GIROLAMO FANTINI, "MONARCH OF THE TRUMPET": NEW LIGHT ON HIS WORKS

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The Printed Book

The only known work by Girolamo Fantini is his *Mao per imparare a sonare di tromba,* published in 1638 (see Figure 1),[1] of which there are five known surviving copies of the original print and one manuscript copy.[2] There are, moreover, two facsimile editions: the first was published by Bollettino Bibliografico Musicale in the series Collezione di trattati e musiche antiche edite in fac-simile (Milan, 1934; hereafter, Milan facsimile); the second, by Brass Press (Nashville, 1972-78; hereafter, Nashville facsimile), edited and with an introduction by Edward H. Tarr. Comparison of the extant copies, detailed in Table I in the Appendix to this article, invites the following observations:

1) No two printed copies are exactly identical.

2) The Nashville facsimile is identical to the Milan facsimile, which was obviously its source.

3) The Milan facsimile differs from all known extant printed copies.

Figure 1
Fantini: *Modo per imparare a sonare di tromba,* title **page.**

Which copy of the original print served as the source for the facsimile published in 1934 in Milan? My research led to the retrieval of a previously unknown copy (in Venice), but it is not the one used for the Milan edition, which may have come from a private collection.

As is shown in Table I, the variations among the various exemplars are of three types: 1) printed corrections (see the incredibly large number of labels pasted over the original print), 2) hand-written additions (generally ties or trill signs *[tr])*, and alterations (sharps, flats, and notes scratched out). These emendations, though still insufficient to correct the many inaccuracies in the book, were probably suggested by Fantini after a review of the text. Experts in the field with whom I have talked all agree that this book is a remarkable case, especially because all the variants mentioned above point to different printing dates for the extant copies. We can assume that the Florence, Venice, and Paris exemplars were printed first, and later those found in Bologna and Berlin.

When Gaetano Gaspari catalogued the works contained in the Liceo Musicale of Bologna during the last century, he wrote on the card for Fantini's book, "Benches l'edizione abbia la data di Francoforte, pure dai caratteri e da altri indizi pub ritenersi fatta in Firenze senza tema d'errare" ("Even though the edition has the Frankfurt dating, one can state, without fear of error, that it was produced in Florence, based on the characters and on other evidence").[3] Being unable to establish with certainty the provenance of the type fonts or to locate the *Libro dei salariati* (the payroll register) of 1638, which could confirm Fantini's stay in Florence in the year the book was published[4]—indeed, lacking all other evidence—I have undertaken a study of paper and watermarks.

There are six different kinds of paper used in the volume under examination (see Table III):

A) sun
B) crowned head
C) unidentified figure with a crown above the circular perimeter
D) unidentified figure with a half moon on the median axis above the circular perimeter
E) human figure with a scepter
F) dragon

Type A paper is found in all copies; papers B, C, and D are used in the Florence copy at pages 1-40 and 74-80; paper E is found in Venice in the blank pages immediately following the front cover and preceding the back cover; paper F is found in the Paris exemlar only, on the blank page preceding the back cover. I have focused my research on the paper of type A, since it is present in all copies. This type of paper is found in many Florentine letters of the years 1638-1639.[5]

A more important consideration for the present study, however, is to determine who were the printers working in Florence at that time, and what books they published.[6] Following this path, I found that the prints chronologically the closest to Fantini's are some books of 1637, relating the wedding of Grand Duke Ferdinando II, printed in the Nuova Stamperia del (New printing shop of) Massi e Landi.[7] From a detailed comparison it

emerges that these show secure connections with the work by Fantini. In particular they reveal (see Table IV):

1) paper with exactly the same watermark (type A),
2) use of the same movable characters,
3) same page numbering and type face for the numbers.

It was not possible to find any information on the work of the printing shop of Amadore Massi and Lorenzo Landi, but my investigations point convincingly to a Florentine origin of the print, in contrast with the more readily apparent German provenance. I do not know why the front cover says "IN FRANCOFORT Per Daniel Vuastch."[8] No current hypothesis nor recent investigation on the origin and/or correctness of the name "Vuastch" has yielded a satisfactory solution to this mystery.[9] It is impossible to know, for example, if he was a Frankfurt dealer who was in charge of "distribution" on the other side of the Alps, if he lived in Florence, or if the name was merely invented to lend more valor and prestige to the work.

Another significant point is the Florentine origin of the dedicatees of the compositions in the book. These people are regularly found in accounts of the life of the time, and many of them were also in the service of the Grand Duke himself."[)] Fantini dedicated his music to a wide variety of people, perhaps because of his familiarity with people belonging to different levels of the Florentine society of the time. The ninety-nine dedicatees of his music represent a broad spectrum: senators (Antinori, Guicciardini, Acciaioli), ambassadors (Niccolini), barons (Ricasoli), marquis (Aldrobandini, Colloreto *[sic],* Lunati, Capponi), *Cameriere segreto* (Saracinelli), priors (Nobili), counts (Montauto *[sic],* Bardi, Ghislieri, Sozzi), knights (Maffei, Suares, Incontri, Rondinelli), pages (Wolchbenstain), and so forth.[11]

The Contents

Una debole Opera, quantunque a me faticosa, nella quale tratto l'arte della Tromba da i suoi primi principi, fmo a quella perfezzione estrema, the fino a'tempi nostri a venuta: dimostrando qualsivoglia operazione di essa, tanto in cose di Guerra, come in qualsivoglia altra azione alla Tromba appartenente.[12]

A little work, though quite laborious for me, in which I discuss the art of trumpet playing from its rudiments to that extreme perfection that has been reached in our times. I demonstrate all its uses, from warlike situations to any other action appropriate for the trumpet.

Two principal factors contribute to the significance the book: its author's experience and instrumental talent, certainly exceptional for the time; and the particular historical moment, very fruitful for both the history and the culture of musical instruments. By publishing his method, Fantini came to represent the avant-garde of trumpet playing and at the same time became its leader, opening new horizons for its development and use.

V dwere I Laswi.

Auendo mandato elle &nape queilo Into debit volume per benefmio di chi presidia , b volete prat:Nate di foam di Tromba: non pin ;nada comegiifi (dem   vero fo ▶ damost000me gli alai litumolti petit:M.1*min la Mamba non habbi also the le fue note /1/1l1r2di. come fi vode *nal* prinapio di quefropera, pudic a volercomporre fopra a dettenote,e lefeiar laltre, mufti pofsuto *far* maggioresiorzoe petit a bifoimarm obbliadi con le tik dichm rate the da per loroapponano poca vagliezzaatcomeanco roolti baffloon fi lono dicninuitt perdu c necefsatio per reggae tale iktumencod'afsai armcnia. Graditdo coo ogni ailetto.che cosi faccuclo haneneeda me col tempo altiopere rimemaidomi perealltmo to giudizio.

The author to the readers:

I have given to print this little book of mine, for the good of those who play or want to play the trumpet, no longer haphazardly, as was customary earlier, but with true principles as with other perfect instruments, even though the trumpet has only its natural notes, as can be seen in the beginning of this work. Because wanting to compose with these said notes, and leave the others out, it was impossible to do more, and thus one had to make do with the ones mentioned, which alone bring little beauty. In the same manner many bass lines could not be diminished because a full harmony is necessary to support this instrument. Accept [this book] with good will, for if you do so you will have from me, in time, other works. However, I submit myself to your kind judgment.

Fantini's first musical example is a catalogue of the sounds of the trumpet, and of their subdivisions and names (Figure 2). The name of each harmonic is linked to the practice of the ensemble music for *trombetti,* the first accounts of which go back to medieval times. A well-known example is found in the *Toccata* of Monteverdi's *Orfeo* (1607).[13] The bottom staff of the example below (which lacks the designation *clarino)* shows the system of solmization syllables used by the *trombetti* to refer to the pitches of the different octaves. The repetition of the same pitch in four different octaves made it necessary to have an exact system in order to avoid confusion.[14]

Figure 2
Catalogue of notes for trumpet *(Modo,* p. **7).**

Fantini's tide, *Mod o per imparare a sonare di tromba tanto di guerra quantomusicalmente in organo* ("Manner of learning to play the trumpet both in military style musically with the organ") and reveals the twofold purpose of his book: to demonstrate both the traditional military style of the old *trombetti* and the newer "musical" style of the trumpet with basso continuo. In one sense, we might compare Fantini to so many writers on music in the early Baroque who, steeped in the rich Renaissance traditions of their art, wished to preserve them, while still embracing enthusiastically the newer **Baroque** style. But Fantini's objective transcends mere stylistic transformations: it is clearly his intention to enhance the social position of the trumpet (and the trumpeter), taking it beyond the battle calls and into the realm of "art" music.

The first part of the book, written for military use, includes typical military calls. Here Fan tini includes the traditional *Chiamata di Guerra (call* to battle), *Sparata di Buttasella, L'accavallo* (on your horses), *La Marciata* (for the march), and so forth, providing them with very personal and peculiar articulations: *at-ta-non-ta-no, but-to-&-ten-da* (which literally means "throw the tent") *tut-tia-to-vo-la* ("everybody to the table'" [i.e., "the meal is ready"]!). All this is explained in the preface:

Si son dettate in questa maniera, perche con la Tromba si proferiscono meglio, e si rendono piu facili a punteggiarle con la lingua.	They are said in this manner, as they are better uttered with the trumpet, and they are made easier to articulate with the tongue.[15]

Fantini's first *Toccata di Basso* is a simple chain of harmonics between C and c" (without touching bb', which is never used, as we shall see). Only from the twelfth toccata on there are notes beyond c", up to g". The continuous use of the first two harmonics (C, which fell into disuse during the 17th century, and c) was typical of ensemble music and of "war music."

In the *Quinta Parte* of the *Prima sonata per salire dal Basso al Soprano,* composed in warlike style, we encounter for the first time pitches that are not part of the harmonic series (d', f, and a'). Fantini explains these tones in the *Avvertimenti per quelli che volessero imparare a sonar di Tromba Musicalmente in concerto di voci, o altro ("Instructions* for those who may want to learn how to musically play the trumpet, either in ensemble with other parts or otherwise"):

Si troveranno alcune note, che nel principio dell'opera non sono accennate, che a voler fermarvisi sono imperfette, ma perche passano presto possono servire.[16]	You will find some pitches that are not listed at the beginning of this work, that are imperfect if you want to hold them; but since they go by quickly they can be used.

In his well-known letter to Father Mersenne, Pierre Michon (Bourdelot) describes Fantini in a concert, accompanied by Frescobaldi at the organ, playing all the pitches ascending by step from the third harmonic on.[17] In *the Modo* the pitches that are outside harmonic series are b, **f, a', ci",** and gi" (see Figure 3). The ambivalent use of the eleventh harmonic (f **WS")** is normal, while it is strange that the seventh (bb'), a common sound of trumpet music in other parts of Europe,[18] does not appear. This peculiarity is probably due to two factors: the first is the traditional stylistic practice of the Florentine trumpet players, their melodic style, and their use of some orally transmitted patterns. The second factor is the structure of the instrument, which could make this pitch sound very flat. It was thus used as a" instead of bb".

Figure 3
Notes used in Fantini's *Modo.* Co = natural tones; **J =** tones that must be "bent.")

The first sixteen pages (pp. 7-23) of music in the *Modo* provide us with a fascinating picture of the *stile delli antichi trombetti* ("style of the ancient trumpet players"). The *Entrata* and the first and second *Imperiafr per sonare in Concerto* demonstrate the musical style of the 17th-century *trombetti* . The fact that these are the only such examples in the book *sets* Fantini's work apart from earlier collections of trumpet music (Lubeck, Thomsen, Bendinelli), which are dedicated solely to this ensemble practice.

It is necessary to say a few words on the performance of the two *Imperiali.* Here Fantini introduces new rules and hitherto unknown practices, even while looking back to the *arte delli antichi trombetti ("art* of the ancient trumpet players")[19] with little understanding or interest. His music in this traditional genre is therefore unstylistic. The first point of confusion concerns the lack of a clear separation between the *Entrata* and the *imperiak,* both in the titles and in the music itself. The indication *Si fa pausa* ("here make a rest") would indicate the end of the *Entrata,* followed by the sonata to be used for the two *Imperiali.* Bendinelli clearly states that a piece for trumpet ensemble requires notation of just this single part (the "sonata").[20] Upon learning this part the rest of the group would instinctively construct their own parts. Then the player of the *clarino,* drawing on his own knowledge of this traditional practice, would embellish the entire piece in the soprano register.[21]

Fantini, however, did not substantially modify the traditional practice. He notated for the *clarino* two different melodic parts that had always been played from memory or improvised. The sonata itself demonstrates familiar stylistic features: its usual form is easily recognizable and it contains a typical concluding *rotta.*[22] This sonata serves as the

arrangement of both *clarino* melodies for the entire ensemble, thereby constituting both pieces, i.e., the two *Imperiali.*[23]

The lesson on *cose di guerra* ("warlike items") ends with the six *chiamate* ("calls"); All the following pieces (excluding the first twelve *ricercate* and the sonatas for two trumpets) have one line for the melody and one for the thoroughbass. Almost all the pieces are divided into two short reprises—A and B—set off by repeat signs. Each piece has a refrain, and is characterized by a melodic-harmonic structure that customarily oscillates between tonic and dominant. There are very few exceptions—among them the *Aria detta la Truxes* and the *Balletto detto it Cavalca—to* this basic scheme. Some pieces have a separate *seconda parte,* or even a *terza parte,* each similarly divided into two reprises. These extra "parts" or sections are essentially variations (an exception is the two-part *Balletto detto it Gavotti,* the second part of which is quite different in style from all the others).

Fantini uses many different mensural signs (C, 3, 3/2, 6/4, 6/8, 3/4, 12/8, 12/16, C3, C6/4), but character and/or tempo indications are fairly rare (e.g., *Si deve fare allegra* ["it must be allegro"], *Si facci allegra* ["make it allegro"), *si deve far presto* ["it must be presto"], and one concluding *Adagio).*

The two dynamic markings used, forte (f) and piano **(p),** alternate appropriately to provide the typical "echo" effect (already regularly used in music for trumpet ensemble, in which one group of performers was often hidden from view in order to surprise and to make the performance varied and pleasant).

In the melodic lines of these pieces (fifteen *toccate di basso,* ten military calls, one *sonata per salire dal basso al soprano, Entrata, Imperiale, Imperiale seconda,* six *chiamate di capriccio,* twelve *ricercate,* twenty-three *balletti,* six *brandi,* one *saltarello,* one *sarabanda,* one aria, five *capricci,* twenty-two *correnti, twenty-five sonate,* of which seven are for two trumpets, three *gagliarde,* of which two are for two trumpets, and two *passage* Fantini uses some melodies that were already known in the popular repertoire (as Bendinelli had done before), sometimes elaborated and adapted for the trumpet.

Interpretation and Style

Articulation

Fantini devotes considerable attention to the practice of articulation. Thanks to him, the trumpet joined the ranks of other instruments that already had a complete repertoire of expressive articulations. Articulations associated with specific military signals have been metnioned above; but Fantini's section entitled *Modo di battere la lingua puntata in diversi modi* ("Method for striking the tip of the tongue in various ways") is not specifically for military use in spite of its placement in the book between the *toccate* and the battle signals.[24] Moreover, these articulations, illustrated in Figure 4, are not unique to the Baroque trumpet. This scheme is certainly similar to that found in manuals for other wind instruments—an amazing revelation in light of the fact that it is intended for an instrument that previously did not require varied and accurate articulation.[25] Fan tini's *lingue* (tonguings) can be divided into three main groups:

I) le-ra;
II) ti-ri;
III) te-ghe;
and two secondary ones:
IV)ti-a; di-a;
V) ta-te; ta-ta;

The tonguing *ta-dra* also reveals a peculiarity worth mentioning: this kind of articulation produced a definite effect, and it was used already in the 1500s, in the same context, by Lubeck, Thomsen, and Bendinelli.[26]

Figure 4
Modo di battere la lingua (Modo, pp. 10-11).

Ornamentation

Fantini also provides instructions on the new Baroque style of embellishment:

E trovando it Groppo si deve battere con lingua puntata, mail trillo va fatto a forza de petto, e battuto con la gola, e si forma in tutte le note di detto strumento.[27]

Upon finding a groppo one has to use a pointed tongue, but the trill has to be made with the strength of the chest, and begun with the throat, and it can be made on all notes of the said instrument.

On page 11 of his book, following the section on articulation, Fantini demonstrates the vocal style of ornamentation typical of the Florentine school of the early seventeenth century.[28] Figure 5 shows a cadence with a groppo-trill, fully written out, while Figure 6 illustrates a composite trill-groppo-trill.

Figure 5
Gro,opo-trill (Modo, p. 11),

Figure 6
Composite trill-groppo-trill (*Modo,* p. 75).

Slurs and Ties

Another unusual feature of Fantini's notation, involving his use of slurs (or ties), is demonstrated in Figure 7. The relatively large number of such examples makes it unlikely that they are printing errors—though such errors are indeed plentiful in Fantini's book. From examination of many such cases, I became convinced that the second of the two tied notes has a different meaning. In some instances where the final note is rhythmically anticipated it seems that the same pitch must be played twice (see articulation of the type IV above). In some other instances the two tied notes, of the same duration, seem to require a change in harmony (otherwise why not write a single note of double value?). Not having any more elements to prove this, I leave the reader to reflect on this peculiarity—one of many in Fantini's book.

Figure 7a	**Figure 7b**	**Figure 7c**	**Figure 7d**
Rucellal, p. 38.	*Na/di,* p. 42.	*Cava/ca,* p. 40.	*Saracinelk,* p. 75.

As for the more customary type of slur *(or portamento),* there are very few examples. In such cases the proper articulation would be merely a lengthening of the usual articulation syllable: *ta-a-a-a* (or *da-a-a-a)* (see Figure 8).

Figure 8
Brancadoro, p. 25.

Further Aspects of Performance

In some compositions Fantini uses unusual notational practices, perhaps in an attempt to specify the small details and rhythmic shadings that he required, but that were difficult to express within the limits of the contemporary notational system. For example, in the third and fourth *toccate* and the *Prima sonata per satire,* the period after the syllableta. under the first note of the measure seems to indicate a fermata and/or accent:

On page 6, in the Fantini's Avvertimenti ("Indications," "Instructions"), the author offers further information of the performance of his music:

Quando si troveranno note di valore...si devono tenere in modo cantabile, con mettere la voce piano, e poi venir crescendo fino al mezo valore della nota, e con l'altro mezo andar calando fino al fine della battuta, che a pena si senta, che cost facendo si rendera perfetta armonia...."

Si come anco molti bassi non si sono diminuiti, perche e necessario per reggere tale strumento d'assai armonia....[30]

E per Tromba sordina si deve sonar per de sol re.[31]

When you find long notes they should be held in a singing manner, beginning softly and then making a crescendo through half the value of the note, and then in the second half make a diminuendo up to the end of it, so that it can barely be heard. Thus you will make perfect harmony....

Also many bass notes have not been diminished, because in order to support this instrument one needs a lot of harmony....

And with the trumpet muted one should play in D.

This last sentence indicates that the fundamental pitch of the muted instrument is D, implying a transposition a whole tone up from the un-muted pitch of C. However, none

of the mutes of the time still extant allows transposition by a full tone, but only of a semitone up, requiring thus a crook to raise the pitch one more semitone. As this is a problem that touches the music not only by Fantini, but also by other composers of the time, I invite the reader to consult other sources that deal specifically with this topic.[32] There are many historical accounts that describe the regular use of mutes, especially in connection with funerals.[33] Important treatises and compositions of the early seventeenth century bear witness of this practice in their works (Praetorius, Mersenne, Monteverdi, Uccellini), and confirm the existence a well-established practice in the first half of the 17th century.

Conclusion

The *Modo per imparare a sonare di tromba is* a seminal work in the history of this instrument. At the beginning of the Baroque period the trumpet was still confined to military and ceremonial uses that represented a centuries-old tradition, mostly orally transmitted. Fantini contributed greatly to the trumpet's acceptance in the realm of art music in Italy. In the 16th and 17th centuries this milieu fostered important changes in performance techniques and in the construction of musical instruments themselves. Through his book, Fantini initiates a *nuova pratica* ("new practice") that will bring the trumpet, in the span of a century, to the height of its technical and expressive possibilities.

As early as the 15th century a distinction began to emerge between instrumentalists who played only for civil services and ceremonies and those in the military. With the entrance of the trumpet into the wider musical context, we find a previously unheard-of category of trumpet players, those *da concerto o di cappella* ("of the concert or the chapel"). With the perfecting of this "new art" of the trumpet there arose a radical separation between its ordinary functions and the remarkable social-aesthetic activity of *the corporazioni dei trombetti* ("associations of trumpet players"). Now there were two genres, two techniques, and two performance practices:[34]

1) The military genre, including battle signals and municipal and ceremonial functions. From the standpoint of performance, this style embodies the *stile deli antichi trombetti:* prominent use of low and medium registers, staccato articulation, and great volume of sound, necessitated by playing out-of-doors. In Fantini's words,

V ESerb,che Alison di bellicoltrumento
Allow volerfilmcillar cimicri.
Et balk fronefar,fremer elefirieri
Fix feroci delfidmiffle ,e &Puente.

This [player], with the sound of [his] bellicose instrument, at his will made helmets vacillate, spears shatter, and chargers, fiercer than lightning or the wind, shiver.[35]

2) The "concerted" or "art-music" function, variously described by Fantini as "Musicalmente in Organo...e ogn'altro istrumento" ("musically with the organ... and every

other instrument") and "in concerto di voci, o altro" ("in concert with voices, or other [instruments] ").[36] This function includes the first compositions with the basso continuo, described by Fantini as "non pill in aria come gia si soleva, ma co'l vero fondamento come gli altri strumenti perfetti"[37] ("no longer haphazardly, as was previously the custom, but with real foundation like other perfect instruments"). With the development of the high register the new art of the *clarino, its* articulatory practice and its musical phrasing, are born.

> *Her tea come in Muficoconcento,*
> *Eiradelolcendo stimpeti pill fleri,*
> *Loquir disioia e Dame,eCmaieri,*
> *Volto in Amore ii Martial btlento.*

Now see how he, in a musical ensemble, sweetening his proudest sounds, makes knights and ladies [alike] languish with joy, his martial talent put to Love's use.[38]

Just as in the history of many other instruments, the trumpet also underwent transformations in the early 17th century, and Girolamo was the undisputed craftsman:

> *E GlitOLAMO e qri, finsonte %mono*
> *Con A miraktartt.*
> *Ckrpos: cidfief* canto ,accender Matte,*
> *E tope (per former si valid accenti)*
> *All.. Faro. la Tromba, 411 Aria i V end.*

And Girolamo is here, playing at all hours with such amazing art, he who can with his proud song set Mars on fire, and win (making such sweet accents) fame for the trumpet, and take away the winds from the air.[39]

NOTES

1. In the introduction Fantini states his intention to produce further works: "Graditelo [questo volume] con ogni affetto, la cosi Facendo haverete da me col tempo alteopere, rimettendomi pen?) al loro discreto giudizio." ("Accept [this book] with good will, for if you do so you will have from me, in time, other works. However, I submit myself to your kind judgment"). Was the book not well accepted or did Fantini simply not have the time?

2. Copies of the printed edition are in the following libraries:

Florence, Biblioteca Centrale Nazionale, Mus. Ant. 32. A red-edged quarto volume, a red-edged book, with 17th-century binding of the time, in good state of preservation.

Bologna, Biblioteca del Liceo Musicale (Conservatorio di musica "G. B. Martini"), D. 43. Quarto volume with later binding, perhaps made by Gaspari. The title page is repaired on the back (p. 2) with small strips of paper (because of the small defect that can be seen below the coat of arms). A label reading "GAETANO GASPARI" partially covers something written in ink, erased and illegible. At the center of p. 2 there is a label that reads "del Maestro Gaetano Gaspari" ("belonging to Maestro Gaetano Gaspari"), fairly well preserved.

Venice, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica "B. Marcello," Torrefranca S.A.H.III-66: A red-edged quarto volume with the original binding, with its fastening ribbons broken, in good state of preservation.

Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, R6. F. 102. A quarto volume with later binding, in good state of preservation. At the beginning of many musical excerpts one finds the word "Si" and small handwritten crosses.

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Mus. and. theor. F 75. Red-edged quarto volume with the original binding (in red leather and pink-flowered paper with green and yellow decorations on a white background with black dots). The edges of the binding and the pages of the book are cut obliquely. Gathered in a single volume with *CORRFIVTI GAGLIARDE, E BALLETTI DIATONICI, 1..7 DEL SIG. MARTINO PESENTI 1.4 LIBRO QUARTO OPERA DECIMAQUINTA [.... 1 IN VENETIA APPRESSO ALESSANDRO VINCENTI MDCXXXXV.* The presence of several handwritten labels and notes show that the book belonged to the "Bibliotheca Landsbergiana," and before that to a private collection.

The lone manuscript copy is in the New York Public Library, Otto Kinkeldey Memorial Collection, JOF 72-14. Unbound, written on handmade paper in the late 18th century or early 19th century. Its contents and form are identical to those of the 1638 print, except for the indexes, which follow the preface. The size of the page is the same as that of the facsimile: 11 3/4" x 8 3/4" (33 mm x 22.5 mm). It is comprised of eleven gatherings, plus the introduction and the portrait page. Each gathering consists of two folded sheets (11 3/4" x 17 1/2"), for a total of eight sheets. Each gathering is numbered, though gathering no. 4 is missing. The portrait might be a watercolor or pen and ink, or maybe a lithograph. The watermark is:

A   **G**

IP

3. Gaspari's manuscript cards were later used by Federico Parisini to compile and publish the *Catalog° della biblioteca del Liceo musicale di Bologna* (Bologna, 1890).

4. See Igino Conforzi, "Girolamo Fantini `monarca della tromba': nuove acquisizioni biografiche," *Recercare II (1990):* 225; English transl. in *HBSJ 5* (1993): 159.

5. Florence, Arch ivio di Stato, Med iceo-Deposite ria Gen. 1038. Watermarks of type A found in Letter No. 1140 (signed by "Pietro m. Landi," 1638), and Letter without number (signature?, 1639). Watermarks of type B found in Letter No. 1150 (signed by "Antonio di San Hilazione," 1638).

6. Music printers in Florence during the first half of the 17th century were (in parentheses the year of some of their works, now in Florence, Biblioteca Centrale Nazionale): Marescotti (c. 1600), Eredi di Filippo Giunta (heirs of Filippo Giunta, 1604), Pignoni Zanobi c comp. (1614-1617), Cecconcelli Pietro (1623), Landini (1630), Massi e Landi (1637), Marsi (1640), and Sabatini (1643).

7. The works used for comparison are:

LE N077F DEGLI DEI / Favola / dell'Ab. Gio. Carlo Coppola / Rappresentata in musics in *Firenze / NELLE REALI NOZZE / De Sereniss. Gran Duchi di Toschana / FERDINAND• H E VITTORIA PRINCIPESSA D'URBINO / In Firenze per Anutelore Massi e Lorenzo Landi* **163Z**

RELAZIONE / DELLE NOZZE / DEGLI DEI / FAVOLA / DELL'ABATE / GIO: CARLO / COPPOLA / ALLA SERENISSIMA / VITTORIA / Principessa d'Urbino / GRAN DUCHESSA / DI TOSCANA / IN FIRENZE / Nella nuova Stamperia del *Massi, E* Landi. 1637..

ARGOMENTO / DELLE NOZZE / DEGLI DEI / FAVOLA / DELL'ABATE / GIO: CARLO / COPPOLA. / IN FIORENZA / Nella nuova Stamperia del Massi, e Landi. M.DC.XXXVij.

All the above are found in copies bound together in different ways in Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palat. C.8.5.43; Palat.12.4.5.42; Palat.11.C.9.5.5; Nencini F.6.2.40.

In the body of the *Favola* , on p. 9, one finds: "Mentre che it Popolo impaziente della dilazione di uno spettacolo cosl meraviglioso, si stava aspettando; si alzb la Cortina... si vide una bellissima prospettiva...e l'orecchie furono soprapprese da una soavissima armonia, sentendosi nel medesimo tempo un concerto di varj strumenti musicali, accompagnati da una Tromba, in maniera che l'occhio, e l'udito percotendo it cuore con inestimabile diletto, lo riempivano di una inusitata allegrezza." ("While the crowd, impatient for the delay of such a wonderful performance was waiting, the curtain rose... a beautiful scenario could be seen...and the ears were overcome by a very sweet harmony, while at the same time one could hear a concert of several musical instruments, accompanied by a trumpet, in such a way that the eye and the ear while beating the heart with unspeakable delight, filled it of unusual happiness.") The presence of Fantini in this event, already known (see Conforzi, "Fantini" *Recercare*, pp. 232-233, *HBSJ*, pp. 165-166) is further described in this peculiar way, considering that it is a narration of the *Prologo avanti !'Opera.* There is no further information on the trumpet, even though one can infer other instances in which it was used from the military subject-matter and from the scenes. We learn also that "La curs della musica fu del Sig. Ball Ferdinando Saracinelli, sopraintendente di essa per S.A." (Ball Ferdinando Saracinelli, superintendent of the music for His Highness") took care of the music, and that "un'Opera cosl grande, nella quale intervennero circa 150 Canton, si fece se nu chiamare alcun Musico fo rest ie ro" ("such a big opera, in which there were around 150 singers, was done without calling any foreign musician").

8. I recently discovered two books that surely were printed by the same printing shop as Fantini's *Modo,* and in the same year:

1) *IL VIOLIN() / Della Signora / MARGHERITA ./ COSTA ROMANA / DEDICATO AL SERENISS. / FERDINAND• / SECOND• /Gran Duca di Toscana. // IN FRANCFORT /Per Daniel Wastch. [sic] 1638.* (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Mag1.3.C.1.103); quarto volume, with different watermark from Fantini's book, but the same typeface and ornate capitals (but without music), same page and cover numbering system, (with identical system of numbering folded pages: A2 - B - B2, etc.). In the dedication to Ferdinando II, dated "24 giugno 1638," the author asks the

Grand Duke "to accept on this day of St. John this small gift of my rhymes ("... d'accettare in questo giorno di San Giovanni... questo piccolo dono delle mie Rime"); and in the following preface "to the reader," she writes, "I nevertheless wanted to give them [i.e., the rhymes] birth on this day of St. John ("Le h'o nondimeno voluto dare alla luce [le rime] questo giorno di San Giovanni"), describing the issue of the work in Florence. On the following pages we find also a sonnet "Del Sig. Alessandro Adimari," author of the madrigal on p. 3 of Fantini's *Modo.*

2) LA/ CH ITARRA / *Della Signora 1MARGHERITA / COSTA ROMANA/ Canzoniere Amoroso /DEDICATA AL SERENISS. / FERDINAIVDO / Gran Duca di Toscana. // IN FRANCFORT / Per Daniel Wastch.. 1638/* (I-Fn, Mag1.21.N.2.41; Palat.23.8.5.13). Quarto volume, watermark of type A in Fantini's book (sun), pp. 9-15, *same* typeface and ornate capitals, same page numbering system and same binding. Inside we find the decoration used for Fantini's title page. On the last page (584) there is a sonnet in honor of the author, signed as follows: "LO STAMPATORE / Alla Sig. Margherita Costa" ("The printer to Mrs. Margherita Costa)". This supports the thesis that the person who printed the book (even if that were "Daniel Wuastch") very likely spoke Italian.

The same typeface, page numbering system, and binding are found also in a book with the following title: *PER L'INCENDIO / DI PITTL .. IN FIORENZA / NELLA STAMPERIA NUOVA... 1638* (I-Fn Pal.C.9.4.2. IVb).

9. This topic is amply discussed in Hermann Eichborn, "Girolamo Fantini, ein Virtuos des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts und seine Trompeten-Schule," *Monatsheﬁe ﬁir Musik-Geschichte* (1890): 124 (reprinted by The Brass Press (Nashville, 1976); Meredith, "Girolamo Fantini's Trumpet Method: A Practical Edition" (DMA diss., University of Northern Colorado, 1984), 1: 32ff.

10. On p. 49 of the quoted *Relazione dells nozze* there is a "NOTA De i Cavalieri, the operavano nell'Abbattimento, e ne Ball i della Commedia, quasi tutti servitori attuali della Serenissima Casa" ("list of the gentlemen [or knights] who worked in the *abbattimento [?]* and in the dances of *the Commedia,* almost all of them presently in the service of the Most Serene House"), among which are several of Fantini's dedicatees: "Sig. Mr. Alessandro Carducci, Sig. Conte Mr. Count Alessandro Ghislieri, Sig. Alfonso Antinori, Sig. Alimberto da Scorno, ...Sig. Baldassar Suares Cavaliere dell'Ordine di S. Stefano, Sig. Bartolo Alfani, Sig. Barone Bettino Ricasoli, Sig. Carlo Arcimboldi, Sig. Cosimo Bargellini, Sig. Curzio Altoviti, Sig. Dante da Castiglione, Sig. Ercole Cavalca,... Sig. Francesco Rucellai, Sig. Ferdinando Incontri Cavaliere dell'Ordine di S. Stefano, ...Sig. F. Giovanni Rondinelli Cavaliere Ierosolimitano, Sig. Conte Giovanni Sozzi, Sig. Ipolito de Vicq, Sig. Lorenzo Nobili Priore della Marca dell'Ordine di S. Stefano, Sig. Maurizio Arcimboldi,... Sig. Marchese Pier Antonio Lunati, Sig. F. Rinieri del Nero Cavaliere Ierosol imitano, S ig. Conte Teodoro de Bardi, Sig. Tommaso Guidoni Cavaliere dell'Ordine di S. Stefano, Sig. Marchese Vincenzio Capponi." Reading through other Florentine documents of those years I also came across the names of Lodovico Antinori, Agnolo Guicciardini, Ottaviano Acciaioli, Girolamo Maffei, Gio. Giorgio Aldrobandini, Lorenzo Strozzi, Alessandro del Nero, and Tommaso Rinuccini.

11. The reference to "Osvald von Wolkenstein" in Eichborn, "Girolamo Fantini, ein Virtuos," p. 133, is in opposition with that of the "Ruolo dei Paggi di S.A.S." ("Payroll of the Pages of H.S.H.") of 1635, where it says "S.r Francesco Wolchbenstain di Bolzano" (Florence, Archivio di Stato, Mediceo MS 321).

12. Fantini, *Modo,* p. 5.

13. In the Renaissance the ensemble was usually divided into six parts and the distribution of the harmonic texture relegated the three lower parts *(Sotto Basso, Basso,* and *Vurgano),* which will later become two *(Basso* and *Vurgano),* to a fauxbourdon. The two middle parts played the theme of the sonata in parallel motion, one harmonic apart. Finally, the *clarino,* following the patterns of a practice in full development at the time, had the function of embellishing the theme melodically, using the higher pitches of the fourth octave. See Meredith, "Fantini," I: 253-254.

14. The solmization theory assumed the possibility of free transposition of the hexachord between the scale degrees C, F, and G. When the melody went beyond the ambitus of one hexachord it was completed by mutating to the next hexachord and substituting the solmization syllables (ut, re, mi...). This method was used for teaching purposes up to the end of the 17th century.

15. The significance ofth is peculiarity relates to the poor musical training of the average *trombetti,* who had played the military repertoire from memory for centuries. Thus there arose the necessity for some didactic trick for those who did not know how to read music. Here is Luigi F. Casamorata's comment in his article on Fantini, published in 1850 in the *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* (Anno VIII, No. 44): 187. He says, with understandable curiosity, "There is a way of giving the pupils a practical demonstration ofdifferent rhythms and movements using different syllables that is worth mentioning. For example, to demonstrate this rhythm:
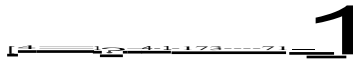
the author makes the reader say *tegbe da ta tit‑nano,* and for this one:
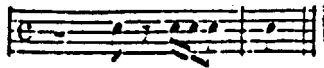
ta tegbeda ta and so forth [...]." However, this expedient is due to Cesare Bendinelli, who, as it says on the cover page of his *Volume di tutta l'arte della Trombetta 1614* **(**Verona, Accadmia Filarmonica, Mus. 238, reprinted in Barenreiter, *Documenta musicologica,* Zweite Reihe V, ed. E. H. Tarr, Kassel, 1975) writes: "Con nova inventione circa le parole messe sotto al sonare da guerra" ("With a newly invented set of words for the sounds for war").

16. Fantini, *Modo,* p. 6.

17. See Conforzi, "Fantini," *Recercare,* p. 231, *HBSJ,* p. 164. Scholars have concocted several hypotheses to explain this passage, ranging from hand technique, using a trumpet as compact as a horn, to the *tromba da tirarsi* (trumpet with a slide), to the use of a particular mouthpiece to the use of holes (like the ones in the reconstructed baroque-like instruments used today). Recent studies have shown how much more flexible is an instrument made with techniques and materials of the time. This, together with a mouthpiece with a wider diameter, as was used at the time, and with correct positioning

of the lips, allows the player to adapt the harmonics to the intonation used and to obtain sounds outside the customary gamut.

18. In Moravia and Bohemia, for example.

19. An exhaustive study of the practice of the trumpet players is found in Peter Downey, *The Trumpet and Its Role in Music of the Renaissance and Early Baroque* (published DArts diss., Belfast: The Queen's University of Belfast, 1983).

20. Bendinelli, *Tutta l'arte.*

21. See n. 13 above.

22. A way to enliven the rhythmic flow, static to that point, was *the rottura* (rupture, breaking) of the ternary motion with the binary, indicated by a sign of proportion (in this case, two minims = three minims). The *clarino* could also *use* this section to rest before the return to the initial sonata.

23. Regarding the performance it is worth noting the wide *use* in Florence of *the Musica de'franciosini* (an ensemble of reeds, flutes, and trombones), and thus the versatility of the musicians, who were called to perform everywhere. On this topic, see the present author's CD dedicated to Fantini's music (Quadrivium SCA-030).

24. Fantini, *Modo,* pp. 10-11.

25. Bendinelli, *Tutta rant,* p. 2, writes: "Potrl poi imparare a cantare et suonare di lingua, la quale nonimporta che sia reversia, dritta, teghedegheda pontile 6 altrim.te pur *che* it suonatore se la trovi facile et se ne accomodi, perchE con questo potra poi riserbare [?] l'istromento et passare alle cosse di maggior importanza." ("He can then learn to sing and play with the tongue, for it does not matter whether it is straight, upside-down, *teghedegheda, pontile* or any other position, as long as the player finds it easy and is satisfied with it, because thus he can then save [?] the instrument and think about more important matters.")

26. Heinrich Lubeck (c. 1598) and Magnus Thomsen (c. 1600-1610), in *Trompeterfanfaren, Sonaten and Feldstiicke [.. .],* ed. Georg Schunemann in, *Das Erbe deutscher Musik, vol. 7 (Kassel, 1936),* and in Bendinelli, *Tutta Pane.*

27. Fantini, *Modo* p. 6.

28. See Giulio Caccini, *Le Nuove musiche* (Florence, 1601).

29. Fantini, *Modo,* p. 6.

30. Ibid. This shows an obvious limitation of the harmonic development in favor of the musical fabric and density of sound in the basso continuo. See n. 28.

31. This sentence appears in a different type face in the Bologna copy. See Tables I and II.

32. In particular: Wilhelm Osthoff, "Trombe sordine," *Archly.* *Musikwissenschafi* 18 (1956): 77-95; Jindrich Keller, "Antique Trumpet Mutes," *HBSJ* 2 (1990): 97-103, and Don L. Smithers; "Antique Trumpet Mutes: a Retrospective Commentary," *HBSJ* 2 (1990): 104-111.

33. On the function of instruments with mouthpieces in sim ila r s ituat ions we already have some traces in the funeral processions accompanied by *bucins, tube e cornui in* ancient Rome. There is much evidence for this practice in 17th-century Italy, with muted trumpet and drums *scordati* ("mistuned"). In Florence "Al di 14 giugno [1647] fu portato alla sepoltura it cadavem del Capitano Beccarini...e lo seguivano tutti i soldati a cavallo...sonando i sordini, et altri tamburini scordati..." ("On the fourteenth of July [1647] the body of Captain Beccarini was brought to be buried... and many soldiers on horses followed him...playing the mutes and other little drums *scordati").* On the death of Grand Duke Ferdinando II "[II 25 maggio 1670] marciava la Compagnia...avanti della quale si sentivano all'uso militare battere i timbali scordati, et i trombetti ne facevano udire it flebil suono della sordina" (["On 25 May 1670] the Company marched... in front of which you could hear, as was the military custom, *scordati* timbales playing, and the trumpets sounding the weak sound of the mute"), (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Cat.N.38, Diarii G. Capponi). Could these occasions have any relationship to Fantini?

34. The primary source for this topic is J. E. Altenberg, *Versuch einer Anleitung zur heroische-musikalischen Trompeter- and Paukerkunst* (1795; reprint, Leipzig, 1972; and transl. E. H. Tarr, Nashville, 1974), original version, pp. 25-30. He describes the different roles of the trumpet player *(Feldtrompeter, Hofirompeter, Stadt Trompeter* and *Kammertrompeter, Koncerttrompeter).* Worth mentioning is the prohibition made in this book for the *clarino* player to play ceremonial music, in order not to damage his position. This calls fora reflection on the basis of Fantini's profile as outlined in this paper.

35. Fantini, *Modo,* p. 4, English transl. by Edward H. Tarr, *Method for Learning to Play the Trumpet* (Nashville, 1975).

36. Ibid., p. 2 and p. 6.

37. Ibid., p. 6.

38. Ibid.

39. Fantini, p. 4. English transl. in *Tarr, Method.*

APPENDIX

Table I

Comparison of extant copies

(NB: In the column heading for New York, the abbreviation "ms." signifies a manuscript copy; elsewhere in the table, the same abbreviation identifies hand-written corrections in the prints. The abbreviation "corr." stands for "corrected", "scr." stands for "scraped." In the column for New York, some cells are blank because the manuscript cannot be fully compared to the printed versions.)

Page (staff / note)	BOLOGNA	FLORENCE	VENICE	PARIS	BERLIN	MILAN (facs.)	NEW YORK (ms.)
2	imperfections in the printing of «Francoforte» and «Licenza»	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	n/a
3	printed protrait crooked	printed portrait connected to madrigale	printed portrait connected to madrigale	portrait OK	printed portrait connected to madrigale	printed portrait crooked	
3 (last line)	«i» without dot	«Venti» «i» without dot)	«i» without dot	«i» without dot	«i» without dot	«i» with dot	
3 (last line)	«Venti» «i» with dot)		«Venti» with dot	«Venti» with dot	«Venti» with dot	«Venti» with dot	
4 (last line)	Arbitro» (from «Arbitrio», «i» scr. and corr. ms. «o»)	«Arbitrio»	«Arbitro»—the «o» corr. ms.	«Arbitro»—the «o» corr. ms.	«Arbitro» (from «Arbitrio», «i»scr. and corr. ms. «o»)	«Arbitro»—the «o» corr. ms.?	
6	«E per la tr. sordina...»	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
7 (9/ 0)	C (ms)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
8 (3/ 0)	C (ms)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
8 (8/ 15-16)	♭ (correct)	♭ (correct)	♭ (correct)	♭ (wrong/14-15)	♭ (correct)	♭ (correct)	♭ (correct)
12 (3/ 1)	tie (ms)	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
12 (5/ 22)	tie (ms)	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
12 (7/ 1)	tie (ms)	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
12 (8/ 7)	tie (ms)	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
12 (10/ 20)	tie (ms)	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES

Measure	Reading					
13 (5/ 3-4)	rest (ms)	YES	YES	YES	YES	
14 (9/ 0-1)	rest corr. ms	YES	YES	YES	YES	
14 (9/ 6-7)	rest corr. ms	YES	YES	YES	YES	
14 (9/ 12-13)	rest corr. ms	YES	YES	YES	YES (?)	
14 (10/ 8-9)	rest corr. ms	YES	YES	YES	YES (?)	
15 (1° staff.)	all three rests corr. ms	YES	YES	YES	YES (?)	YES
16 (8/1)	C ms	NO	NO	NO	NO	
17 (10/ 6-7)	rest corr. ms	YES	YES	YES	YES	
17 (10/ 11-12)	rest corr. ms	YES	YES	YES	YES	
17 (10/ 17-18)	rest corr. ms	YES	YES	YES	YES	
18 (1/ 2-3)	rest corr. ms	YES	YES	YES	YES	
18 (1/ 10-11)	NO (rest)	YES	YES	YES	YES	
20 (6/18)	♩ B	♩ D (label)	♩ D (label)	♩ D (label)	♩ B	♩ B
21 (2/15)	tr. (ms)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
21 (7/13-14)	YES (different type character for the number 3 on the top half)	3	YES	YES	only the bottom half of the number 3	YES
23 (4/ 34-35)	tie ms.	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
23 (9/ 18)	tr. ms	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES
24 (10/14)	tr. ms	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES
26 (1/ 2-3, 6-7, 22-23)	the dots are ink drops	NO	NO	NO	YES (coincide exactly)	
28 (2/7)	imperfection in printed characters	YES	YES	YES	YES	
28 (7/3)	♪ (right; corrected ms)	♪	♪ corr. ms.	♪ corr. ms.	♪ corr. ms.	♪
29 (4-6)	imperfection in printed characters	NO	NO	NO	NO	
30 (1/36)	tr. ms	NO	NO	YES	YES	[PAGE MISSING]
33 (6/8)	NO (scraped)	small «b» printed up the staff on the D position	NO	NO	NO	
34 (5/ 7)	tr. ms	NO	NO	NO	YES	[PAGE MISSING]
34 (5/ 27-28)	NO	NO	rest ms	rest ms	YES	
34 (6/ 19-20)	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	
36 (5/ last)	f.	YES	YES	NO (f. 6/ult.)	YES	YES
36 (6/ 13)	♩ D (ledger lines ms)	YES	YES	YES	YES	
37 (9/ 6)	tr. (small print)	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES

37 (10/12)	# on the F scr.	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO (?)	YES
38 (7/12)	tr. ms	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES
39 (1/20)	tr. ms	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
40 (1/23)	♪ (corr. ms)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	♪ (wrong)
40 (1/24)	♪ (corr.ms)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	♪ (wrong)
41 (10/8-9)	# scr.	NO (label)	YES	YES	NO (label)	NO	YES
43 (3/27)	tr. ms	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES
43 (7/9)	♪ (corr. ms)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	♪.
44 (7/0)	3 (ms)	NO (scr.)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
44 (8/15)	NO	NO (scr.)	NO (scr.?)	YES	♭ on the B	NO	NO
44 (10/6)	♪F (# scr.)	♪F (# scr.)	#♪ F# (wrong)	♪F (# scr.)	♪F (# scr.)	♪F (# scr. ?)	♪F
46 (4/11)	# on A scr.	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES (?)	
47 (5/1° staff)	all rests corr. ms	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES (?)	
47 (7/16)	YES		♪ (corr. ms)	♪ (corr. ms)	YES	YES (?)	♪.
48 (1/8)	tr. (ms)	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES
48 (7/2)	tr. (ms)	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
49 (2/16)	♩B	♩D (label)	♩D (label)	♩D (label)	♩D (label)	♩B	♩B
49 (7/10)	♩C (ledger line ms)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	
50 (1/14-15)	pause corr. ms	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	
50 (2/6)	♩A (# scr.)	#♩A# (wrong)	♩A (# scr.)	♩A (# scr.)	#♩A# (wrong)	♩A	♩A
50 (5/6)	tr. ms	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES
50 (9/21)	tr. ms	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES
52 (1/25)	tr. ms	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES
52 (5/27)	NO	NO	tr. ms	NO	NO	NO	NO
53 (7/24)	YES	YES	♪ (corr. ms)	YES	YES	YES	♪.
56 (4/9)	♩D	♩B	♩D	♩D	♩D	♩D	♩D
56 (9/26)	tr. ms	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES
57 (4/5)	YES	YES	♭ scr.	NO (?)	YES	NO (?)	
58 (7/24)	tr. ms	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
58 (9/23)	tr. ms	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES
60 (1/13)	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES
60 (2/5)	♩A (# scr.)	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO (?)	♩A
60 (3/1)	tr. ms	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO

	♪D (# scr.)	#♪ D# (wrong)	♪D (# scr.)	♪D (# scr.)	♪D (# scr.)	♪D (# scr. ?)	♪D (# scr. ?)	♪D
60 (6/ 6)	tr. ms	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	♪D
61 (9/7)	NO	NO	tr. ms	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
62 (3/ 12)	tr. ms	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
62 (7/ 20)	tr. ms	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
64 (5/ 22)	tr. ms	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
64 (9/ 18)	#♪ F#	#♪ F#	#♪ F#	#♪ F#	♪ F	♪ F	YES	YES
65 (3/ 16)	NO	NO	tr. ms	NO	NO	NO	♪ F	#♪ F#
65 (5/ 7)	tie ms	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
65 (9/ 24)	tie ms	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES
65 (10/ 24)	tie ms	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
66 (4/ 25)	♪ D	♪ G	♪ G	♪ G	♪ G	♪ D	♪ D	♪ D
68 (2/ 5)	p. ms	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES
68 (5/ m. 6)	♪ (corr. ms)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	♪
69 (9/ 16)	♪ (corr. ms)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	♪	
69 (9/ 17)	Gherardini	YES	Gherardini	Giraldini	Gherardini	Gherardini	YES	Gherardini
71 (5)	big drops of ink	Giraldini	NO	NO	NO	NOT	Gherardini	
72 (1/ 14, «Organo»)	♭ scr.	NO	YES	YES	YES (♭ scr.?)	YES (?)	NOT	
72 (6/ 2)	tie ms	YES (♭ scr.)	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES (?)	YES
73 (3/ 8)	tr. ms	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES
73 (5/ 14)	rest corr. ms	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	
73 (7/ 7-8)	rest corr. ms	YES	YES	YES (?)	YES	YES	YES	YES
73 (7/ 13-14)	tr. ms	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES	
73 (7/ 23)	something scr. (♭)	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	
73 (10/ 6)	♪ (corr. ms)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	♪
74 (1/ 5)	(stem on b upside down)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	♪
75 (1/ mm. 6-7)	tie	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
75 (5/ last)	#♪ F#	NO	#♪ F#	#♪ F#	#♪ F#	#♪ F#	#♪ F#	#♪ F#
75 (7/ 0)	tie	♪ F (wrong)	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
75 (7/ 26)	tie ms	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES
77 (1-24)	♪ corr. ms	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	♪ (wrong)
77 (1-26)	♪ corr. ms	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	♪

77 (1-27)	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪ (wrong)
77 (8 / 3)	# scr.	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO (?)	○ D
77 (8 / 5)	○ D	○ B	○ B	○ B	○ D	○ D	○ D	
77 (10/ 8)	# scr.	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	
78 (2/ 12)	♩ D	♩ D	♩ D	♩ D	♩ D	♩ D	♩ D	♩ D
78 (5/ 22)	♪ (corr. ms)	♪ (corr. ms)				♪ (corr. ms)		♩ D
78 (6-17)	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪	♪ (wrong)
78 (6/ 24-25)	rest corr. ms	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES		
78 (6/ 28-29)	rest corr. ms	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES		
78 (6/ 32-33)	rest corr. ms	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES ?		
78 (6/ 36-37)	rest corr. ms	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES		
78 (7/ 1-2)	rest corr. ms	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES		
78 (7/ 7-8)	rest corr. ms	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES		
78 (7/ 13-14)	pause corr. ms	YES	YES	♪♪♪♪	♪♪♪♪	YES	♪♪♪♪ (corr. ms)	♪♪♪♪
80 (5/ 22-25)	♪♪♪♪ (corr. ms; correct)	♪♪♪♪ (wrong)						
80 (7/ 21)	♪ corr. ms (correct)	♪ (wrong)	♪	♪	♪	♪ (corr. ms)	♪	
80 (7/ 22)	♪ (dot ms)	♪ (dot ms)	♪ (dot ms)	♪ (dot ms)	♪ (dot ms)	♪ (dot ms)	♪	
80 (7/ 25)	♪ corr. ms (correct)	♪ (wrong)	♪	♪	♪	♪ (corr. ms)	♪	
80 (9/ 12)	NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	♪	
80 (10/ 29)	♪ (corr. ms)	♪ (wrong)	♪ (corr. ms)	♪ (corr. ms)	♪ (wrong)	♪ (corr. ms)	♪	
83 (9/ 12)	tie ms	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	

Table II

Comparison of corrections made with labels
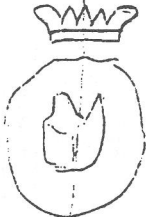
Page (staff / note)	BOLOGNA	FLORENCE	VENICE	PARIS	BERLIN
3	NO	NO	(to the right of Marte) covers the hole of «o» from «Arbitro» on p.4	NO	NO
6 (last)	«E per A tromba sordina...»	NO	NO	NO	NO
7 (7/0)	♭ tenor	YES	YES	NO	YES
8 (8/15-16)	♭ alto	YES	YES	YES	YES
12 (7/half-syllables)	ton de (cover buttase)	YES	YES	YES	YES
13 (5/3-4)	♭ alto	YES	YES	YES	YES
14 (6/2)	♪ E	YES	YES	YES	YES
15 (2/2)	♪ E	NO (♪C)	YES	YES	YES
16 (3/0)	♭ alto	YES	YES	YES	YES
16 (6/12-13)	♭ alto	YES	YES	YES	YES
17 (6-0)	♭ alto	YES	YES	YES	YES
18 (1-4)	YES (top half of note)	YES	♩G	YES	YES
18 (3/0)	♭ alto	YES	YES	YES	YES
18 (3/1)	♪ G	NO (corr. ms without label)	YES	YES	YES
18 (4/0)	♭ alto	YES	YES	NO	YES
18 (8/3)	♪ E	NOT(corr. ms without label)	YES	YES	YES
19 (2/ II bar)	blank label covers teghe teghe da	YES	YES	NO	YES
20 (6/18)	NO (♩B)	♩D	YES	YES	YES
22 (10/last)	♪	YES	YES	NO	YES
23 (4/ III bar)	NO (tie hand-scraped)	blank label covers tie	YES	YES	YES
26 (2/33)	♩D	YES	YES	YES	YES

♭ clef	NO (clef upside down)	NO (clef upside-down)	NO (clef upside-down)	NO (clef upside-down)	YES
29 (7/0)					
32 (8/4)	₀C	YES	YES	YES	YES
32 (8/7)	♩D	YES	YES	YES	YES
32 (10/8)	♩C	YES	YES	YES	YES
33 (2/12)	♪G	NO (corr. ms without label)	YES	YES	YES
41 (10/8-9)	NO	label with staff	NO	NO	NO
41 (10/10)	o C	YES	YES	YES	YES
41 (10/11)	♩F	YES	YES	YES	YES
45 (1/1)	NO	♪C (label covers stem)	NOT	NO	NO
45 (3/20)	o C	YES	YES	YES	YES
49 (2/16)	NO (♩B)	♩D	YES	YES	YES
49 (10/5)	♩C	YES	YES	YES	YES
49 (10/6)	♩C	YES	YES	YES	YES
50 (9/7)	♩C (label : A)	YES	YES	YES	YES
53 (8/ 1-2)	NO (♩ scr.)	NO (♩ scr.)	NO (♩ scr.)	blank label	NO (♩ scr.)
53 (8/ 3-4)	NO (♩ scr.)	NO (♩ scr.)	NO (♩ scr.)	blank label	NO (♩ scr.)
54 (7/6)	NO (♩ scr.)	♩F	NO (♩ scr.)	YES	YES
56 (4/9)	♩D	NO (♩B)	YES	YES	YES
57 (4/11)	♩D	YES	YES	NO	YES
57 (9/17)	♩D	YES	YES	NO	YES
57 (9/18)	♪E	YES	YES	NO (♪)	YES
58 (4/9)	♩F	YES	YES	YES	YES
58 (4/10)	♩F	YES	YES	YES	YES
58 (8/8)	♩D	YES	YES	NO	YES
59 (7/16)	♪E	YES	YES	YES	YES
59 (10/6)	NO (♩ scr.)	♩D	NO (♩ scr.)	YES	YES
63 (4/14)	♩F	YES	YES	YES	YES
63 (5/ 21)	♪D	YES	YES	YES	YES

66 (2/ 3)	♩D	YES	YES	NO	YES
68 (2/5)	♩D	NOT(♩G)	NO (♩G)	NO (♩G)	NO (♩G)
70 (6/ 12)	♩G	YES	YES	YES	YES
72 (8/ 4-5)	NO (♯scr.)	label with staff	NO(♯scr.)	NO	NO (♯ scr.)
73 (3/ 15-16)	NO	NO	NO	bar line	NO
74 (4/ 7)	♪C	YES	YES	YES	YES
74 (6/ 7)	NO	NO (staff slightly scr.)	NO (staff slightly scr.)	NO	label with staff above the note
75 (2/ 4)	o G	YES	YES	YES	YES (label has ♩ with stem s.)
75 (4/ 6)	♩G	YES	YES	NO	YES
75 (4/ 7)	♮ C	YES	YES	YES	YES
75 (8/ 6)	oC	YES	YES	NO	YES
75 (8/ 7-8)	NO (scr.♪?)	label with staff	NO (scr. ♪)	NO	NO (scr. ♪)
75 (8/ 9-10)	NO (scr.♪)	label with staff	NO (scr. ♪)	NO	NO (scr. ♪)
75 (8/ 11-12)	NO (scr.♪)	label with staff	NO (scr. ♪)	NO	NO (scr. ♪)
75 (10/ 1-2)	NO (scr.♪)	NO (scr. ♪)	NO (scr. ♪)	NO	label with staff
77 (4/ 3)	♩G	YES	YES	YES	YES
77 (4/ 9)	♩D	YES	YES	YES	YES
77 (6/ 19)	o G	YES	YES	YES	YES
77 (8/ 5)	o D	NO (oB)	NO (oB)	NO (oB)	YES
78 (1/ 20-21)	♩	YES	YES	YES	YES
78 (2/ 12)	♩D	YES	YES	YES	NO (♩D)
78 (8/ 0)	blank label covers a second clef	YES	YES	NO	YES
79 (1/ 22)	♪	NO	YES	NO	YES
83 (10/ 9)	NO (♩ scraped)	♩(C)	NO (♩ scr.)	NO (♩ scr.)	NO (♩ scr.)
83 (10/ 13)	o A	YES	YES	YES	YES
84 (6/ 7-8)	NO (scraped ♪)	label with staff	NO (scr. ♪)	NO	NO (scr. ♪)

Table III
Watermarks

A) sun (all copies) 	B) crowned head(Florence exemplsar, p. 78)
C) unidentified figure with crown above circular perimeter (Florence exemplar, pp. 20-40) 	D) unidentified figure with half-moon on median axis above circular perimeter (Florence exemplar, pp. 74-84)
E) figure with sceptre (Venice exemplar, blank pages following and preceding cover) 	F) dragon (Paris exemplar, blank page preceding cover)

Table IV
Comparison of type face and decorative capitals in two works printed
by Massi e Landi

FANTINI 1638 (*Modo per imparare…*)	COPPOLA 1637 (*Relazione delle nozze degli Dei…*)
1638. 27 36 50 48 *Albergotti* *Ricasoli.* *Scorno:* *Schinchinelli* *T* *A* Tromba Musica	1637. 27 36 50 48 *Albergotti* *Ricasoli* *Scorno* *Schinchinelli* *T* *A* Tromba Musica

Plate 1
Portrait of Fantini, with laudatory
madrigale by Alessandro Adimari