

GIACHES DE WERT (1535-1596) AND HIS TIME

MIGRATION OF MUSICIANS  
TO AND FROM THE LOW COUNTRIES (C. 1400-1600)

Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation

3

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TO AND FROM THE LOW COUNTRIES (c.1400-1600)

COLLOQUIUM PROCEEDINGS  
ANTWERPEN 26-27 AUGUST 1996

Editor: Eugeen Schreurs, Bruno Bouckaert

*Alamire*  
Foundation



ALAMIRE  
MUZIEKUITGEVERIJ

Leuven - Peer  
1999

97 / 2000 / 2 573 Mus



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Lay-out: Vaes Grafische Producties, Overpelt (Belgium)

Printed by Drukkerij Paesen, Opglabbeek (Belgium)

D 1999 4169 2

ISBN 90-6853116-6

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## INTRODUCTION

In connection with the 400th anniversary of the death of Giaches de Wert, a colloquium was held on 26 and 27 Augustus 1996 in the Cultural Centre 't Elzenveld in Antwerp. The event was a collaboration between the Alamire Foundation (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven), the Flanders Festival Antwerp, and Musica (Flemish Centre for Music). The central focus was the 'innovator' Wert and his time (chair: James Haar, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; respondent: Anthony Newcomb, University of Berkeley), as well as the phenomenon of the migration of persons and styles (chair: Barbara Hagg, Royal Holloway, University of London). A selection of these lectures is published here as the third yearbook of the Alamire Foundation. On the third day of the festival colloquium, performance practice was the main theme, with lectures on 'Iconography and the Lute'.

Wert's biography, the context in which he lived and worked, as well as his exceptional, progressive oeuvre, has in the past often received too little attention from musicologists and performers alike (although this situation has recently begun to change). We were thus pleased to provide a forum for further research and attention to the work of this polyphonist *émigré*, and were doubly pleased that it took place in Antwerp, the city that contributed to the spread of a number of his works through music publications, and was long thought to be his possible place of birth (or near to it).

By way of parenthesis, let us explore this last point further by considering a number of possible birthplaces (or places of origin) of this composer, based on the assumption that de Wert came from We(e)rt (*ex wert*):<sup>1</sup>

- Weert on the Schelde, near Bornem in the present province of Antwerp (Belgium).
- Weert, in the present province of Noord-Brabant (The Netherlands).
- the village of Weert near Rijkhoven/Bilzen in the present province of Limburg (Belgium).
- possibly Weerde, a municipality in the present province of Vlaams-Brabant (Belgium).

<sup>1</sup> F. DEBRABANDERE, *Verklarend woordenboek van de familienamen in België en Noord-Frankrijk*, Brussel, 1993, p. 1490 under *Weert, van [van Wert]* in connection with the place-name Weerde or Weert.

In the past it has been suggested that Wert may have been born in one of the above places around 1535, although the notion of 'place of birth' should not always be understood too literally in 16th-century sources.<sup>2</sup> Another plausible explanation is that the name de Wert is derived from the Dutch 'weerd' or 'waard', meaning 'innkeeper'.<sup>3</sup> That possibility opens new perspectives in connection with the recent reference that the de Wert family came from Ghent (*de Gante de Flandria*).<sup>4</sup> Further (archival) research will no doubt provide a more definitive answer, but whatever the solution to this riddle, the problem of Wert's origins is not essential to our vision of his music. At best it could give us some indication of the milieu for his very early musical training.

It is astonishing to consider the vast range of information on this composer now being brought to light, allowing us better to situate and understand the man and his work. This became clear in the course of the lectures published here, including reports from the institutions with which Wert was connected, such as the Basilica of Santa Barbara in Mantua (I. Fenlon) or the Accademia Filarmonica in Verona (D. Nutter). Naturally, a number of different genres was considered during the lectures, with the expected emphasis on the madrigal (A. Newcomb, G. Hoekstra, J. Haar). Next to his prominent role as a renewer of the madrigal, Wert was also a keen practitioner of sacred music. It was thus disappointing that no motets, Magnificats, or masses were discussed during the colloquium (and, as a result, in this yearbook). This has led to our intention to undertake or support initiatives around these genres in the future.

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Like many other composers in the Low Countries of the 15th and 16th centuries, Wert emigrated to Italy, with its flourishing culture and economy. Wert's emigration formed the starting point for the main theme of the second day of the colloquium, a discussion of musicians' migrations in general

<sup>2</sup> See C. MACCLINTOCK, *Giaches de Wert (1535-1596): Life and Works, (Musical Studies and Documents*, ed. A. CARAPETYAN, 17, Rome, 1966. C. MACCLINTOCK, *New Light on Giaches de Wert*, in JAN LARUE et al., *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*, New York, 1966, p. 595-602. I. BOGAERT, art. Wert (Werth, Vuert), *Giaches (Giachet, Jaches, Jacques) de*, in *Algemene Muziekencyclopedie*, ed. J. ROBIJNS en M. ZIJLSTRA, 10, Weesp, 1984, p. 252. I. BOGAERT, *Giaches de Wert. Vlaams polyfonist. 1536-1596*, Leuven, 1988, p. 40-44. She gives 1536 as the year of birth.

<sup>3</sup> DEBRABANDERE, *Verklarend woordenboek*, p. 1490 under Weerd(t), de [de Wert] as a derivative of 'weerd' ('landlord', 'innkeeper').

<sup>4</sup> I. FENLON, *Giaches de Wert: The early years* in, *Revue Belge de Musicologie/Belgische tijdschrift voor muziekwetenschap*, 52 (1998), p. 377-379.

between 1400 and 1600. The interest in this phenomenon stemmed not only from biographies of well-known, 'travellers' such as Jacob Obrecht, or from the well documented recruitment in 1501 of singers from diverse collegiate churches in the Low Countries for the voyage to Spain of Philip the Handsome's court chapel,<sup>5</sup> but also from the biographies of lesser masters and musicians who followed the trend and helped to create an extended, dynamic network.

Systematic historical research has for some time shown that the idea of closed city systems in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance is something of an illusion. On the contrary: the intensive movement of people led to a fruitful exchange of ideas and culture. We usually think of this exchange from north to south (for example, to Italy: V. Borghetti, P. Macey; or to the Habsburg court: D. Crawford) but an opposite impulse from south to north was also at work, although this is often presented in the shadow of the former tendency. A characteristic example is the rich Italian merchant from Lucca, who made donations to establish the performance of polyphony in St Donaas's in Bruges (M. Monteyne). More important yet, from a musical point of view, especially in the 15th and 16th centuries, was the stylistic influence of French musical culture (through the chanson) and Italian (through the madrigal) on Northern composers such as Peter Philips, himself an emigrated Englishman in the Southern Low Countries (D. Smith).

For scholars hoping to better follow the individual careers of musicians and understand more fully the phenomenon of migration, a biographical databank, preferably in a historical European context is needed. At the same time, case studies of individual composers can shed more light on the musical influence of this mobility. Further contributions to such a databank and concerning migration will be included in the fourth yearbook of the Alamire Foundation, which will feature articles on the musical life of the collegiate churches of the Low Countries.

It only remains for us to thank our fellow initiators mentioned above, the chairs of the colloquium, the FWO for its financial support, as well as our publisher, Alamire, which has continued its tradition of beautiful editions by agreeing to produce this book.

Eugeen Schreurs  
Alamire Foundation  
Trans. Stratton Bull

<sup>5</sup> See G. VAN DOORSLAER, *La chapelle musicale de Philippe le Beau*, in *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, 4 (1934), p. 49.

GIACHES DE WERT (1535-1596)  
AND HIS TIME

## WERT: A RE-EVALUATION OF THE EARLY YEARS IN PARTICULAR

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*University of California, Berkeley*

In his fundamental monograph of nearly fifty years ago on the Italian madrigal, Alfred Einstein grouped Wert together with Monte and Lasso as one of 'the three great oltremontani'.<sup>1</sup> In the light of the scholarship of the ensuing half century, we would say, I believe, that Wert the madrigal composer was by far the most versatile, the most influential, and quite simply the best of these 'three oltremontani' - indeed, of the entire generation of madrigal composers between Rore and Marenzio.

In placing Wert in this place of honor in the late 1940s, Einstein was resurrecting a figure nearly forgotten by music history. His attention to Wert in this and ensuing chapters of the book was followed by the fundamental life and works monograph by Carol MacClintock, a study now over thirty years old.<sup>2</sup> The time has certainly come for a more thorough critical evaluation of the output of the most important madrigalist of the third quarter of the century (and beyond) in the fuller context of the history of the Italian madrigal that we now possess. The following offers some notes toward that goal.

The much fuller context to which I refer obtains especially for the madrigal of 1580 onwards (Wert's seventh Book onward). Here one tends to overlook the fact that he is being compared to a group of madrigalists (e.g. Marenzio, then Monteverdi) who were twenty years younger than he. This is a tribute to Wert's flexibility and versatility as an artist. Like Stravinsky in this century, Wert seems to have been able to learn from the most recent styles and to adapt the best in them for his own particular and very individual purposes. Yet to see him as having changed radically (in the literal sense of the term) is, I think, wrong. His roots remained in the declamatory arioso style of the 1550s - I would almost say, in the theatrical style of that time, though I will have to qualify this term later on. This fact is basic to Wert's importance for Monteverdi and the late-century madrigal. Wert was the only one of the great and influential late-century madrigalists who was formed in that style. (My position is that Lasso and Monte were not really influential on the madrigal of 1580 and onward.)<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A. EINSTEIN, *The Italian Madrigal*, Princeton, NJ, 1949, ch. 6.

<sup>2</sup> C. MACCLINTOCK, *Giaches de Wert (1535-1596): Life and Works*, n.p. (American Institute of Musicology), 1966.

<sup>3</sup> For Wert's early exposure to an intense theatrical culture as a teenager in Naples and perhaps Rome, see MACCLINTOCK, *Giaches de Wert*, pp. 21-23. For the even more intense theatrical activity in the Gonzaga realms of the 1560s, see A. D'ANCONA, *Origini del teatro italiano*, II, Torino, 1891, pp. 436-464.

The first point I should like to stress here is that, although a good deal has been written about Wert's output after 1580, very little if anything since MacClintock concerns the output before 1580 - in all eight books of madrigals. My thesis is that the stripped dramatic style of musical speech,<sup>4</sup> so basic to the epic-dramatic madrigal style of the end of the century, was present in Wert's style from the First Book (or interlocking series of books including the first three books for five voices) onward, and not only in the *Orlando furioso* and *Dido* settings of the First Book for Four Voices (as Bianconi and Tomlinson seem to imply).<sup>5</sup> The second point I should like to stress is that this style was highly distinctive, and that it set Wert apart from the other important madrigalists of his generation.

The examples that might be used to demonstrate this are many. *Pien d'un vago pensier* of Book I a 5 (1558) is one that permits a comparison with Orlando di Lasso at nearly the same time.<sup>6</sup> Lasso begins with staggered entrances of a subject in fairly strict imitation and moving in minims and semibreves in even motion for the first two lines of the poem in what becomes, after the imitative entrances, consistent five-voice texture. Wert begins with a full breve of sustained five-voice homophony as a musical embodiment of the word *pien*, before continuing in five-voice homophonic recitation in shorter values for the first line and one-half. Then, at *e fammi al mondo ir solo*, he thins to a duet texture leading to what I have called an 'evaporated cadence' for a single high voice on the word *solo*.<sup>7</sup> These straight-forward, directly perceptible representations of the textual content are typical of Wert's approach to textual imagery. They are things that can immediately be heard by a separate audience; they are neither esoteric nor directed primarily at the performer. I shall call this approach 'direct representation' of textual content. Somewhat less immediate perhaps, but still clear to the connoisseur, is Wert's embodiment of the image of the *vago pensier che mi desvia* (the end of Petrarch's first line) by beginning the piece away from the modal final, to which he comes only at the end of the second line of the poem with the 'evaporated cadence' on *solo*.

Wert also moves across his text clearly and quickly. He has reached this point

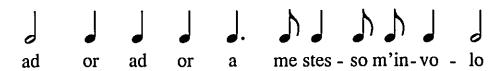
<sup>4</sup> A style for which I would like to adopt Nino Pirrotta's term 'recitar cantando' (see his *Music and Theatre from Poliziano to Monteverdi*, Cambridge, 1982, trans. K. EALES, pp. 240ff.; originally in Italian: *Li due Orfei*, Torino, 1969, pp. 311ff.).

<sup>5</sup> L. BIANCONI, *Introduction to Antonio il Verso, Madrigali à tre e à cinque voci*, (*Musiche rinascimentali siciliane*, 8), Firenze, 1978, p. xvii. G. TOMLINSON, *Monteverdi and the End of the Renaissance*, Berkeley, CA, 1987, pp. 59ff.

<sup>6</sup> Lasso's setting of the octave only of the sonnet, published in his Book I a 5 of 1555, is available in Sandberger's edition, II, pp. 75-78. All the Wert madrigals referred to in this paper are available in modern edition in Giaches Wert, *Collected Works*, ed. C. MACCLINTOCK, (*Corpus Mensuralis Musicae*, 24), 1961-1977.

<sup>7</sup> A term (coined in my *The Madrigal at Ferrara, 1579-1597*, Princeton, 1980, I, p. 120), which denotes a cadential gesture in which most of the voices taking part in a phrase drop out before the tonal goal of the cadence is reached.

after nine breves of music, as compared to Lasso's twelve. He then sets the third line of the poem with two and a half breves of homophony in the following rhythm, typical of his flexible, declamatory rhythms:



Lasso's rhythms for the same line of poetry, much stiffer and in a staggered, free-imitative texture, are as follows:



(both  $\text{c}$ , from the *cantus* part). Similar examples of the freely recitatorial homophonic declamation could be found in the settings from Book I of Della Casa's *Cura che di timor*, and of Petrarch's *Aspro cor*, as well as of the anonymous *Cara la vita mia*, which became quite a hit as a solo song (at least sometimes) as the century went on.<sup>8</sup> Later in *Pien d'un vago pensier* (for line 6 of the poem, *Che l'alma trema per levarsi a volo*) Wert already uses one of his typical sharply contrasting, simultaneous double-motive imitative units for the two halves of the line, thus embodying the poetic oxymoron as only music can. Lasso sets the two halves one after the other. Lasso is more wide-ranging in his chordal vocabulary (rapidly ranging from A-major to Bb and Eb chords) and melodic vocabulary (direct chromaticism for *desvia*) and dissonance (a nice pile-up for *ria* in breves 26-27) and more thorough in his imitative working out throughout (though this is not a contrast that will apply with all of Wert's pieces).

A comparison of Wert's setting of Petrarch's *Cantai hor piango* in Book II a 5 of 1561 with Lasso's from his Book I a 5 shows much of the same contrast as outlined above. Clearer in this example is another characteristic of Wert's distinctive style: the tendency to maximize contrast between the musical embodiments of distinct textual blocks. Here *cantai* is given typically direct musical embodiment as florid melisma, followed by *hor piango* as slow, drooping lines. Lasso's setting of the opening has no such contrast. Throughout Wert uses more extreme contrast, of everything but especially of motion, to set off textual blocks. Lasso uses more harmonic boldness, more non-cadential sharps and chromatic intervals, but much less articulation by contrast of texture, rate of motion and melodic style.

Wert's setting of the rarely set lines from Petrarch's *Trionfo d'amore, Dura legge d'amor*, also from Book II, has striking examples of freedom and variety of rhythmic motion (mm. 41-43 of Part 1 are frantic, leading to a lovely evaporated cadence, and mm. 29-30 of Part 2 have ripples of parallel fauxbourdon texture in *fusae* that foreshadow *al fin sgorgando* from *Giunto alla tomba* of

<sup>8</sup> See NEWCOMB, *The Madrigal at Ferrara*, I, p. 126.



Book VII of 1581) and is one of the most strictly homophonic of the settings published to this point. And yet the declamatory homophony is essentially polyphonic, not pseudo-monodic. Many of its effects (like the evaporated cadence of m. 43) rely on polyphonic textures, and some lines of the poem are not set for the top voice. Here, as almost always (the exceptions are in the First Book a 4), Wert is not writing pseudo-monodic settings, but settings in which a polyphonic group projects the expression of a lyric or dramatic persona to a separate audience - a true polyphonic *cantar recitando*.

The same point could be made with the splendid setting of Castiglione's sonnet *Superbi colli e voi sacri ruine* in Book II. Its opening phrase, set in stately declamatory homophony for five voices, embodies the textual image of grandeur polyphonically in a line for the Bass voice that covers a tenth from *a* to *F* in five notes, foreshadowing the wild opening line of the setting of Petrarch's *Solo e pensoso* from Book VII (and the final line of Monteverdi's setting of *Hor che'l ciel e la terra* of some eighty years later). The effect is dependent on polyphony, as are many of the effects made by wide-ranging linear sweeps in other voices in the piece. (The alto part, for example, covers an octave and a fourth in a grand sweep in the setting of the final line of the poem.)

Wert's penchant for wide intervals, in both linear curves and bold leaps, is present in most pieces from the outset of his career. Many are the expressive leaps to which one could point in these closely related first three books for five voices. One to which MacClintock calls particular attention is in the imitative opening of *Amor, io fallo* in Book II, where all five voices leap an upward minor seventh for *io fallo*. In this instance, I believe that a comparison with Wert's contemporary and fellow Mantuan subject Alessandro Striggio may be relevant. Striggio's setting of this text, a Petrarch sonnet not commonly set, was published in his First Book for six voices in 1560.<sup>9</sup> Striggio's setting is mainly in rhythmically rather neutral staggered homophony (not the rhythmically flexible, declamatory homophony common in Wert). But his imitative opening section features a leapt upward major sixth on *io fallo*. A leapt major sixth was a distinct anomaly, an anti-canonical gesture, in mid-sixteenth-century style, one used to express harsh, painful emotion (cf. the wrenching upward sixth leap in the opening of Rore's *Crudele acerba inesorabil morte*, the second

<sup>9</sup> To judge from *Il Nuovo Vogel* (F. LESURE & C. SARTORI, *Il Nuovo Vogel*, Pomezia, 1977), Striggio's is the first setting, followed by Wert's a year later, and by only three minor composers in 1561, 1563 and 1564 (Nicolo Dorati, Bernardo Giacomini, Francesco Menta). There are no further settings. Striggio's setting is available in modern edition in Alessandro Striggio, *Il primo libro de madrigali a sei voci*, ed. D.S. BUTCHART, (*Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance*, 70-71), Madison, 1986, pp. 84-94. There are very few subsequent texts set in common by Wert and Striggio in the surviving complete pieces by either composer. (There is one other from Striggio's Book I a 6 and Wert's Book I a 5: *Quando vede il pastor calare i raggi*, a setting of a Petrarch text which was also republished in Wert's Book III a 5 as part of the whole canzona from which it comes.)

part of his setting of Petrarch's *Mia benigna fortuna* from his Book II a 4 of 1557). I would posit that Wert set out to leap beyond (literally) his Mantuan contemporary Striggio with his upward minor seventh. He then went on to answer it with a falling sixth or seventh in the imitative subject for the second half of the line (*e veggio il mio fallire*), decisively trumping his potential rival.

I shall mention here another example of a bold leap cited by MacClintock<sup>10</sup>, the unique leapt major seventh in the tenor part of the opening of the second part of *Quei pianti, quei sospiri* of Book IV (1567). What MacClintock did not notice was that this was occasioned by a solmisation pun - by what the sixteenth-century musician called an *inganno*.<sup>11</sup> All settings of the first two syllables of the word *fallace* here are on notes that can be solmized *fa* and *la* in some hexachord, usually the same one - hard or natural, as would be normal for a piece with no signature. The tenor, however, in its third iteration of the textual phrase, leaps from *fa* in the natural hexachord (*f*) to *la* in the hard hexachord (*e'*), producing a major seventh - justified, so to speak, by an *inganno*, a solmization pun. The full text of the poetic line and the sung phrase is *Ond'io dirò che fu fallace inganno*.<sup>12</sup>

A final example from Wert's Book II that permits us to isolate distinctive elements of Wert's style in comparison with his contemporaries is his setting of Petrarch's *I 'vo piangendo*, also set by Andrea Gabrieli in an anthology of 1562.<sup>13</sup> Gabrieli's setting of 1562 is quite bland - conventional in its madri-

<sup>10</sup> MACCLINTOCK, *Giaches de Wert*, p. 94.

<sup>11</sup> See the entry *inganno* in S. SADIE (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, London, 1980, IX, p. 227. Using this technique, the melodic contour of a series of notes (usually an imitative subject) can be changed, sometimes quite drastically, by keeping constant the solmization syllables of the series, but changing the hexachord from which a given syllable comes.

<sup>12</sup> This may have been something of an insider's joke, buried in an isolated gesture inside the polyphonic texture, not the usual kind of direct representation of text that I have claimed as typical of Wert in previous examples.

<sup>13</sup> Modern edition available in *Andrea Gabrieli, Complete Madrigals*, ed. A. TILLMAN MERRITT, (*Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance*, 45-46), Madison, 1983, pp. 128-136. EINSTEIN, *The Italian Madrigal*, p. 532 also points out Gabrieli's distance from Rore's, if not Wert's style. And he points to another setting of this text by Gabrieli, published only posthumously in the *Concerti* of 1587 (modern edition in *Andrea Gabrieli, Complete Madrigals*, 9-10, pp. 142-151). Here Gabrieli is uncharacteristically adventurous harmonically. And he uses considerable variety of rate of motion, but without the sharp declamatory speech rhythms of Wert (and Rore) - cf., for example, the setting of *in guerra et in tempesta* in Gabrieli 1587 and Wert 1561. In Part 2 of Gabrieli's setting the alternation of slow and fast tempi from phrase to phrase begins to seem almost schematic, without textual motivation.

Though I shan't try to do so here, I would make the same points using a comparison of Wert's 1581 setting of Guarini's little pastoral-erotic *scena, Tirsi morir volea* (Book VII) with Gabrieli's again posthumous setting from the *Concerti* of 1587. (Modern edition of the Gabrieli in *Andrea Gabrieli, Complete Madrigals*, 9-10, pp. 206-216.) There are several superficial similarities here, but Wert is always more homophonic, more varied in rate of motion, more direct and flexible in his speech rhythms, more dramatically realistic in his representations of the text (cf. the settings of *languidi e tremanti* or *ed io mia vita moro*). Both are set as polychoral dialogs for seven voices, but Gabrieli does not hold the choirs consistently separate for the two speakers, and hence loses the (suggestive and funny) effect of the mixing of them at *ed io mia vita moro* in Wert's setting.

galisms, its imitations, its harmonic vocabulary, its variety of rhythmic motion. Wert's setting in this instance, full of melodic jolts and jarring contrasts of motion, could scarcely be farther from Gabrieli's.

It also brings some of the elements of his declamatory, speaking style, with its rhythmic flexibility, into the most obviously close kinship so far with an important second ancestor of his style. This is an ancestor other than the arioso style of the early 50s to which James Haar has drawn attention, in this volume and elsewhere. The style to which I refer is the polyphonic style of Rore's Third Book for Five Voices of 1548, and specifically the setting of Petrarch's canzone to the *Vergine* in this volume. In just the first part of Rore's eleven-part piece, one can see Wert's penchant for dramatically placed octave leaps foreshadowed in Rore's setting of *chiamò* in *Chi la chiamò con fede* (mm. 41-45), and Wert's occasional delicately placed evaporated cadences are foreshadowed in Rore's exquisite version at the end of the same poetic line (m. 47).<sup>14</sup> The shifting, disorienting accentual stresses of Wert's *desviata e frale* or *Si che, s'io vissi in guerra et in tempesta* can be seen (with textual echoes as well) in Rore's setting of *Soccorri a la mia guerra* near the end of Part 1 (mm. 62-64) or, more strikingly still, near the beginning of Part 6 at *Di questo tempestoso mare stella* (Part 6, mm. 11-14). Wert's flexible moving back and forth between polyphony and declamatory homophony in speech rhythms, especially with reduced textures, can be seen in Rore's setting of *Ma pur in te l'anima mia si fida / Peccatrice, io no'l nego / Vergine, ma ti prego...* (Part 6, mm. 35-45, preceded by a beautiful evaporated cadence in mm. 34-35). The striking contrast in range and rate of motion so beloved of Wert (see the opening of Part 2 of his *I' vo piangendo*) are everywhere in Rore's setting (for example, see in Part 1, the setting of *Soccorri a la mia guerra / Bench'io sia terra e tu del ciel regina*, mm. 62-75). Even the dramatic isolation of the individual speaking voice (see *Almen* in Part 2, mm. 7-8 of the Wert setting) is foreshadowed in Rore, usually in the form of fragile, projected homophonic duets (see *io no'l nego Vergine* from the passage in Part 6 cited immediately above). This exquisitely crafted style of later Rore, moving flexibility across the spectrum between speaking homophony and dense polyphony, was a constant reference point in Wert's ongoing attempts to project the emotional fluctuations of a speaking persona, whether in lyric, epic, or dramatic poetry.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Modern edition in *Cipriano de Rore, Opera omnia*, III, ed. B. MEIER, pp. 1-33, (*Corpus Mensuralis Musicae*, 14), n.p., 1961.

<sup>15</sup> It was this style of Rore - the style of the *Vergine* stanzas - that Wert adopted in his setting of Della Casa's striking sonnet *O sonno, o della queta, umida, ombrosa! Notte* in his First Book of 1558. Wert may not yet have known Rore's setting, published in his Second Book for Four Voices of 1557. He may also not have wanted to go head-to-head with the great master at this stage of his career, but rather to take an entirely different approach to setting the poem. (Rore's and Wert's are the first two settings of the poem.)

Wert's early style is normally rather reserved harmonically. Nonetheless, the harmonically wide-ranging style that one sees more typically in Lasso and in some of Rore's pieces (and, atypically, in the later Gabrieli setting of *I' vio piangedo* mentioned in note 13 above) is one that Wert, too, can and will use occasionally from the beginning of his career. An example from Book I a 4 (1561), quite exceptional in this book, is the expressive and effective setting of *Dolce spoglie*, a vernacular adaptation of Dido's lament, with its excursion to f-sharp minor (m. 49) (or perhaps F-sharp major, with the application of an understood A-sharp at a major cadential articulation?).<sup>16</sup> This piece is truly a proto-monody, as Einstein has pointed out, not an essentially polyphonic projection of a single protagonist.<sup>17</sup> Here all text is present in the top voice. This voice also has a concentration of the highly effective contrasts of range and bold leaps, and even when it occasionally goes below the next voice down in the texture, it is for a dramatic purpose in the top voice. (For all this, see the setting of *Or vo' nell'altra vita / Vendicat'ho...*, mm. 32-37.)

Yet more striking examples of harmonic boldness occur in Book III (1563). The setting of the opening stanzas of Petrarch's *Di pensier in pensier*, one of the greatest pieces of this early group of publications, has every element of Wert's dramatic/expressive style: a B-major chord for the word *freddo* (Part 4, m. 47), even an authentic cadence on E-major (Part 4, m. 56), a move from B-major to g-minor chords with only two intervening harmonies (Part 5, mm. 27-30), direct chromaticism and leapt diminished fourths (Part 5, mm. 30-31), runs of *fusae* in imitation (Part 1, mm. 41-43), lines that leap an octave then continue in the same direction (Part 2, opening measures), extreme variety of rates of motion (Part 2, opening and close), the flexible moving back and forth between polyphonic working out of a complex sort and declamatory homophony (examples throughout), the projection of the speaking persona by this means (Part 5, mm. 50ff.). *Di pensier in pensier* is by no means the only harmonically bold and harsh piece in Book III. The opening of *Lasso, ch'io gia risento* is rich with clusters and slow passing harmonies leading to an unprepared dissonant entry for the top voice (m. 7) of an almost *seconda pratica* harshness. *Novo amor, nove fiamme* is also full of harsh cross relations, direct chromaticism, and leapt diminished fourths.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Wert, *Opera omnia*, XV (1972), pp. 45-49.

<sup>17</sup> EINSTEIN, *The Italian Madrigal*, p. 517.

<sup>18</sup> I might venture the hypothesis that these last two pieces are apprentice ventures in the harmonically wild style of the 1550s. Some of the voice-leading does not seem to me as polished as in the best of Wert's pieces from these early books (see, for example, the direct octaves between the outer voices in *Novo amor*, Part 2, bb. 39-40). Wert's publications of 1558-1563, which I have grouped together as the early books, seem to present a group of chronologically overlapping pieces representing the first burst of composition by a man presumably in his early to mid twenties. Book I, as MacClintock points out (*Giaches de Wert*, p. 70), seems the ambitious opening gambit, and contains the greatest variety of styles, as a demonstration of the young man's *virtù*. Book II is almost

To return to pieces such as *Di pensier in pensier*: we might ask, what are such pieces for? For what audience or social situation were they intended? There seems little doubt that some at least of Wert's published madrigals were intended for theatrical settings of some sort, as MacClintock has suggested.<sup>19</sup> But this can scarcely be the case with such pieces as *Di pensier in pensier*, or *Superbi colli* and *Dura legge d'amor* and *I' vo piangendo* of Book II, or *O sonno* and *Pien d'un vago pensier* of Book I, to pick just a few examples. These pieces are not theater pieces, but their techniques suggest the projection of the expressive content of a text to a separate audience. I would propose that they are Wert's incarnation of what some commentators in the 1550s called *musica reservata*, a kind of vocal chamber music for the delectation of a sophisticated audience in the courtly or academic setting of a relatively small music room.<sup>20</sup>

This issue of venue is brought up strikingly by Wert's settings - one in his Third Book of 1563 and another in his Fifth Book of 1571 - of a pair of *capitoli* by the youthful Ariosto. The pair also suggests, to me at least, the progressive refinement of the quasi-theatrical style Wert used for the setting of lyric poems with a strong sense of the speaking persona.

The first piece, a setting in Book III of a sixty-four-line praise of night and its amorous joys, employs the monotone, repeated note subjects, the homophonic declamation, the arioso rhythms and the contrasts of tessitura and rate of motion that one finds in previous pieces, but it still does not deliver what I have called the very direct representation in music of textual content or of the emotional attitudes of a speaking protagonist in a quasi-dramatic situation - a style that we will find in, for example, *Tirsi morir volea* of Book VII - though Ariosto's poem offers countless opportunities.

With the delicious setting in Book V of the fifty-two-line companion poem - a poem that damns the night for all the elements in it that might frustrate the poet's amorous intentions - we are in a more pointedly representational world. One can easily imagine this piece as a semi-enacted *scena*, done as an entertainment at a courtly banquet or a meeting of an academy. Here, as in the later settings from Book VII onwards, a group of singers (in this case, almost certainly all men) represent a single speaking lyric protagonist. Musical representations

uniformly serious (save for its opening and closing occasional pieces) and largely Petrarchan. Book III gives us these harmonically experimental pieces, plus three large multi-part settings of extended texts. One of the multi-part pieces from Book III (*Ne la stagion che'l ciel*) republishes as its third part an unaltered version of a piece printed alone in the First Book of 1558, suggesting some chronological overlap in the composition of the pieces from these early books a 5. (I omit the four-voice Book from this group because of the generically distinct tradition of the four-voice madrigal.)

<sup>19</sup> See MACCLINTOCK, *Giaches de Wert*, ch. 6, pp. 162-187.

<sup>20</sup> See NEWCOMB, *The Madrigal at Ferrara*, I, pp. 21-22, and the further literature referred to there.

of textual imagery are often striking and what I have called very direct.<sup>21</sup> The *cimerie grotte* of the first part (mm. 27ff.) are represented with static low chords in slow black-note triple mensuration - a passage whose overall effect foreshadows the opening of *Giunto alla tomba* from Book VII. The declamation is often sharply profiled and its rate so beautifully controlled and contrasted for the various moods of our speaking protagonist (e.g. the beginning of Part 5, *O incivil' e barbaro costume! / ire a quest' ora il popolo per via / ch'è da ritirarsi alle quiete piume*) that the piece gives as much opportunity to the singing actor(s) as, say, Leporello's 'catalog' aria from *Don Giovanni* or Schubert's *Erkönig*.

A particular advance over the setting of Book III comes in the variety of texture. Whereas the earlier setting used four- or five-voice texture quite consistently, this one frequently thins to trios, sometimes setting them off against each other for dramatic effect, and sometimes even setting one solo voice against the other four. A wonderful and striking effect comes at the beginning of the sixth and last part, in which the number of voices is increased from five to six - although this is not immediately clear, as we shall see. Our lyric protagonist breaks off his increasingly intemperate ranting in the previous five parts with the realization that it is having no effect - that he is wasting his time. This abrupt lowering of his emotional heat, so to speak, is brilliantly rendered by Wert's to my knowledge unprecedented textural gambit (see musical example). Coming as it does after fifteen to twenty minutes of multi-voice polyphony, this is the work of a bold and gifted musical dramatist.

<sup>21</sup> For further examples of direct representation of textual content in nearly physical gestures directly projecting the content of the text in ways unmediated by any esoteric musical lexicon, see the setting of *Dal ciel cader; nè [qui finisce il male]* in the top voice of *Ma di che debbo lamentarmi* from *Orlando furioso* in Book I a 4, previewing Monteverdi's *E cadde tramortita* in *Vattene pur crudel* from *Gerusalemme liberata*. Or of *[E l'acque] mormorando* from *Per mezz'i boschi* in Book V, recalling Monteverdi's opening of *Ecco mormorar l'onde*.

SESTA ET ULTIMA PARTE A 6

C Ma pre-go s'ap-pres-sa in tan -  
 6 a chi s'ap-pres-sa in tan -  
 A e par-lo s'ap-pres-sa in tan -  
 T non o - de; s'ap-pres-sa in tan -  
 S e'l gior-no s'ap-pres-sa in tan-to, e  
 B S'ap-pres-sa in tan -

to, e sen - za frut' ahi las - so! or - mi le - vo, or -  
 to, e sen - za frut - to, ahi las - so! or - mi le - vo, or -  
 to, e sen - za frut - to, ahi las - so!  
 to, e sen - za frut - to, ahi las - so! or - mi le - vo, or -  
 sen - za frut - to, ahi las - so!  
 to, e sen - za frut - to, ahi las - so! or - mi le - vo, or -

10 m'ac-co - sto, or mi le - vo, or m'ac-co - sto, -  
 m'ac-co - sto, or mi le - vo, or m'ac-co - sto, or fu - go, or tor -  
 Or mi le - vo, or m'ac-co - sto,  
 m'ac-co - sto, or fu - go, or  
 Or mi le - vo, or m'ac-co - sto,  
 m'ac-co - sto, or fu - go, or

14 or fug - go, or tor - no, or fugg', or  
 no, or fug - go, or tor -  
 or fug - go, or tor - no, or  
 tor - no, or fugg' or tor - no, or fugg', or  
 or fug - go, or  
 tor - no, or fugg' or fugg', or

18 tor - no.  
 no.  
 tor - no. Tut - to nel man - to a - sco - so, a ca - po bas - so, vo per en - trar;  
 tor - no. Tut - to nel man - to a - sco - so, a ca - po bas - so, vo per en - trar;  
 tor - no. Tut - to nel man - to a - sco - so, a ca - po bas - so, vo per en - trar;  
 tor - no. Tut - to nel man - to a - sco - so, a ca - po bas - so, vo per en - trar;

Giaches Wert, *O nei miei danni*, Part 6, from Book V (1571)

What I have tried to show in the previous pages is that Wert's mode of musical representation both of textual content and of a speaking persona/protagonist was highly distinctive in the world of the mid-century madrigal, and that its elements were present from the first group of madrigal books in 1558-1563. The ensuing prints of the later 1560s and 1570s saw only a sharpening of these stylistic elements on the way towards the extremely dramatic representations of lyric and epic protagonists in the books of the 1580s. The ancestors of this

style of Wert's, which I see as truly the cradle of the emerging music drama, were in the arioso style and practice of declaiming lyric and epic texts, as suggested by James Haar<sup>22</sup>, and also in the highly expressive presentations of lyric protagonists in the later style of Rore.

In closing, I would like to raise one issue concerning the better-known, later period of Wert's career. This issue involves the oft-cited passage from Tasso's dialog *La Cavaletta*, in which Wert is mentioned alongside Striggio and Luzzasco in a plea to return the musical madrigal to its former seriousness.<sup>23</sup> In opposition to the usual view that Tasso (or whoever advised him on musical matters for the dialog) was naming three similarly inclined composers, I would propose that he picked three senior representatives of quite different schools of madrigal composition. The three schools would have been: Luzzaschi (with his later disciples Gesualdo and Fontanelli) at the head of the school of epigrammatic, manneristic, aphoristic madrigal composers; Striggio at the head of a school of composers of courtly, festive music for public entertainments,<sup>24</sup> and Wert at the head of a school of epic-dramatic composers of longer, weightier texts. This view would also make the non-mention of Marenzio not the pointed exclusion that it is sometimes seen to be.<sup>25</sup> The men mentioned were all senior composers a generation older than Marenzio, who was in his twenties when *La cavaletta* was written, presumably around 1584.<sup>26</sup>

I also read the evidence as saying that Marenzio would have considered himself - and would have been seen, at least in part - as a follower of Wert in this tripartite division. This serious, expressionistic side of Marenzio, swept aside by many modern commentators, was present from his first publications.<sup>27</sup> Many of his later text choices indicate this closeness to Wert's school, especially when he was aiming for the weighty, epic-dramatic style. In his 1588 Book 4, 5, & 6, Marenzio set Petrarch's sonnet *Se la mia vita da l'aspro tormento* - a poem set by few composers, and one of the boldest and most expressive settings from Wert's Book IV. Likewise with *Dura legge d'amor*, set only in a starkly declamatory setting by Wert in his Book II a 5, by Rocco Rodio in his

<sup>22</sup> See the paper by Professor Haar in this volume, and the further literature cited there.

<sup>23</sup> The passage is cited in EINSTEIN, *The Italian Madrigal*, p. 220 and in E. DURANTE and A. MARTELOTTI, *Tasso, Luzzaschi e il Principe di Venosa*, in *Tasso, la musica, i musicisti*, Firenze, 1988, p. 19 (among others).

<sup>24</sup> The phrase of his biographer and editor David Butchart is: 'music for entertainment or festivity'. His 'natural environment was that of the court', says Butchart. See the introduction to Alessandro Striggio, *Il primo libro de madrigali a sei voci*, p. viii.

<sup>25</sup> Most recently in DURANTE and MARTELOTTI, *Tasso, Luzzaschi e il Principe di Venosa*.

<sup>26</sup> DURANTE and MARTELOTTI, *Tasso, Luzzaschi e il Principe di Venosa*, p. 18. The dialog was published in 1587.

<sup>27</sup> See *Dolorosi martir* from Book I a 5, full of harmonic boldness, flexible speech rhythms, and variety of motion, or *O voi che sospirate* and *I' piango* of Book II a 5, or *Ohimè il bel viso* of Book III a 5.

Book II a 4 of 1587, and then returned to by Marenzio in his weighty Book IX a 5 of 1599. The interaction between the two composers in the early 1580s with settings from *Gerusalemme liberata* is well-known.<sup>28</sup> Wert's involvement with productions of Guarini's *Pastor fido* and his setting of texts from it chronologically parallel Marenzio's concentration on this text in his Book VII a 5. Finally I would adduce Marenzio's settings of Tasso throughout his career, which parallel Wert's concentration on this poet.

This is one element that separates both of them from the Ferrarese school headed by Luzzasco. As Durante and Martelotti have pointed out,<sup>29</sup> the later Ferrarese school of Luzzaschi, Gesualdo, and Fontanelli were almost pointedly uninterested in setting Tasso's epic or lyric poetry. In fact (I say this in spite of my own interest in and respect for this Ferrarese school), there is little evidence that these composers were trying to return to a style of madrigal composition that was *magnifico, costante e grave*, to quote Tasso's dialog. They set a style of text that was pointed, epigrammatic, brief, rather conventional in its imagery, and clever rather than passionate. Most of the texts seem to have been by local poetasters. I would say that, if one can apply the word 'mannerist' to the madrigal, these would be the appropriate madrigals. Mannerist, on the other hand, is what Wert is decidedly not. Like his principle model Rore, he has what I would call a proto-baroque grandeur and directness of appeal to the spectator-listener. As far as choice of text is concerned, Wert's Book VIII, dedicated to Ferrara, is full of Tasso; Luzzaschi's, Gesualdo's and Fontanelli's, also dedicated to Ferrara, are not. Admittedly, the difference may be influenced by chronology. Wert's book is from the mid-1580s; Luzzaschi's, Gesualdo's and Fontanelli's are from the mid-1590s, and Tasso's greatest fortune with composers was in the period 1584-1591.<sup>30</sup> More basic, in my view, is that the style of text set and the style of text-setting is widely different in the two schools. Moreover, the madrigals written by Tasso and sent to Gesualdo (Nos. 464-499 in the Solerti edition) remained unset, save for one set by Gesualdo in his Book II a 5, which seems to have been his earliest publication, done before he sojourned in the Ferrarese court (see the dedication to the Book by Scipione Stella).

<sup>28</sup> Wert set *Giunto alla tomba* first, followed soon by Marenzio; Marenzio set *Vezzosi augelli* first, followed soon by Wert. Jessie Ann Owens discussed the first pair on this colloquium. I wondered, upon hearing Professor Owens' paper and the Consort of Music's moving rendition of Wert's setting, if the prison image of the opening of Tasso's *ottava stanza* may not have had special resonance for Wert, who seems to have enjoyed a close relationship with Tasso, whose imprisonment in Santa Anna could not have been far from anyone's mind in the Mantuan and Ferrarese courts of 1581. I also note that the wondrously sensual version of lines 3 and 4 of the stanza set by Wert is not the one that found its way to the later authorized version, or to Marenzio's setting.

<sup>29</sup> DURANTE and MARTELOTTI, *Tasso, Luzzaschi e il Principe di Venosa*, pp. 28-40.

<sup>30</sup> See L. BIANCONI, *I Fasti musicali del Tasso nei secoli XVI e XVII*, in A. BUZZONI (ed.), *Torquato Tasso tra letteratura, musica, teatro, e arti figurative*, Bologna, 1985, pp. 143-150, esp. pp. 146-147.

My point here is that the schools of madrigal composition represented on the one hand by Wert - and with him, I would suggest, Marenzio, at least at times - and, on the other, by Luzzasco, Gesualdo and Fontanelli are widely different. Moreover, there is no evidence in the publications that the second of these schools aspired to return the madrigal to anything like the ideal of *gravità* for which Tasso was calling in his dialog of the mid-1580s. Of the three schools that I proposed were invoked by Tasso or his advisers, one actually did what was called for by the *forestiero* in the dialog. Wert was the leader of this school, followed by his most talented disciple Monteverdi - who much later bid farewell to this great tradition in his retrospective setting of Petrarch's *Hor che'l ciel e la terra* in 1643, using the homophonic declamation, wide variety of rate of motion, varied textural groups, wide-ranging melodic lines and especially the direct projection of expressive content that he had learned from his colleague and master in Mantova some fifty years earlier.

## GIACHES DE WERT AND THE PALATINE BASILICA OF SANTA BARBARA

### Music, Liturgy and Design

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The question of liturgy is fundamental to understanding how music and ceremony in fifteenth and sixteenth century Italian religious institutions actually worked. Far from being an unchanging, rigidly formalized structure, capable only of being received 'passively', the liturgy could and often was appropriated or modified by those in power whether high-ranking ecclesiastics, autocratic rulers or republican governments. This was most obviously true in the period before the Council of Trent resolved to abolish all local liturgies with less than two hundred years of life; nevertheless, as the particular case of the Basilica of Santa Barbara in Mantua so clearly demonstrates, in practice the new atmosphere did not totally inhibit the creation of new liturgies. Stronger emphasis upon feasts associated with local patron saints was the most common expression of spiritual and political identity. Festal calendars could be revised so that civic and dynastic celebrations could be incorporated, and saints of even comparatively minor importance in the Roman calendar could assume greater importance in a local context, even one in which Roman use was being followed. The example of Venice is a particularly clear one; during this period a series of less important saints (such as St Giustina whose name-day coincided with the successful battle against the Turks at Lepanto in 1571) were elevated in status and prominence through their association with important Venetian military victories, and so in their turn became a further means of articulating the Myth of Venice.<sup>1</sup> In this sense there were usually two overlapping levels of Catholicism at work in the villages, towns and cities of Italy; that of the Church Universal founded on the Roman calendar and the Roman liturgy, and a local version based on particular saints, relics, rituals, images and shrines connected to a unique calendar that had evolved as part of the sacred history of a particular place.<sup>2</sup> Local saints were the prime agents of intercession between

<sup>1</sup> For the general phenomenon see E. MUIR, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*, Princeton, 1981, pp. 212ff. and, for the specific example of Santa Giustina, I. FENLON, *The Arts of Celebration in Renaissance Venice*, in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 73 (1987), pp. 201-235, particularly pp. 220-228.

<sup>2</sup> This theme is developed in relation to New Castile in W.A. CHRISTIAN, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain*, Princeton, 1981; see also the same author's complementary study *Apparitions in Late Medieval and Renaissance Spain*, Princeton, 1981. For a resume of more recent scholarship see the opening chapters of S. DITCHFIELD, *Liturgy, Society and History in Tridentine Italy. Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular*, Cambridge, 1995.

any community and the Almighty, and had a special devotional and political significance; as such they were prime targets for appropriation by ruling families and institutions. Even reform itself, a central concern for the Italian church from the middle decades of the sixteenth century onwards, could be executed at a local level in a way which neatly conflated the terrestrial and celestial concerns of rulers, emphasizing their authority but at the same time consolidating their position as defenders of Christianity. Duke Cosimo de' Medici's support for important architectural interventions in a number of prominent Florentine churches in the 1560s, evidently inspired by the Council of Trent's insistence on greater visibility of the central liturgical space, is a prominent example, encouraged in this case by his campaign to receive the Grand Ducal crown from the hands of the Pope, an aspiration that was finally realized in 1570.<sup>3</sup> That such a blatantly political deployment of reformist ideas was possible at all was largely due to the very general character of the guidelines, particularly in relation to artistic matters such as music and liturgy, church decoration and architecture, that had been laid down at Trent itself.

Indeed it has become increasingly apparent that the reformation and revitalization of the Italian church in the decades immediately after the Council was not wholly dependent upon Papal initiatives, but rather was secured and given its definite character at a more regional level. It is, of course, true that after 1560 the Papacy willingly assumed the responsibilities of leadership that it had shirked before the pontificate of Paul III. As a consequence, a seemingly unending stream of special instructions were issued, nuncios and apostolic visitors were appointed to see that those instructions were carried out, reports were required from bishops during their visits, and a certain degree of uniformity was achieved by demanding compliance with the Tridentine decrees. In the years after Trent the Papal visitors did their utmost to enforce the decrees to the letter, even when they encountered such tough-minded and powerful opposition as they did in the case of Giovanni Trevisan, Patriarch of Venice.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, the striving for uniformity did not preclude diversity in practice, due to differences in the backgrounds and inclinations of the leading reformers. To meet the challenge of reform, the years immediately after the Council witnessed profound changes in the structure of the Church, particularly at diocesan level. On the one hand old institutions were revitalized and renewed to enable them to discharge the functions for which they were originally designed, while on the other hand new bodies were created to further the aims of reform. Beyond this general pattern there was no uniformity of approach, and it would

<sup>3</sup> M.B. HALL, *Renovation and Counter-Reformation. Vasari and Duke Cosimo in Sta Maria Novella and Sta Croce, 1565-1577*, Oxford, 1979.

<sup>4</sup> S. TRAMONTIN, *La figura del vescovo secondo il Concilio di Trento e i suoi riflessi veneziani*, in *Studi veneziani*, X (1968), pp. 423-456 and the same author's *La visita apostolica del 1581 a Venezia*, in *Studi veneziani*, 9 (1967), pp. 453-533.

be wrong to assume that the most famous *exemplum* of ecclesiastical reorganization, that of Carlo Borromeo in Milan, was a model that was widely adopted.<sup>5</sup> This is not to deny the enormous contemporary prestige of the author of the *Acta Ecclesiae Mediolanensis*, 'that acknowledged model bishop for the whole Catholic world, zealous, efficient, ascetic, tireless, charitable, selfless, uncompromising'<sup>6</sup>, but rather to emphasize the variety of styles and forms which reform initiatives took in various parts of Italy, a reflection of the temperaments and personalities of the different churchmen charged with instituting them at a local level.<sup>7</sup>

In this context the question of the retention of local liturgies in Italy in the period after the Council, which, in the rather general way characteristic of its decrees, had attempted to move towards greater standardization and simplification of rites and usages, assumes a special interest. Here too the notion of a monolithic approach, largely the creation of nineteenth-century German historians such as Leopold von Ranke, whose *Gegenreformationen* was conceived as a general movement of Catholic reform and resistance to Protestantism<sup>8</sup>, obscures the diversity of responses that were made in practice. As so often, Milan turns out to be something of a special case, for it was as part of his reorganization of the liturgy that Borromeo promoted the revision of the Ambrosian rite rather than its abolition, despite some opposition from Rome.<sup>9</sup> In political terms this was possible because he successfully introduced into the Conciliar legislation the exclusion clause which effectively preserved any rite more than two hundred years old. As the oldest western repertory of liturgical music to have survived parallel to the Gregorian repertory, the Ambrosian rite was the most obvious beneficiary of Borromeo's legislation, and in defending it so rigorously he was merely following the long-established tradition through which Milanese political and ecclesiastical authorities had asserted their power and independence, reinforced by the prestige derived from the image of that

<sup>5</sup> For Borromeo's re-organization of the diocese of Milan see M. BENDISCILOLO, *Carlo Borromeo cardinale nipote arcivescovo di Milano e la riforma della chiesa milanese*, (*Storia di Milano*, X), Milano, 1957, pp. 119-199 and E. CATTANEO, *La religione a Milano dall'età della Controriforma*, (*Storia di Milano*, XII), particularly pp. 294-298. For more recent literature see the various contributions in J.M. HEADLEY and J.B. TOMARO (eds.), *San Carlo Borromeo: Catholic Reform and Ecclesiastical Politics in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century*, Washington DC - London - Toronto, 1988, in particular the articles by Alberigo, Borromeo and Voelker.

<sup>6</sup> H.O. EVENETT, *The Counter-Reformation*, in J. HURSTFIELD (ed.), *The Reformation Crisis*, London, 1965, p. 70.

<sup>7</sup> See, for example, the separate cases of Brescia and Bologna in C. CAIRNS, *Domenico Bollani*, Nieuwkoop, 1976 and P. PRODI, *Il cardinale Gabriele Paleotti*, 2 vols., Rome, 1959.

<sup>8</sup> L. VON RANKE, *Fürsten und Völker von Süd-Europa im sechszehnten und siebzehnten Jahrhundert*, 4 vols., Berlin, 1836-1838. English translation of vols. II-IV by G. DENNIS, *The History of the Popes during the Last Four Centuries*, 3 vols., London, 1908.

<sup>9</sup> L. MAINARDI, *San Carlo e la liturgia ambrosiana*, in *Ambrosius*, 8 (1932), pp. 52-55; L. LOCKWOOD, *The Counter-Reformation and the Masses of Vincenzo Ruffo*, Venezia, 1970, pp. 107-109.

most famous of the city's bishops, St Ambrose, who was often credited with the 'invention' of both the Milanese liturgy and its chants. By invoking this same arrangement the Venetians were also able to protect the *patriarchino*, an exclusive rite that since 1456 had been practiced only in St Mark's Basilica. Since the Basilica was not the Cathedral of Venice but rather the private chapel of the Doge, the political functions of the *patriarchino* were in consequence greatly strengthened; it became, in effect, a liturgy of state. As with the Ambrosian liturgy, many of the most important feastdays in the Venetian year corresponded to the Roman calendar, while saints with a local significance, (and above all the days of the St Mark cycle), were given particularly elaborate treatment. More unusually, a prominent feature of the *patriarchino* was its emphasis on important events in Venetian military history, many of them commemorations of important victories; in this way the specifically Venetian was combined with the Universally Christian, Patriotism and Faith were powerfully combined. Jealously protected by the Venetians, who were ever-suspicious of the motives and tactics of the Papacy, the *patriarchino* continued throughout the post-Trent period (and indeed until the fall of the Republic) undisturbed by the general trend towards the abolition of local rites.<sup>10</sup>

Revision and conversion of existing practices may be explicable; less so perhaps is the idea of the invention of a new rite, even one so obviously conceived in the spirit of Tridentine reform. Nevertheless this is what happened in the case of the Palatine Basilica of Santa Barbara at Mantua, where the foundation in the 1560s of a new church on a grand scale involved the 'invention' of a new liturgy based on a calendar specific to the institution and on the codification of a repertory of chants based on Roman sources but 'revised' in accordance with reformist principles.<sup>11</sup> Parallel to this development (and artistically related to it) was the commissioning of a repertory of new polyphonic pieces - mostly masses, motets and hymns - for the exclusive use of the institution. Most of the

<sup>10</sup> For the *patriarchino* see G. FASOLI, *Liturgia e cerimoniale ducale*, in A. PERTUSI (ed.), *Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo XV*, 2 vols., Florence, 1973, pp. 261-295; A. PASINI, *Rito antico e cerimoniale della basilica*, in *La basilica di San Marco*, Venezia, 1888, pp. 65-71; M. DAL TIN, *Note di liturgia patriarchina e canti tradizionali della basilica di S. Marco a Venezia*, in *Jucunda laudatio*, 1-4 (1973), pp. 90-130, and now the exhaustive descriptions and analyses in G. CATTIN, *Musica e liturgia a San Marco. Testi e melodie per la liturgia delle ore dal XII al XVII secolo. Dal graduale tropato del duecento al graduale cinquecenteschi*, 4 vols., Venezia, 1990-1992.

<sup>11</sup> A detailed overview of the origins and early development of music at the Basilica of Santa Barbara is given in I. FENLON, *Music and Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Mantua*, 2 vols., Cambridge, 1980, 1982), I, pp. 79-117. For the chapel personnel see also P.M. TAGMANN, *La capella dei maestri cantori della basilica palatina di Santa Barbara a Mantova (1565-1639). Nuovo materiale scoperto negli archivi mantovani*, in *Civiltà mantovana*, 4 (1969), pp. 376-400. There are also some relevant references in two older studies: A. BERTOLOTTI, *Musici alla corte dei Gonzaga in Mantova dal secolo XV al XVIII. Notizie e documenti raccolti negli archivi mantovani*, Milan, [1890] and P. CANAL, *Della Musica in Mantova*, Venezia, 1881.

local composers involved, of whom the most important was Giaches de Wert, were employed at the Basilica, and their music, preserved for the most part in manuscripts from the Santa Barbara library, constitutes a distinct corpus which in the main travelled only to other Gonzaga strongholds, principally the Cathedral at Casale Monferrato in the other, geographically separated half of the Duchy, and was not disseminated in print.<sup>12</sup> As a body of sacred *musica reservata* it has a recognizable character of its own, distinguished by two features: the use of Santa Barbara plainsongs as *canti firmi* and its formal organization according to *alternatim* principles.

Here too it seems that the particular example of Milan was influential. There the first Provincial Council, convoked in the city by Borromeo in the autumn of 1565, issued guidelines covering four main points.<sup>13</sup> First, no secular melodies were to be used in the Divine Office, a reference to the common practice among composers of using *soggetti* taken from madrigals or chansons as *canti firmi* in sacred pieces. Next, music was to be used in church so that simultaneously the words could be understood and the listeners aroused to piety. Both these concerns are commonplace in the literature of complaints against church polyphony, and appear in the Council of Trent's decree from which the Milan decree is clearly derived.<sup>14</sup> Following these two major resolutions the Provincial Council went on to stipulate that, where possible, singers should be clerics, and that instruments other than the organ were to be banned in church. These more strict requirements typify Borromeo's views about the suppression of secular elements in worship. Nevertheless, in practical terms these resolutions took matters little beyond what Trent had stipulated, and Borromeo's real innovation was to promote composition of the type of polyphony which he believed to be in conformity with Trent's intentions; in this he was no doubt influenced by his experiences during the Council itself when a certain amount of experiment had taken place.<sup>15</sup> The principal agent for Borromeo's encouragement of sacred polyphony composed on reformist principles was Vincenzo Ruffo who had been in Milan as *maestro di cappella* at the

<sup>12</sup> Most of the music from the Santa Barbara library has survived and is now in the library of the conservatory in Milan; it is described in detail in *Conservatorio di musica 'Giuseppe Verdi', Milano. Catalogo della biblioteca, fondi speciali I. Musiche della cappella di S. Barbara in Mantova*, Firenze, 1972. A summary list of the printed music, arranged in chronological order of publication, is given in FENLON, *Music and Patronage*, I, pp. 201-205. For the Casale Monferrato source see D. CRAWFORD, *The Francesco Sforza manuscript at Casale Monferrato*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 24 (1971), pp. 457ff.

<sup>13</sup> LOCKWOOD, *The Counter-Reformation*, pp. 110ff.

<sup>14</sup> The canon, submitted to the Council by a committee in September 1562 is given in translation in J. WATERWORTH, *The Canons and Decrees of the Sacred and Oecumenical Council of Trent*, London, 1848, p. 161. For the decrees promulgated in the diocese of Milan see F. Borromeo (ed.): *Acta ecclesiae mediolanenses*, (Milan, 1599), especially Pars I, p. 31: 'De musica e cantoribus'.

<sup>15</sup> R. VETTORI, *Note storiche sul patronato musicale di Christoforo Madruzzo, Cardinale di Trento (1512-1570)*, in *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, 20 (1985), pp. 3-43, particularly pp. 16ff.



Cathedral since 1563; his four-voice masses, published in Milan in 1570 are, in their adoption of a syllabic chordal style designed to make the words intelligible, a clear response to Tridentine thinking.

Not only: As the title-page states, these pieces are *concinatae ad ritum concilii mediolani*, a proud if perhaps inevitable affirmation, in view of his official position as *moderatoris ecclesiae maioris mediolani*, as also stated on the title-page, of the primacy of Milan in reformist activity. The Council of Milan was convoked by Borromeo soon after his arrival in the city, and from Ruffo's dedicatory preface to the collection it emerges that one of the masses (it is not clear which) was written even earlier, in the spring of 1565, at Borromeo's request made through his representative in Milan, Nicolo Ormaneto. As Lewis Lockwood has noted, the titles of the four masses in this collection (*Primi, Secundi, Quarti* and *Octavi toni*) are intended to be a clear indication that they are not based on polyphonic models, nor upon plainsong, but upon the linear contours of the mode selected in each case. In the Gloria and Credo sections of the Ordinary, but also in some of the shorter movements, the predominant language is that of simple homophony only occasionally refreshed by brief contrapuntal or pseudo-contrapuntal interventions. A sense of monotony is ameliorated by variations in texture which at times also function as a structural device; in all four masses the Benedictus is composed for three voices, in the *Primi toni* and *Quarti toni* masses the Crucifixus episodes of the Credo are also written for three voices, and in the same masses the second Agnus Dei is expanded to a five-voice texture. As Lockwood puts it: 'the 1570 Masses are short, four-voice compositions of extreme simplicity'.<sup>16</sup> Their more direct relationship to Borromeo himself is clear from their title, and even clearer from the dedication which explains '...that in accordance with the decrees of the Most Holy Council of Trent I was to compose some Masses that should avoid everything of a profane and idle manner in worship ... Accordingly ... I composed one Mass in this way: so that the numbers of syllables and the voices and notes together should be clearly and distinctly understood by the pious listeners ... later, imitating that example, I more readily and easily composed other Masses of the same type'<sup>17</sup>. The impact of Borromeo's personality upon Ruffo was evidently quite profound. The prefaces to his later publications

<sup>16</sup> LOCKWOOD, *The Counter-Reformation*, pp. 181ff. The music of two masses from the collection is available in a modern edition, viz. L. LOCKWOOD (ed.), *Vincenzo Ruffo. Seven Masses*, 2 vols., Madison, 1979, II. The stylistic contrast between these two (*Missa quarta toni* and *Missa octavi toni*) and the earlier masses, is striking. For the motets of *Il primo libro ... a cinque voci* (Milan, 1542), which exhibit features characteristic of the composers of the Willaer-Gombert generation, and those of the *Motetti a sei voci* (Venice, 1555) see R. SHERR (ed.), *The Sixteenth-Century Motet*, XIX and XX, London-New York, 1988.

<sup>17</sup> The translation is taken from LOCKWOOD (ed.), *Vincenzo Ruffo. Seven Masses*, I, p. viii, where the original Latin is also reproduced as Plate II.

repeatedly refer to Borromeo, *Signore e Padrone mio sempre colendissimo*, and to the importance of the *Sancto Decreto* [of the Council of Trent] as the inspiration of his new compositional style. Ruffo's final publication, the posthumous *Missae Boromeae* which reprints the *Missa de De profundis* from the *Messe a cinque voci* and adds two untitled masses, explicitly acknowledges in its title the formative influence of the great churchman.

Mantuan contacts with Milan were particularly strong in the middle decades of the century, especially after the appointment of Ferrante Gonzaga of Guastalla (1507-1557), the youngest son of Isabella d'Este and Marchese Francesco Gonzaga as Governor of Milan in 1546. They continued to be so after 1558, when Guglielmo Gonzaga assumed control of the Duchy, largely because of the new Duke's sympathy for Borromeo's ideas and admiration for his spiritual direction of Milan and its citizens.<sup>18</sup> During the following decades Borromeo was one of Duke Guglielmo's regular correspondents, and it seems likely that many of the ideas about Santa Barbara and its operations were conceived in the spirit of Borromeo's reform. At the same time, most of the arrangements that were made for the construction and functioning of the Basilica the strong hand of Guglielmo Gonzaga is also evident. This is particularly true of the provisions made for the performance of music and liturgy in the building. Gonzaga wrote music himself (and corresponded with other composers, including Palestrina, on technical matters), and was inevitably and sycophantically praised in the dedications of a number of printed editions.<sup>19</sup> It was probably Gonzaga himself who was directly involved in recruiting Wert from Milan: whatever the truth of the matter, Wert is first mentioned in letters from Milan in 1563 and by 1565 he had been appointed as *maestro di cappella*.<sup>20</sup> This decision, with important consequences for the future musical arrangements at Santa Barbara, were made as part of the execution of the Duke's ambitious plan to bring Santa Barbara and its liturgy to operational fruition; for Duke Guglielmo, seemingly a genuinely pious man as well as a ruler fully

<sup>18</sup> A brief biographical note including some mention of Ferrante Gonzaga's contacts with Lassus and Hoste de Reggio is given in FENLON, *Music and Patronage*, I, pp. 32-33. For lutenists during his governorship see A. BOLLINI, *L'attività liutistica a Milano dal 1450 al 1550: Nuovi documenti*, in *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, 21 (1986), pp. 31-60.

<sup>19</sup> For Guglielmo Gonzaga's contacts with composers and contemporary praise for his musical skills see FENLON, *Music and Patronage*, I, pp. 85-89, and for the involvement of Palestrina, O. STRUNK, *Guglielmo Gonzaga and Palestrina's Missa Domenicalis*, reprinted from its original version in *Musical Quarterly*, 33 (1947), pp. 228-239, in *Essays on Music in the Western World*, London, 1974, pp. 100ff.

<sup>20</sup> *Il terzo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice, 1563) is dedicated to Consalvo Fernandes di Cordova, Duke of Sessa: 'Havendomi V.E. degnato del governo di sua capella...'. Sessa was then Governor of Milan. For fresh documentation concerning Wert's time in Milan and elsewhere during the 1550s and 60s see I. FENLON, *Giaches de Wert: The Early Years*, in *Revue belge de musicologie* LII (1998), pp. 377-99.

conscious of the value of the image of the True Christian Prince, the construction, decoration, and liturgical operations of the Basilica were a constant preoccupation almost from the beginning of his years as Duke. By the early 1560s the demands of court ceremonial had clearly outgrown the existing court chapels of which the most frequently used was the church of Santa Croce in Piazza, and the Duke's temperament, nurtured in the strongly reformist atmosphere of mid-century Mantua, found natural expression in the scheme to construct a new chapel on a grand scale. In this, as in so many other ways, Guglielmo may well have been influenced by the example of his uncle, Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, whose own project to remodel the cathedral of San Pietro, begun in the mid-1540s to a somewhat austere design by Giulio Romano, had still not reached completion. This scheme, which has been compared to that of an early Christian basilica, shows the strong influence of Borromeo's ideas about ecclesiastical architecture which first found practical expression in a number of Milanese churches of the 1560s and were subsequently codified in the *Instructiones* of 1577. Once again the importance of Milan for the development of reformist attitudes in Mantua is underlined.<sup>21</sup> The first moves for the new Basilica were afoot by 1561, but this new building soon proved inadequate and, shortly after it had been completed in 1564 Duke Guglielmo ordered the overseer of the ducal fabric, Giovanni Battista Bertani, to draw up plans for a larger structure to replace it.<sup>22</sup> This new church (or, more correctly, Palatina Basilica) was dedicated, as its predecessor had been, to Santa Barbara and was constructed in the course of the following ten years from 1568 onwards. In effect it was planned as a kind of dynastic temple, a theatre for Gonzaga politico-dynastic ceremonies, as well as a highly individual interpretation of Catholic reformist attitudes towards sacred art. Its special character, expressed through extraordinary Papal privileges which included permission to draw up its own rite and the provision of prestigious positions for its clergy, automatically conferred upon the institution a status which made it the envy of other Italian princes. In terms of scale and conception there was to be nothing quite like it in Italy until the construction of the Medici Chapel at the end of the century, yet in purely architectural terms the result is undistinguished and has some distinctly eccentric features; the overall effect of the design is severely classical and rather heavy in some of its detailing. Its most striking feature is the elaborate campanile, an obvious reference to the legend of the titular saint, an early Christian martyr who was imprisoned in a tower by her father before suffering martyrdom for professing her faith. Traditional-

<sup>21</sup> On the Cathedral of San Pietro and its reflection of reformist ideas about architecture and church decoration see FENLON, *Music and Patronage*, I, pp. 60-62.

<sup>22</sup> The most detailed account of the history of the building is T. GOZZI, *La basilica palatina di Santa Barbara in Mantova*, in *Accademia Virgiliana di Mantova, atti e memorie*, 42 (1974), pp. 3-91.

ly Barbara was represented with either a miniature tower in her hands or with one in the background; it was her usual identifying attribute.<sup>23</sup> The remarkable concession to allow the Gonzaga to formulate an exclusive ducal rite at precisely the moment when the Church was moving in favour of eliminating local liturgies and imposing a greater degree of centralization was achieved only after lengthy and difficult negotiations with Rome conducted by Duke Guglielmo and Cardinal Sirleto.<sup>24</sup> In terms of its structure, the Santa Barbara liturgy deliberately reflects a direct relationship with the internal disposition of the side altars in Santa Barbara which were being designed in the same years [Figure 1].

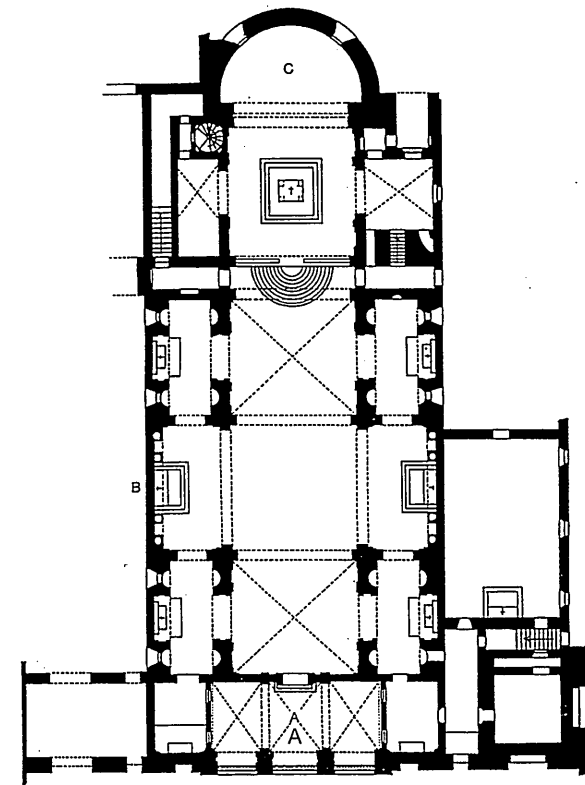


Figure 1: Mantua, Basilica of Santa Barbara, ground plan. A: Choirloft (first floor), B: Organloft (first floor), C: Apse

<sup>23</sup> E. KIRSCHBAUM, *Lexicon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 8 vols., Freiburg, 1968-1976, V, pp. 304-311.

<sup>24</sup> The correspondence is in Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Vat. Lat. 6946, 6182 and 6183.

The determining features in both the design of the liturgy and the dedications of the altars in the Basilica were the most imposing items in the Gonzaga collection of relics; these in turn articulate the Santa Barbara calendar. As might be expected, the church year at the Basilica coincided very closely with the Roman calendar, placing emphasis on the universally-accepted major feasts of the Christian cycle. Grafted onto this, however, are a number of elements peculiar to Santa Barbara practice; most obviously these involve the greater prominence of Saint Barbara herself in the Basilica's festal year, (for example, the Feast of the Dedication of the Basilica was celebrated as a major feast in addition to the saint's own nameday), and the heavier accentuation upon other saints with a Gonzaga connection. All these features are in turn related to relics which had been acquired by the family. According to a list in the archives of the Basilica, the most important of these were distributed among the eight altars of the new Basilica (including the high altar and the altar in the sacristy) in the following order<sup>25</sup>:

Table 1

S Barbarae	S Crucis
S Martae	S Catharinae
S Lazari	S Galli
S Magdalenae	S Margaritae
S Eucarij	S Blasi
S Damiani	S Valerij
S Adriani	S Silvestri
S Mauritiij	S Martini
S Cristianthiae	S Anastasiae
Gloriosae Virginis Mariae	S Johanis Baptistae
S Simeonis	S Cosmae
S Debeon	S Luciae

This selection is a political matter as much as a devotional one; since the early middle ages competition had been intense among Italian rulers and churchmen to acquire the most prestigious relics possible, often by unscrupulous means. To obtain them medieval monks had raided churches, merchants had plunder-

<sup>25</sup> This list is preserved on a single sheet with a letter of 14 October 1564, from Giulio Bruschi to the Duke of Mantua, in Mantua, Archivio di Stato (Archivio Gonzaga) 2572. The final disposition of the altars containing these relics is slightly different from that in another list, drawn up in connection with the consecration of the Basilica; these final arrangement followed modifications carried out in 1569-1572.

ed tombs, and relic-hunters had scoured the catacombs. The thefts necessary to create the extensive and lucrative market in religious relics were sanctioned by all parties to the transaction, from the Pope down to the individuals and institutions who acquired them.<sup>26</sup> In the case of the Gonzaga relics, some were evidently prized because they related to family history and hence sanctified, through possession, the legitimacy of Gonzaga rule; in such cases questions of dynasty and piety were powerfully fused. Saint Margaret, for example, was the patron saint not only of Duke Guglielmo's mother, Margherita Paleologo, but also of his great grandmother, Margaret of Bavaria, the wife of Marchese Federico Gonzaga; it was a traditional name for important female members of the family. And Saint Barbara herself was not only the protector of the house of Gonzaga, but also recalled Barbara of Brandenburg, the Hohenzollern wife of Marchese Ludovico Gonzaga (1444-1478), vividly memorialised, together with her husband Lodovico II Gonzaga and members of their court in Andrea Mantegna's famous *camera dipinta* in the Castello di San Giorgio. Guglielmo's own susceptibility to associations of this kind, as well as his realization of their politico-dynastico force, is suggested by his choice of the names Margherita Barbara for his second daughter, baptized on 17 May 1564. As far as St Peter is concerned, the Cathedral in Mantua is dedicated to him as the patron saint of the city, and the fact that the Basilica of Santa Barbara was responsible directly to Rome rather than to the local diocese made the celebration of his cult particularly appropriate; in this way the Gonzaga were able to emphasize their special status in relation to other Italian princes by drawing a direct parallel between Rome and Mantua. This familiar rhetorical device (the Gonzaga were hardly alone in deploying it) was an important element in the struggle for precedence which is such a feature of the diplomatic relations of the period. Beyond these worldly considerations, the more prosaic explanation for the cult of these saints (together with Adrian, Sylvester and Mary Magdalene) within the new basilica is that their relics were already in the possession of the family. Certainly this was the case of the True Cross, one of a group of three relics all associated with the Passion of Christ; these, placed in new reliquaries specially commissioned in Venice in the 1570s on the instructions of Guglielmo Gonzaga, were the most prized relics in the Gonzaga collection [Figure 2].

<sup>26</sup> For the phenomenon in the medieval period see P.J. GEARY, *Furta Sacra. Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*, Princeton, 1978.

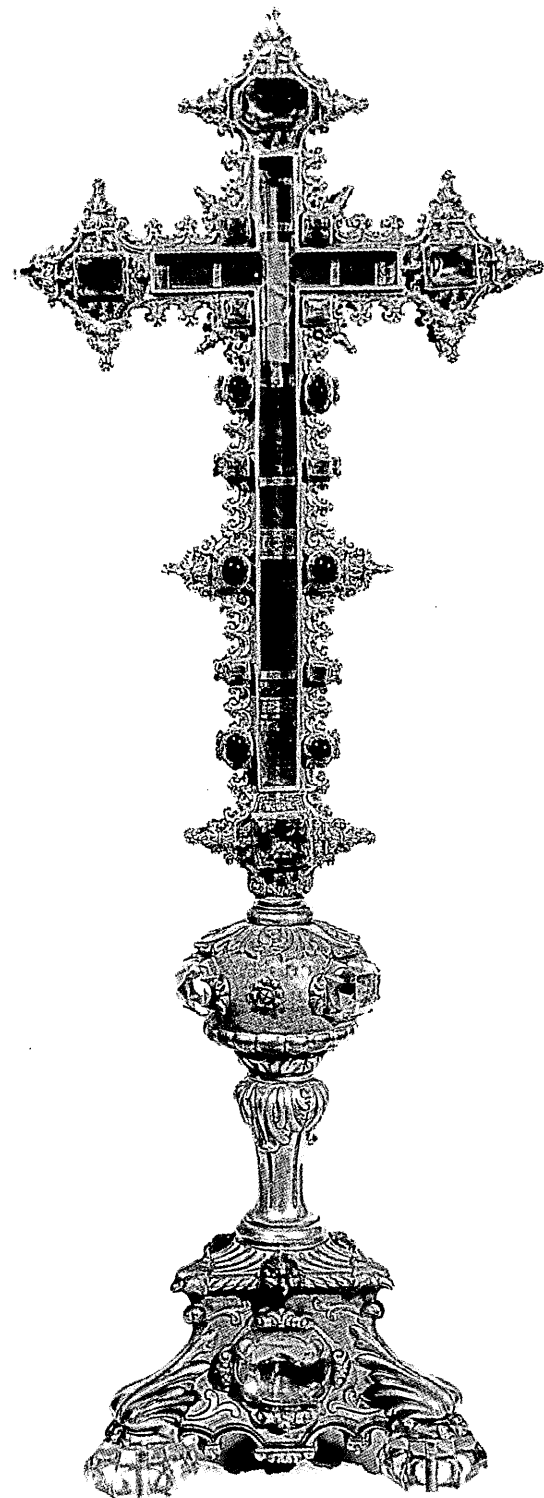


Figure 2: Mantua, Basilica of Santa Barbara, relic of the True Cross

The possession of these Passion relics, and above all that of the True Cross, would have lent a particular and rather special quality to the Holy Week ceremonies in Santa Barbara. According to Donesmondi<sup>27</sup>, the relic itself was normally kept in the tabernacle on the High Altar. For the Good Friday ceremonies it was placed in its new reliquary and venerated in accordance with standard ritual practice. The Holy Week ceremonies in Santa Barbara would have been given yet further vocal resonance through the performance of Wert's Passion setting; this, which takes its text from St Mark, (together with St John the most commonly set account in Italian polyphonic responsorial Passions), consists of twenty-eight polyphonic sections, (texturally distinguished to characterize different *dramatic personae*), alternating with chants taken from the Santa Barbara rite.

Each of the eight altars in the Basilica was dedicated to the most important saint (in terms of official ranking) in each of the eight groups of relics, an arrangement reflected not only in the Santa Barbara calendar but also in the disposition of the altars and the altarpieces which were commissioned to be placed above them. All of these remain in place in Mantua, while a number of compositional sketches have been identified for some of them.<sup>28</sup> As with the relics that they contained, there was a hierarchy among the altars in any church; in Santa Barbara the most important were the high altar itself (dedicated to her and with an altarpiece by Domenico Brusasorci showing her martyrdom [Figure 3]), and the altars of Saints Adrian and Sylvester (both with altarpieces by Lorenzo Costa).

<sup>27</sup> *Tesori d'arte nella terra dei Gonzaga*, Venezia, 1974, pp. 57-58, 62. According to I. DONESMONDI, *Dell' historia ecclesiastica di Mantova*, 2 vols., Mantua, 1616, I, p. 208, many of the relics in Santa Barbara were transferred from Ostiglia where they had been since 1492: see F. AMADEI, *Cronaca universale della città di Mantova*, 5 vols., Mantua, 1954-1957, II, p. 744.

<sup>28</sup> Those by Costa are treated in T. GOZZI, *Lorenzo Costa il Giovane*, in *Saggi e memorie di storia dell' arte*, Firenze, 1976, pp. 31ff. As DONESMONDI, *Dell' historia ecclesiastica di Mantova*, I, p. 114 notes, on major feastdays the choir was decorated with 'arazzi finissimi di seta, con istorie intessute de gli atti Apostolici. This is a reference to the Mantuan set of the famous Sistine Chapel tapestries depicting scenes from the Acts of the Apostles woven after designs by Raphael for which the original cartoons are now in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. The Mantuan versions, which differ from the Sistine ones in the details of their borders, are still preserved in the Ducal Palace in Mantua. For more details see J. SHEARMAN, *Raphael's Cartoons in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen, and the Tapestries for the Sistine Chapel*, London, 1972.



Figure 3: Domenico Brusaporci, *The Martyrdom of St Barbara* (Mantua, Basilica of Santa Barbara)

The scheme of the eight groups of relics is also responsible for the internal arrangement of the motets in Guglielmo Gonzaga's own book of five-voiced *Sacra cantiones in festis duplicibus maioribus ecclesiae Sanctae Barbarae*; this, published anonymously by Gardano in Venice in 1583, is arranged in a way which directly reflects the disposition of the relics and the altars which house them within the Basilica. In other words, here there is a perfect congruence between the relics, the structure of the calendar, the decorative scheme of the altarpieces, and the composition of polyphony.<sup>29</sup>

Table 2

1 In Processione S Crucis	O crux ave spes unica
2 In Processione Sacrarum Reliquiarum	Ad nos tenebris eructe
3 In Processione Sancti Joannis Baptiste	Plusquam prophete virginis
4 In Processione Sancti Silvestri	Silvester almus pontifex
5 In Processione Sancti Petri	Apostolorum principem
6 In Processione Sancti Adriani	Adest dies letissimus
7 In Processione Sanctae Mariae Magdalenae	Ut Magdalena lubrici
8 In Processione Sanctae Margaritae	Te Margarita quesumus
9 [A domenica Passionis ad feriam IV. Maj. heb.]	Vexilla regis prodeunt

As a specially-constituted and privileged institution, the Basilica of Santa Barbara was responsible not to the local diocesan authorities but to the Holy See; in practice this allowed it to operate in a virtually autonomous manner. According to the *Constitutiones* drawn up in 1568, at full strength the Basilica employed sixty-four people presided over by an abbot, an establishment comparable in a size to that of St Mark's Basilica in Venice.<sup>30</sup> The development of a distinctive rite with its own missal and breviary was a further sign of Santa Barbara's exclusiveness; the negotiations with Rome were finally concluded in 1571 and the new arrangements then authorized by a Papal bull; this granted the Chapter of Santa Barbara the right to recite its own specially-constructed Office even though the chants themselves had not yet been fully compiled. That task took some ten years beginning in 1573, and it was not until 1583 that both these books finally received the *imprimatur*. It was in that year that both the breviary and missal were finally published, and two years later the ducal printer, Osanna,

<sup>29</sup> For further on the Duke's dealings with Gardano over the publication of his music see R. SHERR, *The Publications of Guglielmo Gonzaga*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 31 (1978), pp. 118ff.

<sup>30</sup> An account of the formation of the establishment is given in FENLON, *Music and Patronage*, I, pp. 101ff. A previously unnoticed early description of the number and functions of the various posts established in Santa Barbara is contained in Modena, Archivio di Stato, Cybo Gonzaga, b.112, in a letter from an agent of Count Alfonso I Gonzaga of Novellara, September 1566. This describes 24 positions but excludes, for example, the choir and the *maestro di cappella*: see S. CIROLDI, *L'Insigne Chiesa Collegiata di S. Stefano in Novellara*, Novellara, 1991, p. 185 (doc. 73).

also issued the *Officium defunctorum*. This was done largely for the sake of prestige; the Santa Barbara liturgy did not operate outside the Basilica, and for practical purposes the plainsong repertory was copied into large manuscript choir-books, more than twenty of which survive containing Mass chants, propers, hymns, psalms, antiphons and responses.<sup>31</sup> In common with most of the polyphony composed to ornament it, these plainchants were heard only by those privileged enough to experience the liturgy inside the Basilica.<sup>32</sup>

One of the most important of the surviving chants manuscripts is the *Kyriale ad usum ecclesie Sancte Barbara* which, despite the various vicissitudes of the Basilica's library, is still in Mantua.<sup>33</sup> A large late sixteenth-century folio choir-book copied by a number of scribes and with many later changes added, it is the only complete source for the chants of the Ordinary of the Mass as performed in the Basilica on major feasts. It contains ten Masses:

- 1 In Duplicibus maioribus Missa (Tone VIII)
- 2 In Duplicibus minoribus Missa (Tone IV)
- 3 In festis Beatae Mariae Virginis Missa (Tone VII)
- 4 In festis Apostolorum Missa (Tone I)
- 5 In Dominicis diebus Missa (tone II)
- 6 In Semiduplicibus maioribus Missa (Tone VI)
- 7 In Semiduplicibus minoribus Missa (Tone V)
- 8 In Simplicibus minoribus Missa (Tone I)
- 9 In Simplicibus minoribus et feriis Temporis Pascalis (Tone IV)
- 10 In feriis per annum Missa (Tone III)

The first eight of these are complete, the ninth omits the Credo and the last lacks both Credo and Gloria; presumably these Masses, for use on less important days in the calendar, were partially said.<sup>34</sup> The Santa Barbara *Kyriale* dif-

<sup>31</sup> See FENLON, *Music and Patronage*, Appendix III, where bibliographical descriptions of the printed liturgical books and a brief summary listing of the liturgical manuscripts from the Basilica now in the Archivio Diocesano in Mantua is given. DONESMONDI, *Dell' historia ecclesiastica*, I, p. 213, reports that Muret was responsible for writing the texts of the hymns in the Santa Barbara Breviary. Two of Wert's hymns, *Aequaeva ingenito* and *Ponatur lacrimis*, are to texts published in Muret's *Orationes XXIII ... eiusdem hymni sacri, & alia quaedam poematia* (Venice, 1576) with the separate title *Hymnorum sacrorum liber iussu serenissimi Gulielmi Ducis Mantuae montisferrati et c. conscriptus* (Venice, 1575). See also P. BESUTTI, *Catalogo tematico delle monodie liturgiche della Basilica Palatina di S. Barbara*, in *Le fonti musicali in Italia, studie e ricerche*, 2 (1988), pp. 53-56, which provides a list of textual and musical incipits for the chant manuscripts.

<sup>32</sup> Although this is broadly true, there are also documented cases of the Santa Barbara repertory being performed elsewhere (other than at Casale Monferrato). In 1578 Palestrina wished to use Santa Barbara chants in Rome (see STRUNK, *Guglielmo Gonzaga*, pp. 100ff.), and in 1616 the Sistine choir performed both chant and polyphony of one of Palestrina's 'Mantuan' masses (L. BIANCONI, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, Cambridge, 1987, p. 107).

<sup>33</sup> Mantua, Archivio Diocesano, Archivio della Basilica di Santa Barbara, Ms. 1.

<sup>34</sup> The Santa Barbara chants for the *Missa Defunctorum* together with the *Ordo sepeliendi clericum ecclesie nostre* (which also contains chanted sections) are preserved in a separate manuscript.

ferred substantially from Roman use, not only in relation to its classification of feasts but also in other ways. For example, in order to preserve a single mode throughout a complete Ordinary, the compiler of the Santa Barbara *Kyriale* has composed new chants (and in some cases complete Masses), while at the same time incorporating elements from Roman use. In the case of the *Missa in Festis Beatae Mariae Virginis*, for example, only the Gloria is taken directly from a Roman source, the rest of the Ordinary being recomposed, apparently in the interest of clearer declamation and modal purity. It is presumably in pursuit of these same aims that so many of the Santa Barbara chants are modified from Roman use, or in some instances completely recomposed, so that the total range of the modes never exceeds the octave.<sup>35</sup>

This apparent lack of sympathy for some of the most beautiful and characteristic melodic aspects of the older versions of the chant is typical not only of the Santa Barbara *Kyriale*, but also of the times. In the wake of the Council of Trent, 'reform' of the liturgy in accordance with humanistic principles was a major concern of the church. In practice this concern was principally aimed at more precise declamation, largely to be achieved through greater melodic simplicity so that the words of the liturgy might be more clearly heard; there is a clear analogy here with post-Trent architectural thinking, and with the simplified iconography sometimes advocated by churchmen such as Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti of Bologna for devotional pictures.<sup>36</sup> The main initiative in this direction was that of Palestrina and Annibale Zoilo, who were appointed by Pope Gregory XIII in 1577 to prepare a corrected edition of the Gradual. This came to nothing, but a few years later Palestrina's student Giovanni Domenico Guidetti began publication of a series of revised service books, whose main purpose was to present simplified versions of chants. However the most important chant book which conformed to the Council of Trent's reforms was the new Roman gradual begun in 1608 when Giovanni Battista Raimondi was granted printing rights and six musicians were appointed as editors. By 1611 membership of the commission had declined to two, and on Raimondi's death three years later publication was transferred to the Medici Press in Rome. The two volumes of the Medici gradual incorporate revisions based on principles similar to those that can be seen at work in the Santa Barbara chants; melodies are now presented with reduced melismas, with initial notes and cadential points modally regularized, and with the text underlay

<sup>35</sup> For further discussion of this and other stylistic aspects of the Santa Barbara chants see I. FENLON, *Patronage, Music and Liturgy in Renaissance Mantua*, in T. KELLY (ed.), *Plainsong in the Age of Polyphony*, Cambridge, 1992, pp. 209-235, particularly pp. 220-225, and K. JEPPESEN, Preface to *Le messe di Mantova, inedite dai manoscritti di S. Barbara*, in R. CASIMIRI et al. (eds), *Le opere complete di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina*, 29 vols., Rome, 1939-1961, XVIII-XIX, Rome, 1954.

<sup>36</sup> As in, for example, P. PRODI, *Ricerche sulla teorica delle arti figurative nella riforma cattolica*, (*Archivio italiano per la storia della piet , IV*), Rome, 1965, pp. 123ff.

simplified. They have been condemned as containing melodies which have been brutalized through distortion and abbreviation, and whose principles of text underlay follow the principles of Renaissance grammarians rather than those of tenth-century cantors. That they should do so is hardly surprising. As a living and organic corpus that had been copied, re-copied, modified and adapted either intentionally or otherwise in the process of transmission over the centuries, sixteenth-century chant melodies were multiple palimpsests, aggregations and accumulations of a wide variety of different traditions. Historically it is for this reason that they have attracted so little interest among chant scholars who traditionally have considered such late and decadent manifestations of individual repertoires as of little intellectual (or indeed artistic) value; as has been remarked, liturgical history has remained one of the most isolated of disciplines.<sup>37</sup> It is clear that the Santa Barbara chants are in keeping with a general trend of post-Trent thinking about the 'purification' of chant; the result is a distinct corpus which, while retaining elements of tradition, also includes much newly-composed material.

It is important to realize that the ordering, arrangement and re-composition of the Santa Barbara chant proceeded hand-in-hand, and during the same years, as the major initiative to commission new polyphony from important and recognized composers for the exclusive use of the Basilica. Here too the role of Guglielmo Gonzaga [Figure 4], whose own music for Santa Barbara including (in addition to the *Sacrae cantiones* published in 1583) three mass settings and two published books of magnificats (both lost) was significant.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>37</sup> R. GASTON, *Liturgy and Patronage in San Lorenzo, Florence, 1350-1650*, in F.W. KENT and P. SIMONS (eds), *Patronage, Art and Society in Renaissance Italy*, Oxford, 1987, pp. 111-133.

<sup>38</sup> For the masses, (*Apostolorum, In duplicibus maioribus* and *In duplicibus minoribus*), all written for five voices, see *Conservatorio di musica "Giuseppe Verdi" ... catalogo*, p. 193.



Figure 4: [Anon.], *Portrait of Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga* (Mantua, Basilica of Santa Barbara)

As a musically-literate aristocrat whose determining role in many aspects of the planning, final realization and daily operations of the Basilica is evident, Gonzaga also played a decisive part in the musico-liturgical arrangements. That much is clear from Gonzaga's well-known correspondence with Palestrina concerning the commissioning of a series of Masses from the composer for the exclusive use of Santa Barbara. With the exception of the single Mass dispatched in 1568, all of Palestrina's Mantuan Masses were composed during the years 1578-1579 (that is precisely during the period that the manuscript chant books for the Basilica were being compiled but before the rite itself had received official Papal approval), on chants selected by Gonzaga and, as one letter puts it, 'purged of all barbarisms and imperfections' by him. These revisions (and in some cases recompositions) mostly consist of changes made to assist the declamation of text, to reduce melodic complexity and to impose a greater sense of modal uniformity. Gonzaga may well have been assisted in his task of 'purification' by Giaches de Wert, who was involved in the details of the first commission for one of Palestrina's Masses in 1568.<sup>39</sup>

Until his death some thirty years later, Wert served the Gonzaga as their principal resident musician, spending much of his time as *maestro di cappella* at Santa Barbara. Although some of his church music was published during his lifetime, much of it, evidently composed for the exclusive use of the Basilica, was not; to his contemporaries he was primarily known as a composer of madrigals and occasional pieces together with a handful of motets some of which, notably *Adesto dolori meo* and *Egressus Iesus*, were widely circulated in both print and manuscript. Nevertheless, he continued to write polyphony for the Santa Barbara liturgy throughout his career, and a substantial corpus of his works survives among the manuscripts from the Basilica.

Mass composition forms a major part of it. Altogether he wrote seven settings, only one of which, the *Missa Domenicalis*, was published during his lifetime in a collection of six *alternatim* settings all based on the chant *Kyrie orbis factor*, and all by composers connected in some way or other with Santa Barbara and Mantua: Wert, Francesco Rovigo, Giovanni Contino, Gian Giacomo Gastoldi, Alessandro Striggio and Palestrina. Put together by Giulio Pellini, a Mantuan

<sup>39</sup> For Gonzaga's protracted correspondence with Palestrina see STRUNK, *Guglielmo Gonzaga*. Palestrina's Mantuan masses are also discussed in K. JEPPESEN, *The Recently Discovered Mantova Masses of Palestrina*. A *Provisional Communication*, in *Acta Musicologica*, 22 (1950), pp. 36-47 and in the same author's *Pierluigi da Palestrina, Herzog Guglielmo Gonzaga, und die neugefundenen Mantovaner-Messen Palestrinas*, in *Acta Musicologica*, 25 (1953), pp. 132-179. The 1568 mass is almost certainly the untitled setting for four *voci mutati* in Milan, Biblioteca del conservatorio, Fondo Santa Barbara Ms. 164; its early date is suggested by the fact that it is not organized on *alternatim* principles as are the other 'Mantuan' masses preserved in the same manuscript (see the edition in CASIMIRI et al. (eds), *Giovanni da Palestrina: le opere complete*, Rome, 1939, vol. XIX, p. 168 and, for the remaining Mantuan masses, all written for five voices, XVIII and XIX).

Carmelite, they are implicitly presented as a sample of the Santa Barbara repertory; significantly, in view of the strongly reformist character of so much of its output, the partbooks were published not in Venice as might be expected but by the Tini workshop in Milan.<sup>40</sup> Between them, these seven cover all the liturgical festal categories for which polyphonic masses are specified in the Santa Barbara *Ceremoniale* drawn up by Girolamo Bono in 1583, at the same time that the liturgical books of the Basilica were printed. It is clear that *alternatim* Mass settings were performed in Santa Barbara throughout the year on both major and minor feasts including Sundays, saints' days and at least some ferial days; this regular commitment makes the Basilica one of the most important institutions for the performance of liturgical polyphony in the whole of late sixteenth-century Italy, comparable in scope to the larger institutions elsewhere. In turn this is reflected in the sheer size of the Santa Barbara *alternatim* repertory, particularly in the large number of settings of the Ordinary which mostly follow the same slightly idiosyncratic plan of text division.<sup>41</sup>

Yet while this body of specially-written Mass settings is certainly impressive, it forms only a part of the repertory performed there, and the Santa Barbara manuscripts also contain a substantial corpus of other liturgical music, notably hymns and psalms, written specially for the Basilica. It is through these pieces that it is possible to gain a more detailed impression of the way that both polyphony and chant were used to celebrate those feast-days which, while not unique to the Santa Barbara calendar, were given special emphasis in its rite. Of the various collections of hymns Wert's magisterial cycle is the largest and most important. There are two main sources. The first, the older of the two, contains a good number of pieces which are not present in the second, an illuminated folio choirbook, dated 1590, copied for the Basilica by Francesco Sforza, the principal scribe working there at the end of the sixteenth century and during the early decades of the seventeenth. A third manuscript, also copied by Sforza, adds a handful of the other hymns, mostly to be sung at

<sup>40</sup> *Missae Dominicanis quinque vocibus diversarum auctorem*, Milano, 1592; a modern edition of Wert's mass but with chants (for the Gloria only) supplied from the *Liber usualis* rather than from Santa Barbara sources is in C. MACCLINTOCK and M. BERNSTEIN (eds), *Giaches de Wert Opera Omnia*, XVII, Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1977. Contino's Mass from the collection has also recently been made available in O. BERETTA (ed.), *Giovanni Contino. Cinque messe manovane dal fondo S. Barbara a cinque voci*, Milano, 1988. For further on Tini and music-publishing in Milan see I. FENLON, *Il foglio volante editoriale dei Tini circa il 1596*, in *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, 12 (1977), pp. 231-251.

<sup>41</sup> FENLON, *Patronage, Music and Liturgy*, pp. 226-229.



Matins, which are not present in the other two.<sup>42</sup> Taken together these sources contain 127 pieces, none of which was ever published during the sixteenth century. In style, Wert's hymns resemble his other *alternatim* settings for Santa Barbara; their extreme simplicity, evidently designed to allow the texts to be clearly heard, is reminiscent, in their combination of careful declamation, attention to text and restrained counterpoint, to the hymns and the *Preces speciales* of Jacobus de Kerle. The latter, which consists of prayers arranged in the form of responsories, was written specifically for the Council of Trent; the prayers themselves call for the successful conclusion of its work, and for the reconciliation of a Christian world riven by doctrinal struggle.<sup>43</sup> Kerle's hymn collection in particular seems to have been widely purchased for the choirs of larger institutions (the Santa Barbara library itself owned a copy of the Barré edition of 1560); they were highly influential in the development of a simpler and more accessible style of church music in the second half of the sixteenth century. Among Wert's hymns, a large number are intended for performance on the feast-days of saints prominent in the Santa Barbara liturgy:

St Barbara: Vespers, Compline, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None  
 Octave of St Barbara: Vespers  
 Chair of St Peter: Vespers  
 Birth of St John the Baptist: Matins, Lauds, Terce, Vespers, Compline  
 Sts Peter and Paul: Vespers, Compline, Terce  
 St Margaret Virgin and Martyr: Vespers, Terce  
 St Mary Magdalene: Vespers, Terce  
 St Stephen: Matins, Lauds, Terce, Compline, Vespers  
 Beheading of St John the Baptist: Vespers

<sup>42</sup> For a complete listing of Wert's sacred music, keyed to sources, see the article on the composer by C. MACCLINTOCK and I. FENLON, *Wert, Giaches de*, in S. SADIE (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, XX, London, 1980, pp. 350-356. On the scribal activities of Francesco Sforza see FENLON, *Music and Patronage*, I, pp. 201-202. Altogether Sforza copied some seven manuscripts containing polyphonic repertory from Santa Barbara, of which he was a canon; four now in Milan (Conservatorio) together with the rest of the Santa Barbara library (see above note 12), one copied in 1594 for presentation to the Bishop of Casale Monferrato and still in Casale (Archivio Capitolare), one dated 1616 and prepared as a gift for Francesco Gonzaga, Bishop of Mantua (Mantua, Archivio Diocesano) and one written in 1622 for Cesare Gonzaga of Guastalla (Udine, Cathedral). He was evidently well-regarded as a scribe; a letter from Marguerita Gonzaga, the widow of Duke Alfonso II of Ferrara, refers to a book of 'orationi' written for her by Sforza and illuminated by Marco Leoni (Mantua, Archivio de Stato, Archivio Gonzaga b. 1970, letter of 6 September 1602). Wert's music for the Basilica is memorialized in three of the Milan manuscripts (numbers 155, 164 and 167) as well as in the Casale Monferrato manuscript. For practical purposes the smaller fascicle manuscripts in the same library and containing the same repertory were evidently used. The Mantua and Udine manuscripts contain only one work by Wert, the *Missa Transeunte Domino*. Not only is this Wert's only parody mass (it is based on his own motet published in 1567), it is also his only mass setting not based on the *alternatim* principle. As such it stands outside the Santa Barbara repertory.

<sup>43</sup> For more on Kerle see LOCKWOOD, *The Counter-Reformation*, pp. 222ff.

St Adrian: Vespers, Compline, Terce  
 Dedication of the Basilica of St Barbara: Vespers, Compline, Terce, Sext  
 St Sylvester: Matins, Lauds, Terce, Compline

From this it is clear that the feast-days of St John the Baptist, St Margaret, St Sylvester, St Peter, St Adrian and, of course, St Barbara herself were, together with a small number of others, of particular importance in the festal calendar. In addition to hymns for these saints, Marian feasts and the Finding and Exultation of the True Cross also receive special emphasis in Wert's hymn cycle, the latter yet further confirmation of the enormous importance attached to the Basilica's possession of a relic of the True Cross. As with Guglielmo Gonzaga's anonymously-published *Sacrae cantiones*, the determining element here is the Basilica's liturgy constructed around the possession of relics of particular dynastic and political importance.

There remains the question of the motets. These, the most important and in some cases most widely-circulated of Wert's sacred music, were also the only part of this corpus to be printed in quantity in his lifetime. The first of these collections, the *Motectorum liber primus* of 1566, contains nineteen pieces, many of them settings of texts from the Roman liturgy. As with the *Secondo libro de motetti* (1581) and his third and final motet collection, the *Modulationum cum sex vocibus liber primus* of the same year, the majority of these are taken from Epistles, Gospels or Lectiones for major feasts. Taken in the main from New Testament sources, these extracts were traditionally read or intoned by the celebrant rather than being sung in polyphony as were devotional or psalm texts. This peculiarity may well be explained by the particular conventions of liturgical performance in Santa Barbara, where it is known that extra polyphonic items were often sung as substitutes for Antiphons or other chants on major feastdays; in this sense practice at the Basilica reflected a more widespread phenomenon in which extraneous polyphony was performed while the celebrant quietly recited the specified text.<sup>44</sup> The likelihood that Wert's motets were written for Santa Barbara is increased by the presence of his six-voice setting of *Beata Barbara*, composed for the feast-day of the patron saint of the basilica, in the *Modulationum* of 1581. The motets apart, most of Wert's music for the Ducal Basilica remained in manuscript as a private and reserved repertory specifically composed for a single privileged and elite institution. Its distinctiveness, partly proclaimed through the deployment of special texts (some of the hymns were specially written by Marc' Antoine Muret) and *canti firmi* derived from the Santa Barbara rite, was additionally underscored by being set in *alternatim* fashion. In fact, except for the *Missa Transeunte*

<sup>44</sup> S. BONTA, *Liturgical problems in Monteverdi's Marian Vespers*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 20 (1967), pp. 87-88

*Domine*, ascribed to Wert in a single manuscript source copied more than twenty-five years after his death and the two simple *falsobordoni* ascribed to him in another manuscript (Casale Monferrato, Archivio Capitolare, Ms. without shelfmark, fols. 59v-60), all his sacred compositions conform to the type; all are *cantus firmus* compositions based on chants from the Santa Barbara liturgy, and all are set in *alternatim* style.

In terms of musical and liturgical practices, the exclusivity of what took place within the walls of Santa Barbara was achieved in three main ways. First, a sense of uniqueness was achieved here, as elsewhere in Catholic Europe, through the adoption of a (in this case specially-devised) festal calendar which was practiced there and nowhere else. In this, saints with local associations, and particularly those of dynastic significance, were given particular prominence. With its emphasis on the early Church Fathers, notably Saints Sylvester and Peter, the Santa Barbara calendar aimed to acquire an authority and even a somewhat spurious air of antiquity that would enhance the status of the Basilica and of the family which had constructed it. The same is obviously true of the accentuation upon Constantine, the first Roman Emperor to convert to Christianity, shown in Costa's altarpiece being baptized by St Sylvester. Second, the reformed chants of the Santa Barbara liturgy are peculiar to that institution; their characteristics, which include melodic transformations and composition *ex novo*, lend them a distinct and unique quality which further enhances the exclusivity of the rite. Finally, it was largely through the vehicle of a specially-commissioned corpus of liturgical polyphony, mostly organized on *alternatim* principles, that the chants of the Santa Barbara liturgy were displayed to the world, or rather to that privileged section of it that constituted the 'public' for the religious and dynastic ceremonies that were conducted in the Basilica. Here too the specific choice of an *alternatim* arrangement may have been intended to lend a certain status to the liturgy and its polyphonic decoration through the evocation of ancient practice. One of the characteristic manifestations of the *alternatim* principle was in the performance of responsorial chants where soloists alternated with the choir, a convention whose roots lay in the antiphonal psalmody of the early Western church. By the fifteenth century the practice was not restricted to liturgical texts of a responsorial character, nor to the opposition of polyphony and plainchant, but also took in other compositional types including *cantus planus binatim* or *falsobordone*. Informed visitors to St Mark's Basilica in Venice in 1525, just two years before Willaert arrived to take charge of the music there, note hearing both Mass and Vespers performed with two alternating groups, one chanting the other singing improvised polyphony. It is this which provides the historical background to later polychoral practice which was arrived at by first substituting notated polyphony for chant in the remaining choir while retaining the principle of

antiphonal opposition.<sup>45</sup> The archaeology of this process can be clearly seen in the famous collaborative edition of vesper psalms produced by Willaert and Jacquet of Mantua in 1550. Here, in addition to *Salmi spezzati* and *Salmi a versi con le sue risposte*, there are a number of psalms which alternate chanted verses with four-voiced polyphonic verses set in a simple style close to that of *falsobordone*, a technique that Willaert was to return to in his later collection, *I sacri e santi salmi che si cantono a vespro e compieta* (Venice, 1555; second revised and enlarged edition, 1571). Against this background of a long and dignified tradition in which elements of chant, and both improvised and notated polyphony were mixed in a theatrical manner of performance which evokes the practices of the early church, the choice (presumably Gonzaga's) of an *alternatim* style for the principal polyphonic elaborations of the Santa Barbara liturgy is hardly casual.<sup>46</sup> In this enterprise, Wert together with Palestrina, two of the most universally-acclaimed composers of their generation, were the major contributors alongside other less well-known composers who also contributed to this exclusive corpus. These specially-commissioned works were performed alongside a wide range of published repertory by a sizeable performing establishment in an environment specifically designed with the execution of music, both chant and polyphony, in mind, and theatrically arranged to ensure a dramatic impact on major feasts when polyphony and chant were performed *alternatim* from the east and west ends of the building respectively. Through these means the Gonzaga displayed not only their devotion but also their power, wealth, status and authority in the midst of the changing world of post-Trent Catholicism.

<sup>45</sup> I. FENLON, *Strangers in Paradise: Dutchmen at St. Mark's in 1525*, in P. DALLA VECCHIA and D. RESTANI (eds.), *Trent'anni di ricerche musicologiche Studi in onore di F. Alberto Gallo*, Rome, 1996, pp. 323-337.

<sup>46</sup> On the typology of Willaert's psalms see H. ZENCK, *Adrian Willaert's "Salmi spezzati"*, in *Die Musikforschung*, 2 (1949), p. 97.

## GIACHES DE WERT AND THE ACCADEMIA FILARMONICA

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Giaches de Wert's *Quinto libro de madrigali a cinque, sei, et sette voci*, printed in Venice in 1571, is dedicated to the Accademia Filarmonica of Verona. This essay presents new documents concerning the academy's reception of the Fifth Book and describes and examines the presentation copy, lavishly bound, and still in the academy's library. The Fifth Book is Wert's sole publication not dedicated to an aristocratic patron. Though unique in Wert's output, it is by no means an isolated example: many composers dedicated their works to the Accademia Filarmonica, arguably the most famous musical academy in all of Italy. On the purely practical side, the composer's dedicatory gesture implicitly assumes that the music would be performed in the academy and appraised for its artistic worth. This connoisseurship made the academy an attractive target. The fifteen publications dedicated to the academy between 1548 and 1615 bear comparison with the numbers of works dedicated to powerful and wealthy individuals such as Guglielmo Gonzaga (25 between 1566-1587), Alfonso II d'Este (33 between 1554-1597), and Count Mario Bevilacqua (23 in the period 1574-1592).<sup>1</sup> Such numerical comparisons lack a cultural and sociological context: they document but do not explain the interaction between the artist-provider of services (client) and the consumer (patron).<sup>2</sup> Nor do they take into account the circumstances of wealth and power that generate culture, or that differentiate the politically powerful (the dukes of Mantua and Ferrara) from the privately powerful (Bevilacqua, the wealthy sponsor of a Veronese musical *ridotto*).<sup>3</sup> In contrast to the concentration of power wielded by the absolutist ruler or member of the landed aristocracy, the Accademia Filarmonica, governed on democratic principles, remained financially viable not through forced taxation but only when and if members paid their dues; it was a self-governing institution with a constitution and by-laws - a microcosm, however specialized its purpose, of Veronese civic life.<sup>4</sup> It was not, then, a patron (*committente*) in the accepted sense: the academy did not cause or command music to be written

- <sup>1</sup> These figures are after O. MISCHIATI, *Bibliografia delle opere pubblicate a stampa dai musicisti veronesi nei secoli XVI-VXIII*, Roma, 1993, prefazione, p. xi.
- <sup>2</sup> See C. ANNIBALDI, *La musica nel mondo: Mecenate e committenza musicale in Italia tra Quattro e Seicento*, Bologna, 1993, introduzione.
- <sup>3</sup> On Bevilacqua, see E. PAGANUZZI, *Dal Cinquecento al Seicento*, in *La musica a Verona*, Verona, 1976, pp. 179-89.
- <sup>4</sup> Fundamental is G. TURRINI, *L'Accademia Filarmonica di Verona dalla fondazione (maggio 1543) al 1600 e il suo patrimonio musicale antico*, Verona, 1941; see also M. MATERASSI, 'Origine et progressi dell'Accademia Filarmonica' (*Verona, 1543-1553*): una rilettura, in *Rassegna veneta di studi musicali*, IV (1988), pp. 51-91.

by outsiders for its private concerti. But it did receive gifts of music. As I hope to show, the interaction between Wert and the Accademia Filarmonica conforms to behavioral norms that, on the private institutional level, provide a broader contextual view of the rewards system of the commerce of music.

Wert's Fifth Book is, as noted, dedicated to the academy. Should the composer have intended its contents to reflect in some manner the addressees, it could be surmised, as Carol MacClintock does, that: "The contents of this collection seem to be exactly suited to a society of male singers. In all but a few instances the voice ranges are somewhat lower than usual and the technical demands are well within the capabilities of talented amateurs. Even more to the point, the texts appear to suit the taste of a male chorus, for there are humorous subjects, sentimental texts, a canzon francese, a cycle on a slightly suggestive text by Ariosto, and several madrigals which might be considered as 16th-century equivalents of "barber-shop harmony".<sup>5</sup> Apparently the '16th-century equivalents of "barber-shop harmony"' are the works MacClintock believes to reflect the voice ranges of an all-male singing society. In the critical notes of her edition she describes *Non fia vero giamai*, *Trascende l'Alpi*, and *Ite pensieri miei* (nos. 6, 7 and 8, all anonymous sonnets in two parts) as having 'exceptionally low [vocal ranges] in comparison to those found generally in Wert's compositions. This seems to imply that Giaches was writing for a particular group of singers in the Accademia Filarmonica.'<sup>6</sup> The assertion ignores the use of the same clef combinations (C1, C3, C4, C4, F4) in *Avorio e gemma* (Petrarch), *Così di ben amar* (Petrarch), *Sarò, signor, io sol* (Tansillo), *Lieto Phebo del mar* (anonymous), and *O ne miei danni più che'l giorno chiara* (numbers 1-3, 9, and 12), the latter a work in six sections to a text by Ariosto. Apart from such categorial inconsistencies, MacClintock's attempt to relate cleffing to the voice ranges of a 'male chorus' relies on the assumption that written pitch should be taken literally. This argument, if carried to its logical extreme, would exclude from performance by the academy works in high clef combinations. It is now known, for instance, that the downwards transposition of works in high clef combinations was common practice, particularly for concerted works with instruments doubling or replacing the voice parts (*concerti*) - a practice for which the academy was famed - and applicable by analogy to the (always relative) pitch of a *cappella* performance.<sup>7</sup> The performance of works in high clefs at written pitch cannot be ruled out. Boy singers were

<sup>5</sup> C. MACCLINTOCK, *Giaches de Wert (1535-1596): Life and Works*, American Institute of Musicology, (*Musicological Studies and Documents*, 17), 1966, pp. 96-97; compare also similar statements in the forward to her edition: *Giaches de Wert: Collected Works*, (*Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 24/5), American Institute of Musicology, 1966.

<sup>6</sup> *Collected Works*, (*Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 24/5), p. 98.

<sup>7</sup> A. PARROTT, *Transposition in Monteverdi's Vespers of 1610: an 'aberration' defended*, in *Early Music*, 15 (1984), pp. 490-516.

occasionally hired by the academy<sup>8</sup> and several boys appear among the adult members of the Filarmonici who are shown performing music around a table with voices and instruments as a background detail in Domenico Brusasorci's portrait of the *filarmonico* Bartolomeo Carteri.<sup>9</sup> And carrying this to yet a finer point, written pitch and sounding pitch are not always identical: measurements of the academy's 16th-century wind instruments reveal several pitch standards, both higher and lower than modern A=440 Hz.<sup>10</sup> Wert's Fifth Book was dedicated to the academy, but its contents were commercially available; similarly, the subject matter of the poetic texts may have appealed to the tastes of the academy (MacClintock's 'male chorus'), but no more and no less than to the literate public at large. Wert's dedication reads as follows:

All'Illustri signori miei osservandissimi li Signori Academici di Verona, Detti Filharmonici et C.

Quand'io risolsi di pubblicare queste mie nuove fatiche al mondo, insieme giudicai, che non mi si convenisse lasciarle uscire sotto altro nome di quello di V.S. S. percioche chiamandosi loro Filharmoniche cioè protettrici, et amiche della musica, posso affidarmi, che non rifiuteranno questi miei concerti, anzi che voluntieri (come è suo proprio) li riceveranno nella protezione loro, a cui hora con questa confidenza affettuosamente li dedico, desiderando che gli accettino, & gradiscano per pegno, & fede della divotione che le porto, dal quale se non nè potrà venire quella lode, che sola è premio delle vertuose fatiche, siami almeno per buontà di V.S.S. concesso, ch'io nè goda il premio della gratia sua. Che cosi se non per buone, di certo per fortunate terrò sempre queste mie compositioni. Bacio le mani di V.S.S & priego Dio per la continova prosperità loro.

Di V.S.S. Illustri Affettionatissimo  
Giaches de Vuert

When I resolved to publish these new works to the world, I also judged it appropriate to let them appear under no other name than yours for the reason that, in calling yourselves Filarmonici ('lovers of harmony'), that is to say, protectors and friends of music, I could be assured that you would not refuse [to accept] my compositions; but that you would willingly, as your right, receive them under your protection; this confidence now leads me to dedicate them to you with affection, desiring that you may accept and enjoy them as a faithful sign of my devotion to you; and

<sup>8</sup> TURRINI, *L'Accademia Filarmonica*, pp. 156-157.

<sup>9</sup> The painting is reproduced in *Veronese e Verona*, ed. S. MARINELLI, Verona, 1988, *Catalogo dei dipinti*, no. 45, p. 315.

<sup>10</sup> J.H. VAN DER MEER and R. WEBER, *Catalogo degli strumenti musicali dell'Accademia Filarmonica di Verona*, Verona, 1982, pp. 77-79.

even if their skill does not deserve great praise, I will still by your generosity enjoy the reward of your favor. Thus, even if my compositions prove not worthy, I shall always count them fortunate.

The closing salutation is signed but not dated or placed, a practice adopted by Wert from 1581 onwards.<sup>11</sup> The wording, somewhat stiff and formal, suggests the composer was familiar with the aims of the Accademia Filarmonica, deciphering *Filarmonici* as meaning 'protectors and friends of music', a hopeful rather than accurate translation. And he is soliciting, not shamelessly but with dignity, the reward of the academy's favor (*ch'io nè goda il premio della gratia sua*) should they find his efforts worthy. He also says at the outset that having assembled this book of madrigals for publication, it was only then that he resolved to dedicate it to the academy.

This statement would not exclude the inclusion of a work honoring the academy. In some instances a book of madrigals dedicated to the academy by a composer whom the academy had employed in some musical function as maestro, musician, or visitor to its premises will contain a work praising the academy. In Wert's case, so far as I can detect, there are no texts referring to the academy's members, aims and functions. Some works are however occasional, referring to events or to people. The last item is a seven-voice dialogue madrigal in praise of a certain Lucretia Ancisa, marchesa, whom I have been unable to trace; the text must be of Mantuan origin since it sets the action on the banks of the Mincio.<sup>12</sup>

Che nuovo e vago sol, ch'ardente luce  
È questa che dal nostro Mincio l'onde  
Fa così chiar' e sì liete le sponde?  
Che nuovo e vaghe e lampeggianti stelle  
Son queste che fan tra noi soggiorno,  
Assai più alter' e belle  
Di quanto fanno 'l ciel di luce adorno?  
Risponde 'l chiaro fiume:  
D'Ancisa uscito è 'l lume,  
Ma non ancide mai;  
Anzi de' suoi bei rai,  
Se ben par che l'ardor infiamm' e stembre,  
Apporta vita sempre.

<sup>11</sup> *Il settimo libro de madrigali*, dedicated to Margherita Farnese Gonzaga from Mantua, and *Il secondo libro de motetti a cinque voci*, dedicated to Ferrando Gonzaga from Venice; see MACCLINTOCK, *Giaches de Wert*, pp. 234-235.

<sup>12</sup> But see V. SPRETI, *Enciclopedia storico-nobiliare italiana*, Milano, 1928-32, III, p. 684 on the marquise of Incisa (*Incisa della Rocchetta*) located in the area south of Asti and Alessandria. Incisa and Ancisa are interchangeable. MacClintock (*Giaches de Wert*, p. 100) surmises she 'may have been a patroness of the Accademia or a renowned beauty'. Women were not admitted to the academy except under special circumstances, decided by vote.

Another text, *Le stranie voci*<sup>13</sup> cannot, as MacClintock claims, refer to the battle of Lepanto.<sup>14</sup> It was set by Pietro Vinci in his *Terzo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice: Scotto, 1571), the dedication signed from Bergamo, where Vinci was maestro di cappella at Santa Maria Maggiore, on 15 April 1571. The battle of Lepanto was fought on 7 October 1571, and Wert's Fifth book was received by the academy in late October of 1571. This text may refer to the role of the papacy in the formation of the Holy League, and Rome's hopes of victory against the Turks in which St Michael archangel symbolizes the church militant. The golden lilies (*aurei gigli*) can hardly refer to France, as MacClintock states, since France had no part in the League, but rather to the Last Judgement in which Christ (the *Santo Pastore* of the text) proffers the sword to the condemned and the lily to the chosen, here the sons of Rome.<sup>15</sup>

Le stranie voci, i dolorosi accenti  
ch'empion l'aere di pianti et di querele,  
sono di quel Ribell' empio e crudele  
al suo Re, contra Dio con le sue genti,  
Santo Pastore, et de' domati e spenti

<sup>13</sup> MacClintock's edition gives *Le strane voci*; I have emended this and other texts cited from Book Five to conform to the spellings in the original print consulted in Verona, Biblioteca della Accademia Filarmonica, no. 197, and Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, no. 67.

<sup>14</sup> MACCLINTOCK, *Giaches de Wert*, p. 100; *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 24/5, p. 98: 'The text is a madrigale spirituale of thanksgiving after the battle of Lepanto [...] "Santo Pastore" refers to the Pope, Pius V, and the "aurei gigli" refer to the golden lilies of France'; compare also the same opinion in I. FENLON, *Music and Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Mantua*, Cambridge, 1980, p. 84, n. 5. Fenlon's more recent work on this topic omits mention of *Le stranie voci*: I. FENLON, *In destructione Turcharum: The Victory of Lepanto in Sixteenth-Century Music and Letters*, in *Andrea Gabrieli e il suo tempo. Atti del convegno internazionale*, ed. F. DEGRADA, Firenze, 1987, pp. 293-317 (*Studi di musica veneta*, 11); I. FENLON, *Lepanto: The Arts of Celebration in Renaissance Venice*, in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, lxxiii (1987), pp. 201-236. Other settings, listed by location of dedication, are those of G.M. Nanino, Ia5 1579 (Rome), Domenico Micheli, Va5 1581 (Ravenna), Eliseo Ghibellini, Ia5 1581 (Ancona), and Gio. Cavaccio, Ia5 1583 (Brescia). It may be relevant that Wert accompanied Guglielmo Gonzaga to Augsburg in the Spring of 1566 for a meeting called by Emperor Maximilian to decide defensive measures against the Turks (MACCLINTOCK, *Giaches de Wert*, p. 31; FENLON, *Music and Patronage*, p. 86).

<sup>15</sup> The lily is a symbol of purity associated with the Virgin Mary, and with justice in Last Judgement scenes. See R. HARPATH, *La formazione umanistica di papa Paolo III e le sue conseguenze nell'arte romana della metà del Cinquecento*, in *Roma e l'antico nell'arte e nella cultura del Cinquecento*, a cura di Marcello Fagiolo, Roma, 1985, pp. 63-85 on Tintoretto's 'Last Judgement in the Church of the Madonna dell'Orto', Venice: *dalla bocca di Cristo esce in direzione dei condannati una spada, e verso gli eletti, appunto, il giglio. Anche l'Arcangelo Gabriele nelle raffigurazioni dell'Annunciazione porta un giglio, non tanto per alludere alla purezza della Vergine, quanto perchè pronuncia le parole: 'Gratia plena'*. For St Michael archangel as a symbol of the church militant, see *Gli affreschi di Paolo III a Castel Sant'Angelo, 1543-1548*, 2 vols., Roma, 1981, ii, p. 206 (Sala della Giustizia); this text may refer to the Catholic victory over the Huguenots in 1566, but not to the Massacre of St Bartholomew at Paris in 1572. However, the 'rebel, savage and cruel' is most likely to be identified with the renegade Karakosh, who fought on the side of the Turks.

seguaci suoi, per man del tuo fidele  
popolo eletto dal gran Michael  
sol a por fin a si lunghi tormenti.

Hor ben dovrebb' al par de gl'Aurei gigli  
lieto mostrar di tal Vittoria segno  
Roma, cantando i suoi più chiari figli,

come non forza di terren ingegno  
l'ha liberata da tanti perigli,  
ma pietà vera del superno Regno.<sup>16</sup>

An ottava rima of perhaps similar intent, *Lieto Phebo del mar*, appears a panygyric to the 'worthy heroes' of the Venetian fleet in whom the world places its faith of returning to a happy state; this again, as the Venetians prepared to confront the Turk, may refer to the hoped for outcome. 'Phoebus of the sea', or Apollo, stands as a metaphor for Venice, the image finding confirmation in Jacopo Sansovino's statue of Apollo in the Loggetta of the campanile, and the sculptor's description transmitted by his son Francesco of its significance:

Apollo is the sun, which is singular and unique, just as this Republic, for its constituted laws, its unity, and uncorrupted liberty, is a sun in the world, regulated with justice and wisdom; furthermore, it is known how this nation takes a more than ordinary delight in music, and Apollo signifies music. Moreover, from the union of the magistracies, combined with the equable temperament, there arises an unusual harmony, which perpetuates this admirable government: for these reasons was Apollo represented.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> In translation, this might read: 'Holy Shepherd, the strange voices, the painful accents that fill the air with wails and discord are of that rebel, savage and cruel, to his King, against God with his people, and of his followers, beaten and spent by the hand of your faithful people, alone chosen by the great Michael [archangel] to put an end to such long torments. Now, like the golden lilies, Rome should show happily a sign of that victory, praising [the victory] of its most illustrious sons that freed it from so many dangers, not as a labor of earthly intellect but as [a sign] of true mercy of the celestial kingdom.'

<sup>17</sup> The translation is from I. FENLON, *Venice: Theatre of the World*, in *The Renaissance: From the 1470s to the end of the 16th century*, ed. I. FENLON, London, 1989, p. 129; for the original, see F. SANSOVINO, *Venetia citta nobilissima...con aggiunta da D. Giustiano Martinioni*, Venezia, 1663, 307 ff.: *Quest'altro ch'è Apollo, esprime, che si come Apollo significa il Sole, & il Sole è veramente un solo, & non più, & però si chiama Sole, così questa Repub. per costituzioni di leggi, per unione, & per incorrotta liberta è una sola nel mondo senza più, regolata con giustizia & con sapientia. Oltre a ciò si sa per ogn'uno, che questa natione si diletta per ordinario della musica, & però Apollo è figurato per la musica. Ma perche dall'unione de i Magistrati che sono congiunti insieme con temperamento indicibile, esce inusitata harmonia, la qual perpetua questo ammirando governo, però fu fabricata l'Apollò.*

Lieto Phebo del mar, più che l'usato,  
in sì fosca stagion, si mostri fuori.  
Fuggan le nevi, e 'l duro volto ornato  
De la gran madre sia d'erbett' et fiori.  
Canti ogni lingua in suon festoso e grato  
Di così degni heroi l'illusti honori,  
Poi che per essi ha ferma spem' il mondo  
Di tornar più che mai liet' e giocondo.

These texts may have been appreciated by the academy, but they seem to have been written with other people and other events in mind. In sum, then, no connections can be established to link the contents of Wert's Fifth Book to the academy.

I would like to return to the question of why, in 1571, Wert chose to dedicate his Fifth Book to the Accademia Filarmonica. The Fourth Book of 1567 is dedicated to Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga (and contains a work by the dedicatee); the Sixth Book of 1577 was dedicated to the Prince of Mantua, Vincenzo Gonzaga, Guglielmo's son. From what little is known of Wert's life from this period it may be conjectured that he was deeply troubled. Since his appointment in 1565 as maestro di cappella at Santa Barbara, attempts to oust him from his position had been led by a singer in the chapel, Agostino Bonvicino, and over whom Wert had been preferred. This intrigue culminated in 1570 with the exposure of Bonzanino's adultery with Wert's wife, a humiliating episode for the composer, but not sufficient to dislodge him from his position or the affections of his patron.<sup>18</sup> Given these circumstances, Wert may have wished to expand his options; the dedication of the Fifth Book to the academy perhaps opening a window of opportunity for the composer beyond the confines of the duchy of Mantua to nearby Verona, a city governed by Venice. For the academy, a composer of Wert's stature would have been a prime catch. Since the academy's foundation in 1543, its music masters had included Jan Nasco, Vincenzo Ruffo, Lamberto Courtois, Francesco Portinaro, Ippolito Chamaterò, Alessandro Romano and Pietro Valenzuola, composers of varying distinction. Following its fusion with the Accademia alla Vittoria in 1564, when the academy's membership nearly doubled, the academy followed a somewhat different course, retaining on annual salary at least five full-time professional instrumentalists. Among these was Alessandro Sfois, or Sfogli, a minor Veronese composer, the academy's keyboardist and, from 1570, its music master. Nevertheless, there was room at the top. In 1573 the academy decided to offer the position to Marc'Antonio Ingegneri, a native of Verona but employed at Cremona, for a three year period at the very large salary of 80

<sup>18</sup> MACCLINTOCK, *Giaches de Wert*, pp. 33-35.

ducats per annum.<sup>19</sup> Ingegneri apparently did not accept the offer, but his ties to Verona remained close. His *Quarto libro de madrigali a cinque voci* of 1584 is dedicated to the *filarmonico* Count Augustino Giusti in whose palazzo and formal gardens (the Giardino Giusti) the academy was then holding its meetings. Ingegneri's *Quinto libro*, also for five voices, was dedicated to the *Signori Accademici Filarmonici* in 1587; in the same year *Claudio Monteverde cremonese discepolo del sig. Marc'Antonio Ingegneri* dedicated his *Madrigali a cinque voci* [...] *Libro primo* to another member of the academy, Count Marco Verità. Here it may be assumed that the mentor advised the pupil. Ingegneri spent his career at near-by Cremona, but he remained a citizen by birthright of Verona, the *commune Patria* recalled in his dedication to the Accademia Filarmonica in 1587. These dedications to members of the Veronese nobility probably reflect personal relationships, and target a circumscribed number of locally known, and presumably receptive, patrons.

Wert was not part of these interlocking circles and had no previous connection with Verona and the academy as far as I have been able to find. But whatever his intentions may have been in dedicating the Fifth Book to the academy, its reception and what he could expect in return can be clarified. Several documents that concern Wert's gift to the academy, recently discovered, are cited below. These are extracts copied from the now lost originals of the Acts (*Atti*), or administrative decisions, of the Accademia Filarmonica for the year in question.<sup>20</sup> They describe the receipt of Wert's Fifth Book and the adjudication process to which the academy subjected unsolicited gifts, as well as the monetary reward offered in recompense to the composer.

Doc. 1  
1571 29 ottobre  
Item fu presentato  
all'Accad.ia il 5to libro  
de Madrigali di Giaches  
d'Uuert, e dedicata alli  
Accademici, et furono  
eletti per udir detta mu-  
sica et riferir etc Co.  
Pier Luigi Sarego, Mat-  
tio Brolo, Giulio Facino.

Doc. 2  
1571 19 Xbre  
Parte. Che a Giaches  
siano rese le dovute gra-  
zie della Musica per esso  
dedicata all'Accad.a, e li  
siano donati 12. Scudi  
d'oro.

Doc. 3  
1572 24 gennaio  
Parte. Essendo stato  
deliberato con Parte  
1571 19 Xbre di donare  
a Jaques d'Uuert scudi  
12. d'oro, possano Li  
Reg.ti spender detta  
somma in una medaglia  
coniato con una  
Impresa.

<sup>19</sup> Verona, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Dionisi-Piomarta 634, *Summario degl'Atti dell'Accademia Filarmonica: 6 maggio 1573. Parte. Sia condotto Marc'Antonio Ingegneri Veronese per Maestro di Musica per tre anni dandoli Casa, e Ducati 80 all'anno.* This source is not paginated; all citations are by date of entry.

<sup>20</sup> Fondo Dionisi-Piomarta 634. The fondo comprises various volumes donated by the Dionisi-Piomarta family in the 1970s and 1980s and was hence unknown to Turrini. Dionise Dionisi was one of the founding members of the academy in 1543, and it is likely that some of the volumes in the fondo belonged to him. The writer, unidentified, was copying from the *Atti*, but omits sections, indicated by a wavy line, which I show as etc.

Document 1 describes the receipt of Wert's book and the adjudication process. Three members of the academy were charged with assessing its worth, presumably by auditory trial (*udir*) and to report back their findings. Document 2 records the decision (*parte*) to give twelve gold scudi to the composer (compare the wording of Wert's dedication: *ch'io nè goda il premio della gratia sua with che a Giaches siano rese le dovute grazie*). Document 3 records the previous decision to give twelve gold scudi to the composer, and a followup action whereby the Regents of the academy were authorized to spend the equivalent of the monetary reward on a medal, coined with a device (*coniato con una Impresa*). This proposal was well within the academy's capabilities. The Statutes of the Accademia Filarmonica prescribed that each member was to invent his own *impresa*, motto and pseudonym. The painters Domenico Brusasorci (1516-67) and his son Felice (1539-1605) were charged with painting the imprese of the members; these decorated the rooms where the academy met, but none survive today.<sup>21</sup>

My search for this medal has so far been unsuccessful, and it may never have been struck.<sup>22</sup> The usual format of medals commemorating individuals was a likeness on one side and on the reverse a device.<sup>23</sup> The document describes only a medal with 'a device' (*una Impresa*). 'The device', as Mario Praz puts it, 'is nothing else than a symbolic representation of a purpose, a wish, a line of conduct. Impresa is what one intends to imprendere, i.e., to undertake by means of a motto and a picture which reciprocally interpret each other'.<sup>24</sup> The academy's *impresa*, known from written and pictorial sources, consists of a siren - the *dea canens* or singing goddess of the Neoplatonists, and mythic symbol of the Platonic harmony of the spheres - holding an armillary sphere and the motto *Coelorum imitatur concentum* ('it [the academy] imitates the harmony of the spheres').<sup>25</sup> There is an earlier instance concerning the striking of a medal and elements of its design. In October 1564 the humanist Giovanni

<sup>21</sup> See TURRINI, *L'Accademia Filarmonica*, p. 68, n. 2; V. CAVAZZOCCA MAZZANTI, *Contributo alla storia dell'Accademia Filarmonica Veronese (1543-1555)*, in *Atti dell'Accademia*, 5a ser., iii (1926), pp. 67-115, and *Cinquant'anni di pittura veronese, 1580-1630*, ed. L. MAGAGNATO, Verona, 1974, pp. 21 and 55.

<sup>22</sup> Apart from my own research in the standard literature, I am grateful to Raymond Waddington and J. Graham Pollard for their efforts, thus far negative, to identify the medal. Professor Waddington remarked: 'Probably it would be safe to infer that Wert sensibly took the money rather than the *immortalis in nummis*.'

<sup>23</sup> Composers for whom medals survive include Vicentino and Buus; see A. ARMAND: *Les Médailles italiens des quinzième et seizième siècles*, Paris, 1883-1887, II, p. 229, and III, p. 238.

<sup>24</sup> *Studies in seventeenth-century imagery*, 2nd ed., Rome, 1975, p. 58.

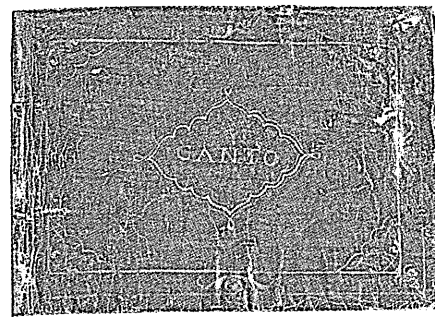
<sup>25</sup> Verona, Accademia Filarmonica, Ms. 51A: *Statuti dell'Accademia Filarmonica*, dated 1617; the *impresa* painted on the upper cover is reproduced in *La musica a Verona*, Verona, 1976, tav. VIII; see also TURRINI, *L'Accademia Filarmonica*, tav. III, and appendices 1-3. Stefano Bernardi, *Concerti academici* (Venice: G. Vincenti, 1611) writes in his dedication *A cui altri dovevo, & potevo piu debitamente donare questi miei Concerti academici, che a cotesta vostra Accademia, ch'è imitatrice di celesti Concerti*.

Andrea dell'Anguillara presented to all 41 members of the academy a copy of his translation of the first book of the Aeneid (*Il primo libro della Eneida*, Padova: G. Perchacino, 1564). In return, Anguillara's gift was to be repayed with a gold medal financed by money collected from the members of the academy. The first element of its design was to be the impresa of the academy. The second element, charged to a commission of three members of the academy that included the painter Domenico Brusatorci, was to be something the commission 'judged of beautiful invention'.<sup>26</sup>

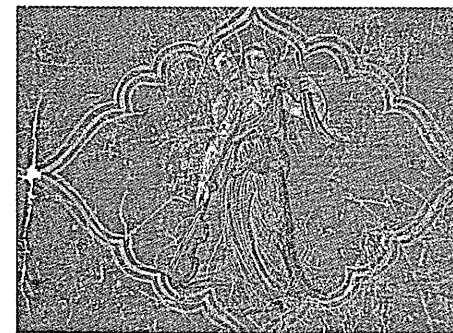
The decision to strike a medal as reward to the composer was an unusual though not exceptional measure. But we may also view it as the academy's response to the exceptional beauty of the presentation copy (see Figure 1-6) by which Wert perhaps intended to enhance his chances of reward. Like other presentation copies in the academy's possession, the bindings are in parchment, folded and stitched over the paper covers supplied by the publisher. The covers, now stiffened and buckled with age, are painted a purplish hue, a color that imitates the finer grade of parchment, called vellum, and often dyed purple. The broad brush strokes with which the paint, now faded with age, was applied are readily apparent. Only tattered remnants survive of the purple silk ties on the upper, lower, and right borders that once completed the binding. The upper cover of each partbook is decorated with an identical gold and silver ornamental border and the central medallion inscribed with the name of the voice part (Canto); the lower cover repeats the design of the front cover, but here the medallions, which measure about 8 x 5 cm, contain painted figures that appear to represent Apollo (Quinto) and the Muses (Canto, Alto, Tenore, Basso).

Four partbooks are decorated with paired female figures. All the figures are similarly dressed, wearing flowing classical garb. Seven are fully drawn and one is partially depicted. One has her back turned to the viewer and for another only the head and right arm is visible. Their hair is drawn into a bun held in place by strings of pearls. The color scheme is distinct for each pair. Contrast between the figures is provided by garments painted in shades of red or green (the red garments are overpainted with gray, white or yellow highlights; this contrasts with the brown garments, the folds of the drapery highlighted with beige or greenish hues.) All but two of the figures gaze to the left; only the double figures of the Canto partbook look directly at the viewer. The figures are drawn so as to produce counterpoised body angles; this torsion, enhanced by the use of the medallion as architectural frame, gives a semblance

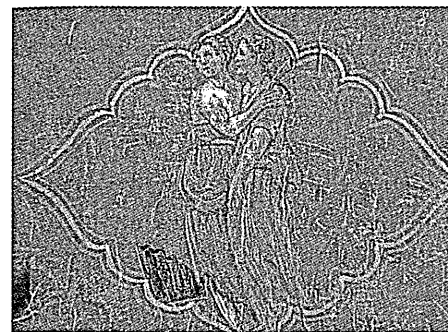
<sup>26</sup> TURRINI, *L'Accademia Filarmonica*, p. 59, n. 1 gives a digest of the document. My thanks to Enrico Paganuzzi for allowing me to consult the original document in Registro 5, fol. 6v: *Che sia facta una medaglia doro de gli denari che saranno raccolti da particolari nella qualle sia scolpita L'Impresa del l'achademia nostra, et di piu quello che sarà per gli tri infra scritti iudicato esser di qualche bella Inventione. Ballotata - P[ro] 20 C[ontra] 0. Gli eletti per la detta medaglia sono P[adre Dal] Bue, [Domenico] Brusatorci, [Antonio da] Roman. Eletti a riscotere il denaro per fa la medaglia: Il conte [Paolo Camillo] d' Justi, Girolamo Stoppa.*



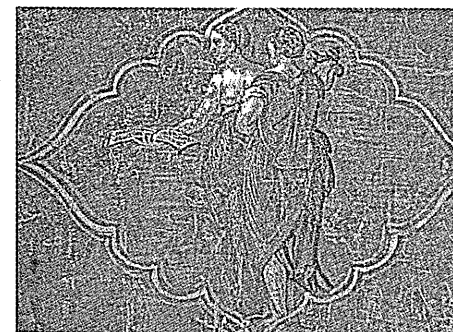
1



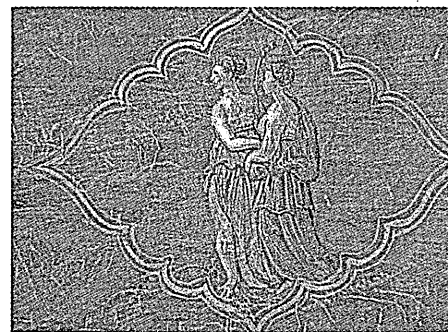
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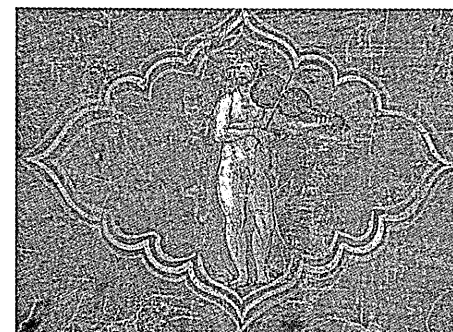
3



4



5



6

Giaches de Wert, *Il quinto libro de madrigali a cinque voci*, 1571. Verona, Accademia Filarmonica, shelfmark no. 197. Photo: Massimo Becattini.

Figure 1. Canto, upper cover

Figure 2. Canto, lower cover

Figure 3. Alto

Figure 4. Tenor

Figure 5. Basso

Figure 6. Quinto



of arrested movement. The figures do not form a sequence of Muses with specific iconographical attributes of the type copied by Renaissance artists from Roman sarcophagi (history, tragedy, comedy are missing).<sup>27</sup> Moreover, there are eight, rather than nine Muses, their number limited by the four partbooks to be illuminated.

Both wind and string instruments appear, as well as an open partbook. The wind instruments are curved horns with finger holes, perhaps cornetti, and are of various sizes. Though wind instruments were associated with the Muses Euterpe, Melpomene, Clio, Polyhymnia, and Calliope, these instruments, either held or appearing in the foreground, function as attributes only in a general sense.<sup>28</sup> In the Basso partbook the wind instrument placed between the two figures appears to float in mid-air. Similarly, in the embracing figures decorating the Alto partbook, the cornetto resting on the shoulder and held in the left hand of the right-hand figure, lies under the hand of the left-hand figure. In the foreground are organ pipes, traditionally associated with Polyhymnia. In the Tenor partbook, the figure on the left holds an open music partbook in her right hand. The gesture is that of a gift offered, here music, but shown in contemporary partbook format (she cannot be Clio, the Muse of history, among whose attributes is a book, sometimes with the inscription Thucydides). The right-hand figure suggests Erato, the Muse of lyric and love poetry, usually shown holding a lyre. The figures decorating the back cover of the Canto partbook are the most unusual of the set. The figure in the foreground holds a lira da braccio in her right hand and in her left what may be a double aulos (or tibia). The only figure realized in full frontal pose, she occupies nearly to capacity the central space of the medallion. This may suggest that the head and right arm of the background figure, whose face is a reverse image of the central figure, may have been added later to complete the pairing of figures found in the other partbooks. The double image may be an allusion to the fact that the five partbooks contain works for six and seven voices.

Apollo (Quinto), apart from his green fig leaf and crown of laurel, is as customary depicted nude. His mouth is slightly open, suggesting that he is singing to his own accompaniment on the lira da braccio, shown with frets and typical leaf-shaped peg box. Unusually, he is depicted as bearded. This is a curiosity to be sure, since Apollo is otherwise typically shown as a beardless youth, the epitome of male beauty. Classical antecedents for this stereotype, and with which Renaissance artists were familiar, include the famous statue of Apollo

<sup>27</sup> See E. WINTERNITZ, *Musical Instruments and Their Symbolism in Western Art: Studies in Musical Iconology*, New Haven-London, 1979, pp. 166-84, 185-201.

<sup>28</sup> G. DE TERVARENT, *Attributs et symboles dans l'art profane, 1450-1600: dictionnaire d'un langage perdu, (Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance, 29-29 bis)*, Geneva, 1958-1964; compare also C. RIPA, *Iconologia*, Padua, 1611, reprint New York, 1976, pp. 368-374, who admits some confusion concerning the attributes. Lomazzo's *Della forma delle muse, cavata da gli antichi autori greci, et latini, opera utilissima a pittori, & scoltori* (Milan, 1591), ed. in G.P. LOMAZZO, *Scritti sulle arti*, a cura di Roberto Paolo Ciardi, Florence, 1973-1974, proved unhelpful.

Belvedere in the Vatican. Is this figure, then, Apollo? Apollo's attributes, the laurel crown and a string instrument of classical or more contemporary form (well known examples include a lira da braccio in Raphael's *Parnassus*, Stanza della Segnatura, Vatican; a harp in Mantegna's *Parnassus*, Musée du Louvre, Paris; a lyre in Giulio Romano's *Apollo, sala dei Giganti*, palazzo Te, Mantua)<sup>29</sup>, are attributes often shared with representations of two of the most famous singers of antiquity, Orpheus, and Arion.<sup>30</sup> Were it not for the presence of the Muse-like figures depicted on the other four partbooks, the identity of this 'singer' as Apollo might be questioned. For mortals beards were in fashion in 1571, but not for Apollo. Perhaps this anomaly is an attempt by the artist to represent the composer in the symbolic act of presenting his *concenti* to the Academy, though it is not presumably an actual - and certainly not flattering - likeness.

At the present state of enquires, the miniaturist - the 'Master of the Wert partbooks' - has not been identified and probably, given the usual anonymity enjoyed by artisans working in the *arti minori*, never will be. The artist was perhaps a *minidador* working on commission in the Venetian booktrade, or an artist working in Mantua. Though a Veronese origin cannot be discounted, nor the possibility that the covers were commissioned by the academy itself, other presentation sets of partbooks in the academy's library are by no means as extravagantly decorated.<sup>31</sup> Two in particular are of interest, both presentation copies of madrigal books dedicated to the academy: Luca Marenzio, *Il Terzo libro de madrigali a cinque voci*, 1582, bound in white parchment, the covers decorated with a gold chain-link design in a blue border and the initial of the partbook on the upper cover in gold (shelfmark no. 93); Marc' Antonio Ingegneri, *Il Quinto libro de madrigali a cinque voci*, 1587, white parchment binding with the coat of arms (chain and anchor) of the academy painted on the upper cover (no. 74). Similarly, Francesco Stivori's *Madrigali e dialoghi a otto voci*, 1598, and dedicated to Giulio Verità, is bound in white parchment with the coat of arms of the Verità family painted on the upper covers (no. 176).<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup> See E. WINTERNITZ, *Musical Archaeology in the Renaissance in Raphael's Parnassus*, in *Musical Instruments and Their Symbolism in Western Art*, New Haven-London, Yale University Press, 1979, pp. 185-201; *Splendours of the Gonzaga*, eds. D. CHAMBERS and J. MARTINEAU, London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 1981; *Giulio Romano*, ed. S. POLANO, Milan, p. 147 and p. 339 on what little survives of the Loggia delle Muse, palazzo Te.

<sup>30</sup> For instance, Buontalenti's well-known costume design for Arion, a role played by Jacopo Peri, for the Florentine 1589 intermedii (Florence: Biblioteca nazionale centrale).

<sup>31</sup> Certainly they are not in the same class as the fine leather bindings usually reserved for official documents or volumes particularly prized by a wealthy nobleman, and whose coat of arms or device is often stamped on the cover. Though a few painted miniatures occasionally grace a small area on the covers of these books, this is a detail incorporated in the overall design. See A. HOBSON, *Apollo and Pegasus: An Enquiry into the Formation and Dispersal of a Renaissance Library*, Amsterdam, 1975.

<sup>32</sup> TURRINI, *L'Accademia Filarmonica*, p. 238.

The difficulties of comparison are further compounded by the fact that by about 1550 the centuries-old traditions of manuscript illumination had effectively ceased. The Verona miniaturists Liberale and Girolamo Dai Libri (whose splendid illuminated choirbooks for Siena Cathedral are among the great masterpieces of the time)<sup>33</sup>, and the Croatian Giulio Clovio, whose Book of Hours executed for Cardinal Alessandro Farnese in 1546 caused Vasari to describe him as a little Michelangelo)<sup>34</sup> were among the last great representatives of the *ars miniandi*. Miniaturists, such as Girolamo Dai Libri, were also capable of executing large altar paintings on canvas. In the second half of the 16th century the reverse, a painter turning his hand to the miniated page, is far rarer, considered an exceptional exploit rather than a normal occurrence.<sup>35</sup> Small paintings are however not uncommon, and include private devotional works, scenes from mythology, the predella panels of altars, wedding cassoni, and the grottesche decorations adorning many palazzi and villas. Paolo Veronese, for instance, painted four panels (25 x 108 cm) of mythological scenes intended as furniture decoration, the four *spalliere*, now in the Isabella Stuart Gardner Museum, Boston.<sup>36</sup> My point is to suggest that the miniaturist of the Wert partbooks need not have been a miniaturist by trade, in any case a vanishing art. If we look for points of comparison, then I would suggest that the general style of these miniatures resembles most closely the wall and ceiling frescos of painters involved with the decoration of North Italian villas - Veronese, Battista Zelotti, Bernardino India, Anselmo Canera, Bartolomeo Ridolfi and others - where women musicians are a common element in the decorative schemes, for instance the eight women musicians, each holding a different instrument within the painted architectural panels of the central room at the Villa Barbaro, Maser, by Veronese about 1560.<sup>37</sup> These are not Muses, but allegorical representations of music.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>33</sup> *Miniatura veronese del rinascimento*, eds. G. CASTIGLIONI and S. MARINELLI, Verona, Museo di Castelvecchio, 1986.

<sup>34</sup> *The Farnese hours*, ed. W. SMITH, New York, 1976.

<sup>35</sup> See *Miniatura veronese del rinascimento*, p. 37 on the case of Giovanni De Mio.

<sup>36</sup> *L'opera completa del Veronese*, eds. G. PIOVENE and R. MARINI, Milan, 1968, cat. no. 64.

<sup>37</sup> *L'opera completa del Veronese*, cat. no. 68. Compare also Battista Zelotti's *concerto*, a detached fresco from Villa Foscari La Malcontenta dating about 1561-62 reproduced in *Veronese e Verona*, Verona, 1988, cat. no. 63.

<sup>38</sup> Art historians to whom I have shown these miniatures (I omit their names out of friendship) generally agree on a Veronese style if not origin; to my eye, the style of the female figures in the Wert partbooks resembles most closely that of a drawing for the Finding of Moses by Bernardino India (Verona, 1528-1590); see *Disegni veronesi al Louvre, 1500-1630*, Milan, 1994, p. 157. As painter and decorator (stucco work and grottesche), India collaborated with Sanmicheli and Palladio; he later turned to religious paintings from about 1572 (Nativity, San Bernardino, Verona). Count Alberto Lavezola, a poet and occasional member of the Accademia Filarmonica from 1551 to his death in 1590 is the author of several poems in Ms. 220 in honor of Laura Peverara (see MATERASSI, *Origine et progressi dell'Accademia Filarmonica*, p. 77); he also wrote two poems in India's honor (Verona, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Dionisi-Piomarta 637); one is entitled: *A Ms Bernardino India pittor veronese per haver adunato in casa sua i Ritratti de i più celebri Huomini del Mondo*. All the rest is pure speculation.

The cover decorations depicting Apollo and the eight Muse-like women musicians was an appropriate if not surprising choice for a work dedicated to an academy that devoted itself primarily to the cultivation of music. As for the Muse-like figures, a verbal parallel to the decorative scheme may be found in Alessandro Canobbio's *Breve trattato sopra le accademie*, printed in 1571, and largely devoted to praise of the Accademia Filarmonica. He writes: *la poesia è fra l'altre cose amicissima & compagna della musica, perchè si può esercitar in compagnia de' instrumenti musicali, come nella lira, liuto, arpicordo, cetra, viola & simili, anzi è nata & ha la sua stanza fra le nove muse, dove è il continuo esercizio dei musicali istromenti*.<sup>39</sup> Led by Apollo musagetes, the Muses and Sirens were often equated:

Haveva poi Apollo in mano una lira per mostrare la soavissima armonia, che fanno i Cieli, movendosi con quella proportione, che più si confa a ciascheduno di loro, la quale viene dal sole, perche questo stando nel mezo di quelli, come referisce Macrobio, e fu opinione de Platonicì, a tutti da legge, si che vanno tosto, e tardi, secondo che da lui hanno più, o manco vigore. E perche ogni Cielo ha la sua Musa secondo i medesimi Platonicì, chiamata anco alle volte da loro Sirena, perche soavissimamente canta, che si riferisce al dolce suono de gli Orbi Celesti, li quali sono nove, quante apunto sone le Muse, fu detto che Apollo è capo, e guida di queste, et è con loro sempre.<sup>40</sup>

The Siren holding an armillary sphere - the central image of the academy's impresa - may then be alluded to in the Muse-like figures of the partbooks.

As for the place of Apollo in this equation, the academy considered him its protector and 'father', a notion made public in Jan Nasco's 1548 book of madrigals. This was published a year after Nasco's appointment as the academy's music master in 1547, and is the earliest book of madrigals dedicated to the academy. The text of the concluding dialogue madrigal, *Padre ch'a Delphi*, can only have originated in the academy. In setting it to music, Nasco was fulfilling one of the stipulations of his contract, which obligated him to set to music texts chosen by the academy or written by one of its members.<sup>41</sup> This work is a dialogue between the members of the Accademia Filarmonica and Apollo, with whom they have fabricated a direct mode of communication by

<sup>39</sup> *Breve trattato di M. Alessandro Cannobio sopra le accademie*, Venice, 1571, p. 12: 'Poetry is among other things the friend and companion of music, because it may be practiced in company with musical instruments, such as the lyre, lute, harpsichord, cittern, viola; moreover, it [poetry] was born among the nine muses, in whose abode musical instruments sound continuously.'

<sup>40</sup> V. CARTERI, *Le imagini de i dei de gli antichi*, Venezia, 1571, p. 59; on Macrobius (*Comm.* 2.3.1: *Nam Siren dea canens Graeco intellectu valet*), see W.H. STAHL, *Macrobius: Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, New York, 1952, p. 194.

<sup>41</sup> TURRINI, *L'Accademia Filarmonica*, pp. 53-54.

means of musical and poetical discourse. It is also the poetic and musical equivalent of the *impresa*, and marks the academy's first deliberate step towards making its philosophical and musical aspirations public knowledge.<sup>42</sup>

Padre, ch'a Delfi il gran Piton' et fero  
Vincesti et Martia del suo foll'ardire  
Facest' in van pentire,  
Ond'è che più che mai lieto ti mostri? -

- Con ragion poss' hor più che mai  
gioire Et sovra gl'altri dei gir men'  
altero. -  
- Torn' in quest' hemispero  
Forse Fetonte da' superni chiostrì? -  
- Altr' allegrezza ingombr' i petti  
nostri. -  
- Qual gratia dunque ti può far più  
bello Che i raggi tuoi?  
- Questa, che 'l mond' ogn'hora  
Più nostro regn' honora,  
Et ci rendon devoti hor questo, hor  
quello;  
Filarmonici accesi del mio foco,  
Così vivran eterni in ogni loco. -

Another text of similar content was set to music by Ippolito Chamaterò, the academy's maestro in 1562 and 1563, but at the time of publication, maestro di cappella at Udine cathedral.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>42</sup> *Madrigali di Giovan Nasco a cinque voci de la nobile & virtuosa Accademia d'i Signori filarmonici Veronesi*, Venezia, 1548, p. 28.

<sup>43</sup> *Di Hippolito Chamatero maestro di capella, nel domo di Udine, il terzo libro delli madrigali a cinque voci*. Venice, 1569, p. 26: *Alli Molto Illustri Sig. li Sig. Academici Filarmonici. A 6*. In his dedication to the academy, the composer recalls *Le perfettione de vostri concerti musici accompagnati da tanti e così varij stromenti*.

Father, who at Delphi defeated the  
fierce great Python and made Marsyas  
repent in vain of his foolish presump-  
tion, why is it that more than ever  
you show your happiness? -

- I have good reason to rejoice and  
renounce my proud journey around  
the world above the other gods. -  
- Perhaps Phaethon returns to these  
parts from the cloisters of heaven? -  
- Another happiness fills my heart. -

- What splendor could be greater  
than the sun's rays?  
- This, that the world honors me  
more every day, and every day new  
converts join us;  
The Filarmonici, 'lovers of harmony',  
lit by my fire,  
who will live forever in the circling  
spheres. -

Godi città felice, Adige altiero,  
L'honorata accademia delle muse  
Che come Polo eterno e risplendente,  
Alle virtù fa bello amplo sentiero.

Il sacro Apollo ogni suo ben qui  
infuse;  
Son l'altre, rose e fior ch'al raggio  
ardente  
Del sol restano spente;

Ma quest' è un ciel di tante stelle  
adorno  
Ch'appaga l'occhio ch' il contempla e  
mira  
Ch'honor bellezza spira.  
Questi spirti sì ben locati forno

Ch' in cielo eterni al ciel faran  
ritorno.

Rejoice happy city, proud Adige,  
at the honored academy of the Muses  
that, like the Pole Star, ever shining,  
leads us by a broad and easy path to  
virtue.

Here sacred Apollo has poured out  
all his gifts;  
his burning rays from the sun

have wilted other flowers [i.e.,  
Phaethon].  
But now he gives us a sky covered  
with countless stars  
that please the contemplative viewer

and inspire us to honor and beauty.  
These spirits [Filarmonici] are so well  
placed here [by Apollo]  
that they will return for eternal life  
among the spheres.

The concluding lines of both of these texts reveal something of the aspirations to 'astral immortality' of the Filarmonici. As is explicit from their motto, *Coelorum imitatur concentum*, the academy 'imitates the harmony of the spheres', thereby seeking to harness the redemptive powers of celestial music as described by Cicero in the *Somnium Scipionis*: 'Learned men, by imitating this harmony on stringed instruments and in song, have gained for themselves a return to this region'.<sup>44</sup>

Wert was only one of many composers to dedicate a book of madrigals to the academy and for whom similar deliberations survive. The reward system admitted not only of printed music - the visible side of consumption - but also of music in manuscript, much or all of it especially composed for the academy's functions. Every year the academy celebrated the anniversary of its foundation in 1543 on the first of May with the performance of a polyphonic mass in one of the city's churches, a public event for which composers like Asola, Donato, Ingegneri, and Merulo contributed music, all of it in manuscript.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Cicero, *De re publica*, VI. xviii, 18; Eng. trans. C.W. KEYS, London, 1966.

<sup>45</sup> A list of *Messe scritto a mano cantate il di primo di Maggio* appear in the 1585 inventory; see TURRINI, *L'Accademia Filarmonica*, p. 188. None survive. However, the rewards system still applied: *Dionisi-Piomarta 634: 1570 3 Aprile. Che a Don Matheo [Asola] Musico per aver donato una Messa fatta apostata sieno donati scudi cinque d'oro*.

Here the usual expectation of reward pertains. Vincenzo Bell'haver not only contributed the music, but brought musicians from Venice to assist in its performance. His service was exceptional enough that the academy decided to forego the usual monetary reward in favor of a 'medal or similar object' of value - a decision that bears comparison with the Wert medal already discussed.

Dionisi-Piomarta 634, 1578 3 Maggio. Item. Sieno dati Duc:ti dieci a M:o Vincenzo Belsavar Musico per gratitudine nostra per haverci donata la Messa cantata il primo di Mag:io presente, ed'esser venuto in persona da Venezia ad ajutar a cantarla. Questi però gli si donino non in danari ma in qualche Medaglia d'oro o altro simile soggetto etc.

Some composers, like Marc'Antonio Pordenon, seemed to have worked regularly the academic circuit, both in Verona as well as in Vicenza, and reaped the benefits of its reward system. Pordenon's *Primo libro de madrigali a quattro voci* (Venice, Angelo Gardano, 1580) was received with similar protocols by its dedicatees, the *Accademici Olimpici Vicentini*<sup>46</sup>:

Adi detto [7 November, 1580] Havendo il sig. Marc'Antonio Pordenon musico appresentata la nostra Accademia del primo libro dei suoi Madrigali et volendo mostrarsi grata, siccome è il suo solito di mostrarsi a tutti i virtuosi. L'Anderà parte che gli siano donati scudi dieci.

Works in manuscript such as Pordenon's book of four voice madrigals which he gave to the Accademia Filarmonica with the promise not to have it printed - the Alto partbook still survives (Ms 229) - became the private property of the academy:

Dionisi-Piomarta 634: 1571 26 Xbre: Item. Avendo Marcant.o Pordenon regalata all'Accad.a una Copia di Madrigali scritti in pena con promesso di non stamparli furono eletti per esaminarli Co: Agostino Giusti, Alvise Vigo, Paulo Carteri. 1571 31 Xbre: Accetazione delli Madrigali di Marcant.o Pordenon.

Such unique works were probably considered collector's pieces like precious gems, medals, statues, or paintings, whether commissioned or acquired as objets d'art. Here I am reminded of collectors like Neri Capponi, whose jealously-guarded private music was composed by Willaert, and Ruberto Strozzi, who acquired canzoni by Rore for a price.<sup>47</sup>

In general, the submission to the academy of a newly published work, or a work as yet in manuscript, was subject to established rules of protocol before it was deemed worthy to carry the academy's name. Established composers could not circumvent the approval process but could enhance their chances of reward through submission of what was effectively a fait accompli. Deliber-

<sup>46</sup> G. ZORZI, *Le ville e i teatri di Andrea Palladio*, Vicenza, 1969, p. 311

<sup>47</sup> R.J. AGEE, *Ruperto Strozzi and the Early Madrigal*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 36 (1983), pp. 1-17.

ations concerning the submission and acceptance of Marenzio's *Terzo libro de madrigali a cinque voci*, the dedication to the academy signed from Rome, are instructive in this regard.

Dionisi-Piomarta 634: 1583 19 Feb:io. Item. Che havendo Lucca Marenzio Musicho mandato a donar una Coppia di Madrigali all'Accad:ia, ne dovendo esser questa accettata in ordine alla parte 1569 26 Gen:io se non previo l'assenso della compagnia e che sia prima laudata da quelli che saranno destinati a giudicarla, furono eletti gli seguenti: Uberto da Romano, Co: Mario Dondino, Co: Giordano Serego. 1583 26 Gen:io [sic]. Parte. Che al sud:o Marenzio per l'opera sud:ta sieno donati Duc:ti 12

Publication conveyed to the public at large the academy's approval as well as conferring a measure of protection that is implicit to the patron-client relation, be it institutional or private. The expectation of monetary gain may be taken for granted. Wert's lavish presentation copy bespeaks a special and reciprocal demonstration of esteem rather than any direct connection between the composer and the academy. Placed in a wider context, this demonstration of esteem is but one example among many of the interaction between the skilled artisan and the connoisseurship practised by collectors, performers, and 'lovers of harmony', the members of the Accademia Filarmonica.

## WERT'S RECEPTION AT HOME

### The Composer's Music in Antwerp's Madrigal Books

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By 1581, with the publication of his seventh book of madrigals, Giaches de Wert had reached his artistic maturity and, in the words of Carol MacClintock, his 'full flowering as a madrigalist'.<sup>1</sup> The decade of the 1580s saw the publication of his greatest music in the madrigals of Books VII, VIII, and IX. It was early in this same decade that the Italian madrigal burst onto the scene in Wert's homeland, the Low Countries, in a series of well-received and oft-reprinted anthologies issued by the firm of Phalèse and Bellère in Antwerp. The first of these, *Musica divina*, appeared in 1583. It was followed quickly by a second, *Harmonia celeste*, two years later by a third, *Symphonia angelica*, and in 1591 by a fourth, *Melodia olympica*.<sup>2</sup> With these anthologies the Italian madrigal joined the chanson as the genre of choice for social music in the Low Countries. Rather than the usual fifteen-twenty madrigals of a single voicing typical of Italian anthologies of the time, each of these anthologies offered more than fifty madrigals by *diversi eccellentissimi musici*, mostly for four, five and six voices. In 1596, Phalèse, now working alone, produced another volume, *Paradiso musicale*, a collection of madrigals and *canzoni* for five voices, and in later years several others. In the meantime, though, recognizing the great demand for Italian music and the popularity of certain composers, Phalèse began reprinting Venetian anthologies and entire madrigal books by individual musicians, beginning with Marenzio in 1593 and 1594, Gastoldi in 1596, and Vecchi in 1598.<sup>3</sup>

Surprisingly, in spite of Wert's popularity in Italy and his importance as a madrigalist, the composer received little attention in these popular Antwerp anthologies, and none of his madrigal books was reprinted in the Low Countries. A total of only eight pieces by Wert found their way into Antwerp madrigal prints between 1583 and 1616 (see Table 1). Two of these were also intabul-

<sup>1</sup> C. MACCLINTOCK, *Giaches de Wert: Life and Works*, (*Musicological Studies and Documents*, 17), 1966, p. 105. An edition of Wert's madrigals can be found in Giaches de Wert, *Opera Omnia*, ed. by C. MACCLINTOCK and M. BERNSTEIN, 17 vols., (*Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 24), 1961-1977.

<sup>2</sup> Modern facsimile reprints of all four anthologies can be found in the series *Corpus of Early Music*, Brussel, 1970.

<sup>3</sup> For a study of the Italian madrigal in Antwerp, including a bibliographic listing of all currently known madrigal prints issued in the Low Countries between 1555 and 1620, see G. HOEKSTRA, *The Reception and Cultivation of the Madrigal in Antwerp and the Low Countries, 1555-1620*, in *Musica disciplina*, 48 (1994), pp. 125-187.

ated for lute books, and one, *Cara la vita mia*, after appearing in *Musica divina*, was printed again in *Nervi d'Orfeo* (the contents of this book, though, were drawn largely from earlier Antwerp prints). Interest in Wert's music in his home country seems to have been quite limited. How might we account for this?

Although the real popularity of the Italian madrigal in the North begins with *Musica divina*, madrigals had been appearing in Antwerp prints since the beginning of Wert's career in the 1550s. The first volume with Italian-texted music to be issued by Antwerp presses was Lassus's multi-genre volume of 1555,<sup>4</sup> which Susato issued as his fourteenth book of chansons and then again in the same year with a different, Italian title. Printed while the young composer was in Antwerp briefly before taking up his post in Munich, this volume offered fourteen madrigals and *villanelle* along with chansons and motets. Antwerp musicians were surely familiar with the madrigal even before this, though, since Italian music had been circulating there in prints as well as manuscripts. Perhaps inspired by Lassus, local composers - notably Hubert Waelrant, Séverin Cornet, Noë Faignient, and Jean de Castro - began to set Italian texts and included madrigals in their printed volumes during the 1550s, 1560s and 1570s. Antwerp printers also included madrigals in several of the books of Lassus' chansons that they issued and occasionally in chanson anthologies during those decades.

In spite of the importance of Wert's early music in northern Italy - as reflected, for example, in the five Venetian reprints of his first book of five-voice madrigals between 1558 and 1583 and the four reprints of his book of four-voice madrigals - none of Wert's music appears in these earlier Flemish prints. In light of their contents in general, though, this is not remarkable. Most of the Italian-texted pieces in them, mixed in with chansons and sometimes motets, are by local musicians such as those mentioned, or by Lassus, Monte, or Rore - men who, besides being composers of international stature, had visited Antwerp (or in the case of Rore, worked in the area) during the 1550s and would probably have been known there. A noteworthy exception to this general pattern is the *Livre de meslanges... a quatre parties*, compiled by Jean de Castro in 1575, which offers ten madrigals by Italians among its eighty-three pieces; the composers include, along with Lassus, Monte and Rore, some not otherwise known in the Low Countries: Paulo Annumucia, Pietro Taglia, Domenico Ferabosco and Giovanni Domenico da Nola. Beyond these madrigals and the single pieces by Berchem and Donato in Phalèse's popular *Septieme livre des*

<sup>4</sup> *La quatoirsiesme livre a quatre parties contenant dixhuict chansons italiennes, six chansons francoises, & six motetz... par Rolande di Lassus nouvellement imprime* (Antwerp, Susato). Later editions were issued by Susato in 1558 (dated 1555 on purpose but printed probably ca. 1558). See K. FORNEY, *Orlando di Lasso's 'Opus 1': The Making and Marketing of a Renaissance Music Book*, in *Revue belge de musicologie*, 39-40 (1985-1986), pp. 33-60.

*chansons* (beginning with the 1564 edition),<sup>5</sup> Antwerp music prints before *Musica divina* contain no other madrigals by Italians. The presence of Italian-texted pieces seems to reflect not so much an interest in the madrigal *per se* as an acceptance of Italian along with French as the language of part-songs.

While the absence of Wert in Antwerp prints before 1583 may not be remarkable, then, the relative lack of interest in his music during the heyday of the madrigal in the North, 1583-1610, and during the years of the composer's greatest importance in Italy, is more noteworthy. The four great anthologies of Phalèse and Bellère mentioned above each offered only a single madrigal by Wert. *Paradiso musicale* contained only one piece also, as did each of two late anthologies assembled by a Samuele Dunio of Zeeland and printed by Phalèse, *Il Parnasso* (1613) and *Il Helicone* (1616). One madrigal of Wert's appeared in Antwerp merely by virtue of its being part of an Italian anthology that was reprinted in its entirety, Gardano's *Madrigali pastorali* (1594), which Phalèse issued in 1604. A ninth, *Ninfe leggiadre*, appeared in a reprint of Baldini's *Il Lauro secco* (Ferrara, 1583 and 1591; Antwerp 1593), but while it bears the name of Wert in both prints, scholars now recognize it as the work of the composer's younger colleague at Mantua, Benedetto Pallavicino.<sup>6</sup>

According to the title page, Phalèse assembled *Musica divina* himself. For the other anthologies he enlisted the help of three local composers, André Pevernage, Hubert Waelrant, and Peter Philips.<sup>7</sup> An examination of the contents of these anthologies reveals that Phalèse and his colleagues apparently had at their

<sup>5</sup> On Phalèse's *Septieme livre des chansons*, see H. VANHULST, *Un Succès de l'édition musicale: Le Septieme livre des chansons à quatre parties (1560-1661/3)*, in *Revue belge de musicologie*, 32-33 (1978-79), pp. 97-120.

<sup>6</sup> See A. NEWCOMB, *The Three Anthologies for Laura Peverara*, in *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, 10 (1975), pp. 329ff. *Ninfe leggiadre* was included under Wert's name in the collection *Il lauro verde* (Ferrara, Baldini, 1583), which was dedicated to Laura Peparara on the occasion of her marriage. Newcomb suggests that Wert sent a madrigal by his colleague to be published under his name, since he was sick with malaria at the time and therefore unable to complete one of his own. Pallavicino included the piece in his *Secondo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (1584); see Benedetto Pallavicino, *Opera Omnia*, edited by P. FLANDERS and K. BOSI MONTEATH, (*Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 89), I, 1982.

<sup>7</sup> André Pevernage, the compiler of *Harmonia celeste*, was a prominent local composer who later served as chapelmaster at the Church of Our Lady and who contributed madrigals of his own to several of the volumes; see J.-A. STELLFELD, *Andries Pevernage - zijn leven, zijne werken*, Leuven, 1943 and B. BOUCKAERT, K. DERDE, E. SCHREURS and S. WILLAERT, *Andreas Pevernage (1542/43-1591) en het muziekleven in zijn tijd*, in *Musica Antiqua*, 4 (1993), pp. 161-175. Hubert Waelrant, compiler of *Symphonia angelica*, was a tenor at the cathedral and a music teacher in Antwerp; see R.L. WEAVER, *Waelrant and Laet: Music Publishers in Antwerp's Golden Age* (Warren, Mich., 1995), chap. 2, and H. SLENK, *The Music School of Waelrant*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 21 (1968), pp. 157-167. Waelrant had demonstrated a close acquaintance with Italian genres earlier in his *Primo libro de madrigali e canzoni francezi a 4* of 1558 and a book of *napolitane* in Venice of 1565. Like Pevernage, Waelrant wrote several new madrigals for the anthology he assembled. Peter Philips, compiler of *Melodia olympica*, was an English expatriate active in Brussels at this time; he published several books of his own madrigals; for biographical information, see J. STEELE, *Peter Philips*, in S. SADIE (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, XIV, p. 657 and *Calendar of the Life of Peter Philips*, in *The Madrigals of Peter Philips*, (*Musica Britannica*, 29), London, 1970, p. xvi.

disposal a large and diverse collection of Italian prints, both anthologies and single-composer volumes.<sup>8</sup> Each of them drew from at least twenty-five different sources, and usually no more than four or five pieces come from any one source (see Table 3 for a list of the sources for *Musica Divina*). Most come from prints issued during the previous ten years, though some, particularly many of the four-part selections and classics such as Rore's *Anchor che col partire*, had been in circulation for several decades already. While each editor reveals a predilection for certain composers, no individuals dominate these anthologies. All four volumes draw on a diverse array of composers, and most individuals are represented with only one or two pieces.

It is worth noting which pieces of Wert were selected (see Table 1). The five-voice *Cara la vita mia*, in *Musica Divina*, was among Wert's earliest compositions, having appeared initially in his first book of five-voice madrigals. Although issued first in 1558, Wert's first book was printed again in 1561, 1564, 1570, 1571 and 1583, and thus was still circulating widely in Italy when the madrigal was printed in the Low Countries. Phalèse may have had access to any of these prints. While *Cara la vita mia* does not differ markedly in style from other madrigals in Book I, it stands out for the beauty of its melodic lines, the pleasing progression of its harmonies - particularly in its opening phrases - and the lively motivic rhythms in the *seconda parte*. Like its companion pieces in Book I, it reflects Wert's grounding in the madrigal style of Rore and his contemporaries at mid-century: it features a prevailing free homophonic texture with occasional points of imitation, representational melodic figures and distinctively declamatory rhythms. Its shifting tonal centers are grounded clearly in G Dorian and it exhibits none of the chromaticism found in many works of the time.<sup>9</sup>

*Chi salirà per me*, the madrigal selected for inclusion in *Symphonia angelica*, was another of Wert's earliest compositions. It appeared initially in one of Antonio Barrè's Roman anthologies, the *Secondo libro delle muse* for four voices of 1558, and the composer later added it to the 1564 reprint of his own book of four-voice madrigals. Like *Cara la vita mia*, this madrigal was to become one of Wert's most popular pieces; it appeared also in three later

<sup>8</sup> They probably acquired a number of the pieces in manuscript copies, sometimes without attribution. That may account for the presence of several pieces by Palestrina and Marenzio in these volumes with the designation *d'Incerto* and may account also for some of the madrigals for which no earlier printed source is known.

<sup>9</sup> The appearance of *Cara la vita mia* in *Musica Divina* seems to have marked the beginning of a wider popularity for this piece. It was included the following year in the Venetian anthology *Spoglia amorosa* (1584) and in Emmanuel Adriaensen's lute book, *Pratum musicum* (1584), and it later found its way into several other lutebooks and anthologies: Terzi's *Secondo libro di intavolatura* (1599), *Scielta di madrigali* (1604) with Latin text and *Nervi d'Orfeo* (1605). In addition, several composers employed it as the basis of parody works: Ludovico Agostini in *Il nuovo Eco* (1583), Giulio Eremita in *La Gloria musicale* and Philippe de Monte in his *Missa Cara la vita mia*.

anthologies, most notably Thomas East's *Musica transalpina*.<sup>10</sup> Like the other pieces in Barrè's volume, it is a *madrigale arioso*.<sup>11</sup> It is quite different than *Cara la vita mia*. It also differs markedly from the other pieces in Wert's four-part book.<sup>12</sup> Its melodies are more tuneful, its metrical rhythms are livened up with syncopation, its form is a villanella-like form of aabCC and its diatonic harmonies clearly focus on the tonal center of F.<sup>13</sup> Although in texture it is mostly imitative, the imitation is close, rhythmic and oriented around the modal final and dominant, and the piece is punctuated by several clear cadences. The appeal of this madrigal is immediate.

*D'un si bel foco*, the Wert madrigal in *Harmonia celeste*, was of more recent vintage. Wert wrote it for Gardano's anthology of 1576, *Musica di XIII autori illustri*. In style, though, it is much like the madrigals of Wert's earlier five-part books: it begins imitatively but is otherwise predominantly homophonic with some short points of imitation, its rhythms are lively and metrical, its harmonies are diatonic and voice groupings vary with repetitions of motives and phrases. Like the two earlier pieces, *D'un si bel foco* was to become one of Wert's most popular madrigals, finding its way into several other northern, as well as Italian, anthologies.<sup>14</sup>

None of these madrigals evidences the traits for which Wert's later work is known - emotional intensity, vocal virtuosity, large and unusual intervallic leaps and recitative-like choral declamation - but then, all were from his early books. The piece selected by Philips for *Melodia olympica* was not. It comes from one of the later books, Book VII (1581), the first book to exhibit the composer's intense, dramatic style. The particular piece that Philips chose, however, was not one in this style, but the lively pastoral madrigal *Vaghi boschetti*. Although more virtuosic in its vocal writing, it does not differ greatly in spirit and tonal character from the Wert pieces in the earlier anthologies.

The same might be said of the other pieces selected from Wert's later books. In the anthology of madrigals and *canzonette* that Phalèse himself assembled in 1596, *Paradiso musicale*, one finds a madrigal from Wert's Book VIII, *Fra le dorate chiome*. Book VIII (1586), with its serious and deeply expressive quality, reflects Wert's association with Tasso and the poet's views on the importance of conveying the pathetic quality of the text. In addition to the dramatically

<sup>10</sup> *Musicale essercitio de Lodovico Balbi* (Venice, 1589), *Musica transalpina* (London, 1588) and *Nova soglia amorosa* (Venice, 1593).

<sup>11</sup> On the *madrigale arioso*, see J. HAAR, *The 'Madrigale arioso': A Mid-Century Development in the Cinquecento Madrigal*, in *Studi musicali*, 12 (1983), pp. 203-219.

<sup>12</sup> See Wert, *Opera Omnia*, XV for an edition of the *Madrigali a 4*.

<sup>13</sup> MACCLINTOCK, *Giaches de Wert*, p. 71, identifies the mode incorrectly as Dorian.

<sup>14</sup> *Gemma musicalis*, I (Nuremberg, 1588), *Scielta de madrigali* (Milan, 1604) - as a motet, *Vadam et circuibo*, and in three lutebooks: Terzi's *Intavolatura di liuto* (Venice, 1593), Johann Rudnium's *Flores musicae* (Heidelberg, 1600) and Emmanuel Adriaensen's *Pratum musicum* (Antwerp, 1600). Johann Stadlmayr also used the madrigal as a model for one of his magnificats.

expressive pieces, though, this volume, which consists of music written for the professional singers at Ferrara, contains several lively contrapuntal pieces designed to display the singers' virtuosic abilities. *Fra le dorate chiome* is one of these. Full of vocal flourishes, distinctive rhythmic motives, syncopations and rapid runs of semifusae, it is a brilliant and highly virtuosic work.<sup>15</sup> It is again strongly diatonic and tonal, in F major throughout. Of the pieces from the posthumous Book XII in the late anthologies, *Il Paradiso* and *Il Helicone*, one also reflects this side of Wert's work, the five-voice *Ben sempre deggio*. The other, *Oggi un piu vago sole*, is a more reflective piece in Dorian and not at all virtuosic or mannered. Aside from this last piece, the picture we gain of the preferences of Phalèse and his colleagues from the admittedly small sample of their selections of Wert music is this: the pieces are largely diatonic and tonally focused in their harmonies, they have lively rhythms - more metrical than freely declamatory - and they are more melodic than much of the composer's music. In general, they reflect more the pastoral than the expressive idiom in their style. How might we account for the limited popularity of Wert in the Low Countries? One explanation might be that the Antwerp audience began to harbor a preference for music by native Italians rather than their own transplanted countrymen. Perhaps a publisher needed Italian names in order to capitalize fully on the vogue for Italian music. An examination of the composers represented in the four anthologies of the 1580s and early 1590s, though, reveals that this was not at all the case (see Table 4): among the most prominently represented are Lassus, Monte and Jean de Macque, not to mention the local figure Pevernage. The only Italians represented as frequently, in fact, are Ferretti, Marenzio and Nanino. It is true that if one considers single-composer volumes of Italian-texted music reprinted in the North, the only composer of northern origin one finds is Jean de Macque; the rest are all native Italians. However, Phalèse began reprinting such volumes regularly only after 1595, when few Netherlanders were still active in Italy. Since he chose volumes that had been issued ten to fifteen years earlier, one might reasonably expect to find some of the later books of Wert, but then we might note that he did not print any complete madrigal books of Lassus or Monte either.

Another possible explanation for the limited presence of Wert's music in Antwerp prints might be that his madrigal books simply were not known there. This is possible but highly unlikely. As has already been noted, items from Books I, VII and VIII were included in Antwerp anthologies. This sug-

<sup>15</sup> Newcomb observes that 'many of the pieces [in the eighth book] are suffused with the mature Ferrarese virtuoso style, and the dedication to Alfonso d'Este and Margherita makes it clear that the contents were composed for the Ferrarese women'; A. NEWCOMB, *Music and Patronage in Mantua*, Cambridge, 1980, p. 138. This is exhibited particularly by the predominance of the three upper voices in the five-voice texture and the short virtuosic passages of diminutions. Both of these characteristics can be seen in *Fra le dorate chiome*.

gests that Phalèse and his colleagues had copies of at least these books in their possession; yet, they did not choose more selections from them, nor did Phalèse choose to reprint these volumes in entirety (see note 8 above). The possibility must be allowed, of course, that Phalèse acquired the madrigals for these books in manuscript copies rather than prints. But we do know that Italian music prints were readily available in Antwerp. The diversity of sources used for the Antwerp anthologies reveals a lively trade that regularly brought Italian music books to the Low Countries. The extent of this trade can to some extent be documented in the records of the Plantin firm.<sup>16</sup>

The limited presence of Wert's music in Antwerp prints can only be accounted for, I believe, when we examine the kinds of music generally selected for the Antwerp prints, both anthologies and single-composer volumes. Although clearly some changes in taste occurred over the several decades of northern interest in the madrigal, the prints reveal overall a distinct preference for certain composers and certain types of music. The picture that emerges will also help account for the specific selections of Wert madrigals that do appear in Antwerp prints.

Although the bulk of the Italian music printed in Antwerp can genuinely be called madrigals, Antwerpers were from the beginning fond also of the lighter genres of Italian song, the *canzona villanesca alla napolitana* and genres derived from it.<sup>17</sup> Lassus's multi-genre volume of 1555, often referred to as his 'Opus 1', had contained six *villanesche*, and these were frequently reprinted as a complete set in the Low Countries.<sup>18</sup> Primarily chordal in texture, for four voices, strongly rhythmic, strophic and with an aabCC or aabb form, the *villanesca* of mid-century was more like the chanson than the serious madrigal. During the 1560s and 1570s the genre absorbed characteristics of the madrigal, particularly in the hands of Girolamo Ferretti. Typically written for five or six voices, these *canzoni alla napolitane*, as Ferretti called them, or simply *canzoni*, are slightly more contrapuntal in texture and, since they involve only

<sup>16</sup> Many of the records of the Plantin firm are preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum. See especially the *Grand livre de Francfort, 1566-1596* (Reg. 43) and the *Catalogus Francfurtiensis, 1597-1618* (Reg. Latin No. 269). See J.-A. STELLFELD, *Het muziekhistorisch belang der catalogi en Inventarissen van het Plantinsch Archief*, in *Vlaams Jaarboek voor muziekgeschiedenis*, 2-3 (1940-41), pp. 5-50. Plantin's catalogs for the Frankfort fairs show his accounts with book dealers from Venice along with those of many other cities. The listings include a variety of madrigal titles. Further, registers of sales from Plantin's own bookshop next to the Church of Our Lady record music titles from Venetian publishers along with publications of Phalèse, Kaufmann and other northern printers. See the *Libri venales, 1555-1670* (Reg. No. 795.)

<sup>17</sup> The study that best differentiates the various light Italian genres is R. DEFORD, *Musical Relationships Between the Italian Madrigal and Light Genres in the Sixteenth Century*, in *Musica Disciplina*, 39 (1985), pp. 107-168.

<sup>18</sup> Phalèse also reprinted Lassus's 1582 volume of *villanesche*. The genre also caught on among several native composers, particularly Waelrant and Cornet, who each published entire books of *villanesche*; the former also contributed several to *Symphonia angelica*.



one strophe of the poem, exhibit a degree of attention to the text, both in word-painting and declamation, that would be difficult to achieve in a strophic piece. In many cases they still incorporate the tunes of *napolitane*. Although he retained the typical *villanella* form, Ferretti often varied repeats and never used repeat signs. The prominence of *canzoni* by Ferretti, Conversi, Gastoldi, Pittoni and Waelrant in *Musica divina*, *Symphonia angelica* and *Melodia olympica* confirms their popularity with Antwerp musicians.<sup>19</sup> The titles of several other Phalèse anthologies, such as *Paradiso musicale di madrigali et canzoni* (1596) and *Il vago arboreto di madrigali et canzoni* (1597), speak for themselves. In *Symphonia angelica* and *Melodia olympica*, one begins to see other types of light Italian song - *canzonette* and *madrigaletti* - along with the *canzoni*. The *canzonetta*, a genre created around 1580 by Orazio Vecchi, evolved out of the *canzone*. Simpler and livelier than the *canzone*, it is in four parts rather than five, has a homorhythmic texture enlivened with imitation based on short simple subjects, and features strictly metrical rhythms accented by motives of short values. Unlike *canzoni*, *canzonette* are again strophic. The pieces called *madrigaletti* that found their way into these anthologies were taken from Macque's volumes entitled *Madrigaletti e napolitane* and combine features of the madrigal and *canzonetta*. Only a few composers used this term. The single-composer volumes printed or reprinted by Phalèse also reveal a predilection for the lighter genres. He reissued the five-voice *balletti* of Giovanni Gastoldi, Wert's colleague at Mantua, in 1596, just five years after their initial appearance in Venice, and the three-voice *balletti* in 1602. Both sets were extremely popular in the Low Countries, as they were throughout the North and in Italy itself; Phalèse reprinted the five-voice *balletti* ten times over the next several decades and the three-voice *balletti* four times. He also reissued collections of *canzonette* by Vecchi (1598 and 1611), Macque (1600), Anerio (1610) and Marenzio (1610).<sup>20</sup> Most of these combine several volumes into one.

<sup>19</sup> Curiously, the *canzone* is less prominent in *Harmonia celeste*. This may reflect the taste of the compiler, Pevernage, or that of his dedicatee, Cesare Homodei di Milano, since, as Pevernage notes in his dedication, he tried to include music that Homodei loved: Pevernage writes of Homodei that 'among his other virtues, [he] delights himself in the art of music... praising in particular that fine volume that Pierre Phalèse recently brought to light [*Musica divina*]' and notes that he endeavored in this volume to make a similar collection of madrigals, 'principally those that I have observed most please you and give you enjoyment'. (*Havendo io considerato quanta tra le altre sue virtu V. S. si diletta della Musica, arte veramente liberale, e ama e honora li Autori e Professori di quella, lodando in particolare quel' bel volume che Pietro Phalesio messe ultimamente in luce, mi ha fatto risolvere di far medesimamente un Raccolto e Scelta di tutti li migliori Madrigali, de piu Illustri e Eccelenti Autori di nostr tempi, e principalmente di quelli che io ho osservato piu piacerle e darle gusto*).

<sup>20</sup> In spite of the prominence of the *canzoni* of Ferretti and Conversi in the anthologies of the 1580s, Phalèse did not reprint books of these composers, probably because they were already several decades old by the time Phalèse began reprinting single-composer volumes, and interest had by then shifted to the newer *canzonetta* and *balletto*.

In spite of the importance of the *canzone* and related genres in the North, however, the large majority of the pieces both in the anthologies and the single-composer volumes are not *canzoni* or *canzonette* but madrigals. During the last few decades of the sixteenth century the madrigal was itself quite a varied genre. Scholars have used different terms to describe the prevailing type of the 1570s and 1580s - pastoral madrigal, light madrigal, hybrid madrigal. Some have characterized the content of the Antwerp anthologies as largely pastoral.<sup>21</sup> While pastoral madrigals and other kinds of light madrigals are certainly well-represented, many of the pieces are genuinely serious madrigals more in the Roman vein. The selections by Marenzio, Andrea Gabrieli, Monte and Bertani include both types; most of those of Lassus, Palestrina and Striggio are more serious than light and pastoral in tone.<sup>22</sup>

Among the Italian anthologies Phalèse elected to reprint in full we find entire pastoral anthologies, such as *Madrigali pastorali* and *Il trionfo di Dori*, and among single-composer volumes a predominance of figures who excelled in the lighter types: composers such as Giovanelli, Eremita, Agazzari, Marenzio and Croce. Giovanelli's five-voiced madrigals of Books I-III (Phalèse, 1606) are 'similar to the *canzonetta* in style, with light-hearted texts, clear texture, high tessituras, short and distinctive imitative motifs, strong accents and frequent sectional repetitions'.<sup>23</sup> Eremita (Phalèse, 1602) wrote 'almost exclusive-

<sup>21</sup> Roche uses the term 'hybrid' madrigal for the lighter madrigal of the 1570s and 1580s because it merges characteristics of the French chanson and the traditional madrigal: J. ROCHE, *The Madrigal*, Oxford, 1990, ch. 4. J. HAAR, *Madrigal*, in SADIE (ed.), *The New Grove*, XI, pp. 463ff., also uses the term 'hybrid' - which he specifies as a blend of lighter styles of madrigal and settings of pastoral lyrics of no great intellectual and emotional weight - in listing the principle options available to madrigal composers in the 1580s and 1590s. (The others Haar lists are: 1) the madrigal style of intense emotion, 2) recitatorial style and 3) the more traditional motet style.) I prefer to reserve the term 'hybrid' for *villanesca*/madrigal (*canzone*/madrigal and *canzonetta*/madrigal) hybrids of the 1580s and 1590s. The term 'light madrigal' seems to me preferable to 'pastoral madrigal', because not all madrigals of this type can properly be characterized as pastoral, a designation referring primarily to the text.

<sup>22</sup> It is interesting to note that in spite of the popularity of the lighter genres and styles, Antwerp composers themselves for the most part did not write many *villanelle* or pastoral madrigals, nor did they write *canzonette*. The exceptions were Waelrant and Cornet, whose *villanelle* and *canzoni* were mentioned earlier. In their own madrigals, Antwerp composers for the most part leaned toward the style of the traditional madrigal, that is, the serious madrigal for amateurs. When they did set *villanella* texts, they often made more serious compositions of them; they set them as madrigals or even made madrigal parodies of earlier *villanella* settings. In Ruth DeFord's studies of the *canzone*/madrigal hybrid, Antwerp composers figure prominently. Cornet published two madrigal parodies of *villanelle* and three *villanella* texts set as madrigals. Jean de Castro included several *villanella* texts as madrigals in his books of 1588, 1591 and 1594. Other Northerners who occasionally set *villanella* texts or wrote genuine hybrid pieces as madrigals include Faignient, Waelrant, Philips and Turnhout. Interestingly, although mixing genres in the opposite direction, that is, setting madrigal texts in the style of a lighter genre, was fairly common among Italian composers, in only one case did a Northern composer do this. That was Cornet, whose *Canzoni napolitane* of 1563 contains light parodies of some madrigal texts. See DEFORD, *Musical Relationships*, pp. 107-168 and R. DEFORD, *The Influence of the Madrigal on Canzonetta Texts of the Late Sixteenth Century*, in *Acta Musicologica*, 49 (1987), pp. 127-150.

<sup>23</sup> R. DEFORD, *Ruggiero Giovanelli*, in SADIE (ed.), *The New Grove*, VII, p. 399.

ly canzonetta-madrigals'.<sup>24</sup> Although Pallavicino's music is diverse in style, the print combining Books II, IV and V (1604) also reflects this preference for light madrigals. While the madrigals of Book II are mostly contrapuntal, those of Book IV are more chordal and reflect the influence of the *canzonetta*; the madrigals of Book V, which Peter Flanders describes as the 'most cheerful' of Pallavicino's compositions, are much like Marenzio's light madrigals.<sup>25</sup> In the books of madrigals newly printed by Phalèse one finds both madrigals of the lighter types - for example, those of Giovanni Battista Galeno (Phalèse, 1594) - and serious madrigals accessible to amateurs - notably those of Peter Philips.

The type of madrigal one does not find in Antwerp prints, for the most part, is the avant-garde madrigal of the 1580s and 1590s - mannered, extremely dramatic or highly chromatic pieces. This is true for both of the anthologies and the single-composer volumes. None of the chromatic or virtuosic madrigals of Luzzaschi was selected for the anthologies, for instance, and none of the books of Gesualdo was chosen for reprinting. It is not surprising, then, that we find no reprints of Wert's later books. Before we conclude that Phalèse avoided mannered madrigals altogether, though, we must note that there are several important exceptions. The first is Marenzio. In addition to the Marenzio pieces in the anthologies and the reprints of all of the earlier five- and six-part madrigal books, Phalèse also issued the later works of the 1590s, Books V-IX for five voices (Phalèse, 1609), which contain the most serious and intense music of Marenzio's output, mostly to texts of Tasso, Guarini and Petrarch. Perhaps the name of Marenzio, who was so popular throughout the North, was enough to sell this music, in spite of its difficulty. One doubts that Books VI-IX would have been issued by Phalèse without having been preceded by the earlier works. The second exception is Pallavicino. Although his first five books were largely pastoral and cheerful in character, Book VI (1600, issued by Phalèse in 1612) displays extremes of emotion, abrupt changes of style, acerbic dissonances and parlando declamation - in short, a style not unlike that of the mannerist madrigals of Wert, Marenzio and Monteverdi. The third exception, of course, is Monteverdi, whose Books III-V (issued by Phalèse in 1615) also contain some dramatic and mannered writing.

To appreciate the choices made by Phalèse, we must consider his audience. As a businessman, the printer had to be sure that his offerings would be commercially viable. His market consisted of people who, though talented and musically literate, were by and large amateurs. They were primarily merchants and their families, members of the large mercantile communities, both domestic and foreign, that flourished in Antwerp even after the economic decline of the

<sup>24</sup> A. NEWCOMB, *Giulio Eremita*, in SADIE (ed.), *The New Grove*, VI, p. 227.

<sup>25</sup> P. FLANDERS, *Foreword* to Pallavicino, *Opera Omnia*, III, p. ix. Pallavicino's six-voice madrigals, reprinted by Phalèse in 1606, are similar in character; see Pallavicino, *Opera Omnia*, V.

city in the 1580s. Residents of the Low Countries were well educated, and music was a part of their education.<sup>26</sup> They gathered together to sing madrigals and chansons for recreational and social purposes. Not surprisingly, the madrigals that would have appealed to them were the brighter, livelier, more tonally-oriented pieces and serious madrigals that were not excessively difficult. The reasons for the dearth of experimental madrigals are both logical and practical. This music is very demanding technically, having been written for aristocratic court musicians of North Italian courts and academies who performed daily, or at least frequently, and had time to rehearse, or for professional singers. For the most part it is not readily accessible to amateurs, nor with its somber intensity is it felicitous for recreation.<sup>27</sup> Although, according to Guicciardini, many Antwerpers were fluent in Italian, it is unlikely that they would have appreciated the refinements and sophisticated musical interpretations of Italian poetry that came out of Italian academies and literary courtly circles.<sup>28</sup> Some scholars have characterized the taste of Phalèse as conservative and even old-fashioned, but the volumes he printed were the same ones that continued to be in demand in Italy. Although first printings of madrigal books were often subsidized by patrons, later printings could only be justified if the music appealed to a broad enough market. Even in Italy books of more esoteric and virtuosic madrigals usually saw only a single printing, while books of light madrigals, *canzone* and *canzonette* were often reprinted many times.

Let us now return to our original question: why did Wert's madrigals fare so poorly in Antwerp? In light of the examination of the madrigal books above, I think we can venture an answer. Phalèse was publishing for an audience of talented amateurs who sang for recreation and enjoyment. During the course of his career Wert moved further and further beyond the capabilities and tastes of amateur musicians, Italian as well as Netherlandish. Although many of the madrigals in Wert's earlier books would have been suitable, the anthologies assembled in Antwerp during the 1580s include, for the most part, no more than one or two pieces by any particular composer, so one cannot say that

<sup>26</sup> K. FORNEY, 'Nymphes gayes en abry du Laurier': *Music Instruction for Women in Renaissance Antwerp*, paper read at the meetings of the American Musicological Society, Pittsburgh, Nov. 6-10, 1992, showed that music was part of the education of children in Antwerp's schools; A.T. GROSS, 'Brieve & facile Instruction pour bien apprendre la Musicque': *Vocal Anthologies and the Musical Amateur in the Low Countries, 1560-1660*, unpublished paper read at the same meeting, demonstrated the pedagogical function of Phalèse's *Septieme livre des chansons a quatre parties*. I am grateful to Kristine Forney and Anne Tatnall Gross for providing me with copies of these papers.

<sup>27</sup> In using the word 'amateur', of course, we have to be cautious. If all of the madrigals published by Phalèse were widely sung, these amateurs were a highly accomplished group of musicians indeed.

<sup>28</sup> This would probably have been true even of the Italians in Antwerp, since they were primarily merchants and financiers. The city hosted large communities of foreign businessmen, and the largest group of these were Italians, particularly the Genoese. Kristine Forney has suggested that it was for this community that the Italian-titled version of Lassus's 'Opus 1' was issued; see FORNEY, *Orlando di Lasso's 'Opus 1'*, pp. 33-60.

Wert was slighted. The exceptions are the ever-popular Marenzio, Ferretti with his accessible and appealing *canzoni*, and Monte and Lassus - both of whom would probably have been known to many Antwerp musicians. Like most composers, Wert is represented by just a few madrigals - in his case, one in each anthology. The choices were well-made; they are accessible and immediately appealing pieces. The earlier books of Wert could have been candidates for reprinting in entirety; but Phalèse did not begin reprinting whole volumes of madrigals by individual composers until the 1590s, and even then, at first, it was only Marenzio, Gastoldi and Vecchi that he issued in complete books - all guaranteed successes. By this time Wert's earlier books, published originally in the late 1550s, 1560s and 1570s would have been considered out of date. They were no longer being reprinted in Venice either. Most of the music reprinted by Phalèse had come out within the last five to fifteen years. This being the case, one still might ask why he did not choose to reprint some of Wert's later books, such as Book VII (1581), VIII (1589), IX (1596) or those following. The madrigals of these volumes, though, with their wide and unusual melodic leaps, sudden harmonic shifts and virtuosic flourishes are largely beyond the capabilities of amateurs.<sup>29</sup> His later books saw only limited distribution even in Italy, as evidenced by the lack of reprints (see Table 2). While Books I-III were each reprinted three or four times, and Books IV-VI at least once each, Books VII-X were never reissued after their initial printing. If Gardano and Scotto could not anticipate sufficient sales to justify further printings, it is not surprising that Phalèse ignored them.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Wert was employed at a court, one with a very sophisticated musical culture; he had highly accomplished, even professional, singers at his disposal at Mantua and Ferrara. Furthermore, at both Mantua and Ferrara Wert had an audience of literate nobility and accomplished poets who would have appreciated the subtleties and dramatic writing of his later madrigals.

<sup>30</sup> He did venture to print the mannered madrigals of Marenzio and Pallavicino, of course, but as we have noted, the reputation of Marenzio would probably have justified printing in his case, and in the case of Pallavicino, one might surmise that an enthusiastic reception of the composer's earlier volumes encouraged the printer to issue Book VI. Wert's output, it might be noted, also included a book of *Canzone villanesche*, printed in 1589. One might ask why that might not have been a candidate for printing by Phalèse, given the popularity of the genre in the Low Countries. Of course, in spite of the wide availability of Italian music prints in Antwerp, one cannot be sure that any particular volume made it there. Phalèse may never have seen this volume. It was never reprinted in Italy, though, so one might question how much attention it received even there. The pieces in this book are quite unlike the *canzoni* or *villanesche* of most other composers. They are distinctly more complex, both rhythmically and polyphonically, and less tuneful. In most of them the composer eschews the typical repetitions of the *villanella* form; they are essentially through-composed. Although rhythmic and lively, they lack the immediate appeal and ready accessibility that made the genre so popular.

Table 1. Madrigals of Wert included in Antwerp prints

MADRIGAL ANTHOLOGIES		
<i>Cara la vita mia</i> (5 vv.)	- in <i>Musica divina</i> (Antwerp, Phalèse and Bellère, 1583 etc.)	Source: Bk. I (1558)
<i>D'un si bel foco</i> (5 vv.)	- in <i>Harmonia celeste</i> (Antwerp, Phalèse and Bellère, 1583 etc.)	Source: <i>Musici di XIII autori illustri</i> (Venice, A. Gardano, 1576)
<i>Chi salirà per me</i> (4 vv.)	- in <i>Symphonia angelica</i> (Antwerp, Phalèse and Bellère, 1585 etc.)	Source: <i>Secondo libro delle muse</i> (Rome, Barrè, 1558) and Bk. I a 4 (1564)
<i>Vaghi boschetti</i> (5 vv.)	- in <i>Melodia olympica</i> (Antwerp, Phalèse and Bellère, 1591 etc.)	Source: Bk. VII (1581)
<i>Ninfe leggiadre</i> (6 vv.) [attr. Wert, by Pallavicino]	- in reprint of <i>Il lauro verdi...</i> 6 vv. (Antwerp, Phalèse, 1591)	Source: <i>Il lauro verde a 6 vv.</i> (Ferrara, Baldini, 1583)
<i>Fra le dorate chiome</i> (5 vv.)	- in <i>Paradiso musicale</i> (Antwerp, Phalèse, 1596)	Source: Bk. VIII (1586)
<i>Vicino a un chiaro fonte</i> (7 vv.)	- in reprint of <i>Madrigali pastorali...6 vv.</i> (Antwerp, Phalèse, 1613)	Source: Bk. X (1591) and <i>Madrigali pastorali...6 vv.</i> (Venice, Gardano, 1594) —> 1600
<i>Hoggi un più vago sole</i>	- in <i>Il Parnasso...6 vv.</i> (Antwerp, Phalèse, 1613)	Source: Bk. XII (1608)
<i>Ben sempre deggio</i>	- in <i>Il Helicone...5 vv.</i> (Antwerp, Phalèse, 1616)	Source: Bk. XII (1608)
LUTE BOOKS		
<i>Cara la vita mia</i>	- in Emanuel Adriaensen, <i>Pratum musicum</i> (Antwerp, Phalèse and Bellère, 1584, 1600)	Source: Bk. I (1558), <i>Musica divina</i> (Antwerp, Phalèse and Bellère, 1583)
<i>D'un si bel foco</i>	- in Emanuel Adriaensen, <i>Novum Pratum musicum</i> (Antwerp, Phalèse, 1600)	Source: <i>Musica di XIII autori illustri</i> (Venice, 1576), <i>Harmonia celeste</i> (Antwerp, Phalèse and Bellère, 1583)

Table 2. Wert's Madrigal Books (with reprint dates)

<i>Il primo libro de madrigali</i> , 5 vv. (Venice, Scotto, 1558)	1561, 1564, 1570, 1571, 1583 (Gardano)
<i>Il primo libro de madrigali</i> , 4 vv. (Venice, Scotto, 1561)	1562, 1564, 1570, 1583 (Gardano)
[ <i>Madrigali del fiore, libro primo</i> , 5 vv. (Venice, Scotto, 1561)] = <i>Il primo libro</i> , 5 vv.	
<i>Madrigali del fiore, libro secondo</i> , 5 vv. (Venice, Scotto, 1561)	as <i>Il secondo libro de madrigali</i> , 5vv.: 1564, 1575, 1581, 1596 (Gardano)
<i>Il terzo libro de madrigali</i> , 5 vv. (Venice, Gardano, 1563)	1566, 1572, 1592
<i>Il quarto libro de madrigali</i> , 5 vv. (Venice, Gardano, 1567)	1568, 1583
<i>Il quinto libro de madrigali</i> , 5, 6, 7 vv. (1571)	1580
<i>Il sesto libro de madrigali</i> , 5 vv. (Venice, Scotto, 1577)	1584, 1592
<i>Il settimo libro de madrigali</i> , 5 vv. (Venice, Gardano, 1581)	
<i>L'ottavo libro de madrigali</i> , 5 vv. (Venice, Gardano, 1586)	1596
<i>Il nono libro de madrigali</i> , 5 vv. (Venice, Gardano, 1588)	
<i>Il primo libro delle canzonette villanelle</i> , 5 vv. (Venice, Gardano, 1589)	1600
<i>Il decimo libro de madrigali</i> , 5 vv. (Venice, Gardano, 1591)	
<i>L'undecimo libro de madrigali</i> , 5 vv. (Venice, Gardano, 1595)	
<i>Il duodecimo libro de madrigali</i> , 4-7 vv. (1608)	

Table 3. Earlier Printed Sources of Madrigals in *Musica divina* (1583)

Note: The following are the sources I have been able to identify using Vogel/Einstein, 'Il Nuovo Vogel' and *The New Grove*. Earlier printings for three madrigals *a 4* and one *a 7* by Monte, one *a 4* by Lassus and one *a 5* by Palestrina are not known; there may be no earlier printed sources for these. In addition, for six madrigals *a 6* and one *a 5* labeled 'd'incerto', no composers have yet been identified. These may have come to Phalèse in manuscript. Of course, that is possible even in the case of pieces whose printed sources are listed below. That seems likely, for instance, in the case of two madrigals by Palestrina and one by Marenzio labeled 'd'incerto' in Phalèse's volume.

4 vv.

Cambio, *Madrigali*, Bk. I a 4 (Venice, 1547)Rore, *Madrigali*, Bk. I a 4 (Ferrara, 1550)Macque, *Madrigali a 4, 5, 6* (Venice, 1579)*Il primo libro de madrigali a note negre* (Venice, 1548)*Il primo libro de madr. de diversi ecc. autori a misura di breve* (Venice, 1542)

5 vv.

Macque, *Madrigali a 4, 5, 6* (Venice, 1579)Monte, *Madrigali*, Bk. III a 5 (Venice, 1570)Wert, *Madrigali*, Bk. I a 5 (Venice, 1558)*Musica di XIII autori illustri a 5* (Venice, 1576)Il Desderio, *Secondo libro de madrigali a 5 di diversi autori* (Venice, 1566)Marenzio, *Madrigali*, Bk. I a 5 (Venice, 1580)Ferretti, *Canzone alla napolitana a 5* (Venice, 1567)Vespa, *Madrigali*, Bk. II a 5 (Venice, 1576)Nanino, *Madrigali*, Bk. I a 5 (Venice, 1579)Conversi, *Canzoni alla napolitana*, Bk. I a 5 (Venice, 1572)*Secondo libro de la Muse a 5...da diversi ecc. musici* (Venice, 1559)Faignient, *Chansons, madrigali, e motetz a 4, 5, 6* (Antwerp, Laet, 1568)Vinci, *Madrigali*, Bk. III a 5 (Venice, 1571)

6 vv.

Monte, *Madrigali*, Bk. III a 6 (Venice, 1576)Striggio, *Madrigali*, Bk. II a 6 (Venice, 1579)Macque, *Madrigali a 4, 5, 6* (Venice, 1579)Ferretti, *Canzoni alla napolitana*, Bk. I a 6 (Venice, 1573) —> 1576, 1579Felis, *Madrigali*, Bk. I a 6 (Venice, 1579)Monte, *Madrigali*, Bk. I a 6 (Venice, 1569)Ferretti, *Canzoni*, Bk. II a 6 (Venice, 1575)Manenti, *Madrigali a 6* (Venice, 1574)

7 vv.

Monte, Bk. III a 5 (Venice, 1570)

Table 4. Composers represented by two or more pieces in five madrigal anthologies newly assembled for Phalèse and Bellère: *Musica divina*, *Harmonia celeste*, *Symphonia angelica*, *Melodia olympica* and *Paradiso musicale*.

	MD 1583	HC 1583*	SA 1585†	MO 1591	PM 1596
Angelini, O.			2		
Anerio, F.				1	3
Baccusi, I.		1 (0)	3	1	2
Bellasio, P.				1	2
Bertani, L.		1	1	1	1
Blotagrìo, G.				2	
Eremita, G.				2	1
Conversi, G.	2	2 (1)	1		
Faignient, N.	2	2			
Felis, S.	2	4 (5)			
Ferabosco, D.	1	1			
Ferretti, G.	6	1	10		
Gabrieli, A.	1	1 (3)	4	1	
Gastoldi, G.		1	1	2	1
Giovanelli, R.				1	1
Ingegneri, M. A.		3 (2)	1		
Lassus, O.	2	3 (4)	3 (4)		
Locatello, G. B.			1	1	
Macque, G. de	7	3 (2)	3 (4)	1	2
Marenzio, L.	1	4 (8)	4 (5)	5	3
Massaino, T.		1 (0)		2	1
Masnelli, P.		1			1
Monte, Ph. de	9	6 (5)	1		1
Moscaglia, G. B.			1	3	
Mosto, G. B.		1		2	
Nanino, G. M.	3	1	2	4	5
Palestrina, G. P.	3	1		3	1
Pallavicino, B.		1			2
Pevernage, A.	1	6 (9)		2	
Pordenon, M. A.		2			
Philips, P.				4	1
Ruffo, V.			5 (2)		
Sabino, I.		1 (2)	1	1	
Stabile, A.					2
Striggio, A.	4	1		2	
Vecchi, O.			1	3	1
Verdonck, C.			2	3	1
Waelrant, H.			5		
Wert, G. de	1	1	1	1	1

\* number in parentheses reflects changes in the edition of 1593.

† number in parentheses reflects changes in the edition of 1590.

## ARIOSO AND CANZONETTA: RHYTHM AS A STILISTIC DETERMINANT IN THE MADRIGALS OF GIACHES DE WERT

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In memory of Howard Mayer Brown

The large amount of note-against-note counterpoint, or chordal writing, in the music of Giaches de Wert has been commented on by a number of scholars.<sup>1</sup> It is indeed a striking feature of his style, pronounced in comparison with use of this texture in the music of his contemporaries. In its own way it is as important a characteristic of his madrigals as are the extravagant rhetorical gestures, such as huge or unusual melodic leaps and unprepared dissonances, that admitted him into the ranks of *seconda pratica* composers.<sup>2</sup> These latter features are in fact comparatively rare in Wert's music whereas chordal texture, used alone or in telling contrast with freely imitative counterpoint, is to be found everywhere in it. Part of my argument here will be that contrasts of texture are of central importance in Wert's rhetorical program, and that contrasts of declamatory style within chordal textures have rhetorical force of their own. Wert, like Lasso, must have developed precociously in the South-Italian environment where he is thought to have spent his adolescence.<sup>3</sup> Neither published any music before reaching their mid-twenties, but both must have composed a good deal by that time. Thus Wert's earliest published volumes, the first book of five-voice madrigals of 1558 and the lone book of four-voice madrigals of 1561, must include pieces written five, a few perhaps nearly ten years before their printing.

<sup>1</sup> See A. EINSTEIN, *The Italian Madrigal*, 3 vols., transl. A. KRAPPE, R. SESSIONS and O. STRUNK, Princeton, 1949, II, pp. 511-519, 568-575; C. MACCLINTOCK, *Giaches de Wert (1535-1596). Life and Works*, American Institute of Musicology, 1966; A. NEWCOMB, *The Madrigal at Ferrara, 1579-1597*, 2 vols., Princeton, 1980, pp. 18, 47 *et passim*; G. TOMLINSON, *Monteverdi and the End of the Renaissance*, Berkeley, 1987, ch. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Wert is mentioned by Monteverdi's brother (in a *Dichiaratione* appended to the *Scherzi musicali* [1607]), along with a few other composers (including Rore, Marenzio, Luzzaschi, Peri, and Caccini) as writing music for 'noble spirits' in which the demands of the text are of paramount importance. For this see D. DE' PAOLI (ed.), *Claudio Monteverdi: Lettere, dediche e prefazioni*, Roma, 1973, pp. 390-407. A judicious summary of the Artusi-Monteverdi controversy, with full bibliographical references, is that of T. CARTER, *Artusi, Monteverdi, and the Poetics of Modern Music*, in *Musical Humanism and its Legacy. Essays in Honor of Claude V. Palisca*, Stuyvesant (NY), 1992, pp. 171-194.

<sup>3</sup> On Wert's early life see MACCLINTOCK, *Giaches de Wert*, pp. 19-28. Some of MacClintock's account is hypothesis with factual support of varying strength; much remains to be learned about the years before 1565 when Wert moved to the Mantuan court.

The single book of four-voice madrigals is notable for its use of chordal blocks written in additive, speech-like rhythms. Alfred Einstein characterized this book as an 'apotheosis of homophony' and said of some of its contents that 'one is almost tempted to view such pieces as monodies'.<sup>4</sup> The madrigals he is referring to are written very much in the style of the *madrigale arioso*, a body of music published first by Antonio Barré in the mid-1550s.<sup>5</sup> Einstein emphasized the primacy of the 'aria-like' top voice in these pieces, going so far as to print one of them, *Dunque basciar sì belle e dolce labbia*, as an accompanied monody.<sup>6</sup> Carol MacClintock and Anthony Newcomb followed Einstein in equating *arioso* style with chordally accompanied monody, whether or not the music was performed in soloistic fashion.<sup>7</sup>

This view is I think in need of some modification. Soloistic performance, of madrigals suitable for it, was of course always possible. But seeing premonitions of seventeenth-century monody in the madrigal of ca. 1550 is, while not difficult, not much more rewarding than looking for adumbrations of eighteenth-century tonal syntax in sixteenth-century polyphony; keeping an eye on the future tends to interfere with looking closely at the present object. In studying the anthologies of *arioso* madrigals I concentrated, perhaps too heavily, on the upper-voice melodic lines in an effort to see them linked with *arie* used for declaiming verse - particularly the epic/romantic poetry of Ariosto and lesser poets of his ilk, by *cantastorie* all over Italy; but I saw the chordal texture as madrigalian imitation of the accompaniment supplied by or for these *improvvisatori*. I still think this, and would go so far as to say that the point of these pieces is in their polyphonic mimicking of accompanied *arie*; this is what makes them *arioso*, and solo performance would explain away the joke. Howard Mayer Brown in writing on Wert's early use of *arioso* style emphasized the harmonic character of the music, noting its similarity to bass-pattern formulas found in Italian music from the beginning of the century and crystallized in Diego Ortiz's *Trattado* of 1553.<sup>8</sup> This to me points in the same direction, that of madrigal imitating currently popular *aria* - not the same thing as madrigal pointing toward future monody.

<sup>4</sup> EINSTEIN, *The Italian Madrigal*, II, pp. 516-517.

<sup>5</sup> See J. HAAR, *The "Madrigale Arioso": A Mid-Century Development in the Cinquecento Madrigal*, in *Studi musicali*, 12 (1983), pp. 203-219; J. STEELE, *Antonio Barré: Madrigalist, Anthologist and Publisher in Rome - Some Preliminary Findings*, in R. CHARTERIS (ed.), *Altro Polo. Essays on Italian Music in the Cinquecento*, Sydney, 1990, pp. 82-112. A detailed bibliographical study of Barré as printer is M. BUJA, *Antonio Barré and Music Printing in Mid-Sixteenth Century Rome*, Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1996.

<sup>6</sup> EINSTEIN, *The Italian Madrigal*, III, no. 68. The piece, no. 6 in Wert's *Primo libro de' madrigali a 4v*, Venice, 1561, sets stanza xxxvi, 22-23 of Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*.

<sup>7</sup> MACCLINTOCK, *Giaches de Wert*, pp. 83-86; NEWCOMB, *The Madrigal at Ferrara*, p. 18. To be fair, neither author goes as far as does Einstein in calling these works monodies.

<sup>8</sup> H.M. BROWN, *Petrarch in Naples: Notes on the Formation of Giaches de Wert's Style*, in *Altro Polo*, pp. 16-50; H.M. BROWN, *Verso una definizione dell'armonia nel sedicesimo secolo: sui "Madrigali ariosi" di Antonio Barré*, in *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, 25 (1990), pp. 18-60.

How and where did the young Wert come upon the idea of *arioso* declamation? Brown thinks that he got this, along with much else in his early music, from imitation of what he heard - improvised *arie* as well as composed madrigals - in the Neapolitan circles in which he may have grown up.<sup>9</sup> One of the most important centers for Neapolitan musicians at the time was the court of Ferrante Sanseverino, Principe di Salerno, and his wife Isabella Villamarino de Cardona, in Naples and in Salerno.<sup>10</sup> Wert's first employer and patroness, Maria di Cardona, who lived in Avellino near Salerno, was related to Isabella and moved in her circle; Maria's husband, Francesco d'Este, was a soldier-adventurer who fought in Flanders in 1543 and who might have taken the boy Wert to Italy, just as Ferrante Gonzaga took charge of the slightly older Orlando di Lasso in 1544.<sup>11</sup> The Principe di Salerno was exiled from Naples in 1552 and his establishment broken up. At this time Wert seems to have moved north, perhaps to Ferrara and then to Novellara where he began his association with the Gonzaga family.<sup>12</sup> He was seventeen, a fully-formed musician who had doubtless begun to compose. It is tempting to think that he and Lasso might have met in Naples; but in any event Wert was surely well acquainted with Neapolitan musical styles.

Before inquiring as to whether *arioso* declamation was used by Neapolitan musicians we should illustrate what we mean by the term in Wert's music. It is characterized by use of additive long-short rhythmic values (semibreve-minim or, more often, minim-semiminim) residing within but unfettered by the duple mensuration. Example 1, the opening of the *seconda parte* of Petrarch's *I vo piangendo i miei passati tempi*, is typical.<sup>13</sup> The first poetic line is set in rhythmic groups of three with a duplet at each end.

<sup>9</sup> BROWN, *Petrarch in Naples*, pp. 16-38; see also H.M. BROWN, *The Geography of Florentine Monody. Caccini at Home and Abroad*, in *Early Music*, 9 (1981), pp. 147-168.

<sup>10</sup> See D. CARDAMONE, *The Prince of Salerno and the Dynamics of Oral Transmission in Songs of Political Exile*, in *Acta Musicologica*, 67 (1995), pp. 77-108; cf. D. CARDAMONE, *Orlando di Lasso and Pro-French Factions in Rome*, in I. BOSSUYT, E. SCHREURS and A. WOUTERS (eds.), *Orlandus Lassus and his Time*, Peer, 1995, pp. 11-47.

<sup>11</sup> C. MACCLINTOCK, *New Light on Giaches de Wert*, in J. LARUE (ed.), *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music. A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*, New York, 1966, pp. 596-602.

<sup>12</sup> MACCLINTOCK, *New Light on Giaches de Wert*, pp. 596-602. Whether Wert was a student of Rore in Ferrara, as MacClintock, agreeing with Einstein, postulates, remains uncertain. I. FENLON, *Music and Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Mantua*, 2 vols., Cambridge, 1980-1982, I, p. 34, points out the lack of documentary support for Wert's having been in Ferrara.

<sup>13</sup> *Madrigali del fiore a 5v, Libro secondo ... da Giaches de Wert*, Venice, 1561, no. 8. For a modern edition see Wert, *Opera Omnia*, ed. C. MACCLINTOCK, 17 vols., American Institute of Musicology, 1961-1977, II, no. 8. All the examples of Wert's music in this paper have been taken from MacClintock's edition, which remains convenient if not completely trustworthy. Note that all note values are halved by MacClintock. I have altered some of her editorial accidentals.

♩ = ̇  
SECONDA PARTE

Si che, s'io vis - si in guer - ra et in tem - pe - sta, Mo - ra in pa - ce et in  
Si che, s'io vis - si in guer - ra et in tem - pe - sta, Mo - ra in pa - ce et in  
Mo - ra in pa - ce et in  
Mo - ra in pa - ce et in  
Mo - ra in pa - ce et in

por - to; e, se la stan - za Fu va - na. al men - sia  
por - to; e, se la stan - za Fu va - na. al men - sia  
por - - to; al men - sia la par -  
por - to; e, se la stan - za Fu va - na. al men - sia

por - to; al men - sia

Example 1. Wert, *I vo piangendo i miei passati tempi* (II a 5, no. 8)

This is *parlante* declamation but not of Bembesque purity; *in tempesta* is effective in the context of the whole line but is not humanistically 'correct' in its setting.<sup>14</sup> Before leaving example 1 we might note the contrasting rhythm of the second line and its enjambment into the next; the *arioso* beginning is succeeded by a solemn, Rore-like three measures and an Arcadelt-like conclusion. The changing vocal 'instrumentation' is important but melody and harmony are

<sup>14</sup> On this point see W. DÜRR, *Verhältnis von Wort und Ton im Rhythmus des Cinquecento-Madrigals*, in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 15 (1958), pp. 89-100 (p. 99); P. ALDRICH, *Rhythm in Seventeenth-Century Italian Monody*, London, 1966, p. 111: 'It is evident ... that the Italian syllable has no fixed duration but is given a duration on each separate occasion by the speaker, who makes it longer or shorter as he pleases ... The composer replaces the speaker and bestows metrical, instead of purely linguistic, durations upon the syllables'.

quite neutral; the expressive nuance is in the rhythm. The *arioso* opening line is one way the poetry might have been declaimed or sung by an *improvisatore*. The musical rhythm here is not syncopated across the breve (elsewhere in *arioso* music it can be); it is simply a stylized speech rhythm.<sup>15</sup> There are dozens of examples of this rhythm in Wert's music, easily enough to make it a stylistic marker.

The young Giaches Wert could have learned this declamatory gesture from hearing it sung in Neapolitan circles. There is no direct proof for this, but circumstantial evidence is abundant. Giovanthomaso Cimello, active in Naples in the late 1540s, shows little interest in *arioso* declamation; but that he knew how to employ it is shown in example 2, the opening of a madrigal from his *Libro primo* of 1548.<sup>16</sup>

♩ = ̇

Oi - me las - so e quan - do sia quel gior - no Che  
Oi - me las - so e quan - do sia quel gior - no Che  
Oi - me las - so e quan - do sia quel gior - no Che  
Oi - me las - so e quan - do sia quel gior - no Che  
Oi - me las - so e quan - do sia quel gior - no Che

Example 2. Cimello, *Versi di sonetto del Petrarca* (Mad a 4, no. 18)

Cimello's changes of declamatory styles here are not, for that matter, so very different from what Wert did as a young composer (cf. example 1).

<sup>15</sup> A debate about speech-rhythm vs the sixteenth-century metric system arose among scholars earlier in this century. See K.G. FELLERER, *Die Deklamations-Rhythmik in der vokalen Polyphonie des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Düsseldorf, 1928; A. SCHERING, *Musikalischer Organismus oder Deklamationsrhythmik*, in *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, 11 (1928-1929), pp. 212-221. Schering advocated irregular barring to give each vocal part the same metric appearance; see his *Takt und Singliederung in der Musik des 16. Jahrhunderts*, in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 2 (1919-1920), pp. 465-498. Otto Gombosi upheld the primacy of declamatory rhythms but also advocated irregular barring; Edward Lowinsky countered with defense of the mensural system's importance, advocating equal barring and use of the mensural signature as a modern time signature. See Gombosi's comments on the subject in two reviews printed in *The Musical Quarterly*, 38 (1952), pp. 159-167, 659-664; E. LOWINSKY, *Early Scores in Manuscript*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 13 (1960), pp. 126-171, reprinted in LOWINSKY, *Music in the Culture of the Renaissance and Other Essays*, 2 vols., ed. B. BLACKBURN, Chicago, 1989, II, pp. 803-840.

<sup>16</sup> *Libro primo de canti a 4v sopra madrigali & altri rime*, Venice, 1548, no. 18, *Versi de Sonetto del Petrarca* [=Canzoniere cxxii, sestet]. On Cimello's madrigals see J. HAAR, *Giovanthomaso Cimello as Madrigalist*, in *Studi musicali*, 22 (1993), pp. 23-56.

Additive declamatory rhythms are of course common in the anthologies of *arioso* madrigals published in Rome from 1555 to 1562. They may appear anywhere in the music, in block-chord form or in contrapuntal syncopation, often of the top voice and perhaps one other against an accompaniment moving on the beat. The chordal opening of Nola's *Tosto ch'il sol si scopr' in oriente* (example 3) is characteristic.<sup>17</sup>

To - sto ch'il sol si sco - pr'in o - ri - en - - -  
 To - sto ch'il sol si sco - pr'in o - - - ri - en - - -  
 To - sto ch'il sol si sco - pre in o - ri - en - - -  
 To - sto ch'il sol si sco - pr'in o - ri - en - - -  
 te la - gri - mo - sa tem - pe - sta ag - li oc - chi sor - - ge nè  
 te la - gri - mo - sa tem - pe - sta ag - li oc - chi sor - - ge nè  
 te la - gri - mo - sa tem - pe - sta ag - li oc - chi sor - - ge nè  
 te la - gri - mo - sa tem - pe - sta ag - li oc - chi sor - - ge nè

Example 3. Nola, *Tosto ch'il sol si scopr' in oriente* (RISM 1555<sup>27</sup>, p. 10)

Nola was active in Naples from ca. 1540, publishing volumes of madrigals and villanellas and contributing to anthologies. This piece, or another setting of the same text, became a popular song in Naples.<sup>18</sup> A number of Neapolitan musicians are represented in Barré's *arioso* volumes; among them is Luigi Dentice, a member of the Principe di Salerno's circle. Salerno was in Rome in the late 1540s; Dentice accompanied him, and Nola may have been there as well.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup> The work appears in *Primo libro delle Muse a 4v. Madrigali ariosi*, Roma, 1555. Example 3 is taken from the modern edition of L. CAMMAROTA, *Giovan Domenico del Giovane da Nola. I documenti biografici e l'attività presso la SS. Annunziata con l'opera completa*, 2 vols., Roma, 1973, II, no. 73 (I have halved the note values).

<sup>18</sup> HAAR, *The "Madrigale Arioso"*, p. 218.

<sup>19</sup> See CARDAMONE, *Orlando di Lasso and Pro-French Factions in Rome*, p. 39.

It seems indeed quite possible that the impetus for Barré's anthologies, which include pieces by Lasso and Monte (both trained in Naples and resident in Rome in the early 1550s), came from Naples, which could well be the source for *arioso* style. There is no proof for Wert having lived in Rome, but he must at least have passed through the city ca. 1550-1553, a period of his life for which we lack solid information.<sup>20</sup> He had some connection with Antonio Barré, who published Wert's setting of the Ariostan stanza *Chi salirà per me madonna in cielo* in 1558.<sup>21</sup> Wert certainly knew the *arioso* repertory; example 4, the opening of his setting of another Ariostan stanza, shows how well.<sup>22</sup>

E - ra il bel vi - so suo, qual es - ser suo - - le Di  
 E - ra il bel vi - so suo, qual es - ser suo - - le Di  
 E - ra il bel vi - so suo, qual es - ser suo - - le Di  
 E - ra il bel vi - so suo, qual es - ser suo - - le Di  
 pri - ma - ve - r'al - cu - na vol - t'il cie - - lo, Quan - do la piog - gia  
 pri - ma - ve - r'al - cu - na vol - t'il cie - - lo, Quan - do la piog - gia  
 pri - ma - ve - r'al - cu - na vol - - t'il cie - lo, Quan - do la piog - gia  
 pri - ma - ve - r'al - cu - na vol - t'il cie - - - lo, Quan - do la piog - gia

Example 4. Wert, *Era il bel viso suo qual esser suole* (*Ia* 4, no. 15)

<sup>20</sup> Wert may have been in Novellara by 1553, but we have no certain knowledge of his whereabouts for a period of several years before that; see above, note 12.

<sup>21</sup> *Chi salirà* (O.f., xxxv, 1) appeared in the *Secondo libro delle Muse 4v. Madrigali ariosi*, Roma, 1558 (RISM 1558<sup>13</sup>). For a modern edition see Wert, *Opera Omnia*, XV, no. 23.

<sup>22</sup> O.f., xi, 65. *Primo libro a 4v* (1561), no. 15; modern edition in Wert, *Opera Omnia*, XV, no. 15. The length of the first note in this pattern is immaterial; it can be extended or contracted as the mensuration requires. On this see C. SACHS, *Rhythm and Tempo. A Study in Music History*, New York, 1953, p. 261: 'Even where an iambic or anapaestic text seems to make an "upbeat" on the last note before (our) bar line imperative, the masters of those times (the sixteenth century) had an easy way out: they extended the initial short and stressless syllable backward so that it began on a first beat and filled a whole measure'.



He knew more than this about the Roman repertory of the 1550s. Another madrigal in the *Primo libro a 4*, *Si mi vince talor l'aspro martire*, sets the fifth stanza of Palestrina's cycle *Da fuoco così bel nasce il mio ardore*, published three years earlier and perhaps well known in Rome for its ambitious parody of the papal composer Yvo Barry's *Pace non trovo e non ho da far guerra*.<sup>23</sup> Wert alludes to Palestrina's setting at the beginning of his piece (see example 5) and again at the point where Palestrina quotes Yvo; his choice of this otherwise unknown and unpublished text shows something more than idle flipping of pages of recently published music.

Example 5a. Wert, *Si mi vince talor l'aspro martire* (*Ia 4*, no. 24)

<sup>23</sup> On this see J. HAAR, *Pace non trovo: A Study in Literary and Musical Parody*, in *Musica Disciplina*, 20 (1966), pp. 95-149. Palestrina's cycle was published in *RISM 1557*<sup>24</sup>, *Di Cipriano de Rore il secondo libro de madrigali a 4v con una canzon di Gianneto-sopra di Pace non trovo*, Venice, 1557. The text has fourteen stanzas, each quoting a line from the Petrarchan sonnet; Palestrina alludes in each stanza to Yvo's setting of the relevant line.

Example 5b. Palestrina, *Da fuoco così bel, 5a parte* (after ed. F.X. HABERL, *Werke*, XXX, p. 69)

Example 5b. Palestrina, *Da fuoco così bel, 5a parte* (after ed. F.X. HABERL, *Werke*, XXX, p. 69)

*Arioso* declamation was cultivated earlier than Barré's anthologies; it can be seen in an number of pieces in the *note nere* anthologies of the 1540s.<sup>24</sup> The composers included in these prints are a mixed lot, including Venetians and Florentines; Naples is not well represented but there are a number of Romans: Arcadelt, Festa, Naich, Yvo Barry. Use of an *arioso* beginning as a kind of motto, seen in exx. 3 and 4 above, can already be found in the *note nere* repertory; example 6, Ruffo's setting of a text by Luigi Cassola, is an example.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>24</sup> For a list of these see HAAR, *The "Madrigale arioso"*, p. 217n. The *note nere* repertory is available in modern edition in D. HARRÁN (ed.), *The Anthologies of Black-note Madrigals*, 5 vols., American Institute of Musicology, 1978-1981.

<sup>25</sup> HARRÁN, *The Anthologies*, III, no. 9; the piece first appeared in *RISM 1549*<sup>30</sup>, *Libro terzo ... a note negre*, Venice, 1549.

no? Deg - gio sem - pre pen - na - r'in que - sto in - fer - -  
 no? Deg - gio sem - pre nel pian - to No - drir' que -  
 no? Deg - gio sem - pre nel pian - to No - drir' que -  
 no? Deg - gio sem - pre nel pian - to No - drir' que -

Example 6. Ruffo, *Deggio sempre pennar'* (1549<sup>30</sup>; Harrán III, no. 9)

Its motto-like character (note its resemblance to Nola's *Tosto ch'il sol*, Ex. 3) is emphasized by the fact that Arcadelt chose the same opening for his *Come purpureo fior vinto dal gielo* (both Ruffo and Arcadelt write *arioso* rhythms against the textual accents).<sup>26</sup>

<sup>26</sup> This piece, also printed in 1549<sup>30</sup>, is in HARRÁN, *The Anthologies*, III, no. 13. Arcadelt's madrigal could have been, indeed probably was the model for Ruffo's piece.

Co - - me pur - pu - reo fior - - vin - to dal  
 Co - - me pur - pu - reo fior - - vin - to dal  
 Co - - me pur - pu - reo fior - - vin - to, vin - to  
 Co - - me pur - pu - reo fior - - vin - to dal  
 gie - - lo Lan - guen - do ve - nir suo - le.  
 gie - - lo Lan - guen - do ve - nir suo - le.  
 dal gie - - lo Lan - guen - do ve - nir suo - - le.  
 gie - - lo Lan - guen - do ve - nir suo - le.

Example 7. Arcadelt, *Come purpureo fior* (1549<sup>30</sup>; Harrán III, no. 13)

Wert knew Arcadelt's piece; a similar text line opening the second stanza of his *Qual di notte talor chiara facella* (*Primo libro a 5*, 1558, no. 13) is a citation (the voices are rearranged) of Arcadelt's music (compare example 8a with example 7).



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Example 9. Wert, *Dunque basciar sì bell' e dolce labbia* (I a 4, no. 6)

This is the piece Einstein described as a monody before its time. Instead I would say that here Wert has encapsulated the performance of an *improvvisatore*, song melded with accompaniment. Everything about the music - its graceful *arioso* rhythms, its cadential flourishes, its careful breathing-mark rests separating poetic lines, its calculated use of high and low registers in alternation, its transposed repetition of the last line - suggests an expert solo singer's skillful and affecting declamation of the text. Yet this is not monody; it is the madrigal imitating solo art.

In Barré's *arioso* books, as in the *note nere* volumes, this kind of declamation is seen in four-voice texture. Wert used it, perhaps less insistently, in his early multi-voice madrigals as well. In the eight-voice dialogue which closes the *Primo libro a 5* he ends with a 'tutti' declamation (example 10) in which seven of the eight voices use *arioso* rhythm.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Wert, *Opera Omnia*, I, no. 19.

50

51

52

53

54

Example 10. Wert, *Ch'io scriva di costei* (I a 5, no. 19)

Relatively few of his madrigals stick to this kind of declamation from start to finish; instead it is used to vary the pace of the music. Sometimes an *arioso* phrase is placed between other forms of declamation (for two instances of this see example 11).<sup>30</sup>

Example 11a musical score showing vocal parts C, A, T, S, and B. The lyrics are: Men den-sa piog-gia e men rab-bio-sa ven-ti. Men fred-da ne-ve.

<sup>30</sup> Example 11a: Wert, *Opera Omnia*, I, no. 16; 11b: *Opera Omnia*, IV, no. 6.

Example 11a musical score showing vocal parts 9. The lyrics are: e men ge-la-ti fiu-mi. Non re-gna-no nel ciel e.

Example 11a. Wert, *Men densa pioggia e men rabbiosi venti* (*I a 5*, no. 16)

Example 11b musical score showing vocal parts 16. The lyrics are: ro, A-mor m'as-sa-le, A-mor m'as-sa-le, ond' d'o-ro, A-mor m'as-sa-le, A-mor m'as-sa-le, ond' co' crin d'o-ro, A-mor m'as-sa-le, ond' d'o-ro, A-mor m'as-sa-le, A-mor m'as-sa-le.

Example 11b musical score showing vocal parts 19. The lyrics are: io mi di-sco-lo-ro, ond' io mi di-sco-lo-ro, ond' io mi di-sco-lo-ro, ond' io mi di-sco-lo-ro, ond' io mi di-sco-lo-ro.

22

E di - co so - spi - ran - do:  
E di - co so - spi - ran - do: e di - co so - spi - ran - do:  
E di - co so - spi - ran - do:

Example 11b. Wert, *Quand'io veggio dal ciel scender l'Aurora* (IV a 5, no. 6)

Very common is the technique of beginning a phrase in evenly divided rhythmic patterns which slip into *arioso* (example 12); the reverse is rarely to be found. Both example 11 and example 12 show the turn to *arioso* lilt for direct expression of the text.<sup>31</sup> Note, for example, 'ond'io mi discoloro' in Ex. 11b, 'del suo curvo legno' in Ex. 12b.

23

pre - mi giu - sti, de' pre - mi giu - sti,  
do - na - tor de' pre - mi giu - sti,  
pre - mi giu - sti, let -  
giu - sti, de' pre - mi giu - sti,  
to do - na - tor de' pre - mi giu - sti

<sup>31</sup> Example 12a: Wert, *Opera Omnia*, III, no. 8; 12b: *Opera Omnia*, VI, no. 6. In example 11b *arioso* rhythm is accompanied by chromaticism for *ond'io mi discoloro*; in example 12 it is used to depict the *suon cantando del suo curvo legno*.

26

sti, let - to, che spess' in l'a - mo - ro - so as - sal - to, let -  
let - to, che spess' in l'a - mo - ro - so as - sal - to, let -  
to, che spess' in l'a - mo - ro - so, in l'a - mo - ro - so as - sal - to, let -  
sti, let - to, che spess' in l'a - mo - ro - so as - sal - to let -

29

to che spess' in l'a - mo - ro - so as - sal - to mos - so, di - stratt' ed a - gi - ta -  
to che spess' in l'a - mo - ro - so as - sal - to mos - so, di - stratt' ed a - gi - ta -  
to che spess' in l'a - mo - ro - so as - sal - to mos - so, di - stratt' ed a - gi -  
mos - so, di - stratt' ed a - gi -  
to che spess' in l'a - mo - ro - so as - sal - to mos - so, di - stratt' ed a - gi -

Example 12a. Wert, *O più ch'l giorno* (III a 5, 3a parte)

QUARTA PARTE

Ma'l buon Or-feo, che col me - de - smo le - gno  
Ma'l buon Or-feo, che col me - de - smo le - gno. Ma'l buon Or-feo, che col me - de - smo  
Ma'l buon Or-feo, che col me - de - smo le - gno  
Ma'l buon Or-feo, che col me - de - smo le - gno

A - ra - va il mar, co - si li con - so - la -  
 le - gno A - ra - va il mar, co - si li con - so - la - va, co - si li con - so - la -  
 A - ra - va il mar, co - si li con - so - la - va.  
 - - gno A - ra - va il mar, co - si li con - so - la - va, co - si li con - so - la -  
 le - gno A - ra - va il mar, co - si li con - so - la - va, co - si li con - so - la -  
 va. Al suon can - tan - do del suo cur - vo le - gno; E  
 va. Al suon can - tan - do del suo cur - vo le - gno; E  
 Al suon can - tan - do del suo cur - vo le - gno; E  
 va. Al suon can - tan - do del suo cur - vo le - gno; E  
 va. Al suon can - tan - do del suo cur - vo le - gno;

Example 12b. Wert, *Era dunque ne'fati* (VI a 5, no. 6, 4a parte)

In Wert's later music *arioso* rhythms as I define them here become scarce; chordal passages use other declamatory patterns, for the most part based on duple divisions of note values. As a young man (some of the madrigals in his first two books at least may have been written some time before their publication) Wert had been fond of *arioso* rhythms; but as I have suggested they were hardly new when he picked them up, and my impression is that his contemporaries such as Lasso and Andrea Gabrieli used them much less often than he. This kind of rhythmic gesture simply went out of fashion, it would seem, and though Wert never forgot it he moved on to other things. Even in his early music, patterns emphasizing the musical meter rather than textual ebb and flow can be seen (see the opening of example 11a above). Declamation coinciding with the tactus (or displaced, in a kind of large-scale syncopation) and articulated by duple division and subdivi-

sion of the beat can be found even in the first books for four and five voices, and becomes increasingly common in subsequent madrigal volumes. It is not easy, given Wert's imaginative and skillfully varied control of rhythmic gesture, to categorize this second broad type of rhythmic gesture. In calling it canzonetta rhythm I am using a convenient term but, I confess, stretching it almost more than it can bear. At one extreme this rhythm might simply be called *chansonesque*, echoing patterns common in the French *chanson* from the 1520s onward. Example 13, the opening of one of his very few settings of French texts, shows Wert in 'chansonesque' vein.<sup>32</sup>

CANZON FRANCESA  
 C  
 A  
 T  
 5  
 B  
 Vous, qui vo-yez le pas que  
 Vous, qui vo-yez le pas que je che-mi - - ne Sans cesse a -  
 Vous, qui vo-yez le pas que je che-  
 Vous, qui vo - yez le pas que je che-mi - - ne  
 Vous, qui vo-yez le pas que je che-mi - - - - ne Sans  
 je che-mi - - ne Sans cesse a-près ce Dieu d'a -  
 près ce Dieu d'a - mour puis - - - - sant,  
 mi - ne Sans cesse a - près ce Dieu d'a - mour puis - sant, sans  
 Sans cesse a - près ce Dieu d'a -

Example 13. Wert, *Vous qui voyez le pas* (V a 5, no. 11)

<sup>32</sup> Wert, *Opera Omnia*, V, no. 11.

How readily this style could be used in the madrigal can be seen in example 14, the opening of Luigi Tansillo's *A caso un giorno*.<sup>33</sup>

Example 14. Wert, *A caso un giorno mi guidò la sorte* (IV a 5, no. 13)

In this declamatory style metric accent combines with durational values. One may doubt whether Italian verse was declaimed in such a way; the text is comprehensible enough, but this sort of madrigal is really a *canzona alla francese*. Einstein called pieces starting with repeated pitches in a dactylic pattern examples of 'narrative rhythm', citing Palestrina's celebrated *Vestiva i colli le compagne intorno* (1566) as an early example.<sup>34</sup> The chief source for this rhythm,

<sup>33</sup> Wert, *Opera Omnia*, IV, no. 13. Other settings of this text, such as that of Andrea Gabrieli (*Primo libro a 3v*, 1575), use the same rhythmic pattern.

<sup>34</sup> A. EINSTEIN, *Narrative Rhythm in the Madrigal*, in *The Musical Quarterly*, 29 (1943), pp. 475-484. Einstein cites Wert's *A caso un giorno* (see example 14) and his *Tirsi morir volea* (Book VII a 5v) as examples.

which was often used in the instrumental *canzona francese*, is the French chanson of the Attainnant period, where it frequently appears in settings of narrative texts.<sup>35</sup> Whether this chanson rhythm was in turn borrowed from the frottola repertory may be questioned; there does appear to be, on the other hand, a relationship between the *barzelletta-frottola*, itself a sort of dance song, and the French *gaillarde*.<sup>36</sup> It was certainly in use in the madrigal before 1566, was in fact a feature of the early madrigal; a volume picked at random, Arcadelt's *Terzo libro* of 1539, shows more than a dozen pieces opening with a dactylic pattern, often on repeated pitches in the top voice.<sup>37</sup>

A good deal of chanesque rhythm, not restricted to nor indeed always evident in opening gestures, can be found in Wert's early madrigal books. Sometimes it coexists with *arioso*, as in example 11a above; the two rhythmic styles can even be found blended together, as in example 15, a setting of the Petrarchan sonnet *O cameretta che già fost' un porto*.<sup>38</sup> (This piece, mostly in chordal texture, breaks into imitative counterpoint to set three of the fourteen poetic lines; one such passage, near the beginning of the *seconda parte*, erupts into a brief stream of fusae on the word 'fuggo'; the contrast is suggestive of Wert's later style, and particularly of his celebrated setting of Tasso's *Giunto alla tomba* [VII a 5, no. 9]).

<sup>35</sup> See G. REESE, *Music in the Renaissance*, New York, 1954, p. 292f.

<sup>36</sup> REESE, *Music in the Renaissance*, p. 160. For a negative view of Italian influence on composers of Claudin's generation see H.M. BROWN, *The Genesis of a Style: The Parisian Chanson, 1500-1530*, in J. HAAR (ed.), *Chanson and Madrigal, 1480-1530*, Cambridge (MA), 1964, pp. 1-50. On connections between the frottola and the gaillarde see J. HAAR, *Arcadelt and the Frottola: The Italianate Chanson ca. 1550* (forthcoming).

<sup>37</sup> Arcadelt, *Opera Omnia*, ed. A. SEAY, 10 vols., American Institute of Musicology, 1965-1970, IV. In these pieces there is no hint of narrative texts.

<sup>38</sup> *Libro primo a 4v* (1561); see Wert, *Opera Omnia*, XV, no. 21.



5 A le gra - vi tem-pe - ste mie di - ur - ne Fon - te se'

SECONDA PARTE

9 Ne pur il mio se - cre - to e'l mio ri - po - - -

14 so Fug - - - go, ma più me stes - -

Example 15. Wert, *O cameretta che già fosti* (I a 4, no. 21)

Broadly defined, these two rhythmic approaches provide the composer with the ability to change declamatory gesture from one line, or half-line, of text to another, giving the music a kind of elocutional variety that is one of Wert's most striking characteristics.

From Book IV (1567) onward chanesque or canzonetta rhythms dominate almost completely, and Wert finds new ways to vary them, eventually creating a new set of forms for *arioso* writing. The amount of experiment in his later madrigals is surprising, for one finds that most of them were written to fulfill commissions from two ducal courts, in Mantua and in Ferrara. The number of occasional pieces honoring members of the ducal families is high, and in these

Wert surely aimed to please, even to flatter. The opening madrigal in Book VII a 5, *Se tal erger al ciel potessi il canto*, is unusual for Wert in its unremittingly imitative contrapuntal texture. The volume is dedicated to the young prince Vincenzo Gonzaga; but the first madrigal, on a long and fawningly adulatory text, is evidently cast in strict contrapuntal style out of deference to Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga, himself a composer, who preferred this kind of music.<sup>39</sup> Wert's occasional madrigals are all written in canzonetta rhythms; this is perhaps evidence that music cast in solidly metrical mold was thought to have greater dignity, to be more up to date, as well as easier to sing, than the swaying *arioso* movement. There is something of a paradox here, for in the late 1560s the *canzone* or *villanella alla napolitana*, soon to be called *canzonetta*, was rising to prominence. Its chanesque rhythms (see example 16) set, at least initially, light-hearted texts.<sup>40</sup> In this regard it is interesting to learn that Giovanni Ferretti, an early and highly successful composer of canzonettas, was despite his name of Walloon origin.<sup>41</sup> Note that example 16a, a reworking of a three-voice villanella, mixes some *arioso* elements into its rhythmic style.

C O fac - cia che ral - le - - gr'il pa - ra - di -

A O fac - cia che ral - le - - gr'il pa - ra - di -

S

T O fac - cia che ral - le - - gr'il pa - ra - di -

5

B

Example 16a. Ferretti, *O faccia che rallegrì* (II a 6, no. 19)

<sup>39</sup> Wert, *Opera Omnia*, VI, no. 1. The opening voice in Wert's Book IV a 5v (1567) is by Guglielmo Gonzaga, placed there according to the composer's dedicatory letter as a *scudo* to ward off attacks from Wert's enemies. On the duke's compositions and relationships with a number of composers see FENLON, *Music and Patronage in Mantua*, I, pp. 85-95.

<sup>40</sup> Example 16a and b: Giovanni Ferretti, *Il secondo libro delle canzoni a 6v*, Venice, 1575, nos. 19 and 14. No. 19 is derived from a three-voice villotta in *RISM* 1560<sup>14</sup>; no. 14 comes from a napoletana by M.A. Mazzone (1570). See R. DEFORD (ed.), *Giovanni Ferretti. Il Secondo libro delle canzoni a 6 voci* (1575), Madison, 1983, where the motets are given in the Appendix. In examples drawn from earlier sources (example 16a) one sees remnants of *arioso* writing, but on the whole the music is resolutely metric (example 16b).

<sup>41</sup> He was born in Liège. See C. ASSENZA, *Giovanni Ferretti tra canzonetta e madrigale. Con l'edizione del quinto libro di canzoni alla napolitana a 5 voci* (1585), Florence, 1989, p. 17.



4  
Del pie - to - so Tro - ian scri - se, e gl'af - fan - -  
Del pie - to - so Tro - ian scri - se, e gl'af - fan - ni. Del  
to - so Tro - ian scri - se, e gl'af - fan - - ni. Del pie -  
to - so Tro - ian scri - se, e gl'af - fan - ni. Del pie -  
Del pie - to - so Tro - ian

8  
ni, e - gl'af - fan - - - ni; Fe - li - ce al - ber -  
pie - to - so Tro - ian scri - se, e gl'af - fan - ni; Fe - li - ce al - ber -  
to - so Tro - ian scri - se, e gl'af - fan - - - ni; Fe - li - ce al - ber -  
to - so Tro - ian scri - se, e gl'af - fan - ni; Fe - li - ce al - ber -  
scri - se, e gl'af - fan - ni, gl'af - fan - - - ni;

12  
go ch'or con bron - zi e mar - mi.  
go ch'or con bron - zi e mar - mi. Fe - li - ce al - ber - go ch'or con bron - zi e mar -  
go ch'or con bron - zi e mar - mi. Fe - li - ce al - ber - go ch'or con bron - zi e mar -  
go ch'or con bron - zi e mar - mi. Fe - li - ce al - ber - go ch'or con bron - zi e mar -  
Fe - li - ce al - ber - go ch'or con bron - zi e mar -

15  
Ri - stau - - ra il buon Maf - feo, ri - stau - - ra il buon Maf -  
mi Ri - stau - - ra il buon Maf - feo, ri - stau - - ra il buon Maf -  
mi Ri - stau - - ra il buon Maf - feo, ri - stau - - ra il buon Maf -  
mi Ri - stau - - ra il buon Maf - feo, ri - stau - - ra il buon Maf -  
mi Ri - stau - - ra il buon Maf -

Example 17. Wert, *Qui dove nacque* (VI a 5, no. 5)

The two-stanza cycle of tragically powerful stanzas from *Gerusalemme liberata* in Book VII a 5 (1581), *Giunto alla tomba ove al suo spirito vivo*, famous for its expressive mix of declamatory writing and melisma, shows Wert adopting a new form of speech-song, one conceived within the mensural system (see the remarks of DeFord cited above).<sup>46</sup> Graceful *arioso* rhythm was by this time out of fashion; but it would hardly have suited this intensely serious text. In book VIII a 5 (1586) another cycle from Tasso's epic, *Qual musico gentil prima che chiara* (example 18a) shows Wert's updated recitative style; at an earlier date he might have written this as *arioso* (example 18b).<sup>47</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Wert, *Opera Omnia*, VII, no. 9. How well this piece may have been known at the time I am not sure; Book VII was not reprinted, and *Giunto alla tomba* was apparently not reprinted separately. On this madrigal see EINSTEIN, *The Italian Madrigal*, II, pp. 568-569; MACCLINTOCK, *Giaches de Wert*, pp. 108-110. MacClintock's statement that 'this is the first appearance in the Italian madrigal of a truly declamatory style' seems excessive and, for a scholar who edited all of Wert's madrigals, unperceptive. TOMLINSON, *Monteverdi and the End of the Renaissance*, pp. 61ff., speaks of the 'famous' *Giunto alla tomba* as related to Wert's earlier declamatory settings of Ariosto, differing from them largely in harmonic vocabulary.

<sup>47</sup> Wert, *Opera Omnia*, VII, no. 10. Example 18b is of course my own version, submitted with apologies to the composer.

♩ =  $\frac{1}{2}$  PRIMA PARTE

C Qual mu - si - co gen - til, pri - ma che chia -

A Qual mu - si - co gen - til, pri - ma che chia - ra Al -

S Qual mu - si - co gen - til, pri - ma che chia -

T Qual mu - si - co gen - til, pri - ma

B Qual mu - si - co gen - til, pri - ma che chia -

Example 18a. Wert, *Qual musico gentil* (VIII a 5, no. 10)

Qual mu - si - co gen - til pri - ma che chia - ra

Example 18b. *Qual musico gentil* in arioso style

Canzonetta rhythm, emphasizing the semiminim-plus-two-fusae rhythm spoken of by DeFord (see above) is used in this book for texts of canzonetta lightness (*Fra le dorate chiome*), for pastoral verse (*Non sospirar Pastor, non lagrimare*), and for very serious poetry (Tasso's *Forsennato gridava: O tu che porte*).<sup>48</sup> Accommodation of chanesque style to serious texts may be found in Book IX a 5 (1588); see the setting of Petrarch's *Padre del ciel dopo i perduti giorni*.<sup>49</sup> A thoroughly 'modern' use of arioso technique may be seen in *Qui fu dove s'assise* (Book X a 5, 1591) (example 19).<sup>50</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Wert, *Opera Omnia*, VIII, nos. 5, 12, 11.

<sup>49</sup> Wert, *Opera Omnia*, IX, no. 6.

<sup>50</sup> Wert, *Opera Omnia*, X, no. 5.

C Qui fu do - ve s'as - si - - - se

S Qui fu do - ve s'as - si - - - - -

A Qui fu do - ve s'as - si - - - - -

T Qui fu do - ve s'as - si - se Me - co so - ven - te a

B Qui fu do - ve s'as - si - - - - -

me - co so - ven - te a ra - gio - nar d'a - mo - re Chi l'a - ni - ma da me, las -

se me - co so - ven - te a ra - gio - nar d'a - mo - re Chi l'a - ni - ma da me, las -

se me - co so - ven - te a ra - gio - nar d'a - mo - re Chi l'a - ni - ma da me,

ra - gio - nar d'a - mo - re Chi l'a - ni - ma da - me,

se me - co so - ven - te a ra - gio - nar d'a - mo - re Chi l'a - ni - ma da me,

Example 19. Wert, *Qui fu dove s'assise* (X a 5, no. 5)

When an arioso phrase of the old type appears, as in *In qual parte risplend'oggi io mio sole?* (Book X), it is now used (example 20) in syncopation against a regular beat.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Wert, *Opera Omnia*, X, no. 10.

5

Mi - se - ra, e chi gio - i - sce del dol - ce lu - - me, e chi gio - i - sce del dol - ce  
 Mi - se - ra, e chi gio - i - sce del dol - ce lu - - me, e chi gio - i - sce del dol - ce  
 Mi - se - ra, e chi gio - i - sce del dol - ce lu - - me,  
 ra, Mi - se - ra, e chi gio - i - sce del dol - ce  
 Mi - se - ra, Mi - se - ra, e chi gio - i - sce del dol - ce

10

lu - me Ond' a - ver vi - ta suo - le L'al - ma mia ch'or - di lui pri - -  
 lu - - me Ond' a - ver vi - ta suo - le L'al - ma mia ch'or - di lui pri - vo lan -  
 Ond' a - ver vi - ta suo - le L'al - ma mia ch'or - di lui pri - -  
 lu - me Ond' a - ver vi - ta suo - le L'al - ma mia ch'or - di lui pri - -  
 lu - me Ond' a - ver vi - ta suo - le L'al - ma mia ch'or - di lui pri - -

Example 20. Wert, *In qual parte risplend'oggi* (*X a 5*, no. 10, bb. 5-13)

By the end of his career Wert had succeeded in using rhythm as a controlling motivic device. *Ahi, come soffrirò dolce mia vita*, in Book XI *a 5* (1595), too long to include here, employs a half-dozen rhythmic patterns, all but the last made up of smaller rhythmic cells that are reused in varying combinations, to create a web of subtly interrelated ideas unifying the piece through purely rhythmic means. There are hints of imitative writing here, but the piece, using Ferrarese trio texture in an echo pattern, is strongly chordal up to the final phrase.<sup>52</sup> This music seems a world apart from Wert's early madrigals; but it is my contention that Wert was from the first interested in chordal declamation for rhetorical ends, and that his use of ever-new rhythmic patterns within these chordal textures served his purposes well throughout his long career.

<sup>52</sup> Wert, *Opera Omnia*, XI, no. 3.

## MIGRATION OF MUSICIANS TO AND FROM THE LOW COUNTRIES (c. 1400-1600)

## FOUNDATIONS AND THEIR IMPACT ON THE FLOURISHING OF POLYPHONY

Case-study of a Foundation at the Collegiate Church of Saint  
Donatian in Bruges by Dyno Rappondi, Merchant of Lucca

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In our study of musical life in Bruges during the period that polyphony flourished, the collegiate churches of Our Lady, Saint-Saviour and Saint-Donatian turn out to be the most important centres. The chapter of Saint-Donatian takes a prominent position, not least because of the presence of important musicians like Gilles Binchois, Guillaume Dufay, Gilles Joye and Jacob Obrecht. Amongst the earliest sources concerning musical practice are the documents on foundations. A testator would donate a sum of money or real estate to a religious institution. Usually the transaction was accompanied by specific instructions for the clergymen, who would have to provide liturgical activities for the benefit of the soul of the deceased. Depending on the financial means and the testator's instructions, this may involve a simple silent mass or some psalms, or a grand mass with polyphonic music. Very wealthy people would sometimes finance a benefice for a chaplain who would provide for a daily mass and/or erect an altar or even a chapel decorated with brilliant works of art.

A whole range of documents concerning foundations at the Saint-Donatian chapter are preserved, such as the fifteenth-century *Liber Planaris*.<sup>1</sup> Probably one of the earliest complete discant masses was financed by the banker and merchant Dino Rappondi from Lucca in 1417.<sup>2</sup> His foundation is an interesting example of how foreigners had a direct impact on daily liturgical and musical practice in cosmopolitan trade-centres like Bruges.

First we shall illustrate the importance of Dino Rappondi, who held a prominent position both in business-circles and at the Burgundian court. Secondly, we shall take a closer look at the foundation itself and ask which liturgical and musical activities were commissioned and how they were financed. In our conclusion we shall try to estimate the cultural and historical value of this foundation and of foundations in general.

<sup>1</sup> Brugge, Bisschoppelijk Archief: inv. A141.

<sup>2</sup> R. STROHM, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, Oxford, 1990, p. 15.

### DINO RAPPONDI: PROMINENT BANKER, MERCHANT, COUNCILLOR AND DIPLOMAT<sup>3</sup>

Dyno Rappondi<sup>4</sup> was a member of a wealthy Italian family of bankers. He was born in Lucca in the first half of the fourteenth century and died in Bruges in 1414.<sup>5</sup> The Rappondis were part of a network of Italian firms who, just like modern multinationals, spread their branches all over Europe. These companies maintained commercial relations and were active in the banking business. From the end of the thirteenth century they moved from Sienna, Firenze and Lucca to the Low Countries, and were the ones who, during the fourteenth and fifteenth century, turned Bruges into a European *piazza di cambio*. The amount of money in exchange transactions largely exceeded that in trade in commodities during that period.<sup>6</sup> Dyno Rappondi had an office in Bruges from about 1365, as did Jeffroy (Geoffry) Rappondi, probably his father, and his brothers John and Philip. As a banker he provided loans to several important people, to the city of Bruges and to the county of Flanders. Duke Philip the Bold, who was always in search of money, assigned to him the recovery of taxes from Flemish towns and the charging of duties.

Rappondi was also a citizen of Paris. In the house he owned there from 1374 (called *en la vieille monnoie*), there must have been a jeweller's workshop and a tapestry trade. Just like other princes of finance of his age, Rappondi dealt in luxury goods (such as illuminated manuscripts), which were a prominent feature in profit-investment in the middle ages. In 1389 he sold a golden cloth from Cyprus to the city of Bruges, who offered it to Margaretha of Male on the occasion of her entrance to the city.

In about 1390, doubtless due to his trading with Levant, Rappondi's wealth became immense. In 1391, Duke Philip, whose agent he had been for many years, appointed him councillor and chamberlain (*maître d'hôtel*) and paid him 3000 goldfrancs.

Four years later, Jean de Nevers, the son of Philip the Bold and Duchess Margaretha, was planning a crusade against the Turks. Unfortunately, Nevers and a group of French knights fell into the hands of Sultan Bazajet at the battle of Nicopolis on September 25th 1396. For two months Europe was in a state of uncertainty concerning the crusade, but by Christmas a messenger had come to negotiate a ransom.

<sup>3</sup> V. FRIS, art. *Rapondi*, in *Biographie Nationale*, XVIII, Brussel, 1905, col. 735-739.

<sup>4</sup> Other spellings found in the documents are Dyne, Rapponde, Raponde or Rapondi.

<sup>5</sup> The *Biographie Nationale* mentions 1415 as the date of his death, but in J. GAILLIARD, *Inscriptions funéraires et monumentales de la Flandre Occidentale*, [Deel 1: Sint-Donaas], Brugge, 1861, p. 160 there is a picture of his tomb-stone, which gives *M. CCCC. XIV Calendis Februarij*.

<sup>6</sup> W. PREVENIER, - W. BLOCKMANS (ed.), *De Boergondische Nederlanden*, Antwerpen, 1983, p. 114.

The duke and the duchess asked Rappondi's help, since he had connections with the Turks because of his trade with the Levant. He had not only financial but also diplomatic capacities. His advice was to contact Genoese and Venetian merchants who could guarantee the payment of the ransom to Bazajet because of their financial connections with the Ottoman. He wrote to the wealthy Genoese merchant Barthélemy Pelegrino, who knew the sultan personally. In June the ransom was set at 200,000 florins, and it was agreed that after payment the surviving knights would be in Venice by October. To fulfil their feudal duties, the States of Flanders had to pay a contribution toward the ransom, and which Rappondi provided for. Being responsible for the ransom, he himself went to Venice and was successful: in March 1398, Jean de Nevers returned to Flanders. During the following years, the loans with the banker from Lucca kept increasing. He also became councillor and chamberlain (*maître d'hôtel*) to Nevers, who became Duke John the Fearless, succeeding his father in 1404/5. Rappondi died on February 1st 1414, and was buried, as requested in his will, in the church of Saint-Donatian, Bruges, in a splendid black marble grave. John the Fearless erected a monument for him in Dijon.

### LITURGICAL ACTIVITIES COMMISSIONED IN THIS FOUNDATION

Endowments like the one made by Dyno Rappondi were a necessary source of income in a collegiate church like Saint-Donatian. Singers and other staff of the chapter had to earn their living almost entirely by piece-work, taking part in as many services as they could.

The original charter of the foundation seems to have been lost, but among the chapter acts there is a copy, dated August 16th 1417 (two and a half years after Rappondi's death). A shorter copy has also been found in the *Liber Planaris* mentioned above.<sup>7</sup> In these texts Rappondi commissioned four main liturgical activities.

1) After his death a daily *basse messe de requiem* was to be celebrated in Saint John's Chapel, where his body is buried.

2) He commissioned an *anniversarius* consisting of an annual requiem mass, with *vigilia* (the preceding evening) and *commendationes* (early in the morning, after matins). During these services the bells were to ring *au grand son*, and during the mass itself until the *Agnus Dei*.

3) The most interesting part of the document concerns the feast of *Sancti Johanni ante Portam Latinam* on May 6th.<sup>8</sup> Rappondi commissioned a solemn

<sup>7</sup> The entire version of both texts is given in Appendix 1 and 2.

<sup>8</sup> *Liturgisch woordenboek*, ed. L. BRINKHOFF, G.C. LAUDRY e.a., Roermond, 1958, col. 1166-1168 and GODESCARD-BUTLER, 1834. In Rome, Pope Adrian I established an annual feast of the dedication of a church, dedicated to Saint-John in front of the Latin Gate on May 6th. According to a legend, Saint John the Evangelist was tortured to death in Rome in front of this Latin Gate. He was condemned to be submerged in a bath filled with boiling oil. The legend states that he came out more beautiful and stronger than before. In 1960 this feast was abolished.

mass in honour of Saint John to be sung in the choir of the church. The bells were to ring from the beginning until the *Agnus Dei*, and the grand organ was to be played, as in the masses of the Holy Spirit.

4) Also on May 6th, before the primes, the six *socii de musica* or *ghezellen van de musycke*, dressed in the habit of the church, were instructed to sing a polyphonic mass accompanied by the small organ in Saint John's Chapel. The French *déchanter* is, as Reinhard Strohm has pointed out,<sup>9</sup> a translation of the Latin *discantare*, meaning part-singing. Unfortunately, no further details are given, but we may suppose that originally a three-part mass was sung with a doubling by the positive or portative organ. Since we are sure that this mass was performed until the 1580s,<sup>10</sup> things may, of course, have changed during the next 160 years or so, even though the number of musicians remained the same. As all choirbooks of Saint-Donatian unfortunately seem to have disappeared after the religious troubles of the late sixteenth century, it is hard to determine the repertoire that was sung. The terms of Rappondi's endowment reveal that other polyphonic masses were already sung on the feast of Saint Machut (November 15th) and Saint Lenard (November 6th).<sup>11</sup> To lend extra splendour to the mass of May 6th, the sexton of the nave had to decorate the chapel with golden silk. The chapel had to be open from two o'clock the day before the service until second vespers the following day. Only members of the Rappondi family were to be buried in Saint-John's chapel.

#### FINANCING

To finance this foundation, Rappondi gave the chapter 211£ gr.,<sup>12</sup> through his brother Philip, who was in charge of the execution of his will. 200£ gr. was to be spent for the acquisition of an eternal interest of 9£ gr. (108£ parisis). This amount was then to be used to pay for the liturgical activities mentioned above. For the remaining 11£ gr., a stained-glass window was to be made and installed in the nave of the church.<sup>13</sup>

The seven musicians who were responsible for the discant mass on May 6th were paid as follows: each of the singers or *socii de musica* received three sous parisis and the organist who played the positive or portative organ gets four sous. They were among the better paid staff members in services like these. It is not clear how many bell-ringers shared the relatively high amount of twenty sous allocated to them.

<sup>9</sup> STROHM, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, p. 15.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. infra.

<sup>11</sup> STROHM, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, p. 15.

<sup>12</sup> This *pond groten* is equated to 12£ parisis.

<sup>13</sup> According to GAILLIARD, *Inscriptions funéraires et monumentales de la Flandre Occidentale*, p. 41 this window is decorated with the arms of the Rappondi family.

The feast of Saint John *ante Portam Latinam* was celebrated as described above until about 1580. The fabric-accounts from the years 1580-1585 onwards indicate that the musicians were no longer being paid.<sup>14</sup> This is not surprising since Bruges had a Calvinistic government between 1578 and 1584. During this period, Catholic liturgical feasts were still celebrated, but without any of the usual lustre.<sup>15</sup> Even when the Catholic government was restored, the item concerning this feast was still marked *nihil*. We may suppose that inflation was the cause of this, or that perhaps during the religious troubles something happened to the goods or the pledge upon which the interest was set. From 1633 the feast of Saint John *ante Portam Latinam* was reduced and replaced by two *missae privatae* or silent masses.<sup>16</sup>

#### CONCLUSION

To conclude, let us remark upon on the value of this foundation and of foundations in general. When we look at the huge amounts of money involved in transactions made by Dyno Rappondi, and his enormous personal wealth, this endowment is quite small. However, it remains an important factor in the whole network of private sponsoring that made liturgical and artistic activities possible. Providing opportunities for the performance of polyphonic music was not, at that date, the main purpose of foundations in general. Normally, the focus was a requiem mass for the donor and his family. Rappondi specifically asked (and paid) for a discant mass. What was his motivation? His French connections (being a Paris citizen, owning a house there) may have inspired him, and as a rich Italian and councillor of the Burgundian Court, he belonged to circles where a sophisticated taste reigned. Many objects of art, buildings and music manuscripts testify to this sophistication today, and determine the glory of medieval cities like Bruges. To what extent can we really discover the motivation of such a Maecenas?<sup>17</sup> Of course, the profound medieval faith played an important part. People were convinced that through supporting art *ad majorem dei gloriam* their sins would be forgiven before they appeared at their final judgment (the *Final Judgment* by Rogier Vander Weyden in the hospital of Beaune, commissioned by chancellor Rolin, is an interesting example of this). Less noble intentions, such as vanity, were probably at stake, otherwise, one might as well have financed art or liturgical activity in some far off abbey or

<sup>14</sup> Brugge, Bisschoppelijk Archief: G14 [1580-85], *Socis de musica cantantibus missam in festo Sancti Johannis ante portam latinam quia non est dicta nihil*.

<sup>15</sup> J.A. VAN HOUTTE (ed.), *De geschiedenis van Brugge*, Tielt, 1982, p. 360.

<sup>16</sup> Brugge, Bisschoppelijk Archief: G23 [1633-1637]: *Exoneratur hec missa cantualis per reductionem duabus missis privatis in officio missarum pro his 5 annis 6£ 10s parisis*.

<sup>17</sup> J. BARTIER, *Légistes et gens de finances au XVe siècle. Les Conseillers des Ducs de Bourgogne, Philippe le Bon et Charles le Téméraire*, (Koninklijke Academie van België, Klasse der Letteren... *Verhandelingen verzameling in-* 8, 2de serie, 50/2-2bis), Brussel, 1955, pp. 271-275.



monastery church. But in most cases (as here) a cathedral or collegiate church was the beneficiary. What could better immortalize the Rappondi name than this foundation, connected to a chapel where only family members are buried and where different art forms (luxurious textiles, polyphonic music, a stained-glass window...) are juxtaposed? This small-scale case-study has shown that a detailed study of the whole foundation phenomenon will help us to reconstruct an important mechanism behind cultural history in general and the early history of polyphony in particular.

APPENDIX 1: Transcription of endowments by Dyno Rappondi in *Liber Planaris* (Brugge, Bisschopelijck Archief: A141)

f.9v

Agnetis secundo

Honorabilis vir Dynus Rapponde oriundus de Luca fundavit in capella Sancti Johannis Evangeliste huius ecclesie in qua corpus eius requiescit ob salutem anime eius et parentium suorum singulis diebus perpetuis temporibus missam de requiem per alterum quemque vicariorum huius ecclesie per capitulum ad hoc deputandorum secundum turnum suum immediate post elevationem sacramenti magne misse dicendam et ad hoc legavit 60£ par. annui redditus dictis vicarijs solvendas singulis annis.

Item fundavit anniversarium suum hac die cum vigilijs commendatis et missa in choro huius ecclesie eo modo quo in magnis obitibus est secundum consuetum sono magnarum campanarum a principio usque ad finem earundem continuato et ad hoc legavit 12£ par. in choro presentibus eo modo quo in obitibus distribuendas.

Item pulsatoribus 20s.

Item canonico missam celebranti 4s.

Dyacono et subdyacono cuilibet 2s.

Cantoriam tenenti 4s.

Hostiario chori 2s.

Cuilibet duorum virgiferorum chori 12d.

Custodi navis ecclesie ut teneat altare paratum et accendat et extinguat cereos capelle 2s.

Et tenebitur fabrica providere de duobus cereis quolibet ponderis 20 lib. ante tumbam dicti Dyni in capella Sancti Johannis et decem alios dabit quemlibet ponderis semilib. in superiori parte clausure capelle et duos quemlibet ponderis 8 lib. super altare dicte capelle ponendos.

Item tenebitur fabrica providere tres lib. candelarum cum 4or grossos in mitis in missa dicti anniversarii immolandiS et stramina in choro et capella ad hoc necessaria.

Item prefatus Dynus Rapponde instituit in festo Johannis ante Portam Latinam scilicet sexta Maii ad honorem dicti Sancti et laudem Dei missam magnam in choro huius ecclesie cum sonitu maiorum organorum campanis magnis a principio usque ad Agnus Dei ut moris est in missa Sancti Spiritus sollempnibus pulsationibus sollempniter decantandaM et ob hoc legavit presentibus per modum pitancie 12£ par. distribuendas.

Item pulsatoribus 20s.

Item canonico missam celebranti 4s.

Dyacono et subdyacono cuilibet 2s.

Item domino cantori cum socio cantoriam tenenti cuilibet 2s. Organiste et ministro suo 8s.

Item custodi navis ecclesie ut capellam Sancti Johannis sepe dictam paratam et ornamentis ac pannis sericis vel aureis per magistrum fabrice sibi amministratis in dicto festo teneat ornatam herbis graminiibus et arborum ramis expensis suis spersam, cereos dicte capelle accendat et extinguat tam in missa quam primis et secundis vesperis 6s.

Item hostiario chori 2s.

Item cuilibet duorum virgiferorum chori 12d.

Item fundavit in dicta festivitate in dicta capella missam singulis annis cum parvis organis ante horam primarum per alterum vicariorum ecclesie sex alijs habitum inibi portantibus ad hoc deputandis sollempniter cantantibus celebrandam eo modo quo in festo sanctorum Machuti et Leonardi et ob hoc legavit missam celebranti 4s.

Cuilibet sex ad eandem missam cantantium 3s.

Organiste 4s.

Tenebitur quoque magister fabrice in primis et secundis vesperis et missis antedictis tam chori quam capelle dicte festivitatis administrare 10 cereos quemlibet semilib. in superiori parte clausure dicte capelle et duos quemlibet unius lib. super altare ponendos.

Tenebitur etiam custos navis ecclesie capellam ut supradictam est paratam et ornatam et apertam tenere officio divino durante.

Residuum vero centum et octo £ par. annui redditus pro servitijs et officijs supra declaratis singulis annis perpetuis temporibus fiendis per prefatum Dynum huic ecclesie legatas voluit fabrice in recompensationem onerum supra expressorum applicari.

Pro quibus redditibus emendis dedit in prompta pecunia ducentas libras grossorum deditque pro fenestra vitrea in superiori parte navis ecclesie fienda undecim £ grossorum.

f.36v

Johannis ante Portam Latinam duplex

[...] Item Dynus Rapponde ordinavit hac die decantari duas missas unam in choro huius ecclesie et aliam

in capella Sancti Johanni Evangeliste huius ecclesie de quibus ad plenum habetur die 28 januarii scilicet Agnetis secundo.

APPENDIX 2: Copy of foundation-text Dyno Rapponde in chapteracts St Donatian anno 1417 (Brugge, Bisschoppelijk Archief: A50)<sup>18</sup>

(december 24th)

f.38v

Doyen et chapitre de l'eglise de Saint Donas de Bruges a tous ceulx qui cestes presentes lettres verront salut en notre Seigneur Que<sup>19</sup> comme feu honorable sage et discrete personne Dyne Rapponde conseiller et maistre d'ostel de notre tresredoubté seigneur Monsieur le Duc de Bourgoingue, Conte de Flandres en son vivant ot entiere affection en nous et notre dite eglise pour la quelle entre autres choses ot grande devotion de fonder en notre dite eglise en la chapelle Saint Jehan apostre et Ewangeliste ou a present son corps repose une basse messe de requiem perpetuelle pour ycelle estre dicte et celebree chacun jour par aucuns des chinq vicaires de notre dite eglise selon leur tour comme sur ce par nous seroit ordonné tantost et incontinent après l'elevation du sacrement de la grant messe de notre dite eglise pour l'ame de lui et de ses parens. Item il vult avoir chacun an après son decés une messe solennelle de requiem et icelle estre chantee solennelement avec vigilles et commendates precedentes comme l'on a acoustumé de faire es grans obiis sur tel jour qu'il trespasseroit de cest siecle le jour avons nommé le vint et huitiesme jour du mois de janvier annuelement. Item vult ledit Dyne que au jour dudit annuel nous soions tenus de faire mettre devant sa tombe deux luminaires pesant chacun XX. lib. et dix autres luminaires pesant chacun demi livre qui seront sur la chapelle en hault et deux chacun d'une livre qui seront sur l'autel de la dite chapelle. Lez quelz luminaires arderont les dis vigilles commendates et messe durant. Item vult que soyons tenez de livrer trois lb. de chandailles et quatre gros de mites pour offrir ou cuer de notre dite eglise a la dite messe et aussi de l'estrain qui faulta tant au cuer comme en la dite chapelle et que durant lez dis vigilles et commendates on sonnera du grant son depuis le conmenchement jusques a la fin et aussi depuis le conmenchement de la messe jusques a l'agnus dei comme en est acoustumé de faire es grans obiis. Aussi vult et desira ledit Dyne que le jour dudit Saint Jehan Ewangeliste qui est le VI jour de may nommé Saint Jehan ante portam latinam annuelement soions tenez de chanter ou cuer de notre dite eglise une messe solennelle en l'onneur dudit Saint Jehan et carlionnera on du grant son du commencement de la dite messe jusques a l'agnus dei et juera on des grandes orgles et se fera la ditte messe selon que on est acoustumé de fairre lez messes solennelles du Saint Esperit. Item vult ledit Dyne que nous soions tenez de fairre dechanter ledit jour une messe en ladite chapelle Saint Jehan avec les petites orgles avant huere de prime par six compaignons portans habit en notre dite eglise et par ung de nous dis vicaires se dira la dite messe come on a acoustumé de dechanter les messes dehoirs du cuer cest assavoir de Saint Machut et de Saint Lienaert. Et les deux

<sup>18</sup> With many thanks to Anouk Dewolf, Departement of Roman Philology, UFSIA (Universitaire faculteit Sint-Ignatius Antwerpen), for her assistance with the transcription of the document. Since this is not a philological edition, abbreviations have been completed but are not marked as such. Distinctions between *dicte* and *ditte* and *-tion* or *-cion* are not always clear, we chose *ditte* and *-tion*. E has been changed into *é* and apostrophes added when required. See J. MONFRIN, *Documents linguistiques de la France*, vol. I, *Chartes en langue française antérieures à 1271 conservées dans le département de la Haute-Marne*, Paris, 1974, pp. LXIII-LXX.

<sup>19</sup> The meaning and/or transcription of this word isn't very clear.

messes dessusdites et aussi lez deux vespres durans serons tenez de livrer et tenir ardans XII luminaires c'est assavoir dix de demi livre et deux d'une livre parellement et en la maniere come es vigilles commendates et messe dessusdis. Aussi vult que le coustre de la nef de notre dite esglise soit tenez de parer la dite chapelle de draps d'or ou de soye a lui delivréz par le maistre de la fabrique de notre dite esglise et devera ledit coustre achater herbe et may pour parer la dite chapelle la quelle devra estre ouverte et parée la veille dudit Saint Jehan a duex heures après disner et la tendra ouverte jusques que le service sera fait et parellement lendemain a la messe et as vespres. Et pour tous lessusdis services et chacun d'iceulx estre acomplies maintenues et deservies et pour icelles maintenir accomplir et deservir et estre bien et seurement fondees vult et ordenna ledit Dyne Rapponde nous laisser et donner pour une fois la somme de neuf livrez de gros assavoir vint solz de gros pour livre vielle monnoie de Flandres rente perpetuelle et bien assise et icelle nous transporter affin que en puissons estre païé chacun//

f.39

an pour le convertir es services dessusdis. Et il soit ainssi que honorable sage et discrete personne Philippe Rapponde conseiller et maistre d'ostel de notre susdit tresredoubté seigneur frere de feu ledit Dyne desirant et aussi voullant de tout son pooir cuer et volenté maintenir et du tout en tout accomplir la bonne devotion et daraine volenté de feu sondit frere Dyne considerant et veant clerement que la susdite rente de IX lib. gros que feu sondit frere nous avoit ordonné ne aussi autres rentes perpetuelles ne nous puevent estre transportees soubz lez seaulx de la loy de la ville de Bruges ou du terroir du franc doubtant que pour occasion de ce le divin service ordonné par sondit feu frere en notre dite esglise pour le salut de son ame et de ses successeurs hoirs ne demourast par ce retardé et failli veant aussi que nous avons espoir et bonne volenté en temps advenir et le plus brief que nous pourrons de achater peu a peu en notre jurisdiction ou ailleurs la susdite<sup>20</sup> rente de neuf livres de gros nous ait plainement baillié et delivré contant en nous mains pour et au prouffit de le obediencie de notre dite esglise la somme de deux cens<sup>21</sup> et onz livres de gros vielle monnoie de Flandres assavoir lez deux cens livres de gros pour convertir et emploier en l'achat de la susdite rente et les susdis onze livres de gros pour convertir et emploier en l'ouvrage d'une verriere estant en hault en la nef de notre dite esglise voullant que moyenant icelles sommes tous les biens de notre dite esglise presens et advenir soyent et demeurent obligiés de faire a tousiours et perpetuellement les services et offices dessus declairéz voullant aussi que incontinent que la susdite rente de IX livres gros monnoie ditteaurons achatee en une parcelle ou en plusieurs nous lui baillions obligation pareille ceste en la quelle sera encorporee au long ou et en quelque part la susdite rente de IX l. gros monnoie dite sera gisant et nous rendra loirs ceste presente obligation la quelle somme de IX l. de gros vielle monnoie de Flandres rente perpetuelle qui vault cent et huit livres parisisis monnoie dessusdite voudront lesdis Dyne et Philippe annuelement avoir paiee et distribuee en notre dite esglise en la forme et maniere qui s'ensuit.

Premierement aux chinq vicaire dessusnommez qui journellement feront la basse messe de requiem incontinent et après l'elevation du sacrement de la grant messe come dessus est declairé auront LX livres parisisis prinse de la susdite somme de cent et huit livres parisisis. Item se baiellera en communauté des dis vigilles commendates et messe qui une fois l'an se diront come dessus est declairé au cuer de notre dite esglise la somme de XII l. parisisis dite monnoie en pitance come es obiis du conte Loys et de

<sup>20</sup> *Somme* has been erased here.

<sup>21</sup> *Livres de gros* has been erased here.

ma dame d'Artois sa femme. Item a ceulx qui sonneront lesdis vigilles conmenndates et messe durant avec le grant son come dessus est declairé donra on XXX s. parisis. Item le prestre qui chantera la messe aura III s. parisis et diacre et soubzdiacre chacun II s. parisis. Item le chanoine qui tendra la chantorie III s. parisis. Item au huissier qui porte la verge II s. parisis, les deux clers qui portent la verge ou cuer chacun aura XII d. parisis. Item le coustre de la nef de notre dite esglise pour tenir l'autel de la chapelle paré audis vigilles conmenndates et messe et alumer et estaindre lez chandeilles tant as vigilles come a la messe en et sur la chapelle come dit est aura II s. parisis. Item vouldrent lesdis Dyne et Philippe encores annuellement avoir baillié et distribué de la susdite somme de cent et huit livres parisis susdite monnoie les parties chi apres declairez premierement le susdit jour Saint Jehan qui est le VIe jour de may come dit est pour la grant messe que on doit chanter solennellement come on fait es grans spiritus domini en communauté du cuer en pitance//

f.39v

pitance [sic] XII lib. Item ceulx qui sonneront come dessus est declairé avec le grant son la messe durant jusques a l'agnus dei auront XX s. parisis. Item le prestre qui chantera la messe aura IV s. parisis, dyacre et soubdiacre chacun II s. parisis. Item le chanonne qui tendra la chantorie aura IV s. parisis, celui qui juera sur lez grandes orgles avec le souffleur aura VII s. parisis. Item le coustre de la nef de notre dite esglise qui parera la dite chapelle des aournemens a lui delivréz par le maistre de la fabrique come dit est, pour la dite chapelle tenir ouverte, pour acheter herbe et may, alumer et estaindre lez chandeilles, as messes et vespres aura VI s. parisis. Item a l'uissier qui porte la verge II s. parisis. Item as deux clers qui portent la verge au cuer chacun d'eulx XII d. parisis. Item encoires vouldrent lesdis Dyne et Philippe de la susdite somme de cent et huit lb. parisis monnoie dite avoir distribué et payé annuelement le jour de Saint Jehan susdit les parties en la fourme et maniere qui s'ensuit. Premierement au vicaire qui chantera la messe en la chapelle Saint Jehan avant heure de prime come dit est aura IV s. parisis. Item les six compaignons portans habiit en la dite esglise qui dechanteront la dite messe auront chacun III s. parisis et a celui qui juera sur lez orgles a la dite messe aura IV. Si veullent lesdis Dyne et Philippe que la reste de la dite somme de cent et huit lb. parisis les charges toutesfoiz dessus declairiez paiiez soit et demeure chacun an a la fabricque de notre dite esglise pour les charges tant des luminaires come d'autres choses qui fault que pour cause des susdits services notre dite esglise ara a supporter come dessus appert. En nous priant affectueusement et a grant instance que nous nous voillissons chargier aussi l'office de l'obedience et fabrique de notre ditte esglise de faire dire et celebrer et accomplir de point en point tous les services dessus declairéz perpetuellement et a tousiours et en oultre accorder au dit Dyne sa sepulture<sup>22</sup> soubz le muer de la dite chapelle de Saint Jehan haulte eslevee en maniere de tombe entrant ou cloistre de notre dite esglise environ six poces pau plus ou pau mains et en et par toute la dite chapelle une ou plusieurs sepultures plattes pour ledit Philippe leurs hoirs et descendans de leurs hoirs tout et en la maniere que mieulx faire le vouldront et ordonneront et que jamais en aucun temps nulz aultrez puissent avoir en la ditte chapelle sepulture senon par la vouldenté et consentement d'eulz leurs hoirs ou descendans de leurs hoirs la quelle chapelle lesdis Dyne et Philippe ont garnie pour une foiz bien souffisaument et notablement de tous aournemens et aultres choses qui y appartiennent excepte de liure. Nous inclinans et obtemperans a la dite requeste desdis Dyne et Philippe ayans consideration et regart a

<sup>22</sup> There is a picture of this tomb-stone in GAILLARD, *Inscriptions funéraires et monumentales de la Flandre Occidentale*, pp. 160-161.

leurs bonnes ententions et devotions considerans et regardans aussi le sauvement de leurs ames le bien, avancement et prouffit de notre dite esglise et le accomplissement et avancement dez choses dessus declairees avons esté sur ce assambéz et tenu plain chapitre come en tel cas appartient et sur ce en plaine et meure deliberation en notre dit chapitre tout d'accort avons plainement et tout ainsi come dessus est contenu de point en point senz riens enfreindre approuvé agreé et accordé leur dite requeste et demande et par ces presentes approuvons agreons et accordons de tout en tout comme dessus est declairé et pour icelle du tout en tout accomplir permettons incontinant que la somme de IIC l. de gros monnoie dite aurons convertie en l'achat dessusdit IX l. de gros rente perpetuelle et que requis en serons de par lesdis Dyne Philippe leurs hoirs ou aucuns descendans de leurs hoirs bailler une aultre obligation pareille a ceste en la quelle sera encorporé au long ou et en quelle part la dite rente sera gisant en nous rendant toutesfoiz ces presentes seulement et cognissons par ces mesmes presentes avoir

f.40

receu dudit Philippe la dite somme de IIC l. et onze livres de gros monnoie dite contant tant pour et ou non de feu sondit frere Dyne come de lui ou lieu du don et laiz dessusdit IX l. de gros rente perpetuelle a nous donnee et laissie par feu ledit Dyne pour l'accomplissement des services dessusdis et declairees et dicelle somme ensemble dessusdit IX l. en gros rente perpetuelle nous avons quité et quitons a tousiours maiz lesdis feu Dyne et Philippe Rapponde leurs hoirs successeurs ou aians cauze et avons moyennant la susdite somme de IIC et onze l. de gros monnoie dite permis et permettons par ces presentes en bonne foy par noz foy et loyauté et sur l'obligation de tous lez biens et revenues de notre dite esglise presens et advenir pour nous et noz successeurs perpetuelement et a tousiours faire dire et celebrer lez messes offices et services entierement et en la fourme et maniere dessus declairee et iceulx faire entretenir et accomplir en la fourme et maniere cy dessus a nous requise par les susdis Dyne et Philippe et doresnavant tenir et maintenir la dite chapelle de tous aournemens bien et souffissaument garnies [sic] et revestie senz aucune fraude et pour tenir et accomplir faire tenir et accomplir tutez les choses ycy dessus declaireez et chacune d'icelles de point en point senz riens diminuer ou oster perpetuelement et a tousiours avons obligié et par ces presentes obligons tous lez biens et revenuez de notre dite esglise presens et advenir come dessus est declairé en tesmoing de verité nous avons fait signer ces presentes lettres de la main de de [sic] notre secretaire et seeller du grant seel de notre dite esglise le XVIe. jour du mois d'aoust l'an de grace mil.cccc. et dixsept.

## IMMIGRANTS TO THE HABSBURG COURTS AND THEIR MOTETS COMPOSED IN THE 1560S.

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In 1568 the Venetian press of Antonio Gardano issued a collection of 254 motets. These works represented the output of thirty-one different composers, most of whom were immigrants from the Low Countries who were serving at one of the Habsburg courts in Austria. The collection consisted of five volumes, each volume being a set of six partbooks.<sup>1</sup> The title page displays Maximilian II's coat of arms, and the full title informs us that Petrus Joannellus of Gandino, province of Bergamo, collected the motets and paid the expenses of printing the collection. The *Thesaurus* is of quite special historical importance because of its great number of rare compositions. For example, Harry Lincoln, in his valuable incipit catalog of motets printed in the sixteenth century, found only twelve concordances between the *Thesaurus* and other printed motet books.<sup>2</sup>

Although several documents concerning Joannellus have been published during the past hundred years, biographical information is still meagre, and it has invited some questionable conclusions, so we first address the biography of Joannellus. Selected motets have been published in recent years by Walter Pass, who aptly referred to the *Thesaurus* as 'one of the grandest anthologies and most significant documents of sixteenth-century motet composition'.<sup>3</sup> No attention has yet been extended to the *Thesaurus* as an entire repertory, so the second portion of this paper provides general reflections over the religious ideals it seems to represent.

### PETRUS JOANNELLUS

The various title pages of the *Thesaurus* report Joannellus' name as Petrus Ioannellus, from Gandino in the region of Bergamo. In volume V he reproduces his heraldic emblem, and several modern sources on heraldry show that this emblem belonged to a family at Gandino with the surname Giovanelli.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Thirteen complete copies and eight incomplete ones are listed in *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales, Recueils Imprimés XVIe-XVIIe Siècles*, Munich-Duisburg, 1960, pp. 264-266. M. LEWIS, *The Printed Book in Context: Observations on Some Sixteenth-Century Editions*, in *Notes*, 46 (1990), p. 912, reports that nearly thirty copies survive. Several additional copies will be reported below.

<sup>2</sup> H. LINCOLN, *The Latin Motet: Indexes to Printed Collections*, Ottawa, ca. 1993.

<sup>3</sup> W. PASS, *Thesauri musici; Musik des 15. 16. und Beginnende 17. Jahrhunderts*, Vienna, ca. 1971-, foreward to each volume containing works from the *Thesaurus Musicus*.

<sup>4</sup> T. PANIZZA, *Famiglie nobili Trentine d'origine Bergamasca*, in *Bergomum. Bollettino della Civica Biblioteca*, 27 (1933), p. 304, and C. WURZBACH, *Giovanelli, Friedrich Maria*, in *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Österreich*, 5, Vienna, 1859, pp. 192-193.

Furthermore, the same emblem can be found on many Giovanelli family furnishings now preserved in Gandino at the Basilica Museum. In all known cases, Petrus used a Latinized surname, Joannellus, but this heraldic emblem establishes that he was a member of the Giovanelli family.

Gandino is a small mountain village about forty kilometers northeast of Bergamo. During the Renaissance the Gandino valley had developed a textile industry that fostered a lively foreign trade. By the early sixteenth century the Giovanelli and Castelli families emerged as wealthy leaders of commerce, the Giovanelli enterprise developing trade relations with various cities in Italy, Germany, and Hungary. Gandino, with slightly over 2,000 inhabitants, had become so wealthy that both leading families were able to loan money to the Habsburg courts to help finance campaigns against the Turks.<sup>5</sup>

The lengthy introduction to the *Thesaurus* dedicates the collection to Maximilian II and his brothers, Charles (Archduke of Styria) and Ferdinand (Archduke of Tirol). Much of this preface is a stylized formality, closing with the phrase *Humillimus & deditissimus Cliens, Petrus Joannellus*. The word *Cliens* implies that Joannellus was associated with the court of Maximilian II in some unspecified business capacity, but the preface seems to shed no additional light upon Joannellus' life. Following the preface are several ceremonial Latin poems (given in the appendix below). The author of these poems, Ploverius, was an instructor of choirboys under Maximilian II from 1564 until 1570.<sup>6</sup>

Lines 6 and 7 of the first poem relate that Joannellus was a noble whose father was named Benedictus. This agrees with a genealogy of the Giovanelli family, prepared by a notary at Bergamo in 1749, that lists a Petrus Giovanelli, son of Benedictus, but without giving any dates for birth or death.<sup>7</sup> That genealogy also records that Petrus had three brothers, Andreas, Nicolaus, and Sylvester. The date of Petrus' birth remains unknown. However, he had probably reached adulthood by 1550 and may have been in Gandino at that time, since he and his brother, Sylvester, were granted the titles *consul communis Gandino* in that year.<sup>8</sup> The meaning of that title is unclear; it may denote leadership within the community government or authority as a community representative in a foreign region. If we assume that he would have been at least twenty years old when he received this title, then he was born in 1530 or earlier.

<sup>5</sup> A. TIRABOSCHI, *Cenni intorno alla valle Gandino ed ai suoi statuti*, in *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, 7 (1880), pp. 7-9.

<sup>6</sup> A. SMIJERS, *Die kaiserliche Hofmusik-Kapelle von 1543-1619*, in *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, 6 (1919), p. 146. See also SMIJERS, *Die kaiserliche*, 9 (1922), pp. 57-58 and A. SANDBERGER, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Bayerischen Hofkapelle unter Orlando di Lasso*, 3, Leipzig, 1895, p. 307.

<sup>7</sup> A. TIRABOSCHI, *La Giovanelli Famiglia de Noria*, Bergamo, 1878, p. 33.

<sup>8</sup> From unpublished manuscript notes by Antonio Tiraboschi, who derived this information from materials in the Archivio Comunale of Bergamo. Tiraboschi's notes are now preserved in the Biblioteca Civica of Bergamo.

Although nothing is known about Joannellus' early years, the months preceding and following the *Thesaurus* (dated 10 August 1568) can be better described. The Habsburg *Hofffinanz Protokollbücher* mention a debt of 6,550 gilder, owed by Peter Joanel and Johann Maria Catzia to the heirs of Jacob Prugger.<sup>9</sup> These records are dated 29 February and 30 April 1568, so perhaps Joannellus was in Vienna during the early months of the year. The archives supply no information concerning the nature of this indebtedness.

Joannellus was probably in Venice during the summer of 1568 to supervise the publishing of the *Thesaurus*. At least it is known that he left Venice soon afterward to travel to Tirol, and that he was in Innsbruck by 20 September of that year. At that time he gave two copies of the *Thesaurus* to Archduke Ferdinand, and a covering letter of presentation states that he had been working on the collection since 1560.<sup>10</sup> This suggests that his association with the Habsburg courts dates back at least to that year. As recompense, Joannellus suggested special arrangements so that he, for an indefinite number of years, could import sixty loads of goods through Tirol to the Imperial Court at Vienna without paying duty. This request becomes meaningful if we hypothesize that Joannellus, who bore the title *consul communis Gandino*, was representing the town's textile industry. In order to transport goods from Gandino to Vienna, a likely route would have gone to Trent, where members of his family had established an outlet office. From Trent the route would cross the Brenner Pass to Innsbruck, and then on to Vienna. Apparently the proposal was unacceptable to Archduke Ferdinand; Joannellus later reduced his request to forty loads for a period of ten years. But when settlement finally came on 8 November, it amounted to only seventy florins. The court register records payment of that sum to him *weil er so lang hie gelegen*.<sup>11</sup> Joannellus' name next surfaces on 29 February 1569 in the court records at Munich, where he received a gratuity for *so etliche gesang*.<sup>12</sup> This was probably in payment for a copy of the *Thesaurus*. By 12 March Joannellus had travelled from Munich to Venice. This is demonstrated by a brief letter from Joannellus at Venice to Guglielmo Gonzaga, the Duke of Mantua. The letter, written from the printing shop of Antonio Gardano, identifies Joannellus as a merchant living in Vienna and relates that he had been serving the Habsburgs for many years.<sup>13</sup> No document records

<sup>9</sup> Professor Milton Steinhardt graciously placed at my disposal this information, which he obtained from the Hofkammerarchiv in Vienna, Johannesgasse 6. Records for later years contain entries about other members of the Giovanelli family, such as the brothers Andreas and Silvester, but not Petrus.

<sup>10</sup> The entire transaction is described in W. SENN, *Musik und Theater am Hof zu Innsbruck*, Innsbruck, 1954, p. 156.

<sup>11</sup> Innsbruck, Landesregierungsarchiv, Abt. IV b - 344/1. Hofregister (Einkommne Schriften), 20 September 1568.

<sup>12</sup> SANDBERGER, *Beiträge zur Geschichte*, p. 38.

<sup>13</sup> The letter and a facsimile of Joannellus' signature are published in A. BERTOLOTTI, *Musica alla corte dei Gonzaga a Mantova dal Secolo XV al XVIII*, Milan, 1890, p. 57.

expressly that Joannellus was connected to his family's textile business, but this is the most reasonable conclusion. Albert Dunning, in his edition of the motets in volume V, wrote that Joannellus obtained an imperial privilege to print the *Thesaurus* on 1 July 1565, that he received 'improved armorial status' from the Emperor in 1572, and also that he presented a copy of the *Thesaurus* to the bishop of Bergamo.<sup>14</sup> Supporting evidence for these conclusions has not yet been identified or published.

The date and place of Joannellus' death remain a mystery. However, he was evidently alive in 1583, when Rudolph II granted imperial knighthood to Petrus, his three brothers, and their descendents.<sup>15</sup> No further known sources bear upon the life of Petrus Joannellus.

Joannellus must have devoted a great deal of effort to this large collection. We do not know how many copies were printed, but since the title page tells us that Joannellus paid the expenses of printing, the *Thesaurus* must have represented a sizeable financial investment. Undoubtedly he offered copies to Maximilian II, since the collection is dedicated to him. It is recorded that Joannellus presented copies to Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga of Mantua,<sup>16</sup> Cardinal Borromeo of Milan,<sup>17</sup> Archduke Ferdinand of Tirol, Albert V (duke of Bavaria), Wilhelm (Count Palatine of the Rhine and both Bavarias), and unnamed nobility at Graz.<sup>18</sup> In addition, Mary Lewis has identified a tenor partbook with a presentation leaf to the Archbishop of Cologne, and has also noted three partbooks that display a cardinal's coat of arms on the front cover.<sup>19</sup> Also, another copy bears on its binding the arms of the Madruzzo family, and one of the laments in that copy of the *Thesaurus* was modified to commemorate the death of Ludovico Madruzzo (died in 1600).<sup>20</sup> Such a wide distribution of the *Thesaurus* among aristocrats of the day suggests that Joannellus was an indeed enterprising person.

<sup>14</sup> A. DUNNING (ed.), *Novi Thesauri Musici*, V, (*Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 64), n.p., 1974, p. vii.

<sup>15</sup> The complete text of the diploma is published in D. CALVI, *Effemerige sagro profana di quanto di Memorabile sia successo in Bergamo*, 1, Milan, 1976, p. 382.

<sup>16</sup> Iain Fenlon suggested that the copy of the *Thesaurus* housed at the Conservatory of Music in Milan may be the one that Joannellus presented to Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga. I. FENLON, *Music and Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Mantua*, Cambridge, 1980, p. 86.

<sup>17</sup> I found this copy, not listed in *RISM*, in the Biblioteca Trivulziana of Milan. The bassus partbook bears an inscription stating that it is a gift from Joannellus to Cardinal Borromeo.

<sup>18</sup> BERTOLOTTI, *Musica alla corte*, p. 57; SENN, *Musik und Theater*, p. 156; SANDBERGER, *Beiträge zur Geschichte*, p. 38; F. FETIS, *Biographie Universelle des Musiciens et Bibliographie générale de la musique*, 4, Paris, 1874, p. 11; H. FEDERHOFER, *Musikpflege und Musiker am Grazer Habsburgerhof der Erzherzöge Karl und Ferdinand von Innerösterreich (1564-1619)*, Mainz, 1967, pp. 237-238.

<sup>19</sup> LEWIS, *The Printed Book*, pp. 908-912.

<sup>20</sup> This copy, not in *RISM*, resides at the Biblioteca Comunale of Trent. See D. CURTI and M. GOZZI (eds.), *Musica e Liturgia nella Riforma Tridentina*, Trent, 1995, pp. 117 and 123.

For over a century scholars have been suggesting that this music collector was also a known performer or composer,<sup>21</sup> even though no proof of that assumption has yet come to light. Only one document has been introduced to identify Joannellus as a practicing musician: a Milanese chronicle for 3 July 1548, mentions a delightful musical contest between *gli famosissimi m. Gio. Pietro, ricetto musico di Sua Maesta, et m. Antonio da Ferrara, musico all'hora del cardinale di Trento, et Moscatello, musico di don Ferrante*.<sup>22</sup> Renato Lunelli offered the questionable interpretation that *Gio. Pietro* must be Petrus Joannellus.<sup>23</sup> The abbreviation *Gio.* would normally indicate the name Giovanni. Even if it does mean Giovanelli, the reversed name order still lacks an explanation, for it occurs nowhere else in reference to Petrus Joannellus. Furthermore, if our music collector is supposed to be 'the very famous Gio. Pietro', then we might expect to find corroborating evidence of this famed talent in the other documents surrounding his career. Especially significant in this regard is a motet by Heinrich de la Court in volume V of the *Thesaurus*. This motet is dedicated to Joannellus, and the text praises his skill in collecting music, but mentions no musical talents.<sup>24</sup> Were our immigrant from Italy known as a famous musician, that talent would surely have been mentioned. Wolfgang Boetticher, in his book on Orlando di Lasso, lists motets composed by Petrus Joannellus,<sup>25</sup> but all of these prove to be works by the Roman School composer, Ruggiero Giovanelli, who was also occasionally called Joannellus. More recently, Guglielmo Barblan referred to Joannellus as a musician and an editor,<sup>26</sup> but we find no evidence to support either claim. We know that Joannellus was industrious at collecting music, but that is hardly the same as editing the *Thesaurus*.

<sup>21</sup> P. CANAL, *Della Musica in Mantova*, Venice, 1881, p. 731; BERTOLOTTI, *Musica alla corte*, p. 57; SENN, *Musik und Theater*, p. 156; R. LUNELLI, *Contributi trentini alla relazione musicali fra l'Italia e la Germania nel Rinascimento*, in *Acta Musicologica*, 21 (1949), pp. 62-63; W. BOETTICHER, *Orlando di Lasso und seine Zeit*, Kassel, 1956, pp. 836 and 915; G. BARBLAN, *La Vita Musicale in Milano nella prima metà del cinquecento*, (*Storia di Milano*, 9), Milan, 1961, p. 859; *Antonio dal Cornetto*, (*Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 3) Rome, 1962, pp. 546-547; M. DONA, *La Musica nelle Biblioteche Milanesi, Mostra di libri e documenti*, Milan, 1963, p. 9.

<sup>22</sup> The original text has been published in W. FRIEDENSBURG, *Die Chronik des Cerbonio Besozzi 1548-1563, Erläutert und Herausgegeben*, (*Fontes Rerum Austriacarum*, 1. Abteilung, Band IX), Vienna, 1904, p. 36.

<sup>23</sup> LUNELLI, *Contributi trentini*, pp. 62-63.

<sup>24</sup> There is no basis for Eitner's claim that the motet was an epithalamium. R. EITNER, *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten der christlichen Zeitrechnung*, 4, Leipzig, 1899-1904, p. 260.

<sup>25</sup> BOETTICHER, *Orlando di Lasso*, pp. 836 and 915.

<sup>26</sup> G. BARBLAN, *Conservatorio di Musica "Giuseppe Verdi" - Milano: Catalogo della Biblioteca. Fondi speciali 1: Musiche della Cappella di S. Barbara in Mantova*, (*Biblioteca di Bibliografia Italiana*, 68), Florence, 1972, p. 83. Barblan provides a complete listing of the works in the *Thesaurus* as well as the appropriate liturgical rubrics.

## THE THESAURUS AND ITS CONTENTS

Were we to put together a practical book of sixteenth-century sacred polyphony, a polyphonic *Liber Usualis*, so to speak, we would expect to find some masses, motets, hymns, and probably some Magnificats and Holy Week music such as Lamentations. And indeed, numerous manuscript collections of the period contain such heterogeneous repertoires.

But from the very beginnings of printed polyphonic books, such heterogeneous collections were rare. The printed books, unlike manuscripts for a church choir, needed to appeal in the marketplace, and so they were usually planned with a particular identity, an identity that featured a musical genre, a composer, or some liturgical event. The printers' need to produce logically organized books also happened to synchronize with humanists' classical values that stressed unity, internal consistency, and harmony. Petrucci and his successors therefore did not produce heterogeneous anthologies. Instead, they brought out music books with the contents restricted to motets, to masses, or to Lamentations, frottole, and so forth.

The organization of the *Thesaurus* seems to have been inspired by the press of Montanus and Neuber at Nuremberg, which published, between the years of 1554 and 1556, six volumes of motets beneath titles alluding to a liturgical plan. The title of the first volume, for example, reads, *Evangelia dominicorum et festorum dierum musicis numeris pulcherrimè comprehensa & ornata. Tomi primi continentis historias & doctrinam, quae solent in Ecclesia proponi. De Nativitate. De Epiphanijs. De Resurrectione Jesu Christi*. This anthology invites more study in order to determine why the motets were regarded as Evangelia. The word *Evangelia* alludes to a traditional book frequently printed in Germany, a collection of gospel and epistle readings translated into German.<sup>27</sup> The motet collection, however, offers motets in Latin, and numerous texts are not biblical.<sup>28</sup> What is of more obvious importance is the fact that these motets bore rubrics that identified the liturgical feast associated with a particular work. Although these 247 motets were composed by major figures from Isaac on, the anthology was clearly organized according to Lutheran attitudes: there are no motets for the Virgin Mary and no Sanctorale at all.

<sup>27</sup> An early example that prominently displayed the word *Evangel* in its title was *Hienach volgent die heyligen teutschen Ewangel und Epistel ...* (Augsburg: Thomas Rueger and Johann Schoensperger, I, 1481). This tradition is surveyed in P. PIETSCH, *Evangelij und Epistel Teutsch. Die gedruckten hochdeutschen Perikopenbücher (Plenarien) 1473-1523*, Göttingen, 1927.

<sup>28</sup> H. MOSER, *Die mehrstimmige Vertonung des Evangeliums*, Leipzig, 1931, p. 22, suggests that *Evangelia* reflects the Lutheran nature of the collection. This may be correct, but we should note that the word is not commonly used in that manner in the titles of Lutheran music books. See also W. KREBS, *Die lateinische Evangelien-Motette des 16. Jahrhunderts*, in *Frankfurter Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft*, 27, Tutzing, 1995, pp. 158-159.

The same press brought out a collection of 229 motets in 1564 under the title *Thesaurus musicus*. This anthology, however, lacked rubrics, the works being grouped instead according to the number of voices a particular work required. Surely Joannellus had this publication in mind when he drafted his title, *Novus Thesaurus Musicus*. Joannellus' anthology, however, includes festal rubrics such as those in the earlier *Evangelia* and in the still earlier motet volumes printed by Pierre Attaignant.

The word *thesaurus*, which normally meant 'collection' or 'treasury', seems to have been coined for music collections by Montanus' and Berg's anthology of 1564. The word did, however, enjoy a distinguished history in printing, especially for books of sermons that were organized like liturgical books.<sup>29</sup>

The biographies of represented composers testify to the richness of musical life at the various Habsburg courts, for a total of at least twenty-five composers were employed there during the 1560s.<sup>30</sup> Twenty-three of those either were, or may have been, immigrants from the Low Countries, and a glance at the composers' names reveals that the *Thesaurus* provided a modern repertory. German anthologies of this period frequently transmit pieces by Josquin, Isaac, and others who flourished a half century earlier, but in this collection, all the named composers but one, Stephan Mahu, seem to have been living in the 1560s.<sup>31</sup> This is consistent with the title of the *Thesaurus*, which claims that the anthology is newly planned, containing works never before brought to light. As we shall see, the fact that most pieces in the *Thesaurus* reflect court attitudes of the 1560s is central to understanding the religious issues the anthology represents.

The organization of the volumes provides clues about those religious issues. The first volume provides seventy-eight motets and nine Lessons of Lamentations; rubrics within the volume show that it is a cycle for the Proper of the

<sup>29</sup> An early example, and one that was frequently reprinted, was PSEUDO PETRUS DE PALUDE, *Sermones Thesauri novi de sanctis*, Strasbourg, Printer of Vitarum patrum, 1485.

<sup>30</sup> See EITNER, *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon*; FEDERHOFER, *Musikpflege und Musiker*; A. KOCZIRZ, *Exzerpte aus den Hofmusikanten des Wiener Hofkammerarchivs*, in *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, 1 (1913), pp. 278-303; W. PASS, *Musik und Musiker am Hof Maximilians II.*, (*Wiener Veröffentlichungen zur Musikwissenschaft*, 20), Tutzing, 1973; L. KOCHER, *Die kaiserliche Hofmusik-Kapelle in Wien von 1543 bis 1867*, Vienna, 1869; SENN, *Musik und Theater*; SMIJERS, *Die kaiserliche Hofmusik-Kapelle*, 6 (1919), pp. 139-186; 7 (1920), pp. 102-142, 8 (1921), pp. 176-206; 9 (1922), pp. 43-81; F. WALDNER, *Nachrichten über die Musikpflege am Hofe zu Innsbruck unter Erzherzog Ferdinand von 1567-1595*, in *Monatshefte für Musikwissenschaft*, 36 (1904), pp. 143-155 and also the appropriate articles on composers in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* and *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*.

<sup>31</sup> However, *Benedicta es celorum*, assigned to Jean Guyot (Castileti) in volume IV, appears in numerous earlier sources attributed to Josquin. Although in all other instances Joannellus seems to have been reliable about his attributions to composers at the Habsburg courts, he is surely mistaken in this case. The correct authorship of Joannellus' reading was first reported in LINCOLN, *The Latin Motet*, p. 802, but the concordance in the *Thesaurus Musicus* was evidently overlooked in Josquin des Prez, *Benedicta es caelorum*, N. DAVISON (ed.), *Antico Edition RCM13*, Devon, 1994.

Temporale. But this cycle contains a peculiar feature. The *Thesaurus* includes texts for six Marian feasts: Purification, Annunciation, Visitation, Assumption, Nativity, and Conception. All of these appear here in the Temporale, although they would traditionally appear in the Proper of the Sanctorale, which would be volume III of the *Thesaurus*. Liturgical cycles by representative sixteenth-century Catholic composers, such as Isaac, Genet, Costanzo Festa, Willaert, Palestrina, Victoria, and Lassus unanimously placed the Marian feasts within the Sanctorale. Joannellus' organization of Marian feasts in the Temporale therefore seems contrary to Catholic liturgical practices of its day.

Ample precedents for the organization of the volume do exist, however, and to find those precedents, we turn to the Lutheran repertoires. Martin Luther had written that the feasts of saints should be discontinued, except those for Paul, John the Baptist, and the Marian feasts of Purification, Annunciation, Assumption, and Nativity.<sup>32</sup> In the *Formulae Missae* of 1523, he named Purification and Annunciation as feasts of Christ, expressly comparable to Epiphany and Circumcision.<sup>33</sup> That policy is evident in both of Georg Rhaw's Lutheran publications of hymns, dated 1544 and 1552. There the hymns for the Purification and the Annunciation are within the Temporale, although other Marian feasts, the Visitation, Assumption, and Nativity, maintain their conventional positions in the Sanctorale. A disintegration of the Sanctorale did occur in sixteenth-century Lutheran liturgies, and this is illustrated by the seventeen manuscripts prepared for St Aegidien at Nuremberg during the last quarter of the century.<sup>34</sup> Although Catholic composers are generously represented in this repertory, the number of saints' days has been greatly reduced, and all feasts are organized according to one schedule, essentially a Temporale. Joannellus' *Thesaurus* recalls this attitude by interpolating the Marian feasts into the Temporale, thus departing from Catholic practice of the day, but conforming to trends of the Lutheran confession.

Also noteworthy is the proportion of Marian motets. No Marian Proper contains more than three motets, although numerous other feasts are much more generously honored. For example, ten motets are provided for Easter Sunday, and there are six each for The Holy Spirit and Corpus Christi, and five for Trinity. Luther had become opposed to what he considered excessive Marian worship,<sup>35</sup> and the de-emphasis of Marian worship in volume I of the *Thesaurus* is consistent with this Lutheran attitude.

<sup>32</sup> *Von Ordnung Gottis Dienst ynn der Gemeyne*, 1523, and *Formulae Missae et Communis*, 1523, in *Luther's Works*, 53, Philadelphia, 1965, pp. 14 and 23.

<sup>33</sup> *Formulae Missae*, p. 25.

<sup>34</sup> Described in W. RUBSAMEN, *The International 'Catholic' Repertoire of a Lutheran Church in Nürnberg (1574-1597)*, in *Annales Musicologiques*, 5 (1957), pp. 229-327. See also the various examples given in V. MATTFELD, *Georg Rhaw's Publications for Vespers*, New York, 1966, pp. 57-80.

<sup>35</sup> See, for example, the sources cited in B. WOOLF (ed.), *Reformation Writings of Martin Luther*, 2, London, 1956, p. 186 and S. BEISSEL, *Geschichte der Verehrung Marias im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1910, pp. 100-117.

Each motet in volume II is given the general rubric, *De Dominicis Diebus*. The texts in this volume seem not to be organized according to a liturgical plan, and Joannellus probably had no liturgical or scriptural pattern in mind. Instead, he chose to arrange the motets according to the number of voices they employed. A choir could sing motets from this volume whenever festal motets were inappropriate or unavailable.

Volumes III and IV, the Proper and Common of the Sanctorale, are consistent with Catholic traditions. The first volume of motets is therefore the only exceptional one, and its uniqueness is also reflected in the titles to the volumes. The first volume is entitled merely *Novus Thesaurus Musici*, and the title later reports that the motets are sung in the holy Catholic church. This can be true, despite the unorthodox organization of the volume. However, volumes II through IV observe Catholic practice more faithfully, so those titles begin, *Novi atque catholici thesauri musici*.

In volume V of the *Thesaurus* we find a different repertory. That volume deletes entirely the first line of the title given in the other volumes, thus avoiding reference to sacred repertory, and this reflects the fact that most motets in this volume are political ones. They are dedicated to contemporary dignitaries, and often the texts of these motets refer to current events, so dates of composition frequently can be established. For example, four motets lament the death of Emperor Ferdinand I, and they therefore postdate his death on 25 July 1564. In stating the matter thus, we resist the common assumption that so-called funeral motets were intended for performance at funerals. They could have been performed at funerals or at other memorial events. All of the motets that can be dated were composed sometime in the 1560s, which demonstrates further the contemporary nature of the repertory.

Although little truly systematized information concerning motet texts yet exists, a few patterns emerge from the first four volumes, patterns that may have useful implications. The first concerns the expression *Alleluia*. This word occurs only three times in volumes II and IV, the texts that are liturgically Common. But in the Propers, volumes I and III, *Alleluia* is interpolated into the texts of fifty-two motets. The word *Alleluia* is inappropriate upon some occasions, such the Lenten Season or Office of the Dead, so in these motets it is never used beneath those rubrics. If we exclude those inappropriate occasions, we find that *Alleluia* is used in fifty-two percent of the Proper motets.

It is tempting to suggest that these *Alleluia* motets were sung in conjunction with *Alleluias* at Mass, but no proof of this possibility is known to me. We can say that the *Alleluia* had been a special occasion in the Proper of the Catholic Mass for many centuries, and it also recalls the teachings of Martin Luther, who singled out the *Alleluia* for special endorsement.<sup>36</sup> Regardless of when

<sup>36</sup> See, for example, his *Formulae Missae*, p. 24.



these motets were sung, they contain an unmistakable allusion to an attitude of worship held dear by both Catholics and Lutherans. In all the Alleluia motets I have seen in score, the word *Alleluia* is sung to similar or identical music. These works can therefore be viewed as anticipating certain well-known and dramatic motets of Giovanni Gabrieli that interpolate Alleluia as a textual and musical ritornello. On this point we might recall that Giovanni's uncle, Andrea, is represented in the *Thesaurus*, and Giovanni was a Venetian lad of about sixteen during the year the *Thesaurus* was printed in Venice.

The possibility of these motets serving as a substitute for an item of the Mass Proper is illustrated by the strange case of Utendal's motet, *Levavi oculos meos*, transmitted in volume II of the *Thesaurus*. This motet has no Alleluias and is through composed. Its text, Psalm 120: 1-2, is not quoted verbatim in liturgical passages I have seen. However, we have an account from a Protestant St. Michael's church in the Bavarian city of Hof telling us that this particular motet was sung at Mass for the Conversion of Paul as a substitute for the Gradual.<sup>37</sup>

These motets, then, might be substituted for liturgical items, and it is appropriate to recall here Jeremy Noble's suggestion that Josquin's motets may sometimes have been sung as concert music, a sonic background to the simultaneous execution of customary ritualistic acts and prayers.<sup>38</sup> Noble was relying upon an earlier important study by Anthony Cummings, who proposed that motets were performed late in the Mass, interpolated either at the Offertory, Elevation of the Host, or sung as a postlude.<sup>39</sup> Cummings was relying upon Italian sources, Roman ones in particular, so we need not assume that his conclusions apply well to motet performances in other countries. What we have seen so far agrees in associating these Habsburg motets with the beginning of Mass, rather than the end.

At least 150 of the 213 different sacred texts quote Scripture. The Book of Psalms, popular among Lutherans and Catholics, is the most frequently quoted of all text sources, supplying twenty-five per cent of the Biblical phrases. An additional forty-one per cent of the Biblical phrases derive from the Evangelium, that is, the books of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. The four Gospels enjoyed privileged positions in Catholic doctrine, and the Protestant emphasis upon the evangelical books was conspicuous enough to inspire the modern meaning of the German word *Evangelisch*. Since many of the motets

37 I. BOSSUYT, *De componist Alexander Utendal (ca.1543/1545-1581)*, (*Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Schone Kunsten*, Jaargang 45), 1983, Nr. 36, Brussel, 1983, p. 60.

38 J. NOBLE, *The Function of Josquin's Motets*, in *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziek Geschiedenis*, 35 (1985), pp. 11-14, 18.

39 A. CUMMINGS, *Toward an Interpretation of the Sixteenth-Century Motet*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 34 (1981), 43-59.

derive from the psalms and gospels, we find here perhaps another reason to think of these works as suitable for performance early in the Mass where texts draw heavily upon those two sources and also sing the Alleluia.

It would be an exaggeration to claim that the *Thesaurus* was a clandestine collection, containing Lutheran features deliberately hidden beneath a Catholic guise. Instead, it presents practices common to both sides. Joannellus states this in his preface when, addressing Maximilian II, he writes: 'your Majesty and Lordship, defender of Christian faiths (as illustrated daily), and your Highness, most serene leader, like you, all types of Christian religions will be drawn without doubt to this book'.<sup>40</sup>

The most important element held in common by the various denominations would have been the use of Scripture as a basis for doctrine. Biblical passages occur in at least seventy-one per cent of the motet texts, thus reflecting an emphasis upon Scripture that may explain some of the selections of texts. For example, six motets celebrate Corpus Christi, and five of them quote appropriate Scripture. The Magnificat antiphon for that feast, *O sacrum convivium*, was a popular text among motet composers. But this non-biblical text is missing from the *Thesaurus*. Also missing from the *Thesaurus* are two other favorite non-Biblical texts, *Alma redemptoris mater* and *Ave regina celorum*.

Hans Joachim Moser has discussed the careers of various Lutheran musicians who worked in Austria at this time,<sup>41</sup> but more to the purposes of this paper are the religious views of the Emperor, Maximilian II. The ecumenical features of the *Thesaurus* correspond well to Maximilian's attitudes, for he followed the example of his father, Ferdinand I, in adopting policies of religious reconciliation. Maximilian's Lutheran inclinations are visible at least as early as 1554, the time when he began retaining a Lutheran pastor as his court chaplain.<sup>42</sup> Maximilian compiled a Lutheran library,<sup>43</sup> and in 1560 he flamboyantly referred to himself as *nicht-päpstlich, nicht evangelisch, ein Christ* ('not papist, not Protestant, but a Christian').<sup>44</sup> In February of 1562, however, Maximilian yielded to his father's pleading and announced that he wanted to remain in the Catholic church.<sup>45</sup> Before becoming emperor, Maximilian was at Prague, holding the title King of the Bohemians. There he gained a reputation for working constructively with Protestant movements. In his very first imperial decree, 5

40 KREBS, *Die mehrstimmige*, p. 146, portrays the *Thesaurus* as a consequence of the Counter-reformation, a view that would require a cautious explanation.

41 H. MOSER, *Lutheran Composers in the Habsburg Empire 1525-1732*, in *Musica Disciplina*, 3 (1949), 3-24.

42 T. KAUFMANN, *Variations on the Imperial Theme in the Age of Maximilian II and Rudolf II*, New York and London, 1978, p. 69 and V. BIBL, *Maximilian II, Der rätselhafte Kaiser*, Vienna and Leipzig, 1929, p. 71.

43 O. HOPFEN, *Kaiser Maximilian II und der Kompromiskatolismus*, Munich, 1895, p. 33.

44 BIBL, *Maximilian II*, p. 98.

45 BIBL, *Maximilian II*, p. 101.

September 1564, Maximilian banned the partisan expression 'Roman Catholic', an expression that served as a badge of honor in books and music collections of the Counter Reformation. Instead, he insisted upon the more generic term, 'catholic'.<sup>46</sup> Joannellus obeyed that order in his titles (the word 'Roman' is not there), and he stressed the point by not capitalizing the word 'catholic'. Perhaps this encourages an allusion to the word's more general meaning as an adjective, 'universal'.

The Vienna of Emperor Maximilian II had temporarily become something of a religious melting pot; both the imperial court and the university faculty hired Lutherans and Calvinists for respected positions.<sup>47</sup> Meanwhile, a flourishing Jesuit College was defending the Roman cause. Small wonder, then, that some historians have called Maximilian II's stance 'compromise Catholicism'. In that same first imperial decree, he ruled furthermore that membership and promotions on the faculty of the University of Vienna must not be restricted to Catholic professors. Four years later he ordered the university to stop discriminating against non-Catholic students.<sup>48</sup> In another instance, a songbook of 1566 for the Protestant Bohemian Brethren (probably printed at Prague) was dedicated to Maximilian II.<sup>49</sup> We have already discussed briefly the press of Montanus and Neuber at Nuremberg, noting the Lutheran attitudes to be seen there. Their *Thesaurus Musicus* of 1564 includes five political motets, and all of them honor members of the Habsburg House. Furthermore, Maximilian's chapelmaster, Jacobus Vaet, was generously represented in the Nuremberg volumes by seventeen motets.

Now that the *Thesaurus* can be considered in relation to the religious issues of its decade, the dedicatory poems at the beginning of volume I assume increased interest. In the first one (see the appendix below), it appears that the poet seeks to defend the *Thesaurus* from extremists who disapprove of compromise Catholicism. Its hendecasyllabic meter and the themes are reminiscent of the Roman poet Catullus. Catullus, in turn, was imitating Greek Alexandrian poets of the third and second century BC. One wonders if it is coincidental that those poets, like Joannellus, were seeking royal patronage. The second poem strikes a truly combative tone, something uncommon in dedicatory literature

<sup>46</sup> HOPFEN, *Kaiser Maximilian II*, p. 119.

<sup>47</sup> K. MUEHLBERGER, *Bildung und Wissenschaft: Kaiser Maximilian II und die Universität Wien*, in *Wiener Beiträge zur Geschichte der Neuzeit*, 19 (1992), pp. 203-230. Maximilian II, however, seems not to have been particularly interested in Calvinism; see HOPFEN, *Kaiser Maximilian II*, p. 42.

<sup>48</sup> D. BOEHL, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Reformation in Österreich*, Jena, 1902, pp. 146-147.

<sup>49</sup> MICHAEL THAM, JOHS. GELETZKY and PETER HERBERTUS, *Kirchen Gesang darinnen die Heubtartikel ...*, Prague?, 1566; cited in H. MOSER, *Die Evangelische Kirchenmusik in Deutschland*, Berlin, 1954, pp. 85 and 489. See also K. AMELN, M. JENNY, and W. LIPPARDT (eds.), *Répertoire Internationale des Sources Musicales, B/VIII/I, Das Deutsche Kirchenlied*, Kassel, 1975, 1980, BBr1556a and BBr1556b.

of this kind. This poem, by its meter, vocabulary, and tone shows the influence of the Roman poet Martial (ca. 40-104 AD), who was famous for his stinging invectives and caricatures. He used the name Zoilus to designate the 'nouveau riche' of Roman society who threatened traditional Roman authority. This is surely an allegory for those who opposed Maximilian II, the Holy Roman Emperor.

Contemplating the possible liturgical roles of these motets is a complex problem that invites future research. One issue involves disagreements over current definitions of liturgy. For example, Keith Falconer set forth the provocative view that 'we must assume for the sake of consistency that any music can be liturgical if performed in a church'.<sup>50</sup> This brings us back to the titlepages of the first four volumes of the *Thesaurus*, for we read there that the works are sung in church. If we accept Falconer's attitude, then debates about whether to regard these motets as liturgical, non-liturgical, or para-liturgical lose some of their urgency.

Nevertheless, a closer study of the motet texts in the *Thesaurus* should seek information about the liturgies that the Austrian Habsburgs attended. It appears that no liturgical books were printed for the Austrian Habsburgs of this generation.<sup>51</sup> A well-known earlier example of liturgical problems involves Isaac's famous *Choralis Constantinus*. The assumption that some portions of this work reflected the liturgy of the diocese of Passau in its Mass Propers has been called into question in a recent study by Theodore Karp as well as one by me.<sup>52</sup> There is no reason to assume that the rites of Passau were observed at the court during the later decades of Maximilian II. And did Maximilian's compromise Catholicism lead to modified liturgies? Even parish churches were able to depart from the customs of their diocese,<sup>53</sup> and Maximilian II's Lutheran sympathies brought him into contact with advocates of liturgical freedom. We do have a record of Maximilian taking part in a procession and also requesting the singing of German songs and psalms before a sermon.<sup>54</sup> Although printed liturgical books seem not to help us with this issue, a patient search through the many liturgical manuscripts housed in the Austrian National Library might yield helpful information. But this problem becomes even more complex when we consider the composers who worked for the

<sup>50</sup> K. FALCONER, *Ritual Reflection*, in *Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music*, Tess Knighton and David Fallows (eds.), London, 1992, p. 70.

<sup>51</sup> At least none have appeared in the 11,500 titles in our online database of liturgical imprints before 1601. See D. CRAWFORD, *Renaissance Liturgical Imprints: A Census*, available on the World Wide Web at <http://www-personal.umich.edu/~davidcr>.

<sup>52</sup> T. KARP, *Some Chant Models for Isaac's Choralis Constantinus*, B. Gillingham and P. Merkley (eds.), *Beyond the Moon: Festschrift Luther Dittmer*, Ottawa, 1990, pp. 322-349 and D. CRAWFORD, *Printed Liturgical Books in Isaac's Circle*, R. GSTREIN (ed.), *Die Musik Heinrich Isaacs, Paul Hofhaimers und ihres Umfeldes*, Innsbruck, in press.

<sup>53</sup> MATTFELD, *Georg Rhaw's Publications*, pp. 17-18.

<sup>54</sup> HOPFEN, *Kaiser Maximilian II*, p. 40.

Habsburg courts in Graz, Innsbruck, and Prague. Even if we knew the liturgies of those regions, we still could not assume that the regional liturgies were observed by the court chapels, for we can assume nothing about possible relationships between local liturgical customs and practices at court. The motets of Joannellus' anthology are an important reflection of music by immigrant composers who seem to have portrayed religious values of the Habsburg courts, and we look forward to becoming better informed about the various rituals attended by the Austrian rulers of the Holy Roman Empire.

## Appendix

Ploverius ad lectorem

Absis lippe procul, libris ad istis  
 Torvis luminibus, vidensque obunctis  
 Absis torve, Cato,<sup>55</sup> severiorque  
 Et quicquid domui, fide probata  
 Confert Austriacae, laus Ioannellae  
 Petrus non minima domus (parente  
 Natus nobili et amplo Benedicto)  
 Ne spernas temere, nihilque ducas  
 Nec tecum nimis exigas maligne  
 Sic Christi voluit, ducumque molles  
 Aures, symphoniis tenere sacris  
 Et summo, et vigili labore carpta  
 Gratae nmemosynon manere mentis  
 Sarae et posteritati id esse calcar  
 Up post hac simili aemuletur, atque  
 Tenet iudicio pari placere,  
 Ac Christi bene promovere laudem:  
 Nosti quid cupiam: valetto Lector:

[Ploverius to the reader: Stay far from these books, o bleary-eyed one who sees only with grim, drugged eyes. Stay away, o grim and overly stern Cato, and neither rashly reject and consider of no value, nor appraise too stingily, whatever Petrus contributes to the Austrian house: he is not the least pride of the Ioannellan house, born of Benedictus, a father noble and distinguished. He wanted these materials, gathered with labor great and vigilant, to hold the delicate ears of Christ and leaders with sacred music, to remain a monument of a grateful soul, and to be such a spur for future generations that they would imitate him afterward in similar fashion, and that they would strive both to please fair judgement and to promote the praise of Christ. Reader, you know what I desire; fare thee well.]

<sup>55</sup> Cato the Elder, Roman statesman of the second century BC, remembered as a rigid judge of morals.

Idem ad Librum

Ne metuas ronchos, vel inanis scommata vulgi  
 Parve Liber, magnae praemia laudis habens,  
 Mixta nec arguto, ducteria scommate, cures  
 Nam seges ex isto fertilis erit agro,  
 Dissona nec strident, rauco velut organa, cantu  
 Multorum ingenio quae fabricata capis:  
 I quocunque libet, fautor tibi Maxmilianus,  
 Ferdnandus frater, Carolus atque fiet  
 Si blavio forsan te mordet Zoilus,<sup>56</sup> ore,  
 Se magis ut cruciet, saepius ista canat.

[Ploverius to the book: Little Book, do not fear the snorts or taunts of the worthless crowd, for you have the rewards of great praise. Also, do not worry about the witticisms mixed with taunting, for the harvest from that field will be a fertile one. The material you contain, composed by the talents of many, does not grate with jarring song, as if they were dissonant instruments. Go anywhere, Maximilian, and his brothers Ferdinand and Charles will be your patrons. If perchance a Zoilus snaps at you with a mouth turned blue, let him keep on singing that garbage more often, so that he tortures himself all the more.]

<sup>56</sup> A cynic philosopher and grammarian of the third century BC, infamous for scathing attacks on virtually all famous authors, especially Homer.

## ITALIAN CONNECTIONS FOR LUPUS HELLINCK AND CLAUDE LE JEUNE

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The court of the d'Este at Ferrara enjoyed renown during the Renaissance for its patronage of both secular and sacred music, and this study will trace a pattern of Estense patronage in sacred music that extends across several generations of composers, from Josquin to Palestrina, including Adrian Willaert and Cipriano de Rore along the way.<sup>1</sup> Particular attention will be directed to two composers from the Low Countries, Lupus Hellinck and Claude Le Jeune, and I will suggest that two of their motets can be associated with patrons from the d'Este family. The connection occurs by way of the writings of the Dominican friar Girolamo Savonarola, who was himself a native of Ferrara. Born in 1452, Fra Girolamo rose rapidly by 1494 to become a dominant force in Florentine religious and political life. Through his fiery preaching and prophetic proclamations regarding the imminent castigation of Italy and the renewal of the Church, he gained a large following in Florence, and his message reached to Ferrara and even beyond the Alps. In Ferrara Duke Ercole I d'Este (1431-1505) carried on correspondence with the friar in the mid 1490s, seeking spiritual and political guidance. In 1494 Savonarola strongly supported the expulsion of the Medici from Florence and the restoration of the Florentine Republic, at the same time that he welcomed the invasion of Italy by French forces under King Charles VIII, whom he hoped would call a council to depose the Borgia pope, Alexander VI. Savonarola's influence declined steeply after Charles retreated from Italy in 1495, and the French no longer posed an immediate threat to the pope. The friar eventually defied a papal order to stop preaching, and as a result the pope excommunicated him in 1497. In the following year he was arrested, tried and condemned for heresy. During his short stay in prison before his execution, he wrote two meditations, one on Psalm 50, *Miserere mei deus*, and another unfinished one on Psalm 30, *In te domine speravi*. The opening of the meditation on Psalm 50 gives a vivid impression of the friar's state of mind:

Infelix ego omnium auxilio destitutus,  
qui coelum terramque offendi.  
Quo ibo? Quo me vertam? Ad quem  
confugiam? Quis mei miserebitur?  
Ad coelum oculos levare non audeo,

Alas wretched that I am, destitute of  
all help, who have offended heaven  
and earth - where shall I go? Whither  
shall I turn myself? To whom shall I  
fly? Who will take pity on me? To

<sup>1</sup> The material in this study appears in an expanded version in my book, *Bonfire Songs: Savonarola's Musical Legacy*, Oxford, 1998.

quia ei graviter peccavi; in terra refugium non invenio, quia ei scandalum fui. Quid igitur faciam? Desperabo? Absit. Misericors est deus, pius est salvator meus. Solus igitur deus refugium meum; ipse non despiciet opus suum, non repellat imaginem suam. Ad te igitur piissime deus tristis ac moerens venio, quoniam tu solus spes mea, tu solus refugium meum. Quid autem dicam tibi, cum oculos elevare non audeam? Verba doloris effundam, misericordiam tuam implorabo, dicam: *Miserere mei deus, secundum magnam misericordiam tuam* (Ps. 50:1).

This meditation as well as the one on Psalm 30, appeared in dozens of printed editions all over Europe and both quickly emerged as 'best-sellers', not only in Latin but also in translations to the major vernacular languages. Savonarola's execution in May of 1498 caused great consternation for the profoundly religious duke of Ferrara, Ercole d'Este, and, possibly with the Friar's meditation on Psalm 50 in mind, in 1503 or 1504 he commissioned from Josquin des Prez the first large-scale musical setting of the same psalm, *Miserere mei deus*.<sup>2</sup> Josquin's monumental motet employs a repeating *soggetto ostinato* on the psalm's opening words, sung by the first tenor as a refrain after each verse of the psalm (Example 1).<sup>3</sup>

heaven I dare not lift up my eyes, for I have profoundly sinned against it; on earth I find no refuge, for I have been an offense to it. What therefore shall I do? Shall I despair? Far from it. God is merciful; my Savior is loving. God alone therefore is my refuge; he will not despise his own work, he will not reject his own image. To you, therefore, most merciful God, I come sad and sorrowful, for you alone are my hope, you alone are my refuge. But what shall I say to you, seeing that I dare not lift up my eyes? I will pour out words of sorrow, I will implore your mercy, I will say: *Have mercy on me, O God, according to your great compassion.*

a) Josquin, *Miserere mei deus*  
Mi - se - re - re me - i de - - us

b) Willaert, *Infelix ego*  
Mi - se - re - re me - i de - - us

c) Rore, *Infelix ego*  
Mi - se - re - re me - i de - - us

d) Vicentino, *Infelix ego*  
Mi - se - re - re me - i de - - us

e) Palestrina, *Tribularer si nescirem*  
Mi - se - re - re me - i de - - us

Example 1. *Soggetto ostinato* for Josquin, *Miserere mei deus*, and related motets

Josquin's *soggetto* was echoed in several subsequent motets created for d'Este patrons. Three composers provided musical settings for the opening paragraph of Savonarola's meditation on Psalm 50, *Infelix ego*, and they incorporated Josquin's *soggetto ostinato* as a sixth voice (Example 1).<sup>4</sup> The first two composers are Flemish: Adrian Willaert (ca.1490-1562) and Cipriano de Rore (ca.1515-1565); the third, Nicola Vicentino (1511-ca.1576) is a native Italian. Willaert's first contacts in Italy were with Ferrara; he arrived there in 1515, and stayed until 1526, when he moved to Venice to take over the music at the basilica of San Marco. His setting of Savonarola's meditation on Psalm 50 is a monumental work for six voices, and was most likely composed in the 1530s for Duke Ercole II d'Este (1508-1559), the grandson of Ercole I.<sup>5</sup> Willaert juxtaposes Josquin's *soggetto* with Savonarola's text, indicating that he perceived an association between the two works. Settings of *Infelix ego* by Cipriano de Rore and Nicola Vicentino also feature a sixth voice as a *soggetto* on the opening words of Psalm 50 *Miserere mei deus* (Example 1).<sup>6</sup> Rore served Duke Ercole II in the 1540s and 1550s, but

<sup>2</sup> For a modern edition of *Miserere mei deus*, see *The Medici Codex of 1518*, ed. E.E. LOWINSKY, in *Monuments of Renaissance Music*, IV, Chicago, 1968, pp. 270-296.

<sup>3</sup> The circumstances of Josquin's commission are explored more fully in P. MACEY, *Bonfire Songs*, pp. 184-192.

<sup>4</sup> MACEY, *Bonfire Songs*, pp. 192.

<sup>5</sup> *Infelix ego* has not yet been edited in the *Opera omnia* of Willaert; a transcription is available in P. MACEY, *Josquin's Miserere mei deus: Context, Structure and Influence*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1985, II, pp. 44-61.

<sup>6</sup> For a modern edition of *Infelix ego*, see C. DE RORE, *Opera omnia*, VI, American Institute of Musicology, 1975, pp. 184-95. Two of the original six voices in Vicentino's setting have been lost; for a modern edition of the remaining four parts, see N. VICENTINO, *Opera omnia*, ed. H.W. KAUFMANN, American Institute of Musicology, 1966, pp. 155-160.

Vicentino was in the service of Ercole's brother, Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este, in the 1550s. Ippolito (1509-72) counts as one of the most distinguished diplomats and patrons of the arts in the sixteenth century. He spent much time in France during the 1530s and 1540s as an important ally of French interests in Italy.<sup>7</sup> In 1539 he succeeded in his efforts to be named cardinal, and then in 1549 he turned his sights on the papal tiara. But the conclave of reform-minded cardinals passed him over and elected Giovanni del Monte as Pope Julius III. The dejected Ippolito retreated to Tivoli where he commenced plans for building the Villa d'Este, a summer retreat from the unhealthy air of Rome, replete with a splendid network of elaborate fountains. Vicentino probably composed his setting of *Infelix ego* for Ippolito during the 1550s, when the cardinal suffered various sorts of adversity, including the enmity of the fierce Pope Paul IV, who had defeated Ippolito in his subsequent bid for the papacy in 1555.

In the following decade of the 1560s, Ippolito probably commissioned another motet, Palestrina's *Tribularer si nescirem*, which also features the *soggetto* from Josquin's *Miserere mei deus* (Example 1).<sup>8</sup> Palestrina worked for Ippolito at Tivoli from 1567 to 1571, and *Tribularer si nescirem* was published in his second book of motets in 1572, the year of the cardinal's death. *Tribularer* stands out as the only one of Palestrina's more than 350 motets that features a recurring *soggetto*. The text is a Matins responsory, and its penitential tone expresses sentiments similar to those in Savonarola's meditation on Psalm 50, as can be seen in the opening words: 'Overcome with affliction would I be if I did not know your mercy, Lord' (*Tribularer si nescirem misericordiam tuam domine*).

Palestrina's motet marks the end of an illustrious tradition of Ferrarese motets dating back to the beginning of the century with Josquin's *Miserere mei deus*. The other two motets, Lupus Hellinck's setting of the opening verses of Psalm 30, *In te domine speravi*, and Claude Le Jeune's *Tristitia obsedit me*, based on the opening of Savonarola's meditation on Psalm 30, perhaps owe their origins to Ferrarese patronage as well.

New biographical information in the Vatican archives on Lupus Hellinck (ca.1493-1541) has recently been brought to light by Richard Sherr, and this opens the way for a re-evaluation of Hellinck's widely disseminated motet, *In te domine speravi*, in relation to Savonarola's meditation on the same psalm.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Information on the life of Ippolito II d'Este is drawn from V. PACIFICI, *Ippolito II d'Este Cardinale di Ferrara*, Tivoli, 1920.

<sup>8</sup> For a modern edition of *Tribularer si nescirem*, see G.P. DA PALESTRINA, *Le opere complete*, ed. R. CASIMIRI, VII, Rome, 1939-, pp. 107ff.

<sup>9</sup> R. SHERR, ed. *Selections from Bologna, Civico museo bibliografico musicale, MS Q 19: Rusconi codex*, in *The Sixteenth-Century Motet*, VI, New York, 1989, pp. xi-xii. For a modern edition of Hellinck's *In te domine speravi*, see *Treize livres de motets parus chez Pierre Attaignant en 1534 et 1535*, ed. A.T. MERRITT, IX, Monaco, 1962, pp. 37ff.

Hellinck started out as a choirboy at Saint Donatian in Bruges in 1506, where he worked until approximately 1515, and then disappeared for several years from the church's records. Two documents uncovered by Sherr cast light on Hellinck's subsequent activity, and show that he followed the well-worn path to Italy that so many other northern composers had already taken. By April 1518 Hellinck was listed in Rome in the household of Pope Leo X. By this time he had been ordained a priest, and he was submitting a formal request for permission to depart from Rome. Shortly thereafter, from June 1518 to April 1519, a certain *Lupo cantore* (also called *Lupo fiammengo*) was in Ferrara in the service of Sigismondo d'Este (1480-1524), the youngest son of Ercole I. A few months later, in October 1519, Hellinck was readmitted to the chapter of Saint Donatian in Bruges, where he remained until his death in 1541.

Hellinck's *In te domine speravi* may have Savonarolan overtones. It first turns up in a source datable to around 1530, the Vallicelliana partbooks, which contain several motets with more or less overt references to Savonarola, including Philippe Verdelot's *Letamini in domino*.<sup>10</sup> Given Hellinck's sojourn in Ferrara, the possibility arises that he composed his *In te domine speravi* at the behest of an Este patron. His motet counts as one of the earliest settings of the opening verses of Psalm 30, and it stands alongside settings of the same verses by contemporaries such as Andreas de Silva and Verdelot. None of these three motets, however, has any musical material in common, and Hellinck seems to have freely invented his opening imitative subject rather than basing it on a specific chant (Example 2). The stark subject, with its repeated notes on C, enters like a clarion call in each of the five voices, establishing the texture of pervading imitation for the rest of the work.

The image shows a musical score for the motet 'In te domine speravi' by Lupus Hellinck. It consists of five staves, each representing a different voice part: Soprano, Alto, Tenor 1, Tenor 2, and Bass. The music is written in a mensural style with a common time signature. The lyrics are written below the staves, with the first line of lyrics 'In te, do - mi - ne, spe - ra - vi,' appearing under the Alto and Tenor 1 parts, and the second line 'non con - fun - - - dar' appearing under the Tenor 2 and Bass parts. The score illustrates the imitative texture mentioned in the text, with the opening subject being repeated in each voice.

<sup>10</sup> See E.E. LOWINSKY, *A Newly Discovered Sixteenth-Century Motet Manuscript at the Biblioteca Vallicelliana in Rome*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 3 (1950), pp. 173-232; reprinted with added notes and a postscript in: E.E. LOWINSKY, *Music in the Culture of the Renaissance and Other Essays*, ed. B.J. BLACKBURN, Chicago, 1989, pp. 433-82.

Example 2. Lupus Hellinck, *In te domine speravi*, b. 1-10

Hellinck's *In te domine speravi* first caught my attention when, after studying Claude Le Jeune's setting of Savonarola's meditation on Psalm 30, *Tristitia obsedit me*, it became apparent that he employed Hellinck's opening melody as a *soggetto ostinato*.<sup>11</sup> Le Jeune placed Hellinck's subject in the second Cantus, in augmentation in the *prima pars* with six bars of rest separating each entry. In the *secunda pars* he used Hellinck's original rhythmic values (*integer valor*), now with just three bars of rest between each entrance of the *soggetto* (Example 3). At the very end of his motet, Le Jeune quoted Hellinck's complete subject - *In te domine speravi, non confundar in aeternum* - which he reproduced exactly, up until the final few notes.

<sup>11</sup> Le Jeune's *Tristitia obsedit me*, published in his *Second livre des meslanges* (Paris, 1612), is not readily available in a modern edition. It has, however, been recorded twice recently: C. LE JEUNE, *Motets Latins*, Ensemble Jacques Moderne, dir. J.-P. OUVARD, Musica Nova MN7 AD 184 (1991); and C. LE JEUNE, *Missa Ad Placitum, Magnificat*, Ensemble Clément Janequin, dir. D. VISSE, Harmonia mundi, HMC 901607 (1997). A third recording can be found on the compact disc that is included in MACEY, *Bonfire Songs*.

Example 3. Claude Le Jeune, *Tristitia obsedit me, soggetto ostinato* (Cantus 2)

The other four voices in Le Jeune's *Tristitia obsedit me* sing the words of Savonarola's meditation on Psalm 30, in which the condemned friar confronts the allegorical foe Sadness, or Melancholy.

*Tristitia obsedit me, magno et forti exercitu vallavit me, occupavit cor meum clamoribus et armis die noctuque contra me pugnare non cessat.*

*Secunda pars*

Vocabo dominum, veniet profecto, nec me confundet. Ecce jam venit, gaudium attulit, pugnare me docuit, dixitque mihi: *Clama ne cesses*. Et aio: Quid clamabo?

Dic, inquit, confiden-ter et ex toto corde: *In te domine speravi, non confundar in aeternum*.

Sadness has besieged me, with a great and strong host she has hedged me in, she has oppressed my heart with clamors and with weapons, day and night she ceases not to fight against me.

*Secunda pars*

I will call the Lord, and he will make haste to come, and will not fail me. Lo, he has come already; he has brought Gladness; he has taught me to fight and has said to me, *Cry aloud, cease not*; and I say, What shall I cry? Say, he replies, boldly and with all your heart: *In you, O Lord, have I hoped; I shall not be confounded for ever.*

By combining Savonarola's words and Hellinck's musical subject, Le Jeune draws a connection between the two. As such, he may provide witness to an original association of Hellinck's motet with the meditation of Savonarola, just as Josquin's *Miserere mei deus* may have been inspired by the friar's meditation

on Psalm 50. An analogous connection had already occurred in the motets on *Infelix ego* by Willaert, Rore and Vicentino, in which all three composers combined Josquin's *soggetto* from his setting of Psalm 50 with the words of Savonarola's meditation on the same psalm. Josquin, Willaert, Rore and Vicentino all worked in Ferrara, and we have seen that Hellinck also spent time there. Did Claude Le Jeune have similar contacts with Ferrara as well?

To begin, we can attempt to determine a date when Le Jeune might have composed his setting of *Tristitia obsedit me*. This is difficult, because so little is known about his life until the 1570s, when he was in his forties and active as a member of Antoine de Baïf's Académie de Poésie et de Musique.<sup>12</sup> We do know that he was born in Valenciennes in Hainaut between 1528 and 1530, and that he died in Paris in 1600. In the realm of Latin sacred music, his production is quite limited, perhaps due to his allegiance to the Huguenot faith. He composed only one Mass and one Magnificat, in addition to eleven motets. On the other hand he wrote almost 350 settings of French psalms based on translations from the Huguenot Psalter. Most of Le Jeune's Latin works appeared in two publications, the *Livre de mélanges*, first printed in Antwerp in 1585, and the *Second livre des meslanges*, printed posthumously in Paris in 1612. The 1612 print is the only source for *Tristitia obsedit me*, and thus provides no clues about the original date of composition for the motet.

As for the remainder of Le Jeune's biography and publication history, little evidence survives. The young composer first appeared in print with three chansons in anthologies published by Phalèse in Louvain in 1552, and their dense contrapuntal textures suggest early compositional activity somewhere in the Low Countries.<sup>13</sup> Only in 1564 did he surface in a publication devoted entirely to his own works, the *Dix Pseaumes de David*, on French translations of the psalms by the prominent Huguenot Theodore de Bèze. From 1579 to 1584 Le Jeune can be traced in the service of François d'Anjou, younger brother of King Henri III,<sup>14</sup> and in the 1590s he was *maistre compositeur ordinaire de la musique de nostre chambre* to the new Bourbon king, Henri IV, with whom he remained until his death in 1600.

Le Jeune's setting of *Tristitia obsedit me* stands alone among his motets for its use of a *soggetto ostinato*. Two features, the text drawn from Savonarola's last meditation, and the particular musical structure based on a *soggetto ostinato*, suggest a parallel with the Ferrarese tradition of settings of *Infelix ego*. A pos-

<sup>12</sup> See D.P. WALKER and F. LESURE, *Claude Le Jeune and Musique Mesurée*, in *Musica disciplina*, 3 (1949), pp. 151-70.

<sup>13</sup> K.J. LEVY, *The Chansons of Claude Le Jeune*, Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1955, pp. 42-56.

<sup>14</sup> On François d'Anjou, see M.P. HOLT, *The Duke of Anjou and the Politique Struggle during the Wars of Religion*, Cambridge, 1986.

sible patron for Le Jeune's motet emerges in the person of Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este. As mentioned earlier, the cardinal apparently commissioned a similar setting of Savonarola's *Infelix ego* from Vicentino, and probably Palestrina's *Tribularer si nescirem* as well, both of which employ Josquin's *soggetto* on *Miserere mei deus*. Perhaps Ippolito wished to extend the Ferrarese tradition to include Savonarola's final meditation in a setting by Le Jeune of *Tristitia obsedit me*.

The question then arises as to when Le Jeune might have come into contact with the cardinal. An Italian journey for the composer has long been proposed by scholars, given the fact that he made arrangements of over forty Italian villanelles.<sup>15</sup> The period of the 1550s has been suggested as a likely time for Le Jeune to have visited Italy, and contact with the aging Willaert at Venice is possible because, among other things, the younger composer made a close French adaptation of that master's dialogue for seven voices, *Quando nascesti amor*.<sup>16</sup> One could also hazard the guess that Le Jeune was connected in some way with Ippolito d'Este's retinue in the early 1550s, when the cardinal resided in Siena as the envoy of King Henri II during the War of Siena. We do know that several French singers were in the cardinal's service at this time, including his *maestro di cappella*, Pierre Sandrin.<sup>17</sup>

But it is not absolutely necessary to hypothesize a period of service for Le Jeune in Italy in the 1550s, because Ippolito d'Este himself returned to France as papal nuncio from 1561 to 1563. The cardinal's love for music must have made him keenly aware of Le Jeune's talents, and he could have requested him to compose a setting of *Tristitia obsedit me* along the lines of the other Ferrarese works on Savonarola's *Infelix ego*, with a *soggetto ostinato*.

Does the musical style of *Tristitia obsedit me* indicate a dating in the early 1560s? Several places in Le Jeune's setting do in fact feature vivid word painting common to works by other composers active around 1560. As one example, the melodic lines at the opening have leaps upward to long held notes that then descend through dissonant passing tones, creating a sense of painful affliction as the voices scrape past one another (Example 4).

<sup>15</sup> I. HIS, *Les modèles italiens de Claude Le Jeune*, in *Revue de Musicologie*, 77 (1991), pp. 25-58; and I. HIS, *Italianism and Claude Le Jeune*, in *Early Music History*, 13 (1994), pp. 149-70.

<sup>16</sup> R. FREEDMAN, *Claude Le Jeune, Adrian Willaert and the Art of Musical Translation*, in *Early Music History*, 13 (1994), pp. 123-48.

<sup>17</sup> F. LESURE, *Un musicien d'Hippolyte d'Este: Pierre Sandrin*, in *Collectanea historiae musicae*, 2 (1956), pp. 245-50.



Tri - - sti - ti - a ob - se - dit me, ob - se - dit me, ob - se - dit me, ob - se - dit me.

se - dit me, tri - sti - - ti - a ob - se - dit me, In te, do - mi - ne, spe - ra - - tri - sti - ti - a ob - se - dit me, ob - se - dit me, se - dit me, tri - sti - ti - a ob - se - dit me, tri - sti - ti - a me, tri - sti - ti - a ob - se - dit me.

me, ma - gno et for - ti ex - er - ci - tu vi, me, ma - gno et for - ti ex - er - ci - tu, ma - gno et ob - se - dit me, ma - gno et for - ti ex - er - ci - tu val - ma - gno et for - ti ex - er - ci - tu val - la - - vit me.

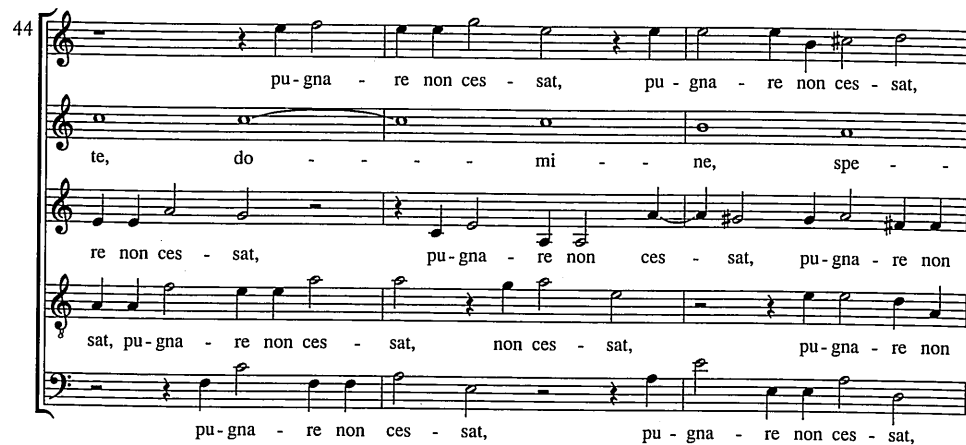
Example 4. Le Jeune, *Tristitia obsedit me*, b. 1-16

One can form a notion of stylistic norms for this period by casting a glance at the work of Le Jeune's contemporary, Orlande de Lassus, whose music was admired and widely printed in France. An especially famous motet by Lassus, *Timor et tremor*, was published in Paris in 1565, and it embodies the Italianate tendency to paint a vivid picture for the listener. It was during the 1560s in particular that Italianate word painting swept through another genre, the French chanson, as noted by Kenneth Levy in his study of Le Jeune's chansons.<sup>18</sup> Regarding Lassus's word painting, the famous conclusion of *Timor et tremor*, on the words *non confundar*, bears comparison to a similar text concerning struggle at the end of the *prima pars* in Le Jeune's motet, at the words *pugnare non cessat* ('she ceases not to fight against me'; Example 5). Several factors bring the passage to life as a small-scale battle scene: the shifting harmonies, cross relations (bar 46-7, F# in the Altus and F-natural in the Tenor; same bars, indirectly, C# in Cantus 1 to C-natural in Cantus 2), syncopations (Altus, bars 45-46), strong leaps and emphatic repeated notes all contribute to the effect. In short, the musical style of Le Jeune's motet fits well with a dating in the 1560s. Ippolito d'Este's presence in France during these years suggests that he was the most likely patron for *Tristitia obsedit me*, especially since the motet serves as a fitting extension of the Ferrarese tradition of motets on *Infelix ego*.

me pu - gna - re non ces - sat, pu - gna - re non ces - sat, in gna - re non ces - sat, pu - gna - re non ces - sat, pu - gna - re non ces - sat, re, pu - gna - re non ces - sat, pu - gna - re non ces - sat.

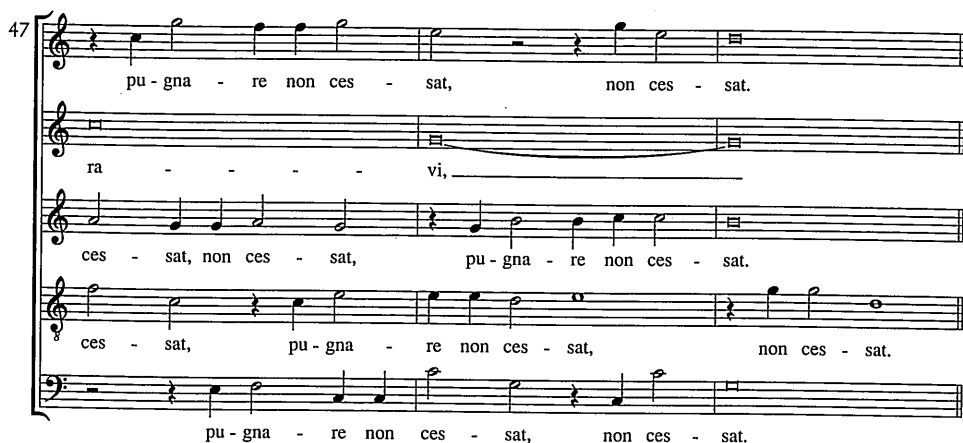
18 LEVY, *The Chansons of Claude Le Jeune*, pp. 191-200.

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pu - gna - re non ces - sat, pu - gna - re non ces - sat,  
te, do - - - mi - - - ne, spe - -  
re non ces - sat, pu - gna - re non ces - sat, pu - gna - re non  
sat, pu - gna - re non ces - sat, non ces - sat, pu - gna - re non  
pu - gna - re non ces - sat, pu - gna - re non ces - sat,

47



pu - gna - re non ces - sat, non ces - sat.  
ra - - - vi,  
ces - sat, non ces - sat, pu - gna - re non ces - sat.  
ces - sat, pu - gna - re non ces - sat, non ces - sat.  
pu - gna - re non ces - sat, non ces - sat.

Example 5. Le Jeune, *Tristitia obsedit me*, b. 41-49

Le Jeune was in fact not the only composer to make use of Hellinck's *In te domine speravi*. Palestrina adopted the same motet as the model for one of his many parody Masses, but it is unclear whether he composed his six-voice *Missa In te domine speravi* while in the service of Cardinal d'Este, since the Mass was only published posthumously in 1599. If he did create the work for Ippolito, this could provide evidence that the cardinal had a special regard for Hellinck's setting of *In te domine speravi*.

While some of the suggestions offered here are admittedly speculative, they allow parallel patterns of d'Este patronage to emerge for a distinctive group of penitential motets. In this reading of the evidence, Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este appears as the most active of all the patrons from Ferrara in commissioning musical settings of texts that were written by, or inspired by, Savonarola. These include Vicentino's *Infelix ego* and Le Jeune's *Tristitia obsedit me*, as well as

Palestrina's *Tribularer si nescirem*, and perhaps even his parody Mass on Hellinck's *In te domine speravi*. I suggest that Cardinal d'Este carried on a tradition in sacred music at Ferrara, one that took its starting point from the psalm meditations of Savonarola, and that had been inaugurated by his grandfather, duke Ercole, at the outset of the sixteenth century. Ippolito's death in 1572 saw the end of a tradition that extended over three generations, a tradition that fostered the creation of superb masterpieces from the greatest composers of the age, including Josquin, Willaert, Rore, Vicentino and Palestrina. In the process of exploring the background of these works, new Italian connections for Lupus Hellinck and Claude Le Jeune have emerged, and here too I suggest that the veneration of the d'Este for Savonarola played a central role in the commissions for two other Savonarolan motets, Hellinck's *In te domine speravi* and Le Jeune's *Tristitia obsedit me*.

## 'AL BEL NIDO IN CUI SPERA ALMO RIPOSO'

Die Farnese Stadthalterschaft der Niederlande und die Auswanderung flämischer Musikern nach Italien<sup>1</sup>

Vincenzo Borghetti

Am 20. Januar 1586 starb im Palazzo De Sanctis (heute Palazzo Mancini) in Ortona, an der adriatischen Küste bei den Abruzzen, Margarete von Österreich, uneheliche Tochter vom Kaiser Karl V. Ihr Name war seit ihrer ersten Ehe 1536 sehr eng mit dieser Region Italiens verbunden. Anlässlich der Vermählung mit Alessandro de' Medici, Enkel von Papst Clemens VII., brachte die vierzehnjährige Margarete manche Lehngüter aus dem neapolitanischen Vizekönigreich als Mitgift: Die Städte Leonessa, Montereale und Cittaducale. Nach dem Mord von Alessandro durch *Lorenzaccio* de' Medici am 6. Januar 1537 und nach der neuen Ehe 1538 mit dem Enkel Papst Paul III. Ottavio Farnese, erbte Margarete 1539, außer ihrer Mitgift, auch die abruzzesischen Städte Campoli und Penne, mit denen Alessandro de' Medici schon 1522 von

Kaiser Karl belehnt worden war. Nach ihrer ersten Stadthalterschaft in den Niederlanden, von 1559 bis 1568, kehrte Margarete nach Italien zurück, nicht aber nach Parma, Wohnsitz ihres ungeliebten Gemahls, sondern in die Abruzzen, wo sie 1572 von seinem Stiefbruder Philipp II. von Spanien als Stadthalterin der Hauptstadt L'Aquila ernannt wurde (Siehe Abbildung 1).

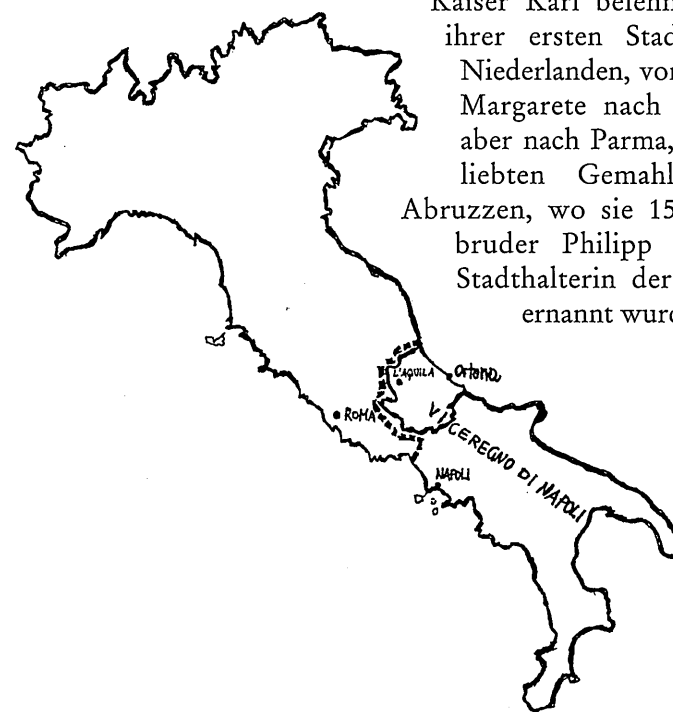


Abbildung 1a. Die Abruzzen und das neapolitanische Vizekönigreich

<sup>1</sup> An dieser Stelle möchte ich Herrn Johannes Hubeck und Herrn Berthold Warnecke für ihre Hilfe bei der sprachlichen Gestaltung der deutschen Fassung danken.

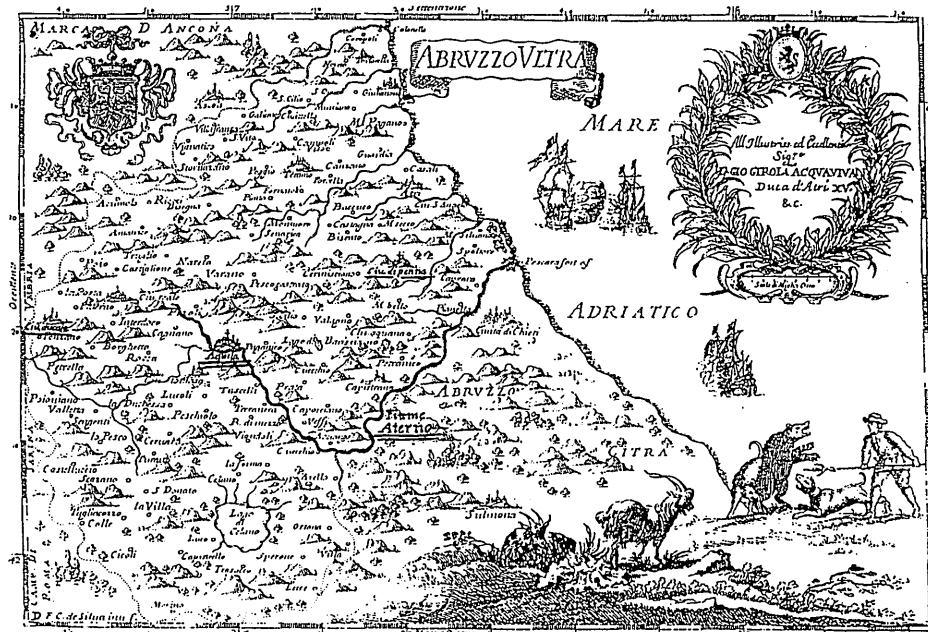


Abbildung 1b. Abruzzo Citra et Ultra, aus G.B. PACICHELLI, *Il Regno di Napoli in prospettiva*, Napoli, Parrino e Mutio, 1703

Bereits zur Zeit dieses Aufenthaltes sind uns Namen von flämischen Musiker bekannt, die Mitglieder ihrer Musikkapelle gewesen sein dürfen. Die Nachricht findet man bei Antonio Ludovico Antinori, der im XVIII. Jahrhundert, in seinem umfangreichen Werk über die Geschichte der Abruzzen wie folgt berichtet:

[1577] Era abbassato di molto il prezzo degli elogi sepolcrali, se ne incise nella chiesa di S. M. di Paganica uno a Gertrude, a Maria Boezia di Bruxelles e a Marco Vinchj di Bruges, una figlia e l'altra moglie al terzo fratello Jaches o sia Jacopo Vinchj. Aveva il Marco il merito d'essere stato sonatore di corda e di fiato e Musico della Duchessa Margherita D'Austria.<sup>2</sup>

[Der Preis der Grabinschriften war gesunken. Eine wurde in der Kirche von S. M. von Paganica für Gertrude, für Maria aus Brussel und für Marco Vinchi aus Bruges angefertigt, die eine Tochter, die andere Gattin vom dritten Bruder Jaches, das heißt Jacopo Vinchj. Marco war Saiten- und Blasinstrumentenspieler und Musiker der Herzogin Margarete von Österreich.]

Der Name von Jacopo oder Giacomo Vinchi taucht noch einmal in den Urkunden des Notars Piero Salvi auf, die sich heute im Archiv von Trevi befinden. Pietro Salvi war Urkundsbeamte und Notar vom 29. April 1567 bis zum 23. Dezember 1570 in Cittaducale und von 17. Dezember 1572 bis 1577 in L'Aquila. Nach einem dieser Dokumente, datiert 26. April 1570, wurde der Musiker Giacomo Vincum brugensis zum Prokurator von Isabella Sbeeren ernannt. Er wurde von Isabella Sbeeren, Gemahlin von Buccio di Domenico Risecca aus Penne, *portierius camerae* von Margarete, nach Antwerpen gesandt, um ihre austehenden Forderung den *super jure seu gabella, introitu seu proventu Aloes ejusdem villae* einzuziehen<sup>3</sup>. Meine bisherigen Forschungen haben leider nur diese Nachrichten über die Tätigkeit der flämischen Brüder Vinchi bei Margarete gebracht. Keine einzige Komposition ist uns, soweit mir bekannt, unter ihren Namen überliefert.

<sup>2</sup> A.L. ANTINORI, *Annali degli Abruzzi* [Facsimile Ausgabe der unveröffentlichten Handschrift, aufbewahrt in der Biblioteca Provinciale «Salvatore Tommasi» in L'Aquila], Bd. XX., Bologna, Forni 1972, S. 425. In der Fußnote gibt Antinori die originale Grabinschrift wieder: *Gertrudae Mariae Boetiae Bruxelli et Marco Vinchio Brugensi, illj quod altera optimae fuerit indolij, altera pudicij: et feliciter ac suis: obierit; huic quod Orpheos, et Josias testudinis, et tibiis quibuslibet superavit; quodque sereniss: Margarit. de Austriacae summo cum honore secum musicis inseruiret, omnibus demum fure simul decesserit. XIV. Kal. VIII Idijs Septembris IV Kal. Octobris MDLXXVII Jaches pater, vir t frater miserrime lacrimans. P. W menses annos XXXIV.XLIV. Vgl. auch R. COLAPIETRA, *Aquila ed i domini farnesiani della montagna ai tempi di Margarita*, in *Margarita d'Austria e l'Abruzzo*, atti del convegno di studi, [Ortona 20.-21. Februar 1982] Ortona, Associazione Archeologica Frentana 1983, Ss. 61 und 72.*

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. T. VALENTI, *Notizie di personaggi fiamminghi alla corte di Margherita d'Austria Duchessa di Parma durante la sua dimora in Abruzzo*, in *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome*, 14 (1934), S. 143.

Über die letzten Jahre der anscheinend kleinen Musikkapelle von Margarete sind wir etwas besser informiert, da ihr Testament<sup>4</sup> und der *Rolo delle Persone che si trovano alli servitii della Gloriosa Memoria di Madama Serenissima al giorno della sua morte, con la nota delle provisioni che havevano*<sup>5</sup> für uns als beredete Zeugnisse jenes musikalischen *Milieus* gelten. Beide stammen aus dem Jahr 1586 und in beiden sind die Mitglieder der Kapelle erwähnt: vor allem der Kapellmeister Giovanni Verius *fiamingo*<sup>6</sup>. Bereits im Jahre 1577 zeigt sich der Name Verius in den Urkunden des Notars Salvi, obwohl unsicher ist, ob er in diesen Jahren schon im Dienst als Kapellmeister war<sup>7</sup>. Es folgen auf dem *Rolo* die Namen von Baldassar Ruytsgheens,<sup>8</sup> Orgelstimmer, Guglielmo *fiamingo*, Organist, und eine kurze Reihe von Musikern, hauptsächlich Sänger: Don Gio. Paolo Fabri und Ugo Miglietti (Altisten), Andrea Trigo und D. Giacomo Antonio Pales (Sopranisten), Gerolamo del Campo und Luca Paolino, beide als *musico* bezeichnet. Abgesehen von den ersten Drei, ist es heute schwierig zu bestimmen, welche von den anderen mit Sicherheit von niederländischer Herkunft oder Abstammung waren. Leider wiederholt sich die gleiche Situation wie bei den Brüdern Vinchi: Außer deren Namen ist kaum etwas erhalten. Die einzige Ausnahme ist Giovanni (Johannes) Verius, der 5 überlieferte *Chansons* geschrieben haben könnte,<sup>9</sup> wenn wir als sicher annehmen, daß *En contemplant vostre divinité*,<sup>10</sup> *Ma maitresse est toute angelette, Que pleut à Dieu que je puisse*,<sup>11</sup> *Si de nouveau* und *En regardant la beauté*,<sup>12</sup> - in den Quellen alle einem gewissen Verius zugeschrieben sind - von dem Kapellmeister Margaretes komponiert wurden.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Napoli, Archivio di Stato, Carte Farnesiane, Generalità, fascio 1322, I, n. 38.

<sup>5</sup> Ebenda, Casa e Carte farnesiane, b. 18, N. 10.

<sup>6</sup> Vgl. R. LEFEVRE, *Madama Margarita d'Austria (1522-1586)*, Roma, Newton Compton, 1986, Ss. 313, 325-326.

<sup>7</sup> VALENTI, a. a. O., S. 148, berichtet über einen Giovanni Verio *de Valenson de Anonia*, der am 8. Juli 1577 Testamentzeuge von Josyna de Pape war.

<sup>8</sup> Im Testament wird er als *Baldassarre Ruyttigliet* erwähnt.

<sup>9</sup> Nach einem Notenverzeichnis aus dem XVI. Jahrhundert können wir zwei verlorengegangene Ausgaben von Giovanni Verio zumindest beweisen: *Anfenglich [sic] Cantiones Gallicae 4 et 5 vocum auctore magister Joanne Verius, excusae Lovanii anno [...] [15]60* und *Cantiones Gallicae 4, 5, et 6 vocum auctore magistro Johanne Verius excusae Lovanii anno [...] [15]66*, siehe W. SENN, *Ein Notenverzeichnis des Bischofs von Strassburg aus dem Jahre 1577*, in *Renaissance Music 1400-1600*, *Donum natalicium René Bernard Lenaerts*, Leuven, 1969, I, Ss. 241-245.

<sup>10</sup> Veröffentlicht in *Vingtieme livre de chansons à quatre & cinque parties d'Orlande de Lassus*, Paris, A. le Roy et R. Ballard, 1578 (*RISM B/I 1578/13*). Moderne Edition in P. SANTERRE, *The complete chansons published by Le Roy and Ballard*, XXII, ed. J.A. BERNSTEIN, New York and London, 1992.

<sup>11</sup> Veröffentlicht in *Sisieme livre de chansons a quatre parties d'Archadelt & autres*, Paris, A. le Roy et R. Ballard 1578 (*RISM B/I 1578/13*). Moderne Edition in P. SANTERRE, *The complete chansons*, a. a. O.

<sup>12</sup> Beide veröffentlicht als französische Lautentabulatur in *Luculentum Theatrum musicum*, Louvain, P. Phalèse 1568, II. Aufl. Louvain P. Phalèse et J. Bellère 1571 (*RISM B/I 1568/23* und *1571/16*).

<sup>13</sup> S. J.A. BERNSTEIN, Einführung zu P. SANTERRE, *The complete chansons*, a. a. O., S. XII; siehe auch E. VANDER STRAETEN, *La musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIX siècle*, Bruxelles, 1867-1888, IV, 1878, S. 71 und VI, 1882, Ss. 482-485; H.M. BROWN, Artikel *Verius, Johannes*, in *The New Grove of Music and Musicians*, XIX, London, 1980, S. 670.

Sind wirklich alle Musiker, die aufgrund von Margaretes Anwesenheit in Italien tätig waren, im Testament oder im *Rolo* erwähnt? Die Frage läßt sich negativ beantworten. Nach Forschungen in der Biblioteca Comunale und im Kapitelarchiv von Ortona<sup>14</sup> ist es mir gelungen, die Tätigkeit eines flämischen Komponisten in dieser Stadt zu beweisen, gerade zu der Zeit, als die Herzogin ihren Wohnsitz dorthin verlegte.<sup>15</sup> Am 15. August 1584 wählte der Stadtrat von Ortona den Musiker Adriano *flamengo* zum Kapellmeister der Sankt Thomas Kathedrale. Weshalb wurde ein Flame in diese Stelle berufen? Adriano *flamengo*, später auch als Adriano Della Rota<sup>16</sup> in den Dokumenten erwähnt, ist nur durch seinen ersten und wahrscheinlich auch letzten Musikdruck bekannt: *Di Adriano De La Rota il primo libro de' madrigali a cinque voci, Nuovamente Composto, & dato in luce*, Venezia, Giacomo Vincenti 1600.<sup>17</sup> Keine biographische Angaben tauchen in der Widmung an Tiberio d'Ugno, Graf von Valle Infreda, Baron von Acqua Viva auf: Gerade deswegen waren alle Lexika, die sich auf sie gründen, nicht in der Lage, weder seine Tätigkeit als Kapellmeister noch seine flämische Herkunft zu beweisen.<sup>18</sup> Adriano blieb im Dienst der Thomaskirche bis zum Jahr 1593, als er sehr wahrscheinlich nach Atri übersiedelte.<sup>19</sup> Im selben Jahr wurde nämlich in Ortona Muzio Bruno aus Fano zum Vertreter gewählt. An der neuen Stelle in Atri, Stadt der Familie Acquaviva, blieb Della Rota bis 1594. Von indirekten Quellen erfahren wir, daß er in der Zeit zwischen 1594 und 1606 in Lanciano<sup>20</sup> und in Sulmona als Kapellmeister diente, bevor er im November 1606 wieder in die Sankt Thomas Kirche von Ortona aufgenommen wurde. In dieser Stadt hielt er sich bis 1622, vermutlich sein Todesjahr, auf.<sup>21</sup> Wie kann man aber den bisher fast unbekanntenen Komponisten Della Rota enger mit den letzten Jahren von

<sup>14</sup> Es handelt sich um die *Libri consiliorum civitatis Ortonae*, Ms., Biblioteca Comunale von Ortona, die wegen der Zerstörungen des zweiten Weltkrieges unvollständig sind. In der Bibliotheca sind die Jahrgänge 1584 (ab dem 15. August) - 1616 und dann erst wieder ab dem 1692 vorhanden. Alle Dokumente über die Sankt Thomas Musikkapelle werden im Dokumentenanhang wiedergegeben.

<sup>15</sup> In Ortona wurde 1584 nach dem Entwurf des Architekten Jacomo della Porta der Bau ihrer Winterresidenz, dem heutigen Palazzo Farnese, angefangen. Vgl. R. LEFEVRE, a. a. O., Ss. 293-402.

<sup>16</sup> Adriano della Rota könnte die wörtliche italienische Übersetzung des niederländischen Namens *van der Wiel* sein, der bei Mechelen immer noch häufig ist. Für diese Hinweise bin ich Frau Annelies Wouters sehr dankbar.

<sup>17</sup> (*RISM A/I: R 2781*) Sopran und Baß Stimmbücher sind als *unica* in der Musiksammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek aufbewahrt, Signatur SA. 79. F. 9.

<sup>18</sup> Vgl. zum Beispiel C. SCHMIDL, Artikel *Della Rota, Adriano*, in *Dizionario universale dei musicisti*, II, Milano, 1929, S. 408.

<sup>19</sup> Zwischen 1593 und 1594 ist ein gewisser Adriano als Kapellmeister in den Dokumenten der Kathedrale von Atri erwähnt. Siehe Dokumentenanhang.

<sup>20</sup> Diese Nachricht ist heute nur bei Tommaso Rosario Grilli, *Una pagina di storia musicale abruzzese*, in *La Tribuna* 29 Mai 1938, zu finden. Grilli konnte glücklicherweise alle Dokumente vor dem zweiten Weltkriege lesen, aber Ergebnis seiner genauen Forschungen war leider nur dieser zweiseitige und selbstverständlich unwissenschaftliche Zeitungsartikel.

<sup>21</sup> Siehe T.R. Grilli, a. a. O.

Margarete von Österreich in Beziehung bringen? Der Druck, 1600 in Venedig erschienen, enthält unter den 22 fünfstimmigen Stücken,<sup>22</sup> ein Madrigal, dessen Text meine Aufmerksamkeit verdient:

Al sacro e divin nome<sup>23</sup>  
della gran Margherita erger conviensi  
colossi, archi, trofei, tempî et altari.  
Noi, che a sì gravi some  
habbiam infermi i sensi,  
in bassi accenti e chiari  
cantiam lieti gli honori  
di lei perché ognun nosco ancor l'adori.

Es handelt sich um ein reines Gelegenheitsmadrigal, das man mit einem bestimmten historischen Ereignis in Zusammenhang bringen kann: Der erste Einzug von Margarete in Ortona, der am 10. November 1583 stattfand.<sup>24</sup> Im Jahr 1582, kurz vor ihrer endgültigen Rückkehr nach Italien, ließ sich Margarete die kleine Hafenstadt in den Abruzzen, Ortona, für 54.000 Dukaten kaufen; damit schuf sie sich eine angenehme Winterresidenz und ihren gebirgigen Lehngütern in den Abruzzen einen strategischen Ausgang zum Meer. An diesem Tag, nach dem letzten unglücklichen Aufenthalt in den Niederlanden, kam sie auf einem Schiff zum ersten Male in Ortona an, wo sie von der Gemeinde jubelnd aufgenommen wurde. Leider wurden alle Berichte über das für die Stadt außergewöhnliche Geschehen im zweiten Weltkrieg zerstört; Glücklicherweise hat der Historiker Giovanni Bonanni in seinem Buch über den Palazzo Farnese die Sitzungberichte des Stadtrates vom 8. September 1583

<sup>22</sup> Es folgt der Inhalt, wie er auf dem Cantus-Stimmbuch zu lesen ist, (in Klammern habe ich die nicht angegebenen Dichternamen eingeführt, nach den Hinweisen von E. VOGEL - F. LESURE - C. SARTORI, *Bibliografia della musica italiana vocale profana, pubblicata dal 1500 al 1700*, Pomezia - Genève, 1977): 1) *Donna leggiadra e bella*; 2) *Una ninfa leggiadra e non men bella*; 3) *Io canterò di quell'almo splendore*; 4) *S'io dormo nel dormir sempre vaneggio*; 5) *Non veggio ohimè quei leggiadretti lumi* (Mosaglia); 6) *Nel più fiorito e diletto maggio*; 7) *Invidioso amor del mio bel stato*; 8) *S'in mezzo al foco dura*; 9) *Ch'ami la mia vita nel tuo bel nome*; 10) *Crudel se m'uccidete*; 11) *Se ti mi lasci, perfido, tuo danno* (Tasso); 12) *Lasso, quand'io sperai*; 13) *Veggio dolce mio bene*; 14) *Clori se per amarvi*; 15) *Al sacro & divin nome*; 16) *Filli, ben saprei io*; 17) *Vieni Flora gentil*; 18) *Chi più di me saria felice al mondo* (prima parte); 19) *Io giuro, ben mio, che tanto v'amo* (seconda parte); 20) *Amor con Himeneo che tutto regge*; 21) *L'alta bellezza vostra e'l gran splendore*; 22) *Donna, s'io resto vivo* (Parabosco).

<sup>23</sup> Die Auslassungen im Originaldruck werden als Synalöphe wiedergegeben, die Abkürzungen werden aufgeschlüsselt, die unregelmäßige Verwendung von Klein- und Großbuchstaben wurde modernisiert.

<sup>24</sup> Vgl. R. CANOSA & I. COLONELLO, *Storia di Ortona in età farnesiane*, Ortona, 1997, Ss. 5-27. Es besteht kein Zweifel, daß im Text wirklich Margarete von Österreich gepriesen wird, da die Worte *sacro et divin* im ersten Vers, zurecht für den Namen einer Kaisertochter angewandt werden können.

wiedergegeben, als die Vorbereitung des Triumphzuges Margaretes beschlossen wurde.<sup>25</sup> Wie üblich wurde zu diesem Anlaß eine festliche Ausschmückung der ganzen Stadt geplant: Zum Beispiel eine neue und stabilere Brücke hätte auf dem Graben vor dem Caldari-Tor gebaut werden sollen, der Sankt Thomasplatz hätte mit zwei prächtigen Triumphbogen versehen, und die Palazzi in der Hauptstraße hätten mit Tapeten und Festonen behängt werden sollen usw. (Siehe Abbildung 2).

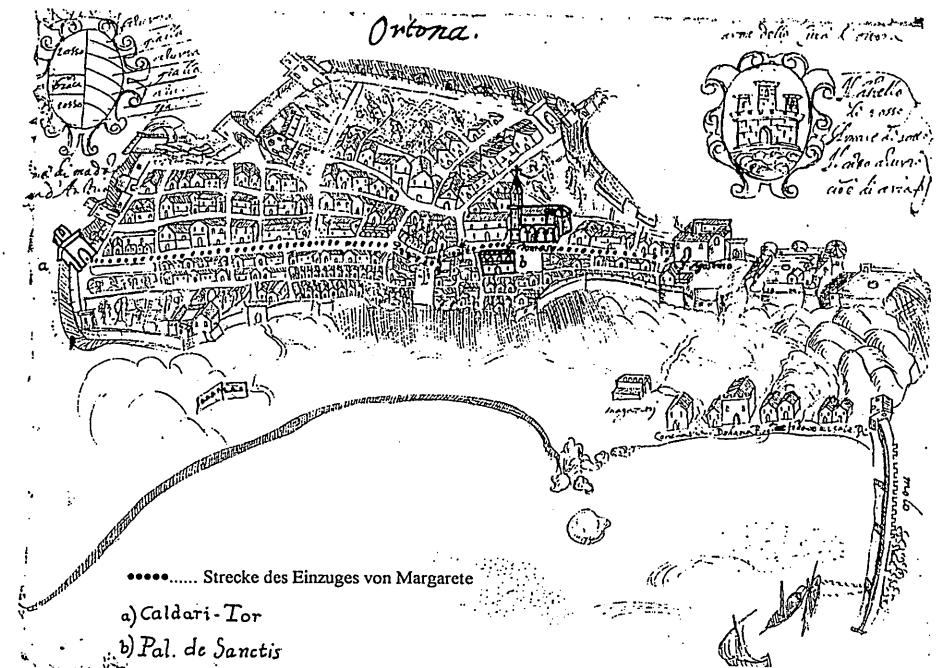


Abbildung 2a. Ortona, Zeichnung vom 1. Dezember 1583, aus A. ROCCA, [*Questionario*], Roma, Biblioteca Angelica Ms. 1214, F. 37v [Facsimile-Ausgabe in: *Immagini di città, raccolte da un frate agostiniano alla fine del XVI secolo*, a cura di N. Muratore e P. Munafò, Roma, Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1991, S. 39].

<sup>25</sup> G. BONANNI, *Il palazzo Farnese in Ortona a mare. Margherita d'Austria*, Lanciano, 1897, Ss. 18-20. Das komplette Protokoll der Sitzung wird im Dokumentenanhang wiedergegeben.



..... Strecke des Einzuges von Margarete

Abbildung 2b. Ortona um 1685, aus G.B. PACICHELLI, *Il Regno di Napoli in prospettiva*, Napoli, Parrino e Mutio, 1703

Dieser feierliche Aufwand wird im Madrigal deutlich widerspiegelt: der 3. Vers schildert die ganze Ausschmückung, mit der Ortona, anlässlich des Einzuges, ausgestattet wurde. Dies ist genau die Reihenfolge in den Margarete während ihres Einzuges in die Stadt die festliche Verzierung wahrgenommen hat: *colossi* (die neuere, stabilere Brücke), *archi e trofei* (die Triumphbogen mit ihren Wappen), *Tempi ed altari* (Hendiadyoin für Kirche und/oder Messe). Die Verse 4 und 5, *Noi che a sì gravi some / habbiam infermi i sensi*, drücken poetisch das wahre Erstaunen der kleinen Gemeinde aus, die nicht gewohnt war, zu ihren Einwohnern, eine Persönlichkeit von erstangiger Bedeutung wie Margarete zu zählen. Auf dem Festprogramm stand auch *una commedia o pastorale per passar tempo*, daher ist es durchaus möglich, daß das Madrigal als Huldigung-*intermedio* hätte gesungen werden können. Man könnte einwenden, daß das Stück anlässlich der Ankunft Margaretes in L'Aquila am 4. Januar 1584 geschrieben wurde, dagegen spricht, meines Erachtens der Text: seit 1569 hielt sich Margarete regelmäßig in L'Aquila auf, darum hätten eventuelle Huldigungsmadrigale viel mehr das Thema der endgültigen Rückkehr als das des Erstaunens betonen sollen, zumal dieser Einzug nicht so großartig gefeiert wurde wie der von Ortona.<sup>26</sup> Für den Januar 1584 ist die sechsstimmige Madrigalreihe von dem Flame Rinaldo del Mel besser geeignet: *Hor che la saggia figlia*, *Lucida Margherita*, und *Questa gemma real*.<sup>27</sup> Margarete wird im ersten Madrigal in der idyllischen Landschaft am Ufer des Flusses Aterno angepriesen, *Aterno pars pro toto* für die Stadt L'Aquila - *bel nido in cui spera almo riposo* -, wo sie sich *con l'antico desio che già la punse* niederließ.

Hor che la saggia figlia  
di quel Cesare invitto e glorioso  
ch'un nuovo mondo al suo domin'aggiunse,  
volge l'accorte ciglia  
al bel nido in cui spera almo riposo,  
con l'antico desio che già la punse  
inonda Aterno; e le più vaghe ninfe  
fuor de l'usate linfe  
cantan le lodi sue, la gloria e'l nome  
e fan di lor corona a le sue chiome.

<sup>26</sup> Auffällig ist der Unterschied zu ihrem Einzug in L'Aquila vom 18. Mai 1569, in Begleitung ihres Sohnes Alessandro Farnese. Die Aufwandskosten beider Gelegenheiten wurden in Einzelheiten vom Stadtrat in den entsprechenden Sitzungsberichten eingetragen: die Auslagen vom Mai 1569 übersteigen deutlich die vom Januar 1584. Vgl. für das 1569 *Libro mastro della città dell'Aquila*, L'Aquila, Archivio di Stato (ASA), Ms. W40, Ff. 165-171; Für das 1584 Id., ebenda, Ms. W42, Ff. 79-85.

<sup>27</sup> RINALDO DEL MEL, *Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque et a sei voci*, Venezia, erede di Girolamo Scotto 1585 (RISM A/I: M 2201).

Dieses Madrigal wurde erst 1585 bei Scotto in Venedig veröffentlicht, es ist aber dank den obenerwähnten Merkmalen anzunehmen, daß alle drei schon ein Jahr früher komponiert wurden, zu der Zeit, als Del Mel, wie nach den Widmungen seiner Werke zu erfahren ist, sehr eng mit der Familie Valignani aus Chieti und der Familie Henrici aus L'Aquila verbunden war.<sup>28</sup> Die Beziehungen zwischen den Valignani, besonders Mario, dem Del Mel zwei Madrigalbücher widmete, und der Hauptstadt L'Aquila, sind heute auch im damaligen Kulturbereich, gut nachzuweisen: 1585 erschien bei dem Verleger Giuseppe Cacchi dell'Aquila in Vico Equense bei Neapel das Sammelwerk *Rime per Giovanna Castriota*, in dem alle Dichter, außer Mario Valignani, aus L'Aquila waren.<sup>29</sup> Außerdem ist das *Primo libro de madrigali a cinque e a sei voci* an Gerolamo Acquaviva, Herzog von Atri gewidmet, der auch im Testament von Margarete erwähnt wurde.<sup>30</sup>

Neun Monate nach der Ankunft Margaretes als Herrin in Ortona wurde also Adriano Della Rota *flamengo* zum Kapellmeister in der dortigen Kathedrale zum ersten Male gewählt, und trotz des bisherigen Fehlens der direkten archivalischen Quellen, mit denen man die Gründe Margaretes für ihre Auswanderung aus den Niederlanden nach Ortona näher beweisen könnte, ist man in der Lage diese enge Beziehung zu eruieren. Man muß bedenken, daß *Al sacro et divin nome* erst 1600 erschien, das heißt erst 14 Jahre nach dem Tode Margaretes, als die geschichtspolitischen Hintergründe dieses Madrigales schon nicht mehr im Bewusstsein waren. Es handelt sich um eine späte Ehrerbietung an die Mäzenin, die mit ihrem klangvollen Namen dem Komponist ein höheres Ansehen hätte schenken können. Della Rota müßte noch ein junger Musiker gewesen sein, als er die Stelle in Ortona bekam. Im weiteren Verlauf seines Lebens führte er ein Schattendasein, als Kapellmeister in kleinen Städten und Höfen der süditalienischen Provinz, wo nach dem Ableben Margaretes kein adeliges Geschlecht gegen das Prestige der Kaiser-

<sup>28</sup> Folgende Werke von Rinaldo Del Mel sind Mitgliedern der Familie Valignani gewidmet: *Il primo libro de Madrigali a cinque voci*, Venezia, Scotto, 1585, an Mario Valignani; *Il primo libro de madrigaletti a tre voci nuovamente ristampato*, Venezia, Angelo Gardano 1593/2, an Filippo Valignani; *Il terzo libro delli madrigali a sei voci*, Venezia, Angelo Gardano 1595, gewidmet an Mario Valignani; *Liber tertius motectorum*, Venezia, Angelo Gardano 1585, gewidmet Carolo Valignani. Werke von Del Mel Mitgliedern der Familie Henrici gewidmet: *Il primo libro de madrigali a sei voci*, Venezia, Angelo Gardano, 1584 an Horatio Henrici, Venezia 8. I. 1584; *Il secondo libro delli madrigaletti a tre voci*, Venezia, Angelo Gardano 1586 an Camillo Henrici. Über die enge Beziehung zwischen Margarete und der Familie Henrici vgl. L. ANTINORI, a. a. O., Bd. XX., F. 390, und R. COLAPIETRA, a. a. O., S. 71.

<sup>29</sup> *Rime per Giovanna Castriota, Marchesa di Civita S. Angelo*, gesammelt von Scipione de' Marchesi di Corigliano, Vico Equense, Giuseppe Cacchio, 1585. Die anderen Dichter, die dabei mitwirkten, sind: Antonio Carli, Francesco Antonelli, Giuseppe Bastiani, Giuseppe Celestino, Giuseppe Rustici, Giuliano Oliva, Marino Caprucci, Pompeo Rosi, Rotilio Pace, Torquato Baroncelli und Vespasiano Pandolfi. Vgl. auch A.L. ANTINORI, a. a. O., XX, S. 642.

<sup>30</sup> Dem Herzog Gerolamo Acquaviva vermachte Margarete *in segno d'amore [...] un diamante grande ligato in anello d'oro*. Vgl. R. LEFEVRE, a. a. O., S. 314.

tochter, der Herzogin de' Medici von Florenz und Herzogin Farnese von Parma und Piacenza usw. aufkommen konnte. Mit Adriano Della Rota war das Schicksal nicht sonderlich großzügig: von seinem Madrigaldruck sind nur zwei Stimmbücher überliefert, daher kann man heute keinen großen Überblick über seine Musik gewinnen. Das einzige vollständig erhaltene Madrigal ist *Donna leggiadra e bella*, und befindet sich in *Il Helicone*, die letzte Madrigalblütenlese, 1616 in Antwerpen bei Phalèse erschienen.<sup>31</sup>

Donna leggiadra e bella<sup>32</sup>  
 che sembri l'amorosa errante stella,  
 è ben felice il core  
 che del tuo dolce amore  
 arde la notte e 'l giorno.  
 Ma fortunato è chi fa poi soggiorno  
 teco e per te sospira  
 dolcemente e s'adira  
 che le minute stelle  
 sen fuggon tosto in queste parti e in quelle.

Schon die Wahl eines Textes arm an expressiven Kontrasten und schmerzvollen Bildern, zeigt eine Neigung zu einer schon für die Zeit veralteten Ausdrucksart, und diese Schlichtheit wird, wie zu erwarten war, genau von der Musik reflektiert. In *Donna leggiadra e bella* beweist Della Rota zwar Sicherheit in der Stimmführung als auch eine spürbare Phantasieschwäche in bezug auf das Abwechseln von imitatorischen und homophonen Stellen und in der Anwendung der Kadenzten. Man muß zugeben, daß soch ein Text nicht geeignet war, um in expressiver Kühnheit Prunk zu entfalten. Seine Stellung am Anfang des Druckes könnte schon die stilistische Richtung des ganzen Buches kundgeben. Dieses Madrigal erfüllt alle Bedingungen eines Durchschnittsstück: Liebesgedicht, Folge von imitatorischen und homophonen Stellen, sparsame Anwendung von Madrigalisten und einen einfachen Zugang für die eventuellen Vortragenden. Es handelt sich um ein handwerklich solides Werk, aber weit vom Schaffen der größten zeitgenössischen Komponisten entfernt. Sechs Madrigalen della Rotas sind Gedichte unterlegt, die schon 1583 in Musik gesetzt worden waren.<sup>33</sup> Deutlich zeigen sich die musikalische Beziehungen (vor allem

<sup>31</sup> *Il Helicone, madrigali di diversi eccellentissimi musici a cinque voci*, Anversa, Phalèse, 1616 (RISM B/I: 1616/9). Für die moderne Übertragung siehe Notenanhang.

<sup>32</sup> Für die Textwiedergabe siehe Fußnote 23.

<sup>33</sup> G. GABRIELI, *Donna leggiadra e bella*; A. ZIOLO, *Se in mezzo al foco*; L. BERTANI, *Ch'ami la vita mia*; L. MARENZIO, *Se tu mi lasei*, A. STABILE, *Lasso quand'io speria*, alle enthalten in *De floridi virtuosi d'Italia il primo libro de madrigali a 5 voci*, Venezia, Vincenti, 1583 (RISM B/I: 1583/11).



motivische), die *Ch'ami la vita mia* mit dem entsprechenden Stück Bertanis verbinden. Besser nachweisbar ist die Ähnlichkeit zwischen *Donna leggiadra e bella* und dem gleichnamigen Madrigal Gabrielis, das Della Porta als Modell diente. Die Gedrängtheit von Gabrieli wird aber von Della Porta weitgehend ausgedehnt und verwässert: 55 Breven bei Della Porta gegen 25 des Modelles von Gabrieli. Allenfalls stellt seine Anwesenheit in einer Anthologie 16 Jahre nach seiner Veröffentlichung das andauernde Interesse des Publikums an 'vertrauten' Musikstücken deutlich dar. Man muß auch bedenken, daß für die Verfasser einer Madrigalanthologie der Text anscheinend viel wichtiger als die Musik war, da die Unterteilung in Stimmbücher es behinderte oder zumindest erschwerte, die musikalischen Eigenschaften auf einen Blick zu fassen. Infolgedessen kann man die Wahl von *Donna leggiadra e bella* nachvollziehen: Texte mit einem gleichen oder ähnlichen Textincipit haben sowohl im XVI. als auch im XVII. Jahrhundert einen beträchtlichen Erfolg bei den Musikern gehabt<sup>34</sup>: er bedurfte lediglich eines 'Pedigrees', um ihm einen Platz in einer Anthologie zu sichern.

<sup>34</sup> Vgl. zum Beispiel die folgende (unvollständige) Liste: *Donna leggiadra dalla vostra luce*, Cesare Tudino (1554); *Donna leggiadra e bella* Giovanni Bassano (1587); *Donna leggiadra e bella, che con le vostre luci m'accendesti*, Philippe Verdelot (1533); *Donna leggiadra e bella, che di beltà eccedete ogn'altra stella*, Maffeo Cagnazzi (1608); *Donna leggiadra e bella, se cangerò la rosa mia con quella*, Paolo Virchi (1591); *Donna leggiadra e bella, se tu sei la mia stella*, Agostino Scozzese (1579); *Donna leggiadra e bella, sí dolce 'l foco che per voi mi sface*, Paolo Isnardi (1577), Vincenzo Ruffo (1556); *Donna leggiadra e bella, voi sete la mia stella*, Paolo Bellasio (1592), Giovan Paolo Caprioli (1602), Jean de Macque (1582), Alessandro Orologio (1593); *Donna leggiadra e bell'hor che m'avete*, Giovanni Piccioni (1582); *Donna leggiadra e bell'il tuo bel volto*, Aurelio della Faya (1564), Grammazio Metallo (1592); *Donna leggiadra e piú chiara del sole*, Ludovico Agostini (1570), Vincenzo Ruffo (1560), Pietro Vecoli (1587). Über die Aufstellung der Madrigalblütlesen, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von *Il Helicone* vgl. Franco Piperno, Einleitung zu *Madrigali siciliani in antologie transalpine (1583-1616)*, *Musiche rinascimentali siciliane*, hrsg. von Paolo Emilio Carapezza, vol. VI, Firenze, Olschki, 1991, Ss. IX-XXXV und Id., *Il madrigale in Europa. Compilazioni antologiche allestite e pubblicate oltralpe: dati e appunti*, in *Il madrigale oltre il madrigale. Dal Barocco al Novecento: destino di una forma e problemi di analisi*, Atti del IV convegno di studi [Lenno - Como 28-30 giugno 1991], hrsg. von Alberto Colzani, Andrea Luppi, Maurizio Padoan, Como, AMIS, 1994, Ss. 19-48.

15

mo - ro - sa er - ran - te stel - la  
 mo - ro - sa er - ran - te stel - la l'a - mo - ro - sa er - ran - te stel -  
 mo - ro - sa er - ran - te stel - la [l'a - mo - ro - sa er - ran - te stel -  
 mo - ro - sa er - ran - te stel - la l'a - mo - ro - sa er - ran - te stel -  
 l'a - - - mo - ro - sa er - ran - te stel - -

20

[l'a - - - mo - ro - sa er - ran - te stel - la] è ben fe - li -  
 la [l'a - mo - ro - sa er - ran - te stel - la] è  
 la l'a - mo - ro - sa er - ran - te stel - la] è ben fe - li -  
 la l'a - - - mo - ro - sa er - ran - te stel - la è  
 la è ben fe -

25

ce il co - - - - - re  
 ben fe - li - - - ce [è ben fe - li - ce] il co - - - -  
 - ce il co - - - re il co - - - re è  
 ben fe - li - - - ce il co - - - -  
 li - - - ce il co - - - - - re il

30

è ben fe - li - - - ce il co - - - -  
 - - - re è ben fe - li - ce il co - - - -  
 ben fe - li - ce il co - re [è ben fe - li - ce] il co - -  
 re è ben fe - li - - - ce il co - - -  
 co - - - re - - -

35

- - - re che del tuo dol - ce a - mo - re [che del tuo dol - ce a - mo -  
 - - - re che del tuo dol - ce a - mo - re [che del tuo dol - ce a - mo -  
 - - - re che del tuo dol - ce a - mo - re [che del tuo dol - ce a - mo -  
 - - - re che del tuo dol - ce a - mo -  
 che del tuo dol - ce a - mo - re

40

re] ar - de - - - [ar - de] - - - la not - te e' l gior -  
 re] ar - de - - - [ar - de] - - - ar - de la not - te e' l gior -  
 re] ar - de - - - [ar - de] - - -  
 re ar - de - - - [ar - de] - - - ar - de] la not -  
 ar - de - - - [ar - de] - - - la not - te e' l gior -

45

no ar - de la not-te e'l gior -  
no ar - de ar - de la not-te e'l gior -  
ar - de [ar - de] la not - te e'l gior -  
- te e'l gior - no ar - de la not-te e'l gior - no

50

no ma for - tu-na - to è chi fa poi sog - gior - no te - co [ma  
no ma for - tu-na - to è chi fa poi sog - gior - no te - co [ma  
ma for - tu-na - to è chi fa poi sog - gior - no te - co [ma  
ma for - tu-na - to è chi fa poi sog - gior - no te - co

55

for - tu-na - to è chi fa poi sog - gior - no te - co e per te so-spi -  
for - tu-na - to è chi fa poi sog - gior - no te - co] e per te  
for - tu-na - to è chi fa poi sog - gior - no te - co] e per te so-spi -  
for - tu-na - to è chi fa poi sog - gior - no te - co] e per te so-spi - ra  
e per te so -

60

ra so - spi - ra [so - spi - ra] dol - ce -  
so - spi - ra so-spi - ra e per te so - spi - ra dol -  
ra so - spi - ra [so - spi - ra]  
[e per te so - spi - ra] so - spi - ra dol - ce - men -  
spi - ra [so - spi - ra] dol - ce -

65

men - te e s'a - di - ra dol - - ce - men - te s'a -  
- ce - men - te e s'a - di - ra [dol - ce - men - te s'a -  
dol - ce - men - te s'a - di -  
te e s'a - di - ra s'a - di - ra  
men - te s'a - di - ra

70

di - ra [dol - ce - men - te e s'a - di - ra]  
di - ra dol - ce - men - te e s'a - di - ra] che le mi-nu-te stel -  
ra che le mi-nu-te stel -  
dol - - ce - men - te e s'a - di - ra che le mi-nu-te stel -  
[dol - - ce - men - te e s'a - di - ra] che le mi-nu-te stel -

75

che le mi-nu-te stel - le [che le mi - nu - te stel - le [che le mi-nu-te stel - - - le che le mi - nu - te stel - le [che le mi-nu-te stel - le che le mi - nu - te stel - le [che le mi-nu-te stel - le che le mi - nu - te stel - le

80

le] sen fug - gon sen fug - gon to - sto in que - ste par - ti e in quel - - - - - le] sen fug - gon to - sto [sen fug - gon to - sto] in que - ste par - ti e in quel - le - - - - - le] sen fug - gon to - sto in que - ste par - ti e in quel - - - - - le] in que - ste par - - - ti e in quel - - - le

85

le in que - ste par - [in que - ste par - ti e in quel - - - le] in le [in que - ste par - [in que - ste par - ti e in quel - le in que - ste par - que - ste par - - - ti e in quel - - - le

90

- ti e in quel - le [in que - ste in que - - - ste par - que - ste par - ti e in quel - le [in que - ste par - ti e in - - - ti e in quel - le in que - ste par - ti e in que - ste par - ti e in - - - ti e in quel - - - le in que - ste par - ti e in in que - ste par - - - ti e in

95

- ti e in quel - le che le mi - quel - - - le] che le mi - nu - te stel - le [che le mi - quel - le] che le mi - nu - te stel - le [che le - - - mi - quel - - - le] che le mi - nu - te stel - le [che le mi - quel - - - le che le mi - nu - te stel - le

100

nu - te stel - le sen fug - gon so - - - sto [sen nu - te stel - le] che le mi - nu - te - - - stel - le sen fug - gon to - sto [sen nu - te stel - le che le mi - nu - te stel - le] sen fug - gon to - sto [sen fug - gon to - nu - te stel - le le mi - nu - te stel - le] sen fug - gon to - sto [sen [che le mi - nu - te stel - le] sen fug - gon to - sto

105

fug-gon to - sto] in que - ste par - ti e in quel - le.  
 fug-gon to - sto sen fug-gon to - sto] in que - ste par - ti e in quel - le.  
 sto sen fug-gon to - sto in que - ste par - ti e in quel - le.  
 fug-gon to - sto sen fug-gon to - sto] in que - ste par - ti e in quel - le.  
 [sen fug-gon to - sto] in que - ste par - ti e in quel - le.

APPENDIX<sup>35</sup>

## DOKUMENTE AUS DER STADTBIBLIOTHEK VON ORTONA

*Liber Consiliorum Civitatis Ortonae* (ab hier L. C. C. O.), Bd. I., F. 1r., 15. August 1584.

[...] Il parere delli magnifici sindici per mostrare in parte la devotione che sempre li nostri antecessori han portato à quella santissima chiesa poichè la città non può tanto, almeno recognosca il mastro di cappella, messer Andriano Flamengo della solita provvisione di docati dodici l'anno, soliti darsi da questa magnifica città agli altri mastri di cappella di detta chiesa, tanto più quanti che a tutti è noto il decoro et reputatione ne resulti a detta chiesa et a questa città essendo di tanta perfectione [...] che tutta questa provintia ne porta invidia, oltre la bona vita et oltre [...]

Messer Pompeo Pansa dice che si dia al mastro di cappella dodeci ducati l'anno.

L. C. C. O., Bd. I., F. 28v., 15. August 1585

Item se prepone alle SS. VV. quanto questa città sia solita tenere un mastro de cappella ad honorem dei et del glorioso Apostolo Thomaso nostro advocato et protettore della città con provvisione di docati.

Il parere dei nostri sindici è che se reconfermi il mastro Adriano con la detta provvisione.

L. C. C. O., Bd. I., F. 34r., 25. August 1585

Item se prepone qualmennte questa città sia solita tenere un mastro de cappella ad honore di Dio e del glorioso Apostolo san Thomaso nostro advocato et sinore della città con la provvisione di docati dodici l'anno, le SS. VV. provedano.

Il parere dei nostri sindici è che se reconferma il mastro messer Adriano con la detta provvisione.

<sup>35</sup> Die Abkürzungen wurden aufgelöst, Fehler und Ungereimtheiten wurden stillschweigend verbessert, um die Dokumente besser lesbar zu machen.

L. C. C. O., Bd. I., F. 51r., 15. August 1586

Item se prepone alle SS. VV. qualmente questa città suole farsi provvisione di predicatori per la futura quattagesima et anco tenersi mastro di cappella nell'ecclesia. di santo Thomaso nostro advocato.

Il parere delli magnifici sindici è che si riconfermino il presente mastro Adriano con la solita provvisione [...]

Fuit conclusum che la città contribuisca alla provvisione di mastro di cappella a beneplacito [...] della città et che si accetti il detto predicatore [...].

L. C. C. O., Bd. I., F. 55v., 7. September 1586

Item se prepone alle SS. VV. come questa città si trova debitrice alla regia corte per tutto agosto passato ducati trecento sessanta incirca et de più si deve a messer Battista medico docati quaranta tre e mezzo.

A Gioseppe Mosca per alloggio(?) docati quattro, a mastro di cappella docati quattro e a Giulio Cesare piazzaro docati quattro, che stimato in tutto docati quattrocento quindici et carlini cinque.

L. C. C. O., Bd. I., F. 97r., 15. August 1588

Item se prepone alle SS. VV.- come questa città suole tenere mastro de cappella nella chiesa del santo Thomaso Apostolo nostro advocato. Le SS. VV. provedano.

Il parere dei magnifici sindici è che se reconfermi il presente mastro Adriano con la solita provvisione.

Ita conclusum fuit iusta votum mgnifici sindici nemine discrepante.

L. C. C. O., Bd. I., F. 139v., 15. August 1589

Item se prepone alle SS. VV. come questa città nell'ecclesia di santo Thomaso nostro advocato sole tenersi un mastro di cappella, le SS. VV. provegono.

Il parere delli signori sindici è che si confermi mastro Adriano con la solita provvisione.

L. C. C. O., Bd. I., F. 193r., 15. August 1592

Item se propone alle SS. VV. qualmente la città ha solito dare dodici ducati al mastro di Cappella di san Thomaso Apostolo a suo beneplacito, però le SS. VV. provedano.

Il parere delli sindici è che per il decoro di detta cappella se paghino detti dodici ducati per un altro anno a suo beneplacito.

Fuit conclusum che volendo servire mastro Adriano rota [sic], che se li diano dudici ducati per un altro anno et che sia tenuto ancora insegnare quelli figlioli che vorranno imparare a doi carlini il mese.

L. C. C. O., Bd. I., F. 224r., 15. August 1593.

Item se propone alle SS. VV. qualmente questa città nel presente anno tiene per mastro di cappella messer Mutio Bruno di Fano, con provvisione di ducati dodici, le SS. VV. provedano, si ha da refermare?

Il parere delli signori sindici è che si riconfermi con detta provvisione di ducati dodici.

Fuit conclusum unanimiter che si riconferma con detta provvisione docati dodici exceptus magnificus Pompeus Pansa qui nichil dixit.

L. C. C. O., Bd. II., F. 94v., 4. Oktober 1604.

Se propone alle SS. VV. come nel libro del consiglio si trovano molti conclusioni diversi da quello che s'è ragionato, però s'arrà bene che in essi consigli se declarano e se batta l'equalità circa li provvisioni da

pagarsi alli soliti privvisionati come hanno advocati per servitio piazzari, mastro di cappella, cascia, rationali et altri, le SS. VV provvegono.

Il parere delli sindici è che li soprannominati se pagassero de solita loro provvisione acciò possano più di bona voglia servire et attendere allo loro esercitio essendo che omnis labor ottat premium.

Et sic fuit conclusum unanimiter et nemine discrepante che tutti li provvisionati cittadini non si paghino né questo anno né anco in futurum et eletti che saranno in consiglio pro tempore l'intendino, esclusi da detti provvisioni come di sopra et che debbano servire senza provvisione eccetto li piazzari et mastro di cappella.

L. C. C. O., Bd. II., F. 109r., 26. November 1606

Item se prepone alle SS. VV. come per la morte di Mutio Bruno mastro di cappella della catedrale chiesa, alla quale questa città faceva di provvisione di ducati dodici l'anno, è necessario che per dicoro di essa chiesa, come anco della città, si faccia nova electione di un altro mastro di cappella che sia di bona qualità et virtù, et perché nella nostra provincia è conosciuto il valore e virtù di Adriano Rota, nostro cittadino, il quale si ritrova provisionato in Sulmona in ducati cento cinquanta l'anno, il parere nostro saria che si rechiamaesse detto Adriano per il servizio predetto e che questa città gli agiongesse di provvisione ducati otto di più l'anno, tanto più che in un altro consiglio fu ordinato e concluso l'istesso dalle SS. VV.

Fuit conclusum iusta votum supradictorum sindicorum che li sia dato ducati vinti l'anno.

L. C. C. O., Bd. II., F. 246v., 15. August 1613

Fuit conclusum che restino per medici il signor Giulio Casale con la solita provvisione et il signor Giovan Battista de Lectis al quale si habbia ad dare di provvisione centocinquanta ducati, et oltre un mastro di scola et mastro di cappella si rifermino per quattro anni et gli si spediscano patente.

SITZUNGSBERICHTE DES STADTRATES VON ORTONA VOM 8. SEPTEMBER 1583

[nach G.B., *Il palazzo Farnese in Ortona a mare. Margherita d'Austria*, Lanciano, 1897, Ss. 18-20. Zitiert von F. P. RECCHINI, *Appunti cronologici per la storia di Ortona a Mare*, Ortona, 1909, Ss. 89-90]

1. Dare largo mandato, autorità e potenza, come che fosse tutto il consiglio adunato, ai due sindaci, mastrogiurato ed ai magnifici Camillo De Sanctis, Pompeo Pansa, Giovan Francesco De Bernardo, Cesare Quadrari, Andrea Matteo De Bernardo, Giovanni Retagnei, Pietro De Masciopinto e Tommaso Telluso, a fare tutto quello che si conviene e tutto provvedere con ordine senza confusione.
2. Alzare la porta di Caldari, ristaurarla e dipingervi le due armi di Ortona e dei Farnesi.
3. Costruire un ponte di mattoni in direzione della suddetta porta.
4. Farsi due archi trionfali di legnami belli e ricoperti di tela dipinta, da erigersi, uno dove finisce la piazza, e l'altro poco discosto dalla casa De Sanctis, destinata ad abitazione della duchessa, e del palazzo de Pitiis, in linea della prima colonna del portico della chiesa cattedrale.
5. Addobbare la strada grande di porta Caldari, fino alla cornice di s. Agostino alla piazza del castello, con arazzi, festoni, e tutto dovendosi eseguire come si sa fare.
6. Farsi venire un pittore onde dipingere le armi, gli archi trionfali e mettere a grossi caratteri le iscrizioni.
7. Rivestire con nuove divise i militi addetti al servizio del paese: fregiare le loro divise delle armi della duchessa e della città; dare una nuova insegna all'alfiero, ed acquistare trombe nuove e tamburi.
9. Fare i fuochi artificiali e fare venire polvere grossa per artiglierie, e fare salve.

10. Fare una commedia o pastorale, per passar tempo.

12. Eliggere, per andare sino a Piacenza ad invitare ed accompagnare Sua Altezza da parte e nome della città, li signori Giovanni Bernardo, Cesare De Pitiis e Giulio De Sanctis, et come persone pratiche in corte faranno assai onore alla città et andranno per amore della patria.

13. Adornare di arazzi la finestra prospiciente la strada del palazzo d'abitazione, nel davanzale situare sontuoso guanciaie, onde Sua Altezza potesse stare comoda e vedere come la città di ogni minima cosa si fosse dato pensiero per onorarla.

15. Dipingere nella torre dell'orologio le armi della città e dei Farnesi.

DOKUMENTE AUS DEM KAPITELARCHIV VON ATRI<sup>36</sup>

*Libro di introito ed esito 1593, procuratori messer Lutio Mazzetta, messer Francesco Fatio,*

F. 11r. «Ho despeso per una canna et mezzo di panno in ottanta per messer Adriano a trentasei carlini la canna, monta ducati cinque et quattro carlini et per fattura et rese, ch'in tutto monta ducati 5. 8. 4.» F. 13v. Ho pagato a messer Adriano nostro mastro di cappella di S.ta Maria a conto della sua provvisione docati quarantuno, et carlini, ducati 41. 3. 0.»; F. 22v., «Et più uno conserto di messe dell'asola [sic] date al mastro di capella, ducati 0. 4. 0.».

*Libro dell'amministrazione dell'intrate della chiesa dell'anno 1594 fatto per noi Ser Gio. Batta Trullo et per me Bernardo Probo Procuratori.*

F. 18r. «Per due conserti di libri di canto pagati a messer Adriano carlini otto, ducati 0. 8. 0.»; F. 26v. «Essito di grano dell'anno 1594. Dato a 17 detto [Mai] ad Andrea Marroni una soma di grano a ragione di quarantadue carlini la soma, de quali venticinque hebbe in conto di messer Adriano et il resto in conto di sua provvisione, tomolj 3»; F. 44v., «A messer Adriano mastro di cappella a 23 di Febbraio dato cinque ducati a conto di sua provvisione, ducati 5. 0. 0.»; «A 5 di Marzo pagato a messer Adriano mastro di cappella in conto di sua provvisione ducati cinque, ducati 5. 5. 0.»; F. 45r., «8 di Marzo dato a messer Adriano mastro di cappella per mano di Ser Lutio Mazzetta in tante robbe per vestire ducati ventidue et un carlino et gra' nove, ducati 22. 1. 9», «A dí detto [21. April] dato a messer Adriano mastro di cappella carlini dieci per mano di Ser Gio. Batta Trullo in conto in conto di sua provvisione»; F. 45v., «Dato a messer Adriano a dí detto [21 Mai] carlini venticinque in conto di sua provvisione, ducati 2. 5. 0.»; «A 21 di giugno. Dato a messer Adriano carlini tre a compimento di quel che restava da havere dalla chiesa di sua provvisione, ducati 0. 3. 0.»; F. 46r., «Dato a Biondo et per lui a messer Adriano carlini cinque, ducati 0. 5. 0.»; «Dato a 17 d'Agosto a messer Adriano mastro del cappella ducati nove in conto di sua provvisione cominciando dal presente mese d'Agosto 1594, ducati 9. 0. 0.»; «Dato a di detto [22. August] a messer Adriano mastro di cappella in conto di sua provvisione carlini quindici per mano di don Aurelio, ducati 1. 5. 0.»; F. 46v., «Dato a dí detto a messer Adriano carlini quindici in conto di sua provvisione, ducati 1. 5. 0.»; «Dato a dí detto a messer Adriano ducati decinove et carlini due in conto di sua provvisione, ducati 19. 2. 0.»; «Et più a dí detto dato a messer Adriano un ducato fatto buono per lui al panattiero d'Ortona in conto di sua provvisione»;

<sup>36</sup> Herr Marco Della Sciucca stellte mir diese Dokumente zur Verfügung, wofür ich ihm sehr dankbar bin.

*Libro di introito ed esito, 1594, procuratore Gio. Batta Trullo.*

F. 4v., «Et piú ducati dudeci et carlini otto per la rendita de some quattro di grano del mulino vinduto a carlini trentadue, la soma quale fu dato a mastro Adriano per suo salario, ducati 12. 8. 0, et piú fu mesurato a mastro Adriano some tre di grano a conto del suo trimestre a carlini trentadui la soma, ducati 9. 6. 0»; F. 6r., «A 5 del detto [September] pagati a mastro Adriano carlini dui, ducati 0. 2. 0; a 5 del detto pagati a mastro Adriano ducati sette e mezzo»; F. 11r., «Et piú ducati dicinove et carlini dui pagati a mastro Adriano a complimento del suo sirvito in sei some di grano; et piú ducati quattro pagati a mes-ser Adriano mastro di cappella, ducati 4. 0. 0».

NOTENANHANG. ADRIANO DELLA ROTA, *DONNA LEGGIADRA E BELLA*, IN *IL HELICONE* (1616)

17 CANTO

L' sacro & di un nome & diuin nome Al sacro & di-  
 nin no me ij Della grā Margherita er-  
 ger conuienti Colossi Archi Trofei Tempi ed alta ri ij  
 Noich'à si gra ui some ch'à si gra ui some  
 Noi ch'à figra ui fo mé Habbiamo Habbiam'infermi i fenfi In baf-  
 si accenti e chizari Cantiam Cantiam lieti gl'honor di lei Per-  
 che ij Perch'ogn'un nosco ancor l'ado ri Perche perch'ogn'un  
 nosc'ancor l'adori Perche Perch'ogn'un nosc'ancor l'a dori.

BASSO

**A**

L sacro & diuin nome ij

& diuin nome Della grā Mārghetita erger' conuicisti Colossi Archi Trofei

Empied alta ri' Noich' à figra uisome ij

Habbiam' infermi i sensi In bassi accenti e chitari

Cantiam Cantiam liceti gl'honor di lei Perche ij

Perch'ogn'un no sco ancor l'ado ri Perch'ogn'un nosc'an-

cor l'adori Perche Perch'ogn'un nosco ancor l'ado i.

## ITALIAN INFLUENCE ON THE MUSIC OF PETER PHILIPS (1560/1561-1628):

### Musical Taste and Patronage in the Spanish Netherlands at the End of the Sixteenth Century

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In 1622 Henry Peacham included the following reference to Philips in his *The Compleat Gentleman*: Nor must I here forget our rare Countrey-man, Peter Phillips, Organist to their Altezza's at Bruxels, now one of the greatest Masters of Musicke in Europe. He hath sent us over many excellent Songs, as well Motets as Madrigals: he affecteth altogether the Italian veine.<sup>1</sup> In this paper I will show firstly that the Italianate style which Philips chose to adopt was due as much to the musical environment in which he worked as to the musical training he received during his years in Rome, and secondly that his music was affected as much by changes in his employment and personal circumstances as it was by his own musical tastes and religious preferences. Questions of musical style are notoriously difficult to address, and it is not my intention in this paper to examine in any detail the various possible influences on Philips's music. However, Peacham makes it clear that Philips's contemporaries understood his vocal music to be in an *Italian veine*, so it is legitimate to make such a claim today. Our investigation of musical taste in the Low Countries at the end of the sixteenth century will focus on a number of anthologies of vocal music published by Pierre Phalèse, particularly one edited by Philips, and on Philips's choice of vocal model in his keyboard intabulations.<sup>2</sup>

Recent archival research by Godelieve Spiessens has uncovered some important new biographical information about Philips which allows us to reinterpret Philips's musical output in a new light.<sup>3</sup> Some of the most important events and dates in the life of Peter Philips are given in Table 1.

<sup>1</sup> H. PEACHAM, *The Compleat Gentleman*, London, 1622 (*The English Experience: its Record in Early Printed Books Published in Facsimile*, 59), Amsterdam - New York, 1968, p. 102.

<sup>2</sup> Throughout this paper 'intabulation' should be understood to refer a technique where a polyphonic model is transcribed for keyboard or lute and adorned with idiomatic figuration, the underlying structure of the piece remaining intact. In the sixteenth century there was another type of intabulation which involved taking a vocal piece and reworking its motives and textures into a new composition which need not preserve the structure or proportions of the original.

<sup>3</sup> G. SPIESSENS, *De Antwerpse Periode van Peter Philips ca 1561-1628* in *Musica Antiqua*, 7 (1990), pp. 108-113.



Table 1: Outline Biography of Peter Philips

1582	Left England for Italy, arriving at the English College, Rome, on 20 October.
1582-85	Organist at English College. Patronage of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese.
1585-90	Left Rome with Thomas Lord Paget and travelled to Genoa, Madrid, Paris, Antwerp, Brussels in his employ.
1590	Moved to Antwerp on Paget's death.
1591	Married Cornelia de Momperre on 26 May in the O.-L.-Vrouwekathedraal.
1592	Philips's daughter Leonora was baptised on 7 June in Sint-Jacobskerk. Cornelis Pruynen was the godfather. Cornelia died on 26 July, after which Leonora's upbringing was entrusted to her maternal grandmother.
1593	Visited Sweelinck in Amsterdam. Fell ill at Middelburg. Accused of plotting against the English crown. Imprisoned until investigation by the authorities showed that the accusations were groundless.
1597	Became organist at the court of Albert and Isabella in Brussels.
1599	Leonora died on 20 December
1601	<i>Weesmeesterskamer</i> ('Orphan-masters') document gives an account of how the inheritance was to be distributed in accordance with Philips's marriage contract (no longer extant).
1609	'Petrus Philippi, beneficatus nostrae dioecesis' was ordained priest on 24 March.
1610	Appointed to a canonry of the collegiate church of St. Vincent, Soignies on 9 March. Exchanged for a similar position at St. Germain, Tirlemont on 25 January 1621. He was also a canon of Béthune.

In early August 1582 Philips left England for Rome *to live after his conscience and to sie Italie where he had harde y<sup>t</sup> there were many excellent men of his facultie*.<sup>4</sup> It seems likely that Philips would have had contact with other musicians and composers working in Rome during his stay there: they included Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, Luca Marenzio and Felice Anerio, who like Philips was connected with the English College. On the face of it, Philips's

<sup>4</sup> Letter from Gilpin to Burghley, 22 September 1593. Quoted in A.G. PETTI, *New Light on Peter Philips* in *The Monthly Musical Record*, 87 (1957), pp. 60-61.

Italian training seems more than enough to explain the Italianate style of his music: in his article for *New Grove*, John Steele writes that 'his style always remained deeply indebted to the conservative Roman tradition'.<sup>5</sup> It is therefore tempting to see Philips as a vehicle through which Italian influence made itself felt in the Low Countries, but I shall argue that it was Philips's training in Rome which allowed him to gain employment in the Spanish Netherlands,<sup>6</sup> and that his musical style was driven by the demands of his patrons and employers.

In 1591 Pierre Phalèse published *Melodia olympica*, an anthology of Italian madrigals compiled by Philips.<sup>7</sup> The collection indicates Philips's taste in music, and is significant for the composers whose work it contains. Table 2 is the list of contents from *Melodia olympica*. Understandably, Philips included some of his own madrigals: five out of sixty-seven madrigal *partes* were composed by him. And, as we might expect, there are pieces by composers with Roman connections: Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (including two madrigals under the name Prenestini), Ruggiero Giovanelli and Giovanni Maria Nanino (who may have been pupils of Palestrina), Luca Marenzio, Felice Anerio, Paolo Bellasio, Giovanni Battista Moscatella and Giulio Eremita, as well as the Flemish composer Giovanni de Macque. Other Italians are also represented, including Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi, Orazio Vecchi, Alessandro Striggio and Andrea Gabrieli. There are also settings of Italian texts by local composers in an Italianate style, including three madrigals by Cornelis Verdonck and two by André Pevernage. Most composers contribute just one madrigal to the collection. The best represented composer, with nine madrigal *partes*, is Marenzio.

<sup>5</sup> J. STEELE, *Philips, Peter* in S. SADIE (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, XIV, London, 1980, p. 654.

<sup>6</sup> I use the expression to mean the provinces which remained under Spanish occupation, and in which Roman Catholicism was the established religion.

<sup>7</sup> *Melodia olympica di diversi eccellentissimi musici... nuovamente raccolta da Pietro Phillippi inglese*, Antwerp (P. Phalèse and J. Bellère), 1591.

Table 2. Table of Contents from *Melodia olympica*, Antwerp, 1591, tenor part-book

A 4.		T A V O L A.			
A Che piu strale	Cornelio Verdonch.	2	Poi che né priego ancor	Oratio Bassani.	18
Ahi che farò	Ruggiero Giouanelli.	4	Questa bianca neue	Gio. Maria Nanino.	12
Amor io sento	Guglielmo Blotaglio.	9	Quella quel chiara fonte	Hippolito Bacculi.	14
Amor sei bei rubini	Pietro Philippi.	7	Quando fra bianche perle	Gio. Maria Nanino.	20
Perche Seconda parte.		8	Sentomi: Seconda parte.		21
Donna i belli occhi	Paulo Bellaso.	5	Spuntauan gia	Luca Marenzio.	11
I ego questo mio	Gio. Maria Nanino.	6	Quando: Seconda parte.		11
Morirò cor mio core	Francisco Farina.	4	Vaghi boschetti	Giaches de Vvert.	21
Mori questo mio core	Gio. Prenceltini.	5	Mor che voi	Pietro Philippi	23
Non al suo amante	Luca Marenzio.	3	Anchor che possa dire	Alessandro Striggio.	30
O come grand martire	Andrea Peuernage.	2	Ahi del vostro	Giulio Eremita.	35
Si dolce son le guardi	Gio. Battista Moscaglia.	6	Delficco incoltro	Gio. Battista Moscaglia	31
Se d'altre mai	Gio. de Macque.	8	Io mi son giouenetta	Gio. Battista Mosto.	34
Solo e pensolo	Gio. Battista Moscaglia.	9	La mia candida Ninfa	Oratio Vecchi.	27
Vo volete	Pietro Philippi.	3	La ver l'aurora	Alessandro Striggio.	28
Veramente in amore	Gio. Prenceltini.	7	Ne fero idegno	Luca Marenzio.	33
A 5. A Morio non potrei	Guglielmo Blotaglio.	13	Talche: 2. parte.		33
Ahi crudel stato mio	Fab tito Dentici.	19	Potro viuer	Luca Marenzio.	27
Clori mia pastorella	Giacomo Gastoldi.	12	Poi ch'el mio largo	Giulio Eremita.	34
Ehi per voi non sospira	Annibal Zoilo.	16	Spetar non: Prima parte.	Andrea Gabrieli.	23
Caro souui. Prima parte	Giacomo Gastoldi.	17	Sparue: Seconda parte.	Vincenzo Bellhauer	24
Perche: Seconda parte			Tra pure: Terza parte.	Claudio Correggio.	24
Dolce al petto	Gio. Battista Moscaglia.	10	Tiatro: Quarta parte.	Baldilera Donati.	25
Dolce fiammella	Gio. Maria Nanino.	12	Italia bella Quinta parte.	Oratio Vecchi.	25
Deggio dunque partire	Luca Marenzio.	15	Poi: Vltima parte.	Tiburcio Massaino.	26
Io partirò. Seconda parte.		15	Mura: Chiufa	Tiburcio Massaino.	26
Ma voi. Terza parte.		16	Ti si morir vo ea	d'Incerto.	28
Fiammeggian due stelle	Cornelio Verdonch.	14	Frend: Seconda parte.		29
Il giouenil mio core	Felice Anerio.	20	La bella. Terza parte.		29
Infinita beltà	Andrea Peuernage.	22	Coli morio Quarta parte.		30
I umi miei cari	d'Incerto.	16	Turton io quel	Cornelio Verdonch.	31
Moue il tuo	Lelio Berrani.	19	Vouia parlare	Gio. Turnhout.	31
Mille fiate	d'Incerto.	22			
Non son le vostri mani	Gio. Palestina.	18	A O T T O.		
			Ditenni d' Diana mia.	Pietro Philippi.	36
			I L F I N E.		

The publishing house of Pierre Phalèse had issued similar anthologies before Philips's *Melodia olympica: Musica divina* (1583) was compiled by Phalèse himself,<sup>8</sup> *Harmonia celeste* (of the same year) by the Antwerp composer André Peuernage,<sup>9</sup> and *Symphonia angelica* by Hubert Waelrant in 1585.<sup>10</sup> These anthologies were commissioned from Antwerp composers whom Phalèse presumably knew, except for the one compiled by Phalèse himself. The choice of pieces reflects the compilers' own taste for Italian music, and presumably that of their public. Phalèse also reprinted a vast number of Italian publications dedicated to individual composers. He was obviously responding

<sup>8</sup> *Musica divina di XIX. Autori illustri... nuovamente raccolta da Pietro Phalesio*, Antwerp (P. Phalèse and J. Bellère), 1583.

<sup>9</sup> *Harmonia celeste di diversi eccellentissimi musici... nuovamente raccolta per Andrea Peuernage*, Antwerp (P. Phalèse and J. Bellère), 1583.

<sup>10</sup> *Symphonia angelica di diversi eccellentissimi musici... nuovamente raccolta per Huberto Waelrant*, Antwerp (P. Phalèse and J. Bellère), 1585.

to a demand for such music, both in the Netherlands and the northern part of Europe more generally: it seems likely that the Cornish Catholic recusant Francis Tregian, best known as the scribe of *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, used prints from the Phalèse presses when compiling his huge manuscript anthology of motets, madrigals and instrumental music.<sup>11</sup> Phalèse was following his commercial instincts: he commissioned local musicians to make selections of music that they knew would sell.

*Melodia olympica* is dedicated to Giulio Balbani, and this gives us a clue as to why Italian music was so popular in the Spanish Netherlands. Balbani came from a family of Italian merchants and bankers that had settled in Antwerp. Philips describes Balbani as *patrono mio osservandiss.*, which suggests that Balbani was already supporting Philips: perhaps the dedication of this collection to him was intended to cement the relationship. There was a thriving community of expatriate Italian merchants and bankers living in Antwerp: throughout his time there, and also after his move to the Brussels court, Philips seems to have associated with them. In 1596 Philips's first book of madrigals for six voices was dedicated to another Italian resident in Antwerp, the Florentine printer and bookseller Alessandro di Giunta. The *Weesmeesterskamer* (orphan-masters) document of 1601 uncovered by Erik Duverger and Godelieve Spiessens indicates that Philips was in debt to Giunta and to 'Sr Orsusch', whom Spiessens identifies as Jean Orsucci Bernardszoon, an Italian merchant who lived in Antwerp from 1597 to 1640.<sup>12</sup> In 1601 Philips's salary has been calculated at fifty-four guilders for a four month period,<sup>13</sup> which does not compare favourably to the 305 guilders he was later to receive for a similar period as the highest paid organist at court in 1613.<sup>14</sup> He must have been glad of Colonel William Stanley's patronage in the period 1601-1611,<sup>15</sup> but clearly this was not enough to prevent his running into financial difficulties. Perhaps it should be added that the pay he was to receive in 1613 gave way to irregular payments by 1617: Steele and others assumed that Philips's ecclesiastical preferments were solely a means by which his income could be supplemented. We now know that he was ordained, but there can be little doubt that, as the lifestyle enjoyed by Albert and Isabella led them into ever greater financial difficulties, his ecclesiastical posts were intended at least in part to supplement his salary as organist.

<sup>11</sup> London, British Library, MS Egerton 3665 and New York Public Library at Lincoln Center, Library and Museum of the Performing Arts, Drexel MS 4302. See D.J. SMITH, *The Instrumental Music of Peter Philips: its Sources, Dissemination and Style*, D.Phil diss., Oxford University, 1994, pp. 98-101.

<sup>12</sup> SPIESSENS, *De Antwerpse Periode van Peter Philips*, pp. 110-111.

<sup>13</sup> SPIESSENS, *De Antwerpse Periode van Peter Philips*, pp. 110-111.

<sup>14</sup> A.G. PETTI, *Peter Philips, Composer and Organist, 1561-1628* in *Recusant History*, 4 (1957-58), p. 55.

<sup>15</sup> SMITH, *The Instrumental Music of Peter Philips*, pp. 30-31.

In 1593 Philips made his famous ill-fated journey to the north *to sie and heare an excellent man of his faculties in Amsterdam*,<sup>16</sup> which is usually taken to be a reference to Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck. On his return he fell ill at Middelburg and, while convalescing, he was accused by Roger Walton, an English spy, of plotting against Queen Elizabeth. The charges were groundless, and eventually he was released, but not before a lengthy interrogation in which he called upon the testimony of some Italian merchants who told the hearing that *to have his company and music* they had travelled with him, and - more importantly from Philips's point of view - *that he came not thether to pass into England to kill the Queen as the other had affirmed*.<sup>17</sup> From our point of view, the significance of this episode in Philips's life is that Philips was travelling with Italian merchants, precisely the class of people in which he circulated in Antwerp.

Not all Philips's patrons were Italian: it is likely that the presence of Cornelis Pruynen at the baptism of Philips's daughter, Leonora, indicates that he was one of Philips's patrons. Cornelis Pruynen (1533-1598) was an important and wealthy figure in Antwerp society and played a central role in the town's political life. He was himself a lutenist and singer and had a number of musicians in his employ, including Cornelis Verdonck: if Verdonck and Philips shared a patron, then it should not surprise us that Philips included his work in *Melodia olympica*. Philips enjoyed the patronage of Netherlanders as well as Italians. While the inclusion of Italian music in *Melodia olympica* may be explained by Philips's background and Italian patrons, the inclusion of works by composers working in Antwerp suggests that the contents as a whole reflect musical taste in the Spanish Netherlands at the close of the sixteenth century. Philips's own Italian madrigals were written with the nationality and the musical predilection of his Antwerp patrons in mind.

A clue to the nature of the patronage enjoyed by Philips during his stay in Antwerp may be found in the correspondence between George Gilpin (English ambassador to the United Provinces), and Lord Burghley (at that time Lord High Treasurer of England) about Philips's predicament following his arrest in 1593. Gilpin writes that Philips *maintained himself by teachinge of ye virginals, being very cunning thereon*.<sup>18</sup> In another letter he expands on this: *he got his lyving by teaching of children in instruments havinge never had penny interteynement nor any money from ye kinge of spain or his lieutenants*.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Letter from Gilpin to Burghley, 22 September 1593. Quoted in PETTI, *New Light on Peter Philips*, pp. 60-61.

<sup>17</sup> Letter from Gilpin to Burghley, 27 September 1593. Quoted in PETTI, *New Light on Peter Philips*, p. 61.

<sup>18</sup> Letter from Gilpin to Burghley, 11 September 1593. Quoted PETTI, *New Light on Peter Philips*, p. 60.

<sup>19</sup> Letter from Gilpin to Burghley, 22 September 1593. Quoted in PETTI, *New Light on Peter Philips*, pp. 60-61.

Gilpin was Philips's advocate, presenting Philips's case to the authorities in England. The repetition of information given by Gilpin in the first letter in subsequent correspondence, with a firm denial of financial support from Spain, suggests that Philips's means of subsistence was an issue during his interrogation. Philips was being held on a charge of treason at a politically sensitive time: the charges were taken seriously in the Protestant north because of English paranoia over possible attempts to assassinate Queen Elizabeth. Such paranoia was not without foundation: the memory of the Spanish Armada of 1588 must still have been fresh, and in 1593 - the year in which Philips was held - Philip II was preparing another armada (though in the event these plans came to nothing). From our point of view, the letters concerning this episode in Philips's life are important for what they suggest about Philips's employment in Antwerp. It seems that, as well as working in collaboration with Phalèse on publishing his own secular music and that of other composers, he taught children to play the virginals.

It is possible to show that most of Philips's keyboard music was written during his years in Antwerp: Table 3 lists pieces which are dated, and works for which a date can be surmised from other evidence (in the latter case, dates are given in square brackets).

Table 3: Dates of Keyboard Works by Peter Philips

1	Passamezzo Pavan	1592
2	Passamezzo Galliard	[1592]
3	Bon jour mon coeur	1602
4	Dolorosa Pavan	1593
5	Dolorosa Galliard	[1593]
6	Amarilli mia bella	1603
7	Margot labourez	1605
8	Pavana	1580
9	Le Rossignol	1595
10	Fantasia	1582
11	Paget Pavan	[c.1590]
12	Paget Galliard	[c.1590]
13	Fece da voi	[c.1596]
14	Tirsi morir volea	[c.1593]
15	Frenò cosi	[c.1593]
16	Cosi morirò	[c.1593]
17	Fantasia	[after 1597]

The *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* contains more of his keyboard works than does any other source.<sup>20</sup> Its scribe, Francis Tregian, provides dates for eight out of the nineteen pieces by Philips.<sup>21</sup> If it is assumed that the galliards to the pavans were composed at the same time, then the total rises to ten. It is possible to estimate the dates of composition for several more pieces. It would be reasonable to suppose that the pavan and galliard dedicated to Thomas Lord Paget were composed in his memory shortly after his death, and that Philips's keyboard setting of his own madrigal *Fece da voi* dates from about the time of its publication in 1596. This increases to thirteen the number of pieces in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* for which we have some idea of the composition date. In addition, it seems likely that Philips used a reprint by Phalèse of the first four books of five-part madrigals by Marenzio.<sup>22</sup> As well as the madrigal contained in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* (*Tirsi morir volea* and its companion sections *Frenò Tirsi il desio* and *Così moriro*) Philips's setting of *Deggio dunque partire* (with *Io partirò* and *Ma voi caro ben mio*) survives in Oxford, Christ Church Library, Mus. MS 1113, and *Ecco l'aurora* occurs in the midst of a section of pieces by him in Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv, Mus. MS Lynar A 1 (Lynar A1), and may be attributed to him with a fair degree of confidence. *Tirsi* is contained in Marenzio's first book of five-part madrigals, *Deggio* in his second book and *Ecco* in his fourth. All these works are contained in Phalèse's print, making this the most likely source to have been used by Philips.

If the three madrigal sections by Marenzio in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* are added, then the total of datable pieces rises to sixteen. In addition, it seems likely that the Fantasia (*Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, number 84) dates from after Philips's move to Brussels. Although there is much that sounds English about this piece, and although it is constructed on a subject taken from a piece by William Byrd (also in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, number 261), structurally it has more in common with works by Netherlanders and South Germans. Philips had been a pupil of Byrd,<sup>23</sup> but whereas Byrd's piece uses the subject for the first twenty bars before moving on to new material, Philips's is a long monothematic work full of contrapuntal artifice. The contrapuntal devices he uses here – augmentation, diminution, stretto – and the works extreme length are features typical of fantasias by Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck, Pieter Cornet and South German composers such as Hans Leo Hassler and Christian Erbach. There is no Italian influence: the Netherlandish fantasia style incorporates smaller note values into the texture right from the beginning

<sup>20</sup> Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Mus. MS 168 (*olim* Mus. 32. G. 29): *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*.

<sup>21</sup> Pavans and galliards are counted separately, as are individual *partes* of multi-sectioned madrigals.

<sup>22</sup> L. MARENZIO, *Madrigali a cinque voci, ridotti in un corpo*, Antwerp, 1593.

<sup>23</sup> J. HARLEY, *William Byrd: Gentleman of the Chapel Royal*, Aldershot, 1997, p. 364.

of a piece, whereas the Italians (for example, the Gabriellis and Girolamo Frescobaldi) proceed in 'white' note values at their outset (apart from cadential formulae). The contrapuntal procedures are those of Sweelinck and the South Germans: Philips does not change the rhythmic and intervallic features of his subject, as is the case with Frescobaldi's *Fantasia* of 1608.<sup>24</sup>

Philips's contact with Sweelinck is well documented, so it is no surprise to find a stylistic correspondence in their music. Sweelinck's fantasia style may have influenced South German composers via musicians working in the Netherlands, thus explaining an apparent similarity of style to Philips's piece. Albert, the Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, was also the Archduke of Austria, so there was probably some degree of contact between the Brussels court and South German musicians. The presence of pieces by South Germans in two sources of Philips's keyboard music indicates that music by these composers was known in the Spanish Netherlands.<sup>25</sup> Perhaps it is significant that Philips's fantasia was copied into a manuscript now held by the Biblioteca Nazionale in Turin:<sup>26</sup> it contains pieces in fantasia style by Hassler, Erbach and Sweelinck, so perhaps Philips's work was included on grounds of stylistic similarity. The survival of a fantasia by Cornet which makes use of a theme clearly modelled on Philips's piece, and another fantasia which has a subject reminiscent of it, is further evidence to support the proposition that Philips's *Fantasia* originated at the Brussels court (Example 1).



Example 1a: Subject used by Byrd in *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, no. 261



Example 1b: Subject used by Philips in *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, no. 84

<sup>24</sup> G. FRESCOBALDI, *Il primo libro delle Fantasie a quattro di Geronimo Frescobaldi*, Milan, 1608.

<sup>25</sup> Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv, Mus. MS Lynar A1 and Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellonska (*olim* Berlin, Staatsbibliothek), MS 40316 (*olim* 191).

<sup>26</sup> Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino, Raccolta Giordano 7.

Example 1c: Subject used by Cornet in his *Fantasia 8. Tomi*<sup>27</sup>Example 1d: Subject used by Cornet in his *Fantasia Pieter Cornet*<sup>28</sup>

If we arrange the keyboard works by Philips contained in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* in chronological order (Table 4) we see that only two pieces date from before Philips's arrival at Antwerp: the Pavan of 1580, and a Fantasia (probably an intabulation of an - as yet unidentified - vocal work) of 1582, which is more likely to have been composed after his arrival in Rome than before he left England.

Table 5: Keyboard Works by Philips in *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* ordered chronologically

1	Pavana	1580
2	Fantasia	1582
3	Paget Pavan	[c. 1590]
4	Paget Galliard	[c. 1590]
5	Passamezzo Pavan	1592
6	Passamezzo Galliard	[1592]
7	Dolorosa Pavan	1593
8	Dolorosa Galliard	[1593]
9	Tirsi morir	[c. 1593]
10	Frenò così	[c. 1593]
11	Così morirò	[c. 1593]
12	Le Rossignol	1595
13	Fece da voi	[c. 1596]
14	Fantasia	[after 1597]
15	Bon jour mon coeur	1602
16	Amarilli mia bella	1603
17	Margot labourez	1605

<sup>27</sup> It occurs in Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska (olim Berlin, Staatsbibliothek), MS 40316 (olim 191), fol. 65. Modern edition: W. APEL (ed.), *Cornet: Collected Keyboard Works (Corpus of Early Keyboard Music, 26)*, 1969, no. 5.

<sup>28</sup> It occurs in Lynar A1, p. 313. Modern edition: APEL (ed.), *Cornet: Collected Keyboard Works*, no. 6.

The pavan became one of the most popular pieces of its time, both in England and on the continent. It probably began life as a consort work, was set for keyboard by Philips in 1580, then circulated in a wide variety of arrangements, particularly for lute.<sup>29</sup> Although written in England, Philips would have made use of it during his time in Antwerp: indeed, the existence of a keyboard piece based on it by Sweelinck suggests that he took it with him to Amsterdam in 1593 (although the extent of its popularity means that the possibility that Sweelinck came to know it by other means cannot be ruled out).<sup>30</sup> However, although the Pavan was disseminated widely on the Continent, in terms of composition date it belongs to the period before Philips settled in Antwerp, alongside the Fantasia of 1582.

At the other end of the spectrum, three of the dates supplied by Tregian place the composition of their respective pieces after Philips had departed for the Brussels court: *Bon jour mon coeur* (1602), *Amarilli mia bella* (1603) and *Margot labourez* (1605). Significantly, two are settings of Lasso, perhaps suggesting that musical taste at court was slightly different from that at Antwerp. As we have said, the undated Fantasia was also probably a product of his time at the Brussels court. Thus, of the seventeen datable pieces in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, two are from before Philips's arrival at Antwerp, and four from after his departure for Brussels. The remaining eleven pieces from his years in Antwerp.

If the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* is taken to be representative of Philips's keyboard output, then it seems that the bulk of this music was written out during his Antwerp period. Written keyboard music often had a pedagogic purpose, so it is perhaps no surprise to find most of Philips's keyboard music dating from a period during which he was engaged in teaching children: presumably the children in question were those of his patrons. Although Philips's music is by no means straightforward to play, it does not contain the sort of virtuosic figuration to be found in Sweelinck or Bull, both of whom were known primarily as keyboard players (unlike Philips, whose reputation rested on his vocal music). Musical evenings at which professional musicians met at their patrons' homes were an important part of musical life in Antwerp, and may have provided Philips with an impetus to place his keyboard music into notation, either for himself to play or - just as likely - to provide material for his patrons and friends to perform.

<sup>29</sup> D.J. SMITH & J.H. ROBINSON (eds.), *Lute Intabulations of Works by Peter Philips*, London, 1998, nos. 3a-3o.

<sup>30</sup> *Pavana Philippi*. Modern edition: G. LEONHARDT - A. ANNEGARN - F. NOSKE (ed.), *J.P. Sweelinck Opera Omnia, 1: The Instrumental Works, (Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziek-geschiedenis)*, Amsterdam, 1968, fascicle 3, no. 11.

Philips's keyboard music reflects musical taste in Antwerp at this period. Although some of his instrumental music betrays the influence of English composers, Philips's intabulation for keyboard of secular vocal works is a continental - and by the end of the century, a Netherlandish - genre. No less than twenty-three of Philips's thirty-three extant keyboard works are intabulations of pre-existing polyphonic models, and Philips is unique among English composers in making arrangements of vocal works: there are fourteen intabulations of vocal pieces. Examples of such intabulations are rare in English sixteenth-century keyboard music, a fact best illustrated by reference to the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*: there is just one intabulation of a vocal piece by an English composer other than Philips.<sup>31</sup> By contrast, the publications of instrumental music - and particularly lute music - on the continent in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries contain a significant proportion of vocal transcriptions.

We have already seen that most of Philips's keyboard works were written during his stay in Antwerp, so it is reasonable to suppose that his choice of vocal model reflected not only his own musical taste, but of that of his patrons and colleagues. Half of the vocal intabulations are based on models by Marenzio (counting each section of multi-part madrigals individually). We have already noted that Marenzio is the best represented composer in *Melodia olympica*. Although the most likely source to have been used by Philips for the Marenzio intabulations is Phalèse's reprint of the first four books of five-part madrigals of 1593, the fact that it contains all the madrigals by Marenzio used by Philips means that, even if Philips did not use this particular edition, the pieces he chose to set were circulating in the Spanish Netherlands. Indeed, the inclusion of *Tirsi morir volea*, *Frenò Tirsi il desio* and *Così moriro* in Pevernage's anthology *Harmonia celeste* illustrates this, and Philips himself included *Deggio dunque partire*, *Io partirò* and *Ma voi caro ben mio* in to *Melodia olympica*. Philips's intabulations were somewhat like modern arrangements of popular songs for piano (though rather more sophisticated in their demands on performer and listener alike): Marenzio's music was obviously fashionable in Antwerp at the close of the sixteenth century, and provided ideal material for keyboard intabulation.

Philips's other choices of vocal model include Alessandro Striggio's *Chi fara fed'al cielo*, of which he made two independent settings. Originally published in Venice in 1566,<sup>32</sup> Phalèse incorporated it into his madrigal anthology *Musica*

<sup>31</sup> No. 233 is a setting by Giles Farnaby of his own canzonet *Ay me, poore heart* from his *Canzonets to Fowre Voyces*, London, 1598, no. 15.

<sup>32</sup> A. STRIGGIO, *Il Desiderio secondo libro de madrigali a cinque voci*, Venice, 1566.

*divina* of 1583. We cannot be sure whether Philips used this print or another: the setting unique to Bibliothèque de l'Université de Liège, MS 153 (*olim* 888): *Liber Fratrum Cruciferorum Leodiensium* (Liège 153) appears on stylistic grounds to be somewhat earlier than the one common to the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, Lynar A1 and Salomon Caus's *Les raisons des forces mouvantes*,<sup>33</sup> so it is possible that Philips used *Musica divina* as his source for the first setting. Once again, the significant point is that Philips chose to set a vocal work that had been published by Phalèse: this may even be said about Philips's intabulation of his own *Fece da voi* (published in his first book of madrigals of 1596). In the same way as an improvised performance around a jazz 'standard' is only fully appreciated by a listener who has some familiarity with the original, so intabulations of vocal works rely upon a listener's knowledge of their models. This is why Philips chose some of the madrigals most popular in late sixteenth-century Antwerp, and why we should not be surprised that many of the pieces chosen by Philips are to be found in the madrigal anthologies issued by Phalèse.

Clearly Italian music was just as fashionable at court: Philips's setting of Caccini's *Amarilli mia bella* dates from 1603. Philips's choice of a piece by Caccini does not necessarily indicate an interest in early monody: the model has been shown to be a six-part version contained Phalèse's *Ghirlanda di madrigali*.<sup>34</sup> Once again the model of an intabulation can be located in one of Phalèse's anthologies. All three of the intabulations of chansons by Lassus are dated by Tregian in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, and only one is from before Philips's move to Brussels. It may well be that musical taste at court differed slightly from that of Philips's patrons in Antwerp. It proves more difficult to identify the prints used by Philips for the pieces by Lassus. *Bon jour mon coeur* and *Margot labourez* appear in Phalèse's *La fleur des chansons d'Orlande de Lassus* of 1592, and in other Phalèse prints of 1604 and 1612. However, Tregian dates *Le Rossignol* to 1595 and *Bon jour* to 1602, so these later prints cannot have been used. Philips's keyboard setting of *Bon jour* has a reprise of the last twelve bars which is not present in the 1592 print (nor for that matter is it in the original Venetian print), and neither does the print have the repeat of the first section in Philips's intabulation of *Margot labourez*. Although this need not rule Phalèse's publication out as a source for Philips's intabulation, the close correspondence between the structure of *Amarilli mia bella* and its polyphonic model in *Ghirlanda* suggests that his keyboard pieces were generally modelled quite closely on their vocal originals.

<sup>33</sup> S. CAUS, *Les Raisons des Forces Mouvantes*, Frankfurt, 1615.

<sup>34</sup> T. CARTER, *Caccini's Amarilli, mia bella: Some Questions (and a few Answers)* in *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 113 (1988), pp. 250-273 and SMITH, *The Instrumental Music of Peter Philips*, pp. 269-271.

Elsewhere I have suggested that the conformity of Phalèse's print to the original publication of the works in question (in Lassus, *Quatriesme livre des chansons*, Louvain, 1564) makes the differences in structure between the models and the keyboard works less significant, and that such differences could simply reflect the performance practice of Philips's day.<sup>35</sup> However, here I would like to suggest the possibility that Lassus was less popular as a composer in Antwerp than he was at the Brussels court, and that Philips obtained his exemplars for two of the Lassus pieces from his court contacts rather than from Phalèse. Although all three of the models he used appear in *La fleur des chansons d'Orlande de Lassus*, there are no anthologies of French chansons comparable to the Italian madrigal collections until *Le Rossignol musical des chansons de diverses et excellens auteurs* issued by Phalèse in 1597, and Lassus's name is conspicuous by its absence from it. However, a reworking of Lassus's *Bon jour mon coeur* by André Pevernage in his Fourth Book of Chansons of 1591 suggests that this chanson was popular in Antwerp at this time.<sup>36</sup> It may be that the dominance of Italian music in the surviving prints paints an incomplete picture of musical taste in the Low Countries in the late sixteenth century.

To what extent was Philips's intabulation of vocal works a product of his years in Italy, and to what extent was it typical of Netherlandish compositional practice of the time? Philips's interest in this genre may go back to his years in Rome: if the Fantasia dated 1582 in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* is an intabulation of a vocal work, then that would place Philips's first essays in the genre there. However, it is difficult to assess any possible Roman influence on Philips's keyboard music: there are no composers of keyboard music active in Rome between 1582 and 1585 with whose music Philips's can be compared except Giovanni de Macque (who was in Rome until about 1585), but there is no obvious influence of the Flemish composer on Philips's music.

Although it is difficult to identify stylistic differences in surface figuration between different composers, an examination of Philips's keyboard works shows that he uses the same figuration patterns in his continental vocal intabulations as he does in his settings of pavans and galliards in an English style.<sup>37</sup> Only one work by Philips - titled *Fantasia de petro philippi* in its source - seems influenced by the Venetian style of the Gabriellis, so much so that it was placed immediately after eight intonations by Andrea Gabrieli when the folios of Liège 153 were rearranged on rebinding. However, in general there is a fundamental distinction to be drawn between the intabulation procedures of

<sup>35</sup> SMITH, *The Instrumental Music of Peter Philips*, p. 272.

<sup>36</sup> G.R. HOEKSTRA, *An eight-voice parody of Lassus: André Pevernage's Bon jour mon coeur in Early Music*, 7 (1979), pp. 367-377.

<sup>37</sup> SMITH, *The Instrumental Music of Peter Philips*, p. 275.

Italian composers such as the Gabriellis and Philips's technique: they conceive their intabulations in the horizontal plane, invariably subjecting just one voice at a time (usually one of the outer parts) to diminutions, whereas Philips tends to see his models in their vertical dimension. For example, he writes scales which sweep through the textures from top to bottom or *vice versa*, thinking of his vocal model vertically as harmonic structure rather than horizontally as linear counterpoint (Example 6).

Example 6 consists of two parts, a) and b). Part a) is a vocal model for six voices (Soprano, Alto, Tenor 1, Tenor 2, Bass 1, Bass 2) in a single system. The lyrics are 'ta; que - - - sta do -'. Part b) is a keyboard intabulation for two staves (Right and Left Hand) in a single system, showing a complex figuration with many sixteenth notes.

Example 6: Peter Philips, *Fece da voi*, bars 5-7 a) vocal model b) keyboard intabulation

The only Italian composer to use a similar technique was Claudio Merulo. He appears to have been a more popular composer in the Netherlands than the Gabriellis, as is witnessed by the higher proportion of his music in Liège 153: the fact that these works were not copied from printed sources by the scribe of Liège 153 indicates that they circulated in the Spanish Netherlands in manuscripts,<sup>38</sup> perhaps another indication of Merulo's popularity in the area.

<sup>38</sup> R. JUDD, *The Use of Notational Formats at the Keyboard: a Study of Printed Sources of Keyboard Music in Spain and Italy, c. 1500-1700, Selected Manuscript Sources including Music by Claudio Merulo, and Contemporary Writings concerning Notation*, D.Phil diss., Oxford University, 1988, p. 320.

There is a similar problem when it comes to trying to compare Philips's keyboard music to that by Netherlanders who might have influenced him. London, British Library, Additional Manuscript 29485, the *Suzanne van Soldt* manuscript, is the only keyboard source from the mid-sixteenth century which may contain Netherlandish keyboard music. However, it was compiled for a twelve-year-old, so is not a representative selection of keyboard works. Lute prints published in the Netherlands, and by Netherlanders elsewhere, may help to answer the question of whether Philips's vocal intabulations were the result of the musical environment in which he was living, or whether they reflect an earlier period of Italian influence when he was in Rome.

There are parallels to Philips's vocal intabulations in the instrumental music of composers who moved in the same social circles as Philips. Emanuel Adriaensen (ca.1554-1604) was the most significant composer of instrumental music in Antwerp during Philips's time there. Adriaensen seems to have been connected to at least two of Philips's patrons: he held Pruynen's son at the child's baptism, and Giulio Balbani's brother Francesco was godfather to one of Adriaensen's children.<sup>39</sup> Emanuel Adriaensen's *Pratum musicum* (1584) and *Novum pratum musicum* (1592) contain a high proportion of intabulations of vocal works for lute, many of which are provided with *cantus* and *bassus* vocal parts to enable the performer to choose between various possible performance options. The choice of vocal model reflects precisely the sort of repertory which Philips chose to set for keyboard in the following decade: for example, Lassus's *Le Rossignol* appears in both collections, and Marenzio's *Tirsi morir volea*, *Frenò Tirsi il desio* and *Così morire* are contained in the 1592 print. In stylistic terms, Adriaensen's intabulations of vocal works involve little more than placing the original in lute tablature, whereas Philips's settings adorn the model with idiomatic keyboard figuration.<sup>40</sup> On a structural level there is a correspondence between the intabulations of the two composers, but the surface figuration used by Philips seems to be very much his own. However, Sweelinck's extant lute music is similar in style to that of Adriaensen, yet differs from his own keyboard music.<sup>41</sup> Since all the lute music attributed to Philips comprises arrangements made by other composer-lutenists of his work, it is not possible to make a direct comparison of his lute music with that of Adriaensen. It is, however, significant that intabulation is a technique employ-

<sup>39</sup> SPIESSENS, *De Antwerpse Periode van Peter Philips ca 1561-1628*, p. 109.

<sup>40</sup> For Adriaensen's music, see the facsimile edition of the 1584 print with an introduction by Kwee Him Yong, Buren, 1977 and G. SPIESSENS, *Luitmuziek van Emanuel Adriaensen*, (*Monumenta Musicae Belgicae*, 10), 1966.

<sup>41</sup> For Sweelinck's lute music, see LEONHARDT - ANNEGARN - NOSKE (ed.), *J.P. Sweelinck Opera Omnia, 1: The Instrumental Works*, fascicle 3.

ed by Sweelinck in his keyboard works, and by John Bull after his arrival on the continent in 1613.<sup>42</sup>

All of Philips's published sacred music dates from after his move to the Brussels court, and reflects his new role as organist in the Chapel. Indeed, no sacred work by Philips was published before his ordination in 1609,<sup>43</sup> and the first volume of sacred music devoted exclusively to him was published by Phalèse in 1612.<sup>44</sup> Although at least one piece, *Gaude Maria Virgo*, is known to have existed in a manuscript as far back as ca. 1590,<sup>45</sup> in general the juxtaposition of sections in a strict, perhaps slightly old fashioned, contrapuntal style with passages employing homophonic, syllabic writing suggests that many of the motets were more recent. After Philips's move to Brussels his publications are dedicated to people at court or to the Virgin Mary. In 1598 the first book of eight-part madrigals was dedicated to Colonel William Stanley; in 1613 the *Gemmulae sacrae* were dedicated to Pierre de Campis, a chaplain and singer of the Brussels Royal Chapel; in 1616 the *Deliciae sacrae* were dedicated to Albert and Isabella.

Philips did not give up secular music on moving to Brussels: rather, there was a gradual shift from madrigals and instrumental pieces towards sacred works. The first book of eight-part madrigals dates from just a year after his move, so presumably reflects his activities in Antwerp more than it does his new position in Brussels, the dedication to Stanley notwithstanding. As we have seen, a few keyboard works are known to have been written after Philips left Antwerp. A more significant date is 24 March 1609 when Peter Philips was ordained priest.<sup>46</sup> No secular music, vocal or instrumental, is known to have been composed after this point. In fact, few instrumental pieces date from after 1600, and none is known definitely to date from after 1605. However, this is not to say that Philips did not help to disseminate his music: he provided Tregian with copies of instrumental pieces probably as late as 1612, and three trios appear in Salomon de Caus's *Institution harmonique*, Frankfurt, 1615, although these are more by way of illustrations of three-part writing than idiomatic instrumental works.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>42</sup> M. SOUTER, *Sixteenth-Century Intabulation Processes and their Relationship to the Formation and Understanding of Sweelinck's Keyboard Style*, D.Phil diss., Oxford University, 1990, chapter 4.

<sup>43</sup> Three motets were included in Herrer's anthology *Hortus Musicalis*, Munich, 1609, two more appearing in a similar collection printed in Strassbourg in 1611.

<sup>44</sup> P. PHILIPS, *Cantiones sacrae quinis vocibus*, Antwerp, 1612 (modern edition by J. STEELE, University of Otago Press, 1992).

<sup>45</sup> L. PIKE, *Gaude Maria Virgo: Morley or Philips?* in *Music and Letters*, 50 (1969), pp. 127-135.

<sup>46</sup> SPIESSENS, *De Antwerpse Periode van Peter Philips ca 1561-1628*, p. 111 and SMITH, *The Instrumental Music of Peter Philips*, pp. 32-34.

<sup>47</sup> Alexandre Guilmant included them in his *Archives des Maîtres de l'Orgue*, X, Paris, 1910 presumably because they are textless.



Interestingly, John Steele's comments on the sources of Philips's madrigals in his volume for *Musica Britannica* reveal that reprints dating from after his ordination, specifically the 1615 editions of his second book of six-part madrigals and book of eight-part madrigals, were 'almost certainly not revised by Philips'.<sup>48</sup> There are two possible explanations: either Philips's residence in Brussels made it that much more difficult to liaise with his publisher, or Philips was no longer interested in - indeed, possibly slightly embarrassed about - his madrigals. The first can be discounted on the grounds that Philips still had contact with Antwerp, not least in connection with his daughter's upbringing, and that his volumes of sacred music all went through the Phalèse presses. Philips may, therefore, have felt that the vocation of priesthood was incompatible with the production of secular music. However, the gradual shift from secular to sacred composition at the turn of the century probably owes just as much to changes in his employment. Until 1597 Philips worked for secular, civic patrons, many of whom were wealthy Italian merchants or bankers. The madrigal prints of 1596, 1598 and 1603 offer a retrospective glimpse of the music Philips wrote at Antwerp. The instrumental works come from the same period. It may seem ironic that the bulk of Philips's keyboard music dates from before he became organist to the archdukes, but Philips would not have felt the need to commit organ music for the Chapel to paper. His keyboard music dates from a period when we know that he was engaged in teaching. Philips did not publish a volume of sacred music until the *Cantiones sacrae* of 1612, fifteen years after his arrival at court. It would be reasonable to suppose that this volume reflects Philips's compositional activity between his arrival at court and the date of publication. Philips may be seen to be responding to new patterns of patronage: after his appointment in 1597 he was expected to write sacred vocal music for the chapel.

Peter Philips composed Latin motets and Italian madrigals, so it might be thought that the former were the result of his adherence to the Roman Church, and the latter a consequence of his years in Italy. However, the way in which Philips's production of music seems so closely tied to his employment suggests that he tailored his music to the requirements of his patrons. Philips was able to make his living in Antwerp by teaching the virginals, and it is from this period in his life that the majority of his keyboard music dates. Although Philips's years at the English College, Rome, led to the inclusion of madrigals by composers with strong Roman connections in *Melodia olympica*, the collection as a whole testifies to the musical preferences of Phalèse's public. Phalèse's choice of Philips to edit the volume reveals much about musical taste in the Low Countries at the close of the sixteenth century: Phalèse used a com-

<sup>48</sup> J. STEELE, *Peter Philips: Select Italian Madrigals*, (*Musica Britannica*, 29), London, 1970, p. 203.

poser with a background in Italian music to respond to the public demand for collections of Italian secular music. Philips was able to exploit his Italian training to gain employment from members of the sizeable Italian community in Antwerp at the time, as well as from Netherlanders with a taste for Italian music. Philips's madrigals and keyboard music reflect the requirements of his employers at Antwerp, and are a product of the prevailing cultural environment there. After his move to the Archducal court at Brussels, Philips's compositional activity was directed to motets for performance in Chapel. The vast majority of Philips's sacred music belongs to the period after 1597, which would seem to suggest that the composition of motets is Philips's response to the needs of his new employers rather than arising from his deeply felt religious beliefs. Here we find Philips responding to a change in his employment. However, it is only with the change in his personal circumstances following his ordination that we find an end to the composition of secular music. The Earl of Essex wrote in connection with the charges brought against Philips in 1593 that *of Philipps they never understood other then that he had followed his soorte of musiyck*.<sup>49</sup> Philips was a professional musician who earned his living composing for a public eager for Italian madrigals, and for his various employers' specific needs.

<sup>49</sup> Letter from Richard Verstegan to Father Persons, 13 January, 1594. Transcribed in A.G. PETTI, *The Letters and Despatches of Richard Verstegan* in *Catholic Record Society*, 52 (1959), pp. 203-205.

12-03-2000