed much to the 'Monteverdi revival' in the twentieth century⁷², producing several romanticised recordings of 'Arianna's lament 'after Monteverdi' by renowned singers (often male!). These include Giovanni Martinelli (1885-1969), Beniamino Gigli (1890-1957), Franco Corelli (1920-2003), and Giuseppe di Stefano (1921-2008), glorifying Italian vocal traditions.

The processes of editing a musical work like Arianna's lament are never straightforward. The complexity is caused not only by the way in which the sources have come down to us — several variant sources with complex and unclear relationships — but also by the evolutions of texture and genre that the work underwent within Monteverdi's lifetime. Also, in addition to those early sources, the culminated list of modern editions itself forms part of Arianna's history. Thus, we just cannot simply take a 'best-text' approach, and, in any case, we judge the 'best' in relation to our now preferred performance style and from the sources that now happen to survive. Moreover, all notational systems work in collaboration with their non-explicit 'reading cultures', which is precisely part of what, in the case of the Arianna sources, we have been trying to reconstruct here. In this complicated context, effective realisation of thorough bass cannot be achieved simply by understanding given figures and putting them under notes. I hope this consideration of these different performance possibilities and how, in the early seventeenth century, they interacted with an evolving sense of exactly what the work 'Arianna's Lament' consisted in, have demonstrated how uncertain the notion of 'authentic performance' might be in relation to an historically-moving target.

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⁷¹. PARISOTTI 1885, vol. II, p. 23.

⁷². See PRYER 2007, pp. 7-9.

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